"THE GREEN LINE SEA"

Space and the consequences of a city partition: The case of Nicosia

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Više vjerujem u horoscop
nego u nacionalosti

I believe more in horoscope
than in nationalities

Maja Bajevi

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword: the Green Line Sea

The title of this dissertation comes from a conversation I had at the beginning of my field research with a young Greek Cypriot who lives in Nicosia. I was having a coffee at a cafeteria in the old city, not far from the border, and started talking with the waiter and explaining the reason why I was there. I asked him for some information on the division line and the crossing, and he started telling me about his actual job – as music producer – explaining to me that his first production was called *Green Line Sea* because this was the way he and his friends, all of them born after the 1974 division, called the border. "Green Line" is one of the names given to the line of partition, as we will see afterwards, and the idea of a *Green Line Sea* identifies the artificial border with a natural one. Cyprus's borders consist of water, except for the division that splits the island into two different political entities. Therefore the *Green Line Sea* is the other side or, more precisely, the denial of the other side. The presence of a border that impeded people even to see half of the island for thirty years can lead to the negation of the existence of the other.

> A wall is a slab of concrete and therefore makes for the complete "othering" of the people on the other side. They become invisible, which makes it easier for people on each side to construct their own separate identities, and the identities of the "other," free from real world views and interactions. […] The more invisible the other, the less real he/she is, and the greater is the perceived difference and feeling of threat (Newman 2005: 330).

When I arrived in Nicosia the only things I knew about the situation were those I had read and studied in books, and this introduction to the local perception of the division struck me. Through the passing of time I realised that many different visions, opinions, feelings and representations of the division coexist, and that not all of them are related to the denial of the other. However, to date I have found this first metaphor especially suggestive and evocative, because it carries the idea of a past of total division and denial, but also the possibilities added by the recent changes – the opening and the attempts towards a reconciliation – which necessarily take place through the re-discovery of the other. Therefore, following the metaphor, through venturing into the sea.

1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this research is to understand the spatial and social configuration of divided cities, and the relation existing between these two aspects. The understanding of this interconnection is crucial if we are to shed light on issues concerning the construction of identity linked to territorial belonging in the specific case of contested territories. It is intended to analyse space as both a carrier and a receiver of meanings tied to conflict that characterises a given context. The main assumption is that in cities in which a division, whether materialised as a wall or not, marks the existence of a present conflict or the memory of a past one, people experience a definition of feeling of belonging and a construction of otherness in territorial terms.

This research describes the consequences of a partition on the city in terms of functions and everyday life. The object of this analysis is to understand if divided cities lose something as a result of the partition and how the previously existing system transforms and adjusts to the new conditions.

The topic of this dissertation is part of an interdisciplinary debate which includes sociologists, political and human geographers and international relations scholars, since it entails a range of different issues. «Theories from multiple disciplines are utilised because no single perspective is likely to capture fully the complex social and ecological aspects of urban ethnic conflict» (Bollens 2000: 11).

Urban sociology is fundamental to placing divided cities in the larger scenario of contemporary cities and to understand their peculiarities and possible functional problems. Moreover, classic sociological theories concerning the urban system and development help us in the comprehension of partitioned cities phenomena. The latter could be easily dismissed as territorial manifestations of political issues or, even worse, considered mistakes in the urban evolution of a given location.

Useful theorisations come from the field of human and political geography, especially concerning the relation existing between individual and collective identity

and boundaries (Newman 1999; Newman & Paasi 1998). Moreover, the geopolitical concept of human territoriality allows us to start elaborating the idea of a relational process determining the production of territory, which is the result of the social appropriation of space (Raffestin 1981; 1984).

In turn, political analysis of urban partitions underlines the role of cities in ethno-national conflicts and try to systematise the case study researches according to diverse classifications of divided, contested and partitioned cities (Bollens 2000; 2007; Calame & Charlesworth 2009; Kliot & Mansfield 1999).

Cities and segregation

> For [cities] are each one of them many cities,
> not a city, as it goes in the game. […]
> If you deal with them as one
> you will altogether miss the mark.
>
> Plato

What is a divided city? What happens to a city if it is partitioned? What does a border in the middle of a city mean and how is it represented and experienced by citizens? These are some of the questions I reflected upon as I started my research, since the topic was absolutely new to me and at the same time it brought together my main scientific interests: the city and its functioning, the border-building process and issues of nationalism and ethnicity[1] related to the claim of territory.

First of all, the very concept of "divided city" implies the idea that something starting off as a unit, the city, has been partitioned into at least two parts. It may appear that these kinds of cities are a mistake, an anomaly, a perverse result of the "normal" process of urban development. The city has almost always been considered as an entity, a unit or a complex system (Camagni 1998; Mela 1996)

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[1] I refer to the definition of ethnic group proposed by Bollens as «composed of people who share a distinctive and enduring collective identity based on shared experiences or cultural traits (Gurr & Harff 1994). Such groups' awareness can be crystallised through such factors as shared struggle, territorial identity, "ethnic chosenness", or religion (Smith 1993)» (Bollens 2000: 359).

either in the mechanical metaphor – according to which the city is a system of fluxes – or in the evolutionary one, where a dynamic vision is introduced and the city is considered as a living and evolutionary system. In both cases the urban system is viewed in an organicistic way, therefore comparable to a human body, and it is considered to be a complete whole (Mela 1996) in which a specific environment develops. This vision has its bases in the urban theories of the early 1900s by Patrick Geddes, Lewis Mumford, Louis Wirth, whose aspiration it had been to elaborate a general idea of cities in different historical periods as holistic systems: they considered the city as an organism (Amin & Thrift 2002). This argument referred to the birth and growth of cities from the ancient times (Mumford 1960; Sennett 1994; Soja 2000) and to their unique development and inner organisation.

According to these reflections, a divided city may represent a departure from the regular development and structuring of urban environment and therefore it may even be considered a dysfunctional city, compared to the healthy one in which unity guarantees its adequate functioning and the circulation of people, goods and ideas (Calame & Charlesworth 2009: 16). Nevertheless, processes of partition have characterised different urban environments in a way that can be traced as a rational, predictable and patterned path.

However, a process of partition obviously forces cities to face issues related to services, resources and institutions which in most cases need to be doubled or totally rethought; moreover social cohesion, idealised as the result of good coexistence in cities, is replaced by disorder and conflict, in contradiction with what we would expect as the outcome of a civilization process.

> The city arose as a special kind of environment, favourable to co-operative association, favourable to nurture and education, because it was a protected environment […] Plainly, a civilization that terminates in a cult of barbarism has disintegrated as a civilization; and the war-metropolis, as an expression of these institutions, is an anti-civilizing agent: a non-city (Mumford 1960: 278).

The history of cities, however, is a history of borders and segregation (Mumford 1960; Soja 2000; Calame & Charlesworth 2009). Walls have provided a physical separation between the urban and the rural, creating a specific environment defined

by clear boundaries. The closure towards the outside has been the basis of the urban contract that guaranteed inner collective security from external threats (Mumford 1960). Moreover, the inner government of cities, which comprised social, political and economic issues, led to a first definition of citizenship.

The accumulation of goods and resources made cities especially subject to attacks from rival cities or external powers, and this increasing threat involved the development of more and more sophisticated forms of defence and separation. The physical distinction between urban and rural also represented an identitarian differentiation and strengthened the spirit of solidarity and unity among those who stayed inside the city. City walls have been changing in the course of time, both in their function and in their meaning, with consequences on the social cohesion and on citizens' identity.

In the history of city development and of its enclosures we can find early warnings of the internally and ethnically divided city, from the first institutionalised urban ghetto in Venice (Sennett 1994) to the diverse and multiple forms of exclusion and segregation that characterise contemporary cities. Workers' villages in ancient Egypt, urban ghettos in the European cities in the sixteenth century and gated communities in contemporary western metropolises are all examples of segregation through which we can reconsider the ethnically divided city as something not so marginal or anomalous.

The analysis of the relation existing between urban boundaries and inner social cohesion provides interesting insights aiding us to deal with this topic, with references to different theoretical backgrounds (Simmel et al. 1997; Mumford 1960) which can facilitate the understanding of old and new kinds of social and physical separation. The presence of a border separating different social groups carries the idea of a *bounded solidarity* (Portes & Sensenbrenner 1993) between people sharing the same social, ethnic, and territorial status who develop an inner solidarity in opposition to what is outside (or on the other side, in our case).

The extreme outcomes of these processes are partitions that break previous forms of order and coexistence, together with well-established urban structures. The

interest of this dissertation lies in this perverse effect of urban development, its consequences on the social life and in the role space (and borders) plays in relation to power and identity construction.

In search of a paradigm

The idea to study a divided city developed from an initial interest towards the dimension of space in the urban analysis, of its role in the comprehension of the social action, both when considered capable to orient action and if studied as the product of social action and interaction. Moreover, I was interested in the subjective experience of space use and the representations people have of it, key elements to understand the process of identity construction, especially in relation to boundaries. Sociology, with the exception of the ecological approach, has generally paid more attention to the dimension of time than to that of space, even though human actions are not fully understandable without considering physical surroundings (Brand 2009).

At the beginning of my research project it was my intention to utilise the so called *Non-Representational Theory* elaborated by Nigel Thrift (1996; 2000; 2008) as theoretical focus through which to analyse the divided city of Nicosia. The author presents the representational and the non-representational approaches introducing two different kinds of epistemological considerations: according to the representational theory, the world should be seen as a construction and a representation, while the non-representational theory looks at the world with a concrete and experiential gaze.

Thrift highlights how, in the social sciences, there is a tendency to consider only the aspects of social construction of reality, insomuch as many analyses of reality account for its representation more than for the specific object of study. Thrift defines this approach as a *building perspective* (Crang & Thrift 2000) since, according to the latter, to understand the world means to build it and every representation is a

construction. Consequently human beings constantly elaborate «webs of significance which are laid out over a physical substrate» (Thrift in Massey et al. 1999: 300). This kind of approach is rooted in the hermeneutic philosophy and social constructivism, according to which the access to the being of the world is always denied.

The non-representational theory, instead, draws on the idea that:

> We live time-spatially in the world, move, experience and act in it, even before we are expressing it in words, theories, dance, painting, singing, academic writing… (Helbrecht 2004: 194).

Thrift's idea is that it is not possible to give a representation of the world from the world, since we are embedded in it and we contribute to construct it. Therefore, it becomes interesting to look at the relation between the abstract knowledge of the urban space and the concrete everyday life taking place in it, between the imaginary of a space and the bodily experience of it.

The problem with this inspiring theory is the difficulty in translating its principles into operational research strategies, which is to find indicators to analyse the relation people have with space. As I explain in the methodological introduction, visual analysis is a powerful tool to grasp aspects related to the physical environment and its connection with social and political issues. However, the understanding of the individual and social relation with the spatial surrounding cannot but be viewed through the representation people have of it, and the meanings they give to it.

Still, the main theoretical assumption that guides this research relies on the idea that there exists a bi-directional or circular relation between the spatial and the social. Space configuration is definitely shaped by human actions, but at the same time space itself contributes to change or define social relations and practices. It is not obvious to find this kind of idea in social science theories nor it is easy to test it empirically. Different approaches have privileged from time to time one of the two possible directions of this relation, while few scholars have tried to analyse this process of mutual influence.

Scholars from the Chicago School of Sociology were the first who conducted researches in the urban context which consider space not only as a background of the action, but as an important element in relation to action. Their theoretical

framework, however, implies an almost deterministic relation from space to action without considering the mutual influence exercised by the social and the material. The classic sociologist Georg Simmel and contemporary authors like Anthony Giddens and Manuel Castells contributed to highlight the fact that people interact and move in a context which has spatial characteristics as well as temporal ones: the definition of social action cannot underestimate this aspect.

Through Simmel in particular, space emerges as both condition and symbol of the social forms (Simmel et al. 1997): it constitutes the structure of social reality which contributes to determine action and it is the result and the emblem of action itself. This relational essence of space is also emphasised by the geographer Doreen Massey, whose conceptualisation of space is based on three considerations, according to which space is the product of interrelation, the sphere where multiplicity possibly exists along with a discontinuous element that becomes a source of disruption. These three statements are interconnected since, if space is given by interaction, it follows that it is based on the existence of plurality; besides, being a product of relations, space cannot be stable, but is subject to continuous transformations that make the formation of new connections and interactions possible (Massey 1999).

The approaches I mentioned have profoundly influenced my dissertation in terms of theoretical assumptions and of the methodology I adopted, which will be presented in the following parts of the introduction.

The case study

The choice of Nicosia as my case study has several explanations, some of which concern unique features of the city, and some others refer to considerations upon the researcher analytical distance and political neutrality.

Nicosia is a city divided in a physical, ethnic, religious and political way by a double line of fences, walls, barbed wire and barrels. It is the capital city of two national entities[2], and there is a claim over it from one of the two parts. Furthermore, the problems that affected the coexistence of the two ethnic communities living in the island, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, showed up clearly and with serious consequences in the phase of transition from the British colonial government to the independence of Cyprus. This fact allows us to place the Nicosia case in the broader range of situations in which the national and/or ethnic identity claims came to the fore in the post-colonial period (Anderson, 2008). Riots and violent confrontations occurred in Nicosia from the middle of the fifties and the city has in fact been physically divided before the permanent partition of Cyprus in 1974; the first line separating some neighbourhoods of the city, in order to avoid the confrontation of the two communities, dates back to 1956, during the period of British rule (Papadakis 2006) before independence in 1960. The years following the proclamation of the Republic of Cyprus were characterised by an increase in the violence of the confrontations between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, with a peak in 1963-64, which caused the intervention of the UN Peacekeeping Forces to patrol the division line between the two communities (Drousiotis 2008). In 1974, a coup by the Greek Cypriot EOKA movement[3], supported by the Greek Junta, provoked the military invasion of Turkey, which led to the partition of the island. The Green Line[4], which already existed in Nicosia, almost coincided with the division and a strip patrolled by the UN forces and called "buffer zone" was created between the two sides all over the island.

In 1983 the northern Cyprus community declared itself the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC), which has been recognised only by Turkey, while the

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[2] According to Kolossov and O'Loughlin classification of new geopolitical entities, emerged in the late twentieth century, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) should be defined as a *pseudo-state*. This category includes self-proclaimed states, mostly not recognised, where, as in the TRNC, there is an identification of an area with a specific nationality. It is also the case of an area of conflict with no permanent control as a result of a civil war and/or a foreign military intervention (Kolossov & O'Loughlin 1998: 155).

[3] EOKA (National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters) was a paramilitary organisation with the initial aim to reach independence from the British rule and to achieve *Enosis*, that is the union with Greece.

[4] The division has different names that I will present in paragraph 8.4.1 showing how, as usual, names carry meanings and narrations.

institutional status of the southern part of the island, the Republic of Cyprus, is internationally recognised and considered under military occupation[5].

These founding elements of Nicosia's partition clarify its peculiarity and its emblematic nature, and justify my choice from an analytical point of view, since the actual condition of the city makes it a very interesting case: it is physically split into two parts in which nationality, institutions, administration, language and religion are different. Therefore it is the perfect case to analyse the consequences of a division on urban unity.

Moreover, the border that partitions Nicosia exemplifies in a very clear way a quality of the urban space identified by Simmel as *exclusivity*, according to which «every portion of space possesses a kind of uniqueness, for which there is almost no analogy» (Simmel et al. 1997: 138), therefore it is not possible to conceive a localised space in a plural way (cf. paragraph 2.1.1). Cities become a symbol of territorial exclusivity and represent much more than the space they take up (it is enough to think of the meaning attributed to Berlin during the Cold War).

The border that carves Nicosia into two parts marks alternatively the exclusivity of two distinct urban areas, two parts of Cyprus and two benchmark nation-states (Greece and Turkey). Moreover, since the island joined the European Union, Nicosia's division has become the extreme eastern European border[6]. Therefore in this specific case the scales affected by the border are various: the spatialisation of social relations of conflict assumes a very strong meaning as far as its consequences are concerned.

Another important reason why I decided to study Nicosia instead of, for instance, Belfast or Jerusalem, is that I could not find myself having a pre-determined idea about the *victims* and the *guilty ones* between the two ethnic communities. The history

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[5] In southern Cyprus and elsewhere politicians and officials of the TRNC are named without their official charge. The mayor is usually called the *representative of the Turkish Cypriot community of Nicosia*, as well as the president of the state is called the *representative of the Turkish Cypriot community*. The TRNC itself is called the *Pseudo State*. I decided to facilitate the reading avoiding the use of these formula related to the unrecognised status of the TNRC, even if I am aware of the importance of names.

[6] This border is particularly significant form a geopolitical point of view, since beyond it there is the Middle East, crossed by numerous conflicts. The awareness of the island's importance as a strategic territory is crucial to understand foreign interventions during the conflict period, as I will outline in the following chapters.

of the Cyprus question is as complicated as any other history of inter-communal conflict, and there are important actors other than Greek and Turkish Cypriots. I considered it was more interesting, from a scientific point of view, to allow the possibility to start my research from a non-biased position, hence to approach the situation without prejudices. After the field research and at the end of my dissertation I still find myself "neutral", in the sense that I recognise mistakes and faults in both communities' representatives and decisions taken throughout the period of strife, but I cannot blame any of the two for the results of their clash, or else I would have to blame both.

Finally, the lack of knowledge about the Cyprus issue, especially in Italy, convinced me about the possibility to add something to the cultural debate of this tired country, and to shed light on a situation that has not been studied enough. Italy has experienced (at least) one divided city, when Gorizia was partitioned between Italy and Yugoslavia in 1947, as a result of World War II, and it remained divided until the recent admission of Slovenia to the European Union.

The country now faces various problems concerning issues of integration and cohabitation, and the risk of erecting walls as a solution to local conflicts or as the answer to the desire of security is real: the wall built in Padova[7] or the increasing phenomenon of gated communities are just some example, together with the growing militarisation of the urban space[8]. Of course, as Calame and Charlesworth (2009) point out, the division of a city can be a solution for situations of conflict, at least as a temporary fix. Nevertheless Nicosia, like other partitioned cities, may be a warning beacon for city managers and administrators, in order to avoid easy and only apparently efficient remedies.

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[7] In 2006 a fence was built in Padova to separate a complex of residences mainly occupied by immigrants and to facilitate police controls of the area. This decision, taken by the municipality in accordance to some citizens' requests, produced a heated debate upon the fairness of such an intervention to solve a problem of social safety and upon its discriminating nature.

[8] Since August 2008, the Italian government has deployed soldiers in many cities (Naples, Rome and Milan have been the first) in order to prevent possible situations of conflict, as a part of the "Pacchetto Sicurezza", a set of (more or less) contingency laws to deal with illegal immigration and other issues related to urban safety.

Research questions and methodology

As I have already pointed out, the main questions that moved my research concern the consequences of a partition on the urban system, and the meaning taken on by a border inside a city in its relation to identity. These initial questions must be unfolded and broken down into more observable dimensions of Nicosia's social life.

1. How can a city go on living once divided?

The issue of the consequences of the partition on the city can be analysed through the observation of everyday life in the divided space. The methodology needed for this kind of purposes has its bases in the case study research and the analysis of everyday life, carried out by the Chicago School and by ethnographers in the 1960s and 1970s (Osti 2010; Miles et al. 2000). The research tradition set out by the Chicago School generally regards a single case study, with the adoption of different techniques: participant observation, interviews, content analysis, and the collection of biographies.

I decided to focus on different aspects related to the management and the organisation of the city and also to the inhabitants' relations and uses of space. These diverse areas of observation can be summarised into main points, each of which has been studied according to the more general frame of ethnographic research. These points are: urban development, city administration and institutions, infrastructures and communication systems, urban economy and trade organisation, and the broader issue of social interaction.

- Urban development: growing divided

The impact of a partition on a city can be understood through the analysis of the urban development in terms of city growth and of the changes on the urban structure after the division. The guiding hypothesis is that the development of the city can show some negative effects of the process of partition. These effects can be found for example in a disharmonious urban growth due to the presence of the

border, in the creation of "no-man's-land zones" because of the militarisation of space, or in problems concerning mobility issues. As we will see, the city of Nicosia has a long history, since the first human settlement in the area dates back to the Bronze Age 2500 years BC, and the city became the capital of Cyprus about 1000 years ago (Hadjidemetriou 2002). Its development went on according to the administrative needs of the different and numerous rulers of the island and the city grew welcoming ethnically heterogeneous inhabitants. The construction of defensive walls around the city by the Venetians, who ruled the island between 1489 and 1571, defined the city shape and conditioned its development until the early 1900s. In the first decades of the twentieth century, during the British rule, the population of the city increased considerably causing the expansion of the urbanised area outside the walls; a few years after the inter-communal strife started with consequences on the distribution of the population and on the city's development.

In order to understand if and how the development of Nicosia has been influenced by the partition process beginning in the 1950s, I studied documents concerning the urban development of Nicosia, as well as data on the urban population trends, and I tried to read the recent changes of the city structure through observations, interviews with planners, administrators and residents.

- Administration and institutions: the city doubles

As already mentioned, my hypothesis was that the partition of an urban system necessarily involves the adaptation of the city's institutions and a change in its administration, with consequences on its smooth functioning. The claim for self government by ethnic minorities is generally due to the acknowledgment – more or less real, depending on different situations – of various forms of discrimination. In situations of conflict, besides this reason, there is also the attempt to protect the community from violent attacks and the creation of autonomous administrations can both provide security and guarantee rights recognition. Nicosia provides a very interesting case study in this sense, since the first constitution drawn up at the

beginning of Cyprus's independence in 1960 established the existence of a double administration, one for each of the two main ethnic communities, in the five most important cities of the island[9] (Markides 2001). The *municipal issue*, as it is called by historians, has been one of the most problematic matters that eventually brought the request for amendment of parts of the constitution itself. Nicosia was the only city in which this constitutional rule was implemented, even without enforcements by law: the Turkish Cypriots established their own administration in 1958 during the period of formation of the ethnic enclaves.

Another interesting feature of the Nicosia case is the physical location of the institutions in relation to the historical development of the city. As I will outline, the choice of Turkish Cypriots to move to the northern part of the city was connected to the presence, in that side, of buildings and headquarters form the period of the Ottoman domination. A non-institutionalised division of sectors in the city, in fact, existed from that time, when the Ottomans established their administrative posts in the northern side of the city centre while the Greek Orthodox Church headquarters were placed in the south. The location of different institutions provides interesting insights to better understand the relation between space and city management.

The methodological strategies I adopted in order to give an account of these aspects are again based on historical research, interviews with key informers – in this case politicians, administrators, historians and academics – and observation of the mechanism of city/cities management.

- Infrastructures: the city must go on

The most predictable consequence of a partition is the duplication of services and resources, hence of managers and institutions providing those services, but there is also the possibility that some functions of the urban system become inappropriate while others continue to function despite the division. This last possibility was exemplified in the case of Berlin by the existence of some unified services or

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[9] These cities were Nicosia, Famagosta, Kyrenia, Limassol, Larnaca.

structures during the partition period : the waste collection and the underground system are an example (Elkins & Hofmeister 1988).

After the partition of Nicosia there have been attempts to establish bi-communal collaborations on infrastructural projects. These gave rise to the creation of the Nicosia Master Plan, a project set up to guarantee a compatible development of the city in view of a possible reconciliation. The analysis of this project, of the work of its promoters and present coordinators and of its results on the city shape and development will provide elements reflecting upon the need for Nicosia to maintain a kind of unity in order to survive and to develop adequately. Other aspects of the urban infrastructure system will be presented concerning electricity and water supply in both sides and the changes and solutions that had to be implemented in order to achieve a correct level of effective functioning of the city/cities.

- Communication: it is easier to call Italy than my neighbour

A short part will be dedicated to the thorny and hard to understand issue of connections between the two sides of the city. My curiosity towards this aspect emerged during the field research, because of continuous difficulties in communicating from one side to the other. I found few clues to explain this issue, but they seem to me interesting enough to be mentioned. Again, the physical and infrastructural organisation of the city entails social consequences and effects: the possibility to establish and cultivate relations is closely linked to existing communication resources. Therefore the presence of barriers regarding telephone communications and the postal service are still key elements in granting or denying the opportunity to meet with the other community.

In order to understand this aspect I started making some experiments, such as sending postcards or trying different ways to make a phone call from one side to the other, and I questioned different people as I sought explanations for the failure of most of my attempts.

- Urban economy and trade: between convenience and distrust

The idea of the city as a system that works in an interconnected way is particularly strong in the economic theory concerning urban areas. The city has developed as an autonomous economic unit and its functioning from this point of view has been studied and analysed with the construction of different theoretical models to explain its economic system (Camagni 1998). Therefore my hypothesis is that in a situation of partition these aspects undergo a complete transformation and the system is compromised. Again, the case of Nicosia can provide a useful example: besides the predictable consequences of the division on the economic organisation of the city and of the whole country, there is also the presence of an internationally unrecognised territory, which has suffered an embargo from all countries except Turkey. A city that has grown as a whole in a harmonic way creates a system of interdependence between its different parts: the present economic situation of Nicosia shows the effects of the interruption of connections due to partition. We can expect effects operating at different levels in relation to some example of city economic system models (cf. Camagni 1998; Christaller 1966) as well as social consequences recognisable in terms of mistrust between potential economic partners. Trade in particular will be analysed as a key element of the urban economy, considering that the two sides are two distinct entities as economic actors. The analysis of economic indicators and trade will give a description of the actual situation. This will prove useful to understand the changes and the perverse effects of the partition on the economic urban system, before and after the *Green Line Regulation*[10]. Researches on the social and psychological barriers towards an economic and trade opening will be also presented, besides elements to understand the difficulties related to the unrecognised status of the North.

- People interaction: the crossing experience

Nicosians could not cross the border until 2003, when the two communities opened the first checkpoints in the city. The absolute closure of the division for thirty years

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[10] The Green Line Regulation is an instrument created by the European Union to set the regulation of inflows of goods and persons from northern Cyprus. It was adopted on 29 April 2004, just after Cyprus joined the EU. Its motivations and structure will be analysed in paragraph 5.2.

created a condition of absolute incommunicability between the two communities, which strengthened sentiments of mistrust, misunderstanding and hate. The Green Line was in fact defined as an «unremitting obstacle to progress towards normalisation between the two communities» (Harbottle 1970: 67, quoted in Calame & Charlesworth 2009: 8) even before its complete closure. Before the 1974 war there were no legal restrictions to crossing, but people did not dare to go to the *other* side because it was considered to be dangerous (and actually it was, for a long time). Nonetheless, the final institutionalisation of the partition after the Turkish invasion definitely cut out any possibility of communication and encounter between Greeks and Turkish Cypriots.

Between April 2003 and April 2008, three crossing points were opened in Nicosia, allowing both Cypriots and tourists to cross from one side to the other.

This radical change in the possibility of relations between the two communities has had a range of effects – though not necessarily positive – on their ideas and prejudices about each other. There are few researches dealing with the crossing experience, conducted through small surveys or interviews among residents, but it is really difficult to find reliable data and precise numbers. However, I tried to get as much information as I could and I add personal interviews with both people who do not cross and people who do, trying to understand the changes sparked off by the opening on their ideas, emotions and imaginary of the other side and the other community.

2. How does the border landscape interweave with the construction of identities?

In order to obtain useful additional information to understand the relation between space configuration and social aspects of the everyday life in Nicosia, I conducted a visual analysis of the partitioned landscape. This part of the research has followed an analysis of the rise of conflicting nationalisms in the two sides and of the diverging ways in which events are explained through historical narratives.

A border, on the urban level, divides objects and symbols that used to belong to both communities and which now define different and competing groups and identities. Therefore, the presence of a boundary that divides a city into two parts discloses and clarifies the artificial nature of identities based on place affiliation and the multidimensional nature of borders, which are not only material territorial lines, but also social, spatial and political constructions (Newman, 2001). Territory becomes part of the national identity and space acquires significance in narratives and discourses concerning the nation's history. The double function of the border, which generates identification on the inside and differentiation towards what is outside, has a strong reflection on spatial configuration. Divided space becomes the materialisation of social cleavages and contributes to maintain patterns of mutual denial.

I analysed the border landscape taking photos of diverse aspects of the physical results of the partition, as well as different representations of space that contribute to maintain or enforce certain ideologies. The choice to use images is due to the fact that the material is visible, and its power also relies on its visibility and on the day by day experience people have of it. This is in my opinion the most effective way to investigate that level of relation people have with space defined by Thrift as *non representational*. The raw physical environment, in fact, can be read with images in a way that clarifies its double role: on one side as the outcome of planning and political turmoil, on the other as the interacting background of social activities.

On arrival in Nicosia, I was immediately astonished by the physical conditions of the city, especially the old part, and little by little I realised the connections between the spatial elements related to the division and the discourses and narratives concerning the conflict. Every material aspect of the *borderscape* – that is the peculiar landscape created by the presence of a boundary (Rumley & Minghi 1991) – can be used as a tool to understand both the process of identity creation/strengthening and the construction of memories related to national history and to the conflict.

In chapter 8 I give an account of my visual findings and of the bi-directional or circular relation between space configuration and social ideas and ideologies related to the conflict and to the division.

Field work and research techniques

1. Participant observation

> You have been told to go grubbing in the library, thereby accumulating a mass of notes and a liberal coating of grime. You have been told to choose problems wherever you can find musty stacks of routine records based on trivial schedules prepared by tired bureaucrats and filled out by reluctant applicants for aid or fussy do-gooders or indifferent clerks. This is called "getting your hands dirty in real research". Those who counsel you are wise and honourable; the reasons they offer are of great value. But one more thing is needful: first-hand observation. Go and sit in the lounges of the luxury hotels and on the doorsteps of the flophouses; sit on the Gold Coast settees and on the slum shakedowns; sit in the Orchestra Hall and in the Star and Garter Burlesk. In short, gentlemen, go get the seat of your pants dirty in real research[11].

The choice to adopt participant observation as the main research strategy comes from considerations about the nature of my research questions. The issue of the relation between spatial and social aspects of Nicosia's everyday life requires an in-depth understanding of the existing dynamics, practices and feelings. The importance of personal experiences and narratives is justified by the need to get access to the individual and social mechanisms of production of significance and identity construction.

Aspects concerning the social and material consequences of the partition are understandable through the observation of the everyday practices and the physical shape of the city, but it is not possible to reach the level of personal and social production of their significance without collecting people's opinions, narratives on and representations of their experience.

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[11] Sentence reported by one of Park's students and quoted in Bulmer 1984: 97.

Participant observation is a data collection technique originally developed by classical British anthropologists and transposed to the urban context by the Chicago School of Sociology.

> It involves data gathering by means of participation in the everyday life of informants in their natural setting: watching, observing and talking to them in order to discover their interpretations, social meanings and activities (Brewer 2000: 59).

As the extensive literature on ethnography and participant observation techniques underlines (Brewer 2000; Coffey 1999; Flick 1998; Hammersley & Atkinson 2007; O'Reilly 2005 among others), this method allows the researcher to observe people while joining them in their activities. Therefore it requires a good ability in keeping an analytical distance and maintaining the balance between *insider* and *outsider* status. The process of "going into the field" involves the researcher's immersion in the reality he/she is studying, with consequences on his/her perception of it.

My field research lasted about nine months, and was carried out in two distinct moments: from September 2008 to January 2009 and from April to July 2009. I started the field research a few months after the opening of the third crossing point of the city (the first one inside the Venetian walls), connecting Ledra Street in the South and Lokmaci Street in the North, which are the two main roads for commercial and leisure purposes in the old city. On the one hand, I did not witness the moment of the opening, a very important event for the city and for the people; on the other hand, however, I had the possibility to witness the use of this new communication and mobility channel and its integration in the everyday life of Nicosians.

The first problem I had to face concerned the access to the field, since I had arrived in Cyprus for the first time in my life and the only contacts I had were two professors from the University of Cyprus to whom I had written a few emails before my arrival. The small dimension of Nicosia however, especially if we consider the walled city, helped me in find my bearings quite easily, especially because I had the luck to find an apartment in the city centre. Another important obstacle to access was represented by the languages spoken in the city: I do not

speak either Greek or Turkish and this constituted an initial difficulty in relating with people, even if most of Cypriots speak very good English[12]. Moreover, I had to learn the Greek alphabet in order to be able to recognise signs and indications useful to navigate in the southern part, even though English translations are often provided for the benefit of tourists.

On the other hand my impression is that the negotiation of my relation with local people was eased by being European and Italian. These identity features have a positive representation among most Cypriots, in my opinion for two different reasons: the recent entrance of Cyprus into the EU has given rise to the growth of a European identity, perhaps real or perhaps desired, in both sides[13] and the very low presence of Italian tourists on the island resulted in a genuine curiosity towards my person.

Cypriots are used to be subjects of researches, since thirty-seven years of island partition have attracted a lot of scholars from different disciplinary fields. However, they were generally interested in my work and in the aim of my presence there and of my research[14], to the extent that they used to ask for my opinion about the Cyprus problem and the possibility of reconciliation.

My *outsider* status in Nicosia involved some advantages, such as the freedom to ask both naïve and searching questions, the possibility to keep politically neutral and, most important, to be more likely to recognise the strange in the familiar. This last point is crucial, since when we observe a reality we are not part of, it is easier not to take for granted meanings and representations given by the *insiders*, and question every aspect of the situation. The disadvantages are that access requires time, as I have already explained, and once this is available the understanding of the inner dynamics can be difficult. Moreover, the researcher often experiences (and I did), a

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[12] I was aware of Cypriots' generally high level of English, due to the long British rule over the island, the presence of many private English and American schools and to the absence, until recent years, of good local higher education institutions, which is why most young people attended university abroad.

[13] Even though the TRNC is not *de facto* in the EU, as I will explain afterwards.

[14] I never used the strategy of the cover identity, first of all because I spent a long time in the city and it would have not been possible to play the role forever, but also because I thought that my research questions did not require this kind of solution. My role of researcher, moreover, allowed me to obtain access to information and categories of people (i.e. UN officials, police officers and politicians) that otherwise I would have hardly been able to contact.

sense of alienation and marginalisation, especially at the beginning of the field experience.

2. In-depth interviews

My research work included participant observation and interviews from both sides of the city, focusing on the area inside the old Venetian walls. I conducted thirty-three recorded interviews with Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots living in Nicosia and city experts (professors from universities, politicians, researchers, municipal administrators and town planners). Moreover, I conducted several unrecorded conversations with key informants (soldiers, policemen, UN representatives), residents, shopkeepers in the city centre and tourists.

As far as recorded interviews are concerned, I elaborated different interview guides that helped me to structure the conversation and orientate it towards my research questions. The subjects of my interviews where both experts and inhabitants of the city, and in line with this distinction I developed specific guides: when I met with experts I would prepare the interview with a series of focused questions in order to obtain the information I needed depending on their role and competences; with regard to locals, instead, I always used the same guide with the aim of obtaining data that could be analysed, interpreted and commented as a whole[15].

The development of the discussion guide for the inhabitants resulted from the combination of my starting theoretical assumptions, research hypothesis and questions with the reality of the situation I found in the field and with the concrete possibility I had to obtain information about the different topics I was interested in.

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[15] The text of the discussion guide is reported in the methodological appendix at the end of this dissertation.
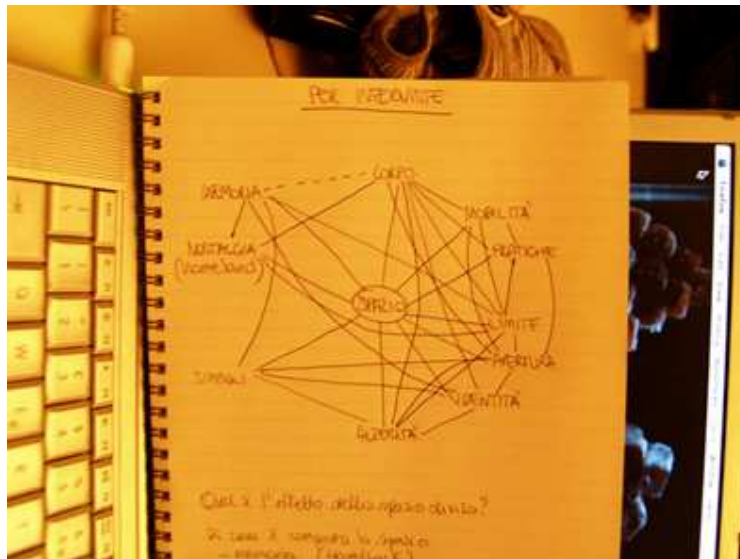
Figure 1

The image above shows the final schema I elaborated connecting the various elements I wanted to investigate: at the centre of it there is "space", which I considered to be the leading thread of all the other aspects. Then we find body, mobility, practices, limit, openness, identity, otherness, symbols, nostalgia, and memory. The links interrelating these elements resulted in three main groups of relations, which took the shape of as many topics for the interview. These three topics were unfolded through a series of questions aimed at stimulating the expression of opinions, practices, memories, representations and narratives.

The first topic was the divided city, in terms of material and personal (social) aspects: the objective of this section of the interview was to understand people's ideas about the city, the different practices of space use and mobility, the consequences of separation on their everyday life and the personal experiences related to it.

Then I focused on the relation between space and the construction of identity, with the aim of collecting information about the symbolic places of the city and their

subjective significance, personal opinions on and representations of the border, issues concerning memories, loss and nostalgia[16] and narratives about the division. Eventually, I approached more political topics such as the ideas people have about the *other*, opinions concerning the possibility of reconciliation and the existence, or not, of an imaginary related to a solution and to a unified city.

The three sections of the interview referred to the situation before and after the opening in 2003, in order to understand the changes provoked by the possibility of encounter between the two communities and of experiencing a previously neglected space.

I established some basic rules of sampling, considering that I would have found very different opinions and narrations from different kinds of people[17]. Of course I had to balance my needs with the concrete possibilities of access I had, mostly due to language limitations[18] and people's availability. In general terms, I wanted to talk with different generations of people, in order to gain an insight on experiences from both persons who were born before the partition and others who grew up in the divided city and went to the other side for the first time after 2003. Secondly, I was interested in interviewing refugees as well as people who were not displaced at the time of the partition. Finally, and obviously, I wanted to have a good balance of Greek and Turkish Cypriots, men and women and, possibly, people with contrasting political ideas[19].

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[16] Sentiments of nostalgia are quite common among Cypriots, connected to the idealisations of the past, of the lost land (especially for Greek Cypriots referring to their properties in the North), and sometimes even of their origins.

[17] A schematic presentation of the final composition of the interviewees is reported in the methodological annex.

[18] On some occasions I was helped by local people who acted as interpreters, but for different reasons I could not always rely on this invaluable support.

[19] It was really hard, at least at the beginning, to count on the possibility to choose according to this last feature. However, the so called "snowball" sampling strategy allowed me to obtain some result in this sense: once I contacted and interviewed someone and I had an idea about his/her political position, I could ask to be put in contact with acquaintances who had similar or opposing ideas.

3. Visual techniques

Besides observation, conducting interviews, conversations and research of various materials, I adopted visual methods in order to obtain direct information about space configuration, shape and use.

Visual techniques are part of ethnographic research methods, and both sociological and geographical studies more and more often add visual tools to enforce or complete traditional analysis. Images can have different uses and purposes, and they can be either produced in the field work – the so called sociology *with* images – or collected form the researched reality – sociology *on* images (Harper 1988). Photography offers a "thick description" of reality (Geertz 1973) and images provide unpredictable information or information that cannot be obtained, or can hardly be obtained, in different ways (Mattioli 1991). Visual sociology is based on the idea that videos, photos and any other iconic and audiovisual representation of reality can be used in social research because of their polisemy and their heuristic power. Therefore visual data can be used not only as objects of research, but also as means of research (Henny 1986).

> [Social life is] visual in diverse and counterintuitive ways […]. Objects and buildings carry meanings through visual means just like images […], visual enquiry is no longer just the study of the image, but rather the study of the seen and the observable (Emmison & Smith 2000: IX).

These considerations lead to the idea that «visual data should be thought not in terms of what the camera can record but of *what the eye can see*» (Ibid: 4)

The research questions I formulated, together with the theoretical assumptions about the role space plays in relation to dynamics of power, existence of memory and construction of identity, required an analysis of the material that could be easily and successfully obtained through the visual approach. Therefore I supported my observation taking a huge number of photographs and collecting iconographic material that could help me in analysing and giving an account of the representations of the divided space and of the visual aspects of the partitioned landscape.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter provides the theoretical framework as a basis for this dissertation. As I explained in the introduction, my interest towards the connection between the material and the social in polarised urban contexts arose from considerations upon the shortage of sociological theories on space and on its relations with social life. From this point of departure, the theoretical review I conducted moved onto recent attempts to outline analytical approaches able to consider space as an essential element in the understanding of sociological issues. These approaches consider space both as the result of social practices, therefore as something socially shaped, and as a factor which exerts influence on social practices. It is particularly interesting to observe the urban space through this lens, in order to understand how space is affected by and in turn affects practices, relations, interactions and less visible aspects such as the definition of individual and collective identity. Moreover, the urban landscape contains symbols related to the political and institutional spheres on a local, regional and national level. As I already underlined, forms of spatial segregation and division have always characterised cities, likewise phenomena of conflict. However, the example of divided cities provides elements which help us reflect upon the circular relation between the social and the material, since their specific configuration allow us to disclose and clarify the processes through which physical space is transformed by social life and, at the same time, contributes in shaping forms of relation and interaction. Literature on divided cities, constituted by case studies or comparative researches, helps to define the object of this dissertation, providing analytical concepts and models. The presence of a border in a city has consequences both on a material and on a symbolic level, and political geographical theorisations are useful to understand the meanings borders can assume and their impact with processes of identity construction in its relation with territoriality.

2.1.   Space in the urban sociological theories

Sociological theory has been more interested in time than space and a reason can be found in the positivist idea that has permeated modernity, according to which there exists a time continuum in which progress takes place regardless of the spatial dimension. Space is the background of social action and it does not acquire a relevant role in the theory-building: it is taken into consideration only in the empirical research as the canvas on which action takes place. On a "pure" theoretical level the sociological analysis is a-spatial: attention is given to the relations existing among phenomena, which are considered to be valid regardless of the place where they happen (Agustoni 2000; Bagnasco 1992; Mela 2001).

Sociolgists from the Chicago School have been pioneers of sociological analysis of space dynamics. Park and Burgess (1967), in particular, develop a theory of the city based on the idea of the urban arena as an environment in which people compete for the control of resources. The resources for which the inhabitants of the city compete are not only material, but also immaterial, since once people take possession of a resource they also aim to modify its value and desirability, thus changing the city's symbolical structure (Pizzorno, 1967).

