

THE NICOSIA MASTER PLAN: HISTORIC PRESERVATION
AS URBAN REGENERATION

by

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THESIS ABSTRACT

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Bifurcated by a demilitarized United Nations Buffer Zone since 1974, Nicosia is the only divided capital city in Europe. In 1979, its dual municipalities devised a radical, bicommunal Master Plan to mitigate some of the buffer zone's divisionary effects and to revitalize the city center. This thesis examines the role of historic preservation within the Nicosia Master Plan, investigating the development of the plan's preservation element and evaluating how the rehabilitation and adaptive reuse of historic buildings on either side of the barrier have promoted peaceful interaction and spurred economic growth and resettlement in the central city. Population growth, the booming heritage tourism industry, and the proliferation of bicommunal cultural events all indicate the successful implementation of these strategies. Of interest to preservationists, planners, and policymakers faced with divisive and nontraditional planning challenges, this is a timely topic that reveals the potential for preservation strategies to effect lasting urban revitalization.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Situated at the crossroads of the Eastern Mediterranean trade region, Cyprus is an island nation with a long history of contested rule. Political, religious, and ethnic quarrels have created a situation known internationally as the “Cyprus Problem,”¹ a combination of crises which led to the island’s physical division by a demilitarized, United Nations-patrolled buffer zone in 1974. The existence of the buffer has created significant land management and urban planning challenges, particularly in the island’s thousand-year-old capital city, Nicosia, which was formally partitioned into Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot sectors as early as 1963. In consequence of this division, the historic city center suffered from depopulation and significant physical decay.²

In spite of material and ideological barriers, however, Cypriot planners have since crafted innovative bicomunal area plans to achieve architectural rehabilitation, economic growth, and social stability throughout Nicosia. In the Nicosia Master Plan, the capital city’s first and most important bicomunal planning effort, preservation objectives and implementation strategies are integral to an overall scheme for urban regeneration. This thesis will examine the role of the Master Plan’s preservation element in promoting the economic and social revitalization of Nicosia’s historic city center.³

“THE CYPRUS PROBLEM”

Nearly every major empire to arise within the Mediterranean region has laid claim to Cyprus, beginning with Assyrian conquest in the 8th century B.C.E. and ending with nearly three centuries of Ottoman rule. In 1878, control of Cyprus passed from the

¹ Christos L. Doulas, “History and the Cyprus Problem,” *Social Science* 43, no. 3 (1968): 146; Alyssa Juday, et al., “The Buffer Zone in Nicosia: Border or Bridge Space?” *Progressive Planning Magazine* no. 199 (Spring 2014): 14.

² Vamik D. Volkan, *Cyprus—War and Adaptation* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1979), 18-19; Derya Oktay, “An Analysis and Review of the Divided City of Nicosia, Cyprus, and New Perspectives,” *Geography* 92, no. 3 (Autumn 2007): 234-36.

³ Christos Hadjichristos, “Cyprus and Its D-visions,” *Architectural Design* 76, no. 3 (June 26, 2006): 13-14; United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS), *Nicosia Master Plan: A Landmark for Future Cyprus* (Nairobi, Kenya: United Nations Centre for Human Settlements [Habitat], 1988), 1.

Ottoman Empire to Great Britain, under whose sovereignty it would remain until it emerged, independent, as the Republic of Cyprus in 1960. Altogether, then, the island had been subject to almost three millennia of foreign rule before it finally gained autonomy. These incursions left the young country politically and economically underdeveloped, but with an extraordinarily rich culture and diverse population.⁴

Although this diversity was not without underlying tension, the island's two largest ethnoreligious groups, Greek Cypriot Orthodox Christians and Turkish Cypriot Muslims, co-existed in relative peace before the mid-twentieth century.⁵ When Cyprus at last secured its independence, however, disputes over ethnic representation in the young democratic government rapidly escalated into domestic terrorism and civil warfare. This conflict was concentrated in Nicosia, where interethnic violence soon necessitated the establishment of a crude, makeshift barrier to physically separate the capital city's Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot inhabitants.⁶

International pressure from Greece and Turkey was also mounting, as both countries had long asserted an ethnic, religious, and ideological claim to the island and its inhabitants. The crisis peaked in July 1974, when the Greek government encouraged an attempt to depose the elected president of the Republic of Cyprus; fearing that Greece would soon attempt to annex the island, Turkish forces soon invaded from the north. By the time a durable ceasefire was called in mid-August, Turkey had seized the northeastern

⁴ The Assyrian, Egyptian, Persian, Macedonian, Ptolemaic, Roman, Byzantine, Lusignan, Venetian, Ottoman, and British Empires have all laid claim to the island at various points throughout its history. For a comprehensive account of Cypriot history through the late twentieth century, see Sir David Hunt's *Footprints in Cyprus* (London: Trigraph Limited, 1990) and William Mallinson's *Cyprus: A Modern History* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005).

⁵ Jon Calame, Esther Charlesworth, and Lebbeus Woods, *Divided Cities: Belfast, Beirut, Jerusalem, Mostar, and Nicosia* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 133; Maria Hadjipavlou, "The Cyprus Conflict: Root Causes and Implications for Peacebuilding," *Journal of Peace Research* 44, no. 3 (Summer 2007): 359; Fatma Güven-Lisaniler and Leopoldo Rodríguez, "The social and economic impact of EU membership on northern Cyprus," in *The European Union and the Cyprus Conflict: Modern Conflict, Postmodern Union*, ed. Thomas Diez (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 183; Benjamin J. Broome, "Building a Shared Future across the Divide: Identity and Conflict in Cyprus," in *Communicating Ethnic and Cultural Identity*, ed. Mary Fong and Rueyling Chuang (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2004), 285.

⁶ Muzaffer Ercan Yilmaz, "Cyprus: Past Hurts and Present Stalemate," in *Turkey's Foreign Policy and Security Perspectives in the 21st Century: Prospects and Challenges*, ed. Sertif Demir (Boca Raton, FL: BrownWalker Press, 2016), 127; Cengiz Basak, "Violations of Turkish Cypriots' Rights in a Failed State," *Turkish Public Administration Annual* 24-26 (1998-2000): 78.

third of the country, and hundreds of thousands of Cypriots were forced to flee their homes. As many as 200,000 Greek Cypriots were driven south by invading Turkish forces and their local allies, while approximately 65,000 Turkish Cypriots fled north to seek protection from the riotous Greek Cypriot community.⁷ Whereas these two ethnoreligious communities were once dispersed and commingled throughout the island, the invasion forced the population into nearly homogenous states on either side of the ceasefire.⁸

More than forty years after the Turkish invasion, a 112-mile-long demilitarized buffer zone continues to divide Cyprus both politically and physically [Figure 1.1]. Patrolled and managed by the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus, this buffer is at its narrowest in Nicosia, where it roughly aligns with the crude barriers erected by residents in the 1960s.⁹ The buffer zone has rendered Nicosia the last divided capital city of Europe,¹⁰ and it has resulted in complex economic, social, and infrastructural challenges for municipalities on either side of the divide.¹¹

PLANNING IN DIVIDED NICOSIA

In the face of these obstacles, the divided municipality of Nicosia developed a unique course of action to revitalize its war-torn urban core. Beginning in 1979, policymakers from both the Republic of Cyprus and the self-proclaimed Turkish

⁷ Hansjörg Brey and Günter Heinritz, "Ethnicity and Demographic Changes in Cyprus: In the 'Statistical Fog,'" *Acta Geographica Slavonica* 24 (1992): 203; Calame, *Divided Cities: Belfast, Beirut, Jerusalem, Mostar, and Nicosia*, 133.

⁸ Nicos Peristianis and John C. Mavris, "The 'Green Line' of Cyprus: A Contested Boundary in Flux," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Border Studies*, ed. Doris Wastl-Walter (London: Routledge, 2001), eBook. As of 2018, Pyla is the only Cypriot city in which a significant population of Greek and Turkish Cypriots cohabitate. Pyla is located in the United Nations Buffer Zone.

⁹ "About the Buffer Zone," *United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus*, accessed April 9, 2018, <https://unficyp.unmissions.org/about-buffer-zone>; Ewan W. Anderson, Don Shewan, and Gareth Owen, *An Atlas of World Political Flashpoints: A Sourcebook of Geopolitical Crisis* (New York, NY: Pinter Reference, 1993), 19.

¹⁰ Nicosia Municipality, the sector of the capital still controlled by the Republic of Cyprus, has adopted the title "Last Divided Capital City of Europe" as their city's official slogan. See the Nicosia Municipality webpage at www.nicosia.org.cy (accessed December 12, 2018).

¹¹ Juday, "The Buffer Zone in Nicosia: Border or Bridge Space?" 14.



Figure 1.1 Political map of Cyprus. Source: U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, *Cyprus (Small Map)*, 2016, University of Texas – Austin Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection.

Republic of Northern Cyprus came together under the auspices of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS) to develop the Nicosia Master Plan (NMP), a comprehensive strategy to mitigate some of the buffer zone’s divisionary effects and to revitalize the historic capital city.¹² The plan addressed the city’s needs in its divided state, but it also made provisions for a potential, eventual reunification of the city and country.¹³ As of early 2018, Cyprus and Nicosia remain bisected by the buffer zone, but in the past three-and-half decades, implementation of the NMP seems to have moved the capital city closer to its goals of architectural conservation and rehabilitation, improved living environments within Nicosia neighborhoods, and more positive and productive relationships between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities.¹⁴

¹² UNCHS, *Nicosia Master Plan: A Landmark for Future Cyprus*, 1.

¹³ United Nations Development Programme Division of Information, *Restoring the Heart of Nicosia* (Nicosia, Cyprus: United Nations Development Programme Division, 1987), 10.

¹⁴ Nicosia Master Plan Office, *New Vision for the Core of Nicosia Diagnostic Report: Executive Summary* (Nicosia, Cyprus: United Nations Development Programme and United Nations Office for Project Services Programme Management Unit, 2004), 2-4; Nicosia Master Plan Office, *Summary Project Fiche: Rehabilitation of Nicosia – Phase 2* (Nicosia, Cyprus: Nicosia Master Plan Office, 2001), 2-3.

The uncommon circumstances under which the NMP was developed have fascinated scholars and professional planners alike. Much has been written from an urban planning perspective, and a number of historical accounts detail the logistics of the plan's development. However, there is an obvious gap in the existing literature surrounding the development, implementation, and lasting effects of the NMP: although the conservation of Nicosia's architectural heritage is explicitly prioritized for cultural purposes,¹⁵ any direct examination of its use as a device for restoring urban vitality seems to have been neglected. This presents an opportunity for critical review of heritage preservation as more than a goal of the Master Plan, but as a powerful tool for the achievement of its other social, economic, and environmental objectives.

Because preservation strategies were regularly employed in the implementation of NMP projects, historic preservation appears to be an important instrument of urban regeneration in the divided city of Nicosia. By examining the design and implementation of the preservation element of the Nicosia Master Plan, this thesis seeks to prove that the rehabilitation and adaptive reuse of historically significant buildings and structures on either side of the United Nations Buffer Zone have promoted peaceful interaction, spurred local economic growth, and encouraged the resettlement of Nicosia's ancient urban core. Evidence of population growth within the central city, the popularity of heritage tourism programs, and the recent proliferation of bicommunal cultural events support this claim. The conclusions reached by this study reveal the broad, far-reaching benefits of historic preservation in contested urban environments, and they may be used to inform future planning and community development efforts in the still-divided municipalities of Nicosia.

ORGANIZATION

Following this brief introduction, a second chapter provides an overview of research methods as well as a survey of existing relevant research surrounding the NMP. Chapters III and IV address the tumultuous history of Cyprus and events leading to the establishment of the buffer zone, as well as the unique bicommunal creation and explicit

¹⁵ UNCHS, *Nicosia Master Plan: A Landmark for Future Cyprus*, 9; UNDP Division of Information, *Restoring the Heart of Nicosia*, 14-17; Nicosia Master Plan Office, *Summary Project Fiche: Rehabilitation of Nicosia – Phase 2*, 1.

objectives of the Nicosia Master Plan. Chapter V examines two case studies, therein detailing project plans, implementation, and early reception as recorded by Cypriot governments, the UNDP, and various international scholars. Both of these plans include explicit preservation objectives and employed preservation strategies to achieve related goals. Chapter VI comprises a general evaluation of the success of the original NMP as it has been implemented, with the intent of elucidating preservation's role in advancing NMP objectives. Central city population growth, development of heritage tourism as a significant contributor to the urban economy, and the proliferation and success of intercultural events are all taken into consideration in this evaluation of the plan's success. Interviews with the NMP project team, conducted in-person in December 2017, informed the development of this evaluation. The seventh and final chapter briefly summarizes the lasting effects of the NMP and seeks to place the Nicosia municipalities' efforts in the broader context of preservation planning and intra-urban division. This is a timely topic that reveals preservation's potential to effect durable urban revitalization in divided urban settings, and as such, this thesis will be of interest to urban planners and policymakers faced with divisive and nontraditional planning challenges.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY AND LITERATURE REVIEW

METHODS AND LIMITATIONS

The primary methodology employed by this study is interpretive-historical research, which seeks to investigate particular historical phenomena—in this case, preservation planning as employed by the Nicosia Master Plan—and elucidate those phenomena in a holistic narrative format. Interpretive-historical research is a particular style of qualitative research which emphasizes contextual study and the use of narrative explanation to connect historical events and draw flexible, open-ended conclusions, and it is well-suited to the topic at hand.¹⁶ By describing Cyprus's long history of political instability and complicated ethnic and international relationships in Chapter III, this study provides context for the development of the buffer zone and, subsequently, the NMP. The background of the plan's development, as described in Chapter IV, and the case studies provided in Chapter V build on this foundation to create a holistic picture of the plan from inception through implementation. Collectively, this information is presented in a logical chronological order and provides a strong narrative allowing for interpretation and evaluation of the NMP's preservation element in Chapter VI.