There have been attempts to add the spatial dimension in the sociological analysis by contemporary sociologists like Giddens and Castells and geographers like Harvey. These authors see the nature of social phenomena as the combination of actions and experiences performed by actors; these actions do not happen in a void, but in a context defined by time-space references. The actions of human beings cannot appropriately be understood without considering their physical surroundings, since «everyday life *takes place*» (Dovey, 1999: 1). People interact and move in a context which has precise spatial characteristics, as well as temporal ones, and the definition of the social action cannot underestimate this aspect.

The main problem in taking into consideration the spatial dimension relies on the direction given to the relation between space and society: social sciences have privileged from time to time the aspects concerning the social production of space

or the influence space configuration has on social systems. The recognition of a bond between social practices and territorial configuration has been generally studied as a causal relation from space to action, without considering the effects of social practices on the space shape, or vice versa.

The first approach is related to environmental determinism and it inspired the development of utopian urbanism, whose representatives – Fourier, as en example, with his phalanstère project – believe it possible to bring out specific patterns of cohabitation and social interaction through a suitable and clever space organisation. Likewise political geography's theorisations at the turn of the twentieth century, with authors like Friedrich Ratzel or Ellen Churchill Semple, aim at understanding how the physical environment influences culture, determining different social structures (Hagget, 2004). Besides, the ecological approach of the Chicago School representatives analyses the environmental space as a biotic order from which the social order derives (Bagnasco, 1992).

If we are interested in the effects social practices have on space configuration, we privilege an idea of space as a social construction. Durkheim (1965; 1984) defines space, the material substrate of society, as the element resulting from the physical and social shape of the territory. He considers space as the reflection of social organisation, and develops a "social morphology" applied to space in order to study the territorial distribution of phenomena. In his works, especially *The division of Labour in Society*, Durkheim uses morphological variables to explain certain social processes. In this way, for example, he puts in relation the growth of material density – given by the spatial reduction of distance between individuals in a society – with the increase of moral density, which represents the number of individuals among whom there exists a 'moral' relation, at the base of the social division of labour. Durkheim is one of the first sociologists who recognises the social nature of space and underlines its relativity. Moreover, people's shared idea of space is part of the categories which give grounds to social life, to such an extent that, according to Durkheim, spatial differentiations in diverse social contexts derive from a different attribution of social relevance to the spatial dimension. The category of space, then,

falls within the collective representations which provide the maintenance of social cohesion.

This kind of approach has been strengthened by Marxist sociology and geography, especially by the work of Henry Lefebvre and David Harvey. These authors have underlined that there exists no universal spatial language independent from social practices (Mandich, 1996), but the latter produce the definition of space. Lefebvre (1974) uses the concept of "production of space" to explain correspondence between space and society in the light of capitalism's impact on spatial configuration. In his definition, space is something different from mental space or physical space, and it does not coincide with an *a priori* category. It is defined as a product that contains the social relations of reproduction and the relations of production. Harvey distinguishes diverse aspects of space according to the way in which individuals relate to it through social practices. There is an *appropriation* of space when it is occupied with objects or actions, a *domination* of space when relations of power are exercised through it, a *production* of space when it is used and organised. Harvey underlines how the process of conquest and control of space presupposes an idea of space domination: the development of scientific cartography has contributed to this idea. The social production of space, according to this author, is understandable through the logic of capitalistic accumulation. He identifies a dialectic relation between the social structure and the comprehension of the space-time dimension: individuals, in their cultural system, elaborate representations of their surroundings and of reality which determines transformations of space-time meaning.

Few scholars have tried to combine those two approaches concerning the analysis of space. One of the most interesting theorisations belong to Georg Simmel, who develops a reasoning upon the role space plays in social life. The following paragraph analyses his thought on this issue, concentrating on concepts which can help the understanding of this dissertation's theoretical basis.

2.1.1. The spatial analysis of Georg Simmel

Georg Simmel has included space in his system of sociological categories in a way which still has a strong interpretative value. The author explains the rise of some key features of modern life in relation to the experience of space transformation. In his reflection we find a trace of more recent analysis on the separation of space-time and on the *disembedding* process developed by Giddens and Castells.

According to Simmel, space is simultaneously condition and symbol of social forms (Simmel et al. 1997): on one hand it constitutes the structure of social reality which somehow determines action; on the other it is the result, and therefore the emblem, of action. This double interpretation of the spatial dimension makes Simmel's theory particularly interesting and distinguishes it from most analyses which, as I mentioned already, tend to privilege either structure or action.

While looking for the nature and origin of the *forms of association* (Ibid), Simmel reflects upon the relation between the underlying spatial conditions and the influence they exercise on those forms. Space confers shape to actions and human relations, without determining their content; it is not a form in itself, but it contributes to structuring relations of interaction (Mandich 1996): any interaction takes on its specificity through its relations with space. In Simmel's words:

> Not space, but the articulation and re-unification of its parts, which finds its starting point in the soul, holds a special meaning. This synthesis of space is a psychological function which, though appearing as something "naturally" given, is modified individually; however, the categories from which it proceeds are associated more or less evidently to the immediacy of space (Simmel 1989: 524, my translation).

The identification of the elementary characteristics of space makes it possible to reinterpret forms and social interactions. Spaces, in fact, are made up of signs, a sort of *place grammar* (Agustoni 2000: 27) within which Simmel includes *exclusivity,* the *limit, fixing* and *distance* (Simmel et al. 1997). These are space characteristics with a strong social meaning. Spatial forms are the materialisation of social relations in spatial terms; therefore different modes of relation give different meanings to space. Simmel does not consider space as a datum of the objective world that we can

experience, but as a way to make experience. The qualities of space presented above are therefore ways to experience space which condition the configuration of social forms, without a deterministic relation.

Simmel's spatial analysis turns out to be particularly useful to understand processes of identity construction and feelings of territorial belonging, especially through the discussion of the category of *limit* (or *boundary*) and *exclusivity*. Space may be subdivided into units outlined by boundaries which favour its practical use. These can be boundaries defined by land configuration - what positivist geographers called "natural borders" - or ideal lines. This quality of space highlights the cohesive potential of certain social structures and relations, and is able to create clearly defined representations of space. Simmel underlines how, on a subjective level, space does not contain an absolute limit, since its extension is given by the intensity of the social relations developed in it (Ibid). For social groups boundaries are what frames are for paintings, they define what is inside from the surrounding world, exercising a double function which creates inner stable identities and differentiation towards the outside. This way inner coherence is guaranteed as well as a detachment from the external world. Spatial delimitation is first of all a psychological process and it is always arbitrary with respect to the configuration of natural space; nevertheless, it becomes a real image with no need to be justified. This consideration highlights the constitutive power of social relations, insomuch as nonmaterial boundaries, such as political ones, provide more awareness of the limits of a given social entity than natural ones.

Space is nothing but a representation, created through the elaboration of sensory information: consequently, the boundary is a sociological function that we project onto space. It then becomes able to influence the relations among its internal and external elements: with Simmel's words «the boundary is not a spatial fact with sociological consequences, but a sociological fact that forms itself spatially» (Simmel et al. 1997: 143).

Simmel's sociological boundary also marks the limit between individuals' spheres of personality, fixing them in a more perceivable way. This division influences the role of individuals and the relations among group members, defining their spheres of action. In this way the attention moves to the individual action and to the relation subjects establish with space.

Some contributions of the sociological analysis on a micro level have highlighted the relation existing between action and space, overcoming the dichotomy proposed by classical conceptions between the subject as a rational agent and the environmental context. These contributions consider the social actor first of all as a body which moves in space and is conscious about him/herself and the surrounding.

Erving Goffman reinterprets Simmel's elaboration in relation to individuals' behaviour in space. The concept of *frame of action*, borrowed from Bateson's terminology, is connected to Simmel's definition of a boundary, intended as the spatial frame of action. People constantly act and relate in spatial contexts, operating an interpretation of the situation which allows them to give meaning to their actions and guarantee other people the possibility to understand them. This task is facilitated by a series of signs available within the context, which combine to define the *frame*, setting the boundaries of a specific situation and isolating it from the others: «within this frame, what actors "do" acquires a specific meaning» (Dal Lago 1994: 62, my translation). Therefore this process has consequences on identity definition, which is outlined in relation to the contexts in which subjects act from time to time.

Another quality of space analysed by Simmel, useful for the purposes of this dissertation, is *exclusivity*. This spatial characteristic makes it possible that «every portion of space possesses a kind of uniqueness, for which there is almost no analogy» (Simmel et al. 1997: 138); therefore it is not possible to conceive in the plural a localised portion of space. This characteristic also refers to the objects

contained in a certain space, since the relations established in it can acquire their *sociological form*[20] precisely by virtue of their exclusivity on that space.

While defining the spatial forms, Simmel identifies the state as the classical example of the condition of exclusivity, hence the ideal type of spatial formation: the state creates a kind of relation among individuals which is inescapably connected to territory, it exists simply by virtue of its actual relation with space.

The city, according to Simmel, is in a halfway point between this extreme – and unique – example of exclusivity and the *supra-spatial structures* that can be realised in different forms in the same space or in the same form in different spaces, such as the Church. In Simmel's analysis, the sphere of significance and influence of the city on the forms of social relations does not end with its geographical borders, but extends over the entire country[21]. Divided cities, as we will see, are the product of much wider conflicts and their management and control can impact on the conflict trend: the urban context turns out to be an essential dimension to focus on in order to understand broader levels of conflict.

The combination of those two qualities, boundary and exclusivity, determines a specific form of relation of individuals with space: the bond between territory and the dynamics contained in it is reinforced, since space becomes a decisive element in shaping the relations which develop in it. In this context spatial configuration results in being the territorial projection of social dynamics, and this is especially true in the case of hostile relations. Transformations of space are the result of social changes and, at the same time, they redefine the forms with which individuals identify in their relation with space. This is a crucial dimension to be considered especially when dynamics of social differentiation are projected on space.

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[20] «According to their entire sociological form, certain types of association can only be realized in such a way that there is no room for a second one within the spatial area that one of its formation occupies»; in the case analysed in this dissertation, besides exclusivity, we also find the characteristic of homogeneity referred to the communities occupying the units of space divided by the boundary. (Simmel et al. 1997: 139).

[21] This consideration is relevant if applied to contemporary cities that exercise a supranational economic, political and cultural influence, as outlined by Saskia Sassen and others studying the global city (cf. (Sassen 2000). The city still represents an example of institution in which the spatial and the supranational dimensions interweave and contribute to determine its uniqueness.

2.1.2. Socio-materiality

> Looking at the mechanism alone
> is like watching half the court during a tennis game.
> B. Latour

Urban contexts in condition of turmoil and violent confrontation are a privileged point of view on broader ethno-national conflicts, as I already pointed out. The analysis of these contexts cannot underestimate the bidirectional or circular relation between the material and the social: the built-up environment in a contested city «reflects and shapes the struggle over identity, memory and belonging» (Yacobi 2004: 166). However, much of the academic study on this issue tends to address the social nature of polarisation or see it as the materialisation of urban conflict (Brand 2009a). Social and material aspects are both essential «for the reality of living in and understanding contested territories» (Ibid: 1).

It is therefore paramount to understand the social processes that influence the location, shape and qualities of urban artifacts and, at the same time, to observe the way in which these artifacts contribute in shaping sociality, in the sense of providing or neglecting ways of experiencing space and interactions. This bidirectional relation must not be seen as given and deterministic; it is instead complex and often unpredictable.

There are examples of urban literature on war and conflicts that focus on the ways in which war shapes cities' physical configuration and on how the urban environment often affects the conflict trend. Studies conducted by urban geographers and architects or planners underline the interconnections between urban development and the socio-political situation. Planning, in these kinds of analyses, is not just an impartial instrument, but becomes a socio-political practice: it is not «an innocent, value-neutral activity [but it is] deeply political» (Healey 2006: 84).

The study conducted by Eyal Weizman on the wall separating Israel and Palestine shows the way in which architecture can become a military tool, and planning knowledge a device for control (Weizman 2007). Planning and infrastructure laws can act as instruments for the production and reproduction of inequalities.

Likewise, Wendy Pullan's researches on the divided city of Jerusalem underline the interconnections between urban infrastructures and politics. Urban planning and development in Jerusalem have become instruments of social control, spatial segregation and military strategy, to the extent that «even the highways are political» (Pullan et al. 2007: 193). Bypass roads and other mechanisms of control combine to create *spatial asymmetries* (Petti 2008) and enforce the interweaving of material and social war instruments.

Oren Yiftachel's analysis of the Israeli state as an *ethnocracy* (Yiftachel 2006) shows how architecture and planning have become part of the political agenda and military tactic. The result is the creation of white, black and grey zones which correspond to different possibilities to participate in the democracy and which determine a process of *creeping apartheid* (Yiftachel 2010). The geographer recognises the city as the privileged space from where to study and understand wider issues of nationalism and ethnic conflict, because of its centrality in shaping national identity and also because of the effect ethnonationalism has on the urban political space.

> No discussion on the emergence of nationalism and the management of ethnic relations in modern nation states can ignore the pivotal role of cities for both generating and challenging the ethnonational order. Likewise, no serious historical account of urbanization, or discussion of contemporary globalizing cities, can overlook the central role of ethnonationalism in shaping urban living and political space, and the constant surfacing of noneconomic, ethnocratic logic in the political agenda of cities and urbanizing regions. (Yiftachel & Yacobi 2003: 4).

As I present in the following paragraph, specific studies on divided cities by political scientists and geographers also highlight both the important role of cities in ethnonational conflict and the relations between social and material aspects of those conflicts on the urban level.

These kinds of theorisations consider the material fabric of urban environments not just as a scenario in which struggles take place, but an essential aspect of those struggles, and they detach from most of the socio-political literature on warfare radicalisation, which tends to treat conflict only as a mental or political issue without considering its unfolding on space (Fregonese & Brand 2009). This latter aspect, instead, is particularly relevant, especially if territory is the object under dispute.

On the other side, the risk inherent in focusing on the material aspects is the potential fall towards positions of environmental determinism or behaviourism. The idea that planners and architects can solve social problems through design has been the assumption of diverse studies in the 1960s and 1970s (Angel 1968; Heimsath 1977; Jeffery 1971; O. Newman 1972). This approach has had some success especially in the literature on urban crime, based on the idea that the physical surrounding has a direct and causal relation with people's behaviours. According to Fregonese and Brand (2009), there has been a renaissance of the deterministic position, related to the war on terrorism and the attempt to make cities more and more secure and controlled. As these authors underline «artifacts do have some kind of agency, but this is just one of the thousands in a messy vector-field of teeming agencies» (Ibid: 20). Therefore, it is necessary to look at the relationship between the material and the social in a softer way and even try to overcome the classic dichotomy between the human and non-human elements which compose society.

The approach proposed by the Science and Technology Studies (STS) can help the reflection upon the interconnections between subject and object and upon the role technology (and therefore planning and material surroundings) has in our lives. According to STS exponents, although this branch of study is quite heterogeneous, both humans and non-humans have some kind of agency and influence one another. There should be no rigid distinction between subject and object, matter and mind or, in our context, the built environment and society: we have to look for the mutual impact they have and for the ways in which they can act together in the form of *actants, quasi-objects* or *assemblages.* These concepts – coined by the Actor-Network Theory (ANT) scholars, one of the schools developed within the STS –

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help to overcome the Cartesian classic view of a clear boundary between the material and the social.

The potential of this approach consists in its ability to consider the complex process through which the production of artifacts is closely tied to social dynamics and vice-versa. Scholars from STS never engaged with researches on the material environment of cities, although some efforts in this sense have been made by few academics, among whom Aibar and Bijker (1997), Brand (2009b), and Bollens (2009). Of course the urban spatial configuration is not always the outcome of designed planning, therefore sometimes the technological frame does not display the complexity of the urban configuration, that is also the result of the way in which people constantly use and transform it. However, STS can give interesting contributions to the studies on contested cities, since social polarisation and violent conflict are not a-spatial phenomena and changes in the built environment can worsen as well as ameliorate situations of antagonism or tension. As Bollens (2009) outlines the design of public space in war-torn or contested cities expresses political goals which can either go in the direction of openness and inclusiveness, trying to neutralise the power of ethnicity, or reinforce social cleavages.

> The challenge and promise of urbanism operating amidst political uncertainty is that it can create and support urban conditions that are necessary for the moderation of inter-group conflict over time. Interventions that manipulate the materiality of a city can advance new political agendas and help overcome past legacies yet may also fall prey to the multiple and contested meanings of physical objects (Ibid: 102).

This last observation is particularly interesting for the purposes of this research, since one of its objectives is to understand the meanings given to space, through which memories and identities are shaped, reinforced or questioned. Moreover, Nicosia is living a peculiar historical moment, with the opening and the possibility of a reunification: it would be of paramount importance to consider space as one of the elements that can facilitate, but also impede, inter-group relations and reconciliation. This does not mean underestimating social, political, economic and institutional factors, but being able to combine different focal points to observe a reality made up of a combination of social and material elements.

2.2. Divided cities

> 'Partitioned cities' has recently become
> a fashionable topic in urban literature.
> P. Marcuse

An emblematic example of naturalisation of a spatial boundary is provided by divided cities, where a strong identitarian meaning is attributed to territory. Divided cities are defined as territories where one or more borders, symbolic or material, divide ethnic, religious or national groups in conflict. Sometimes the separation is marked by a wall or by other tangible forms of division, sometimes the lines of separation are less clear or only symbolic.

Examples of divided cities are Jerusalem, where first a *green line* and then a wall separate Israel and Palestine; Nicosia, split into two parts by a *buffer zone* which marks the passage from the Republic of Cyprus to the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus; Belfast, crossed by the so called *peacelines* which divide Catholics from Protestants. In those peculiar spaces the division tends to generate a coincidence between the process of identity construction (both individual and collective) and the recognition of a territorial belonging. The matter under dispute is a spatial element, correctly defined territory[22], which becomes the emblem of the identitarian conflict through a process of definition and redefinition of the meanings attributed to it.

The issue of identity construction is complex and difficult to fully understand, especially when related to territorial belonging. Urban identity can be intended as the drawing up of a shared past, in a process of construction and reconstruction of memories (Petrillo, 2005). The need to define ourselves and the space in which we live and act leads to research a shared identity, with an attribution of meaning to

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[22] «Territory refers to a portion of geographic space which is claimed or occupied by a person or group of persons or by an institution. It is, thus, an area of 'bounded space'. The processes whereby individuals or groups lay claim to such territory is defined to as 'territoriality' […] Territoriality is a primary geographical expression of social power» (Storey 2001: 1, 15).

space and its memory. The presence of a border that splits a city into two parts, discloses and clarifies this process: the border, marking the limits of social relations, has a double function of generating identification on the inside and differentiation towards what is outside (Simmel 1950). In this situation, social polarisation becomes a physical division (Bollens, 2007), showing the constitutive power of social relations over space. In turn space, once divided, is able to influence patterns of relations reinforcing social cleavages.

Another characteristic of divided cities lies in the fact that territorial belonging, which generates a strong and rooted identity, develops on different scales, since the city becomes the symbol of nation states or ethic/religious entities. The process of construction of urban identity therefore intertwines with a national, ethnic or religious identity.

Divided cities symbolically represent territorial exclusivity and they acquire a strategic role in a situation of conflict. Sociological literature defines urban areas as a very important spatial scale, in order to understand more general social and political processes. Cities are identified as a key to interpret economical, urban and administrative policies oriented towards the territorial management (Castells & Hall 1994; Gottmann 1991; Sassen 2000). Studying this level of social life allows the comprehension of complex issues from a privileged point of view, since many social phenomena originate, physically and symbolically, in the city.

The urban arena is also characterised by the presence of conflicting groups and élites competing for the management of resources (Castells 1983; Park et al. 1967). Thus, social movements and conflicts develop more frequently in cities, and they have consequences on a national, and sometimes international, level (Castells 1983; Melucci 1984). In the same way conflicts emerging on a broader level than the urban one acquire intensity in the city, which becomes «flashpoint, platform and/or independent focus of broader conflict» (Bollens 2007: 14).

Cities concentrate political, commercial and financial powers (Glassner & Fahrer 2004; Hall 1993; Rapoport 1993), and also different kinds of resources. Consequently, they are indicators of the state's productive assessment (Landau-

Wells 2008): their good functioning (in terms of infrastructures, services and social capital) is strategically relevant on a national scale. Besides, cities are symbolically relevant since they concentrate symbols which combine for the building up of local and national identities, especially in the case of capital cities. Thus, they become «open-air museum of the nation» (Wagenaar 2001: 350) and play an important role for social cohesion. Finally, urban areas are characterised by proximity among different ethnic or religious groups, so they are more likely to become arenas of confrontation and clashes.

For all these reason it is of main importance to consider «the urban scale, as a site for or actor in the resolution of international social conflicts, ethnonational conflicts or inter-state war» (Stanley 2003: 11-12).

2.2.1. Classifications and models

The institutional partition of a city involves consequences that undermine the same existence and effective functioning of the urban system. Different levels of intensity of the division will cause different problems or disorder in the city management and, in any case, will require political, administrative and social interventions in order to re-establish a situation of normality and to limit the negative effects of the partition. Moreover, the erection of a border means the creation of a physical artefact that cannot help but rather discourages inter-group relations. Even if the initial aim of a partition is the solution of conflicts and civilian violence, its persistence can only increase feelings of distrust and hostility: «total separation ultimately makes bigotry automatic, functional division habitual, and deepening misunderstandings likely» (Calame & Charlesworth 2009: 8). In a quite large number of cases[23] social tensions and ethnic rivalries are solved with a physical division that becomes the materialisation and the institutionalisation of intolerance and segregation processes.

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[23] Nicosia, Belfast, Jerusalem, Beirut are some examples of cities in which the partition was initially conceived as an emergency measure to contrast inter-ethnic violence, whereas in the course of time it has became a permanent condition.

As I pointed out in the previous paragraph, this process is bi-directional. The surrounding material environment, in fact, influences and shapes social relations and boundaries: besides being symbols and manifestations of the political and the social, can also be constitutive of social action, practices and forms (Newman & Paasi 1998: 194).

I discovered quite a large number of researches on divided cities with very different focuses and objectives, mostly coming from British and US scholars, and some studies concerning divided Berlin made by German academics, but I could hardly find a theoretical debate upon this topic. The very definition of divided city, as we will see, is far from being homogeneous. This is mainly due to the fact that in contemporary cities there is a huge variety of divisions, with different levels of abstraction. Phenomena of urban segregation are common features of the contemporary urban realm and the attempt to delimitate the concept of divided cities can be either too restrictive or too general.

As I already pointed out, a divided city can be defined as a territory in which material or symbolic conflicts separate ethnic, religious or national groups, but this is not an exhaustive clarification. Can we talk about division in situations of social segregation? Is it enough to be in the presence of a conflict between different social groups in a urban context, to talk about contested cities? If so, the majority of contemporary metropolises should be defined as divided.

The study *Divided Cities* by Fainstein, Gordon and Harloe (1992), compares the cases of London and New York from an economical point of view: in these metropolises the strong polarisation that separates rich and poor people bears consequences on the spatial configuration of the two cities and it also generates conflicts.

Marcuse and van Kempen's work on the partitioning of urban space – *Of States and Cities* (2002) – analyses the way in which cities have been characterised by different sorts of division throughout history, outlining the formation of spatial segregation, ghettos and the material reflection of social inequalities in contemporary urban realities, especially related to the process of globalisation.

These two examples of literature on divided cities show the ambiguity and the broad applicability of this concept, and the need to specify the peculiarity of cities we are concerned about.

Some attempts to categorise divided cities according to different parameters have been carried out, with the main aim of defining the range of specific researches on contested cities in situations of conflict. These approaches are particularly interesting and useful in the context of this research, since they consider the spatial elements of the division as important clues to both insert divided cities in the frame of urban development and consider the impact of physical division on social relations. Moreover, they propose models to interpret divided cities as cases in which a common path occurred and led to partition and subsequent dysfunctions.

Anderson (2008) distinguishes among cities divided between two nation-states – like Berlin and Gorizia/Nova Gorica – ethnically divided cities – like Los Angeles and Johannesburg – and cities divided from an ethno-national point of view, such as Jerusalem, Nicosia and Belfast. Cities in this last category are defined by Anderson as «divided cities in a contested state» (Ibid: 6). According to his explanation there are some essential criteria to include cases in this last category: some are ethno-cultural factors, such as the presence of linguistic or religious differences; others are related to geopolitical processes regarding the post-colonial period of formation of national identities. Anderson underlines how the analysis of these factors can help to look for common origins of these kinds of conflicts and to better understand their peculiarities. His categories are useful to define different fields of research, but a distinction based on the criteria of ethnic division and/or national contention tents to be too static to shed light on the processes that characterise urban partition. However, Anderson rightly highlights the gap existing between urban literature and the one on nationalism and national conflict. Urban studies are usually concentrated on 'normal' cities, where possible division processes, as we have seen, regard forms of spatial segregation or economic divide. Even though most of those cases include ethnic or social class conflict, they do not consider contexts in which there is a claim

for territorial sovereignty and issues of conflicting nationalism. On the other side, studies on nationalism rarely focus on the territorial dimension of conflicts, specifically on the urban arenas and the pivotal and strategic role they have in ethnonational struggles (Ibid). On the contrary, they generally concentrate on the national level showing a problem of treating the different scales through which a conflict expresses.

Anderson's attempt to trace the historical development and contemporary reproduction of divided cities goes in the direction to fill this gap, trying to find «some commonalities of causation» (Ibid: 7) in order to strengthen the link between the analysis of conflict and of the urban level.

Scott Bollens works on contested cities follow this direction, since the author considers cities as the «target or focal point for unresolved nationalistic ethnic conflict» or the «platform for the expression of conflicting sovereignty claims or the tension related to ethnic group relations» (Bollens 2000: 3). He underlines how the urban region can be a key analytical scale for the comprehension of intrastate processes of ethnic conflict and violence. Moreover, this level of analysis is essential to shed light on the management of the conflict and on the urban policies which contribute to determine its course. The city «can act as a major and independent obstruction to the success of larger regional and national peace processes» (Ibid: 7).

Bollens (1999; 2001; 2007) includes Jerusalem, Belfast, Beirut, Nicosia, Johannesburg, Barcelona, the Basque cities, Mostar and Sarajevo in his studies on contested cities. His analysis considers the transition from socially polarised cities to politically divided cities, in which there is – or there has been – presence of violent conflicts originating from ethnic or national cleavages. This definition introduces the elements of violence and of territorial claim as key features of the contested cities, but allows us to include in this category cities that are not formally divided, or in which ethnic and national partitions are not necessarily co-present. From an analytical point of view it is important to differentiate between situations in which there exists a spatial materialisation of conflict and those in which there is only

social polarisation, since the transformation of space and urban materiality is a key component to understanding the related social aspects, as I have already pointed out.

Bollens underlines this aspect, analysing planning policies in contested cities and the role they play in impacting the direction conflict can take. According to the author, the materialisation of ethnonational group differences represents its geographical reinforcement with positive short term consequences – the stabilisation of conflicting relations or the moderation of violence – but negative long term effects. The territorial division, in fact, «obstructs opportunities for a healthy evolution of inter-group relations and retards movement towards tolerable co-existence» (Bollens 2010: 2). In his opinion, on the contrary, the characteristics of the urban environment, which provides inter-group proximity, can act as a promoter for inclusiveness, dialogue and negotiations, especially on an institutional level. This process involves the existence of a single urban government which should fairly represent all groups' interests (Ibid).

In Bollens' theorisation the city and its administration are therefore seen as potential peace booster for broader conflicts and its physical division as an obstacle towards reconciliation. The author underlines the need of a shared space where different communities can be included in order to avoid the entrenchment of separate identities and the radicalisation of inter-group intolerance.

A recent attempt to organise a theoretical reflection upon the common features of divided cities and to place them in the historical development of the urban contexts is contained in another book called *Divided Cities* by Calame and Charlesworth (2009). The subtitle *Belfast, Beirut, Jerusalem, Mostar, Nicosia* reveals the specificity of the kind of division considered in the study. According to the authors each of these five cities has a different historical background and cultural condition, but «shares with the others a common set of existential factors, belonging to what we might call an emerging global condition» (Calame & Charlesworth 2009: *vii*). The authors find these common factors in the elements that have brought from a situation of

ethnically mixed population to a physical and institutionalized partition. All the five cities remember a past of coexistence and successful cohabitation of different ethnic group, but unlike other cities in which rival groups continue cooperating[24], they also share a growth of sectarianism leading to conflict and violence and the lack of a far-seeing political solution. The separation, according to this interpretation, was intended as an emergency and temporary *stopgap solution* (Ibid.) which, instead, has become permanent. Calame and Charlesworth refuse to consider divided cities as anomalies, and try to find patterns that help us understand the process of partition, underling the risks ingrained in many contemporary urban contexts, characterised by ethnic mixture and inter-communal rivalry.

According to the authors, there exists a standard sequence of events which have characterised the cities they analysed; this sequence is defined by typical patterns which make division unavoidable. The fist step in the path towards partition is the *politicisation of ethnicity*, in territories were former cohabitation was observed. The merging of political and ethnic identity is generally due to rivalry for the control and management of resources (as the case of Belfast, Jerusalem and Mostar clearly show). The outcome of this process can be ethnic *clustering*, as a protective response to inequalities and political pressures. In this phase conflicting ethnic communities experience what is known as the "double minority syndrome" (Bollens 2001: 184), according to which both sides feel victimised and threatened. The consequence is an unavoidable decrease in communication and interaction between the communities, involving the institutional and political level. *Political up-scaling* is considered to be the third step, when previously informal enclaves become significant in the political dispute on a national or international scale. This observation by Calame and Charlesworth falls within the idea that divided cities are both emblems and epicentres of larger political struggles (Bollens 2000).

> Once threatened ethnic communities have retreated into homogeneous clusters and the urban terrain has been converted into political territory, it remains for the battle lines to be drawn (Calame & Charlesworth 2009: 213)

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[24] Bombay, Phnom Penh, Mombassa, Kuala Lumpur, Kumasi, Jos, Bangalore and Kinshasa are the examples of successful mixed group cooperation provided in the book (Calame & Charlesworth 2009: 3).

The subsequent phase regards the *boundary etching* that generally happens gradually and coincides with existing fault-lines (like the Pedeios river/Ermou Street in the case of Nicosia, cf. chapter 3). This initial division uses to cut areas that were formally characterised by mixed population and never firmly imprinted with a single ethnic identity (cf. paragraph 3.3). The *concretisation* of the boundary is the evolution of ethnic enclaves which become more and more isolated and official. Permeable and informal boundaries turn into impermeable and stable ones, following a typical path which usually starts with the loss of physical security and the search of physical protection. Partitions that were intended to be a temporary solution to avoid violent confrontation then stabilise and become even sturdier: the peacelines, constructed by the municipality in Belfast, have become not only permanent, but also more sophisticated and physically embellished. Adaptation to partition is considered to be the sixth pattern of divided cities, with the *consolidation* of the situation and the rearrangement of the city functioning. The explanation is found by the two authors in the weakness and instability of authorities, as in the Bosnian and Lebanese cases. This process takes shape through the denial of conventional logics of shared space and services: each community claims the control and possession of territory, infrastructures and resources. The consolidation of partition is rarely sustainable and barriers can be eventually removed (as in Beirut or Mostar). However, Calame and Charlesworth point out how *unification* does not necessarily mean *integration*: social and physical outcomes of the division are difficult to overcome. «The typical divided city remains divided as long as the insecurities that led to intergroup violence remain» (Ibid: 226). The removal of borders is a necessary but not sufficient condition for reconciliation, and the case of Nicosia will prove this last pattern.

Kliot and Mansfield (1997; 1999) propose a differentiation between the analysis of structure and process in cases of cities' partition or division. According to the structural functional theories, as developed in political geography, attention is given to the functional character of elements such as borders and boundaries, capital cities or geopolitical and geostrategic regions (Kasperson & Minghi 1970: 69). Functions

and components of division in cities are analysed in order to describe and define typology of partition and to understand their structure. This approach allows to reason upon the permeability/impermeability of the division and on its effect on the city structure (planning, sewerage, and other city functions).

An approach focused on the process, instead, «embraces the more dynamic component of political geographical research». The attention is directed to political processes which led to division or partition and which still characterise conflicting contexts. The combination of these two approaches allows the authors to provide a model for the understanding of partition/division.

Kliot and Mansfield firstly distinguish between partition and division in countries or cities, according to the historical, political and social processes which led to the actual condition.

Divided countries are split along ideological lines: they are ethnically homogeneous, inhabited by people who have common traditions and they have experienced a past of successful political unity. Examples of divided nations are Germany, Korea and Vietnam, where the territorial separation was artificially imposed by external powers or as the result of a war.

Partitioned countries are the outcome of internal schism and they are characterised by ethnic, religious or linguistic diversity which had led to conflict and partition[25]. Cyprus, Northern Ireland and Lebanon are partitioned countries where the separation rose internally, although after the intervention of external forces. As Kliot and Mansfield underline, these partitions are often associated with the dissolution of colonial empires, as in the case of Cyprus (Kliot & Mansfield 1999).

The pragmatic model they propose for division or partition, of noteworthy analytical utility, follows six stages. 1) Pre-partition and division stage: the city is united and works as an entity; 2) the actual division or partitioning: inter-communal

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[25] According to Kasperson and Minghi (1970), partition is «the action of dividing an area forming a single governmental unit into two or more areas under separate authorities» (Ibid: 202). Considering examples of partitioned countries, the authors highlight that «these areas, all partitioned on a "temporary" basis originally, are currently areas of world tension, divided by boundaries which have been superimposed on the cultural landscape but which have now become entrenched as relatively impermeable barriers between contrasting and hostile political systems» (Ibid: 203). This kind of solution serves the purpose of solving territorial dispute even though it has never proved a satisfactory solution.

conflicts and/or war, with the possible involvement of external states, start affecting the city provoking the creation of a physical separation; 3) initial division or partition: the communities do not recognise each other and there is a growth in the ideological or national-ethnic hostility, fortification of the border and presence of military incidents; 4) middle term division or partition: the situation stabilises and the conflict ceases, with a decrease of intensity of the antagonism and a possible increase in the permeability of the border; 5) rapprochement: different forms of cooperation can take place, from economic to institutional (trade, tourism, administrative apparatus) and the movement of people from one side to the other is permitted; 6) unification: the city changes back to an entity, with the eradication of the divide, due to military action or mutual consent[26].

This model, as for the patterns proposed by Calame and Charlesworth, allows to analyse divided cities paying attention to the common origin and the processes which let to partition. This is particularly useful in order to understand the path which makes division unavoidable and to underline the possibilities those cities have lost towards a different outcome. The analysis of single case studies, as provided by this dissertation, can shed light on processes, institutional and political interventions, social and material aspects of a divided city. These elements can turn out to be useful to understand mistakes and outline alternatives, since many cities experience rivalry between different communities and can be considered at risk on a trajectory towards polarisation and division. Moreover, intrastate conflict characterises large numbers of nations as well as interethnic conflict (some examples are Afghanistan, Nigeria, Sudan, the Philippines, Rwanda, Iraq, Ethiopia…). The analysis of the extreme cases of partitioned and divided cities can therefore show how to avoid the same outcome and how to find alternative solution to inter-communal conflict.

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[26] As the authors underline, all the six stages are formed by a variety of internal and external forces, since the divided/partitioned cities have a strong relation with the national level of the conflict. The action of these forces is the reason why sometimes cities stop at one of the stages without reaching the rapprochement stage (*Ibid*: 173).

2.3. Boundaries: linking the spatial and the social

> The limit is the expression of power in action
> C. Raffestin

Boundaries are a clear example of the circular relation between the social and the material: they are the result of human activity on the landscape, a social product, but, once they become part of the spatial configuration, they have a strong impact on people's life and social practices. Political geographical studies have always shown an interest in boundaries, although the traditional approach through which they have been analysing them has radically changed throughout time. This is due to various factors: the transformations concerning international geopolitics, with the globalisation process and the idea of a "borderless world"; the development of poststructural and postmodern theories based on the notions of discourse and the social construction of space; the interdisciplinary growth of interest towards border studies (Kolossov 2005; Newman 1999; Newman & Paasi 1998).

Different typologies of state boundaries have been elaborated by geographers and politicians within the traditional approach in order to classify them according to their morphology, features, origin, history and functions (Kolossov 2005). Following Minghi's (1963) review on traditional boundary studies, a first distinction regards their "natural" or "artificial" nature, a classification which has lost analytical power since the recognition of the social nature of any kind of border. The relation a boundary has with the human landscape at the time when it is drawn is another way to distinguish among borders, depending on if they consider or ignore human distribution in space. The current function of boundaries differentiates them in terms of how open or closed they are and of their effects on the territory. Their legal definition splits them between *de jure* and *de facto* borders (and the border in Cyprus provides an example of a border *de facto*, since it has not been internationally recognised). Moreover, neighbourly relations can be peaceful or disputed, also in cases of *de jure* boundaries, and the different scales on which they function are another way to classify them.

However, this traditional approach aimed at mapping and categorising state boundaries suffers from a lack of theoretical reflection and does not question the existence of nation states and their hierarchical relations (Kolossov 2005).

Interest in boundaries has increased during the past decade, as the growing literature on this theme clearly shows (Newman & Paasi 1998). Boundary studies are multidimensional from a spatial, thematic and disciplinary point of view, since they bring together different topics and fields of analysis and have become object of research for sociologists, anthropologists and social psychologists.

The contemporary discussion upon the presumed disappearance of borders has led to the idea of a borderless world and the end of the nation state, due to globalisation and to the growth of a space of flows instead of a space of places (Castells 1989). Borders are considered to be less significant than in the past, since their role as barriers for movement and as defensive tools has decreased in importance. However, most of people in the world still live in closed spaces, movement is not guaranteed for everyone and new borders are continuously appearing: after the fall of the Berlin wall and the end of the cold war, events which enforced the idea of a borderless world, an impressive number of new political entities formed with the creation of new boundaries. Moreover, territories are still defined by borders and the state continues to represent its citizens (Newman 2001).

Other contemporary analysis on boundaries emphasise the way in which they represent «both symbols and manifestations of power relations and social institutions, and they become part of daily life in diverging institutional practices» (Ibid: 194). Boundaries are «social, political and discursive construct» (Ibid: 187), tightly tied to historical contingencies. They are part of the production and instutionalisation of territories and territoriality. «Territorial boundaries are one of the major elements of ethnic and political identity» (Kolossov 2005: 615).

Although they modify, they expand or decline, boundaries always define the limits within which identities are conceived and maintained: territory is a fundamental dimension of identity (Newman 2005). It is possible to talk about *spatial identities* (Herb & Kaplan 1999), since space has been always used by nationalism as a source

of cultural and ethnic markers for identity construction. «Instead of the group defining a territory, the territory comes to define the group» (Ibid: 17). Boundaries, marking the limit of the national territory and sovereignty, define symbolical, cultural, historical, religious meanings for the construction of identity.

In the critical geopolitical discourse, their relation with social practices is analysed through the connections existing between physical boundaries and social, political and cultural distinctions. Being boundaries socially constructed, they constantly define and redefine the relations between social and physical space (Massey & Jess 1995; Toal 1996).

> Boundaries are […] constitutive of social action and may be both barriers and sources of motivation. Boundaries both create identities and are created through identity. […] Boundaries create practices and forms, which, for their part, are the basis of meaning interpretation (Newman & Paasi 1998: 194).

The social and symbolic process of boundaries construction between groups – already outlined in the light of Simmel's observations on the qualities of space – intertwines with spatial limits in a mutual relation of influence.

In order to understand this relation, it is necessary to question what is considered to be the "normal" division of space (Gupta & Ferguson 1992) and to analyse the discourses and processes through which borders are naturalised and treated as given. Postcolonial studies have underlined these aspects, showing how the construction and maintenance of social and material boundaries, as well as that of national identity, is supported by narratives. Therefore «the construction of institutionalized forms of "we" and the "Other" […] are produced and perpetually reproduced in educational texts, narratives and discourses» (Newman & Paasi 1998: 196).

Paasi (1996) talks about *space socialization*: once territory becomes naturalised, members of the nation are socialised within this specific territorial unit and the bounded space keeps together individuals and groups in a common national history.

> It is possible to say that boundaries trace the territorial frame of a social project, […] and they therefore contribute to the elaboration of an ideology. The consciousness we have of a border is part of a national ideology defined as a project (Raffestin 2005: 14; my translation).

Territory not only represents the common origin of a community, but also embodies the collective memory of its development. In the event of a dispute over territory, this is transformed into *holy ground* (Gupta & Ferguson 1992) and space becomes a container of memories which contribute do define and redefine historical narrations. This process, as I observed in Nicosia, is particularly visible in the border landscape, since the boundary itself is a *discursive landscape* (Newman & Paasi 1998).

The socio-material perspective is particularly suitable for analysing processes of boundary construction and their consequences on social life. This kind of approach, in fact, provides useful tools to understand the meanings attributed to space through a deconstruction of its social nature and of the impact it has on the everyday life and on the production and reproduction of ideologies. The case of Nicosia's border is analysed trying to unfold these aspects and to combine a description of the physical configuration of space with the processes through which it has formed, the meanings it assumes, and its impact on the city and its inhabitants.

LIVING IN A DIVIDED CITY: EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

> A city is a city.
>
> F. Braudel

The city is considered to be a geographic, economic and cultural unit. Urban sociology, urban geography and territorial economy are some of the disciplines that underline how the environment of the city is unique and specific, and one in which peculiar social phenomena take place. Cities have existed in every age and in every historical and geographical context (Camagni 1998). A city is a complex system of relations among the single elements that guarantee its functioning and its structural characteristics. The motivations for its genesis have been identified by philosophers in the growth of different needs and the development of a specialisation process and of the sharing of labour, for Plato in the *Republic*, or in the nature of men as social animals whose sociality identifies with urbanity[26], as Aristotle says in his *Politics*.

Especially after the industrial revolution, when modern cities developed, the urban environment started being described in opposition to the rural one. However, the dualism referring to urban and rural environments has a long history, passing through Hegel's idea of city and countryside as two archetypes of the social organisation (Hegel, 1963), Tönnies' (1957) definition of the dichotomy of *Gesellschaft* and *Gemeinschaft*, Weber's use of the Middle Age statement "*Stadtluft macht frei*" – the city air makes you free (Weber, 1950). Simmel and the Chicago School continued this tradition in the Nineteenth Century, analysing the specific characteristics of the modern city and of the social relations that develop in it.

Simmel recognises a peculiar spirit of the modern city, explained in his *Philosophy of money* and *The Metropolis and Mental Life*. According to Simmel the form of the modern experience basically coincides with the metropolitan experience, and he

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[26] Being Πολιτικòν (social) and Πολις (city).

identifies the *blasé* attitude as the idealtypical citizens' attitude, attributing a constitutive role to the city in shaping people's mentality and behaviour. Simmel elaborated a complex chain of reasoning about the relation between space and social forms, in which the city acquires a peculiar role as the specific space where certain forms of relation can take place and be expressed. The city, in this theorisation, appears as a complex system of relations expressed in space and in which in turn space defines and provides these relations with their *sociological form* (Simmel et al. 1997).