To explore (and, to the extent possible, attempt to isolate) historic preservation's role in the creation and realization of the Nicosia Master Plan, this study relies most heavily on document analysis, drawing additional information from visual inspection of relevant sites and recollective evidence where possible. Document analysis targets sources produced by the governments of the Republic of Cyprus and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, national and international news outlets, the academics and government officials driving the plan's development, and personal accounts given by NMP project staff, both past and present. Physical investigation focuses on two case studies, one major project from the original NMP project document implemented on either side of the buffer, in order to describe the plan's implementation and effects in a more concrete and specific manner. These case studies were selected for their

¹⁶ Linda Groat and David Wang, *Architectural Research Methods* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2002), 137-38.

geographical location, multi-faceted nature, and stated preservation objectives. Finally, interviews with Athina Papadapoulou and Simos Droussiodes of the bicomunal Nicosia Master Plan office's Greek Cypriot team loosely inform the evaluation framework proposed and utilized in Chapter VI of this thesis. In the absence of a clear evaluative framework designed by the NMP project office, the thesis employs a framework proposed by the author. The study is concerned specifically with the preservation element of the NMP; it does not attempt to measure the success or failure of the overall program, nor does it assert that the evaluative structure designed by the author is the only or best method of assessment.

Due to complications presented by Nicosia's political and social situation, this study is unfortunately limited by the nature and availability of primary source material. The contested division of the island and tensions between its two ethnoreligious groups influence the nature of source material produced by Greek Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots, and their respective allies. Where serious or potentially misleading, this source bias is addressed in the text; however, the use of overtly biased sources is generally avoided, and this study has attempted to cite a balance of material produced by inhabitants and allies of the Republic of Cyprus and Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. Nevertheless, the scarcity of reliably impartial source material may limit the evaluative portion of this thesis.

This project was also limited by time and funding constraints; a majority of research was conducted between September 2017 and March 2018, with a one-week period of on-the-ground study in Nicosia in December 2017. Large-scale survey of the Nicosia buffer zone was infeasible, substituted instead by a foot survey conducted by the author over the course of two days in December 2017. Photographs are expressly prohibited along several stretches of the buffer, somewhat restricting the visual material selected to enhance and explicate this study. However, a number of UN-sanctioned journalists' photographs were available to supplement material collected by the author.

While in Cyprus, the author established points of contact with multiple representatives of the Nicosia Master Plan Office. Although Greek Cypriot representatives of the Nicosia Municipality were available to meet with the author and share project materials, a lack of access to officials from the Turkish Republic of

Northern Cyprus, in particular the Turkish Cypriot contingent of NMP planners, further limits the scope of the project. This being said, publicly-available project literature and limited email correspondence with the NMP Office certainly helped to alleviate these challenges.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The current literature surrounding the Nicosia Master Plan is lacking in two significant ways: first, a direct and robust examination of the plan's preservation element has been neglected by analyses of the plan's development and effects; and second, no defined, officially-sanctioned evaluative framework has been formally developed by the Nicosia Master Plan Office.¹⁷ Despite these limitations, many relevant sources were collected and considered in the course of this study. Primary sources released by the United Nations Development Programme and Nicosia Municipality describe the logistics of the planning process and the concrete steps taken to achieve project goals, providing important insight into the plan's development and planners' intentions. Numerous secondary sources analyzing the development and impacts of the plan are also available, many of which are written from a theoretical urban planning perspective. Sources featured in the following literature review have been drawn from government publications, United Nations project documents, scholarly sources grounded in political history and/or urban planning, and news media reports. These collectively represent a broad sampling of the most pertinent and accessible information surrounding the background, creation, implementation, and results of the NMP.

Ethnic and Political Background of the Island

Because of its desirable location in the trading crossroads of the eastern Mediterranean, the history of Cyprus is marked by a litany of foreign sovereigns: the Assyrians, ancient Egyptians, Persians, Macedonians, Ptolemies, Romans, Byzantines, Lusignans, Venetians, Ottomans, and British all laid claim to the island before it emerged as the Republic of Cyprus in 1960. Noted historian Christopher Hitchens's *Cyprus*

¹⁷ Athina Papadapoulou (Nicosia Master Plan Office), interview by author, December 11, 2017.

describes how the past two hundred years of foreign rule have contributed to the island's current division, arguing that Cyprus was caught in the politics of Britain, Greece, and Turkey.¹⁸ His assertion that Britain pitted the island's two major ethnic and religious groups (Greek Cypriots, who traditionally identify as Christian Orthodox, and Turkish Cypriots, who are largely Sunni Muslims) against each other is echoed in A.J. Christopher's work describing urban segregation throughout the British Empire.¹⁹ Maria Hadjipavlou's examination of the Cyprus conflict, which utilizes a 2000-2002 survey of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities, observes that this sentiment is felt more strongly amongst Greek Cypriots: 79.2% of those surveyed felt that Britain's "divide-and-rule" policy contributed "very much" to the division, as opposed to 47% of the Turkish Cypriots included in the survey.²⁰ According to Hadjipavlou's study, both communities felt strongly that the interests and interventions of foreign states (primarily Britain, NATO, the United States, Greece, and Turkey) were a major factor in domestic politics, as was the nationalist sentiment that both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots held for their ethnic homelands. This perception is supported by a broad range of secondary literature published in recent decades.²¹ Revealingly, the majority of all respondents in Hadjipavlou's 2000-2002 study asserted that the ethnic, religious, and cultural differences between the communities were only "somewhat" or "not very" significant in the politics surrounding the division and its perpetuation;²² this response would seem to support Hitchens' and Christopher's assertion that the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities cohabitated without major incident in the decades before British rule. Rather than inherent differences tied to religion and culture, the effects of

¹⁸ Christopher Hitchens, *Cyprus* (London: Quartet Books, 1984), 46.

¹⁹ A. J. Christopher, "Urban Segregation Levels in the British Overseas Empire and Its Successors in the Twentieth Century," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 17, no. 1 (1992): 95-107.

²⁰ Maria Hadjipavlou, "The Cyprus Conflict: Root Causes and Implications for Peacebuilding," *Journal of Peace Research* 44, no. 3 (Summer 2007): 354-56.

²¹ Neophytos G. Loizides, "Ethnic Nationalism and Adaptation in Cyprus," *International Studies Perspectives* 8, no. 2 (May 2007): 172-89; Nadav Morag, "Cyprus and the Clash of Greek and Turkish Nationalisms," *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 10, no. 4 (2004): 595-624; John Burke, *Britain and the Cyprus Crisis of 1974: Conflict, Colonialism, and the Politics of Remembrance in Greek Cypriot Society* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2017), eBook.

²² Maria Hadjipavlou, "The Cyprus Conflict," 259.

British colonialism—particularly an increase in Greek and Turkish nationalistic sentiment—seem to have been the primary catalysts for the animosity and fear that led to the division of the island in 1974.

State of Divided Cyprus (1974 - Present)

While texts like Hitchens' *Cyprus* take a long-range and relatively measured view of Cypriot divisions, the state of the island following the Turkish invasion and establishment of the 112-mile long UN-patrolled buffer zone is described more directly and more thoroughly in *Divided Cyprus*, a compilation of interdisciplinary essays which explore how the division has impacted nationalistic attitudes, interethnic relations, education, internal migration, and other aspects of Cypriot social and political life.²³ This work is seminal in that it rejects the perception of Cyprus as a victimized state, a model which is generally adopted by publications produced by and for the Greek Cypriot community and its traditional allies and sympathizers. Instead, the island's present and enduring conflict is presented in terms of a dual national identity that divides the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities. This approach leads to a more impartial and informed analysis of the division.²⁴

However, the significance of bias and the impassioned accounts of the division and its effects are nonetheless relevant to elucidating sociopolitical dynamics in Cyprus. These attitudes are captured most colorfully in media reports; both national and international news outlets quote residents of Nicosia and describe the physical degradation caused by the partition, allowing a more powerful insight into the social and political atmosphere that prevailed in Cyprus at the time of the NMP's creation.²⁵ These

²³ Yiannis Papadakis, Nicos Peristianis, and Gisela Welz, eds., *Divided Cyprus: Modernity, History, and an Island in Conflict* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006).

²⁴ Aspasia Theodosiou, review of *Divided Cyprus: Modernity, History and an Island in Conflict*, Yiannis Papadakis, Nicos Peristianis, Gisela Welz, eds., *Political Geography* 29 (2010): 53-54; Eftihia Voutira, review of *Divided Cyprus: Modernity, History and an Island in Conflict*, Yiannis Papadakis, Nicos Peristianis, Gisela Welz, eds., *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 27, no. 1 (May 2009): 197-200.

²⁵ "World: Analysis Cyprus: A Bitter History," *BBC* online, published July 20, 1998, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/world/analysis/135861.stm>; Alexia Evripidou, "From No-Man's Land to Trendy Hot Spot," *CyprusMail Online*, November 23, 2014, <http://cyprus-mail.com/2014/11/23/from-no-mans-land-to-trendy-hot-spot/>; Douglas Frantz, "Cyprus Still Split by a Zone Where Time Stands Still," *New York Times*, January 22, 2002.

sources also establish several points of reference for evaluation of the plan by describing cultural events and social programs that paralleled or grew out of the plan's implementation; several of these will be examined in Chapter VI, an evaluation of the preservation element of the NMP. Although few of these reports reference the plan,²⁶ they all paint a picture of changing contexts over the course of its multi-year implementation.

Creation of the Nicosia Master Plan: Logistics, Theory, and Agenda

Much has been written about the creation of the Nicosia Master Plan (NMP). Faced with significant urban depopulation and physical degradation in the years following the establishment of the buffer zone, opposing powers came together to create a comprehensive planning document with the goal of revitalizing the island's divided capital, Nicosia. The logistics of these bicomunal efforts and the purported goals of the plan are described in documents released by the municipalities,²⁷ the United Nations programs which helped facilitate the process,²⁸ and the European Investment Bank,²⁹ which has provided additional financial backing for projects proposed by the NMP. These documents are ostensibly unbiased, quoting civic leaders from both the Republic of Cyprus and the unofficial Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, and describing rehabilitation projects planned for either side of the buffer zone; however, these sources are decidedly optimistic and insufficiently address potential pitfalls. Regardless, such official documents are particularly useful in defining the goals of the NMP as set by the bicomunal planning committee, namely the revitalization of the Walled City, the

²⁶ Christos Efthymiou, "Reflections on Bi-Communal Relations in Cyprus," *openDemocracy*, August 5, 2014, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/can-europe-make-it/christos-efthymiou/reflections-on-bicomunal-relations-in-cyprus>.

²⁷ *The Nicosia Master Plan* [leaflet], (Nicosia, Cyprus: Bi-communal Development Programme, 2003).

²⁸ United Nations Development Programme Division of Information, *Restoring the Heart of Nicosia* (Nicosia, Cyprus: United Nations Development Programme, 1987); United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, *Nicosia Master Plan: A Landmark for Future Cyprus* (Nairobi, Kenya: United Nations Centre for Human Settlements [Habitat], 1988).

²⁹ European Investment Bank, "Preserving the architectural heritage in the buffer zone of Cyprus's Walled City," *EIB.org*, last modified June 10, 2011, accessed October 22, 2017, <http://www.eib.org/infocentre/stories/all/2011-june-02/preserving-the-architectural-heritage-in-the-buffer-zone-of-cyprus-s-walled-city.htm>.

historic center of the capital. Furthermore, these sources all explicitly identify heritage conservation and rehabilitation as a priority objective of the project.

Outside of United Nations and government documents, most of the literature examining the development of the NMP is written from an urban planning perspective. Historic preservation and heritage retention are occasionally mentioned in these think-pieces, but most focus on planning theory and posit models which might be applied to the plan. For instance, Hazem Abu-Orf analyzes the NMP in the context of Jurgen Habermas's sociological theory of communicative action,³⁰ emphasizing the importance of its bicomunal aspect, whereas Pinar Ulucay et al. take a more technical approach and summarize the plan's goals in terms of function and intensity of use.³¹

Although an intensive look at the role of preservation in the creation of the NMP is lacking, some authors do give insight into the dominant attitudes and preservation theories in the country and region around the relevant time period; for example, Maria Philokyprou and Elena Limbouri-Kozakou succinctly describe the evolution of historic preservation policy in Cyprus, elucidating the role of international charters in shaping prevailing practice.³² The authors identify Article 1 of the Charter of Venice, which dictates that humble, vernacular buildings are valuable for what they reveal about past ways of living,³³ as particularly significant in the development of Cypriot attitudes toward heritage restoration from the 1980s onward. These popular policies and accepted outlooks are likely to have impacted the development of the NMP, which was drafted in 1979 through the early 1980s and which called for the restoration of numerous vernacular resources.

³⁰ Hazem Abu-Orf, "Collaborative Planning in Practice: The Nicosia Master Plan," *Planning, Practice & Research* 20, no. 1 (February 2005): 41-58.

³¹ Pinar Ulucay, Kagan Gunce, and Cemil Atakara, "Urban Transformation of a Divided Capital: The Case of Nicosia" (presentation, 8th International Conference of the Asian Planning Schools Association, Universiti Sains Malaysia, Penang, Malaysia, September 11-14, 2005).

³² Maria Philokyprou and Elena Limbouri-Kozakou, "An overview of the restoration of monuments and listed buildings in Cyprus from antiquity until the twenty-first century," *Studies in Conservation* 60, no. 4 (July 2015): 267-77.

³³ *International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (The Venice Charter 1964)* (Paris: ICOMOS, 1964).

POTENTIAL FOR CONTRIBUTION TO THE FIELD

Opinions vary regarding the efficacy the Nicosia Master Plan. The city and island as a whole remain fractured by the United Nations Buffer Zone, but analyses released at various points following the plan's implementation generally celebrate progress in revitalizing the urban core of Old Nicosia. Early reports, released less than a decade after implementation of the NMP's first phase of operations, praise the plan for retaining historic fabric while drawing residents back into the city's decaying urban core.³⁴ In October 1989, the NMP earned the Building and Social Housing Foundation's World Habitat Award for its cooperative approach to "surmounting a political divide."³⁵ Later reports take a longer view of the plan's progress, admitting that reunification remains a distant hope but also noting the many ways in which the NMP is making progress toward its localized economic and social goals. Evaluative criteria include population growth within the city's historic core, increased revenues from foreign tourism, and the proliferation of public amenities and social services provided in the heart of Nicosia.³⁶ Reports of social and economic progress in the city in the years since the NMP's implementation may or may not speak to impacts of the plan. At least indirectly, growth in foreign tourism³⁷ and the opening of permanent border crossings (beginning with Ledra Street, in the very center of the city, in 2008)³⁸ may be related to progress gained through execution of the NMP. In a more immediate and technical sense, reports by project contractors and consultants also speak to ongoing progress made by the plan.³⁹

³⁴ Victoria Irwin, "Nicosia's Daring Diplomacy," *Planning* 55, no. 9 (September 1989): 20-22.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 21.

³⁶ Derya Oktay, "An Analysis and Review of the Divided City of Nicosia, Cyprus, and New Perspectives," *Geography* 92, no. 3 (Fall 2007): 231-47; Mohammed al-Asad, *Rehabilitation of the Walled City: 2007 On-site Report for the Nicosia Master Plan Team and UNDP* (Nicosia, Cyprus: Nicosia Master Plan Team, 2007).

³⁷ Dimitri Ioannides and Yiorgos Apostolopoulos, "Political Instability, War, and Tourism in Cyprus: Effects, Management, and Prospects for Recovery," *Journal of Travel Research* 38, no. 1 (August 1999): 51-56.

³⁸ Michele Kambas and Simon Bahceli, "Cyprus Tears Down Barricade Dividing Island," *Reuters*, last modified April 3, 2008, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2008/04/03/us-cyprus-street-idUSL0327472320080403>.

³⁹ al-Asad, *Rehabilitation of the Walled City*; Petros Patias et al., "Mapping of Buildings' Facades at the Historic Centre of Nicosia, Cyprus and Creating a Preservation Information System," proceedings of the

These few analyses aside, there is an obvious gap in the literature surrounding the development, implementation, and aftereffects of the Nicosia Master Plan. Much has been written from an urban planning perspective, and a number of historical accounts and primary source documents detail the logistics of the plan's development; historic preservation of Nicosia's architectural heritage is often explicitly mentioned as a priority for cultural purposes, but any direct examination of its use as a device for restoring urban vitality seems to have been neglected by modern scholars. This presents an opportunity for this thesis to provide a critical review of heritage preservation as more than a goal of the NMP, but as a powerful tool for the accomplishment of the plan's explicit social, economic, and architectural objectives. The chapters to follow will attempt to elucidate and evaluate this concept and to support the application of historic preservation as an effective planning device for contested landscapes.

CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO DIVISION

The third-largest island in the Mediterranean Sea, Cyprus lies at the crossroads of ancient trade routes connecting Africa to Asia Minor and the Middle Eastern powers to the great civilizations of ancient Italy and Greece. In antiquity, the island was famed for its trade wealth, natural copper deposits, fertile farmland, and pristine beauty; according to Hesiod, Aphrodite herself “was born in billowy Cyprus”⁴⁰ arising from the seafoam near the island’s magnificent black rock beach, Petra tou Romiou.⁴¹

For land so rich and so conveniently situated at the nexus of three continents, it is perhaps unsurprising that Cyprus’s history is defined by conflict. For nearly three millennia, the island was seized and subjugated by one great power after another, resulting in a uniquely varied culture that is reflected in the modern country’s archaeological and architectural record. The current division of Cyprus may be understood as a consequence of its history of conflict; even in 1968, at the onset of what has been termed “the Cyprus Problem,” scholars acknowledged that an understanding of the island’s history “is called for not only by the political crisis itself but also because this crisis is deeply rooted in the distant past.”⁴² To sufficiently understand the exceptional circumstances that precipitated the Nicosia Master Plan and to appreciate the radicalness of its bicomunal nature, one must first explore the processes that created the environment in which the city and its communities developed.⁴³

⁴⁰ *Theogeny* 190-201.

⁴¹ Philip H. Young, “The Cypriot Aphrodite Cult: Paphos, Rantidi, and Saint Barnabas,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 64, no. 1 (January 2005): 23. Colette Hemingway and Seán Hemingway, “Cyprus—Island of Copper,” in *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*, (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/cyco/hd_cyco.htm. Cyprus’s copper deposits were exploited as early as the 4th century B.C.E. Although Cyprus’s early copper metallurgy was primitive in comparison to that of its neighbors to the north and east, the island would eventually become so famous for its rich ores that the metal itself would take its appellation from the Greek name for Cyprus, “Kupros.”

⁴² Franz Georg Maier, *Cyprus from Earliest Time to the Present Day*, trans. Peter Gorge (London: Elek Books Limited, 1968), 9.

⁴³ Seminal histories of the island include Sir David Hunt’s *Footprints in Cyprus* (London: Trigraph Limited, 1990) and William Mallinson’s *Cyprus: A Modern History* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005).

EARLY HISTORY OF FOREIGN INFLUENCE

While Cyprus seems to have remained devoid of permanent human settlement before c. 9000 B.C.E., the archaeological record reveals that the island was a stopover point for seafaring civilizations as early as c. 11000 B.C.E. Permanent settlements appeared in the 7th century B.C.E., and by c. 4500 B.C.E., the first ceramic-producing civilization had established a broad array of villages across center of the island.⁴⁴ Cyprus's trade relations with Asia Minor solidified over the next several centuries, bringing a number of fresh imports to the island with increasing regularity. During the Bronze Age, (2500/2300 B.C.E.-1050 B.C.E), increasingly powerful foreign entities began to take note of the island's valuable natural resources and advantageous position. Egypt is the first foreign nation known to have subjugated Cyprus, which it did in the late sixteenth century B.C.E. Even so, several hundred years of prosperous trade and cultural exchange ensued, with the island as the veritable stepping-stone between east and west. Syrian, Palestinian, and Egyptian influences are apparent in tomb construction and ceramics of the period; writing was introduced by the Minoans; and the Mycenaean Greeks in particular left a significant demographic and cultural imprint on Cyprus.⁴⁵

The Iron Age (1050-480 B.C.E.) was the age of city-kingdoms, whose origin stories often trace their founding back to the Greek heroes of the Trojan War. These grandiose myths emphasize the influence of Greek culture upon early Cyprus, which welcomed an ever-growing number of Mycenaean and Achaean Greeks displaced by the Dorian invasion of their homeland. It is during this period that Ledra (or Ledras), the city-kingdom precursor to modern Nicosia, was formally established by Achaean Greeks on the banks of the Pedieos River in central Cyprus. Phoenician influence also increased in the Iron Age, solidifying with the establishment of several coastal colonies in the

⁴⁴ E.J. Peltenburg, "Paleolithic to Late Bronze Ages, 8500-1600 BC," in *Footprints in Cyprus: An Illustrated History*, ed. Sir David Hunt (London: Triglyph Limited, 1990), 5-8. The central location of these villages, far from the vulnerable coast lines, was likely a strategic defensive decision. This thinking was mirrored in the establishment of the island's inland capital, Nicosia, thousands of years later.

⁴⁵ A. Bernard Knapp, "Cyprus's Earliest Prehistory: Seafarers, Foragers and Settlers," *Journal of World Prehistory* 23, no. 2 (June 2010): 79-80; "Choirokoitia," *UNESCO World Heritage Centre*, accessed February 12, 2018, whc.unesco.org/en/list/848; Charles Gates, *Ancient Cities: The Archaeology of Urban Life in the Ancient Near East and Egypt, Greece, and Rome* (London: Routledge, 2003), 157.

eighth century B.C.E. The island's culture, like its population, was a growing amalgamation of native Cypriot, Aegean, and Levantine elements.⁴⁶

Cyprus is first identified in the written record by an inscription commemorating the 709 B.C.E. victory of Assyria over *Ia*, the Assyrian name for the island: ten city-kingdoms, including Ledra, are identified as Cypriot vassal states of the Assyrian king Esarhaddon on a c. 673 B.C.E. stone prism.⁴⁷ Following the death of ancient Assyria's last great king in 627 B.C.E., Cyprus briefly regained its independence. This liberation was short-lived, however, as Egypt conquered the island in 570 B.C.E. A half-century later, the Persian Achaemenid Empire overthrew Egyptian rule and claimed Cyprus for its own, again upsetting its administrative structure. This rapid succession of authority—three overlords in just one hundred years—further diversified Cypriot culture and foreshadows two and a half millennia of contested rule.

Despite sporadic revolts and a growing Greek population, Cyprus remained a vassal of the Persian Empire until its defeat by Alexander the Great in the late fourth century B.C.E., at which time the island was transferred to the growing Macedonian Empire.⁴⁸ Alexander's untimely death in 323 B.C.E. precipitated decades of infighting between his most powerful generals, and Cyprus was ultimately annexed by the Ptolemies and Egypt in 294 B.C.E. Apart from a short period in the second century B.C.E., Cyprus remained under Ptolemaic control for two-and-a-half centuries.

⁴⁶ Luigi Palma di Cesnola, *Cyprus: Its Ancient Cities, Tombs, and Temples: A Narrative of Researches and Excavations during Ten Years' Residence as American Consul in that Island* (London: John Murray, 1877), 3-4; A. Bernard Knapp, *Prehistory and Protohistoric Cyprus: Identity, Insularity, and Connectivity* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2008), 286.

⁴⁷ "Ancient Nicosia," *Nicosia Municipality*, accessed January 13, 2018, <http://www.nicosia.org.cy/en-GB/municipality/history/nicosia/ancient/>.

⁴⁸ Veronica Tatton-Brown, "The Hellenistic Period: Cyprus under the Ptolemies," in *Footprints in Cyprus: An Illustrated History*, ed. Sir David Hunt (London: Trigraph Limited, 1990), 98. The Cypriot kings had allied themselves with Alexander after his major victory at Issus in 333 B.C.E., anticipating that their island would be an inevitable target of the young but eminent conqueror. With the aid of Cypriot fleets formerly in service to Persia, Alexander the Great successfully sieged the port city of Tyre, the last stronghold of Phoenicia. The kings may have hoped for independence in exchange for their services. Despite their contributions to his victory, however, the kings of Cyprus found themselves shunted from one great empire to another after Alexander the Great's defeat of Persia. Alexander claimed authority over the island and demanded that all currency bear his image.

This period between the deaths of Alexander the Great in 323 B.C.E. and Cleopatra VII, the last of the Ptolemaic rulers of Egypt, in 30 B.C.E., has been christened the Hellenistic period of Cypriot history. The island's association with Greece and Greek culture was at its height. Cypriot statuary incorporated Greek hairstyles and poses, and public buildings adopted Hellenic forms.⁴⁹ Greek cults flourished, and traditional Cypriot deities were equated with the Greek gods and goddesses. Egyptian influences were less pervasive, but also left indelible marks on Cypriot arts and culture; although the Ptolemies were not themselves of Egyptian origin, they adopted the Egyptian practice of the dynastic cult to reinforce their authority,⁵⁰ and numerous Cypriot cities were rechristened or founded in the name of Ptolemaic rulers. It was during the Ptolemaic period that the city-kingdom of Ledra (modern Nicosia) was renamed *Leukotheon*, after the son of Ptolemy I.⁵¹

ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS

After the defeat of Cleopatra VII, the last of the Ptolemies, at the Battle of Actium in 31 B.C.E., Cyprus came under Roman control and was made a minor senatorial province.⁵² These three hundred years of Roman rule were the most stable and prosperous period in Cypriot history. Because the Roman Empire encompassed the entire Mediterranean and Near East, Cyprus was no longer caught between warring factions and its primary significance was agricultural; its fertile lands provided the Empire with wine, olive oil, flax, and wheat. It continued to serve as a useful stopover point for trade between Egypt, the Near East, Asia Minor, and Europe. Roman proconsuls administered

⁴⁹ Ibid., 101-103. The temple of Zeus at Salamis, for example, is built on a high podium in the Greek style.

⁵⁰ The cult of Arsinoe Philadelphus, wife of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, was exceedingly popular in Cyprus, and she was frequently identified with Aphrodite.

⁵¹ Ibid., 102.

⁵² Demetrios Michaelides, "The Roman Period: 30 B.C. - A.D. 330," in *Footprints in Cyprus: An Illustrated History*, ed. Sir David Hunt (London: Trigraph Limited, 1990), 110-12. The Ptolemies partially withdrew from the island in 80 B.C.E., leaving a member of their royal family in charge, and in 58 B.C.E. Cyprus was first annexed by Rome. During the civil wars of the Roman republic, Julius Caesar gifted the island to his mistress, Cleopatra VII, the last of the Ptolemies; this transaction was confirmed in 36 B.C.E. by her husband, Marcus Antonius. Cyprus remained in Ptolemaic control until Antonius's defeat at the Battle of Actium in 31 B.C.E.

the island, overseeing internal security and managing the construction of civic infrastructure: in Cyprus as in the rest of their vast empire, the Romans took care to provide efficient roadways and reliable water systems [Figure 3.1]. These improvements remain a lasting testament to Latin rule even today.⁵³

Many other forces also impacted the development of Cyprus during the Roman Period. Greek remained the dominant language, but Christianity began to disrupt the Greek cults that had predominated in the Hellenistic Period.⁵⁴ The role of Christianity in Cypriot culture then intensified in the Byzantine period, beginning with the division of the Roman Empire in 285 C.E. Although not yet the island's capital, the village of Nicosia (called *Λευκωσία*, or Lefkosia, at the time) became the seat of a major bishopric in the fourth century and slowly gained political and religious influence thereafter.