The most comprehensive analysis of the city as an organism in classic sociology is the one carried out by the Chicago School. This ecological approach implies a biological metaphor concerning the city, which is like a living and evolutionary system involving issues of adaptation and mutation. The concepts of *natural areas* and *mobility*, used by the Chicago School to explain the physical and social structure of the city, define the city not only as a human artifact, but also as an organism with its own inner functions and symbolic system. The city is organically connected, and it appears as a psychophysical mechanism in which and through which private and public interests find an expression (Park, 1967). The urban one is a system of interconnected functions, organised in an integrated way. These functions are institutional, political, economic, symbolic and cultural. Each of them develops with the city and becomes part of its life through the use people make of it (Park, 1967).

Since 1974 Cyprus and specifically Nicosia were divided into two spatially distinct mono-ethnic zones, with an impassable Green Line separating the north and the south. The two divided entities developed two separate governments, economies, transportation systems and social organisation (Kliot & Mansfield 1999). Thirty-four years have elapsed between the definitive partition and my fieldwork, and the situation has evolved considerably, especially after the opening of the border, the possibility of free movement of people and goods from one side to the other and the beginning of talks between the two representatives of Greek and Turkish Cypriots in search of a solution. However, the material and social consequences of

the initial partition are still present, and they take part in the everyday functioning of the city and in the experience of Nicosia's inhabitants.

Like in other divided cities, boundary drawing and the definition of ethnic political space entrenche territoriality and influence urban life. Bollens' analysis regarding Jerusalem, Sarajevo and Beirut shows that urban political boundaries, whether they are materialised as a wall or subtly imprinted onto the landscape, constitute a substantial compartmentalizing and separating of material spaces and social activities (Bollens 2010).

Therefore, the analysis of Nicosia's present situation must take into consideration the process through which the elements that emerged from the different partition stages have become part of everyday reality of the city and how the transition now occurring is re-shaping or transforming it.

The initial questions that moved this part of the research concerned the outcomes of the partition: what happens to the city? How are its functions re-organised in order to maintain the city system alive? And finally, is it possible for a city to survive after a partition?

In order to answer these questions I analyse Nicosia's material and symbolical functions, from institution and services to representations and relations. These have been transformed, doubled or adapted to the condition of a divided city. The answer can be either the existence of two completely autonomous cities, or two cities functioning in an interconnected way, or a city physically divided but still working as a unit. As we will see, Nicosia is no more one city, but it has not even turned out to be two totally separate urban systems, and different phases of its recent history have shown diverse scenarios. The two sides have had to adjust and plan how to deal with their damaged, partial territories. In addition to the development of a "dual landscape" that I analyze in chapter 8, they had to solve different problems concerning the city administration, infrastructure, and the transport and communication systems.

> Divided cities, already physically tailored for ethnic apartheid, foster social and institutional structures to suit their requirements. Services are rerouted and improvised, resources become atrophied and duplicated, streets and buildings

are appropriated, ruined, or rendered obsolete, and relationships are severed (Calame & Charlesworth 2009: 15).

I present the current stage of Nicosia's situation which, according to Kliot and Mansfield's (1999) model of partitioned cities, corresponds to the *rapprochement phase* (cf. paragraph 2.2). This stage of the urban partition cannot be described as a clear and linear process, since after a long division there are a large amount of factors that make it difficult to reach a rapprochement. Henderson and Lebow present these factors as the reluctance to cooperate by leaders and institutions in the two states, economic disparities, and bureaucratic resistance to merger prior ideological commitments (Henderson & Lebow 1974: 441). In addition to these elements, the Cyprus case presents unsettled issues that are extremely difficult to solve, such as the internally displaced problem, the territorial disputes over the occupied lands and the presence of Turkish settlers and migrants living in the TRNC. Therefore, rapprochement represents a substantive challenge and a formidable task for leaders, planners and ultimately people in the attempt to both bridge the divergent separate development of the partitioned entities (Kliot & Mansfield 1999: 172) and overcome mistrust and resentment. Moreover, as the rejection of the Annan Plan has shown[27], both sides must agree on a great number of questions in order to reach a compromise and find a solution for the unsettled issues presented above.

Nevertheless, important steps in the direction of reconciliation have been made, and the outcome of this process is visible and perceivable in the changes concerning the relations between the two communities and in the attempts of the two leaders to outline a solution[28]. As we will see the path is neither straight nor short of obstacles, and the result of thirty-four years of separation – and even more of conflict – is hard to cast aside.

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[27] I refer to the twin referenda, held in 2002 in both sides of Cyprus, on a plan proposed by the UN for the reunification of the island under a federal state.

[28] The results of the presidential elections on April 18th 2010 in the TRNC, however, seriously compromise the reconciliation process. Turkish Cypriots elected nationalist Dervis Eroglu, who replaces Mehmet Ali Talat. The new president openly opposes reunification and supports a confederation of independent states, something the Greek Cypriots say they will never accept (Cyprus Mail, 19/05/2010).

Besides understanding what kind of city(cities) Nicosia is(are)now, I bring into question whether the partition has caused dysfunctions or perverse effects to what is considered to be the normal functioning of a city system(or two city systems), in material and symbolic terms. Eventually, we will see how a possible reconciliation and a consequent reunification of the city should take into account some important issues and what would be the impact of a solution on the city.

This part of presentation of the empirical results is structured according to different aspects of the city's functioning: urban development, institutions, infrastructures, communication, economy and trade and social interactions. I present the results of my observations, interviews and a collection of information from various sources, in order to give an as complete as possible account of the present condition of Nicosia and of the strategies implemented – both by administrators and inhabitants – to continue living a normal life despite the division and to find possible solutions towards a reconciliation.

3. URBAN DEVELOPMENT

In order to outline the present situation of Nicosia's urban development, a historical introduction concerning the spatial configuration of the city is needed and will also allow us to understand the role space has played and still plays in the evolution of the conflict and of the partition process. In this framework, we will see how different forms of *limits* (Simmel et al. 1997) have characterised the development of the city, carrying diverse and evolving meanings that diverged more and more between the conflicting communities. Following Alpar Atun and Doratli (2009) the meaning of any kind of "wall" should be considered with reference to its function, purpose and whom it serves. All the different forms of division present in a city, whether defining and separating social or physical territories, are socially constructed and thus can help to better understand social and political issues.

Pierre Bourdieu (1989) describes social space as the place where individuals and groups position themselves, and in which they elaborate competing, and sometimes conflicting, definitions of reality. He shows how social divisions within groups are projected over space-time organisation, to such an extent that every functional social category has its own space-time reference. The relationship between bodies and the structured organisation of space-time determines social representations and practices and also imposes permanent perceptive patterns (Mandich 1996). This process is characterised by the penetration of power in the socio-spatial system of relationships. Therefore, power is intrinsic to space and it sets specific social divisions in space, establishing a sort of perception regime that impedes or controls competing representations (Bourdieu 1989).

> [A]t different scales and under different social and technological conditions, spaces interact with and are constructed by forms of political power, armed conflict and social control. Space is a resource for power, and the spaces of power are complex and qualitative distinctive. […] However, space is more than a malleable set of coordinates in the service of power. Spaces have characteristics that affect the conditions in which power can be exercised, conflicts pursued and social control attempted. (Healey 2006: 3)

Through the analysis of the spatial configuration of Nicosia, and of people's representations of this peculiar space, we will see how the process of power reflection onto space has shaped a dual territorial reality, which has common physical features but different meanings and perceptions according to the two conflicting sides. The urban development of the city, therefore, has been strongly influenced not only by the conflict, but also by the significance space has acquired during and after the period of inter-communal clashes. The physical structure of the city, once marked by division, has become a container of memories and a tool for the reproduction of ideologies.

Nicosia has been the capital of Cyprus since the Tenth Century AD, and it remained the capital when independence of the island was declared in 1960 after British rule. Until the end of the nineteenth century the city developed inside medieval walls built by the Venetians, who ruled the island between 1489 and 1570. The main reason behind the construction of the fortification was defence and protection against possible Ottoman attack. These walls, at the time of their construction, represented at the same time the limit of the urban development in relation to the rural areas, the defensive limit protecting Venetians and local population against the Ottomans, and the actual borders of the city, thus defining the administrative limit. According to Marcuse's classification of walls, the Venetian fortification was a "barricade wall"[29] to protect the community and enhance solidarity among the inner group.

In those days, a river called Pedeios crossed the walled town of Nicosia, a natural divide between the northern and southern part of the city and which would have turned, many years later, into a man-made divide (Papadakis 2006). The river crossed the city on an east-west axis and its presence determined the position of the walls' gates (figure 2), but was then diverted outside the walls to fill the moat surrounding the city (Ibid).

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[29] Marcuse (1995) classifies five types of walls, according to their functions: *prison walls*, which define and preserve enclaves and ghettos; *barricade walls*, to protect the inner community; *walls of aggression*, military patrolled and expressing domination and force; *sheltering walls*, which protect privileged groups creating exclusive areas; *castle walls of domination*, expressing economic, social and political domination.
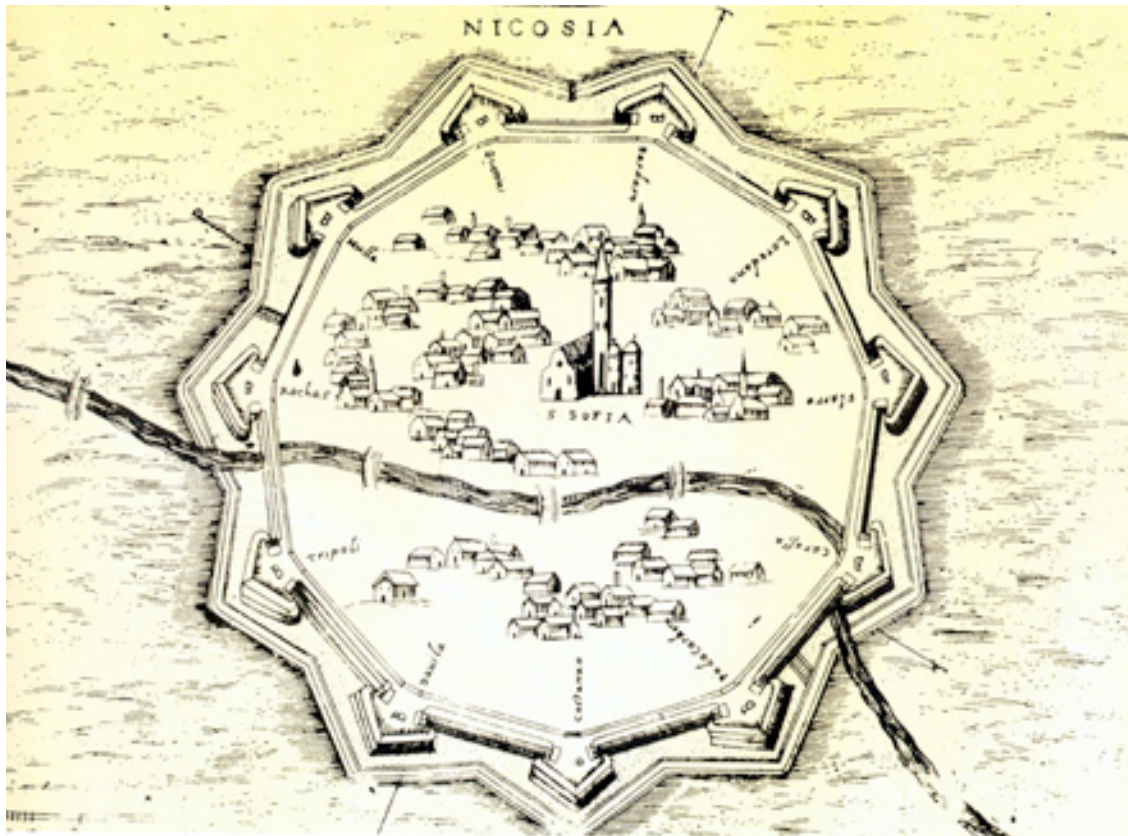
Figure 2
Nicosia at the beginning of the Venetian rule.

Despite the remarkable fortification, which is still perfectly preserved, the dreaded Ottomans started ruling Cyprus and administrating Nicosia in 1571, after a forty-two day siege of the city. After this date, a Turkish population – approximately thirty-thousand people – started being transferred to the island from Anatolia, and this set the multicultural environment that still characterises Cyprus (Uluçay et al. 2005). During the Ottoman rule the city walls were preserved in shape and function, but the inner organisation changed in terms of social and physical structure, also due to the new demographic balance[30]: different ethnic groups, although living side by side without tensions or conflicts, were positioned in different areas. The Greeks mainly inhabited the southern side of Nicosia around the archbishop's palace[31],

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[30] According to the first census taken by the British in 1881, the ratio of Greeks to Turks on the island was 3,03 to 1 (Morag 2004: 597).

[31] The coexistence of ethnic-religious groups in this period was guaranteed by the institution of the *millet* (a Ottoman term for legally protected religious minority). The Orthodox Church in Cyprus – which has been

while the Turks settled in the north, where the Ottomans established their administrative headquarters. The old river bed, that was left open and used as a dumping ground for refuse (Papadakis 2006) therefore constituted the first physical, and natural, separation between the two communities. However, the city continued living as a single urban entity and the only divides between them were the linguistic and religious ones that, in those days, did not create hostilities, even though there was no unitary definition of the population as "Cypriots" (cf. paragraph 7.1).

Figure 3
Urban Structure of Nicosia from late Venetian times to the end of Ottoman rule.
Kapt. H. Kitchener, Plan of Nicosia, 1881.

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autonomous at least since 488 AD with the right of self-government and organisation with respect to the Patriarchate in Constantinople – maintained its autonomy during the Ottoman rule (Morag 2004; Uluçay et al. 2005).

The administration of the island was transferred to the British in 1878, and radical changes affected the city: new openings were created in the Venetian walls and the city started developing outside the fortification. In this period the old fortification walls started both loosing their protective function and representing the separation between the old town and the new suburbs that developed outside the walls. Most of today's government buildings were constructed under the colonial rule and the British also introduced various technical changes aiming at the modernisation of the island. The old river bed was filled in for hygienic reasons (Attalides 1981) and a road replaced it. Since administrative offices were built outside the walled city, Nicosia began to spread and two main axes, which crossed the city connecting it north-south and west-east, developed (Hadjichristos, 2005).

One of these axes was Ermou Street, the old river bed, which stopped being a physical barrier and became the main commercial road of the city (Figure 3). The development of the city outside the walls increased after the First World War: by the end of the 1950s the old city was more and more given over to shops and workshops and became a lower income area in residential means (Attalides 1981). In 1960, when Cyprus gained its independence, Nicosia had reached one hundred thousand inhabitants and had developed considerably outside the walls.

Shortly before the declaration of independence, problems started to affect the cohabitation of the two communities[32]: riots occurred in Nicosia from the mid 1950s, and the confrontation of the two opposed paramilitary forces – EOKA in the Greek side and TMT in the Turkish one[33] – led to the creation of enclaves and to the first spatial division of the city. In 1956 the British, who were still ruling the island, established the "Mason-Dixon Line", a barbed wire division of parts of Nicosia, in order to avoid the confrontation between the two communities (Papadakis, 2006)[34]. This event can be considered the «first attempt to give a spatial

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[32] For the detailed discussion about the genesis of the conflict see Weston Markides, 2001; Drousiotis, 2008; and paragraphs 6.1 and 7.1 in this dissertation.

[33] The main aim of EOKA (National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters) was to achieve *enosis*, that is the union with Greece, while TMT (Turkish Resistance Organisation) aspired to *taksim*, namely the partition of the island.

[34] I found contradictory information about the date of the establishment of the Mason-Dixon Line, according to different sources. Some of them indicate 1958 as the year of its erection (Kliot & Mansfield 1997; 1999;

form to a political problem» (Hadjichristos, 2005: 396). As I will outline in the following paragraph, interethnic violence increased in 1958 due to the claim for separate municipalities, leading to a clearer division of the city (Figure 4). Consequently, Turkish Cypriots established their own administration in the north, and the movement of people from one side to the other was not allowed. The peak of the conflict was reached in 1963-64, with brutal inter-communal clashes that lasted until 1967[35]. This period, which according to Kliot and Mansfield (1999) model is the stage of the *actual partition* (cf. paragraph 2.2), witnessed the political separation of the two communities.
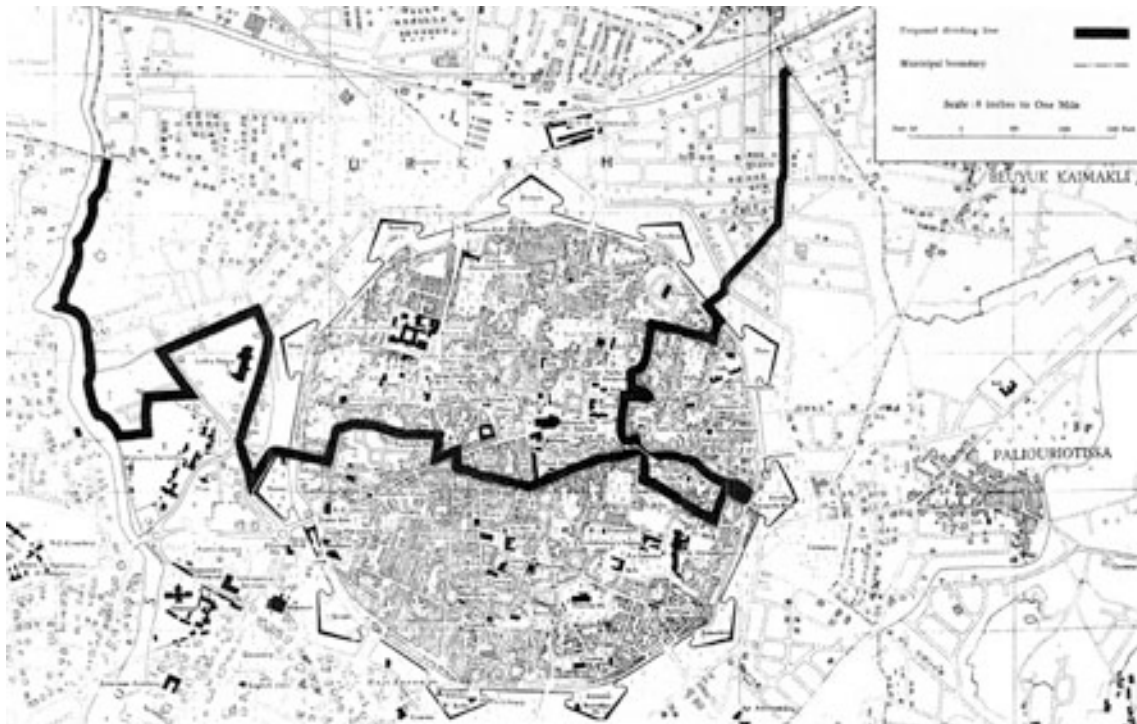
Figure 4
The dividing line proposed in 1958 by the Surrige Commission.

Alpar Atun & Doratli 2009; Demetriou 2007), while Calame & Charlesworth (2009) write that it was set in 1955 and Papadakis (2006), referring to Drousiotis, places it in 1956. This second version was confirmed by Cypriot elders, who shared their memories of the first period of clashes, and this is the reason why I decided to rely on this version.
[35] Over 600 shooting incidents took place in Nicosia during 1967, according to UNFICYP sources (Kliot & Mansfield 1999).

The definitive formation of Turkish Cypriot enclaves dates back to 1963, when – after the Makarios proposal for constitutional amendments – the crisis between the two communities got worse. On 30 December 1963 a memorandum was signed «which set the boundaries of a neutral zone dividing the Greek and Turkish sectors of the city that would be under British control» (Drousiotis, 2008: 126). A few months later the control of this buffer zone passed to the UN Peacekeeping Forces. The political separation of the two sides, materialised in the Green Line, had strong consequences on the urban structure.

> The hard border, a tangible and impermeable barrier between the two sides, resulted in the creation of different social and economic spaces on each side of the "wall", despite the physical proximity of the two sides. The division has heavily determined the subsequent functioning of the urban structure (Alpar Atun & Doratli 2009: 122).

This new kind of wall in the city interrupted the continuity of the old circular walls, which acquired new diverging meanings for the conflicting communities. Since the largest and most important enclaves where within the old city, for Turkish Cypriots the historic walls signified protection and, at the same time, they were "prison walls" (Marcuse 1995) since the ethnic minority of Turkish Cypriots could move outside them only passing through strict controls. As far as Greek Cypriots are concerned, the Venetian walls continued to represent the separation between the old and the new city, and acquired the role of a historical monument.

Between 1968 and 1974 the Green Line became more permeable, due to the beginning of inter-communal talks, and people were allowed to move from one side to the other through controlled checkpoints (Alpar Atun & Doratli 2009), but the Greek coup followed by the Turkish intervention changed the situation once again.

The definitive partition following the 1974 war did not exactly coincide with the previous Green Line in Nicosia, since some areas were gained or lost by the opposing forces during the war. About one-sixth of the total area of Nicosia was occupied by the buffer zone, which became a no-man's area (Kliot & Mansfield 1999), and two spatially distinct mono-ethnic zones were firmly established not only in the city, but in the entire island. The buffer zone patrolled by the UN forces, in

fact, was extended all over Cyprus[36], dividing the 38 percent of the island occupied by the Turks from the rest of the Republic[37].

As far as the walled city is concerned, the area, which extends for around 188 hectares, has been occupied by the divisive strip for 10 percent of its surface and the two halves resulting from the partition are around 85 hectares each (Uluçay et al. 2005). In this phase of the bordering process, the Venetian walls definitively lost their meaning related to defence, and became the symbols of the rich historical heritage of Nicosia and the physical and symbolic limit of the old city, a meaning shared by the two communities.

The buffer zone crosses the centre of the city from west to east, with the initial aim to impede direct military confrontation and to establish peace (Figure 5). It soon became a forsaken land: old buildings started deteriorating and the presence of land mines did not allow soldiers to use them. During the period of troubles and especially after the division, the general conditions of the old city started worsening because most of the fighting took place there and the area was seriously damaged.

Similarly to Berlin and Jerusalem, partitioned Nicosia found itself in a cul-de-sac within Cyprus, since most of the exit roads from the city were cut off by the division and the road infrastructures had to be completely rethought. Many streets in the walled city were also cut in two by the Green Line and are now blind alleys, which makes it even less attractive to live in and move to the area.

As a consequence of all these factors, Nicosia suffered from the trends of suburbanisation and a great proportion of the population moved to the so called new city outside the Venetian walls: according to statistical resources the historic centre on both sides lost more than half of its population to the suburbs (Attalides 1981).

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[36] The spatial division of the Greek and Turkish communities of Nicosia that existed since the end of the fifties remained a peculiarity of the city until 1974, since during that period in the rest of the island the two communities were not physically separated (Hadjichristos, 2005). In mixed villages, however, many episodes of violent confrontation took place, leading to the movement of Turkish people to the enclaves in Nicosia or in the mono-ethnic villages surrounding it.

[37] From the UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus web page: «the ceasefire lines extend approximately 180 kilometres (111.85 miles) across the island. The buffer zone between the lines varies in width from less than 20 metres (21.87 yards) to some 7 kilometres (4.35 miles), and it covers about 3 per cent of the island», available from: http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unficyp/background.shtml [accessed 21 December 2009].
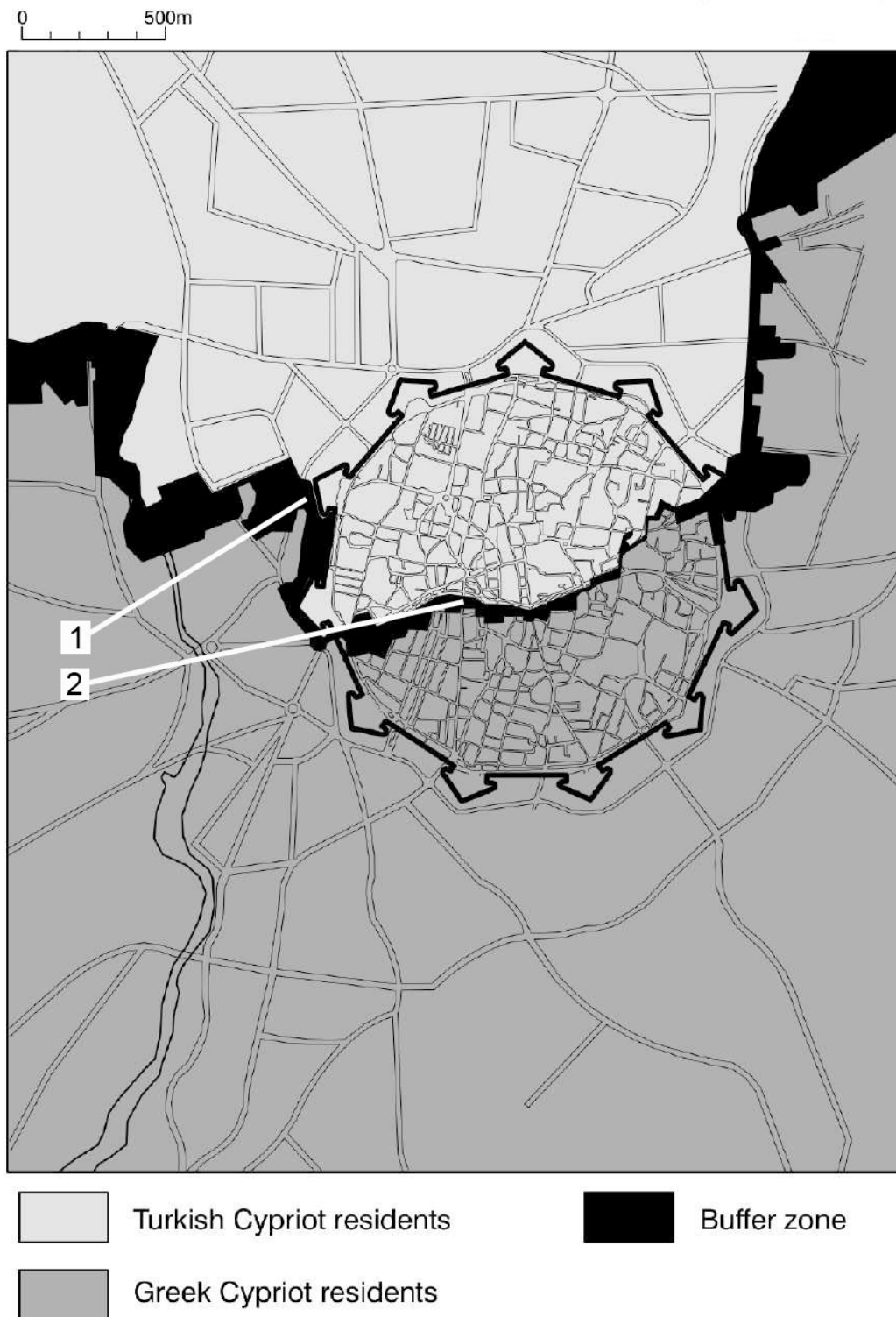
Figure 5
The definitive partition of Nicosia
Author's elaboration on map by Calame & Charlesworth 2009: 124

This process was much more substantial in the southern side, where the suburbs grew considerably, but the decay of the walled city interested both sides, due to the political instability of the area[38]. «Nicosia displays the most typical characteristics of environmental deterioration known as physical decay, population decline and social marginalisation, loss of economic vitality, and land use disorganisation» (Uluçay et al. 2005: 15). As the buffer zone pushed the development away from this area, the north and the south developed separately strengthening the division of the city into two independent entities.

The physical appearance of the border differs remarkably on the two sides, and it gives many clues to understanding the different meanings given to it by the conflicting communities (cf. paragraph 8.1). On the Greek side barbed wire, sand bags and barrels mark the division; since 1974 there has been no attempt to change this situation. On the Turkish side the border is marked by a wall, which was built after the invasion. These very different physical characteristics «mirror the two sides' political views and objectives» (Hocknell et al., 1998: 156): for Turkish Cypriots the division line «constitutes a proper interstate border between two separate states in Cyprus. [...] For Greek Cypriots the major aim has been the reunification of Cyprus into one state» (Ibid: 155). The temporary nature of the border on the southern side reveals the non acceptance of the division and underlines the state of exception due to the military occupation, besides reiterating the will to reunify the island[39], while the construction of a wall on the northern side shows the attempt to give it the meaning of an official and stable border.

Until 2003 only one cross point was opened in Cyprus, the Ledra Palace checkpoint (Figure 5, point 1), and only some people were allowed to cross for temporary visits (cf. note 66 in paragraph 4.3). Ledra Palace, which was a prestigious hotel in the heart of the city, started being the UN headquarters during the inter-communal clashes in 1963 (Demetriou, 2007). A number of international institutions have been

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[38] Episodes of shooting incidents among soldiers continued happening around the buffer zone until the 1990s (ethnographic field notes).

[39] Nevertheless, 75.8% of Greek Cypriot responded negatively to the 2002 referendum for reunification, based on the Annan Plan for Cyprus. The process of reconciliation, despite being called for, is not easy, as I already outlined referring to Henderson and Lebow (1974) and the difficulties of rapprochement. Moreover, a solution must arise through a bottom-up process and cannot be imposed by external powers.

established, such as the Goethe Institute and the Fulbright centre along the passage area, whose length is approximately 300 meters. This neutral space has been used, and is still used, for bi-communal initiatives and meetings between the representatives of the two communities.

On April 23rd 2003, for the first time after 30 years, people were allowed to cross from one side to the other, and, during the first three days, 45.000 people (Ibid) went to visit the other side of Cyprus and to see their abandoned properties, passing for the first time through the buffer zone. Four checkpoints were opened, two of them in Nicosia: Ledra Palace (only for pedestrians) and Agios Demetios/Metehan, outside the city centre (for cars only). After that date, another pedestrian crossing point was opened in the city: from April 3rd 2008 people can cross the buffer zone through the Ledra/Lokmaci checkpoint, which is in the middle of the walled city (Figure 5, point 2).

The opening of the crossing points has represented a remarkable change from very different points of view. As far as the urban configuration and development are concerned, the opening has influenced the growth of investments in the walled city, aimed at improving the physical conditions and the possibility of mobility and circulation in the area. In recent years the Master Plan – a bi-communal institution that I present in chapter 4.2.1 – started a project for the restoration and the preservation of buildings in the buffer zone. Unfortunately the conditions of the area, together with security issues concerning the presence of mines and the military use of this space, limit the possibilities of intervention, as the leader of the Greek Cypriot Master Plan, explained to me.

> They [UN officials] want to check if there are mines. We made a survey of all the buildings but we couldn't go inside, because they are in very bad condition and all the roofs have collapsed. It is dangerous to enter the buildings. […] We will maybe start the renovation of the facades. The process is really slow, since we made the survey and we look for the money for the renovation, in order to avoid that the buildings collapse completely, but at most we can get permission to renovate the facades. We want to move our offices into a

common one[40] in a building in the buffer zone, but I don't think it will be easy (A.P., Masterplan team leader for the Greek Cypriots).

3.1. The Greek side

The spatial configuration of the Greek side of Nicosia has changed a lot in the last few years, also as a consequence of the opening of the Ledra/Lokmaci checkpoint. Most of the residents left the walled city in the period of inter-communal strife and during the war, leaving many empty buildings, which started to deteriorate.

> Most of the people felt that it was not safe to live close to the green line, they preferred to move away, they felt safer (Y.T. Greek Cypriot).

The first years after the 1974 Turkish intervention saw an intensive housing development in the south: according to Kliot and Mansfield (1999) thousands of residential units were built, most of them in the suburbs of Nicosia, to accommodate some 35.000 displaced Greek Cypriots from the north. Many commercial establishments also preferred to relocate out of Nicosia and the new residential development attracted investments to the suburbs, with the consequence of a decrease in the economic vitality of the old city.

In the 1980s the neighbourhoods developing around Nicosia became detached municipalities, with their own council and administrative regulation. A town planner I interviewed expressed his disagreement with this extreme segmentation of the urban space:

> There is one big division which is the outcome of the foreign occupation. A second division, within ourselves, is the division of the Nicosia city in seven municipalities, another division which poses many other problems. So we have seven municipalities in total (…) Dimos Aglantzia, Dimos Latcià, Strovolou which is the biggest of all, with the growing population, Lakatamia, Engomi and Agios Demetios is the smaller. This subdivision in seven municipalities poses very very big problems. Every municipality has its own municipal hall,

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[40] She refers to the fact that at the moment the Masterplan has two offices, a Greek Cypriot and a Turkish Cypriot one, and before the opening of the crossing points they used to meet at the Ledra Palace.

town hall, every municipality has its own mayor, every municipality has the driver of the mayor, and the separated administration. You can imagine if that helps to the development, to the healthy development of Nicosia or does not help (P.P., Greek Cypriot town planner of Nicosia).

Beginning from the 1970s the walled city, almost devoid of population and commercial activities, has become an area of small enterprises such as workshops and carpentries. According to what old and new inhabitants of the walled city told me, until the recent openings the southern part of Nicosia's centre was mainly inhabited by the few old residents who never left and who were later joined by migrants and, in more recent years, artists.

Immigration from other countries began rising in the 1990s, with a first wave of former Soviet Union citizens of Greek-descent, the so-called "Pontiacs", as a result of the communist system collapse (Demetriou 2009). After this first wave migration flows have continually increased with a high percentage of people coming from Southeast Asia, East Europe, North Africa and Central Asia (Ibid.).

> The basic trend of the population is that the population is going out of the historic centre, and we observe a reverse trend as far as the foreign immigrants are concerned, going to occupy the houses of that inhabitants leaving them, because of the low prices of rent, which is the reflection of the degradation (P.P., Greek Cypriot town planner of Nicosia).

The current number of inhabitants of south Nicosia is 234.200[41]. This data refers to the entire urban area, comprehensive of the seven autonomous municipalities, while Nicosia city alone has no more than 50.000 inhabitants.

The part of the old city that develops along the division is still characterised by the presence of carpentries and other old workshops, attracted by the cheap rents after the war. Many areas in the old town have acquired a multicultural aspect, due to the presence of migrants and of commercial activities related to them, such as phone centres or food shops selling foreign goods.

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[41] Source: demographic projection by the Statistical Service of the Republic of Cyprus (based on the demographic growth in the period between the census of 1993 and 2001). "Population by district", 27/11/09. Available at:
http://www.mof.gov.cy/mof/cystat/statistics.nsf/populationcondition_en/?OpenDocument [accessed 4 January 2010].

The old owners of the houses moved to new houses outside the old city and they started renting the apartments and sometimes they don't renew them and they just rent them as they are. They don't care in what conditions the persons have to live, so you get the immigrants who don't have a lot of money to pay for the rent (N.T., Greek Cypriot).

After the war, until recently, people were scared of living here and they all went away. That's why there are all the carpenters, there was this free space and they could build their laboratories. So after the war the carpenters came, then the prostitutes, then the migrants and then the artists, cause you could still find cheap buildings to convert into studios, and as artists we like the old city (M.T., Greek Cypriot artist living in the old city).

Following the opening of the border, commercial activities have changed and developed on the north-south axis. People have started circulating in this part of the city that was almost abandoned, finally using the streets of the centre as a public space. The composition of the residential population in the walled city has also begun to change. Some neighbourhoods of this area were involved in a regeneration process carried out by the Nicosia Master Plan. This kind of interventions in the central areas of cities often aims not only to improve the physical conditions, but also to replace the residential population, according to the process defined as *gentrification*, which has affected many Western cities' centres during the last decades.[42] In Nicosia this process is at its very beginning, and for most of Greek Cypriots the old town is still a no man's land, but foreign students or migrants from European countries, who normally settle in this area, are influencing the new generations and are materially changing the aspect of the walled city.

The consequences of the building renovations in the centre of Nicosia have been an increase of the prices of houses, the opening of new businesses and the arrival, or the return, of a different kind of resident within the walled city.

There are lot of foreigners living here and the Cypriots, the locals who are staying in the centre of Nicosia, in the old city, are mostly rich people from the upper class or also from an alternative class (E.P., Greek Cypriot).

In another area it became more commercial, like Ledra street is slowly becoming more like Makarios [main commercial road in the "new" city

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[42] For a detailed discussion on the process of gentrification, see Atkinson, R., Bridge, G., 2005. *Gentrification in a Global Context*, London: Routledge.

outside the Venetian walls], the big brands either for clothes or McDonald's are moving in into this area so it's of course changing the character. […] The power house converted into an exhibition space started making a more kind of art cultural place of the old Nicosia, so you see little studios… bars and clubs, now there's a little bit more in the centre, so it's becoming a little bit more lively, in comparison to five years ago (M.C., Greek Cypriot).

This process has just started, but it already has quite a clear spatial reflection, such as the creation of distinct areas inhabited or "used" by different populations. Some parts of the city are becoming exclusive because of the regeneration processes, the rise of the prices of houses or due to the commercial services they provide. On the other hand migrants concentrate in specific areas, and the outcome is a clear spatial segregation, which implies consequences on the idea people have of the area:

I'm not against the foreigners, but they created a ghetto here, they are not welcome to Cyprus, these foreigners, that's why they created a ghetto (L.A. Greek Cypriot).

It works in small ghettos, so some streets are more, you find more people let's say from maybe Pakistan and then another street will be more people from the eastern block… I think it's related to the fact that these places here have cheap rents and they're not very controlled by the owners, so it gives the possibility for people to find a home which isn't very expensive and one they can share, so that they can live in more than two or three people (A.S., Greek Cypriot).

We are facing a major problem with the formation of a ghetto, the abandon of this section of the city, of the historic centre by the population and by the authorities, central authorities, Cyprus government as well as Nicosia municipality, and the subsequent problems. Demolitions, degradation of the buildings of historic importance and many kinds of accompanied problems related to this major problem (P.P., Greek Cypriot town planner in Nicosia).

Furthermore, the division and the presence of the buffer zone continues to influence the perception inhabitants have of the public space within the walls. Even if there are no longer episodes of violence, many people still feel uncomfortable with going along the Green Line, and many Cypriots do not go to that part of the city. The general condition of the walled cities, the deterioration of buildings, the proximity of the Green Line and the presence of migrants are all elements which maintain the representation of this area as non attractive and add to the idea that only people with a certain attitude can move and live there.

> To live here is very different from just visiting a little bit, it's something that you do very consciously, you don't say oh where should I live? Maybe in the old city. If you decide to live in the old city you have to take into consideration that you will live with people from other countries, with very noisy places as well, dust, old buildings, so you must have a kind of romantic attitude towards life to be here, to make that decision (M.C., Greek Cypriot).

This idea related to the ancient town inside the wall seen in antithesis to the new city is reflected in the residents' representation of the city: when I asked people to draw parts of Nicosia or to show me where the line of partition is, most of them started drawing the star representing the Venetian walls and highlighting the separation between the old and the new city. Interestingly enough, most of these mental maps were drawn without the buffer zone in the walled town: they underline the existing boundaries between the different parts of the city but consider the old part as a whole. This is probably due to the fact that the old town is sometimes considered as the buffer zone itself. A carpenter working in the southern walled city close to the Green Line told me that he has a problem in receiving materials from his suppliers, because when he tells them where the workshop is, they do not want to go there because they think it is in the buffer zone (ethnographic field notes).

The reason why many Greek Cypriots still do not hang out in the old city is perhaps a combination of scarce knowledge of the area, prejudices towards it and towards the new residents, together with the historical process of suburbanisation due both to the development of the city and to the conflict.

The new generations have a more positive attitude towards the walled city and, even though they share their parents' ideas about it, I could observe an increase of their presence in the area, both as residents and visitors. However, as a town planner told me:

> there is a trend [concerning young people moving to the centre] in the last ten years, but it is limited, very limited.. We have some trends but it's not the trend which can reverse the all process of abandon (P.P., Greek Cypriot town planner in Nicosia).

The opening of the crossing points and the reclaiming of neighbourhoods may be important steps to re-take possession, in physical and symbolic terms, of this part of

the city, which would mean getting closer to the other side sharing a common space and changing its meaning.

3.2.   The Turkish side

After 1974 there was a huge migration of Turkish people to the Turkish Cypriot new born "state", both as a plan to increase the population and to improve the economic condition of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus (TFSC)[43] with people who could work the land and in factories abandoned by displaced Greek Cypriots in the south. This first wave of immigrants from Turkey were part of a Turkish Cypriot plan that guaranteed them a property and citizenship almost upon arrival[44]. Moreover, a Turkish military contingent was established in the island in order to secure and protect the new state. The influx of settlers and soldiers from Turkey – their number estimated between 65.000 and 80.000[45] – considerably changed the Turkish Cypriot nature of the society (Kliot & Mansfield 1999). In addition to this planned migration, Turkish citizens continued moving to Cyprus thanks to the job opportunities on the island and, in more recent years, also for study related reasons. Since the old town was not completely inhabited – because of the displacement of Greek Cypriots to the southern side of the city – Turkish migrants mainly settled there, temporarily or permanently, with interesting consequences on the social

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[43] This was the first self proclamation of the north new political entity in 1975. The international condemnation of the division, requested by Greek Cypriots to the United Nations, which was leading to a formal request of withdrawal of the occupation forces, motivated the further self-proclamation of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) as an independent state in November 1983 (Hatay 2007).

[44] «According to TSFC Citizenship Law Act No. 3/1975, anyone who resides on the Island for one year may apply for citizenship. In addition, families of the 498 Turkish soldiers killed in the 1974 war would be eligible for citizenship, as would all Turkish soldiers who had served in Cyprus until 18 August 1974. Some of the veterans took the opportunity and settled on the island. There presently exists a Turkish Army Veterans' Association with around 1,200 active members, the majority of whom (75%) are married to Turkish Cypriots. A clause in the law also allows the Council of Ministers to grant citizenship to anyone who is deemed to be of benefit to the state, a measure which was sometimes abused by the parties in the government» (Hatay 2008, note 19). This law was changed at the end of the 1970s so that Turkish nationals who came to live in Cyprus had no longer property concessions. Since 1983 citizenship is given after five years as residents on the island.

[45] Data concerning the number of Turks settled in the TRNC are discordant depending on the source, and this is a strongly debated issue in both sides of Cyprus. However, between 1975 and 1993 approximately 25.000-30.000 settlers arrived in the island, as well as about 35.000 soldiers (Ibid).

structure of the city. During interviews, Turkish Cypriot inhabitants of Nicosia told me that the arrival of Turkish people, whom they considered settlers without distinguishing them from temporary migrants, provoked the movement of the old residents from the city centre towards the outskirts, since the presence of migrants and settlers – mainly coming from rural parts of the mother land – was perceived as dangerous. Two young Turkish Cypriots living in Nicosia explain it this way:

> My grandmother lived in the walled city, but during the eighties it became a dangerous place to live, since there are many immigrants, mostly from Turkey, and so she felt insecure and decided to go away. It's the same thing that many Turkish Cypriots are doing (H.T., Turkish Cypriot).