Arab armies from the Near East invaded Cyprus in the 650s, intending to claim the island for the relatively young Islamic empire. In 688, the Byzantine emperor Justinian II and the Umayyad caliph Abd al-Malik made the unprecedented decision to rule the island jointly, but this pretense of compromise did little to moderate the almost constant warfare between the two great empires. Cyprus was a pawn, ostensibly co-ruled but in truth wrenched back and forth between the Byzantines and the Arabs; for three hundred years, Cyprus's predominantly Greek and Latin population railed against the Umayyads, even as the island's Muslim population continued to grow. Although Cyprus had long been home to a diverse populace, ethnicity, religion, and custom now cleanly divided the island into two predominant (and often contentious) factions.⁵⁵ This ethnoreligious discord would subside, but it nevertheless foreshadows the extreme violence and subsequent division of the island in the mid-twentieth century.

⁵³ Ibid., 110-15, 118, 122.

⁵⁴ Steven Runciman, "The Byzantine Period: 330 - 1191," in *Footprints in Cyprus: An Illustrated History*, ed. Sir David Hunt (London: Trigraph Limited, 1990), 110-12. According to Christian tradition, the Church of Cyprus was established as early as 45 C.E. by Saints Paul, Mark, and Barnabas, the latter of whom served as the island's first bishop. Regardless of origin, at least three Cypriot bishops attended the Ecumenical Council of Nicaea in 325, thirteen years after the Edict of Milan had legitimized Christianity in the Roman Empire; this early leadership indicates that a strong Christian foundation was already established in Cyprus.

⁵⁵ Robert Henry Stephens, *Cyprus, a Place of Arms: Power Politics and Ethnic Conflict in the Eastern Mediterranean* (London: Pall Mall, 1966), 31-32.



Figure 3.1 Roman Aqueduct in East Nicosia. Source: Alexander Savin, *Old Aqueduct in Nicosia, Cyprus*, 2017, Wikimedia Commons.

In 965, the Byzantine Empire recaptured Cyprus from the Umayyads and established a new capital in Nicosia. Previous capitals had been located in wealthy and strategically-positioned port cities, the most recent being Salamis to the east, but these locations were far too vulnerable in an age of recurrent sea raids.⁵⁶ Although this second period of Byzantine rule lasted only two hundred years, later administrations chose to maintain the seat of government in ancient, landlocked Nicosia. Consequently, the city has served as the island’s capital for more than ten centuries and exhibits architectural relics from every historic administration. Although most structures from this very early period are no longer extant, a collection of Byzantine religious art, mosaics, and frescoes are on display at Nicosia’s Byzantine Museum.

THE MIDDLE AGES AND RENEWED INSTABILITY

In the 12th century, Cyprus again fell victim to foreign aggressions; as the port nation of the Eastern Mediterranean and virtual gateway to the Holy Land, the island was

⁵⁶ “Nicosia from antiquity to the present,” *Nicosia Municipality*, accessed February 1, 2018, <http://www.nicosia.org.cy/en-GB/municipality/history/nicosia/names/>.

a natural target of Medieval Crusaders. In brief succession, Cyprus was captured by Richard the Lionheart, sold to the Knights Templar, and purchased by Guy de Lusignan, the Frankish King of Jerusalem, in 1192. In the Lusignan or Frankish period of Cypriot history, the Latin church subjugated the longstanding Orthodox dioceses, and first Latin, then French was declared the island's official tongue; neither the Greek Orthodox religion nor the Greek language disappeared, however, and both continued to flourish locally.

Roman Catholic churches, including the grand Gothic-style Cathedral of Sophia in north Nicosia [Figure 3.2], are the most visible vestiges of Frankish rule. The French-speaking Lusignans also gave Nicosia its modern Western name: unable to pronounce Λευκωσία (Lefkosia), the city became "Nicosie," which was later translated into Italian by the Venetians and thereafter known as "Nicosia." The capital was a bustling trade hub during this period, with the main marketplace along the Pedieos River bisecting the city.



Figure 3.2 Cathedral of St. Sophia (now Selimiye Mosque). The space was constructed as a Catholic church in the early 13th century; it was converted to a mosque in the late 16th century after the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus. Photograph by author, December 2017.

Lusignan rule came to an end in 1489, nearly three hundred years after Guy de Lusignan's calculated purchase. Through the marriage of James II, the last Lusignan king of Cyprus, and Catherine Cornaro, a Venetian from a noble family, Cyprus passed to the Republic of Venice.⁵⁷ The Republic of Venice would rule Cyprus for eighty years and leave a legacy of Gothic architecture, primarily Latin churches built to serve the wealthy ruling classes. The Greek Orthodox church continued to dominate in the countryside and among the peasant class.

Venetian rulers' most notable and enduring contribution to Nicosia's built environment are the massive fortification walls which encircle the city: in his *Della Fortificatione* of 1597, Venetian historian B. B. Lorrini writes that engineer Julio Savorgnano's design "rendered her [Nicosia] the most wealthy and important place of all the country, and had she been put in a capacity to sustain a siege, might have proved, by reason of its greatness most commodious for a retreat to the country-people in a time of war."⁵⁸ The iconic walls have eleven star- or heart-shaped bastions, each named after a noble family who had contributed funds to the cause [Figure 3.3].⁵⁹ The three gates are named after the coastal cities which they face: Paphos to the east, Famagusta to the west, and Kyrenia to the north. The Pedieos River, which initially flowed through the center of the city, was diverted outside the walls in 1567 to feed the newly-constructed moat. The empty riverbed was filled and functioned as the main east-west thoroughfare of the city as well as a popular marketplace. The area within the Venetian fortifications is the most ancient core of modern Nicosia and is commonly called "Walled Nicosia" or "the Walled City" [Figure 3.4].⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Geōrgios Voustrōnios, *The Chronicle of George Boustronios, 1456-1489*, trans. R. M. Dawkins (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1964), 59-60. The couple were married in 1468. James died in 1473, and Catherine ruled independently until 1489, when she was forced to cede the island to the Republic of Venice and "from the time she came out from Lefkosia all the way the tears never ceased to flow from her eyes."

⁵⁸ Buonaiuto Lorrini, *Delle Fortificatione* (Venetia: no publisher, 1597).

⁵⁹ The eleven bastions are (from the northernmost bastion moving clockwise): Barbaro Bastion, Loredan Bastion, Flatro Bastion, Caraffa Bastion, Podocattaro Bastion, Constanza Bastion, D'Avila Bastion, Tripoli Bastion, Roccas Bastion, Mula Bastion, and Quirini Bastion.

⁶⁰ *Venetian Walls of Nicosia* [leaflet], Bi-communal Development Programme, 2003.



Figure 3.3 Venetian Walls of Nicosia, Famagusta Gate. Photograph by author, December 2017.

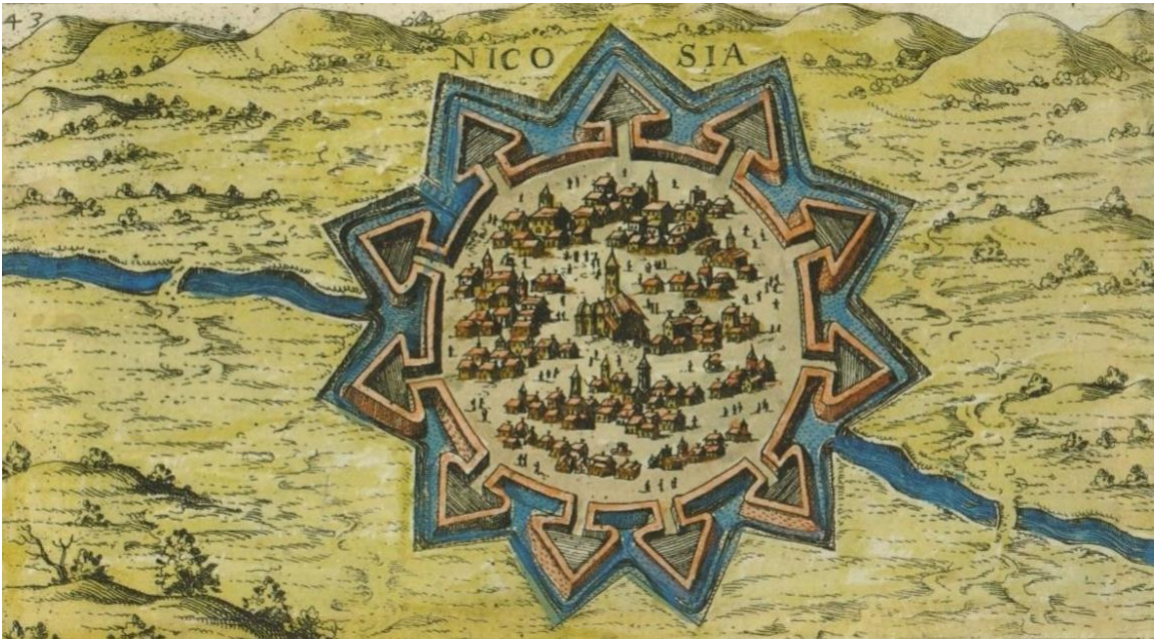


Figure 3.4 Map of Walled Nicosia, created in 1597 by the Venetian traveler Giacomo (Jacomo) Franco (1550-1620) for his book *Viaggio da Venetia a Constantinopoli per Mare*. Source: Creative Commons, *Nicosia by Giacomo Franco*, 2010, Wikimedia Commons.

THE OTTOMAN PERIOD

Throughout the Venetian period, Cyprus was subject to raids by the Ottoman Turks. Although early attacks were concentrated at the coastline, Nicosia fell to a major Ottoman invasion in 1570 after 40 days' siege. An eyewitness wrote, "there was confused fighting in every quarter of the city, and in the squares. There was no order, no one to take the lead, and the massacre lasted till the sixth hour. Those who defended themselves were killed; those who surrendered were made prisoners."⁶¹ Some 20,000 men from Nicosia were executed, while women and children were generally spared for sale as slaves.⁶² Municipal buildings and homes were looted, and the city's major Catholic churches were stripped of their obvious Christian symbology and repurposed as mosques. This required some creative internal reorientation: while Latin churches are traditionally designed in the orientation of a Latin cross with their altars to the east, the sacred qibla wall of an Islamic mosque is fixed in the direction of the Kaaba in Mecca, which lies to the south-south-east of Nicosia. The interior of the Cathedral of Sophia, the immense Gothic Lusignan-era church in the center of the Walled City, was whitewashed to obscure the painted images upon the walls and reoriented so that worshippers now face the side wall pointing toward Mecca. Two minarets were also installed. Renamed "Selimiye Mosque" in 1954, this building continues to serve as Nicosia's primary Muslim worship space today [Figure 3.5].⁶³

Following the siege, a majority of Nicosia's Greek and Latin inhabitants fled to the countryside. In 1619, a traveler to Nicosia laments that, "in size and situation it is certainly the chief city of the island, but is full of ruins, squalid and defenseless, for the

⁶¹ Pietro Contarini, *Historia delle cose successe dal principio della guerra mossa da Selim Ottomano* (Venice: Archivio Contarini, 1572), quoted in Claude Delaval Cobham, *Travels in the Island of Cyprus with Contemporary Accounts of the Sieges of Nicosia and Famagusta* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909), 174.

⁶² Stephen Turnbull, *The Ottoman Empire 1326–1699 (Essential Histories Series #62)* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2003), 58.

⁶³ Nicosia Master Plan Office, *Walled Nicosia: A Guide to Its Historical and Cultural Sites* (Nicosia, Cyprus: Nicosia Master Plan, n.d.), 64. Other Nicosian Christian churches converted to mosques include Arablar Mosque (formerly the Church of Stavros tou Missirikou), Haydarpasa Mosque (formerly St. Catherine Church and currently an art gallery), Laleli Mosque (a Medieval chapel, the original name of which has been lost), and Yeni Jami Mosque (name also lost to history). Additionally, St. Nicholas Church was converted into a market and depot called the "Bedestan," and St. George of Latin's Church was modified to serve as a Turkish bathhouse called "Buyuk Han." The latter has been faithfully restored.



Figure 3.5 Selimiye Mosque (Formerly the Cathedral of St. Sophia) Interior, North Nicosia. Source: Julian Nitzsche, *Minbar in der Selimiye-Moschee, der früheren Sophienkathedrale von Nikosia*, 2016, Wikimedia Commons.

walls are breached or decayed.”⁶⁴ However, Nicosia remained the capital of the island and was the seat of all major Ottoman administrative officials.⁶⁵

The active subjugation of Greek Cypriots and non-Muslim religious minorities during the early Ottoman period served to reinforce the position of the Orthodox Church as a religious and ethnic bastion of Cypriot culture. In an effort to manage the Greek

⁶⁴ Cotovicus Joannes, *Itinerarium Hierosolymitarum et Syriacum in quo variarum gentium mores et instituta... recensentur* (Venete: no publisher, 1619), 104.

⁶⁵ The four major administrative positions within Ottoman Cyprus were the Pasha, the Ottoman governor; the Orthodox Archbishop, a Greek Cypriot who was permitted to act as the primary administrative representative of the island’s Greek population; the Dragoman, the high interpreter between the Turkish governor and Archbishop; and the Cadi, a judge of the Shari‘a court who coordinated civil services within the city.

Cypriot majority, the Ottoman Empire authorized the Orthodox Archbishop of Cyprus to act as the primary administrative representative of the island's Greek Orthodox population. The increased political responsibility of the Archbishop established the multifaceted role of the Orthodox Church in Cyprus and also deepened the distinction between Christian Cypriots of Greek origin and Turkish Muslim newcomers. Despite these differences of religion, language, ethnicity, and social custom, however, the two groups came to coexist relatively peacefully from the 17th century through the end of Ottoman rule. Small Turkish villages established themselves alongside existing Greek Cypriot settlements in the countryside, and Turkish quarters appeared in most major urban centers. It is during this period that Nicosia developed distinct ethnic neighborhoods, with Turkish residents concentrated in the northern part of the Walled City and Greek Cypriots in the south. These quarters were not defined by a hard boundary, but the communities were loosely separated by the commercial strip that had formed along Nicosia's east-west centerline after the draining of the Pedeios River.⁶⁶

Nicosia began to recover its brilliance and prosperity in the late nineteenth century, thanks to relaxed Ottoman rule and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869; Cyprus's value as a stopover point for trade ships intensified with this new route, and what travelers as late as 1849 had described as partially deserted, "neglected and fast falling to ruin,"⁶⁷ was vibrant and bustling once more. The Hapsburg Archduke Ludwig Salvator of Austria, who lived in Nicosia for six months in 1873, was enamored with the city, writing that "Levkosia first bursts upon the sight, with her slender palms and minarets [. . .] like a dream of the Arabian nights realized—a bouquet of orange gardens

⁶⁶ George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 4:3 78; Jon Calame, Esther Charlesworth, and Lebbeus Woods, *Divided Cities: Belfast, Beirut, Jerusalem, Mostar, and Nicosia* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 125; Maria Hadjipavlou, "The Cyprus Conflict: Root Causes and Implications for Peacebuilding," *Journal of Peace Research* 44, no. 3 (Summer 2007): 359; Fatma Güven-Lisaniler and Leopoldo Rodríguez, "The social and economic impact of EU membership on northern Cyprus," in *The European Union and the Cyprus Conflict: Modern Conflict, Postmodern Union*, ed. Thomas Diez (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 183; Benjamin J. Broome, "Building a Shared Future across the Divide: Identity and Conflict in Cyprus," in *Communicating Ethnic and Cultural Identity*, ed. Mary Fong and Rueyling Chuang (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2004), 285.

⁶⁷ *Home Friend, a Weekly Miscellany of Amusement and Instruction*, Vol. IV, No. 86, circa 1849-50. Quoted by "Nicosia Seen by Travelers," *Nicosia Municipality*, accessed March 1, 2018, <http://www.nicosia.org.cy/en-GB/municipality/history/nicosia/foreigns/>.

and palm trees in a country without verdure, an oasis encircled with walls framed by human hands.”⁶⁸ Salvator also commented on the diversity of architecture which Nicosia’s long history and mixed population had produced: “There are Venetian fortifications by the side of Gothic edifices surmounted by the Crescent [a reference to the minarets of Islamic mosques], on antique Classic soils.”⁶⁹ Extant Ottoman additions to Nicosia include the Arabahmet Mosque (late 16th century) [Figure 3.6], Dervish Pasha Mansion (1801), and Büyük Han, the “Great Inn” (1572) [Figure 3.7].



Figure 3.6 Arabahmet Mosque, North Nicosia. Photograph by author, December 2017.

⁶⁸ Ludwig Salvator, *Levkosia, the Capital of Cyprus* (London: Kegan Paul, 1881), v.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*



Figure 3.7 Büyük Han, the “Great Inn,” North Nicosia. Source: Matthias Kabel, *Buyuk Han in Nicosia (northern part) Buyuk Han in Nicosia*, 2008, Wikimedia Commons.

Although Cyprus and its patchwork capital gained strength and relative stability in the nineteenth century, the power and influence of the Ottoman Empire began to wane. The Greek War of Liberation of 1821-1832 greatly undermined Ottoman authority, and after the defeat of the Ottomans in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878, Great Britain agreed to support the flailing empire in return for the authority to govern Cyprus. Ostensibly, this was a temporary arrangement which would enable the British to use Cyprus as a base for protecting the Ottomans from future Russian aggression. However, with the outbreak of World War I in 1914, Great Britain would eventually claim the island as a Crown colony.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ David Hunt, “The Turkish Period,” in *Footprints in Cyprus: An Illustrated History*, ed. Sir David Hunt (London: Trigraph Limited, 1990), 248; *Ibid.*, “The British Period,” in *Footprints in Cyprus: An Illustrated History*, ed. Sir David Hunt (London: Trigraph Limited, 1990), 261-62.

BRITISH RULE AND THE CALL FOR *ENOSIS*

The majority of Cypriots initially welcomed British rule, as the Crown promised administrative reforms which would specifically benefit their Christian subjects.⁷¹ Greek Cypriots also hoped that British rule might be a temporary step on the path to eventual annexation by Greece, the cultural and religious motherland of nearly three-quarters of the Cypriot population: one Cypriot bishop is said to have greeted British officials with a speech announcing, “We accept the change of the government, because we believe that Great Britain will eventually help Cyprus, just like with the Ionian islands, unite Cyprus with mother Greece.”⁷² This desire for political incorporation with the Kingdom of Greece grew into a nationwide movement amongst Greek Cypriots, who called their objective *enosis*, or “union.” Britain refused to allow *enosis* at the Versailles negotiations, but the movement continued to grow in strength over the next three decades. The ramifications of this political campaign echo through the present day.⁷³

Greek Cypriot discontent with British rule was compounded by a lack of effective representation in colonial government. According to the first British census of the island, Cyprus’s 1881 population was about 74 percent Greek Cypriot, 24 percent Turkish Cypriot, and about 2 percent other minorities;⁷⁴ based on these proportions, a constitution in place from 1882 to 1930 provided for a Legislative Council of twelve elected members—nine Christians and three Muslims—as well as six appointed British civil servants. The Council was presided over by the High Commissioner, who held the deciding vote in event of a tie. Though Greek Cypriots had access to a majority of seats, they rarely carried the vote: Turkish Cypriots normally voted with the appointed civil servants, and the resulting stalemate was usually resolved in their favor by the High

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 258.

⁷² Quoted in Hunt, “The British Period,” 264-65. Greek Cypriots’ hope for *enosis* was encouraged by Crete’s incorporation into Greece after the Graeco-Turkish War of 1897, and Britain’s promise to cede Cyprus to Greece if the latter were to join the Allies in the Great War in 1915. However, because Greece did not enter the war until 1917, Britain rescinded this offer, and Cyprus sank deeper into British control.

⁷³ William Mallinson, *Cyprus: A Modern History* (London: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., 2009), eBook.

⁷⁴ 1881 British Census report.

Commissioner.⁷⁵ Desire for *enosis* intensified among Greek Cypriots, who felt that they would be better represented and better served under Greek rule.

Despite these political frustrations, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots alike profited from the infrastructural improvements and commercial advantages conferred by membership in the British Empire. As a protectorate and eventual colony, Cyprus benefitted from unprecedented road construction; the reforestation of the mountainous regions and the creation of a highly efficient Forestry Service; and a boom in international business facilitated by British trade relationships and a stable sterling economy. Nicosia remained the administrative seat of the island and saw the construction of new law courts, commissioners' offices, a post office, and police headquarters; these structures are all extant, and many continue to have similar government uses [Figure 3.8].⁷⁶



Figure 3.8 Nicosia Post Office, built 1925. Source: Seksen iki yüz kırk beş, *The historical, neo-Renaissance style post office in Sarayönü, North Nicosia, Northern Cyprus*, 2015, Wikimedia Commons.

⁷⁵ Hunt, "The British Period," 267-68. When Cyprus became a crown colony in 1925, the Legislative Council was expanded to 24 members and the High Commissioner took on the role of governor. However, the same balance and impasse remained.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 266; Poly Pantelides, "Colonialism in Stone," *CyprusMail Online*, June 2, 2013, <http://cyprus-mail.com/2013/06/02/colonialism-in-stone/>.

The British also built new schools and assumed partial responsibility for the island's public schooling. For Cyprus's two largest ethnic groups, early education served an important role in a child's religious and cultural development. Consequently, the colonial government was obliged to work in concert with the clerics who served as village schoolteachers. According to multiple scholars, the British administration encouraged existing ethnic and religious divisionism by securely confining education within the binary context of "Greek" and "Turkish," "Christian" and "Muslim." This distinction between ethnically Greek Cypriots and ethnically Turkish Cypriots, ingrained in schoolchildren and professed by adults, deepened each group's loyalty to its ethnic homeland and fed the *enosis* campaigns of the 1930s-1950s.⁷⁷

The first serious Greek Cypriot demonstration in favor of *enosis* took place in Nicosia in October 1931. Organized by the "National Radicalist Union," the march devolved into a riot and the Government House was burned to the ground. Ten Greek Cypriots, including two Orthodox archbishops, were deported by the colonial government. Political parties were forbidden, and flying the Greek flag was declared illegal.⁷⁸

World War II brought renewed agitation for incorporation with Greece, as Britain and Greece found themselves allied yet again. More than 30,000 Cypriots served in the British forces during the war, and the island itself was an important airbase for the Allied cause. Both Winston Churchill and Anthony Eden, the British foreign secretary, hinted that "the Cyprus Problem" would be resolved after the war had been won, and pro-*enosis* Greek Cypriots seized onto these vague allusions. Political parties were allowed to reestablish themselves beginning in 1941, and the first municipal elections since 1931 were held in 1943. The newly-created Progressive Party of the Working People (*Anorthotikon Komma Ergazomenou Laou*, or AKEL) ascended to mayoral positions in

⁷⁷ İçim Özenli Özmatyatli and Ali Efdal Özkul, "20th Century British Colonialism in Cyprus through Education," *Eğitim Arastirmalari-Eurasian Journal of Educational Research* 50 (Winter 2013): 2-3; Christopher Hitchens, *Cyprus*, (London: Quartet Books, 1984), 46.

⁷⁸ Hunt, "The British Period," 273-74. As a result of these sanctions, for the rest of 1930s, expressions in support of *enosis* were largely confined to London, Athens, and New York.

several large Cypriot cities, including Nicosia. AKEL represented Greek Cypriot interests and comprised radical, sometimes violent, supporters of *enosis*.⁷⁹

In 1946, after the conclusion of WWII, Britain announced their intention to liberalize colonial administration in Cyprus. In an act of goodwill, Cypriots were invited to form a Consultative Assembly to assist in drafting a new constitution. However, the Greek Cypriot majority protested any discussions which did not expressly promote the goals of the *enosis* campaign. In total, twenty-two radically pro-*enosis* Greek Cypriot politicians refused invitation to sit on the assembly. Finally, in November 1947, the assembly opened with eighteen members present: seven Turkish Cypriots, one Maronite, two Greek Cypriots with no party affiliations, and eight AKEL-affiliated Greek Cypriots. The latter proposed full autonomy, and when the presiding officer declined to hold discussion on the matter, they joined other members in opposition to British proposals. The assembly reached an unbreakable deadlock which the British government was unable to resolve.

Led by the Orthodox Church of Cyprus, the majority of the island's general population advocated "*enosis* and only *enosis*,"⁸⁰ a resolution Great Britain was unwilling to countenance for fear of losing a valuable Near Eastern military base.⁸¹ Archbishop Makarios III, the young and charismatic leader of the Church of Cyprus, organized an unofficial referendum in early 1950 to gauge support among Greek Cypriots, and he found that 215,108 out of 224,747 votes (96%) were in favor.⁸² These supporters of *enosis* divided themselves into two camps: one, led by the Church of Cyprus and Archbishop Makarios, favored diplomatic negotiations and continued appeals to the UN.

⁷⁹ Mallinson, *Cyprus: A Modern History*, eBook. Because of the British Empire's wartime alliance with the Soviet Union, communism was not yet the anathema it would become in subsequent decades.

⁸⁰ Hunt, "The British Period," 274. This slogan was first used by Archbishop Leontios of Paphos in a speech on July 13th, 1947.

⁸¹ Calame et al., *Divided Cities*, 129.

⁸² Hunt, "The British Period," 276-77. Men and women over the age of eighteen were allowed to cast votes, and polling was held in Orthodox churches. The approximate Cypriot population at the time was 494,015 people. Sophocles Venizelos, Prime Minister of Greece, brought these results before the Greek Chamber of Deputies, and Makarios himself brought the issue to the United Nations in 1951. However, Britain held that "the Cyprus Problem" was an internal issue outside of UN consideration and control.

The second, led by Colonel Georgios Grivas, anticipated armed warfare.⁸³ The Archbishop and Grivas were opposed to each other's methods, but united by a common goal, they would find themselves uneasily allied in the struggle before them.

In the midst of pro-*enosis* sentiment, the Turkish Cypriot minority feared infringement upon their civil rights, reduced representation in legislative affairs, or even forced emigration from the island.⁸⁴ Although Turkish and Greek Cypriots had lived amicably, often in mixed villages, for several generations by this time, many Turkish Cypriots felt that increased Greek nationalism was straining these relationships.⁸⁵ In response to the *enosis* campaign, Turkish Cypriot identification with Turkey also intensified, and the Turkish government became increasingly involved in Cypriot affairs. An underground political organization known as Volkan ("volcano") grew into the Turkish Resistance Organization (*Türk Mukavemet Teskilâti*, or TMT), a guerrilla group that fought for Turkish Cypriot interests beginning in 1957. *Taksim*, the idea of partitioning the island between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, arose to counter calls for *enosis*.⁸⁶

In late 1954, the UN General Assembly at last formally considered the Cypriot majority's call for *enosis*. Resolution 814 (IX) read:

The General Assembly, considering that, for the time being, it does not appear appropriate to adopt a resolution on the question of Cyprus, decides not to consider further the item entitled "Application, under the auspices of the United

⁸³ Ibid. Grivas, born in Nicosia and a veteran of the Greek Army, had organized guerilla resistance to the Axis occupation of Greece during World War II; his Organization X (*chi*, in the Greek alphabet) was considered by some a resistance group, by others a terrorist organization.