> I like the old city, I have a special attachment to the old city because I grew up there until I was sixteen, and then I moved away. I lived there with my parents, also my parents moved away. […] Today it's changed a bit, that's the reason why my parents moved. One reason was traffic […] it was always inconvenient for them. Another reason was that many immigrants moved there, so my parents were maybe the last Turkish Cypriots living in that area in Arabahment. I mean I'm sure there are Turkish Cypriots living there, but they were one of the last old families. […] The city centre has changed because of the presence of settlers from Turkey, that's the biggest change. People say the crime rate has increased, I didn't have any experiences myself, but people say they had problems with it (Z.A., Turkish Cypriot).

The discourse surrounding these two opinions is related to a general growth of prejudices and discrimination towards Turkish immigrants, especially those who come from rural areas in Anatolia, and are considered to be "poor, uneducated and uncivilized".

According to Hatay (2008) northern Cypriots started having negative reaction to the increase of Turkish population in the island in the 1980s (cf. paragraph 7.3). The main reason for this change of opinion was due to the fact that those who came as migrants did not correspond to the idea Cypriots had of the modern and secularized Turkish mainlanders. Besides, the government's distribution of property in the first years after the partition was seen as an unjust policy towards the local population, and led to reactions that can be interpreted through the Burgess concept of competition for resources (Park et al. 1967).

The more the TRNC was dependent – economically, culturally and from a military perspective – on Turkey, the more Cypriots felt oppressed and controlled by the motherland, also because the international restrictions deriving from the unrecognised status of the Republic and the economic embargo involved difficult living conditions, and at the same time strengthened the relation with Turkey.

In Nicosia the result of this process was that the walled city was left to the poor immigrants, while the local middle class moved to the outskirts where the city was spreading and new neighbourhoods were growing. As Hatay states «the increasing use of Ottoman mansions and houses as dwellings for manual labourers, or homes for large immigrant families, has effectively transformed Nicosia's walled city into an immigrant ghetto» (Hatay 2008: 157).

Therefore in the north a process similar to the one described for the southern side occurred, and it provoked the same secondary partition of the already divided Nicosia into the ancient walled city and the new modern suburbs. As in the south, the area surrounding the buffer zone is more decadent than the rest of the city, except for the streets around the Ledra/Lokmaci checkpoint and a few other neighbourhoods where buildings have been renovated. Many businesses have flourished, especially after the opening of the crossing point.

> We have the Hasmalti project we're working on at the moment; it includes the upgrading of the Hasmalti region in the walled city, upgrading the existing shops or bringing new functions which will economically improve the conditions of the land owners and of the area in general. This also links to the Lokmaci-Ledra Street opening, because it's next to it. We're trying to connect the two sides. We have the two streets just opposite and with the Hasmalti project we will integrate that part together, we're aiming [to do this] (A.G., Masterplan team leader for the Turkish Cypriot).

> It [the Ledra/Lokmaci opening] was a good symbolic opening as it is different from any other opening, even more than Ledra palace, because in Ledra palace there is the buffer zone, in Ledra street the buffer zone is like one street, so it's like they unified one street, and it was also important for the north to develop the shops and places, which I think will have a better effect later, for tourists as well to go to the north (Z.A., Turkish Cypriot).

Along the division many houses are empty and partially destroyed, and the presence of the Turkish army, in addition to the Turkish Cypriot soldier-stations, contributes

to giving this area an exceptional quality. The wall which separates the TRNC from the buffer zone impedes the view inside the UN strip. Compared to the ceasefire of the southern side, it gives a little more the impression of a border. People in the north refer to that division as an administrative border, which separates two national states, although they often underline the exceptionality of that kind of frontier and over time their opinion of it has changed.

> Now I think [the division] it's a limit for freedom, but maybe when I was a kid with the official historical facts in my mind I thought it was a safe border. Then with education, with logical reasoning, my opinion changed (E.N. Turkish Cypriot).

The meaning given to the line of partition by people living in the city is the result of the political role attributed to it: if the role changes, the meaning and the effect of the border also change. In the period of formation of the new state, the importance of the wall of division and the attempt to define it as an official and stable border between two separate national entities led to an attribution of a certain symbolic meaning to it. As I elaborate in chapter 8 through the visual analysis of the border landscape, the wall built after the war, together with the discourse concerning the Greek Cypriots' violence against the Turkish minority and the process of *turkification* (cf. chapter 7.3), were the basis for the stabilisation of the Turkish Cypriot nationalism. With the progress of time new political ideologies as well as the reclaiming of autonomy from the motherland contributed to change the shape of space, in parallel with the promotion of a new form of community recognition, one more and more detached from Turkey and oriented towards Europe. The spatial reflection of these attitudes has been the segregation of the Turkish settlers and migrants and the abandonment of the old city, for a new and modern lifestyle in the suburbs, in a similar way as in the south. Another consequence has been the new definition of the line of partition as a limit to development and to the achievement of the full status of European citizens, which means the end of the embargo and of the strict economic regulations (cf. chapter 5). The border is therefore something to be dismantled in order to enhance the living conditions and to overcome reliance on Turkey.

3.3.   The buffer zone

The strip of land patrolled by the UN forces passes through the very core of the old city. Ermou Street, which was the main commercial hub of Nicosia, and where previously the river Pedeios flowed, is almost entirely inside the buffer zone and is now in a terrible condition, like the rest of the neighbourhood. The transformation of this area throughout time shows that «there is no better example of the typical evolution of ethnic boundaries – simultaneously incremental, arbitrary, and emblematic – than the Nicosia Green Line» (Calame & Charlesworth 2009: 214). There are other examples, in the quite vast category of divided cities, of commercial arteries becoming partition lines: Shankill and Falls Road in Belfast, Martyr's Square, Damascus Road and Hamra Street in Beirut, Jaffa, Mamillah and Nablus Street in Jerusalem, Boulevard of National Revolution in Mostar, Under-der-Linden in Berlin. Places of coexistence and cooperation are most likely to become the arenas of clashes (Ibid.) because of the proximity they provide to conflicting groups and their material and symbolic meanings.

The decadence of the buffer zone in Nicosia together with its non accessibility perfectly shows and maintains the memory of the conflict and its physical outcomes. Space in the buffer zone is the evidence of violence, the symbol of the conflict. This strip of land embodies history and politics and has become an open-air museum of past events. The name Green Line has never been more suitable, since the entire area is now covered with trees and spontaneous vegetation, and if viewing the city from above it is easy to recognise the green strip (Figure 6).

The events that occurred during the riots in the 1960s and during the war in 1974 led to a redefinition of space configuration in Nicosia, which involved not only the physical appearance of the city, but also the relationship Cypriots have with space. This transformation in people's relationship with space can be analysed in terms of

mobility, since the two main changes that characterised Nicosia's residents were the forced movement from one side to the other, and the prohibition to cross.

Figure 6
The Green Line is clearly visible from above.
www.mapsof.net

The buffer zone then started to represent this process in a physical, visible and tangible way. The empty buildings covered with bullet holes, the military stations and the waving flags of the three entities that share this piece of land are all lasting marks that contribute to preserve the memory of what happened and therefore to reinforce the two communities' feelings of belonging.

All these elements are enforced by the political and historical narrations of the two sides. The buffer zone has become the container of conflicting and contested memories, which finds a fixation in space, also because of personal stories related to it:

> There is another reason why I am interested in the buffer zone. Have I shown you my grandmother's old house, which is in the buffer zone? Around the Ledra Palace area there is a place, now it's closed, there are soldiers, but you can see a small house, right in the corner, it's in the Green Line, and UN soldiers are situated there now. […] [My grandparents] lived there […] and then in 1960 there were troubles so they moved away from there. […] But the buffer zone is always interesting for me because of that house and its location.

If the buffer zone was like ten or fifteen metres further, that house would be with us now today (Z.A., Turkish Cypriot).

Space is a crucial dimension as a tool to understand processes of collective memory construction and to reproduce dynamics of power. In the case of Nicosia we will see how the meanings attributed to the buffer zone and its spatial configuration have a great impact on the social and political processes. In his essay on space, Simmel (1997) addresses this topic while explaining the concept of *rendez-vous*, a term that defines both the meeting and the place. Simmel argues that memory easily connects with space, whose evocative power is stronger than time. Therefore, the place where a *rendez-vous* occurs becomes the pivot for the relationships that develop around it: space is closely linked to memory and vice versa. The old city has been the pivot for the relation of conflict between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, and therefore it has a strong evocative power connected to it. The buffer zone, in particular, still maintains this haunting function, constituting the material representation of conflicting and contested memories and feelings of the past. According to Halbwachs (1980), memory cannot exist out of social contexts, since it generates a collective process, and it is reproduced through the constant interaction with social actors. With reference to space, Halbwachs outlines how the material objects with which we are in contact in our daily life do not change, giving us an image of length and stability. Every individual or social group gives meanings to the surrounding environment, transforming it into a container of memory, which contributes to defining the continuity or discontinuity of individual and collective experience. Place becomes a groups' footprint, and all social practices can be seen reflected in space: through space people can recall past memories, since no collective memory can exist at all without its unfolding in space.

Public space should be an open area accessible to everyone, therefore the buffer zone should not be intended as a public space. Nevertheless, the attribution of social, political and symbolic meanings enforces its public role and makes it a very peculiar space through which it is possible to continue narrating different and conflicting versions of history. Halbwachs' (1980; 1992) analysis of Jerusalem's collective memory – rewritten by each group that conquered it – highlights the way

in which the construction of memory is closely related to the redefinition and redesigning of the city (Hocknell et al. 1998). Through this process each group «projects [its own historical narrative] onto the city, not only as a unique, but also as the only legitimate one» (Ibid: 162).

That which was a public space before the division has become a neglected public space, since its non accessibility in physical terms has not decreased its power and social role as a space for collective recognition and the continuous redefinition of identity. The prohibition to enter it is symbolically functional to the maintenance of these features, since it represents and remembers the past conflict in a tangible way.

It is interesting to notice that many researches conducted in Nicosia by architects and urban sociologists whom I met during my fieldwork are focused on the reconfiguration of the buffer zone in the event of a reunification of the city. It is of course a matter of urban planning, but it is evident that the achievement of a solution also passes through the transformation of that space and consequently of its meanings. The conversion of this area into a place shared by the two communities is the desire of most of Nicosia's residents, when I asked them what they imagine the buffer zone should become after a solution. In very different ways they all imagine a public space, usable and enjoyable by everyone, whether they would like it to be an open air museum remembering the past conflict or something totally different.

> I think it should become a museum; they should keep some pieces for a museum, like the Berlin wall. Somehow to show people how silly and how closed their minds were. For example, they should keep one of the old houses with trenches, with these signs, sand bags… some posters with 'no photography' and soldier symbols; those symbols should be kept, the barbed wire should be kept, symbolically, to show people, as an example, they shouldn't do this again (Z.A., Turkish Cypriot).

> A historical point which should explain to you how it used to be, like in Berlin. I mean, something symbolical, something that would be part of the history of the city (E.P., Greek Cypriot).

> I would like it to be something that invites people, especially young people, to have a space and a platform to do things, I mean I would love to see something like an open air theatre, a park, a square with no cars, something

that will invite people to walk and not to pass, and not to create traffic, green areas, just something that invites you to be there (M.M. Greek Cypriot).

I would like it to become the centre, as it was before, a place where people can meet, a pedestrian area or something like this. A commercial area, a park, a place where the two communities could meet (K.O., Turkish Cypriot).

The analysis of the spatial configuration of the walled city of Nicosia, and in particular of the buffer zone, highlights the influence space has in supporting narrations and in enforcing identity patterns. The buffer zone, instead of being just an empty space, turned out to be a very strong tool for the construction of memories and identities based on its loss. An empty space, in fact, does not cease to contain symbols and stories; in contexts like Nicosia, where a conflict has a very strong impact on space, it does not lose at all its public function. The entire old city, which for different reasons is still considered by most Cypriots as a large no man's zone, continues to represent the territorial confrontation of the two groups and is changing its public role with difficulty through administrative planning interventions. However, the effects of power action on space are not easy to remove or to substitute, and the process of rapprochement requires a strong effort by both administrators and citizens.

Foucault's reflection on power and body can add some important clues to dealing with this topic. The French philosopher analyses the dimension of spatiality, revealing that discipline cannot work without space (and time) manipulation. Bodies, according to this argument, exist in space and submit to space authority, but they can carve out a space of resistance and freedom – the so called *heterotopias* (Foucault, 2006). Therefore, space becomes the metaphor of a container of power, which often limits, but sometimes frees up the possibilities of actions. The challenge of Nicosia towards a reconciliation of the two communities and the reunification of the city necessarily passes through the elaboration of new meanings related to that space. Consequently, in order to achieve a solution, it will be of paramount importance to promote a transformation of the buffer zone that could allow the creation of a sort of *heterotopia*, or better a *koinotopia* in which it would be possible to find meanings shared by the two communities.

4. ADMINISTRATION AND INSTITUTIONS

One of the most immediate consequences of a city's partition is observable in the adjustment of its administrative organisation, and this is also the feature that most clearly shows the break of the urban unity. Whether the division is due to ideological reasons or the city is partitioned because of inter-ethnic conflict[46] (Kliot & Mansfield 1999), one of the first results is the re-organisation of the new born entity (entities).

Ethnic identity and nationalism combine to create pressures for group rights, autonomy, or territorial separation. In ethnically polarised cities, the government is often controlled by one ethnic group and this leads to diverse forms of discrimination against competing groups (Bollens 2000). When a conflict breaks out between a majority and a minority, the need for a self-administration of the latter appears to be the solution for the lack of rights recognition. Moreover, violent conflicts lead to the creation of institutions that can guarantee the protection of the community and establish order.

Historically, the self administration of the city has been of great importance for the growth of the urban system in opposition to the rural environment (Mumford 1960) and it has set the basis for the definition of citizenship and the protection of citizens.

According to Rokkan's theory on state formation (cf. Ferrera 2005), structuring processes are typically associated with the presence (introduction, modification, removal) of boundaries (ibid: 19). Referring to Weber, Rokkan adds a new important aspect to the meaning of boundaries: they are not only physical demarcations over a territory, nor just symbolic divisions with constitutive power in respect of individual and group identities. Boundaries are also mechanisms of social closure and sources of group formation, instruments for resources allocation and potential objects of contention (Ibid: 20). This conceptualisation allows us to introduce the issues of the separation of territory as a tool to control and manage

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[46] See paragraph 2.2.

resources, and of institutions configuration and state formation. The different stages of the political development of the state, with reference to the European arena, are identified by Rokkan in the boundary formation, the system building and the centre formation, which signifies the establishment of a new centre of control and command «from which elites advance claims to spatial control» (Ibid: 23). The spatial element is very important since it involves both a *territorial* and a *membership* component: the control of a bounded space means at the same time defence from the outside and internal distinction, for example through the establishment of citizenship rights. According to Rokkan:

> [membership boundaries] tend to be much firmer than geographical boundaries: you can cross the border into a territory as a tourist, trader or casual labourer, but you will find it much more difficult to be accepted as a member of the core group claiming preeminent rights of control within a territory (quoted in Flora, Kuhnle, and Urwin 1999: 104).

This analysis has two possible applications in our context: on the one hand it allows us to understand the failure of the Cypriot state formation and of the city's administration on the municipal scale; on the other hand it helps to understand the process of formation of the ethnically separated municipalities and the important bond they created with space. Following Rokkan's terminology, "pillarization" is the institutional configuration that forms in connection with specific parties and interest associations. Rokkan gives the example of the Netherlands in the first half of the twentieth Century, when the Roman Catholics, the Orthodox Protestants, and other components of the Dutch society, «organised themselves as separate pillars (*zuilen*) resting on cultural organisations such as churches and schools, economic organisations such as trade unions and professional associations, and political associations such as parties» (Ferrera 2005: 19).

This process has a clear reflection on space, since it involves the introduction of boundaries of sovereignty over territory. In Nicosia, starting from the Ottoman rule, the process of "pillarization" involved different spheres of the social organisation of Cypriots, since religious, economic, educational and cultural affairs were subject to separate authorities, mainly to the Orthodox Church for Greek Cypriots and to the

Ottoman government for Turkish Cypriots (Uluçay et al. 2005). The British governors did not change this use, rather they improved it: even though they limited the Orthodox Church's autonomy and authority to exclusively religious activities, the British applied the Greek and Turkish school systems in Cyprus, thus strengthening the cleavage in both cultural and spatial terms.

What happened in Nicosia is not a unique and isolated anomaly, as Calame and Charlesworth (2009) underline in their comparative study on divided cities. Cities, and especially capital cities (Landau-Wells 2008), are often the catalysts of inter-ethnic conflicts, since they provide proximity among the different ethnic or religious groups, and they can more easily become the scenario for clashes. Moreover, they concentrate political, commercial and financial powers (Glassner & Fahrer 2004; Hall 1993; Rapoport 1993) and also different kinds of resources, and they contain symbols, myths and memories which are an essential tool for the build-up of national identity. Thus, they contain material, cultural and symbolic resources, therefore social actors – both individual and collective – compete for their control and use (Bollens 2001).

In contested cities, institutions and administrators are supposed to manage the spatial organisation, demographic allocation, service delivery and spending in a way which should moderate the level of inter-ethnic tension, not to provoke feelings of insecurity or unfairness in minority groups. While conflicts concerning issues of resources redistribution are present in every kind of city, they lead to urban polarisation only when ethnic and nationalist claims combine.

> Urban partition results from concerns […] such as ethnicity tied to political affiliation, institutional discrimination, physical security, fair policing, and shifting relations between majority and minority ethnic communities (Calame & Charlesworth 2009: 7).

In Nicosia, in the years just before and after the independence of Cyprus, there was an increasing separation of the two ethnic communities, with a consequent self-organisation of the more and more conflicting groups.

In terms of territorial sovereignty, moreover, the configuration taken by space from the end of the 1950s appears to be particularly interesting, since the result is the creation of distinct areas subject to different authorities. It is possible to distinguish between a horizontal and a vertical layer of observation, ideally watching the city from above, as in a typical cartographic representation, or revealing its structure through a sort of cutaway drawing.

The horizontal organisation of space is apparently clear[47]: there are three areas – the two sides and the buffer zone in the middle – with three corresponding authorities – the Greek Cypriot government, the Turkish Cypriot government, or pseudo-government, and the UN control (Figure 5). Different kinds of physical and ideational borders mark and define this territorial partition, as I analyse in chapter 8: the lines of division, the flags and the military apparatus[48].

Layers of authorities are much more interconnected in the vertical organisation of space. From the rooftops of private houses to the sewage pipelines that run below the city, Nicosia experiences an interweaving of sovereign authorities that suggests different claims and usages over the same domains, but regulates them in diverse and ambiguous ways. These sovereign authorities refer, again, to the state institutions that came into effect after the island's partition in 1974 and to military bodies whose presence is justified on the basis of a peacekeeping guarantee. In the light of the unsettled political situation in Cyprus, the sovereign authorities appear to be at the same time both temporary and permanent. These powers at work, in their soft and hard forms, operate through surveillance, urban planning, and national borders, conditioning the way in which people live and experience space.

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[47] Nevertheless, in some points it is almost impossible to understand where the Greek side ends and the buffer zone starts, and this is due to the peculiar shape of the border in the southern side (see chapter 8). During my ethnographical fieldwork I sometimes entered the buffer zone without even realising it.

[48] Extending this observation to the whole island, the co-presence of different powers also includes the two British military bases of Dhekelia and Akrotiri, in the south of the island. Great Britain acquired the right to establish them in Cyprus through the Zurich-London agreements which gave Cyprus its independence, and one of the peculiarities of these bases is that they are the only ones in the world which claim sovereignty over the territory they cover (92 square miles). The strategic geopolitical position of Cyprus justifies the British interests in keeping military control in the area. The effect, though, is an over-militarisation of the territory and the permanent instability of local sovereignty (Stefanou 2005).

These observations about the interweaving of authorities over space allow us to introduce the topic of administrative organisation and infrastructural management in the city.

4.1.   The issue of the double municipality

Article 173 of the Cypriot constitution sets the foundations for one of the most problematic issues after the independence of the island by stating that separate municipalities should be created in the five main towns of Cyprus by their Turkish inhabitants[49]. The article was incorporated in the Zurich Agreement of 11 February 1959 and signed by the representatives of the three guarantor powers[50] and by the two Cypriot major ethnic communities. The role of Turkey in this context is particularly debated (Markides 1998; 2001) since its influence in the decision of including this article has been explained as a first step in view of the achievement of *taksim*, namely the partition of the island. The demand for communal local government was intended to facilitate the establishment of a separate political entity for Turkish Cypriots, in order for them to acquire community rather than minority rights (Markides 1998: 178).

As far as the Greek Cypriots are concerned, their approval of this article of the constitution is seen as both a forced choice (Drousiotis 2008) and an underestimation of the consequences of such a decision: the desired union with

[49] Article 173:
1. Separate municipalities shall be created in the five largest towns of the Republic, that is to say, Nicosia, Limassol, Famagusta, Larnaca and Paphos by the Turkish inhabitants thereof:
Provided that the President and the Vice-President of the Republic shall within four years of the date of the coming into operation of this Constitution examine the question whether or not this separation of municipalities in the aforesaid towns shall continue.
2. The council of the Greek municipality in any such town shall be elected by the Greek electors of the town and the council of the Turkish municipality in such town shall be elected by the Turkish electors of the town.
3. In each such town a co-ordinating body shall be set up composed of two members chosen by the council of the Greek municipality, two members chosen by the council of the Turkish municipality and a President chosen by agreement between the two councils of such municipalities in such town. Such co-ordinating body shall provide for work which needs to be carried out jointly, shall carry out joint services entrusted to it by agreement of the councils of the two municipalities within the town and shall concern itself with matters which require a degree of co-operation.
[50] England, Greece and Turkey.

Greece was finally denied and they intended the Zurich framework as providing majority rule with very strong minority safeguards in a fully independent state (Markides 1998).

In the years following 1957[51], the absence of a legal establishment of the separate Turkish municipality was the main problem for the functioning of the city administration and for a political settlement throughout the entire island, as the mayor of Greek Nicosia in the period of the division told me:

> In the constitution it says that Nicosia and some other towns also had to set up two municipalities, Turkish and Greek. It was never done, under the constitution, in fact it was one of the issues about which we quarrelled, and in 1963 we separated from the Turks[52]. There was never a law setting up two separate municipalities; de facto the British, who were of course responsible for a number of bad things, they passed preliminary legislation saying that until that law is passed, in Nicosia there is a Greek municipality and a Turkish municipality separated, and they can impose and collect taxes, and they have their area, although it was not specifically divided, but they put this seed of trouble, by doing this, because they said "yes there must be two municipalities" but nothing about how and under what law, and then we had the trouble. It was a big trouble (L.D., Greek Cypriot former mayor of Nicosia).

In the view of his counterpart, the mayor of Turkish Nicosia from 1967 to 1990, the problem was different.

> Somehow, under a British colonial legislation, the Turkish Cypriot municipality was established, but there wasn't any election, only appointed committees. […] When there was the constitution for the Republic of Cyprus, under section 173 of the constitution it was agreed that there should be separate municipalities in these five towns, but although it was accepted, when it came into force, Greek Cypriots didn't like the idea. They said that it is not good to have separate municipalities, so they view this as a kind of separation and they didn't want to give this right to the Turkish Cypriots. On the other hand, Turkish Cypriots saw this as an important right in the constitution for the safeguard of their right at the local level, so they said "the Greek Cypriots

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[51] Before the independence of the island, the «municipal government was the only area of the administration presided by elected bodies […]. The councils were elected on the basis of communally-based proportional representation which meant that […] the main towns of Cyprus were run by Greek-dominated councils presided over by Greek mayors. […] Municipal councils elected by proportional representation soon became the accepted norm throughout the island. The municipal councils, however, remained highly politicised and the distinction between Greeks and Turks clearly defined» (Markides 1998: 179).

[52] He refers to the establishment, in 1963, of the Green Line dividing the two communities and patrolled by the UN forces (see chapter 3).

don't want to give us these rights, they want the whole island to unite to Greece". And there was this agreement but no agreement for the borders of the municipalities, then this issue became part of a constitutional controversy between the two sides. While the Greek Cypriots, at some point were accepting to give permission for the continuation of British legislation, in 1962 they stopped approving this, and they abolished the Turkish Cypriot municipalities (M.A., Turkish Cypriot former mayor of Nicosia).

The framework for the Turkish Cypriot governing bodies evolved during the 1960s in the enclaves, especially in Nicosia (Kliot & Mansfield 1997a), although the first step was taken by the Turkish municipal councillors in 1957, when they resigned *en masse* from the municipal council[53], starting a strategy to persuade the British to set a provision for the implementation of the separate municipalities. They started occupying the same positions for the Turkish Cypriot community only, applying *de facto* separation of the municipalities, with salaries paid directly by Turkey. Separate economic and tax collection systems were also initiated, as well as mail collection and distribution (Ibid). According to different scholars (Ramady 1976; Markides 1998; Kliot & Mansfield 1997) this first duplication of services and administrative structures both enabled the Turkish Cypriots to develop administrative and management skills, and provided the basis for the apparatus of their future state[54]. In addition, the existence of a self-administration guaranteed the minority for the safeguard of their rights, which they considered in danger under a Greek Cypriot government.

As Calame & Charlesworth (2009: 12) point out, «the demise of a city cannot be separated from a failure of the social institutions and political systems of which it is an extension». In the case of Nicosia, different systems of power contributed to the institutional failure, since local conflicting national aspirations and mutual mistrust mixed with the *divide et impera* British rule and with the Turkish influence on the

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[53] As Markides (1998: 181) explains: «the Turkish employees – some 72 in Nicosia – were obliged by the Turkish Cypriot leadership to give up their jobs, while the Greek municipal employees refused to work in the Turkish areas».

[54] The evolution of the Turkish Cypriot separate administration followed these steps: from the General Committee stage (1963-7) through the Provisional Cyprus Turkish Administration (1967-74) to the stage of an Autonomous Cyprus Turkish Administration (1974-5) and the Turkish Federate State of Cyprus (1975-83) and, since 1983, an independent Turkish Cypriot state, although not internationally recognised.

matter. The result was the almost forced development of increasingly separated municipal authorities in order to accommodate ethnic segregation.

Since many basic institutions were already separated – as I already explained the education and religious systems always remained independent – the outcome was a situation precursor to the radical division of 1974.

With regard to these aspects, the costs of partition were incredibly high (cf. chapter 5): the economic conditions of the island were in serious decline since the early 1970s, and worsened after the Turkish military intervention. As the Cypriot economy was mainly based on tourism and agriculture, interethnic violence and the war had a very strong impact on the country's stability (Calame & Charlesworth 2009: 141-142). Moreover, a partition involves the need to establish new physical and institutional infrastructures, both as measures to replace the previous city functions, and as systems to deal with new problems of jurisdiction, compensation and the various consequences of an invasion and a war.

After the Turkish Cypriot forced establishment of the separate municipality, the Surridge Commission – which was set up by British officers to make recommendations about the matter – already commented that:

> In short, the disadvantages of establishing two communal municipalities in one town are so serious and widespread that we should not, in normal circumstances, have accepted the proposal, nor do we think that any Cypriot, either Greek or Turk would have done so – in normal circumstances (Official Report of the Surridge Commission, December 1958[55]).

From an administrative point of view the present situation of the city is that of two distinct areas with their own municipal authorities and bodies of institutions, divided down the middle by a strip with military international peacekeeping control. The presence of the UN plays a substantial part in the political landscape of the city, and its administration and patrol of the buffer zone contributes to define the spatial unfolding of the unsolved political situation.

Another interesting feature of the administrative aspects of the partition is the existence of Greek Cypriot municipal councils for the towns under occupation in

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[55] Reported in Markides 1998: 183.

the north. Two of these kinds of shadow governments are based in Nicosia[56], from were they function as normal civic institutions, with bodies elected by the Greek refugees from the occupied town. They deal with some administrative issues, e.g. civil marriages, and mainly work for keeping the refugee communities united and fighting against the occupation and for the right to return and the restitution of lost properties[57].

This is another example of the need to build or maintain an administrative control over territory, which has the physical expression of twofold municipalities, not only in Nicosia but all over the island, even without the partition of all the towns.

4.2. Infrastructures

The duplication of infrastructures, institutions and businesses is an inevitable consequence of city partition. This process in Nicosia led to forms of sprawl and expansion that seriously undermined municipal functions that were already inefficient due to the period of clashes.

> The conventional logic of shared spaces and services is turned upside down; in a segregated city, each antagonistic ethnic community insists on the possession and control of its own streets, airwaves, currencies, utilities, schools, hospitals, and housing to whatever extent possible, on the assumption that those apparently belonging to rival groups could prove dangerous to them (Calame & Charlesworth 2009: 220).

In many case studies of intra-state conflict, the control of territorial resources becomes one of the most important issues of contention: the Israeli control of the Palestinian water supply is a clear example of this strategy[58]. In Nicosia, after the

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[56] The Kyrenia municipality and the Morphou municipality are in Nicosia, while the Famagusta municipality is in Limassol.

[57] In paragraph 8.3 I present with more detail the tasks and demands of one of these municipal councils, the Kyrenia one.

[58] See: Nasser, Y., 2003. Palestinian Water Needs and Rights in the Context of Past and Future Development. In *Water in Palestine: Problems - Politics - Prospects*, Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs (PASSIA), Jerusalem; Selby, J., 2004. *Water, Power and Politics in The Middle East*, I.B. Tauris, London;

partition, the supply of water and electricity remained integrated, although there was no legal agreement for its management. After 1974 the water supply in the south could not depend any more on the crucial water source of Morphou located in the north; therefore, this supply remained shared for a long time, until the Greek Cypriots were able to guarantee their own provision from the Trodos Mountains in the southern side of the island (Kliot & Mansfield 1997).

A similar situation was experienced with the electricity supply, since clearly there had been only one system for the whole city before the war. The provision of electricity in the north of the city was dependent on the south until 1995, when the Turkish Cypriots built their own power plant (ethnographic field notes). Since 1964 the Turkish community has been receiving electricity free of charge at a cost of about 300 million dollars[59] (Jansen 1994 quoted in Kliot & Mansfield 1997: 508). The reason why Greek Cypriots continued to provide electricity to the north side has been explained to me in very diverging ways according to the different ethnic communities:

> We did it because for us it was a humanitarian issue. We couldn't leave them without electricity. When they created the enclaves we didn't cut the electricity and we continued giving it for free until they were able to provide it by themselves (L.D., Greek Cypriot former mayor of Nicosia).

> Electricity was like this, we were receiving it from the south. Actually it was in such a manner…[that] it wasn't easy to separate […] because sometimes the power or the transmitters had to go to the north so that it goes back to the south, so if they cut the north electricity they would cut the south as well. They had to, but in time everybody had built their own alternatives so it was easier to separate (A.G., Master Plan team leader for the Turkish Cypriots).

Sosland, J.K., 2007. *Cooperating rivals: the riparian politics of the Jordan River Basin*, State University of New York Press, New York.

[59] There were frequent power cuts during that period, and «the Greek Cypriots were accused of using electrical power to put pressure on the Turkish Cypriots to make concessions in unofficial talks. In fact, the reason for the cuts [was] not political but physical. Greek Cypriot generators could no longer meet the island-wide demand for power, and so sometimes supply [was] reduced to Turkish Cypriots» (Kliot & Mansfield 1997: 508). Nevertheless, some Turkish Cypriots still think the reason was political, as some people told me: «electricity was provided by them [the Greek Cypriots], but not anymore, since in 1995 the Turkish side provided its own electricity. During the fights they were cutting, not for a long time, only partly, but they were threatening us, it is written in the books that they were threatening us» (M.B., Turkish Cypriot); «they had the shutter in their hands and they cut electricity, whenever they liked it. I cannot blame them. You receive electricity, you are my enemy, you don't pay…» (A.A. Turkish Cypriot).

According to Kliot and Mansfield (1997a) an informal agreement between the two sides was reached in 1974, according to which Turkish Cypriots supplied the south with water from Morphou while Greek Cypriots provided the north with electricity. Practically, the two sides are still connected with regard to electricity and water: some parts of the old city in the Turkish side still receive power from the south, and even when the water supply system in the south achieved self-sufficiency, they continued to share the same water delivery system.

5.2.1. The Nicosia Master Plan

The former mayor of southern Nicosia is a well known personality in the city: he has been administrating it for thirty years, from December 1971 till December 2001. He was appointed mayor just before the war – since at that time elections were not yet being held in the Greek side – and had to deal with many difficult tasks related to the division and to the absence of a coordinated master plan for Nicosia. When I interviewed him, he demonstrated a strong emotional attachment to the city, and when I asked him how was it possible for Nicosia to function once divided, he stated:

> In brief, it can go on, like a man who has one leg or one hand or one eye, he doesn't die, the body lives, but he has difficulties. It is not a natural body, [it is] something that requires artificial limbs, a lot of patience and courage. I think if you take the meaning of these words, you can understand exactly what I mean (L.D., Greek Cypriot former mayor of Nicosia).

As we will see the two former mayors of the two halves of Nicosia played a very important role in the years after the division, when there was the need to be pragmatic and work for the sake of the city. As a result of the partition, each entity had to develop new installations and projects that had been lost or interrupted, both on the local level and on the national one. In the years after 1974 new airports had to be built, since the Nicosia one became a UN area inside the buffer zone. Port facilities also had to be improved, especially in the south, and a new road system was needed to overcompensate the old interrupted connections.

As far as the city is concerned, the Turkish side of Nicosia had to be almost totally reinvented from a functional point of view since, although during the 1960s self-organisation in the enclaves had begun, they still depended on the Greek side for a range of services.

When I asked the then mayor of north Nicosia how he managed to administrate half of the city when he was elected in 1967, he commented:

> It was really a very difficult task, because we had only the name of the municipality, we had very limited personnel and the local government was regarded as something which deals only with garbage collection. Of course that was one of the real issues, like in every city, but not the only thing. So in order to make people acquainted with other services it took us some time and a lot of energy (M.A., Turkish Cypriot former mayor of Nicosia).

Even though the Turkish municipality of north Nicosia was established in 1958, the city, under many aspects, was still working in an interrelated way until the 1974 war. The situation in the south was not much better, since the period of troubles had focused all political attention on emergencies and the city, especially the old part, was in a serious state of neglect.

> [The situation of the city] was not good […] we did not have a master plan, we did not have a sewage system. But on top of the ordinary normal or usual problems of a town we had the division, and it was difficult. It was a place of cul de sac. I could see my law office on the other side but I couldn't go. Everything was separated and the sewage system was in a very silly situation (L.D., Greek Cypriot former mayor of Nicosia).

L.D. refers to the fact that the construction of the sewage system for Nicosia, started at the end of the 1960s, was interrupted by the 1974 hostilities, just a few weeks before completion. If it had not been for this unlucky coincidence, the sewage of Nicosia would not be so renowned. The consequences of the war on the city's ability to function are clearly exemplified in the case of this infrastructure, since the partition broke the unity of the system and jeopardized its possibility to work, as the former mayor of the north outlines, using once more a metaphor of a human body.

> The treatment plant of the city, which was going to treat the effluents, was left in the north, [the place] is called Mia Milea, that was incomplete and was left

in the north. So consider, can you function without your kidneys? That is the kidney of the town, it cannot function without (M. Akinci, Turkish Cypriot former mayor of Nicosia).

Besides problems of mutual non recognition between the Greek and the Turkish Cypriot administrations, the interweaving of different authorities over the territory where the different parts of the sewage were located made it extremely difficult to operate: most of the initial system was in the Greek Cypriot side; part of it was located in the Turkish Cypriot side; and some unfinished work lay within the buffer zone. The solution was found through the cooperation between the two mayors, who tried to set aside their political views and formed a bi-communal team, with no legal standing, to work on the issue. They had to solve a whole range of problems, both political and practical, since they were severely criticised in their respective communities and a host of formal obstacles to their collaboration arose.

> We started. Akingi came to my house on this side, three years after the invasion it was dangerous, I went to his house, even more dangerous. Somehow we could understand each other. […] We worked together, we overcame difficult situations, you cannot understand how difficult it was to sit with the umbrella of the UN that is a bureaucratic organisation, terrible (L.D., Greek Cypriot former mayor of Nicosia).

> When we sat around the table, we said ok we need to solve our problem and we have to show our people that this is good for them, because I was always under political attack. It was always a political issue. […] Neither side recognised the status of the other, so when we came together first this was one of the issues and we said "how can we overcome this problem?" Like the leaders… Greek Cypriot leader and Turkish Cypriot leader, not president or mayors, but representatives[60]. This is Cyprus (M.A., Turkish Cypriot former mayor of Nicosia)

Finally, in May 1980, the sewage system began to function, representing not only the first concrete effort for cooperation, but a physical and tangible connection between the two sides of the city, albeit hidden underground. There are of course a lot of hilarious jokes about the fact that Greek Cypriot excrements travel up north, on the one side, and about the possible consequences for the southern side of a block of

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[60] He is referring to the fact that the government authorities must be named as community representatives when they meet and undertake bi-communal projects, due to mutual non recognition (see note 5 in the introduction).

the plant by Turkish Cypriots. However, besides the well-known commentary "how shit unites Nicosia", this first successful attempt set the bases for permanent cooperation between the conflicting halves of the city.
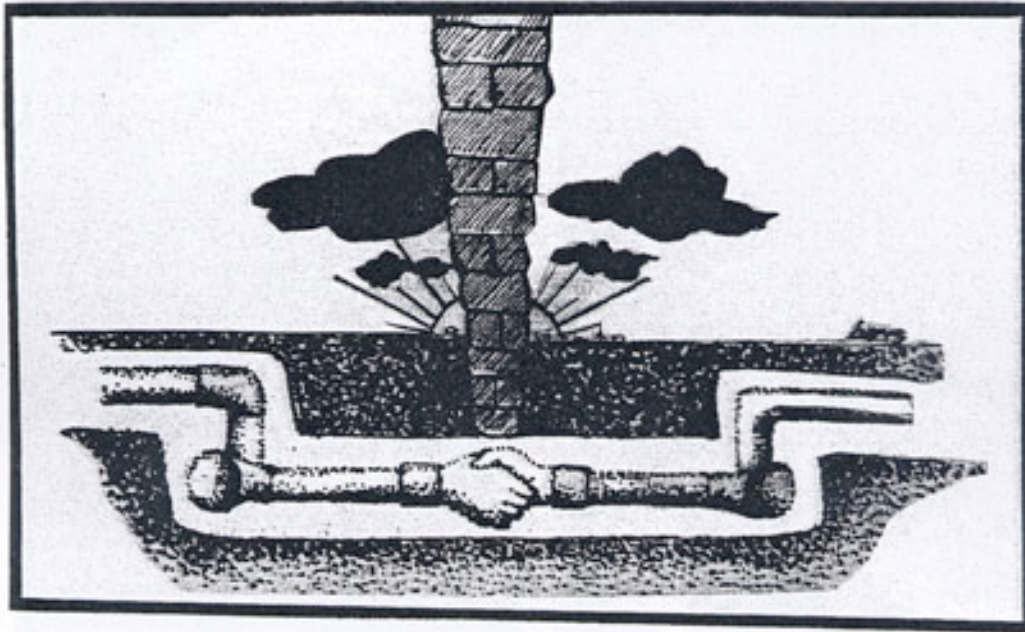
"From the newspapers: The Municipalities reached agreement on the subject of the sewers of Nicosia".
From the Turksih Cypriot Newspaper "Yeni Duzen" of the 28th January 1979.

Figure 7
Cartoon from a 1979 Turkish Cypriot Newspaper

In 1983 the same mayors established the Nicosia Master Plan, « […] a project jointly set up and operated by the two communities» (Demetriades, 1998:1) whose aim is to guarantee compatible development of the city in view of a possible reconciliation. This project shows in a very clear way the need for Nicosia to maintain a kind of unit in order to guarantee the possibility of a future reconciliation.

> We had to deal with planning issues, after we succeeded in showing the fruitful result of cooperation in the field of sewage and water, we decided late in 1979 that we should enter into a more challenging area that was the master plan, because we didn't have any planning in either side and there was this hazardous growth, a scattered development. You can't forecast the town future without having a planned city (M.A., Turkish Cypriot former mayor of Nicosia).

102

They decided to make this experiment, it was really courageous in that period. They went to visit Berlin when there was still the wall and they saw that the two sides were completely different, even in the area near the border, and they didn't want this to happen to Nicosia, that's how they decided to collaborate. They started with the sewage project and then they decided to do this collaboration on common town planning (A.P., Master Plan team leader for the Greek Cypriots).

The representatives of the Greek Cypriot Community Mr. Lellos Demetriades and of the Turkish Cypriot Community Mr Mustafa Akinci agreeing on seweage matters.

From the Greek Cypriot weekly "Satiriki" of the 30th September 1978.

Figure 8
Cartoon from a 1978 Greek Cypriot Newspaper

The work provided for by the Nicosia Master Plan is exhaustively documented in many reports and architectural studies of the city[61] and I will not go into all the projects they have been implementing during the past years. The most important thing for the purposes of this research is the recognition of the necessity to maintain collaboration and joint projects, at least in some sectors of the administration. This recognition stems from a vision of the city that is not something obvious or typical in contested territories.

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[61] For example: Petridou 1998; Demetriades 1998; Abu-Orf 2005.

We had a plan which could work if Nicosia is united or remains divided, with and without the buffer zone. And recently we added another aspect to it which concerns the buffer zone itself. We started some projects, preparations for the buffer zone area, for the buildings. There was a survey of the architectural structure of the building. […] [We deal with] the economic, social, cultural and spatial development of Nicosia. A city that functions as north or south and together, so we will have a Nicosia that could function if there is a solution and if there is no solution. (A.G., Master Plan team leader for the Turkish Cypriots).

In Nicosia we didn't do what they did in Berlin. In Berlin after [they erected] the wall there were too many wrong things that they built. They didn't consider that the transportation network one day maybe [would have] need[ed] to be together again and here we don't have that problem, because of the Master Plan (M.A., Turkish Cypriot former mayor of Nicosia).

We are ready, from a planning point of view. We know where the roads will be unified, which will be the connections, which will be for cars, which pedestrian. We know which area will be commercial, which one will be residential, where the federal offices will be located, everything. There's an urban plan ready, we are ready (A.P., Master Plan team leader for the Greek Cypriots).

Divided Berlin had some unified system – the underground service passed under the whole city, the garbage collection was somehow unified and water supply and waste disposals were areas of collaboration – but there was nothing like the Nicosia Master Plan[62]. In their study on the spatial structure of the divided city of Berlin, Elkins and Hofmeister note how, in that case, «it [was] easier to list the few fields where some interconnection survives, than those where interconnection no longer functions» (Elkins & Hofmeister 1988: 56). One of the most interesting and unique features of Berlin in the period of the partition is that the "island" of West Berlin had all its most essential economic, political and cultural links not with the neighbouring east but with the Federal Republic, which was more than 175 km away[63] (Ibid). We can find some similarities in Cyprus, related to the links existing between the northern part and Turkey, relevant in economic, cultural and political

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[62] In Berlin it was necessary for highway engineers from the two sides to be in contact over alterations to crossing points, but this never meant a common planning project, with a vision of the city as a whole.

[63] This link was possible thanks to the institution of the air lift, after the total blockade imposed to West Berlin in 1948. «One of the most astonishing achievements of the air lift was the flying-in of equipment for a complete electric power station, broken down into the smallest possible components» (Anderhub et al. 1984 quoted in Elkins & Hofmeister 1988: 38).

terms. However, looking at Nicosia, the connections between the two sides have always been maintained and they have been increasing over time, involving economic agreements and crossing permits, as we will see in the following chapters. The existence of the Master Plan also represents a possibility, for the north side, to grow away from their economic dependence on Turkey since, as Master Plan partners, they have access to United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) funding. This is an important element for the improvement of relations between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, since the influence of Turkey in the north has always been seen as an impediment towards a reconciliation.

> The finance of the project is usually from the UNDP […] It's worth mentioning that all Nicosia Master Plan, from the beginning until the year 2001-2002, was financed by the USAID [United States Agency for International Development]. I can recall only one project which was funded by the European Economic Community in 1990, the rest were funded through the UNDP and UNHCR [United Nations High Commission for Refugees], and then UNOPS [United Nations Office for Projects Services] came in. [...] USAID was the funder. I can't know a lot about the south since it was recognised and they had other funds as well, like the World Bank funds, that were probably used for the sewage in the north. But there is always the UN in between (A.G., Master Plan team leader for the Turkish Cypriots)[64].

The existence of the embargo in the north and the unsolved status of the conflict, however, still make it difficult to directly manage the funding and imply complicated bureaucratic procedures:

> There is still is a funny way for implementing the projects in the north. We never get the money directly, they have to give them to the UN, for example to the UNDP, then UNDP has to find an organisation in the north which is registered or recognised by the Republic of Cyprus, for example the red cross […] it's a non profit organisation recognised from the Greek Cypriots. Then an implementing agency in the north has to be found, like the Nicosia Masteplan under the Nicosia Turkish Municipality, to accept that they would be implementing the project, not as partners but they would accept just giving

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[64] Since Cyprus joined the EU, it has also had access to European funding. The European Union Project Support Office (EUPSO) destined 259 million Euro to the Turkish Cypriot community for development projects throughout the north side. The ambiguous status of north Cyprus in this respect, *de jure* but not *de facto* in the EU, created a complex juridical situation. The EU cannot have an office in the TRNC, therefore they established a private company to manage those funds through the UNDP offices (ethnographic field notes).

acceptance letter that "I accept to be the third party". And then we sign a contract with that organisation. […] We are not recognised, this is the truth. […] Cyprus is a conflict zone, there is deep conflict, we see there is no problem now, but legally, when you look at it from a world point of view, there is ceasefire in Cyprus, the war is still there, there is no peace treaty, there is only ceasefire and soldiers on both sides (A.G., Master Plan team leader for the Turkish Cypriots).

This last consideration by A.G. clarifies even more the importance of a joint project like this in a situation of prolonged conflict, and the role urban planning may have as a crucial link with politics. Bollens' reflections (2009; 2007) on the role of planning in ethnically polarised cities (cf. paragraph 2.2) underline the relationship between the socio-political conditions and the changes of the urban materiality and space. This relation does not have a single direction, since intervention on the urban materiality can ameliorate, as well as worsen, the original conditions of hostility. Being the city a «socially and politically constructed artifact», planning becomes a «technical enterprise intimately connected to, and influenced by, social and political processes» (Bollens 2009: 80). In war-torn cities the administrative and political will can influence the design of public space with interventions that may neutralise or reduce the power of ethnicity or of other elements of conflict.

Urbanism can […] create physical and psychological spaces that complement and encourage inter-group reconciliation, exploiting and building upon peace-building opportunities when a city advances beyond a suspended state of ethnic division towards some greater array of spatial options (Ibid: 103).

The Nicosia Master Plan played an important role in the opening of the last crossing point in Nicosia, the one connecting Ledra Street and Lokmaci Street (Figure 5, point 2). Even though this bi-communal office never takes up a political position, they made the opening possible with interventions in the area of the buffer zone that was involved in the project. Again, their role in re-shaping the city according to a unified vision has had strong consequences on people's lives and uses of space. The Master Plan team leader for the Greek Cypriots explained to me their contribution to the opening:

It has been a political decision, not a project of the Master Plan. But the Master Plan made the implementation, everything that had to do with the

buildings. The decision was political, actually it was the third time that they were debating the opening, and each time they debated we made a project. The opening couldn't come from the Master Plan, it was a very sensitive project, probably the most sensitive for Nicosia since 1974. […] We had to prepare a project for the building support, so that people would not have accidents. It was very sensitive…step by step with our colleagues, because there was police everywhere, soldiers. It was something to be done slowly and with caution (A.P., Master Plan leader for the Greek Cypriots).

After the opening, the Nicosia Master Plan started preparing projects for the restoration of the buffer zone area, although there are many obstacles for the realisation of interventions in that area, still under UN control. However, they are concentrating on it in order to save the buildings from fatal decay, so that, in the event of a reunification of the city, they will be ready for a deeper intervention to return the area to the city and its inhabitants. This is a fundamental task, as we saw in the previous paragraph while talking about people's imaginaries concerning the destination of the buffer zone after a possible solution.

Meanwhile, the renovation in some neighbourhoods in both sides of the old city has given an impulse to the requalification of this area (cf. chapter 3), making it possible for the two communities to join a common space although, as we will see, a good planning alone is not enough to achieve reconciliation.

> The urban planning processes and physical intervention undertaken by the communal Nicosia Master Plan team did not provide solutions to the problem of partition but did develop viable future scenarios, putting them a large step ahead of many of their counterparts in other divided cities (Calame & Charlesworth 2009: 202).

4.3. Communication

The connections we have observed in the structural organisation of the city do not involve the system of communication. The possibility of talking from one side to

the other has indeed been quite limited since the 1960s, although the Green Line was quite permeable even before the opening of the crossing points[65].

As I already pointed out, during the period of the enclaves the Turkish Cypriot community started self-organising different services, towards a more and more defined autonomy from the Greek Cypriots. This process was both the result of restrictions and of the will to constitute a separate municipality according to the constitutional provision and despite the legal impediments. In 1963, during the peak of the inter-ethnic conflict, all Turkish telephones and telegraphic communications were cut off in the enclave areas. In the same period, the Turkish Cypriot community started its own mail collection and distribution system (Kliot & Mansfield 1997a).

After 1974, the telephone and postal systems of the two sides remained separated, and they still are today. Of course nowadays internet provides communication opportunities for almost everyone all over the world, and therefore Cypriots can reach one another on the two sides of the island. However, there exist some blocks that are worth mentioning.

During the fieldwork period I was continually moving from one side to the other[66] and establishing contacts with both Greek and Turkish Cypriots. Also, I would contact people in order to make appointments for interviews, for example. A phone call from south to north can be really expensive since it is an international call: Turkish Cypriots do not have a local phone company and the territory is covered by Turkish mobile and landline operators. Therefore the call is directed to Turkey, even though you are calling from two hundred metres as the crow flies. This is the reason why sometimes we were using text messages to exchange information about the venue of some events or about the place where to meet. I soon realised that this method did not work properly.

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[65] Before the opening, some people were allowed to cross: Turkish Cypriots could cross to the south for work and medical treatment, tourists and visitors could cross for one day to visit the north (only if they had entered Cyprus from the recognised Republic in the south).

[66] I lived in the southern side of the city, mostly for practical reasons: the local currency (Euro), the presence of the Italian embassy and the possibility to have free access to healthcare, as a European. However, I always lived in the old part of the city, very close to the Ledra/Lokmaci crossing point, therefore with the opportunity to move easily from one side to the other.

At the beginning I only had a Greek Cypriot SIM card and when I tried to communicate with people in the north I experienced problems: usually there was no reply to my messages. People then explained to me that for some reason the phone connection was not possible through mobile networks, because of a sort of shield in place. Messages from one side to the other cannot be received and the sender will not receive an error message to the effect that it has not gone through.

Greek Cypriot mobile phones do not work in the north, and Turkish ones do not work in the south, because roaming facilities are not operative between the two sides[67]. Nevertheless, it is possible to use any other SIM card: my Italian one was functioning everywhere.

This is the reason why most Turkish Cypriot people I met have two mobile phones, one with a Turkish SIM card and another with a Greek Cypriot one, in order to be able to communicate with friends in the south, in some cases, or to have a phone connection when they go to the south for different reasons. I never met a Greek Cypriot with and extra Turkish SIM card, and this little difference is linked, in my opinion, to a distinct approach to the experience of crossing and to ideas and feelings concerning the other side's attractiveness, as we will see in the following chapters[68].

The need to change phones when crossing – together with other elements such as different currencies, languages, flags and religious symbols – contributes to underline the division of the city in an experiential way, since people have to re-organise a number of elements every time they cross. Moreover, it creates obstacles to trade and to the organisation of bi-communal activities.

As far as the mail system is concerned, I tried a small experiment to see if it was possible to receive and send postcards from one side to the other. I did not succeed either way, and I also tried to send a postcard from Istanbul to south Nicosia without result (unfortunately I had no opportunity to do the same from Athens to north Nicosia). I discovered later that, in order to send post to the north side from

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[67] The companies operating in the north are Turkcell and Telsim, while in the south there are the Cyprus Telecommunication Authority (CYTA) and MTN.
[68] However, according to Hatay et al. (2008), businessmen on both sides carry two mobile phones, one for the south and one for the north.

everywhere in the world, people should not indicate Northern Cyprus, or TRNC, or add any reference to the pseudo-state in the address: they have a code that is "Mersin 10, Turkey".

This is obviously due to the unrecognised status of the TRNC, but unfortunately I received no official explanation about the lack of connections between the two sides. The Cypriot postal service is not the most efficient I have seen, but still it is quite impressive not to be able to send a postcard to the other side of the wall.

In present times there are no irreparable consequences due to this lack of communication systems, since there is the internet option and the border has become permeable. But this means that until a few years ago there was really no possibility to exchange information with friends or acquaintances on the other side.

> After the opening we received a visit from a Turkish Cypriot family. […] I opened the door and I didn't know these people. They were looking for my grandparents […] they were friends, maybe neighbours, from before the war and they hadn't seen each other for more than thirty years. […] Actually they had not even talked for all that time (P.K. Greek Cypriot).

> I had friends on the other side, people I worked with, tailors. I have seen some of them after they opened the border. […] They still work in the same place, I knew nothing about them for all this time…some of them have passed away and I didn't know (E.U. Turkish Cypriot).

The media also mirror the physical division of the island, since each side has its own press and broadcasters. Both in the south and the north the bonds with Greece and Turkey are strong, especially when considering private TV operators. According to the BBC «obstacles to the free flow of news across the divide weigh heavily on journalists»[69]. The most evident consequence of this media division is the use of communication means as tools for nationalist propaganda, both local and related to the "motherlands" Greece and Turkey. Unfortunately I could not analyse this aspect of everyday life, since I do understand neither Greek nor Turkish.

The absence of any form of contact for about thirty years has formed a generation of people grown up with an imagined idea of the other, without the possibility to

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[69] http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/country_profiles/1016541.stm. The commentary dates back to 2006 [accessed 4 February 2010].

compare prejudices and old resentments with the reality of the everyday encounter. This has led to the creation of mutual stereotypes, which started being re-addressed after the opening, e.g. with the possibility of encounter with the other.

> When the United Nations managed to bring together boys and girls in Ledra Palace there was a sort of American party, some hot dogs, things like that. The picture was the following: small groups of Greeks, small groups of Turkish, staring at each other, like dog smelling each other trying to understand if they're enemies or not. And I could hear they were commenting that they were the same, and they were surprised about it (L.D. Greek Cypriot).

Figures 8 and 9
UN Soldiers at the Buffer Zone checkpoints in the 1980s

5. ECONOMY AND TRADE

The costs of a partition, in material and social terms, are always extremely high, although it is not easy to measure them. The consequences of the losses caused by an urban division range from psychological trauma to economic collapse, and case studies have demonstrated how hard it is for war-torn cities to restore a situation of normality and well-being (Calame & Charlesworth 2009; Elkins & Hofmeister 1988; Kliot & Mansfield 1999; Bollens 2009). A study conducted at the end of the 1990s tried to quantify the impact of the troubles in Northern Ireland (Fay et al. 1999) outlining how processes of partition contribute to worsen social and economical problems, although in some cases they are considered to be the solution created to address those problems. In a presentation given during a Seminar in Nicosia[70], Jon Calame outlined the reasons why partition is not a convenient solution. According to him, a city division impacts negatively on a variety of issues and brings about:

- poor public relations: partition can discourage economic aid, decrease tourism revenue, damage the cultural heritage assets and induce scepticism among diplomats;
- poor social conditions: recoils on the civil service sector, high costs of duplication, segregated education and consequent increase of mistrust and inconvenience;
- "blight": weak incentives for investment, decline of property values and low owner-occupancy;
- high recuperation costs: relocation of lost markets, stagnation in economic growth, and distrust among traders.

Besides costs deriving from the conflict, the break of the urban entity in fact adds consequences related to the interruption of trade channels, the loss of markets and of the spatially interconnected systems of production.

In the quite recent history of urban economy, a strong bond has been recognised between the spatial form of the city and its function: the city cannot just be the

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[70] Prio Seminar: "Economic Factors for walled city regeneration", 4th of July 2007, Nicosia. The Prio office in Cyprus provided me with Calame's presentation.

spatial container of economic evolution, and its configuration determines different choices of allocation. According to Weber's functionalist representation, the city is mainly a centre of trade and commerce, separated from the rural environment. In this theorisation, the essential elements for the existence of a city are the market, the fortification and the court, which contribute to composing a system of institutions operating as a whole (Weber 1966). The organicistic metaphor (Mumford 1960) refers to the city as a living and almost autonomous organism, whose functioning can explain the principles of resource allocation.

The main economic justification for the existence of cities is found in the advantages deriving from the division and specialisation of labour, which allow the realisation of economies of agglomeration. The subsequent development of different kinds of services in the urban territory makes it the place for firm localisation, fostering the development process. Different models and theories have tried to explain the processes of localisation related to space configuration. This kind of approach implies that the inner structure of a city is characterised by a series of circles or areas surrounding the central place. Burgess' concentric ring model hypothesises an ideal trend for city expansion, extending in concentric circles around a centre. The model explains the process of concentration at the base of city formation and the following decentralisation which finally implies competition for space. As I mentioned in the introduction to this section, the Chicago School's ecological analysis describes the city as the arena for people's competition over resources and space, and the interesting element added by the concentric ring model is related to the importance given to spatial configuration.

Christaller's central place theory and its relative model also implies the existence of an urban centre (or central place), where goods and services are produced and offered to the population spatially distributed on a homogenous territory.

According to these perspectives, problems of urban diseconomy would arise in the event of urban growth, due to processes of sub-urbanisation and deurbanisation (Vernon e Thompson). The case of divided cities, however, introduces a more complex scenario, in which the urban partition breaks the continuity of the model

and jeopardises the economic functioning of the city and of the entire system. The urban structure and competition among cities can actually be a major factor for the competitiveness of a region, just as deficiencies of the urban structure can be the cause for a reduced competitive capacity on a larger scale.

5.1. The economic situation in north/south Cyprus

The evident consequences of partition on the urban scale are represented by the degradation of the old city and of the neighbourhoods adjacent the Green Line. The economic impact on the city is recognisable in the very low property prices and in the amount of uninhabited buildings in an area that should be the heart of the city (ethnographic field notes). Moreover, even if the opening of the Ledra/Lokmaci checkpoint has led to an increase in the presence of people in the walled city, residents are still few and they only concentrate in certain areas (cf. chapter 3). The Master Plan interventions in the city are still too random, spatially talking, to impact on the whole area and to reverse the process of abandonment through the attraction of investors and residents.

The economic situation of Nicosia underwent serious drawbacks after the beginning of the clashes, therefore before partition of the island. Unfortunately there are no available data concerning the city, but an overview of the national economic situation can help to understand both the consequences of the partition and the perspectives of reconciliation. As I already underlined, cities – and in particular capital cities, as economies of scale – are leading factors for the growth of a country. Therefore we can read the country data keeping in mind the role of the urban economy, especially when related to the crossing of goods and people, which mostly takes place in Nicosia. Moreover, the size of the island and the small number of big cities allow us to assume that Nicosia is where a concentration of labour force, goods production and distribution takes place.

After 1958 Turkish Cypriots established a separate chamber of commerce (TCCoC, Turkish Cypriot Chamber of Commerce), which was recognised by the British rulers in 1959 (Hatay et al. 2008). Meanwhile, the formation of Turkish Cypriot enclaves resulted in the separation of the economic life of the two communities (Kliot & Mansfield 1999).

> [A]n economic war has started between the two communities who do not buy each other's products, a fact that leads to the creation of small, high cost and inefficient productive units. The situation is most damaging to all Cypriots, Greeks and Turks alike (Lanitis 1963 quoted in Hatay et al. 2008: 7).

The central market of the city was controlled by Turkish Cypriots, and after the clashes of 1963-4 Greek Cypriots were no more allowed to enter it. Feelings of mistrust mixed with fear impeded the continuation of trade between the two communities, with the consequence that both had to re-organise in terms of economic functioning.

The 1974 war and final partition caused high damages to the Cypriot economy: in the 1970s the economy displayed a growth rate of 7 percent and in 1975 the gross domestic product dropped by about one third (Kliot & Mansfield 1997). The damage was of a different nature in the two sides, even though the consequences on the city, for example on the property prices and quality of life in the old centre, were severe on both sides.

Greek Cypriot losses of land and personal property in the occupied areas were substantial. «Total damage to the Republic's [the south] economy was estimated at C£ 714,300,000[71] in lost land, property, equipment and production facilities» (Kliot & Mansfield 1999: 189). The occupied area, in fact, contained most of the fertile agricultural land and a large proportion of tourist attractions, while the only airport existing in the island remained in the buffer zone.

The north, in turn, found itself devoid of an economic system, since there was neither an administrative nor an organisational framework and, according to observers, little technological know-how or professional workforce existed (Ibid).

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[71] Before adopting the Euro (in December 2007), the currency in Cyprus was the Cypriot Pound (C£0.585274 = €1). The equivalent of the economic loss is more than 1,220 million Euros.

Since the end of the 1950s, Turkish Cypriots had to rely on Turkey for financial support and after the military intervention the economic dependence worsened, due to the international embargo in the TRNC.

This is also the reason why the southern side of the island had a faster and more effective economic upturn. After the initial collapse, the gross domestic product showed a constant rise: between 1975 and 1983 the annual rate of growth was estimated to average about 10 percent. According to different sources (Christodoulou 1992; Kliot & Mansfield 1997; Dodd 1993) this economic "miracle" was due to effective policies, especially with regard to internally displaced people. Approximately 162,000 Greek Cypriots had to flee from their houses in the north, and their arrival in the south involved housing and integration issues. The government was able to convert this social problem into a resource for economic rehabilitation through incentives destined to refugees in order to initiate new businesses, especially connected with tourism. By the end of the 1970s, the south solved the initial problems of unemployment and the annual average rate of increase in the number of employees joining the workforce between 1976 and 1986 was 4 percent (Kliot & Mansfield 1997). The need to rebuild infrastructures too was promoted as a way to reactivate the economy: after the partition the government invested in the construction of two airports, the motorway network, port enlargements and housing. Furthermore, new water projects were created. Tourism gave an important impulse to local economic growth, and was assigned as the leading sector, even though it is an especially sensitive industry to political instability (Calame & Charlesworth 2009).

The growth in the south has been constantly increasing (about 4 percent average real GDP growth), with almost full employment, a stable macroeconomic environment and low inflation (Graph 1). The Republic of Cyprus adopted the Euro currency on 1st of January 2007, fulfilling the European expectations on economic stability and maintaining its growth rate.

The northern side, instead, has had a much slower growth, defined "low and volatile" by observers (Mullen 2007); the Turkish Cypriot economy has half the per

capita GDP of the south. The economic performance of the TRNC has shown an unexpected improvement after 2001: the average economic growth rate between 2001 and 2005 is about 10 percent (Graph 1). In the 1990s the same rate was only 3 percent and the change is explainable on the basis of different factors related to a stronger macroeconomic stability: falling inflation and interest rates, and more stable exchange rates (Varer 2007).

Graph1. Real GDP growth (%) 1995-2007
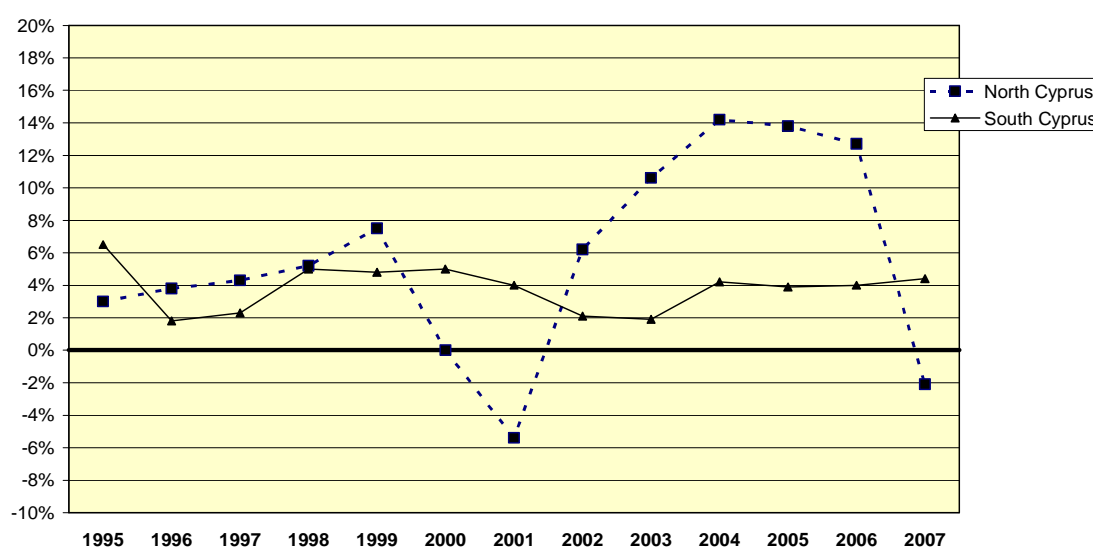
Sources: Data elaboration by Fiona Mullen (Prio Centre);
Turkish Cypriot data: TC State Planning Organization; Greek Cypriot data: ROC Statistical Service.

These factors have depended largely on the more stable macroeconomic environment in Turkey, since the currency in northern Cyprus is the Turkish Lira. However, some other internal factors have played an important role, and some of them are related to the opening of the crossing in 2003 and the partial lifting of the restrictions on the free movement of goods and persons (cf. next paragraph). Increased consumer confidence leading to higher consumer expenditure, an increased public expenditure and the remittances of Turkish Cypriots working in the south[72] are considered major internal factors (Ibid). Moreover, the opening of the border has had consequences on the demand for housing. This has increased due to

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[72] It has been estimated that more than 6,000 Turkish Cypriots were employed in the Republic of Cyprus in 2007 (Mullen 2007).

the arrival of British residents, and to a rise of tourism and temporary residents such as students (Mullen 2007): all these factors led to a growth in the construction sectors. GDP declined about 2 percent in 2007, and in the same year the GDP per capita was $12,822, while in the south the same data was 27,078.

The problem outlined by observers when considering Turkish Cypriot economic improvement concerns the role the public sector continues to have in this performance, as well as the budgetary transfers from Turkey[73], which disguise the functioning of markets[74]. This is the reason why economic growth cannot be sustainable and the perspective of reunification becomes problematic. The Turkish Cypriot economy experienced a slowdown in 2008-09 due to the global financial crisis and because of its reliance on British and Turkish tourism, which has declined due to the international recession. In 2009 the situation worsened still: decreased state revenues and increased government expenditure on public sector salaries and social services led to a large budget deficit (CIA Factbook).

The economies of the two parties should be levelled as much as possible in view of a solution, in order to ease the unification of the two markets. The answer to the question of how to sustain the growth in the north, according to economic analysts, is the openness to the export of goods and services, since such a small economy cannot only rely on domestic factors. One of the reasons for the low rate of GDP growth after 1994 is identified in the export ban on citrus fruit and textiles imposed by the European Court of Justice (cf. next paragraph), with damages relating to the costs of indirect trade through Turkey. The subsequent introduction of the Green Line Regulation, that I will present afterwards, and which defines the rules of movement of goods and persons across the line, has represented a significant shift in this sense. However, most Turkish Cypriots still lament that the suspension of

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[73] «The Turkish Cypriots are heavily dependent on transfers from the Turkish Government. Ankara directly finances about one-third of the "TRNC's" budget. Aid from Turkey has exceeded $400 million annually in recent years» (CIA Factbook, available at: https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/cy.html#Econ; accessed: February 2010).

[74] The TRNC Government «increases its expenditure through out wages paid to the public employees and economic and social transfers paid to the different parties that causes domestic demand to rise, thus resulting in higher economic growth. [...] [This mechanism is feasible only] with financial aids from Turkey» (Varer 2007: 31).

the *acquis communautaire*[75] in their territory cannot but strengthen their internal economic problems, keeping them isolated from international markets. Therefore the removal of restrictions is seen as the only possible solution to achieve a sustainable growth. The economic development in the north can contribute to reunification by eliminating the gap between the two sides and fulfil the expectations of the Greek Cypriots, who want to avoid the costs of reunification as much as possible (Ibid).

5.2. The opening of the crossing points and the Green Line Trade Regulation

In 1994 a European Court of Justice decision precluded «acceptance by the National Authorities of a Member State, when citrus fruit and potatoes are imported from the part of Cyprus to the north of the United Nations Buffer Zone, of movement and phytosanitary certificates issued by authorities other than the competent authorities of the Republic of Cyprus»[76]. The consequences of this decision were the exclusion of Turkish Cypriot producers from the European Community market and the subsequent exclusivity of Turkey as trading partner for North Cyprus[77].

After the failure of the twin referenda for reunification under the Annan Plan in April 2004, Cyprus joined the European Union in May 2004 as a still divided island. This fact was going to create an anomaly for the EU (Hatay et al. 2008), since the Green Line border technically would have started representing an external EU border[78]. Shortly before, in April 2003, the first checkpoints were opened by the

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[75] The body of EU law, therefore also those concerning the movement of goods and people, is fully applied only in the Republic of Cyprus. In the next part of this chapter I provide a closer examination of the juridical issues connected with the Green Line Regulation.

[76] Case C-432/92, *The Queen v Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, ex parte S.P. Anastasiou (Pissouri) Ltd and others,* 5 July 1994 (Reported in Hatay et al. 2008: 8)

[77] The bond with Turkey grew even more in intensity after Turkey signed its customs union with the EU in 1995 (Hatay et al. 2008).

[78] As already pointed out the unrecognised status of the TRNC create a complex juridical situation with respect to the EU, since Cyprus is considered as a whole *de jure*, while *de facto* only the two third of it are part of the Union, being the rest under occupation.

Turkish Cypriot authorities on the island (cf Chapter 3). Because of these two important changes, there was the need for a regulation of that border, in terms of people and goods movement. The solution for this problem was found by the EU through the adoption, on 29 April 2004, of the Green Line Trade regulation (GLR). Besides solving the anomaly related to the border, the aim of this regulation appeared, from the beginning, to be:

> […] to facilitate trade and other links between the abovementioned areas[79] and those areas in which the Government of the Republic of Cyprus exercises effective control, whilst ensuring that appropriate standards of protection are maintained (Green Line regulation, Preamble, Paragraph 5).

Entering into force on 1 May 2004 and becoming fully operational in August 2004, the GLR defines the intra-island trade and the way in which the European law applies to this peculiar boundary[80], getting around the legal problems between the Greek and the Turkish sides. Not all products are tradable from the TRNC to the south: the main goods included in the regulation are vegetables, wood products and furniture (Hatay et al. 2008). The Turkish Cypriot Chamber of Commerce is officially authorized by the EU to issue the accompanying documents and to certify the origin of products (TCCoC).

The trade from south to north, instead, is regulated by the "Statute Regulating the Movement of Commercial Goods from South Cyprus", under the "Law to Regulate Foreign Trade". Since the TRNC is a self proclaimed independent state, trade from the south is considered as import, and consequently taxed[81].

An important consideration relating to the coming into force of the GLR relates to the way in which it was addressed to the Turkish Cypriot community.

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[79] It refers to the areas in which the Republic of Cyprus has no effective control, namely the TRNC.

[80] Communication from the Commission – Report on the implementation of Council Regulation (EC) 866/2004 of 29 April 2004 and the situation resulting from its application, 2005 Report, Introduction.

[81] «The Turkish Cypriot community applies a trade system which, in principle, "mirrors" the restrictions of the Green Line Regulation. Goods contained in the personal luggage of persons crossing the Line from the southern to the northern part of Cyprus are exempt from 'turnover tax', 'excise duty' and 'other duties', provided these goods have no commercial character and their total value does not exceed € 135. This regime is not always consistently applied. In the autumn of 2007, for instance, Turkish Cypriots shopping in the government-controlled areas were facing major problems in bringing back their items of shopping across the Line» (European Commission Annual Report on Green Line Trade).

The Turkish Cypriots have expressed their clear desire for a future within the European Union. The Council is determined to put an end to the isolation of the Turkish Cypriot community and to facilitate the reunification of Cyprus by encouraging the development of the Turkish Cypriot community. The Council invited the Commission to bring forward comprehensive proposals to this end, with particular emphasis on the economic integration of the island and on improving contact between the two communities and with the EU[82].

Two other EU draft regulations were proposed in July 2004: the Direct Trade Regulation and the Financial Aid Regulation, directly aimed at ending the isolation of the Turkish Cypriot community, but they encountered some difficulties and the opposition of the Greek Cypriot community. The Direct Trade Regulation[83] proposed the extension of the intra-island regulation to the whole EU, and the draft contained a direct reference to the Turkish Cypriot positive vote in the referendum for reunification (Hatay et al. 2008). The Financial Aid Regulation provided a «financial support for encouraging the economic development of the Turkish Cypriot community»[84]. It was approved in 2006 but had difficult implementation before 2008 because of Greek Cypriots' complaints, and it is through this provision that Turkish Cypriots had access to the fund of 259 million Euros from the European Union Project Support Office (cf. note 65 paragraph 4.2.1)[85].

Table 1 shows the results of the GLR introduction as far as Turkish Cypriot trade towards the south is concerned (the trade from south to north is not covered by the scope of the GLR). The TCCoC issued accompanying documents for a total value of goods estimated in € 2,158,940 in the first fourth month of 2008. In comparison

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[82] EU's General Affairs Council (EU foreign ministers) conclusions: 8566/04 (Reported in Hatay et al. 2008: 10).

[83] Brussels, 7.7.2004, COM(2004) 466 final, 2004/0148 (ACC).

[84] Brussels, 7.7.2004, COM(2004) 465 final, 2004/0145 (CNS).

[85] The two Chambers of Commerce are involved in other bi-communal projects: «The Turkish Cypriot Chamber of Commerce in cooperation with the Cyprus Chamber of Commerce and Industry and support of Cyprus Turkish Chamber of Industry are implementing a UNDP-ACT funded project entitled "Economic Interdependence" that aims to promote economic interdependence between the Greek-Cypriot and the Turkish-Cypriot communities enabling the two business communities to enhance their business and economic relations. The "Economic Interdependence" project commenced in April 2009 and will end in July 2011. The project will capitalize on all relevant surveys that have been conducted to date but will also significantly build on them and undertake to implement a range of new activities/schemes in order to achieve its objectives. In this direction there will be bi-communal business meetings, grant schemes for the establishment of joint partnerships between the two communities, joint Chamber events for informing interested parties on the Green Line Trade, business language courses as well as the compilation of a business directory» (TCCoC).

to the same period in 2007 (Tab.2), the sales of Turkish Cypriot goods through the Green Line increased by almost 50 percent. In January 2008, goods worth more than € 700,000 crossed the line, the highest level recorded since the GLR came into force[86].

Sales from south to north also accelerated in 2008 (Tab. 1), after falling by 32.1 percent in 2007 (Hatay et al. 2008)

Tab. 1 Intra Island Trade (2004-2008)

Green Line Sales (€)	2004 year	2005 year	2006 year	2007 year	January – April 2008
North to South	477,099	1,702,109	4,082,825	4,781,057	2,158,940
South to North	n.a.	253,216	1,035,814	712,435	726,533

Sources: European Commission annual report on Green Line Trade; Turkish Cypriot Chamber of Commerce; Hatay et al. 2008.

Tab. 2 Comparison 2007-2008, Sales from North to South

Green Line Sales (€)	January – April 2007	January – April 2008
North to South	1,468,589	2,158,940

Sources: European Commission annual report on Green Line Trade; Turkish Cypriot Chamber of Commerce.

Besides trade, the value of labour represents the most important economic transaction across the Green Line (Ibid.). Daily crossing for work-related reasons are common among Turkish Cypriots[87], and I already underlined the importance of their remittances for the economic growth of the north side. The available data to

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[86] European Commission Annual Report on Green Line Trade.
[87] Before the opening, Turkish Cypriots were allowed to cross for work reasons but, since there was no regulation, Greek and Turkish Cypriot police could forbid crossing at their discretion, hence without a reason.

understand this figure is the number of Turkish Cypriots registered as employed at the Department of Social Insurance in the Republic of Cyprus. According to Hatay, Mullen and Kalimeri (2008), there are approximately 2,000 persons listed as Turkish Cypriots who live in the south[88]. The increase of Turkish Cypriots working in the south after the opening of the crossing points is notable (Tab. 3). The number grew considerably during the first three years after 2003, then stabilised and finally decreased a little. My interpretation of the recent decrease refers to the improvement of the TRNC economic conditions, which probably offers more employment opportunities than before to the Turkish Cypriot population. Moreover, the arrival of migrants from eastern countries has provided labour force in the construction sector in the Republic of Cyprus, which was the main sector of occupation for Turkish Cypriots in the south.

Tab. 3 Turkish Cypriot Labour Force in the South[89]

Turkish Cypriots with Social Insurance	Jan-Apr 2003*	Apr-Dec 2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Total insured	598	2,410	3,639	3,772	3,470	3,510	2,780	2,437

Sources: 2003-2007: Hatay et al. 2008; 2008-2009: author elaboration with data from the Ministry of Labour and Social Insurance.
* The first crossing point was opened on 23 April 2003.

A research conducted in 2008 about intra-island trade in Cyprus (Hatay et al. 2008) shows that diverse barriers, both practical and psychological, make it difficult to fully apply and implement the GLR. According to the results of the research, regulatory obstacles regard the range of products involved in the regulation, the long procedures to cross the border, communication problems (cf. chapter 4.3) and the different forms of taxation in the two sides (Ibid.). As far as people's opposition is concerned, the authors recognise a mutual lack of trust between the two

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[88] «Some of these are people who moved to the south for political reasons before the checkpoints opened, some are those who have attempted to evade economic responsibilities or criminal proceedings in the north, while others moved for personal reasons such as marriage. In addition, some who have found employment in the south have chosen, with the open checkpoints, to live there rather than commute» (Hatay et al. 2008:23).
[89] The figures for 2008 and 2009 are obtained calculating the average of the monthly figure.

communities, due to different reasons. Greek Cypriots seem to adopt a position of denial, since they consider that «any dealings with Turkish Cypriots, however small, are somehow not legitimate and may be considered as some form of "recognition of the pseudo-state"» (Ibid.: 68). This feeling leads them to avoid trade in order not to be pilloried by their own community[90]. Turkish Cypriots, on the other hand, display a kind of fear of inferiority towards Greek Cypriots, explained as their smaller number, their economic conditions and the memory of the events of 1963-64 and 1967. Moreover, the interviews reported in the research report show that Turkish Cypriots do not trust their economic partners, because they think they are not serious about trade. In addition, they fear that the Greek Cypriots are trying to control them through regulating their access to markets. After the enthusiastic reactions to the GLR, Turkish Cypriots are frustrated about the difficulties they face in order to trade and the real benefits they have.

> The experience of the Green Line trade has reinforced the psychological tendencies and in some cases strengthened them. Our findings suggest that the two communities' experience of Green Line trade was very different. Whereas Greek Cypriots began from a position of being negatively inclined towards Green Line trade, those who traded became more positive as experience developed. The Cyprus Producer's poll and our interviews north of the Green Line suggest that it was the opposite for Turkish Cypriots. They began more positively inclined but often became disappointed on the way (Ibid.: 71).

However, trade continues to take place and to represent an important possibility towards rapprochement. An interesting point underlined by the research on intra-island trade regards the role media and politicians have in drawing positive or negative portraits of the Green Line trade. Both communities undergo political pressure and media propaganda which seriously influence their opinions and compromise the efforts in the direction of a solution.

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[90] The traded product, in fact, could involve Greek Cypriot land in the north (Hatay et al. 2008).

5.3. The Ledra/Lokmaci crossing point

The opening of the Ledra/Lokmaci checkpoint in 2008 in the heart of the walled city has provided, for the first time, a direct connection between residential and commercial areas of the same municipality. The previously opened crossing points – Ledra Palace and Agios Dometios/Metehan – are far from populated areas and they did not have an effect on the surroundings. Therefore, in April 2008 shops, cafes, markets in the walled city, especially in Ledra Street and Lokmaci, saw a sudden increase in the number of passers-by and customers: after thirty-four years one of the most important commercial roads of old Nicosia was reunited. We will see in detail the numbers concerning people crossing in the next chapter.

The opinions of customers and shopkeepers were canvassed in a small survey carried on in 2009 (Jacobson et al. 2009), whose results draw quite diverging reactions in the two sides and, more interesting, both far from real data about the economic advantages of the opening. The number of people included in the survey is quite small (about 100 passers-by and 100 shopkeepers), therefore I try to broaden the analysis with some accounts I collected among shopkeepers and experts and other insights about the media presentation of advantages and disadvantages related to the opening.

According to the survey, the general sentiments of people towards the opening of the Ledra/Lokmaci crossing are positive: this is the opinion of the 59 percent of Greek Cypriots and the 90 percent of Turkish Cypriots. As far as businesses are concerned, Greek Cypriot shopkeepers' opinions are different if related to their own business or to the whole of Cyprus. The majority of them see the opening as positive for their affairs, because more people than before, both tourists and Cypriots, walk in the area and consequently buy in their shops. However, more than 60 percent of Greek Cypriot shopkeepers declared the opening is either neutral or negative for the country. Turkish Cypriots, instead, are more positive about the consequences of the opening for Cyprus, and this is probably related to the idea presented earlier that the economic condition in the north can acquire a stable

growth only through market openness. These diverging opinions about this step towards a Cyprus solution reflect the results of 2003 referenda: Greek Cypriots are still doubtful about a solution, because they do no trust their counterparts, and some of them still think that establishing contact with Turkish Cypriots is taboo.

When I asked some shopkeepers in the north about their opinion on the consequences of the Ledra/Lokmaci opening on their business, they gave me positive answers.

> It has increased. Tourists are coming, Greeks are coming as well. In this area everyone has advantage by the opening. I think it's a good thing for us (H.L. Turkish Cypriot shopkeeper).

> At the beginning it was more positive for me. Greek Cypriots were coming to buy. Now they are less, but tourists can cross and buy here, so our business are good, for us around Lokmaci. For the others I don't know (H.B. Turkish Cypriot shopkeeper).

In the southern side I also collected positive opinions on the opening of this checkpoint, but when I asked about more general feelings relater to trade with the north the reactions were interesting.

> I see my business is doing good, but I agree with the other people. The Turkish are less developed economically and this can be a problem for us. We can't do business in a proper way, they need too much help. And I'm afraid they are taking profit of the situation.
>
> I: What do you mean?
>
> Now that they have free trade and they can have the Cypriot passport, I think they don't want reunification anymore. It's just a matter of money (R.K. Greek Cypriot shopkeeper).

This opinion is not isolated, since other people told me similar ideas. A young Greek Cypriot, daughter of refugees from a small town near Famagusta, told me that she thinks Turkish Cypriots have always followed their interests, as they did when they voted for the Annan Plan.

> I don't trust them. They've always been thinking about their interests and doing choices accordingly. They were with the British before independence, because it was convenient for them. […] Then they were with Turkey, and then they saw the possibility to be European and they wanted the opening. Now that they have passport and financial helps form the European Union

they are no more interested in reunification. It's just for economic interests, as they always did (P.L. Greek Cypriot).

The media and some politicians, as presented in the research on intra-island trade (Hatay et al. 2008), do not help to overcome this kind of prejudices when they present the opening as something which only benefits half of the population. In the south they use to describe situation of normal trade as illegal or irregular, and to underline the risk of trade with smuggled goods from Turkey. In the north they concentrate on the difficulties faced by people attempting to trade, this way increasing the fear of inferiority and feelings of resentment and mistrust (Ibid.).

I met an economics analyst at the PRIO Centre in Nicosia, where she collaborates, and she helped me to understand the complex situation of Cyprus in this period of transition, in which steps are taken to improve crossing, trade and reconciliation, but at the same time a political solution has not been found.

> The classic theory is that when two communities or countries or economies start trading, it improves the communication and therefore it helps reconciliation, like the EU communion let's say. But if one side is seen to benefit on the expense of the other this doesn't necessarily translate into… political benefit, let's say. And this has been an issue with the all Green Line Regulation. But also if there are people moaning, if the Greek Cypriot newspaper is complaining that they haven't benefited then this means the reason is sort of political bargain. […] This is the interesting thing because, you know, if Stelios[91] said that they weren't terribly enthusiastic…
>
> I: Well, they were quite positive.
>
> That's where the hard data meets the media, and this is the real issue in Cyprus, maybe in the rest of the world, but there's a perception by some, there's a common perception which is the one that stays in people's minds, regardless as the [data] bring then by people like Stelios. So that's another issue, if people feel that they're not…that the Turkish Cypriots benefit from this crossing rather than Greek Cypriots, even if it's not true...which is interesting (F.M., Director Sapienta Economics Ltd).