⁸⁴ Çağlar Keyder, "The Consequences of the Exchange of Populations for Turkey," in *Crossing the Aegean*, ed. Renée Hirschson (New York: Berghahn Books, 2003), 39; Cengiz Basak, "Violations of Turkish Cypriots' Rights in a Failed State," *Turkish Public Administration Annual* 24-26 (1998-2000): 78. Deportation had precedent; Crete, where Muslims had been a majority in the 18th century, drove its Muslim population to other parts of the Ottoman Empire after the rebellion of 1897 and subsequent annexation by Greece in 1913. A decade later, the 1923 "population exchange" between Greece and Turkey involved the forced emigration of at least 1.6 million people, including 355,000 Turks denaturalized from Greece.

⁸⁵ Hunt, "The British Period," 272; Maria Hadjipavlou, "The Cyprus Conflict: Root Causes and Implications for Peacebuilding," *Journal of Peace Research* 44, no. 3 (Summer 2007): 354-56.

⁸⁶ Muzaffer Ercan Yilmaz, "Cyprus: Past Hurts and Present Stalemate," in *Turkey's Foreign Policy and Security Perspectives in the 21st Century: Prospects and Challenges*, ed. Sertif Demir (Boca Raton, FL: BrownWalker Press, 2016), 127. Perhaps because Turkish Cypriots were a minority population, at 24% of the population, there was no palpable call for annexation by Turkey.

Nations, of the principle of equal rights and self-determination of the peoples in the case of the population of the Island of Cyprus.”⁸⁷

Infuriated by the UN’s inaction, Greek Cypriot leaders called a general strike and rioting broke out across the island. Archbishop Makarios III, who had formerly advocated for peaceful diplomacy, met with political militant Georgios Grivas in early 1955. Together, they agreed on a name for *enosis* campaigners: the National Organization of Cypriot Fighters, *Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston* in Greek, widely known as EOKA.

EOKA’s broad and violent campaign for union with Greece lasted from 1955 to 1959. As the seat of the government and the Church of Cyprus, Nicosia was the epicenter of the conflict between Greek Cypriots and British colonial officials. Turkish Cypriots and members of the communist party were initially considered bystanders and asked to refrain from interference. However, following the Istanbul pogrom of September 1955, in which the Turkish Army’s Tactical Mobilisation Group organized attacks on Istanbul’s Greek minority, EOKA began to target Turkish Cypriots as well as British colonialists. This marked a major turning point in the conflict, as pro-*enosis* Greek Cypriot animosity was no longer directed solely at Great Britain, but at the island’s second-largest ethnic group, as well. Because Turkish Cypriots were perceived to benefit from colonial rule in ways that Greek Cypriots did not, and because Turkish Cypriots feared a loss of political representation and social freedom should *enosis* occur, radical groups began to target rival ethnoreligious groups as well as British colonialists. In Nicosia, “curfews and barbed wire, sirens, murders and arrests became part of daily life. The city’s long commercial zone, Ledra Street, became known as ‘Murder Mile.’”⁸⁸ “The Cyprus Problem” was now internationally referred to as “the Cyprus Emergency.”

Several attempts to reach a resolution were made over the course of the four-year revolution. Greece and Turkey were as involved in these conversations as Britain and Cyprus; in fact, the two countries were initially more involved in discussions of Cyprus’s future than the island itself, as the first conference held by British authorities did not

⁸⁷ Oliver P. Richmond and James Ker-Lindsay, eds., *The Work of the UN in Cyprus: Promoting Peace and Development* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 45.

⁸⁸ “The struggle for independence: 1955-1959,” *Nicosia Municipality*, accessed April 11, 2018, <http://www.nicosia.org.cy/en-GB/municipality/history/nicosia/1955-59/>.

invite any Cypriot representation at all. This served to deepen aversions between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, who were by now far more loyal to their ethnic homelands than their island community.

As proposal after proposal was met with opposition and impasse, political leaders began to discuss the idea of an independent Republic of Cyprus—not *enosis* or self-determination, as EOKA desired, and not *taksim*, as was advocated by Turkey and TMT. Initial conversations in Zurich between the foreign ministers of Greece and Turkey led to a meeting in London between Greek, Turkish, Greek Cypriot, Turkish Cypriot, and British representatives. The resulting treaties, collectively known as the Zurich-London Agreements, represented a political compromise which satisfied none of their stakeholders' original goals.

According to these agreements, the United Kingdom's influence was reduced to two small military bases totaling ninety-nine square miles, and the rest of the island would emerge as a new, independent country, the Republic of Cyprus. The Greek Cypriot majority was favored in the new constitution, but the Turkish Cypriot minority was assured some extent of political representation: while the Head of State would be a Greek Cypriot, the second-in-command would be a Turkish Cypriot with veto power. Additionally, the constitution established a ten-member Council of Ministers and a fifty-member House of Representatives, each with a fixed seven-to-three ratio of Greek Cypriots to Turkish Cypriots.⁸⁹ Each ethnic community was to elect their representatives independently and on the basis of universal suffrage: thus, Turkish Cypriots voted only for positions apportioned to Turkish Cypriots, and Greek Cypriots voted only for positions allocated to Greek Cypriots. In this way, ethnic division perpetuated, and Turkish Cypriots were still politically overshadowed by the Greek Cypriot majority. Additionally, future Greek Cypriot attempts at *enosis* with the Kingdom of Greece were constitutionally forbidden, and in the event that an independent Cyprus attempted either *enosis* or *taksim*, an international treaty held that the United Kingdom, Greece, and Turkey would collectively decide the island's fate. Neither Great Britain, nor the Greek Cypriot majority, nor the Turkish Cypriot community, nor either invested international

⁸⁹ This stands in contrast to the ratio of nine Greek Cypriots to three Turkish Cypriots allowed in the Legislative Council that had been established under British rule.

power was satisfied with the results of the Zurich-London Agreements. The Republic of Cyprus seemed destined to collapse from the start.⁹⁰

THE INDEPENDENT REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS

On December 1959, Archbishop Makarios III and Dr. Fazil Küçük were elected the first President and Vice President, respectively, of the new Republic of Cyprus.⁹¹ The constitution of the Republic of Cyprus became effective on August 16th, 1960, and for the first time in nearly five centuries, the island was free to establish its own government.⁹² At the Presidential Palace in Nicosia, the Union Jack was lowered for the last time and the flag of Cyprus—the shape of the island in golden-yellow, with two olive branches on a field of white⁹³—was raised instead [Figure 3.9].



Figure 3.9 The Flag of the Republic of Cyprus (unchanged since 1960). Source: *Flag of Cyprus*, 2014, Wikimedia Commons.

⁹⁰ David Hunt, “Independence and Invasion,” in *Footprints in Cyprus: An Illustrated History*, ed. Sir David Hunt (London: Trigraph Limited, 1990), 280.

⁹¹ Archbishop Makarios is often referred to as “the Ethnarch,” in reference to his dual secular and religious leadership of the island’s Greek Cypriot population, nearly all of whom were also congregants of the Church of Cyprus, an autocephalous member of the Eastern Orthodox Church.

⁹² Rule by the ethnic majority (Greek Cypriots) ended when Richard the Lionheart took the island from Isaac Comnenus, the last Byzantine ruler of Cyprus, in 1191. The Lusignan-ruled “Independent Kingdom of Cyprus” ended with Catherine Cornaro’s deposition in 1489. Cyprus was then ruled by foreign powers from 1489 through 1959.

⁹³ “The Cyprus Flag,” *Presidency of the Republic of Cyprus*, accessed February 13, 2018, http://www.presidency.gov.cy/presidency/presidency.nsf/prc24_en/prc24_en?OpenDocument; Stefanos Evripidou, “Cyprus Flag Designer Dies,” *CyprusMail Online*, June 25, 2009, https://web.archive.org/web/20090626104444/http://www.cyprus-mail.com/news/main.php?id=46404&cat_id=1. The flag of the Republic of Cyprus is based on a proposal by İsmet Güney, a Turkish Cypriot cartoonist and art teacher. It was the first flag in the world to display a map on its flag. In an effort to promote the idea of unity between the island’s major ethnic and religious groups, the constitution of the Republic of Cyprus provides for a “flag of neutral design and color,” effectively restricting the flag from including red or blue (the primary colors of the Turkish and Greek flags) or the images of a cross or crescent (common Christian and Islamic symbols, respectively).

Despite this outward message of peace, the entire structure of the young republic's government was, by design, intensely divided. According to the Cypriot constitution, every branch of government was bifurcated on ethnic grounds, so that neither of the island's two major ethnoreligious groups felt adequately served. Although intended to ensure a fair representation of the Turkish Cypriot minority, this scheme also perpetuated the entrenched animosities between the two ethnoreligious communities.⁹⁴ This political division was echoed in other levels of government, as even the Cypriot civil services and military were divided into a ratio of three Turkish Cypriots to every seven Greek Cypriots.⁹⁵ The nation's five major townships, including Nicosia, were to have dual, ethnically-segregated municipal governments; although not a physical division of the capital city, this political separation further entrenched the ethnic quarters that had developed under the Ottomans,⁹⁶ and it foreshadows the barricades that would appear in a few short years.⁹⁷ The Greek and Turkish military contingents that had established themselves on the island during the Cyprus Emergency had not left, and in 1961 and 1962, underground arms of both EOKA and TMT began operating again, smuggling weapons from the mainland and preparing for guerilla war. Greek Cypriot aspirations of *enosis* had not died with the birth of the Republic, and Turkish Cypriot fears of mistreatment had not been assuaged.

NICOSIA DIVIDED: THE GREEN LINE

The bifurcated government of the Republic of Cyprus was inefficient and fraught with tension. President Makarios III and Vice President Küçük struggled to control their

⁹⁴ Hunt, "Independence and Invasion," 281.

⁹⁵ This ratio was set at 70:30 Greek Cypriots to Turkish Cypriots in the civil services and 60:40 Greek Cypriots to Turkish Cypriots in the military. The demographic proportion of Greek Cypriots to Turkish Cypriots was, at the time, 81:19.

⁹⁶ Calame et al., *Divided Cities*, 125.

⁹⁷ Christalla Yakinthou, *Political Settlements in Divided Societies: Consociationalism and Cyprus* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 62. The five towns which were constitutionally divided into separate Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot municipalities were Nicosia, Limassol, Famagusta, Paphos, and Kyrenia. These places were loosely divided into Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot living quarters under Ottoman rule, and these divisions had solidified under the social policies of British rule (segregated educational systems, bifurcated representation in the colonial government, etc.).

young nation's internal affairs,⁹⁸ by 1963, the national government had failed to agree on financial measures that would allow the Cypriot government to collect income tax or customs dues. Three years into nationhood, the constitution of the Republic of Cyprus seemed to have broken down entirely.⁹⁹

In late November 1963, President Makarios III presented Vice President Küçük with a proposal for thirteen amendments to the Cypriot constitution. Intended by the President “to resolve constitutional deadlocks,” these amendments favored greater integration between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots and political representation based on proportionate populations.¹⁰⁰ Politically charged sources variously describe these as “amendments not involving any radical changes but designed rather to remove some of the more obvious causes of friction,”¹⁰¹ and “an attempt to liquidate the Turkish Cypriot voice in Cypriot legislative processes.”¹⁰²

The Turkish government in Ankara forcefully denounced Makarios's proposal on December 16th, 1963, before any reply had been made by Vice President Küçük. Tensions between the Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots were strained to breaking point, and on December 21, 1963, fights broke out in Nicosia along the central east-west axis of the city, the border of the Turkish and Greek quarters established under the Ottomans. Two Turkish Cypriots were killed and five were wounded in what the Turkish Cypriot community would remember as “the bloody Christmas massacre.”¹⁰³ Retaliatory

⁹⁸ For example, in October of 1961, Küçük used his constitutional veto power to prevent the development of an integrated army, which Makarios had supported.

⁹⁹ Hunt, “Independence and Invasion,” 284.

¹⁰⁰ Among other things, these amendments proposed to abolish the President's and Vice President's veto power; elect the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot heads of the House of Representatives by a vote of the general assembly, rather than in separate elections by each ethnoreligious contingent; excise the portion of the Constitution requiring the Greek Cypriot judges to try Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriot judges to try Turkish Cypriots; and replace divided municipalities by a single municipality with seats awarded based on a predetermined ratio of Greek Cypriots to Turkish Cypriots.

¹⁰¹ *The Cyprus Problem: Historical review and the latest developments* (Nicosia, Cyprus: Republic of Cyprus Press and Information Office, 1993), 8.

¹⁰² Douglas Reynolds, *Turkey, Greece, and the “Borders of Europe* (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2013), 91.

¹⁰³ H. D. Purcell, *Cyprus* (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1969), 324; Vamik D. Volkan, *Cyprus—war and adaptation* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1979), 18.

violence erupted across the island, with both EOKA and TMT resurfacing to take part. Radical groups took hostages and brought charges of atrocities against each other. Central Nicosia had become a battleground, and Turkish Cypriot ministers and members of the House of Representatives were unable to cross into the Greek quarter, where their meetings were held. Physically unable to take part in government processes, Vice President Küçük and the other Turkish Cypriot officials formally ceased participation in the Republic of Cyprus's government.

On Christmas Day, 1963, both sides agreed to a cease-fire presided over by British troops from the Sovereign Base Areas. This agreement was formalized on the 26th, and by 4 a.m. on December 29th, Nicosia's demilitarized buffer zone was formally established. The capital was bisected from east to west, along what had previously been the commercial thoroughfare joining the city's Greek and Turkish quarters. The final orientation of the buffer was drawn on a map in a green grease pencil, earning the division its monikers, "the Green Line" and "chinagraph frontier." The buffer was guarded first by the British army stationed in Cyprus and later by the United Nations Forces in Cyprus (UNFICYP), which was established in late March of 1964. UNFICYP forces were initially ordered to serve for three months, a directive which has been renewed to the sum of 54 years and counting. Meant only to halt hostilities and allow time for a permanent settlement between the two communities, the Green Line's creators could not have anticipated the intransigence of the barrier they established.¹⁰⁴

ESCALATION

While the ceasefire and subsequent presence of UNFICYP forces reduced the frequency and intensity of intercommunal violence, prospects of a lasting resolution—let alone ethnic integration and peaceful bicomunalism—seemed remote. Tens of thousands of Cypriots became refugees within their own country as throughout the nation, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots deserted their homes in rural areas or mixed villages to seek safety among larger enclaves of their own ethnoreligious groups. In Nicosia and other major urban centers, the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot

¹⁰⁴ Calame et al., *Divided Cities*, 133.

communities had been loosely divided into distinct ethnic quarters, but these had never been singularly monoethnic in nature. In the months and years following the establishment of the Green Line, however, what little residential integration there had been was dissolved. Greek Cypriots living north of the Green Line fled south, and Turkish Cypriots in the south moved northward. The urgency was such that people often abandoned their houses and left behind many of their possessions [Figure 3.10].¹⁰⁵ In Nicosia and across the island, the urban fabric suffered from absolute neglect.



Figure 3.10 The kitchen of an abandoned cafe within the United Nations Buffer Zone, Nicosia. Source: Alan Taylor, “Frozen in Time,” *The Atlantic*, April 10, 2014, <https://www.theatlantic.com/photo/2014/04/frozen-in-time-the-cyprus-buffer-zone/100714/>.

Over the next several years, both sides strengthened their military capacity by building local forces and quietly receiving troop reinforcements from Greece and Turkey,

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

who each laid an ethnic and ideological claim to the island.¹⁰⁶ In response, foreign diplomats clamored to resolve, or at the very least diffuse, the Cyprus Problem wracking the eastern Mediterranean; all proposed solutions were rejected by President Makarios, who had come to reject the concept of *enosis* and was now determined to maintain the independence of the Republic of Cyprus.¹⁰⁷

Aggressions flared periodically over the next decade, and Nicosia's division grew increasingly entrenched. Nationwide, radical groups and extremist newspapers proliferated, including three pro-*enosis* journals. However, the political situation changed little.¹⁰⁸ Then, in 1974, after ten years of squabbles and stagnation, events escalated quickly. On July 15th, the military junta government ruling Athens engineered a coup d'état against President Makarios: the Cyprus National Guard, commanded by Greek officers, stormed the Presidential Palace and attempted to assassinate him. Makarios narrowly escaped to the west coast of the island, where he made a radio broadcast announcing his safety and affirming his position as head of government.¹⁰⁹ However, the conspirators were undeterred and proclaimed Nikos Sampson, a fanatical advocate of *enosis* and an EOKA veteran, president in his place. The ascension of Sampson, who was known to Turkish Cypriots as the "Butcher of Omorphita" for his involvement in a savage attack on a Turkish Cypriot suburb of Nicosia,¹¹⁰ radically escalated

¹⁰⁶ Nasuh Uslu, *The Cyprus Question as an Issue of Turkish Foreign Policy and Turkish-American Relations 1959-2003* (New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2003), 25. Turkey also began preparations for a military invasion, which was called off (or at least delayed) by a harshly-worded letter from American President Lyndon B. Johnson to Turkish Prime Minister Ismet İnönü in 1964. The United States' predominant concern with the Cyprus Problem was its proximity to the Soviet Union. U.S. leaders did not wish to allow any opportunity for anti-Western propaganda and instead hoped that the issue would be resolved between the three NATO members. However, as Turkish intervention seemed more and more likely, the U.S. was obligated to intervene lest a war break out between two NATO allies.

¹⁰⁷ "The Acheson Plan (1967)," in *The Cyprus Issue: A Documentary History, 1878-2006*, ed. Murat Metin Hakki (London: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 2007), 131. The London Conference of 1964 recommended the creation of a NATO peacekeeping force to mollify the island, but this was rejected outright by President Makarios. A few months later, U.S. Secretary of State Dean Acheson called for an *enosis* compromise, allowing the greater part of the island to unite with Greece while ceding a military base to Turkey and up to three residential areas to Turkish Cypriots, who would administer these sites independently. President Makarios again rejected the proposal.

¹⁰⁸ Hunt, "Independence and Invasion," 287.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

intercommunal violence across the island, with the bloodiest conflict concentrated in Nicosia. Turkey rapidly assembled a military response and, asserting that martial action was justified under the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee, invaded Cyprus with 35,000 troops on July 20th, 1974.¹¹¹

The Sampson regime collapsed almost immediately, with the military junta in Greece following suit days after the Turkish invasion commenced.¹¹² Within a month, Turkish forces had seized thirty-four percent of Cyprus by area, an expanse comprising up to seventy percent of its economic potential.¹¹³ More than a quarter of a million Cypriots—about one-third of the island’s population—made a perilous trip across the island in the weeks following the coup and invasion: approximately 200,000 Greek Cypriots were driven south, while 65,000 Turkish Cypriots fled northward in “the last push in a massive campaign of internal displacement resulting in near-perfect ethnic homogeneity of northern and southern sectors of the island.”¹¹⁴ Property, infrastructure, cultural monuments, and thousands of lives were destroyed.

FORMALIZATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS BUFFER ZONE

At an emergency conference between representatives of Cyprus, Greece, Turkey, and the United Kingdom on August 10th, 1974, Greek Cypriot representatives proposed a

¹¹⁰ Andreas Constandinos, *America, Britain and the Cyprus Crisis of 1974* (Milton Keynes: AuthorHouse, 2009), 193.

¹¹¹ Charles Demetriou, “Political Contention and the Reconstruction of Greek Identity in Cyprus, 1960-2003,” in *After Civil War: Division, Reconstruction, and Reconciliation in Contemporary Europe*, ed. Bill Kissane (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 135.

¹¹² Hunt, “Independence and Invasion,” 289. Glafcos Clerides, the Greek Cypriot politician constitutionally authorized to act in the President’s absence, was sworn in as acting president of the Republic of Cyprus while Makarios III went to the UN to rally international aid.

¹¹³ Calame et al., *Divided Cities*, 135; *The Cyprus Problem: Historical review and the latest developments*, 15.

¹¹⁴ Calame et al., *Divided Cities*, 135; Norwegian Refugee Council/Global IDP Project, *Profile of Internal Displacement: Cyprus; Compilation of the information available in the Global IDP Database of the Norwegian Refugee Council (as of 27 April, 2005)* (Geneva: Global IDP Project, 2005), 67; Kerry Kolasa-Sikiaridi, “Cyprus Continues Searching for over 1,000 Missing Persons from 1974 Invasion,” *Greek Reporter*, February 19, 2017, <http://greece.greekreporter.com/2017/02/19/cyprus-continues-searching-for-over-1000-missing-persons-from-1974-invasion-video/>. 1,508 Greek Cypriots and 493 Turkish Cypriots were reported missing after the events of the bloody decade spanning 1963 through 1974; as of early 2017, the remains of only about one-third of these missing persons have been located and identified.

bi-zonal federation with Turkish Cypriots controlling the thirty-four percent of the island they had seized through initial military intervention. The Turkish Cypriot delegates rejected the proposal, and a second phase of Turkish invasion commenced on August 14th. On August 16th, 1974, having seized a total of thirty-seven percent of the island's area, Tukey called a ceasefire. The division between the Turkish-occupied north and the southern area retained by the Republic of Cyprus generally follows the original course of the buffer established in 1964 by UN Peacekeepers.¹¹⁵ In the north, it gained the moniker "the Attila Line" after the Turkish code-name for the military invasion, Operation Attila. This thesis will refer to the demilitarized zone by its nonpartisan appellations: the United Nations Buffer Zone, the Green Line, or simply "the buffer zone."

While intercommunal violence has all but ceased since the mid-1990s,¹¹⁶ more than one thousand UNFICYP troops continue to patrol the buffer.¹¹⁷ The southeastern two-thirds of the island continues to operate as the Republic of Cyprus, administered under the Constitution of 1960, while the northeastern third remained dependent on Turkey until 1983, when Turkish Cypriots created the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, or TRNC. As of 2018, only Turkey has recognized the TRNC as a legitimate country. Nicosia remains bifurcated by the narrowest section of the Green Line, a bullet-ridden dead zone which has rendered the city "The Last Divided Capital City of Europe."¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ Calame et al., *Divided Cities*, 135.

¹¹⁶ Staff Writer, "Rally in Cyprus Turns Violent," *The New York Times*, August 12, 1996, <http://www.nytimes.com/1996/08/12/world/rally-in-cyprus-turns-violent.html>; "United Nations Report: The Demonstrations of 11 August 1996," *Hellenic Resources Network*, accessed February 19, 2018, <http://www.hri.org/MFA/foreign/cyprus/UN2.htm>. In August of 1996, several thousand Greek Cypriot motorcyclists planned a protest against Turkish occupation of northern Cyprus. The protest was staged along the buffer zone and turned violent when approximately 250 protestors broke through Turkish barricades near a small village southeast of Nicosia. One biker was beaten to death by Turkish Cypriots; 54 Greek Cypriots, 17 Turkish Cypriots, and 12 UNFICYP personnel were reportedly injured. This is the last major, publicized ethnically-charged altercation to occur in Cyprus as of spring 2018.

¹¹⁷ "UNFICYP Fact Sheet," *United Nations Peacekeeping*, accessed April 13, 2018, <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/mission/unficy>. As of February 2018, 1,163 UNFICYP personnel are deployed to the UN Buffer Zone in Cyprus.

¹¹⁸ Nicosia Municipality, the sector of the capital under control of the Republic of Cyprus, has adopted this title as their city's official tag. See the Nicosia Municipality webpage at www.nicosia.org.cy (accessed December 12, 2018).

CONCLUSION

The complicated, often violent history of Cyprus reveals the extent to which ethnoreligious divisions have come to define the island and the structure of its urban spaces. Millennia of foreign occupation, a consequence of the island's important defensive position and wealth of natural resources, produced a diverse population, a unique culture, and a history that is reflected in the architectural record of cities like Nicosia. However, foreign rule also served to emphasize the differences between the island's two major ethnic groups, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots; the British Empire in particular exploited this distinction and engendered animosity between the two communities. This acrimony came to divide the country, destroying lives as well as infrastructure.¹¹⁹

In Nicosia, where infighting was most intense, the United Nations Buffer Zone still looms large (both literally and figuratively) in urban life. Astoundingly, the city continues to function around the division, albeit under separate leadership and through mediated discussion. By far the greatest, most audacious effort for cooperative management of the ancient capital has been the Nicosia Master Plan, a bicomunal planning effort initiated in 1979.¹²⁰ Preservation of Nicosia's historic resources, the tangible remnants of multiple rulers, was a key element of this master plan, the development and key objectives of which will be detailed in Chapter IV.

¹¹⁹ A. J. Christopher, "Urban Segregation Levels in the British Overseas Empire and Its Successors in the Twentieth Century," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 17, no. 1 (1992): 95-107.

¹²⁰ United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, *Nicosia Master Plan: A Landmark for Future Cyprus* (Nairobi, Kenya: United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat), 1988).

CHAPTER IV

THE NICOSIA MASTER PLAN

Cyprus's complicated past illuminates the political and social forces—those intrinsic to Cyprus as well as those actively exerted by foreign powers—that led to the creation of the United Nations Buffer Zone in 1974 and which have proven so intractable as to allow the island to remain divided for more than forty years. The oldest and narrowest section of the buffer zone runs through Nicosia, the capital of Cyprus and the geographical focus of this thesis, and it continues to shape the effects of political division.

Despite the material partition and patent animosity dividing Nicosia, the north and south municipalities have peacefully and productively collaborated to ensure a better future for the city they comprise. The Nicosia Master Plan (NMP), a radical joint-planning effort initiated in 1979, has been the defining document of this unlikely partnership. As both a project objective and mechanism for revitalization, the rehabilitation of Nicosia's architectural heritage is a key feature of the master plan.

This chapter will describe the development of the NMP and detail the plan's overarching goals. The physical restoration and rehabilitation of Nicosia's historic architecture were key objectives of the NMP, and preservation strategies were frequently employed to meet other distinct project goals (e.g., encouraging resettlement of the central city, spurring local economic growth, etc.).¹²¹ To follow in Chapter V, two case studies will provide insight into the role of historic preservation within area project implementation.

THE BUFFER ZONE IN NICOSIA

The United Nations Buffer Zone dividing Cyprus stretches 112 miles across the island, measuring 4.6 miles at its widest and only 11 feet at its narrowest. Within the Walled City, the ancient epicenter of Nicosia proper, the buffer is slightly under a mile long and cuts through nine of the city's twenty-three traditional neighborhoods [Figure

¹²¹ This chapter will rely heavily on documentation released by the Nicosia Master Plan Office and its primary project sponsors, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat) (UNCHS). See subsequent notes for specific source material.

4.1].¹²² Formalized by the enduring ceasefire of 1974, the buffer has now divided Nicosia into two political, ethnic, and religious entities for more than half a century. The southern portion of the capital, which remains under control of the Republic of Cyprus, is the *Λευκωσία* or Nicosia Municipality; the northern portion, which has been claimed by the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, is the *Lefkoşa* or Nicosia Turkish North Municipality.