The connection theory can only work when both parts see the relation as positive. The opening of the crossing points was a significant step towards the enhancement of the economic and social relations between the two communities, in the direction

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[91] She refers to Stelios Orphanides, one of the researchers who conducted the survey on people's reactions about the opening of Ledra/Lokmaci.

of a future reconciliation. However, building trust between the two communities seems to be a necessary preliminary step. As we saw in the previous part of this chapter, it is crucial to provide a "neutral" space where to meet, and to give the opportunity to overcome the bias rooted by more than thirty years of isolation and propaganda. The opening of the pedestrian crossing at Ledra/Locmaci further facilitates people-to-people contacts between the two communities, in an area, the walled city, which seems to be the ideal arena for a shared rapprochement.

6. INTERACTIONS

> The 'being together' of co-presence demands means
> whereby actors are able to 'come together'
> A. Giddens

The functioning of a city is made up not only of its administration, growth and inner physical structure, but also by the social relations that develop in it. Sociological theory defines the repeated interaction between people as a relation of dependence, Giddens (1984) calls this *integration*, whether it is characterised by cooperation, complementarities, competition or conflict. Social relations, as well as social actions, do not take place in a vacuum: they imply a certain use of space that involves a spatial and temporal coordination. Both on a micro and on a "meso" level of analysis, the city appears to be a specific environment which provides elements and signs which help the definition of *frames* to organise experiences and guide action (Goffman 1974). The city is also considered to be a device for the coordination of interactions (Giddens 1984) and it can be an effective means for social integration, depending on the level of functionality of its structures. Urban space is structured by this coordination of space-time, and the result is the existence of places related to specific kinds of interactions. The *locale* is the «physical region involved as part of the setting of interaction, having definite boundaries which help to concentrate interaction in one way or another» (Ibid: 375). Therefore its function is to guarantee a defined spatial context for social interaction recognised by all actors, who can ascribe shared meanings to it. Localities are defined not just by their spatial characteristics, but also by relational aspects: they are places of everyday relations, structures of feelings and values (Appadurai 1996). These features clarify the mental and symbolic aspects of the locale, which does not only refer to physical and functional characteristics of space, but also to their role as collective mental landmarks.

The peculiarity of a partitioned city is related to the role acquired by space, as in situations of radical spatial segregation in contemporary urban contexts (e.g. ghettos

or gated communities). Space, in fact, undergoes a process of territorialisation (Raffestin 1984) through which it contributes to define and fix relational and identity features. The spatial segregation that arises in accordance to ethnic, religious, economic, and linguistic dividing lines corresponds to what Simmel (1997) defined as a naturalisation of social limits. Mental delimitations translate into a physical division, and this process highlights the constitutive power of social relations over space. In turn space, once divided, influences patterns of relations. The limit, being a reification of a psychic and social border, clearly defines the *exclusivity* (Simmel et al. 1997) of space and, consequently, relations among individuals are strongly bound to territory.

A divided city poses obvious problems to the maintenance of social relations between conflicting communities. As already underlined, partition is an answer to violent confrontation, but does not provide the ground for a solution of the conflict itself. On the contrary a physical division, while eliminating or limiting the occurrence of clashes, also impedes any other kind of contact. The erection of a wall at the peak of inter-communal confrontations involves the interruption of communication, either positive or negative, and promotes a sort of freezing process concerning feelings and emotions related to the other.

In a situation like the one which took place in Nicosia, where the two communities developed mutual mistrust and ethnic prejudice, the outcomes of such closure depend on several factors, among which the most impacting are the dominant ideas about history and the propaganda related to it. Therefore, after a partition, the role of education and media is decisive in defining people's attitudes towards the *enemy*.

> In places where communities are geographically divided across ethnic lines, for almost half a century, as it is the case in Cyprus with the existence of linguistic and religious differences, different social representations are expected to have evolved in the two communities, especially regarding the Cyprus issue, and its history. This was often done through a planned and politically driven manipulation of the educational system and particularly history teaching as a political weapon in both communities (Papadakis 2008: 65).

This process evolves through the shaping of the collective representations of the inner group and of the other. The gradual separation into two distinct areas of the

city used and lived in by the two communities has slowly changed people's usual mobility, their relations with and uses of space. This transformation was accompanied by the growth of a political and ideological gap, and the inevitable outcome has been the interruption of communication and social relations between the two ethnic groups.

The case of Berlin was completely different, due to the imposition of a division that did not arise from a popular ethnic confrontation. However, Merritt (1985) analysed the decline in people's relations in Berlin after the division, according to postal exchanges and visits to the other side, outlining how the decrease in Berliners' interaction was prior to the construction of the wall, and probably due to the displacement of people form East to West[92] and to the fear of trouble with police. Elkins and Hofmeister (1988) add an important explanation to Merritt's analysis, showing how the city's division in terms of political organisation led to the adjustment in patterns of spatial activity even before the construction of the wall. Therefore everyday activities – such as attending school, work, health services and administrative issues – were organised in different sectors of the city, making it irrelevant to go to the other side. This example shows the way in which a different organisation of space can have consequences on people's movement and therefore on social relations, since proximity is a key element in matters of choice, whether they refer to where to go shopping or whom to meet.

When this more and more defined division of the spatial organisation is combined, like in Nicosia, with mutual fear, mistrust and prejudice, the result can be even harder. Moreover, the physical division and the consequent impossibility to communicate for more than thirty years cannot but strengthen this kind of feeling, tearing people apart almost irreparably. There exists a bond between borders and the construction of a national/ethnic/religious identity in opposition to the other (Newman & Paasi 1998) and on a micro scale of observation, physical limits enforce feelings of community belonging (cf. chapter 7).

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[92] «The movement of 3 million refugees from the GDR to the Federal Republic before 1961 may itself have swept with it many of the people most likely to maintain contacts with West Berlin» (Elkins & Hofmeister 1988: 61).

The mental and psychological border which started dividing Greek and Turkish Cypriots during the Fifties was not less powerful than the physical one erected in 1974; however, following Simmel (1997), its unfolding on space radically changed the meanings ascribed to the differentiation between the two communities.

The psychological and social border determines a differentiation among individuals that can have different results according to the role played by space. The *limit* allows a perception of the distinction between the self and the other, establishing the process of identity construction. This first level, shared by everyone, regards the construction of distinction and respect towards the other. When this limit takes shape spatially, its sociological meaning modifies the content of identity, binding it to a collective dimension and setting up social relations between groups, with very different degrees of closure or conflict. In this situation what takes place is «the crystallisation or spatial expression of the psychological limitation processes which alone are real» (Simmel 1997: 142): subjects create sociological and identitarian delimitations between each other.

It should seem obvious that recent developments due to the opening of the crossing points constitute an opportunity to change this feature, since they offer the possibility for people to meet and finally compare their ideas with others' reality. However, the opportunity to cross and meet does not provide in itself a sufficient condition for reconciliation: as I already underlined, the dominant representations of otherness have a very strong effect on people's attitudes. Besides this, it is necessary to foster the right climate to promote encounter and rapprochement out of biases.

The contact hypothesis (Allport 1954) sees intergroup contact as a necessary but not sufficient condition to overcome bias. Since Allport's initial formulation, the contact hypotesis has been refined by other authors. It has been highlighted the need of certain conditions which make possible the realisation of contact effects: equal group status within the situation (Ihlanfeldt & Scafidi 2002); the support of authorities, law or custom which encourages good relations (Hewstone & Brown 1986); the existence of common goals among groups (Durrheim & Dixon 2005). In

the case here analysed there are status imbalances and the institutional climate still favours the existence of prejudices.

Therefore contact must be supported by different kinds of reconciliation strategies, involving bottom-up processes of participation which can guarantee equality and cooperation and build trust between the two communities. These interventions can be promoted both by administrative and governing bodies, which can act through education and media communications, and by bi-communal associations and citizens' groups in the everyday improvement of inter-ethnic relations.

Social psychologists analysing trust and prejudice and the related construction of identity usually put too much emphasis on the individual, leaving out the relational, historical, geographical and socio-cultural nature of this kind of feeling. It is therefore necessary to combine the contact hypothesis with an analysis of the collective representations of contact and the meanings it take on in people's everyday life.

To put it more simply, and relating it to the specific case of Nicosia, the opening of the crossing points determined a concrete possibility for contact, but at the same time raised moral issues concerning the choice whether to do it or not (Demetriou 2007). Ideological and emotional concerns emerged with the possibility to go and visit the other side and, as we will see, they resulted in different attitudes related to political affiliation and personal background. It is evident that it is not easy to give a clear account of the issue of inter-communal relations pre and post opening, since many different elements determine diverse approaches and there is no direct relation between contact and reconciliation.

In this chapter I present the rise of the Cyprus problem as far as intergroup relations are concerned, and I attempt to outline how the two communities grew away from one another after a quite long period of peaceful coexistence. I then present some data from researches on crossing conducted after the opening, mixed with ethnographical accounts made up of my observations, ethnographic notes and interviews with people from both sides, trying to understand how effective contact can take place for rapprochement.

6.1.   Drawing boundaries

Although the Turkish and Greek communities in Cyprus lived side by side for several hundred years, they never fully integrated and they finally developed competing geo-political goals which led to violent conflict and partition as well as a different set of identity features including language and religion (Yildizian & Ehteshami 2004).

The beginning of coexistence of the two ethnic communities in Cyprus dates back to the Ottoman conquest of the island in 1571. Unfortunately, there are no available data on population until 1881, when the British took the first census in the island, according to which the ratio of Greeks to Turks was 3.03 to 1 (Morag 2004: 597). In 1946 the Greek Cypriots represented 80 percent of the population, and Turkish Cypriots were 18 percent (Attalides 1981). Data on the spatial distribution of the two ethnic groups in villages show their progressive separation into distinct zones, with the constant reduction of mixed villages and the growth of ethnically homogenous areas (Tab. 4). The timing of this process clearly follows the conflict trend: with the rise of Greek Cypriots' fight against the British colonial administration in the 1930s, the cohabitation of the two groups started decreasing. The intensification of the confrontation in the 1950s and 1960s led to a stronger spatial segregation: only 48 villages were still mixed in 1970. The number of Turkish Cypriot villages in the same year is extremely low, due to the formation of enclaves, mainly in Nicosia and in the area surrounding it.

The situation inside the city has reflected the countrywide trend; although there are no specific data on Nicosia's spatial segregation, different documents and scholars report an increasing division of the two communities into distinct zones of the city, with a peak in the years around 1963-64 and the formation of Turkish Cypriot enclaves in the northern side.

Table 4. Ethnic Population Segregation from 1891 to 1970

Year	Mixed Villages	G.C. Villages	T.C. Villages	Total	%Mixed	% G.C.	% T.C.
1891	346	342	114	802	43	43	14
1931	252	358	84	694	36	52	12
1960	114	392	117	623	18	63	19
1970	48	444	11	503	10	88	2

G.C.: Greek Cypriot
T.C.: Turkish Cypriot

Source: Psaltis 2008; adapted from Patrick 1976

In this period, social interaction between the two groups was more or less at an end since there was no inter-communal contact, due to fear and mutual mistrust. «Once threatened ethnic communities have retreated into homogeneous clusters and the urban terrain has been converted into political territory, it remains for the battle lines to be formally drawn» (Calame & Charlesworth 2009: 213). In Nicosia, economic transactions and communication were interrupted and the city administration was doubled (cf. chapters 4 and 5), therefore the territorialisation of the ethnic conflict was already completed in the city.

The dramatic and definitive evolution of the situation, due the coup attempted by EOKA and the Turkish military intervention, provoked the almost absolute spatial separation of the two communities in the whole island and the definitive closure of Nicosia's division[93]. The spatial re-organisation of the population that occurred between the 1950s and 1974, which meant the displacement of thousands of people, has represented one of the most dramatic outcomes of the conflict, together with the high number of killings and people missing.

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[93] Few Greek Cypriots remained in the north, in the Karpaz area, where they still live, while some Turkish Cypriots did not flee from the southern side. The most well-known example of bi-communal village is Pila, in the Greek Cypriot side of the island, where a mixed population continues to live together (ethnographic field notes).

The total number of internally displaced people is about 210,000[94], both Turkish and Greek Cypriots, the former displaced in the 1950s and 1960s into ethnic enclaves, and both of them during the 1974 war[95]. According to different sources, 1,493 Greek Cypriots[96] and 502 Turkish Cypriots[97] have been reported as missing as a result of the inter-communal violence in 1963-64 and the 1974 Turkish military intervention. Approximately 6,300 deaths have been unofficially linked to civil unrest during 1955-1985 (Ibid.).

The partition created new demographic realities, since around 150,000-200,000 Greek Cypriots moved to the south and around 65,000 Turkish Cypriots transferred to the north. Moreover, the northern side experienced a process of immigration of Turks from Anatolia, as an institutional policy of settling, estimated in some 74,000 people. These settlers mainly moved in abandoned Greek Cypriot villages and properties both in Nicosia and in the rest of the northern part of the island (Uluçay et al. 2005).

Since 1974, all the new born Greek and Turkish Cypriots have been raised without any kind of contact with each other, and this has significantly increased the cultural and social gap between the two communities.

The prolonged phase of hard confrontation and the unsolved settlement of the situation have implied the intensification of resentment and both communities have elaborated ways to coexist with psychological trauma. The strategy has mainly

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[94] Sources: Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, *Cyprus, prospects remain dim of political resolution to change situation of IDPs*, 30 June 2009 [on line]. Available from: http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004BE3B1/(httpInfoFiles)/895698DB41320385C12575E50045EB89/$file/Cyprus_Overview_Jun09.pdf [accessed 15 January 2010]; CIA Factbook, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/cy.html [accessed 12 December 2009].

[95] The issue of refugees is still one of the crucial problems that need a solution for the reunification of the island because of the difficulties in finding a way to solve the dispute on lost properties and the right to return.

[96] This number includes militaries and civilians; after recent identifications of buried bodies, the actual number of missing Greek Cypriot is 1,431. Sources: Committee on Missing Persons in Cyprus, Fact Sheet April 2007 [on line]. Available from: http://www.cmccyprus.org/media/attachments/CMP/CMP%20docs/CMP%20Fact%20Sheets/CMP_Fact_Sheet_Apr07.pdf [accessed 21 January 2010]; Committee on Missing Persons press release January 14th 2010 [on line]. Available from: http://www.cmp-cyprus.org/nqcontent.cfm?a_id=1444&tt=graphic&lang=l1 [accessed 21 December 2010]; UNRIC, United Nations Regional Information Centre for Western Europe; the Missing Cypriot page: http://www.missing-cy.org/home.html [Accessed 21 January 2010].

[97] The number of Turkish Cypriot missing people, both soldiers and civilians, has decreased to 451 after the identification of 51 bodies. Sources: see note 97 in this paragraph.

consisted in the mutual denial of the other's suffering, the lack of recognition of one's own responsibilities for the tragic consequences of the conflict and the criminalisation of the other party (Papadakis 1998; Ramm 2007).

This process of *othering* is a common feature in divided cities (Calame & Charlesworth 2009), whether the territorial separation is due to differences in religion or ethnicity. As Bollens points out, the perception of threat in contested cities and societies leads to the magnification of one's own identity and hides the complexity of the other's character, which becomes «simplified, darkened and conspiratorial» (Bollens 2001: 184). In a similar way to Jews and Arabs in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland, the perceptions that developed in both sides comprise a «double minority syndrome» (Ibid.), based on the identification of the other with a threat. Moreover, as Markides and Cohn (1982) underline, the case of Nicosia provides an evidence of the hypothesis that external conflict promotes internal cohesion (Mack & Snyder 1957; Boulding 1962; LeVine & Campbell 1972). The gradual spatial separation of the two groups has enforced feelings of community belonging while interrupting communication and interaction. Therefore the collective representation of the other has detached from real experience, and has become a construction based on ideologies, and supported by political propaganda through education and media.

6.2. The crossing experience

> In Nicosia, even the anger of older Cypriots
> that has been generated by their personal knowledge and history
> seems preferable to the idle prejudice of younger citizens
> whose cynicism is inherited and untested by direct contact.
> Calame & Charlesworth

In 2003 the Cyprus problem seemed to reach a turning point. Since Cyprus, and Turkey, had submitted their applications for membership of the EU at the end of the 1980s, the possibility of accession had become a priority in the political agenda

of both sides. This is the reason why different attempts to solve the situation were developed by the UN and the Annan Plan was the final result of the efforts.

The option of an EU accession was supported by both Greek and Turkish Cypriots, although in different ways and for different reasons. In the northern side the continued international isolation and economic decline had gradually eroded the nationalist ideology's legitimacy (Ramm 2007) and the newly elected government was open to a solution[98]. Greek Cypriots saw the possibility of a solution which could involve the withdrawal of the Turkish troops and the reunification of the island. The Annan Plan proposed the establishment of a Federal State, the United Republic of Cyprus, with the two constituent states, the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot. Long negotiations started in 2002 with the then President of the Republic of Cyprus, Glafcos Clerides – replaced in 2003 by Tassos Papadopoulos – and the "Representative of the Turkish Cypriot community" Rauf Denktaş. Both leaders continued rejecting the UN proposal asking for revisions.

Meanwhile, mass protests by Turkish Cypriots claimed for the opening of the border, in order to put an end to the isolation of the TRNC and to force the leadership to progress in the negotiation for a settlement. Moreover, international pressure over the issues of Greek Cypriots' properties in the north and the legal status of the new occupiers led to the decision of Turkish Cypriot authorities to open the main checkpoint at Ledra Palace. In April 2003 for the first time after 1974 they allowed people to move more or less freely from one side to the other. Passport or national ID must be showed and visa permission is stamped when entering the north. Turkish[99] and other non-EU nationals who would normally need an entry visa for the Republic of Cyprus are not admitted south and members of the Greek Cypriot National Guard are not admitted north (Mete Hatay et al. 2008).

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[98] In December 2003, for the first time in a TRNC election, the CTP, Cumhuriyetçi Türk Partisi (Republican Turkish Party) a social democratic party, reached a majority in parliament. The CTP was openly in favour of a solution involving the reunification of the island under a federal bi-communal State. In April 2005 the presidential election confirmed people's choice and Rauf Denktaş was substituted by Mehmet Ali Talat, who was the leader of CTP. This political turn expressed Turkish Cypriots' will to end the country's isolation and find a solution.

[99] Unless they can show they are married to a Turkish Cypriot.

Moreover, people who enter Cyprus from Ercan airport or ports in the north are not allowed to cross to the south.

The Annan plan was finally put to referendum in 2004, on April 24th, just a few days before the admission of Cyprus to the EU. Both Denktaş and Papadopoulos campaigned for a "no" vote, although they had very different citizen reactions.

An effective *oxi* (no) campaign in the south was carried out by right-wing politicians, nationalists and people who considered the Annan Plan too unbalanced and lamented the absence of a solution for the unsettled issues of the lost Greek Cypriots' properties and the presence of Turkish settlers. Many people with whom I spoke share this opinion.

> The Annan Plan was pro Turkish Cypriots. It didn't consider at all Greek Cypriots and our rights. The idea of a Federation like this means that we will never have our land back, and we will have to share a government without having back our rights. It was unacceptable, absolutely unacceptable (P.L., Greek Cypriot).

> A solution must come from people, cannot be imposed by third...by foreign countries, by the UN. They imposed us their solution that was unfair for us, for Greek Cypriots. […] We said *oxi* and the president, it was Papadopoulos, gave a speech the day before the vote and explained why we had to vote no. And in the end the 75 percent of Greek Cypriots voted no, and like 65-70 percent of Turkish Cypriots voted yes. So it was evident that [the Plan] was for them, not for us (S.M., Greek Cypriot).

A young Greek Cypriot I interviewed finds a connection between the opening of the checkpoint and the referendum, suspecting that Turkish Cypriot authorities used the opening to convince Greek Cypriots to opt for a "yes" vote.

> We had something like election with the Annan Plan and I think there was, the idea from the Turkish side [was] that they opened the Green Line three or four months before this vote […] so that the Cypriots[100] go and see their houses and say yes. But actually it was 75.6 percent no, we don't want the Annan Plan because there are no…nowhere in the Plan it says that we are safe to say yes, not because they're Turkish or something, but when I studied the Plan, there was no safety, nowhere in the Plan [it] says that if you say yes you will be ok, that you're safe to say yes. For example each thing the Cypriots have to do after the plan, it was immediately, in a month, two months. The Turkish [representative], what he signed that he would do, it was after one or

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[100] The interviewees referred to Greek Cypriots as Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots as Turkish.

two years and if he wants. The Cypriots were forced to do the things and immediately and the Turkish side… if they want after one or two years, maybe they do it. So I didn't feel safe to sign it.

I: So you think Turkish Cypriots opened the crossing just for the referendum?

I can't imagine another reason, because after 1974 suddenly in 2004…why they didn't open in 2000 or 1995 or…and they had to wait 30 years to open the crossing. (Y.T., Greek Cypriot)

On the Turkish side, the reasons for a positive response to the Annan Plan lay in the direct connection between a solution and the access to the EU, which would have meant the end of the political and economic isolation and the possibility to move freely in Europe. As a Turkish Cypriot woman told me during an unrecorded conversation the unification of Cyprus is only possible in the European Union and vice-versa, since Turkish Cypriots can only join the EU in a unified country (ethnographic field notes). Therefore the majority of Turkish Cypriots were in favour of the Plan, and this was confirmed by the opinion of most people I spoke with. Before the referendum many protests against the government's position were held in the north side of Nicosia, while few people, including Turkish settlers who had acquired citizenship, called for the maintenance of the status quo. Among the Turkish Cypriots I interviewed, only a young man told me he voted no, because he thought that the Plan was just an attempt to separate the north from Turkey, and that this would have given Greek Cypriots the possibility to achieve *Enosis*.

I disagreed with the Plan, it wasn't something that safeguarded our rights as a minority community in the island. Once Turkey leaves us, the Greek can do whatever they want, and you know they still want union with Greece. […] Most Turkish voted yes, because they wanted to be European, but I'm sceptical about it, I think you can't trust this kind of solution (E.N.2, Turkish Cypriot).

Despite the result of the twin referenda, according to which the Annan Plan was rejected, Cyprus joined the EU as a still divided island on 1st May 2004. The anomaly created by the border dividing the northern and southern sides required the establishment of the Green Line Regulation, which regulates the movement of both goods and people. The Regulation regarding goods is presented in chapter 5; as far as people movement is concerned, the instrument developed by the EU «provides

for a stable legal framework for the free movement of Cypriots, other EU citizens and third country nationals who cross the Line at the crossing points»[101]. Data on people crossing since 2003 are reported in Table 5. The most visible feature of crossing is that many more Turkish Cypriots crossed south than Greek Cypriots crossed north, and this data is even more noticeable considering the different width of the two populations[102].

Approximately half of the Greek Cypriot population never crossed and 28 percent of the population visited the North only once, revealing that the possibility of crossing for Greek Cypriot has not translated into a regular experience. For most of them, as we will se afterwards, it is not something that should be done as visitors or tourists but a unique experience to see a place that was off limits and inaccessible for more then thirty years (Webster & Dallen 2006).

Table 5. Number of Crossings across the Green Line in the whole Cyprus

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
T.C.	1,442,859	2,254,997	1,549,648	1,575,158	2,142,971	1,162,739	1,287,126
G.C.	826,273	896,118	939,811	624,053	567,844	633,163	730,310
TOT	**2,269,132**	**3,151,115**	**2,489,459**	**2,199,211**	**2,710,815**	**1,795,902**	**2,017,436**

T.C.: Turkish Cypriots
G.C.: Greek Cypriots

Sources: 2003-2007: Jacobson et al. 2009; (data: TRNC Police[103]);
2008-2009: Brussels, 14.9.2009, COM(2009)478.

The number of Greek Cypriots crossing has declined between 2005 and 2008, and the general interpretation of this decrease is that, after an initial enthusiastic reaction and the curiosity to go and see the abandoned properties, Greek Cypriots lost interest in the possibility to cross (Demetriou 2007). As I will show afterwards, this

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[101] Brussels, 14.9.2009, COM(2009)478.

[102] According to 2006 census, the population in the south is 789,300 and in the north is 265,100.

[103] I decided to use the data provided by Turkish Cypriot Police, since figures produced by the two sides differ a little, and the Turkish Cypriot ones are most likely to be accurate, given the fact that, on that side, the Police record every person who passes, while Greek Cypriot Police makes random checks. This difference reflects whether or not the Green Line is considered as a border (cf. chapter 8).

opinion is partially confirmed by the accounts I collected among Greek Cypriots. The slight increase after 2008 can be explained by the opening of the Ledra/Lokmaci crossing point on April 3rd 2008, in the middle of the walled city of Nicosia, which constitutes an opportunity to easily cross on foot while walking in the town centre. Table 6 reports the number of crossings through this new checkpoint, and it is possible to see the same trend we saw in the figure relating to the whole island: during the first months a high number of Greek Cypriots used the passage, but they gradually decreased. As for Turkish Cypriots, they also crossed much more in the first months (the peak relative to the month of December is explainable by the pre-Christmas shopping frenzy) (Jacobson et al. 2009).

Table 6. Crossing through Ledra/Lokmaci checkpoint[104]

Month	Greek Cypriots	Turkish Cypriot	Total
April 2008	46,925	29,216	97,269
May 2008	37,129	22,560	101,147
June 2008	19,596	17,074	66,313
July 2008	19,851	18,716	72,405
August 2008	17,985	17,272	54,461
September 2008	15,978	18,593	65,954
October 2008	19,804	20,019	77,094
November 2008	18,932	18,612	70,293
December 2008	23,561	25,865	83,737
Total 2008	**219,761**	**187,927**	**699,673**
January 2009	21,769	18,651	72,042
February 2009	20,076	16,311	67,018

Source: Jacobson et al. 2009; data: RoC Police

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[104] The available data only reach the beginning of 2009, since I could not find up-to-date information before my departure from Nicosia.

6.2.1. Contact reactions

> We cannot simply preach neighbourliness
> between warring social groups
> when a wall literally prevents visual and acoustic encounters.
> Likewise, we cannot simply knock down a fence
> and hope people will automatically start liking each other.
> R. Brand

The opening, as I mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, has been the first occasion in thirty-four years for the establishment of contact between the two communities. The most interesting outcomes offered by this opportunity consist in the possibility to replace prejudice with trust and establish peaceful relations. Previous to this possibility, the opening of the crossing points made real and visible the existence of something and someone beyond the border, and this is especially true for Greek Cypriots, as far as I could understand.

> Before the opening nothing existed on the other side. We knew that there were people and we heard the muezzin, and the children playing and shouting, but it was like something which did not exist in reality. I lived for a period in the office of a friend […], in a flat with a balcony just in front of the buffer zone. […] Since there was no shower, I used to bring there tanks of water and take a shower on the balcony, totally naked, careless about the fact that someone could have seen me from the other side. Then I knew I wouldn't meet those people around, but now I wouldn't do it, now that you can cross it's different, I can meet those people in the streets and I would be ashamed (S.M., Greek Cypriot).

The anecdote of the Green Line Sea, explained in the foreword, shows the same sort of denial in considering the existence of something taking place and someone living in the other side. These examples clarify the power a physical barrier can acquire in defining the consideration and the idea people have about the others. The possibility of encounter radically changed these perceptions and finally gave the chance to deal with the fact that the Turkish side is inhabited by persons and not just occupied by soldiers.

According to Demetriou (2007: 992) «[f]or the first week after the opening of the border […] 'people behaved as they were drunk'». The Greek Cypriot

anthropologist refers to the fact that on the first days after the opening in 2003 the situation at the checkpoint of Ledra Palace was chaotic: there were long queues of people on both sides waiting for their documents to be checked in order to go and see the other side, and police had to intervene to keep order (Ibid.). People with whom I spoke described the situation as unreal, and most of them told me they had to wait few days in order to be able to cross – even though not all of them crossed. I firstly report two accounts – from a Turkish and a Greek Cypriot – about the first crossing experience. I have chosen these two narratives of the crossing because they are both told by young Cypriots who were born after the division, and because they express very intimate feelings related to the experience of crossing; in addition, they describe the atmosphere of excitement and emotional involvement related to the opening.

> I never expected that they would do it immediately, […] the first opening it was like a…they did it in a single day. […] Well I had a very interesting experience. A professor of mine came from England to visit somebody in the south and he emailed me and he said "I want to cross to the north, so would you have time to give us a short trip to the north?" I said yes sure, and we met in the morning on 22nd April 2003 and it was very difficult. They were two people, my professor and his girlfriend, and he had long hair, a big camera, glasses, they thought he was a journalist, they wanted to check the camera…this was the Turkish custom doing that. It was really difficult for me to pick them and […] at 5 pm they had to go back, so I managed to take them back at 5 pm at Ledra Palace. And going back the Greek police asked questions. "What did you buy? What did you eat? Do you have something? Are you carrying something?" These kinds of questions. The next morning, the borders were opened, the next morning! We woke up and the border was opened. It wasn't announced before, it wasn't. […] We turned on the TV […] and they were saying the borders are opened and we just said "this is a joke or what is it?". And we didn't even take it seriously, but then they showed it on the video that people were trying to cross. It was like… an hour later I received a call from that professor of mine, he said "ok we're in the middle of Nicosia you come and pick us up", and again we gave him a tour and he was with a Greek Cypriot, another professor of mine, and it was his first time in the north and it was a very interesting experience, because previously it was all deserted, no one was there and the next day many tourists, Greek Cypriots trying to find their old houses…[…] I told him "you should go to Korea!"
>
> I: Did you go to the south that day?
>
> No we couldn't manage to go to the south because it was very crowded the checking point, so we said "ok we should give it a time". But still I remember

that it was a Sunday… we queued, at Lidra Palace, we queued like half an hour, just to pass the Turkish Police, then of course all the way to the Greek Police it was another queue. And another reason was they didn't have record of Turkish Cypriots in the Greek computers, no database, they didn't have anything about me. They knew about my mom, but not about me, so I remember the first day they asked the mom's name, the father's name, tried to find it somehow, and it was not very easy. Today it's easy […].

I: How was it at the beginning?

As a personal experience, I was very, very excited, because I didn't know what to expect, and I was like… you know Alice in Wonderland, the book? In the book Alice just sees herself in the mirror but it's a different environment and she just crosses the mirror, but it's different. Everything's the same, but still something's different, something's peculiar, that was exactly how I felt. It was like people look similar, streets look very similar, people dressed similar, traffic is similar – you know [we both drive] left hand – birds were similar, cats were similar, everything's similar, but they speak a different language that I even didn't understand. […] so I felt very strange on that day, on the first crossing. Then we got used to it, then we started to learn how to drive on the street, were to go. The first places we went were I think the shopping places, Makarios Street, Ledras Street and restaurants then. We found our way and then if you're lucky to know some people you start to mix, but not many people had that chance (Z.A., Turkish Cypriot).

I was living abroad […] but I was here the day that they opened the borders, and I didn't know it, it was the second day, and I met some friends and they told me "tomorrow we are going to the other side", and I said "what other side?". And they said they opened the borders and I said "come on don't kid me", I thought they were kidding me. And I went with my father, with my mother, and with a cousin of mine, because my father's house, where he grew up, is just in the other side, it's at a walking distance, in Nicosia. […] so we walked up to his house, and while we turned the corner and he saw from a great distance […] the palm tree, he was… you know? He became very emotional and he started to cry and he said this is my mother's house, and we went there, we knocked the door, we entered, there were people there, Palestinians, who bought the house from the Turks who used to live ten years ago, and this Palestinians they came in Cyprus because of the problems they had in Israel. And it was [a] very, very, very tensed and emotional situation, but I didn't become as emotional as the second time I went to the other side. We went to Kyrenia, and I still remember when I came back I was so emotional that I started to write, and I still remember [that] day.

I: What kind of emotions?

You know, we were walking in Kyrenia and we came across with other Cypriots [who] went to the other side, and there was guilt in the eye-contact

145

and a weird feeling of…I don't know, nobody knew if this was right or wrong, to be there. Of course is something that I passed over, I mean I accepted the fact that there was a war, that we lost something, some properties, some land, lives, and I don't want to live with this guiltiness forever, I want to accept the fact and move on, I mean. […] It's interesting for me to feel Nicosia and Cyprus bigger then I used to feel it when I was younger, before the opening (E.P., Greek Cypriot).

These two narrations make reference to a different set of imaginaries, personal and political issues. At the same time, they share the main feeling that I recorded during my field research: a strong curiosity about the other side, both in terms of physical structure and people's features. The reference to Alice in Wonderland, made by Z.A. to explain her first crossing experience, shows both the feeling of something unknown and the interesting idea that the southern side is a sort of reflection of the northern one, but with something different which makes it a difficult place to be understood. This impression is especially suitable for Nicosia since the city, particularly within the Venetian walls, has maintained a similar structure in the two sides. Therefore the two sides can be seen as mutual mirrors developed in a way which has made them very different. Language is of course the most perceivable distinction, but also commercial symbols, religious buildings, food smells, people's dress and attitudes contribute to create a contrast between the two sides, although space configuration creates continuity.

The second narration has interesting references to some of the most complicated issues related to the partition of Cyprus: the problem of Greek Cypriots' lost properties in the north and their ambiguous position in terms of the possibility to cross. E.P. describes her father's reactions at seeing his old house in north Nicosia and the peculiar experience they had finding refugees from Palestine living there. In this specific case the parallel between the two forced displacements defines a continuum throughout the existence of the abandoned house which now hosts Palestinian refugees. When describing her first visit to Kyrenia, E.P. says something really emblematic, since she recognises the moral aspects related to the choice of crossing or not. She speaks about *guilt* referring to the fact that people did not know if it was right or wrong to be in the "occupied area", since personal choices could be

in contradiction with political affiliation or with the official position of Greek Cypriot authorities. In E.P.'s narration this aspect is made clear and her personal solution consisted in accepting past events as something which happened and cannot be deleted or ignored, but which should not stop people from overcoming their prejudices and *moving on*, as she says.

Curiosity towards the other half of the city, expressed by the two narrations, characterises both young generations, obviously curious about a place they never saw, and elderly people, who have spent more than thirty years wondering about their loss. However, this feeling has grown in different ways among Greek and Turkish Cypriots, according to the diverse imaginaries developed, both individually and collectively. I asked people if they wondered about the other side before the opening, and what kind of idea they had. The impression is that in the two communities the elaboration of fantasies on how the other side could be or could have changed throughout time was stereotyped and homogeneous within the two ethnic groups. Greek Cypriots always referred to the fact that the north was probably less developed than the south, implying the uneven process of modernisation of the island and especially the strong presence of Turkish settlers. This last element was recurrent in all the narrations I collected, and it was generally used to emphasise the "unavoidable" process of differentiation between the south, westernized and European, and the north, Turkified and, using Said's term, *orientalised* (Said 1978). This impression was usually mixed with an indefinite fear of Turkish soldiers, especially among younger people grown up with their parents' stories of the conflict and the violence of the Turkish invasion. A typical adjective used by Greek Cypriots to describe the unknown side of the city is "mysterious" both with reference to its supposed oriental character and the dangers connected to it.

> […] I saw the soldiers here and even in other places in Cyprus, when we were driving with the car and you could see in the horizon the soldiers, and you knew that there was something different on the other side. When we were kids and we were on a trip with my family, my parents were telling us stories and it was like…we were kids, we were listening like something mysterious is going on (N.T., Greek Cypriot).

I crossed for the first time a couple of months after the opening, when it was not so busy, from Ledra Palace. […] I thought it was something that I would never see, I thought I would die without seeing the other side and I thought it was like a completely… a mystery, horrible that I don't know what's on the other side, I don't know what it looks like. So yes I used to think about it. I tried to put together puzzles from the pictures of the past, but in comparison to what I saw when I went there, I really had no idea of what it looked like. (M.C., Greek Cypriot).

When I saw it there were a lot of places that reminded me of my travels to Egypt and Morocco, so there was a very strong character of the Arabic world for me. I had very strong feelings of some areas of poverty, and abandon of buildings and places that were left half destroyed, and I thought like "oh my God it's still like that".[…] I was very curious, it was much of curiosity. […], because I was born in 74 I never had…I was born on the year of the division so I never had memories of that place, and because my parents were not from the north, we didn't have any family 'souvenirs' of the north (M.T., Greek Cypriot).

Here is more like Europe, there [it] is older […]. Only once I went to the other side. […] Too much people from Turkey, too much, and too much shops. It was quieter before. […] Of course it is not better than this side. I think that it's the same, I'm not against them, they are the same like us (L.A., Greek Cypriot).

As far as Turkish Cypriots are concerned, the way in which they imagined the southern side before the opening mirrors Greek Cypriots' idea. Many of them used terms like "modern", "European", "developed" in order to describe what they thought about the other side. Moreover, this idea was most of time confirmed by the experience they had when they went there. The international embargo on the north implies the absence of multinational brands, substituted by fake imitations[105], and Turkish Cypriots' experience the absence of these globalised symbols as something that keeps them in a less internationalised environment and in a relation of dependence with Turkey. As I outline in chapter 7, this feeling is mixed with prejudices towards the Turkish population living in the island; it therefore implies a self-perception connoted by the same *orientalisation* attributed to them by Greek

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[105] Some examples: Big Donald's instead of McDonald's; Pizza Hat instead of Pizza Hut; Burger City instead of Burger King; Kermia Fried Chicken instead of Kentucky Fried Chicken (M Hatay 2008).

Cypriots, juxtaposed to the idea that Turkish Cypriots are different from Turkish since they have always been more European.

> I used to think about it, and tried to figure how it could have changed […]. And of course I knew it was more developed than here, since they continued developing, while we can't do anything here. [I imagined it] like a European city, with big malls… Of course it is modern, maybe less than I thought, but it is different than here (E.U., Turkish Cypriot).

> It was very developed, different. It was very big, because you know that we live in one third of the island, but you cannot imagine how big it can be, especially Nicosia, because it is like divided in the middle, but it's more then that now, because Strovolos[106] and other areas are enlarged, so it was very big for my imagination (Z.A., Turkish Cypriot).

> I used to imagine it like the north side, but more modern, more developed. When I went for the first time with my friends we wanted to go and see shops and restaurant, since we don't have these kinds of things, you know Starbucks, or American shops. […] I think we have an inferiority complex, because we are Turkish but we want to be European (E.N., Turkish Cypriot).

Despite the general feeling of curiosity induced many people to cross, at least once, there are still some Cypriots in both communities who never passed the Green Line. In both sides, the act of crossing implies political and ideological reflexions, as well as emotions related to the displacement experience and the memories of the war. For Greek Cypriots it means showing their passport and implicitly recognising the existence of a state in the north: crossing would mean violating their principles and supporting the pseudo-state. Besides, refugees from the north (and their relatives) describe their relation with the other side in emotional terms, underling the difficulties they have in seeing their properties and lands occupied by unknown people.

> I know it's ok but for emotional reasons I can't do it. And my family went to the other side, my mother and my grandfather went to see their villages…but I can't do it. […] And I don't want, no. I don't do it since there [is the] Turkish army there and [I] have to show the passport and ID to go, as I feel it, to go to my home. It's for emotional reasons, is not like I hate anybody, I don't hate the Turkish Cypriot people for example, because I know from my grandfather

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[106] Strovolos is one of the municipalities which developed in the outskirts of south Nicosia.

before 1974 they used to live together, they drank coffee together, next to each other (Y.T., Greek Cypriot).

During an unrecorded conversation with a Greek Cypriot girl, she explained to me that although she considers herself as a leftist (she actually said "communist") and pro-reconciliation, she does not cross, because she does not want to recognise the state in the north, since it is under military occupation. She made reference to the fact that after the opening at the border people were asked to sign something, which, according to her, was equivalent to recognising the TRNC. Even though now it is different, she still does not want to use her passport to go to the other side, since she wants a solution, not just to visit the other side as a foreigner (ethnographic field notes).

For Turkish Cypriots it is quite different, since they do recognise the existence of a neighbour state and they show less nostalgia towards their former properties in the south. According to a research conducted on crossing (Psaltis 2008), their reluctance to cross is mainly due to an ideological mistrust towards Greek Cypriots and, in some cases, to the fact that they are not allowed to cross. Among the people I interviewed in the north side, I did not find anyone who refuses to cross, and I only had the opportunity to participate in a conversation between two Turkish Cypriot men in their sixties discussing this issue. One of the two explained his reluctance to cross and see the southern side of Nicosia, saying that he had enough bad memories about Greek Cypriots' attitudes towards Turkish Cypriots, related to the period of inter-communal violence. In his opinion there is no reason to trust them and to think they could have changed, since they still want to have the whole island back and to achieve *enosis*, union with Greece (ethnographic field notes). I heard a similar consideration of Greek Cypriots when interviewing Nicosia's Mayor of the north side. He told me that there had been episodes of violence against young Turkish Cypriots crossing south by Greek Cypriot kids; according to him this was due to the fact that adults have transmitted to their children the idea that Turkish Cypriots are enemies and that is why there are still feelings of hate towards them (C.M.B., Turkish Cypriot Mayor of Nicosia). This position expresses a quite common idea,

which underlines the role education has in reproducing stereotypes and prejudices between the two communities.

The issue of education and propaganda, as I mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, has recently become a much debated one, since in both sides there has been an attempt to reflect upon the impact of a partisan way of recounting and teaching history as well as describing the other in negative terms. The recognition of this problem has led to a reform of history books and a general discussion upon the history of Cyprus that I had the opportunity to witness during my stay in Nicosia. Most people are aware of the role acquired by education and they recall what they learnt at school about Cyprus and its history as something which does not correspond to reality, but to a propagandistic way of seeing the other as the guilty one.

Despite the opening of the crossing points has given Cypriots the opportunity to meet and interact, relations of friendship between the two communities are still quite rare, and this is especially true among young people, who did not have the opportunity to establish relations before the division. During the interviews I asked people if they have friends in the other side and, among people born after 1974, nobody answered positively.

> I know some Greek Cypriots, not many though. I have this problem of socializing with Greek Cypriots, meeting with them, because there is no such a place, you have to know some people personally and through personal relations you know new people, so it's not easy for Turkish Cypriots to find Greek Cypriots friends. It's not easier the opposite, just because there is no communal place for people to go, because of the division and politics (Z.A., Turkish Cypriot).

> I know some people, I wouldn't say they're friends, in the sense that I wouldn't call them to go out, they're more like acquaintances I meet occasionally in shops, exhibitions, theatre… (M.C., Greek Cypriot).

These two answers show the fact that interactions are occasional, and the main problem lies in the absence of places where to meet: in the first account this aspect is clear, while in the second M.C. declares that she only meets Turkish Cypriots in shops or in special occasions she uses to attend, since she is an artist. In Nicosia

there is no lack of public places or cafes where to spend time with friends and meet new people, therefore the problem is related to the connotation these places have for people of the two communities. The buffer zone is the only space which is neutral, in the sense that it does not belong to any of the two ethnic groups, nevertheless the meanings related to that space are strong and its political neutrality does not correspond to a symbolical one (cf. paragraph 3.3).

Bi-communal associations and groups oriented towards reconciliation use to organise meetings, concerts or other events opened to both community, and they normally choose the buffer zone as venue. I had the opportunity to attend some of these happenings and realise, with surprise, the scarce participation of people. Moreover, I participated in two other bi-communal events organised in the Greek side, where I met only one Turkish Cypriot (the same in both occasions). In his opinion, the failure of these initiatives lies in their scarce communication and promotion, at least in the north side. He told me that it is illegal to advertise events organised in the south, and I discover that the same problem exists in the Greek side, although people in both sides find ways to get around the law. Moreover, he underlined the difficulty many young Turkish Cypriots have in relating with Greek Cypriots since languages are different and English is not always a practicable solution. Finally, he considered that the act of crossing is in itself something which can discourage people from attending these events (ethnographic field notes). Bi-communal initiatives are necessary and positive steps towards bottom-up reconciliation, therefore it would be important to increase people's participation. It is again evident that the possibility of contact, as well as the organisation of events which should involve both communities, are not enough to promote real integration. These opportunities should be combined with an effort by local institutions in the promotion of bi-communal initiatives in both sides as well as the creation of a space which must be neutral, common and sharable, as Cypriots clearly expressed in the interviews I collected (cf. paragraph 3.3).

POWER AND POLITICS ON SPACE: EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

> The city has a symbolic dimension:
> monuments but also voids, squares and avenues,
> symbolizing the cosmos, the world, society
> or simply the state.
> H. Lefebvre

This second part of presentation of the empirical research results deals with issues related to the rise of competing nationalisms and on the way in which historical events are interpreted through diverging narratives. The main aim of this section is to show how these competing ideas have a reflection onto space: after a brief analysis of the two conflicting identities and historical narratives, I provide a visual analysis of the political landscape of partition which highlights the connection between the spatial and the material.

Especially in the old city surrounded by the Venetian walls, the urban landscape of Nicosia is strongly marked by the division. This landscape of partition (Kliot & Mansfield 1997) carries different and sometimes conflicting ideas and ideologies belonging to the two parts. These ideas and ideologies are in fact reflected onto space so that space becomes a tool to build or reinforce memories and identities based on place belonging and on historical events. In the progress of time, things become the embodiment of events, through a process of solidification of time into material.

Urban conflict materialises in different forms of artifacts, from walls to checkpoints, as well as in forms of urban organisation and everyday life. Therefore this *material fabric* (Brand 2009a: 2) of the urban environment is socially produced: space is informed by politics, ideologies and power. In turn, materiality has a strong impact on social practices and it defines what psychologist James J. Gibson calls the *affordances*, or the possibilities of action people have in a certain environment (Gibson 1977).

153

Within this context, the analysis of landscape, as Kliot and Mansfield point out, shows how

> […] elements and processes of the political landscape, broadly perceived and defined, exercise their power on division and partition; the latter, on the other hand, create dual political landscapes in the two entities which were formed by the division or partition (Kliot & Mansfield 1997: 497).

The political landscape is a landscape in which, or through which, we can recognise spatial associations of political facts or political constitutions. It is the physical expression of power relations, and, in divided cities, the spatial outcome of the partition.

The urban landscape is a political landscape since it is composed by different elements and symbols which have been deliberately placed to carry a certain message (Dell'Agnese 2004). The geographic reality is a privileged support for processes of symbolisation since symbols become concrete elements of human life: groups and individual – or officials[107] – use human ability to symbolise as a means to produce symbolic places, and therefore to influence the build-up of collective identity and to legitimise the exercise of authority (Monnet 1998). Administrative and institutional buildings, museums, memorials, and even squares and street names are never neutral and they express political power, fixing social memory and *ethno-history* (Dell'Agnese 2004). The significance of material artefacts can change through time, according to different historical and political phases: the meaning given to the Venetian walls of Nicosia has changed many times in different ways for the two communities (cf. chapter 3). At the same time, the landscape has been radically transformed since the beginning of the conflict and has become more and more dual. This process has involved not only new features of the urban landscape, but also old elements, whose meaning has been changed according to new power relations. In this case the relation between the political landscape and memory is clear: the process of place-making is central to social memory and the formation of identity and therefore of cultural and political communities (Adams et al. 2001;

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[107] «"Officials" refers to the community of state bureaucrats, leaders, and experts that attempt to legitimise a particular worldview through abstract and selective representations of space and place (after Ó Thathail and Agnew 1992)» (Till 2003, note 1: 298).

Keith & Pile 1993; Till 2003). Places are spatial and social contexts of events, activities and peoples (Agnew & Duncan 1989); therefore they are central in the build-up of collective memory. As I point out in paragraph 3.3 referring to Simmel and Halbwachs, memory, and especially collective memory, is closely tied to space, in its relation with time.

> Because it is more vivid to the senses, place generally exhibits a greater associative effect for recollection than time. And hence, especially when one is concerned with unique and emotion-laden interactions, it is precisely the place which tends to be indissolubly linked to recollection, and thus, since this tends to occur mutually, the place remains the focal point around which remembrance weaves individuals into the web of interactions that have now become idealised (Simmel et al. 1997: 149).

Throughout time in Nicosia the different rulers have meant different powers at work, each one with a reflex in the spatial configuration. Especially after the partition of the city, space has become a tool to re-write history and memory: different symbols have been impressed on it in order to carry meanings linked to specific narratives. The outcome is the existence of two communities with two different and mostly conflicting ways of assigning significance to the various shared symbols, elaborating what Dell'Agnese (2004) defines as a clashing interpretation of the same places. Moreover, new separate systems of symbols have been added leading to a more and more defined differentiation in terms of narratives, memories, and history related to places. Therefore the dispute over physical space has also involved the negotiation about whose conception of the past should prevail (Till 2003).

The result of this process is the creation of an *ethnoscape* (Smith 1997) that is the territorialization of ethnicity and ethnic memory. In the ethnoscape the significance given to places is considered to be integral to a particular ethnic community and vice-versa. The link between the community and space is historically and culturally based, through myths, heroes and past leaders, and marked in space through monuments, museums and statues. «Ethnic groups make geography and produce space to legitimise their existence in space and time» (Schetter 2005: 51).

The analysis of the urban landscape as a political landscape considers concrete objects in space (Dell'Agnese 2004): the aim is to understand these artifacts as social products related to certain ideas and ideologies. The visual method allows to grasp this level of analysis in a direct way, and then to identify the specific symbolical meaning of every element, putting it in relation with the others and with the landscape as a whole. Finally, it is possible to consider those ideas and ideologies as the «product of a *discourse* and the landscape itself as the result of a *discursive practice*» (Ibid: 261, my translation). However, the meaning we attribute to a given landscape cannot be the only and true one, since there is not a single way to read it and the landscape is always undergoing changes and transformations. Moreover, meanings do not only modify because of spatial re-configurations, but also as a result of different "ways of seeing": «culture, politics, and subjectivity continuously interconnect configuring and re-configuring the urban landscape, not only as a material artifact, but also as a way of seeing» (Ibid: 261, my translation).

7. IDENTITIES AND HISTORICAL NARRATIVES

> It is the chicken and egg question
> of which comes first –
> the boundary or the identity?
> D. Newman

In this chapter I shall try to outline how the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities never did develop a sense of common identity and, instead, differences and difficulties hindering a peaceful coexistence grew throughout time. This is an introduction to the following chapter, which can help to understand a range of issues related to the rise of nationalisms in Cyprus and to discourses and ideologies existing in the two sides, especially related to the way in which history is narrated. I do not refer only to Nicosia but to the all island: in the next chapter the focus will once again return to the city in order to outline how these issues are reflected onto space and how space contributes to their reproduction and legitimisation.

The rise of conflicting nationalisms in Cyprus has not followed a regular path, assuming there is one. Minority nationalisms generally arise in contexts of failed nation-building processes (Herb & Kaplan 1999), often as a result of imposed majority rights or as the legacy of colonial rule. Cyprus falls within the realm of those nation states which tried to establish themselves after a period of colonial rule, although as we will see the two nationalist movements developed almost simultaneously.

Within each community the struggle for power and ideological influence was always related to the formation of diverse interest groups and political parties, that create diversified dynamics and ideological tensions with their own version of the past and collective memory. These diverging visions of history have legitimised the nation-state ideologies and have also promoted particular claims defining the political agenda.

7.1.   Cohabitation in diversity and the rise of nationalisms

Most scholars agree on the idea that in Cyprus a singular national identity concept has never emerged, while competing ethno-nationalist concepts had the possibility to spread during the first half of the twentieth Century (Papadakis 1998; 2008; Ramm 2007; Mavratsas 2010; Hatay 2008; Vural & Ozuyanı 2008). The explanation for this evolution of nationalistic feelings of Cypriots must be traced in the history of the two groups co-inhabiting the island.

As I explain in chapter 6.1 the ethnic composition of the Cypriot population has always shown a predominance of Greeks, even though the Turks have always represented a strong minority. It is interesting to outline the ways in which, in different periods of history, the two groups have lived together maintaining an identitarian differentiation.

Historical accounts (Attalides 1979; Hill & Luke 2010; Papadopoullos 1997) report that during the Ottoman rule the two groups were not isolated and shared a lifestyle and economic conditions. Despite peaceful coexistence, ethnic differentiation was shaped by religious and cultural factors and there was no unitary definition of the population as "Cypriots": they were considered either Muslims or Greek Orthodox Christians.

The coexistence of ethno-religious groups in this period was guaranteed by the institution of the *millet*, a Ottoman term that defines a legally protected religious minority. The Orthodox Church in Cyprus – which has been autonomous at least since 488 AD with the right of self government and organisation in respect to the Patriarchate in Constantinople – maintained its autonomy during the Ottoman rule (Morag 2004; Uluçay et al. 2005).

The process of Islamization carried on by the Ottomans can be considered the first element which contributed to develop, as a reaction, a strong religious and subsequently ethnic identity among Greek Cypriots. According to Attalides (1979)

«the religious distinction made the faithful of each religion stay apart and retain their own identity».

While during the Ottoman rule Cypriots were classified according to their religious affiliation, in the British period (1878-1960) they began to be distinguished in ethnic terms, as either Turks or Greeks. During colonial administration the Orthodox Church autonomy and authority were limited by the colonial power to exclusively religious activities. Consequently the Church stopped collecting taxes and managing the Greek Cypriot education system. The British applied the Greek and Turkish school systems in Cyprus, thus «allowing the communities to choose their own means by socializing young Cypriots into being Greeks and Turks rather then encouraging the development of a Cypriot civil identity» (Morag 2004: 604). This reproduction of the divide and rule colonial strategy, with purposes of control over the local population, had the consequence of giving rise to or increasing the national awareness of the two communities, laying the foundation of the future conflict. Both communities lacked a sense of a common Cypriot identity, and still recognise themselves as either Greeks or Turks, also as a result of the colonial policies. Moreover, during the British rule, Greek Cypriots started expressing their nationalism with a strong opposition to the colonial administration and the fight for independence and union with Greece. This is the period in which the political goals of the two communities appeared to be conflicting for the first time: Turkish Cypriots were concerned about the majority's plans of annexation to Greece, since they feared they would have lost their rights as citizens or would have been treated as a minority (Yildizian & Ehteshami 2004). They therefore chose to demonstrate their loyalty to the British administration, putting themselves in opposition to Greek Cypriots. Accordingly, «the British hired Turkish Cypriot policemen, who were employed against the Greek Cypriot EOKA insurrection» (Papadakis 1998: 151). Neither of the two groups was able to take advantage of the common experience of the imposed colonial power and to join together for the independence of the island, while their different positions related to this issue were a major cause of clashes and mutual mistrust.

Although throughout a period of more than four hundred years both communities shared elements of culture and, especially in mixed villages, a certain level of common local identity, they never represented the basis for a full integration. As an example, intermarriages – which are a prerequisite for either assimilation of one ethnic group into the other or the emergence of new ethnic groups combining elements of the original ones – were extremely rare. By 1946 the rate of intermarriages was far below 0.2 percent of the entire population (Asmussen 2003), and this data is explainable with reference to religious difference but also to the diverse cultural systems related to marriage, i.e. dowry and moral values (Ibid.).

After independence in 1960 each of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities maintained separate education and religious systems. Cypriot "nationhood" had no opportunity to evolve before the inter-communal conflict broke out in 1963-1964 (Kliot & Mansfield 1999: 186).

When Cyprus was proclaimed an independent state, the contradictory demands expressed by the two communities – *Enosis*: union with Greece, and *Taksim*: partition – made it difficult to agree on a constitutional base. This is the main reason which explains the failure of the Zurich Agreement signed by the three guarantor powers (British, Greeks, and Turks). The state was founded on a consociational constitution in order to safeguard the rights of the Greek majority – 79 percent of the population – and of the Turkish minority, the 18 percent (Kliot & Mansfield 1999). However, the two groups either thought that the privileges accorded to the minority were unfair or, on the contrary, claimed for a fully bi-communal state.

The period of violent confrontation that took place in Nicosia in 1963-64 led to the formation of enclaves which represented the first form of ethnic spatial segregation in the city. Mixed neighbourhoods suffered the most, and the result was a displacement of people and a high number of killings. Houses that were abandoned by people from one of the two communities were occupied by the other. About 7,000 Turkish Cypriots, mostly living in the suburbs of Nicosia fled to the Turkish quarter of the town centre or to the new refugee villages in the northern side. This

spatial reorganisation into clearly separate enclaves continued until 1967 (Kliot & Mansfield 1999: 187).

During the first period of Turkish enclaves formation – 1963-1968 according to Alpar Atun and Doratli (2009) – the Turks were «virtually imprisoned within the enclaves» (*Ibid.*), since the entrance and exit of people and goods were patrolled by Greek Cypriots. At the same time, however, this experience resulted in the growth of a group consciousness that did not exist before and in the attempt to recreate inside the enclaves the social order that they had left (Mete Hatay & Bryant 2008). In this period Turkey started helping Turkish Cypriots economically and supporting them politically, and therefore influencing them from an ideological and cultural point of view. It is in this phase of the confrontation, with its first spatial reflection in the form of segregated enclaves, that national ambitions grew among Turkish Cypriots[108].

The 1974 war and definitive division have represented the fulfilment of these ambitions: in geopolitical terms the drawing of the boundary, though a permanent ceasefire line from a legal point of view, has definitively territorialized the national identity of Turkish Cypriots, reifying the community sense of belonging and linking it to a specific territorial unit. At the same time, the Turkish military intervention and the division of the island has had effects also on Greek Cypriots' national identity, which started being connected with a sense of nostalgia for the loss of national territory and the internal displacement of people.

As I said, the strong bond tying Turkey with the Turkish Cypriot community developed during the enclaves period, and it strengthened after the island partition. A process of *turkification* carried out in the TRNC, that I present in the next paragraphs, has contributed in exacerbating the differences among Cypriots and in sharpening the rift between the two communities (Alpar Atun & Doratli 2009). In the Republic of Cyprus the desire for *Enosis* has decreased in intensity throughout

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[108] The enclaves acquired a symbolic importance for Turkish Cypriots as the space where, although with difficulties, they could self-administrate. Even during the easing of tensions after 1968, they refused to allow Greek Cypriots to enter the areas under their control (Volkan 1979).

time, but a strong nationalism has continued to influence the way in which history is interpreted and taught.

Different elements combined throughout history have led to friction in relations and to conflict intensification, and the growth of separate and competitive nationalisms in the two sides is a key factor to understand the ethnic clash.

According to Mavratsas «the main reason for the non-emergence of a Cypriot nation is, of course, Greek nationalism and its ideological dominance in Greek Cypriot politics» (Mavratsas 2010: 151). The growth of nationalistic feelings followed a different path in the two communities: Greek Cypriot desire for *Enosis* slowly developed during the Ottoman domination and spread in opposition to the British colonial administration, within the context of the Hellenic *Megali Idea*[109]. The Orthodox Church, the main authority for the Greek Cypriot community, had an important role in giving momentum to the idea of *Enosis* and its influence was seen through education and public speeches by the Archbishop (Yildizian & Ehteshami 2004). Therefore the nationalist aspirations of Greek Cypriots were always tied to a strong attachment to the "motherland" Greece (Attalides 1979), and they never led to the *imagination* (Anderson 1991) of a Cypriot nation.

On the other hand Turkish Cypriots displayed a defensive reaction to the demand for *Enosis*, since they feared to become a minority in the Greek state or, even worse, to be expelled (Yildizian & Ehteshami 2004). The Muslim authorities of the island «started to encourage Turkish Cypriots to forge a stronger sense of community unity and spirit» (Ibid: 7), which developed around the political objective of self administration. After the independence from the British this desire grew in intensity and was supported by the "motherland" Turkey, which did not want Greece to annex the island and sought to keep control over the Turkish population of Cyprus.

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[109] The political vision which became known as the *Megali Idea* (Great Idea) was the Greek official ideology, according to which the Greek state should have included all the Greek subjects of the Ottoman Empire. Besides an irredentist character, the *Megali Idea* had an imperialistic vision, since it wanted to unite all Greeks under one flag, but also considered minorities living in Turkish territories, such as Istanbul (Diamandouros et al. 2010).

The evolution of the conflict could not but strengthen these dual national aspirations, enforcing them with feelings of hate, suffering and loss. However, throughout time, different versions of history as well as new attitudes concerning the present started to emerge among Cypriots on both sides.

7.1.   From *Greekness* to *Cypriotism*

After the 1974 war the Greek Cypriot position in relation to the Turkish community underwent a significant change.

> Regarding the Turkish Cypriots, Greek Cypriots adopted a policy of rapprochement, expressed as the post-1974 major political doctrine of *epanaprosegisi*, meaning "coming together again". They started to appeal to a previous state of coexistence in order to justify their vision of a united Cyprus cohabited by the two ethnic groups and to counter officials Turkish Cypriot claims that the history of relations between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots is one of pure conflict (Papadakis 1998: 152).

The present self-definition of Greek Cypriots in terms of national belonging is neither uniform nor stable: Papadakis' (Ibid.) reflections over the changes concerning Greek Cypriot identity underline the way in which narratives on nationalism are contested even within the same ethnic group. His analysis outlines how historical narratives result as a combination of political and personal levels, therefore the narratives expressed by the main opposing parties, DISY[110] and AKEL[111], which express diverging nationalistic demands and find a bond with personal and local history. The Hellenic nature of Greek Cypriots is promoted by DISY politicians and supporters, while AKEL has encouraged the development of "Cypriotism", underlying the local features of the Cyprus culture and advocating for the reconciliation of the two communities. These different attitudes towards

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[110] DISY, Dhimokratikos Sinayermos (Democratic Rally) is the largest right-wing party, which has always been pro-*Enosis* and claim for the Hellenic origin of Greek Cypriots.
[111] AKEL, Anorthotiko Komma Erghazomenou Laou (Progressive Party for the Working People) is the major left-wing party, now governing the Republic of Cyprus and administrating the municipality of Nicosia in the southern side. AKEL has always maintained links with Turkish Cypriots and nowadays promotes reconciliation and talks between the representatives of the two communities.

national goals relate to two different ways of interpreting and narrating history, as well as to the attribution of different roles in terms of victims and criminals. People's narrations match with either of the two political visions, and individuals add personal stories that provide resonance between the abstract political narration and the lived out experience (Ibid: 158).

During the interviews I conducted among people living in Nicosia, I would ask for a narration of events which led to the city partition, in order to understand the personal way to attribute meanings to historical narrations. The answers I received can be interpreted according to the two main political visions of history and of the related nationalistic ideologies. A first group of interviewees describe the evolution of the conflict blaming the Greek Cypriot nationalists for their aspirations, which gave rise to troubles in the coexistence of the two communities. These kinds of narration set the beginning of inter-communal clashes in the period of the EOKA struggle for independence from the British colonial administration, and they therefore underline the role played by this organisation in promoting Greek nationalism and ethnic differentiation.

> I think that as Cypriots we had too wrong estimations of what a minority was, and we treated them like citizens of third or fourth category, and we weren't clever enough to give them rights, give them the ability to feel like home. We gave them the chance to invade the island, and I think that this was important, I mean, we had a short view of what living with other minorities is (E.P., Greek Cypriot).

> The EOKA fight for union with Greece started the troubles, then Turkish Cypriots wanted partition, and they finally had it cause we gave Turkey the opportunity to invade Cyprus and divide it. Nicosia was already divided because people were killing each other from the 60s, but that's the story, more or less.
>
> I: And why did they started killing each other?
>
> Well…as I said the EOKA wanted Enosis, and Turkish Cypriots were seen as enemies, because they had connections with Turkey, that was an enemy for Greece (L.L., Greek Cypriot).

> Stupid nationalism was the reason for the division. In this side they wanted enosis, in the other side the Turks wanted to have control. But those were the nationalists, normal people wanted to live in peace. You know…Cyprus is the…can I say this? It's the prostitute of the Mediterranean, we say this,

because it was conquered by so many foreign powers … I think it's stupid to think that we are Greeks or Turks, we are also Venetians, French, English. Of course I know my origins are Greek, but this doesn't mean I cannot live with other people (L.O., Greek Cypriot).

The second group of accounts concentrate on the events of 1974, therefore they avoid references to the period of troubles and they underline the role Turkey played in the partition of the island. This vision of history is clearly connected with the position of DISY, and it therefore expresses a strong attachment to Hellenic identity and a clear negative opinion about Turkey and, consequently, Turkish Cypriots. People who answered according to this ideology habitually set the Cyprus problem in a more general frame that involves the old conflict between Turkey and Greece. A Greek Cypriot woman[112] who fled to England as a consequence of 1974 war, told me that the Cyprus problem is directly connected with the unsolved issue of contested territories between Greeks and Turks, and she stated that until Turkey does not give back Constantinople to Greece the Cyprus problem will not be solved. I collected other commentaries that show a vision of historical events in which Greek Cypriots have no responsibilities and Turkey appear to be the main cause for the conflict.

The Turks invaded Cyprus, because one week before there was… some people that don't want the president, it was Makarios before, and they make the [coup] to take the power. And the Turks made the war, it was an excuse to make the war (L.A., Greek Cypriot).

After we became independent [from the British] there were problems, because the constitution wasn't accepted and there was no way to administrate the country. Turkey wanted the partition of the island, and they provoked troubles. We wanted union with Greece, but we didn't want Turkish Cypriot to go away, as they say (N.T., Greek Cypriot).

Turkish Cypriots were not interested in the country, they only thought about themselves. […] That's why they served the British and killed the EOKA fighters who were struggling for independence. This was too much for us, we fought for freedom and they were against us, always behind the most

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[112] I had the opportunity to talk to her during a summer school I attended at the Essex University in England just before going to Cyprus for the fieldwork. She and her husband, both Greek Cypriots, own a fish&chips in Wivenhoe and I asked them some questions about the situation in Nicosia and the Cyprus problem in general.

powerful. Then they were scared because they were a minority, and they wanted partition. So when there was the coup in 1974 Turkey took the occasion to divide the island (D.P., Greek Cypriot).

Another interesting position, expressed in an interview and in few other unrecorded conversations, sees the role of external powers as decisive in manipulating the situation in order to maintain a condition of instability in Cyprus. The British and Americans are considered to be responsible for having deliberately destabilised the situation to keep control in a strategic geo-political area.

> The English put us one against the other, and then the Americans also did not help us. Cyprus is a strategic place, everyone wanted to control it, and that's why we are in this situation. The Turks, the English, the Americans…they had interests in creating this situation. You see, now we have the English bases and they can control the area…we are close to Israel, Palestine… […] they used our problems to stay here and control, with the UN and the soldiers.

A person I interviewed told me that in her opinion, one of the reasons why Greek Cypriots voted no at the referendum for the Annan Plan was that:

> Americans pushed for the approval of the Annan Plan, because they wanted to assist Turkey and its interests, not for Cyprus and not even for Turkish Cypriots. So the fact that England and the Americans were pushing…I think it made people react negatively.
>
> I: And how were they pushing?
>
> They made pleas, their representatives came here, they said that if we didn't accept they would have recognised the state in the other side. There was this game of threats that brought [Greek] Cypriots to decide for the no (A.P., Greek Cypriot).

This heterogeneous picture of Greek Cypriots, concerning their vision of history and of their community, has a resonance on the connotation space has in symbolic terms (cf. chapter 8). Contrasting ideas coexist and create a complex frame of analysis, which is related to the multidimensional character identity has in a context like Cyprus, where different cultural, religious and linguistic features intertwine and have connections with imagined motherlands.

7.2.   "I'm a Cypriot, I'm a Turk, and I'm unlucky"[113]

Turkish Cypriots experienced a strong process of *Turkification* in the period before and after the independence of Cyprus in 1960 and much more after the 1974 partition, related to the modernisation of Turkey and the so called Kemalist movement[114]. This was the phase of the construction of the Turkish Cypriot nation and the related national identity, in which space acquired a very important role.

«Nationalism is almost invariably haunted by a fixation with territory, the quest for a "home", actual or imagined» (Özkırımlı & Sofos 2008: 103). This process of fixation takes place through a «reconstruction of social space as national territory, often with a force and intensity that erases alternatives and grafts the nation onto the physical environment and everyday social practices» (Ibid). Since the 1960s period of enclave formation, space in the northern half of Cyprus – and especially in Nicosia – was subject to a rediscovery of the Ottoman heritage, together with the transfer of symbols belonging to the Turkish national and cultural imaginary. Through the passing of time, and especially after the 1974 partition, the old Ottoman heritage was more and more substituted by the new modern Turkish symbols, and Ataturk icons became part of the Turkish Cypriot landscape, as well as Turkish flags and slogans like "How happy to say I'm a Turk" (figure 11).

However, as I explain in paragraph 3.2, the arrival of Turkish settlers and migrants, mainly coming from rural areas of Anatolia, together with the consequences of the international embargo on the TRNC and the growing dependence on Turkey, have provoked a change in Turkish Cypriots' relations with their motherland.

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[113] Statement by a 29 year old Turkish Cypriot (Gungor 2007, quoted in (Ramm 2007: 11).

[114] The Kemalist ideology, at the base of the modern Turkish state, developed at the beginning of the nineteenth century around "six arrows": republicanism, populism, secularism, revolutionism, nationalism, statism. The father of Kemalism, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, has become popular in Cyprus together with his ideology, although the history of Atatürk and the one of Cyprus have nothing to do with each other.

Figure 11
Crossing the border at Agios Demetios/Metehan checkpoint.

All these elements gave rise to an emerging affiliation with a new national identity that we can again refer to as *Cypriotism*, partially supported by the media and some political representatives (Hatay 2008). As in the south, nowadays there is no homogeneity among Turkish Cypriots' feelings of identity: cypriotists coexists with people who consider Turkey as their motherland, both among citizens and politicians. Turkish Cypriots' Cypriotism (*Kıbrıslılık*) has different roots compared to the Greek Cypriot version, even though both are related to leftish political positions and the intellectual environment. In the north side, in fact, it has mainly developed in contrast to the Turkish political, economic and cultural influence in TRNC affairs. While in the south this feeling already emerged after the 1974 war, «it was only at the turn of the millennium, with the support of nationalists who favoured self-determination and a growing bourgeoisie, that Cypriotism gained popular currency in the Turkish Cypriot community» (Mete Hatay & Bryant 2008: 431). Another important difference between the two forms of Cypriotism is related to the fact that, among Turkish Cypriots, this idea does not imply a common identity for the entire island and is not connected with a nostalgia of the period of peaceful coexistence of the two communities. Instead, the claim for self-determination is

only developed in opposition to Turkey's domination and it is referred to Turkish Cypriots only (Ibid.).

As far as the narratives on history are concerned, the Turkish Cypriots I interviewed generally demonstrate a critical vision of the events which led to partition, and they underline the personal reflections which help them to move away from the official propaganda.

> In the 1960s there were inter-communal fighting between Turks and Greeks and the British divide and rule politics, that's what people tell you, in the schools as well. Greeks attacking Turks, EOKA, EOKAb, Makarios, the church, Grivas[115], […]Nikos Sampson[116], the Greek Junta later, this all led to the division and Turkey came to save Turkish Cypriots, that's the proper official story that you can hear. For me, of course it is like inter-communal fighting, nationalism, fascism, religion affecting people, the church affecting people's minds, of course that matters but it's not very simple, it's not as simple as Makarios wanted this, Grivas wanted this and it happened, it's not that simple. It's very complicated the reason (Z.A., Turkish Cypriot).

> Now I have a different idea of what happened, but maybe when I was a kid with the official historical facts in my mind I thought it was only Greeks' fault. We learnt that EOKA was the reason why Greeks and Turks started fighting, but then with education, with logic reason my idea changed (H.T., Turkish Cypriot).

> I believe if people knew that this would be the outcome they wouldn't do whatever they did, they wouldn't kill each other, because this is the situation we're living in, it's a divided city. So I believe if Turkish Cypriots knew they would be an unrecognised republic […] isolated from the world, they wouldn't allow this to happen. And if Greeks Cypriots […] knew Turkey would come and stay, not only intervene but stay as well, as people say occupy, I don't think EOKAb would ever existed […]. I was reading this book last year by a Greek Cypriot […] woman, [an] EOKA area commander, and the things that she believed, the glorious Greek nation, Cypriots are Greeks and how this should be achieved, her hostility against the British empire, how they desired a Cypriot nation, when you read this and when you look at the outcome it is very sad (E.N., Turkish Cyoriot).

I had the opportunity to collect only a few diverging opinions, one of them during an unrecorded conversation with a male who ascribes all the guilt to Greek Cypriots

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[115] Georgios Grivas was the leader of EOKA (National organisation of Cypriot Fighters) and EOKAb paramilitary organisation.
[116] Nikos Sampson was a member of EOKA and he became President of Cyprus, for eight days only, after the coup which overthrew Archbishop Makarios in 1974.

and their national aspiration. The interesting aspect of his position regards the different ideas he expressed about Turkish people according to different historical periods. He underlined the positive role of Turkey when it intervened and avoided a possible genocide; however, he declared that nowadays Turkish Cypriot people should become more independent from Turkey, also because of their "European character" which distinguishes them from Turkish people. As I already pointed out when explaining the referenda results (cf. chapter 6), it is quite common to hear this kind on opinion among Turkish Cypriots, and this is another element which contributes to strengthen their desire to acquire an internationally recognised status and to join the European Union. The identitarian self-perception of many Turkish Cypriots implies this European character, as confirmed by accounts from the people I interviewed.

> We were European, as Cypriots. We had the British here, and other European countries conquered Cyprus before. […] But the British, more than others, they modernised the country and they imported European culture here. Before the division here it was really different, and that's why we have problem with Turkish living here. They're different (E.U., Turkish Cypriot).

Despite these opinions and a general critical stance towards Turkish political role in the TRNC, we will see how the landscape in the north side is still strongly marked by the process of turkification. This aspect reflects the institutional and political position of the TRNC which, in fact, still largely depends on the help of Turkey and cannot avoid its political influence. The former government of the pseudo-state had started a process of cultural and political detachment from Turkey, but different factors, among which the results of the referenda in the south, discouraged people with regard to the possibility of a solution. The recent governmental and presidential elections in the TRNC saw a radical change since the winners, the National Unity Party and its leader Derviş Eroğlu, express a pro-Turkey position and reinforce identitarian features connected to the Turkish character of Cypriots.

8. VISUAL ANALYSIS OF THE PARTITIONED LANDSCAPE

Through a visual approach, I analyse how space is shaped on the basis of ideologies and how it can become a powerful agent in order to re-affirm those ideas and to maintain, or erase, the memory of the past and of the conflict. We can consider three main categories of political landscape that can be useful to understand the case of Nicosia; of course this distinction has mainly analytical purposes.

The analysis considers first of all the *borderscape*, that is the peculiar landscape created by the presence of a boundary, (Rumley & Minghi 1991). Within this first category, I highlight the meanings given to and assumed by the division, the landscape of conflict that still characterises the border's areas and the militarisation of space.

Secondly, I observe the *institutional landscape*, or rather the way in which institutions, somehow related to the partition, shape and define the landscape.

Finally, the analysis takes into consideration the *cultural landscape*, that is how the everyday use of space is marked by the state of exception of a divided city, considering in particular the representation of space, museums and monuments, religious symbols and tourism.

8.1.   The borderscape

The division is obviously the strongest mark on space. It crosses the city from east to west cutting the old town into two almost equal parts and violently shaping the image of the city.

Most of the streets in both sides of the old city are dead ends, they interrupt in one side, continue hidden in the buffer zone through the division lines and reappear on the other half. Walking along the Green Line means most of time getting lost and retracing one's steps in order to find the way forward.

This first tangible consequence of the partition implies a peculiar way to move in the city centre and has consequences in people's mobility and on their relation with

space. The area surrounding the buffer zone is still not an attractive one for most residents, since going there implies first of all leaving one's car and continuing on foot – because of the narrow roads and the frequents dead ends – and also due to the fact that there is nothing to see and nowhere to go. Many of the interviewees talk about their experience of moving close to the division as something that happens in particular situations. Walking along the Green Line is a choice, not something that can normally happen while having a stroll into town.

> I use to go often to walk in the old city, because I like the atmosphere there, especially if compared to the new city. When I have some time, maybe on Saturday or Sunday, I come downtown with the car, leave it somewhere and walk in the old city. Sometimes if I have nothing to do I go close to the Green Line, it's a very calm area, I'm always alone, and I like to see the old buildings, and I also like the decadent atmosphere (E.P., Greek Cypriot).

> I never go by chance close to the division, also because I don't go to the other side, but sometimes I like to go there to have a walk and see the old city. I remember when I was a child and we went with my family, it was shocking for me. Now I feel sad, but there's something I like because it is a quiet neighbourhood (Y.P., Greek Cypriot).

> I often go along the border. In the old city I like to go to Sultanahmet[117], where I grew up, and I walk along the border, because I think there's a special atmosphere there (Z.H., Turkish Cypriot).

When someone sees the division for the first time, no matter from which side of Nicosia, it has a very strong impact. As we will see, the physical shape and appearance of the border remarkably differ in the two parts, but it is everywhere something exceptional. Its position, first of all, in the very heart of the town, gives the impression of a loss and of something that relentlessly marked the historical heritage and the urban landscape. Tourists and newcomers are astonished when they realise the state of desolation and decay not only of the buffer zone, but also of the neighbourhoods (ethnographic field notes).

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[117] Sultanahmet is a very old and beautiful neighbourhood in the north side of the city, close to the border. It was considered to be the Armenian neighbourhood, since most of Armenian refugees lived there before 1974. It is now mostly inhabited by Turks immigrants and/or settlers, and it has been recently restored by the Nicosia Masterplan.

This surprising landscape has not just a strong visual impact on visitors and passers-by, but it also allows interesting interpretation on how the political and historical discourse takes shape onto space. To begin with, the physical appearance of the division is closely tied to the different meanings it has on the two sides. Hereby, we will see how the same definition of the line as a "border" is contested, also through its appearance.

In the Turkish Cypriot side, a wall has been built on the line of the 1980s partition, after the self-proclamation of the TRNC. Its shape reveals the intention of considering it a political border between two different states. In most parts of the neighbourhood that skirts the buffer zone there is no way to see what is on the other side and the border is well defined, so that people can easily understand where the Turkish municipality ends (Figures 12, 13, 14 and 15).

Figures 12, 13, 14 and 15

On the southern side the line of partition is not considered a border, but a permanent ceasefire line that protects Greek Cypriots from the military occupation of a part of what they consider to be their own state. This fact reveals the will to show the political anomaly that characterises Nicosia and Cyprus, and the non acceptance of the division.

Things have been left as they were configured in 1974, and physical space has become the storyteller of events and of the consequences of partition (Figures 16, 17, 18 and 19). This process, though, has not been neutral and casual. The will to leave everything as it was, emphasising the terrible outcomes of the Turkish invasion – as it is named and considered by Greek Cypriot[118] – mirrors the political vision of the southern side of the island: the violence of the military intervention and its consequences on the city's space are left visible and kept as a memory of what happened. Moreover, the absence of any attempt to stabilise and normalise the physical shape of the border clearly shows the fact that Greek Cypriots are waiting for a solution, that does not coincide with the normalisation of the actual situation, but only with reconciliation and the reunion of the island.

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[118] The use of the term *invasion* in the south, instead of *intervention* used in the north side, expresses the different feelings of the two communities regarding this event.

Figures 16, 17, 18 and 19

A very important feature of Nicosia's borderscape is the buffer zone. This strip of land between the two lines is patrolled by the UN and it somehow constitutes the border itself. As I elaborate in paragraph 3.3, that which was a public space before the division has become a neglected space, because it is not accessible to anyone except for the UN forces (figures 20 and 21). Nevertheless, it has not lost its public role, since it represents the consequences of the conflict in a physical and visible way. Its non accessibility has even increased its power and its social role, also because the area included in it was the very core of the city, before the war. Ermou Street, which was the main commercial axis of Nicosia, is almost entirely inside the buffer zone, and it is now in a terrible condition, like all the neighbourhood. The decadence of this part of the city, together with its non accessibility, perfectly shows

and maintains the memory of the conflict and its physical outcomes. Space, in the buffer zone, is the evidence of a violence, the symbol of the city's wound. This strip of land embodies history and politics and has become an open-air museum of past events.

Figures 20 and 21

Inside the buffer zone we find another very important symbol that strongly characterises the landscape, the Ledra Palace Hotel (Figure 22). It was a luxury hotel built in the 1960s in the centre of the city to host rich tourists and important visitors. It is now the headquarter of the UN forces and its elegant rooms have become the soldiers' residences and the location of all the inter-communal meetings before the opening. Moreover, the only check point in the island until 2003 was the Ledra Palace check point, with two barriers at the same relive distance from the hotel. Therefore the old symbol of tourism and luxury has become a militarised building characterised by facades covered with bullet-holes and representing the physical core of the division.

Figure 22

8.2.   The landscape of conflict

In addition to the border, there are other strong marks on the landscape that strengthen the memory of the conflict and underline Nicosia's exceptional situation. Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot soldiers continue patrolling the Green Line on both sides, and the UN forces control the buffer zone. In addition, in the island there is a presence of both Greek and Turkish armies[119] (Figures 23, 24 and 25). Not all the soldier stations are actually in use, but their presence lends a feature of exceptionality to the landscape and definitely characterises it as a conflict area. Moreover, the high number of soldiers who patrol different parts of the city contributes to reinforce the impression of a contested territory, where borders and belongings are still under dispute.

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[119] About 5,000 Greek soldiers, 30,000 Turks, and 600 UN soldiers (UNDP). In the southern side of Cyprus there are also two British military bases, which were a concession of the Republic of Cyprus in exchange for the independence (cf. note 49 in chapter 4).

Figures 23, 24 and 25

In the southern side of the old city, the back yard of some houses extends in the buffer zone and people who live there tell stories about the war period, showing marks of the conflict that are still present: the graves of killed soldiers, the bomb shelters, the bullet holes, abandoned military stations (Figures 26, 27 and 28).

> You see, there's a grave there. My children have grown up playing around a grave, with the soldiers watching them. […] Of course for them it didn't matter, they were just kids, and they found it adventurous to play in such a place (S.M., Greek Cypriot).
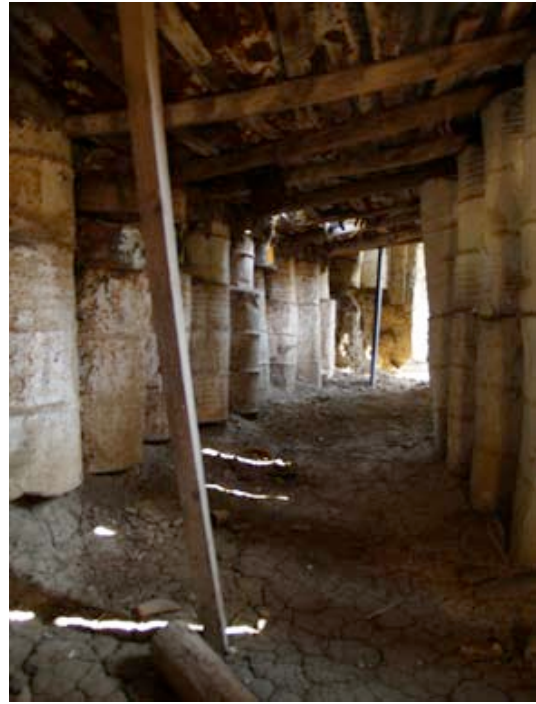
Figures 26, 27 and 28

All these elements, in addition to political and historical narrations, lead to a strong attribution of meanings to that peculiar place. It becomes a container of memories fixed in space and time, since it has not been touched for thirty-five years, defining a peculiar landscape that seems to have been frozen.

Another consequence of the conflict that has a physical representation on space is the issue of missing people. There are still about six hundred missing people among Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots and in both sides, especially at the checkpoints, there are giants pictures of them or their familiars (figures 29 and 30). This continuously reminds us of the atrocities committed during the war, thus reinforcing feelings of each community's belonging and, in contrast, feelings of mistrust and resentment towards the other. No attempt has been made, at least in terms of representation, to somehow connect the sorrows and the tragedy of the loss of the two sides, while every form of communication on the issue of missing people still carries mutual accusations and the idea that forgiveness is impossible. Sant Cassia (1998/1999) defines it the *iconography of pain*, underlining how the photographs of the missing, present in both sides, make evident that neither side

can have the exclusive right to suffer, although both deny the pain of the other. However, the way in which the two communities deal with the issue of missing people is different and again reflects the diverging opinions on the conflict.

> Greek Cypriots officially defined the missing as people presumed alive until proven otherwise, in line with their view that the Cyprus problem was an open issue still requiring proper political closure, while Turkish Cypriots define them as people lost and presumed dead, corresponding to their official view that the Cyprus problem was solved and that people should continue to live apart, as they have since 1974 (Papadakis et al. 2006: 13).

Figures 29 and 30

Nicosia is literally full of flags and they are at least of four different nations, since for both communities the connection with the "motherland" is very important. In the Greek Cypriot side, the connection is more related to origins and cultural heritage, while in the north the role played by Turkey is much stronger. This is partially due to the fact that Turkey is the only state that recognises the TRNC, so that, as I already explained they have a relation of strong economical, political and cultural dependence. The border is characterised by the presence of waving flags – of the UN, of the Republic of Cyprus, of the TRNC, of Greece, of Turkey and now also of the EU – which mark military stations or just territorial belonging (figures 31, 32, 33 and 34). As Brand points out referring to Belfast, flags «are cheap, easy to

display and very effective in strengthening denominational group identity and in declaring one's turf off-limits to outsiders» (Brand 2009b: 48). The Turkish Cypriot flag painted over the Five Fingers Mountain, clearly visible from Nicosia, is just the most evident mark of territory with national symbols, and its visibility reminds inhabitants of Nicosia about the Cyprus problem every day[120].

The combination of the Greek and Cypriot flags in the southern side can be read as part of the process of introduction of symbols of "Cypriotness" alongside those of "Greekness".

> The clearest illustration of this on the level of state-symbols is found in the simultaneous use of the Cypriot flag with the Greek national anthem. In another example, whereas Greek flags were previously dominant, after 1974 the Cypriot flag was added to school buildings as well as the armistice border and the two flags were flown together on all national holidays (Papadakis 1998: 153).

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[120] And every night as well, since the flag is lit up at night.

Figures 31, 32, 33 and 34

Moreover, inside and along the strip there are still UN towers that highlight the military function of this part of the city (figures 35 and 36). This characteristic of the urban landscape reflects, again, the unclear definition of the territory's borders and sovereignty and the fragility of the situation, as well as showing how deep the

involvement of foreign entities in the management of the conflict is. The introduction of the European flag represents an important change, since it gives the possibility to find a common ground onto which it would be possible to imagine a reunification under a shared set of symbols and political references. The attempt of Greek Cypriots to substitute the Greek flag with the one of the Republic of Cyprus, which represents the independence time in which the two communities were still living together, is not enough to create this common ground, since the meaning attributed to that flag is not the same in both sides. While for Greek Cypriots it is related with the struggle for independence and the end of the British rule, Turkish Cypriots see in it the symbol of the period of fights between the two communities and of an unjust state organisation.

Figures 35 and 36

8.3. Institutional landscape

Institutions, both in their symbolical and physical expression, carry a very important political component: power. In a divided city the doubling of institutions, services

and functions (cf. chapter 4) emphasises the way in which the presence of institutions – and more in general of sovereignty representation – marks the landscape and contribute to reproduce power relations on space.

The partition of Nicosia has led to the separation of the city's institutions, both political and administrative, and also to the creation of new institutions or institutional processes marking the urban landscape. The analysis of this symbolical and physical layer in Nicosia can help to understand how deep and subtle the process of attribution of meaning to the landscape is.

Figure 37   **Figure 38**

To start with, the official badges of the two municipalities are a very good example. Every graphic symbol or reference drawn into them contributes to define the different identities that the two communities want to show and reinforce. The only common symbol are the Venetian walls, that refer to a shared past and, more important, underline a connection with the "west" that both parts consider really important in their self-representation, especially after Cyprus joined the EU. The link with western culture and heritage is easily understandable for the Greek Cypriot community, since they found their historical bases in the Greek civilisation. As far as Turkish Cypriots are concerned, the issue is more complicated, because of their connection with Turkey and their origins within the Ottoman Empire, which links them more with Middle-Eastern culture than with Western one. However, Turkish Cypriots emphasise their "European" past – with reference to French, Venetian and

British dominations – in order to distinguish themselves from Turkish people and to underline the peculiar essence of their culture[121].

Except for the Venetians walls, the two coats of arms have very different symbolical references. The Greek Cypriot one (Figure 37) has a dove represented in the middle, a symbol of the peaceful past and the hope for a reunification (Papadakis 2005) and the colours are yellow – which is the official colour of Nicosia – blue and white, namely the colours of the Greek flag. The Turkish Cypriot symbol (Figure 38) has a Muslim religious monument of northern Nicosia in the middle, an old place of worship for Dervishes. The date written below, 1958, refers to the year of the declaration of the Turkish Cypriot municipality of Nicosia (cf. paragraph 4.1), but it is also the year in which serious clashes started between the two communities (Ibid.). Therefore these two standards, which mark every municipal building, property or initiative, carry strong political meanings and symbolical references, defining part of the city landscape.

A good example that shows the peculiarity of Nicosia's political and institutional landscape is the existence of anomalous institutions. Cities and towns that are now in the "occupied area" in the north and were once inhabited by Greek Cypriots, have nowadays a "pseudo" local government ruled by Turkish Cypriots. However, there also exist Greek Cypriot municipalities for those towns, a kind of shadow local governments that deal with issues of refugees' right to return, of lost properties and that still work as legal administrations[122]. Those institutions are mainly based in Nicosia, and they radically impact on the cityscape, because of their physical presence, but mainly because of their meaning. Through an interview with an officer of the Greek Cypriot Kyrenia Municipality (Figure 39 and 40) and the documents he gave me about their activities[123], I discovered that there are still municipal elections,

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[121] As I explain in chapter 7, there is an ambiguous relationship between Turkey and the TRNC, and especially between the two populations. Even if Turkey is considered to be the motherland and the Turkish military intervention is still seen as the salvation from Greek Cypriot violence, Turk settlers and immigrants living in Cyprus are described as different from natives.

[122] An officer of the municipality told me that, besides activities related to the refugee problems, they are also allowed to solemnise civil marriages.

[123] Documents available on the website of the Municipality: http://www.kerynia.org/english.

as «an exercise of the citizens' democratic rights»[124], even if, in fact, they only consist in «en expression of political view, position and decision for the future of Cyprus»[125]. The officer explained to me that:

> […] the main aim of the Municipality is to protect and guarantee Kyrenian refugees' rights. We keep the community united, to maintain the identity of Kyrenians. We fight against the injustice of the occupation, for the right to return to Kyrenians' lost property, and for the respect of their human rights (A.G., officer at the Kyrenia Municipality).


Figure 39   **Figure 40**

This kind of institution, existing only in the south, is an expression of the Greek Cypriots' feelings and of their non acceptance of the military occupation. What is considered to be "normal" in the north is seen as a temporary and exceptional situation in the south. It is clear how this kind of institution has a strong impact on the landscape and, consequently, on citizens' ideas and expectations regarding the division. This is a visible evidence of the different approaches the two communities have with regard to the refugee issue.

Finally, the most clear and meaningful institutional process that characterised Nicosia's landscape is the crossing.

> […] political activities of central authorities leave their impression upon the landscape in the form of defence structures, and in the shape of boundary

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[124] http://www.kerynia.org/english/municipality_goals.shtm.
[125] Ibid.

installations such as custom houses, immigration posts or gates (Whittlesey, 1944: 453).

Rituals, images, and practices associated with these kinds of structures are also important places of memory and of symbolical value. Through them notions of identity are performed and contested (Till 2003: 297).

As we have seen, the border has been open since 2003 and a peculiar regulation has developed around it. At every crossing there is a check point on each side of the buffer zone, but the officials' duties are different on the two sides, because of the two very different interpretations of the border itself. Greek Cypriot police only checks documents of people crossing from north to south, in order to control that only entitled people enter the Republic of Cyprus[126] and that the rules concerning goods import are obeyed[127]. On the other side, Turkish Cypriot police is in charge of checking documents and stamp a visa (Figures 41 and 42) to every person who crosses, regardless of the nationality, at every entrance or exit into or out of the TRNC[128].

Figures 41 and 42

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[126] See paragraph 6.2 for an explanation of the regulation concerning the permissions to cross.

[127] See paragraph 5.2 about the Green Line Regulation.

[128] During the first months after the opening in 2003, people were also asked to sign a paper through which they essentially recognised the TRNC. This is the reason why for a long time (and still now), many Greek Cypriots did not cross, since they identify the north side as an area occupied by military forces and not a legitimate state.

The difference in the two regulations are due to the fact that on the southern side there is no recognition of the existence of a neighbour state, thus the crossing process only involves the respect of laws and rules concerning goods and entrance restrictions, and there is no control on exit. On the northern side, as we already pointed out, the division is seen as a border between two legitimate nation states, and the crossing is submitted to the TRNC entrance and exit rules. A quite common result of this non-continuity of regulation from one side to the other is the confusion on the face of tourists who find it difficult to understand how do they have to behave and what do they have to do once they decide to cross.

> It is the first time I cross the border, and I don't understand what is this paper for [he refers to the visa given to him and stamped at the Turkish Cypriot check point]. Should I keep it? They gave me nothing on the other side! (English tourist).

> I haven't really understood how it works. There is no control here [at the Greek Cypriot check point] but then you have to fill in a visa and keep it even if you come back. I see that there's no agreement on the two sides (Spanish tourist).

> It is simpler than I thought, nobody really controls you. Well they do control, but they always allow you to cross and come back, even twice a day. I even spent few nights in the Turkish side and then went back in the Greek one, without any problem, they just checked my luggage and asked me few questions. In the Turkish side you must have a visa, but you don't pay for it, it just takes longer when there are many tourists around (English tourist).

8.4. Cultural landscape

The autonomous growth of the two halves of Nicosia has led to a separate development of its cultural and symbolical landscape. Political, historical, cultural and religious symbols are the most important visible link with the ideas and ideologies of a group or a nation. In situations of conflict, their development is even more related to the affirmation of an identity in opposition to the "other". The

189

result of this process is a politicised landscape in which it is possible to read past and present transformations or continuities.

The outcome of the division in the northern side of the city has more to do with transformations since the TRNC had to build a symbolical system to support and sustain the birth of the new nation. There were already, of course, some elements related with the presence of Turkish Cypriots in the island, and with the period of the Ottoman rule, such as mosques, historical Ottoman buildings, streets or towns names. However, the effort to *turklestirmek* (Turkify) the landscape and to enlighten specific historical events has involved deep changes on the city's symbols, monuments, place-names.

In the southern side, instead, most of the effort has consisted in the maintenance of the status quo, which results in the frozen scenery I already described. This continuity does not reduce the political meanings of the landscape, since it is not an accidental indifference towards urban renovation and it does not imply all parts of the city. The choice to solidify the past into material and to keep traces of how things were before the division, aims to underline and reaffirm the non acceptance of the partition and the claim for a solution. As an example, in the Greek Cypriot side it is still possible to see road signs pointing the direction to Famagusta or to Kyrenia, even if the roads to reach those cities are closed and interrupted by the buffer zone. The comparison of some examples of cultural landscapes can help us to understand these very different ways, assumed by the two sides, to fill and fulfil space with symbols.

8.4.1. Maps and names

Maps are a fundamental mechanism for conceptualising territoriality, and thus constitute one of the primary tools of nationalist symbolism (Anderson 1991).
It is really difficult to find a map representing the whole of Nicosia (south and north together), and this task becomes impossible if we limit our research to official maps. The usual maps of Nicosia represent either the northern part or the southern one, each one marking the division line and showing the other side as an empty space. In

some maps of the north, however, we can also see a number of landmarks of the south, but all exclusively referring to the Ottoman cultural heritage of the city (Figure 43). Every map produced by the Greek Cypriot administration, instead, shows the northern side as a blank area, only crossed by streets without names, and underlines its situation as an "area inaccessible because of the Turkish occupation" (Figure 44).

Figures 43 and 44

During the period of my field research, I asked many people from both administrations to provide me an entire map of Nicosia, but all I could get were maps pre-dating 1958. As the Nicosia Master Plan team leader in the Turkish side told me:

> We [Nicosia Masterplan of the north] prepared a map of Nicosia, that was complete, including the southern side. The problem was that they [Nicosia Masterplan of the south] didn't accept it, since we put the old names of the streets, and not the actual Greek names (A.G., Master Plan team leader for the Turkish Cypriots).

Therefore, one of the biggest problems in producing a complete map of the city, even for touristic purposes, is related to the renaming of streets and place names, which took place after 1974. Nicosia's toponymy has change several times in its history, due to the fact that different rulers alternated, and, as a sign of conquering

and domination, imposed their language and their names to the city. «Renaming streets and urban districts […] is one way that officials have attempted to canonise a version of the past in the urban landscape to support a particular political order» (Till 2003: 294). At the time of the independence of Cyprus, most street' names where English and referred to British culture and history. After the declaration of the Republic of Cyprus, old Greek and/or Turkish names replaced most of the British ones, but the biggest change happened after 1974, especially in the north. Before the division of the island, towns used to have Greek or Turkish names, and in some cases both; after the military intervention, in all the TRNC, the process of transformation and Turkification happened in three ways (Kliot and Mansfield, 1997). If there was already a Turkish name, this was maintained, if there were two names, one Greek and one Turkish, the first one was eliminated. Finally, towns that used to be named in Greek took a new Turkish name. In the South most town names remained unchanged, as to show the will to maintain the memory of the Turkish Cypriot community and the wish to have a unified and bicommunal state[129]. Nowadays, almost every town in Cyprus is known with two or three names: the Greek one, the Turkish one and the English one, used internationally and by tourists[130]. As far as the streets of Nicosia are concerned, the division reflects the toponomy, and all the names refer to each culture and history. The clearest example of this regards the road inside the Venetian walls, a continuous circular street (interrupted by the buffer zone) which is called Athena Avenue in the south and Istanbul Road in the north.

The names used to call the line of division are also different in the two sides, or used with very different meanings (Papadakis 2006). Green Line (*Yeshil Hat* in Turkish and *Prasini Grammi* in Greek) is one of the more common names, due to the fact that the first division was apparently drawn by a British official with a green pencil, and it is the "neutral" way to call it[131]. Another shared name is *Attila line*, but

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[129] The same happens with other symbols concerning the Turkish Cypriot community in the south, as we will see further on in this chapter.
[130] Nicosia, Λευκωσια (Lefkosya) in Greek and Lefko a in Turkish, is an example of this use.
[131] This name, as I outline in paragraph 3.3, fits the actual condition of the strip of division, since it is now covered with trees and spontaneous vegetation that make it visible from above as a real green line.

the use differ in the two sides: Greek Cypriots use it to emphasise the violence of the Turkish military invasion, while for Turkish Cypriots it simply refers to the Turkish code name for the 1974 Military Intervention: Operation Attila (Uluçay et al. 2005). Other Greek names used in order to emphasise the unjust division and the negative consequences it had are *line of shame* and *dead zone*. Moreover, as I already pointed out, in the south the partition is considered a *ceasefire line* to underline the illegal status of the northern side. Turkish Cypriots, instead, use to call it *border* and refer to the buffer zone as the *intermediate area*, thus removing any allusion to the military occupation. As usual, names carry meanings and narrations and contribute to highlight the power space can acquire in the process of history reconstruction and interpretation.

8.4.2. Monuments and landmarks

The cultural landscape also includes monuments and landmarks, which are other important symbols used to declare sovereignty upon a territory and to reinforce feelings of national belonging (Halbwachs 1992; 1980). Urban public space, at the same time space of freedom and of control, is the best place where to gather a high number of people utilising the same codes for understanding reality. This is the reason why it is where material forms are *monumentalized* through visible buildings, statues and other symbols of power (Dell'Agnese 2004; Monnet 1998).

Until 2009 moving from one side to the other in Nicosia it was almost impossible not to notice the two giant statues of Makarios[132], in the south, and Ataturk, in the north (Figures 45 and 46). These two very charismatic figures refer respectively to

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[132] The statue of Makarios was removed in October 2008 from the yard of the Archiepiscopal Palace and it has been brought to Kykkos Monastery. I had two very different non official explanations of this decision: according to the "man in the street", using Schutz's concept, the statue was removed because the actual Archbishop did not want to keep it there, since its size and importance cast a shadow on him. When I asked for an explanation to some experts (professors from the universities or administrators), someone told me that Makario's figure was related not only to the independence of Cyprus, but also to some still unclear political events regarding the period of fights between the two communities. According to this version, the meaning of the statue's removal could be interpreted as part of the actual attempt to enlighten a past of peaceful coexistence and to promote the idea of "Cypriotism", avoiding references to the conflict.

the independence of Cyprus[133], and to the icon of Turkish modernisation. While Makarios is a symbol of the whole Cyprus, even if with some ambiguities[134], Ataturk is related with the history of Turkey, not of Cyprus, and his figure was imported to the TRNC after 1974, as another tool to fortify the Turkish identity of the new-born state.

Figure 45   **Figure 46**

The choice to emphasise certain political figures of the past is combined with the way in which history is used, in order to build specific national narratives (Papadakis 2008). This process has a physical reflection onto space and landscape also in the form of historical monuments and museums (Halbwachs 1992; Monnet 1998). The two different strategies of transformation in the north, and continuity in the south, from the period before the division are also visible through the observation of some landmarks, socially recognised by the two communities. In the Greek Cypriot side, most monuments are related to the fight of EOKA against the British, and they

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[133] Makarios was the first President of the Republic of Cyprus from 1960 till 1977, after the independence from the British rule.
[134] See note 133 in this paragraph.

show the courage and the sacrifice of the members of that paramilitary organisation. This means that all these kinds of monuments refer to the period before 1960. As an example, the Liberty Statue, close to Famagusta Gate, is a celebration of the EOKA fighters against the British rule and it represents the liberation of Cypriots by two militants (Figure 47). In the same way the Museum of the National Struggle tells the events of the struggle against the British (Figure 48), highlighting the role of Greek Cypriot militants and civilians in the liberation of the island, without any reference to the Turkish Cypriot community.

Figure 47	**Figure 48**

On the other hand Turkish Cypriot monuments, except for those related with the history of Turkey and the figure of Ataturk, display a link with the time of troubles in which many Turkish Cypriots were killed by the EOKA militants. Therefore, they refer to the period dating between 1958 and 1974, like in the case of the Civil War Memorial (Figure 49) which commemorates the civilian victims killed by the EOKA. This monument is located just outside the Museum of Barbarism, one of

the museums of national history in the north side[135]. This museum was the house of a family that has been killed by Greek Cypriot paramilitaries in 1963, and after more than forty-five years visitors can still see the bloodstains and the bullet holes in the walls of the house, especially in the bathroom where a mother with her three children were murdered (Figure 50).

| Figure 49 | Figure 50 |

These two very diverging visions of the main past events regarding Cyprus and the national history of the two states, show the use of history for propagandistic purposes aimed at creating two different forms of identity and collective recognition[136].

We can infer some more clues about the strategies of transformation and continuity politically adopted by the two nation states by looking at the way they deal with religious symbols. Buildings built and used for religious purposes, for instance, as

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[135] Like in the south, in north Nicosia there is also a Museum of the National Struggle, dedicated to the time of fights between the two communities (thus referring to a different period than the homonym in the Greek Cypriot side).

[136] A very interesting study has been conducted on history books in the two Republics, by Hattay and Papadakis. The research reveals how deep the political propaganda has influenced the way in which history is told and taught (Hattay and Papadakis, 2008).

well as museums and monuments, show the different approaches to history and to the present, and also reveal peculiar attitudes towards the "other"[137]. In the TRNC the urban landscape is characterised, of course, by the presence of minarets and mosques; some of them are ancient Christian or Orthodox churches, built by the Lusignans and the Venetians, and have been converted into mosques during the Ottoman period. In the Republic of Cyprus, likewise, the urban landscape is marked by the presence of Orthodox churches, with their typical rectangular or cruciform shape with a dome in the centre. The interesting point is that, while Christian and Orthodox churches in the north have been either converted into mosques, abandoned or destroyed (Figure 51), most mosques in the south have been restored (Figure 52), even when they are not used for religious purposes[138].

Figure 51

Figure 52

The attempt of Greek Cypriots to maintain the Ottoman cultural and religious heritage – and consequently to keep the signs of the Turkish Cypriot community in their land – has to do, again, with the political idea of a unified Cyprus without the presence of Turkey and its army. At the same time, this attitude reveals the will to convey a message to the Turkish Cypriot community, one of welcome in the event of a reunification. Keeping their symbols is like saying "we expect you back, so that we could also return to the north" (Papadakis 2005; 2006). The process of

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[137] As we will see, however, these attitudes are not free from political and ideological interests.
[138] Some of them, such as the Ömeriye Camii (also spelled Omerieh, Omerye and Ömerge), are normally used by the Muslim community living in southern Nicosia, mainly made up of immigrants.

elimination of Christian and Orthodox marks in the north, instead, is part of the wider plan to build a national identity based on a unique Ottoman and Muslim heritage. In both cases we can again see how politics and national ideologies contribute to shaping the landscape, in terms of maintaining or erasing certain symbols.

8.4.3. Commercial symbols

The cultural landscape of Nicosia is also marked by commercial symbols, some of which are connected to the city's exceptional nature. Particularly in the south, the situation of partition is somehow used as a way to promote Nicosia as a unique and attractive city, both by institutions and private individuals. Before presenting some examples, it is important to hazard a guess about the reasons why this practice is not in use in the north. In the TRNC, in fact, we do not find this kind of territorial promotion, and the reason probably depends on the different way in which they give meaning to the partition. Turkish Cypriots do not see, or do not want to see, the division as something exceptional, since they affirm the legitimacy of their state's existence and reclaim the acceptance of the border or the achievement of a federal solution. Using the partition as, for instance, a tourism strategy, would mean to admit and proclaim the unrecognised status of their state and the military occupation of a part of the island. This is a possible explanation for the strong difference, between the two parts, concerning the *commodification* of the border for commercial or touristic purposes. As it is showed in figures 53 and 54, in southern Nicosia even institutions promote the city as "the last divided capital of Europe", as well as shops and cafeterias play with the peculiarity of the partition to attract clients (figures 55 and 56).

Figure 53

Figure 54

Figure 55

Figure 56

In order to conclude this overview on the landscape of partition, I found really interesting, during my field research, to see how small daily experiences and common objects are also involved in the process of definition and characterisation of space. As an example, the same traditional sweets, typical of the Middle Eastern areas, are called Cypriot delights in the south and Turkish delights in the north (figure 57 and 58). Everything, from coffee to handicraft, is subject to the practice of attribution of a national belonging and all these elements carry ideas of identity and traditions tied to ethnic and cultural features.

Figure 57   **Figure 58**

Nicosia's landscape of partition is charged with meanings that highlight the role acquired by space in reflecting power relations and the political and ideological ideas of the two parts. The landscape also shows the development of strong differentiations between the two sides in terms of cultural and physical heritage. This symbolic landscape becomes a tool for the construction or the maintenance of diverging, and sometimes conflicting, memories and identities.

The idea carried forward in the Greek Cypriot side is now that of a peaceful coexistence of the two communities in a unified Cyprus, idea that finds its (disputable) historical bases in the period before the 1950s. In this vision, the Turks' invasion in 1974 is considered to be the "Nakba" of Cyprus.

In the Turkish Cypriot side, however, the need to create an independent and Turkified state has been reinforced through a process of collective memory building, historically based on the period of troubles between the Fifties and 1974, and on Greek Cypriots' violence against the Turkish community. The Turks' intervention is still told as the salvation from a possible genocide.

CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this dissertation was to understand the consequences of Nicosia's partition both on a urban and on a social levels. The initial hypothesis was that the functionality of a city can be seriously jeopardised by the erection of a boundary which divides it into two or more parts and that the radical transformation of the urban space configuration has consequences on social practices and relations. The research design has developed with the unfolding of different aspects of urban life in order to understand what are the strategies implemented, both by administrators and citizens, to "go on living once divided". Moreover, I wanted to underline the role played by space as a container of power relations and a tool for the production and reproduction of narratives and discourse.

The process of division of the capital city of Cyprus has been quite long and gradual, and, as in other divided cities, it developed as something unavoidable. The idea that partition can be an emergency ad temporary solution to avoid violent confrontations in contested cities and solve conflict has proven to be false and pernicious. Thirty years of absolute separation between the two communities living in Nicosia have obviously reduced the number of inter-group killings, but they have also postponed a real solution of the problem, embittering and reinforcing prejudices and mistrust.

> Entrenching territoriality turns identities into territories, ensuring identity by ascribing it to geographical space. This, however, destabilises fragile multicultural coexistence and creates geographies of separation and fear (Moystad 1998).

Whether they are the results of interstate wars or of negotiations walls, lines of partition and other institutionalised forms of segregation have the effect to reify territorial identity and social boundaries.

In addition, a wall dividing previously united urban contexts causes dysfunctions in city management which require efforts in order to be readjusted. Finally, the transformation of the urban configuration and the creation of a physical boundary involve a fixation of social cleavages which make them permanent and hardly

questionable. Physical boundaries, in fact, tie people and identity with territory in a process which tends to the naturalisation of cultural and social differences.

We have seen how the city of Nicosia had to be reorganised form different points of view. The doubling of administrations and governing bodies, which is generally a response to insecurity and fear, institutionalises spatial and social segregation and involves a great expenditure of energies, both material and symbolic. However, the claim of self-administration by minorities seems to be a typical feature of contested cities (Calame & Charlesworth 2009), and it shows the failure of municipal governments to guarantee equal rights and fair opportunities. The path towards partition involves an institutional renunciation to manage conflict: division is a solution which declares the victory of violence and social injustice.

Considering the city as an interconnected system has allowed us to observe the consequences of partition on the economic urban life and on the infrastructural apparatus. The high material costs related to the division are difficult to sustain: previously efficient, or at least functioning, road systems, services, and other essential components of the city life need to be adjusted in order to serve two city systems instead of one. The sewerage plan in Nicosia clearly shows the fact that cities develop and constitute creating a unity that is difficult to split up. Infrastructures, together with economy and trade, are aspects of the urban life which depend on this principle. For this reason, their good functioning can motivate dialogue and the search for solution. The case of Nicosia provides a good example, since the sewerage project has been the starting point for a long-term cooperation between the two municipal administrations, and economical issues have been one of the major reasons for the opening of the border. Even if these changes are important and necessary steps towards a solution, their implementation has not been accompanied by the involvement of citizenship and by the attempt to overcome mistrust and prejudices. Trade is now possible between the two sides, but many people still feel uncomfortable in doing business with Cypriots from the other community. At the same time, projects and activities promoted by the two

municipalities are not visible enough to impact on the everyday life of Nicosia's inhabitants.

The costs of partition are also visible in the urban growth and development, since the border creates a peculiar landscape marked by the conflict which symbolically incorporates the conflict itself. The division in Nicosia has determined the abandoning of the old city and the border area in both sides, with consequences on the spatial distribution of inhabitants and the creation of ghettos: migrants and settlers have occupied the space left by old inhabitants. What was the centre of the city, and a space used and lived by both communities, is now a decadent neighbourhood and its revitalisation is requiring an incredible effort by planners and administrators. In Nicosia, as we have seen, common problems of contemporary cities, such as the cohabitation of different ethnic groups and the management of phenomena of spatial segregation, combine with the difficulty to modify the border landscape and the meanings attributed to it. Moreover, if we consider the positive outcomes of a possible reconciliation between the communities, all these years of division have caused an asymmetric development, in terms of social and physical structure, which challenges the possibility of the city's reunification. The work carried on by the Nicosia Master Plan has been presented as a powerful tool to avoid this problem, at least partially. However, so far the intervention of this bi-communal institution has concentrated on the attempt to homogenise some aspects of the two halves of Nicosia, especially in the old town. This goal is necessary and useful, although the role of urban development in war-torn cities should move a step further, in order to modify or create physical space that can encourage inter-group encounter. This task cannot be realised only through planning interventions and space transformation, but it must interact and converse with bottom-up bi-communal initiatives and institutional peace building efforts in order to broaden the array of spatial options.

We have seen how the buffer zone as well as the border area have become a sort of museum of the conflict; its restoration should not only involve landmine removal and the renovation of buildings: as Nicosia's inhabitants suggested in the interviews

I collected, this area should acquire a shared meaning for the two communities in order to create opportunities for positive and constructive inter-group relations.

The opening of the boundary has started a process of encounter between the two communities, although we have ascertained that contact, by itself, is not enough to guarantee the establishment of trust and good relations. Seven years after the opening of the first crossing point, friendships are still rare among Cypriots and the initial enthusiasm related to the possibility to cross has been replaced by a subtle disenchantment towards the achievement of a solution. People do cross, but they generally do it for work, shopping or leisure purposes which have more to do with the use of services and opportunities available in the other side. Apart from elderly people who had friends in the other side since before the division, only few people try to socialise when they cross and even fewer have established relations. The absence of a neutral space where the encounter can be deprived of identitarian connotations is in my opinion one of the major obstacles towards a real reconciliation and it can also compromises the positive outcomes of bi-communal events. The buffer zone, which is the place where most of bi-communal initiatives take place, is not a solution, for reasons related to its emotional meaning – diverging in the two sides – which are still symbolised by space configuration and by the presence of the UN soldiers.

The last chapter of this dissertation has provided a visual analysis of the borderscape showing the way in which space has acquired a powerful role in maintaining or transforming certain narratives and discourses on both sides. Institutional or bottom-up interventions and initiatives cannot avoid taking into consideration this aspect, since the physical surroundings of problematic relations and interactions do not simply constitute the background against which they take place. On the contrary, the material setting has proved to actively impact both on the definition of the situation and on the meanings and the collective representations elaborated by people. In the context of Nicosia, the dual borderscape has changed throughout time according to modifications of the political agenda and the related ideologies. It still symbolises the past conflict and its outcomes, supporting the maintenance of

diverging historical narratives. Recently, however, new meanings have started to connote it, especially in the Greek side: the present political will oriented towards a reconciliation process is reflected onto space in the form of new symbols, flags and landmarks which contrast with the previously existing ones (that are still present, however). The slow de-militarisation of the border, the opening of the crossing points, the replacement of Greek flags with Cypriot ones, the restoration of mosques and other symbols of the Ottoman heritage in the south are all steps towards a modification of the landscape which involves a critical reconsideration of history and of the present. This change appears to be in line with an ideological position of openness, even if, as far as I could observe, the path is still long and difficult, both on a political and on a material level.

One of the main questions which moved the present research was if Nicosia is still one city with a boundary in the middle, or there are now two separated and self-sufficient cities. The analysis I conducted reveals that partition has had such a strong effect that nowadays there are two cities.

From an institutional point of view there exist two capital cities with their own administrations, laws, forms of citizenship and political structures. Moreover, in the two sides different languages and religions characterise the everyday life and the landscape (in terms of signs and religious buildings, as well as sounds – e.g. bells in one side and the muezzin prayers in the other). Partition has in fact resulted in the formation of two almost absolutely homogenous states, as far as ethnicity, religion and language are concerned.

Moving from one side to the other requires a procedure which underlines the discontinuity of space, since people must pass through two checkpoints, show a document and stamp a visa. More than thirty years of isolation have contributed in the development of differences which are now visible not only in the urban landscape, but also in people's way of dressing, eating, drinking and relating. This process has been reinforced by the arrival of Turkish migrants and settlers in north Nicosia, whose presence in the city accentuates its Turkish character (and also contributes to the *orientalisation* of the north side by Greek Cypriots). The more

recent development of the city outside the old core in both sides also provides elements of differentiation between the two parts, since architectural styles are very different, as well as economic possibilities, because of the international embargo on the north.

All these aspects highlight a process of physical, cultural and social separation of the two urban entities, although I think that in divided cities there is a blurred distinction between the two possible outcomes: one city with a boundary in the middle or two distinct entities. The sewage system is not the only thing which maintains unity between the two sides, and this is especially perceivable since the opening. There is something related to the common heritage and imprinting of the urban structure which still gives the idea of a unit, and this idea is daily reproduced by the fact that the proximity of the two sides makes them share smells, sounds and sights. It is true that in the Greek side people can hear the bells of the many churches of the old city, but they also hear the muezzin from the Turkish side, and of course they can see the minarets. As long as the boundary was impermeable and there was no communication between the two sides, these elements were denied or ignored. The opening has allowed people to match sounds and smells with faces and places, and to admit the presence of something else and someone else on the other side.

The recognition of the other and the possibility to confront bias and prejudices with reality are basic requirements to settle a peaceful solution in Nicosia and in Cyprus. I have underlined the role that capital cities can have in a wider context of reconciliation because, as other authors have pointed out (Bollens, Calame and Charlesworth, Kliot and Mansfield for example), the urban environment is the necessary and strategic foundation on which to build an integrated society. The city is often the target or the focal point for ethnic conflict (it is a *catalyst* according to Bollens), and therefore it is also the arena where reconciliation can take place. As I often outlined in the present dissertation, partition is a tempting solution to separate or contain ethnic diversity, with the aim to create a homogeneous urban space and to pursue inter-group stability. However, this stopgap solution only obstructs the

potential cities have in the management of competing group rights. Divided cities are the extreme outcome of a failure of the city government in situations of inter-group conflict, and this is the reason why they should be observed and analysed in order to understand the mechanisms through which no better solution than partition has been found, and to prevent similar processes in other urban contexts. The purification of the urban space from diversity is not only a false solution to problems of integrations, but it also limits the opportunities for a multicultural environment that a city can enable.

On the other side, divided cities can be seen as the privileged place on which to intervene in order to enhance wider situations of prolonged confrontation.

> By the nature of what it is and what activities it enables, a city is an integrative influence for individuals and activities within its borders. After the trauma of war or the seeming intractability of conflict, this integrative effect will be minimal or nonexistent as antagonistic groups stay far away from each other in terms of residential and work life. However, if properly configured so that its jurisdictional space includes multiple groups, a city will over time constitute a container within which economic and social interactions start to take place across the ethnic divides (Bollens 2010: 21-22).

The integration of sectarianism and the opposition to segregation mechanisms in cities are essential for broader peace and coexistence. In the case of Cyprus, the role Nicosia has played and still plays is evident: the first line of separation was drown there and the city also witnessed the first opening of the border. Meanwhile, inter-communal talks have always taken place in Nicosia, as well as demonstrations (either pro or against rapprochement), bi-communal initiatives and international meetings. Museums and other national symbols can be mainly found there and Nicosia is the only big city in Cyprus crossed by the border and which provides proximity for the two communities.

The aim of this research was mostly exploratory, since the issue of divided cities still needs a clear definition and in-depth case study analysis as well as comparative studies. The attempt, and the challenge, has consisted in applying a theoretical approach which does not constitute a homogeneous body of theories or a well established paradigm. The socio-material perspective is rather the combination of

the few sociological analysis on the dimension of space with insights coming from the approaches proposed by disciplines such as the Science and Technology Studies. Political geographical theorisations on boundaries and on the symbolic significance of the landscape have provided the intersection of those two very different perspectives.

In a divided city the vastness of topics and possible questions on which to focus is challenging and risky at the same time, since a city is a complex object to observe and a divided city continuously provides stimulus for reflexion and raises questions. The choice to concentrate on the relation space entertains with social practices has allowed me to keep a leading thread across the different topics I decided to analyse. Moreover, the socio-material approach has revealed to be particularly effective to grasp the intertwined links between representations and everyday life, understanding for example the way in which people give meanings to their environment and how they use these meanings in order to justify and legitimate discourses and narratives on history and on the other.

Further research on the topic of conflict in cities and partition should deepen the analysis of the territorial management of inter-ethnic conflict. The role of cities in these situations has already been outlined: the study of the institutional mechanisms and of the policies put into practice in order to contrast or reduce inter-group conflict can shed light on broader dynamics of conflict. Urban politics in divided cities, especially those related to territorial management, interacts with the local and the national dimensions of the conflict, by opening or closing spaces for conflict solution patterns and redefining the actors' identity and their goals. The territorial dimension is strategic – beyond its influence on the nature of the conflict – also because it influences the development of the actors' strategies in terms of advancing their agendas or creating the conditions for a peaceful solution of the conflict. Within this perspective, divided cities can be interesting from two different points of view: firstly, they constitute one of the single important issues of dispute; secondly, we have seen that often the urban scale can be analysed as a prism revealing the evolution of the conflict's dynamics.

One aspect of the Nicosia case which emerged during the fieldwork but I could not deepen is related to bi-communal or pro-reconciliation movements and their ability to influence the institutional sphere as well as the impact they have on the everyday life and on inter-group relations. I observed that local movements whose initiatives are directed towards people's encounter and rapprochement have difficulties in operating within a context which does not provide spaces of interaction for the two communities and where prejudices are still strong. However, a specific study on this topic could reveal how they organise and act and what kind of legitimisation they are able to find in order to involve people in their initiatives or to pursue their claims. I am absolutely convinced that reconciliation in Cyprus cannot take place without a bottom-up process and without the involvement of citizens at every level, and the world of associations and pressure groups can have a fundamental role in linking them with institutions.

In conclusion, the analysis of the divided city of Nicosia with a socio-material approach has provided tools to understand the consequences of a partition on the urban system, both on a physical and on a social level. Space has proved to be a strong carrier of power relations, ideologies and discourse, and planning is a socially shaped technology which impacts on social practices and relations. The opening of the border has given Cypriots the possibility to venture into the sea, if we want to return to the initial metaphor. Nevertheless, in order to overcome mistrust and prejudices it is necessary to act both on a material level, providing real and alternative opportunities for inter-group encounter, and on a social one, through contrasting information campaigns in education and the media.

APPENDIX

INTERVIEWED PEOPLE: EXPERTS

	NAME/CODE	CATEGORY	NATIONALITY	DATE
1	D. B.	PR for the Municipal Administration in North Nicosia	TC	12/09/08
2	A. P.	Master Plan Team Leader in South Nicosia	GC	15/09/08
3	A. G.	Master Plan Team Leader in North Nicosia	TC	02/10/08
4	L. D.	Former Mayor of South Nicosia	GC	07/05/09
5	P. P.	Urban Planner for the Municipality of South Nicosia	GC	11/01/09
6	M. A.	Former Mayor of North Nicosia	TC	23/09/08
7	F. M.	Director Sapienta Economics Ltd., PRIO Centre	British	10/12/08
8	C. P.	Social Psychologist, University of Cyprus	GC	08/01/09
9	H. S.	President Turkish Cypriots Employers' Union	TC	22/05/09
10	C. M. B.	Mayor of North Nicosia	TC	21/05/09
11	S.O.	Researcher, PRIO Centre	GC	18/11/08

12	C.A.	Architect, University of Cyprus	GC	12/11/08
13	O. D.	Anthropologist, PRIO Centre	GC	09/01/09 21/04/09
14	M. H.	Researcher, PRIO Centre	TC	05/05/09
15	N. T.	Sociologist, University of Nicosia	GC	13/05/09
16	H. F.	Historian, University of Nicosia	German	15/05/09

INTERVIEWED PEOPLE: RESIDENTS

	NAME/CODE	NATIONALITY	AGE	SEX	DATE
17	S. M.	GC	51	M	08/10/08
18	Z.A.	TC	30	F	23/05/09
19	K.O.	TC	67	M	29/04/09
20	M.T.	GC	38	F	13/06/09
21	L.A.	GC	49	M	08/06/09
22	E.P.	GC	29	F	03/05/09
23	E.N.	TC	23	M	04/05/09
24	N.T.	GC	34	M	07/05/09
25	G.C.	TC	45	F	20/04/09
26	E.N.2	TC	28	F	15/05/09
27	H.T.	TC	30	M	05/06/09
28	Y.T.	GC	40	M	10/06/09
29	E.U.	TC	69	M	06/06/09
30	P.K.	GC	22	F	25/05/09
31	M.C.	GC	33	F	22/06/09
32	R.K.	GC	50	M	18/05/09
33	P.L.	GC	41	F	20/05/09

INTERVIEW GUIDELINE FOR NICOSIA'S RESIDENTS

General information	
Sex	
Age	
Dwelling place	
Occupation	
Origin	

1. Where do you live? (Cross on the map)
2. Can you describe your neighbourhood? Relation with the neighbourhood….
3. Can you describe the old city?
4. Do you feel that the old city has changed during the last year? According to what? Which are the main changes that you observe?

Divided city:

- What is Nicosia? One or two cities?

- Practices and use of the urban space (mobility,influence of the border in the everyday life, crossing

- What is on the other side?

- Consequences of the opening (general and Ledra/Lokmaci)

5. When you think about Nicosia, do you only think about the Greek/Turkish side or about the entire city?
6. According to your personal opinion, would you define Nicosia as one city divided into two parts or you think there are two neighbouring cities? Can you explain me why? Can you tell me what is the difference?
7. Do you use to go in the old city? Which are your most typical routes in the old city?
8. How do you normally move? By car, by bike, on foot…?
9. Does the division of the city affect you in some way? How? In doing what?
10. Do you think that the opening of the crossing points has somehow changed the city?
11. How many times have you crossed the buffer zone? To do what?
12. Did you wonder about the other side of the city before the opening? How did you imagine it?
13. And how was it when you finally saw it?

14. How did you feel the first time you crossed? Do you feel the same every time you cross?
15. Do you use to walk along the green line? Which are your feelings, emotions, memories related to those places?
16. What do you think about the opening of Lidras St.? Did you ever cross from that check point?
17. Has your idea of divided Nicosia changed after the opening? (refers to question n.5)

Space/identity:

- Symbolic places

- Representation of the divided space

- Meaning of the border

- Nostalgia/memory/loss

- Narratives (what is the meaning given to the division?)

18. According to you, which are the most important places in the old town (for you – for the city) (Cross on the map)
19. According to you, which are the symbolical places of the city, related to historical and/or political events? Can you tell me what is their meaning for the city?
20. Can you tell me which are the places considered to be important for the city identity? And for the Greek/Turkish Cypriot identity?
21. Are there places that remind to a Cypriot identity, without difference between Greeks and Turkish?
22. Can you draw the green line on the map? Can you show me where are the crossing points – the military areas ? Do there exist places in which the two sides are in contact?
23. Could you briefly tell me the events that provoked the division of the city?
24. How was the old city before the division (both personal memories or others')
25. What meaning do you give to the green line? (Completely free answer)
26. Do you think the green line is more a limit for your freedom or a tool for your safety?
27. Has this feeling changed during years? According to what?
28. What are the most important places related to your personal relation with the city (memories, events, daily life)? Can you explain me the meaning they have for you?
29. Which are your personal memories related to the green line/buffer zone?

Political issues:

- The other

- Reconciliation

- Imaginaries on a city reunified

30. Who's on the other side? Can you tell me what you think about them? What relation do you have with them? Do you have friends on the other side?
31. What will be the consequences of the reconciliation for the city of Nicosia? Do you think it would change for better? What is your personal opinion about it?
32. Can you imagine a united Nicosia? How do you imagine it? What do you think the buffer zone would become?

EXAMPLE OF INTERVIEW GUIDELINE FOR ADMINISTRATORS

INTERVIEW GUIDELINE FOR THE TOWN PLANNER OF THE NICOSIA MUNICIPAL OFFICE

Name

Nationality

Age

- What is your role in Municipal Administration?
- Since how long?
- What is your main occupation/activity?

- Which are the functions of the technical office?
- Do you have bi-communal project?
- Do they exist bi-communal infrastructures? (sewage - rubbish collecting system, water, electricity….)

- Can you tell me something about the recent urban development of Nicosia?
- What about the old city?
- What is the typology of residents in the old city?

- Have you been involved in the opening?
- What kind of projects do you have in the old city?
- What is your relation with the Masterplan?
- Do you take part in any other bicommunal project?

- Has it changed something for you after the opening of Ledra street?
- How would you describe the relationship between the two Municipality?
- Do the talks have direct consequences on the Municipality activity?

- How is it managed the issue of properties in the old town:
    o Turkish-Cypriot properties in the South
    o Greek-Cypriot properties in the North
    o Buildings in the buffer zone
- What is the destination of renovate buildings in the walled city?
- Do you have any project concerning the area along the buffer zone?

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