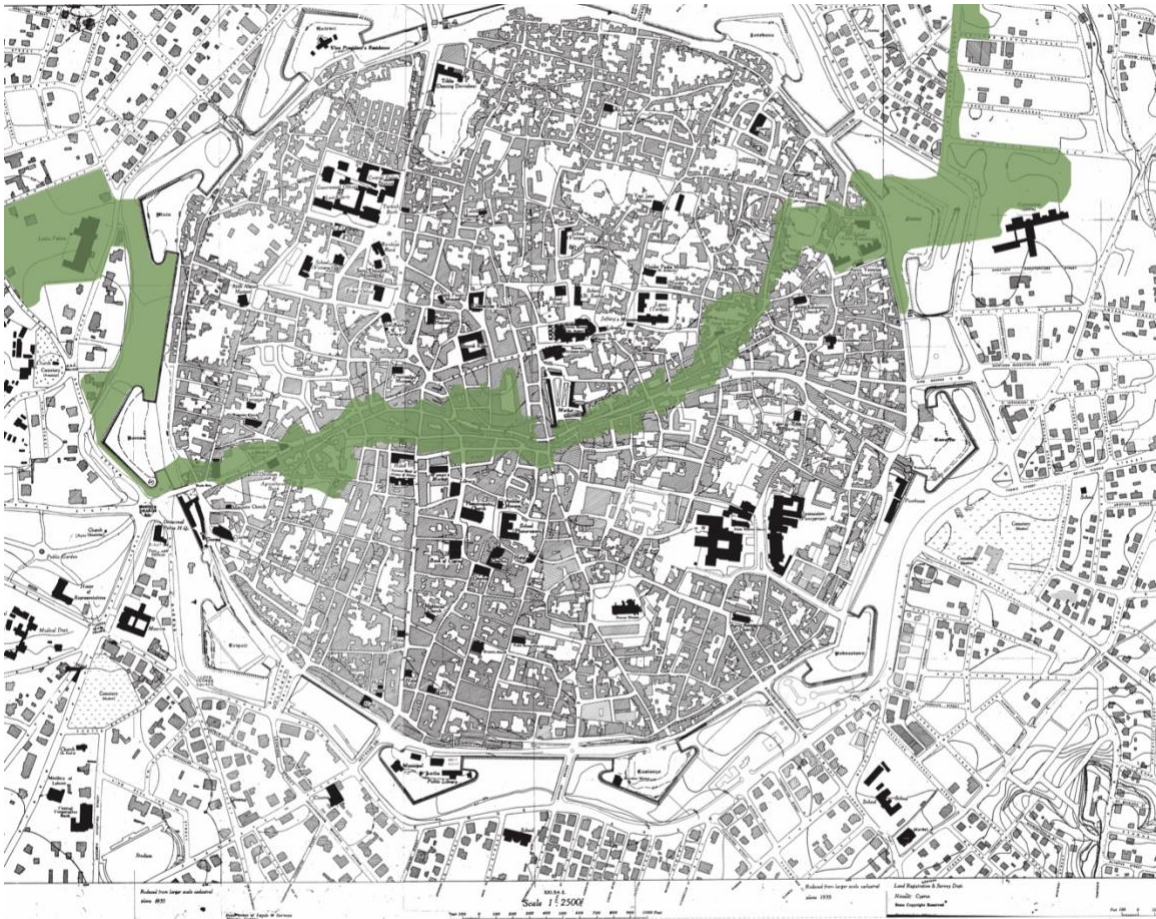


Figure 4.1 Detail map of Walled Nicosia, the historic heart of the modern capital, with the United Nations Buffer Zone depicted in green. Image courtesy of the Nicosia Master Plan Office, with markup by author.

¹²² *Survey of the Buildings along the Buffer Zone in Nicosia* [leaflet] (Bi-communal Development Programme, 2003). The buffer zone divides the Paphos Gate (Porta Domenico), Karamanzade, Ayios Andreas, Nebet Khane, Phaneromeni, Selimiye (Ayia Sophia), Omeriye, Chrysaliniotissa, and Ayios Kassianos neighborhoods.

Approximately 10% of the total area of Walled Nicosia lies within the no-man's-land separating these two municipalities.¹²³ Civilian access to these areas has been restricted since the establishment of the first rudimentary barricades in 1963, leading modern residents to call the buffer “the dead zone.”¹²⁴ Concrete, brick, and metal walls, often topped with razor wire, now supplement the sandbag barriers and cement-filled barrels which were hastily erected in the early days of the conflict [Figure 4.2]. This patchwork blockade cuts across major thoroughfares and abuts numerous buildings. Within the buffer, a total of 238 buildings and structures have been inaccessible for decades; to this day, they remain devoid of human inhabitants, and their deterioration is largely unchecked. Trees grow through floorboards, and mudbrick walls crumble where they stand [Figures 4.3 and 4.4].¹²⁵

The existence of the United Nations Buffer Zone has also contributed to the degradation of the urban fabric surrounding this physical division. Continuing a pattern which had begun in the 1950s, inhabitants of the Walled City fled the ancient urban core for the suburbs, where the physical environment was comparatively free from reminders of bloody interethnic conflict.¹²⁶ Residences which had been continually occupied for two hundred years or more stood vacant or housed informal settlers.¹²⁷ Buildings along the barriers stood empty or took on industrial uses, functions wholly inappropriate for an area

¹²³ Elenē Petropoulou and Eirēnē Adam, *Leukōsia: hē agnōstē klēronomia kata mēkos tēs Nēkrēs Zōnēs* (Nicosia: *The Unknown Heritage along the Buffer Zone*) (Nicosia: Tmēma Poleodomas kai Oikēseōs, 2008), 15.

¹²⁴ Michael Theodoulou, “Tour of the Buffer Zone in Nicosia’s old town,” *CyprusMail Online*, December 29, 2016, accessed February 24, 2018, <http://cyprus-mail.com/2016/12/29/special-report-tour-buffer-zone-nicosias-old-town/>.

¹²⁵ Petropoulou *Nicosia: The Unknown Heritage along the Buffer Zone*, 27. The NMP Office did carry out a survey of the buildings within the buffer zone between 2001 and 2003, collecting information on the buildings’ conditions and creating a detailed catalog with architectural drawings. See Mohammed al-Asad’s *Rehabilitation of the Walled City: 2007 On-site Report for the Nicosia Master Plan Team and UNDP* and Elenē Petropoulou’s and Eirēnē Adam’s *Leukōsia: hē agnōstē klēronomia kata mēkos tēs Nēkrēs Zōnēs* (Nicosia: *The Unknown Heritage along the Buffer Zone*) for more information on these programs.

¹²⁶ Pinar Ulucay, Kagan Gunce, and Cemil Atakara, “Urban Transformation of a Divided Capital: The Case of Nicosia” (presentation, 8th International Conference of the Asian Planning Schools Association, Universiti Sains Malaysia, Penang, Malaysia, September 11-14, 2005), 9.

¹²⁷ Norwegian Refugee Council/Global IDP Project, *Profile of Internal Displacement: Cyprus; Compilation of the information available in the Global IDP Database of the Norwegian Refugee Council (as of 27 April 2005)* (Geneva: Global IDP Project, 2005), 31.



Figure 4.2 A stretch of the United Nations Buffer Zone barrier as it appears in Nicosia Municipality (Republic of Cyprus). Photograph by author, December 2017.



Figure 4.3 Looking into the United Nations Buffer Zone from Artemidos Street, Nicosia Municipality (Republic of Cyprus). The building on the right is within the buffer zone and has not been accessible to the public since at least 1974. The small shed near the center of the image is for use by the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus. Photograph by author, June 2015.



Figure 4.4 The interior of a building which lies partially in the United Nations Buffer Zone. The rear entry, through which this photograph was taken, is located in Nicosia Municipality (Republic of Cyprus). Photograph by author, June 2015.

which had traditionally been the commercial and residential heart of Nicosia.¹²⁸ As fewer and fewer permanent residents remained to operate local businesses and maintain the urban infrastructure, these changes served to accelerate physical decay, decreased economic vitality, and environmental deterioration throughout the Walled City.

EARLY BICOMMUNAL NEGOTIATIONS

Faced with the realities of a partitioned capital, Nicosia's bifurcated administration cautiously resumed communication in the late 1970s. Led by Lellos Demetriades, the Greek Cypriot mayor of Nicosia Municipality, and Mustafa Akıncı, the Turkish Cypriot mayor of Nicosia Turkish Municipality, city officials first collaborated in 1978 over implementation of the Nicosia Sanitary Sewage System.¹²⁹ The capital's first central sewage system, which was intended to serve the entire city, had been under construction when the island was divided in 1974. Although the Greek Cypriot municipality had been responsible for planning and funding the operation at the time, the agreements of the ceasefire left much of the main sewage line and the treatment plant under jurisdiction of the Turks and Turkish Cypriots. Four years after division, under the auspices of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the World Bank, municipal officials came to an agreement to complete the work as planned.¹³⁰ These first negotiations laid an amenable foundation for more intensive bicommunal planning in the months and years ahead.

Following the successful negotiation of the Nicosia Sanitary Sewage System, Mayor Demetriades and Mayor Akıncı lobbied for continued and intensified collaborations. More than any NGO assistance, it seems to be the dedication and cooperation of these two men that markedly facilitated the development of Nicosia's

¹²⁸ Derya Oktay, "An Analysis and Review of the Divided City of Nicosia, Cyprus, and New Perspectives," *Geography* 92, no. 3 (Autumn 2007): 235.

¹²⁹ Hazem Abu-Orf, "Collaborative Planning in Practice: The Nicosia Master Plan," *Planning, Practice & Research* 20, no. 1 (February 2005): 46.

¹³⁰ "Brief Description of the Nicosia Central Sewerage System," *Sewerage Board of Nicosia*, accessed February 25, 2018, <http://www.sbn.org.cy/cgi-bin/hweb?-A=30&-V=about>; Marvine Howe, "2 Mayors Ease Rift in Divided Cyprus," *The New York Times*, March 14, 1982, accessed February 25, 2018, <http://www.nytimes.com/1982/03/14/world/2-mayors-ease-rift-in-divided-cyprus.html>.

bicommunal master plan. In a 2015 interview, Demetriades reflects on the beginning of their unexpected political and personal relationship: “It was 1976 and nobody talked to each other. But we both took the risk and one day Mustafa crossed the line in a UN car, and came to my house for dinner . . . The moment I met him I knew I could work with the man.” Both political moderates, the two men’s commitment to their communities and gracious familiarity with each other supported the development and implementation of unprecedented collaborative planning efforts.¹³¹

The mayors’ vision was realized against the backdrop of the Ledra Palace Hotel, itself a stark reminder of the tangible and intangible impacts of the Cypriot crisis [Figure 4.5]. This 200-room luxury hotel was one of the largest and most glamorous in the capital, but following the durable ceasefire of 1974, the building fell within the boundaries of the buffer zone. Still pockmarked by bullet holes and mortar craters, with a razor wire fence wrapping its perimeter, the hotel has since served as a UNFICYP headquarters and the site of many bicommunal activities and negotiations. With the support of the UNDP, representatives of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities began to hold regular meetings at the Ledra Palace Hotel as early as 1979, and it was here that the Nicosia Master Plan was created.¹³²

The work sessions and “consultative meetings”¹³³ which produced the NMP began at the hotel on October 24, 1979, about a year after the success of the city’s joint sewer effort. The two communities agreed that “there should be close cooperation between the two sides for the purpose of examining and finally reaching conclusions for a Master Plan of Nicosia.”¹³⁴ An initial project document was put forth by the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS) in late 1979 and signed by all parties in March of 1980. Over the next five years, members of the NMP team regularly convened

¹³¹ Agnieszka Rakoczy, “Committed and trustworthy politician,” *CyprusMail Online*, April 26, 2015, accessed February 25, 2018, <http://cyprus-mail.com/2015/04/26/committed-and-trustworthy-politician/>.

¹³² Abu-Orf, “Collaborative Urban Planning in Practice: The Nicosia Master Plan,” 46.

¹³³ United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, *Nicosia Master Plan: A Landmark for Future Cyprus* (Nairobi, Kenya: United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat), 1988), 3.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*



Figure 4.5 The Ledra Palace Hotel. Source: Marie Louise Sorensen, *Ledra Palace Hotel, Nicosia* [digital image], 2010, Cambridge University Digital Collections.

at the Ledra Palace Hotel to develop plans and policy instruments for the revitalization of their divided city.¹³⁵

Four key dimensions characterized the Ledra Palace discussions: first, meetings were informal and unrecorded, although manual note-taking was permitted. Second, all attendees were detached from their political and institutional ties upon entering deliberations. Architects, planners, and economists were recognized in their professional capacity rather than with regard to their ethnic and political affiliations. Third, participants discussed only practical and technical planning issues. By focusing on Nicosia’s practical challenges, members of the north and south municipalities were able to distance themselves from the political framework and tensions that defined their situation. This practical neutrality is, perhaps, the most significant factor in the NMP drafting process.¹³⁶

The fourth factor framing NMP discussions was the presence of the International Consultative Panels. Comprised of international professionals with experience in

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Abu-Orf, “Collaborative Urban Planning in Practice: The Nicosia Master Plan,” 46.

planning and economic development, these panels were intended to augment Cypriot resources and bring broader expertise to the complex problems facing the divided capital. Two separate panels were appointed by the UNCHS in 1981 and 1982, and these regularly reviewed the progress achieved in the preparation of the plan.¹³⁷ Working in conjunction with these consultative panels, Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot city planners were able to draft a sophisticated master plan for Nicosia as a singular entity.

A PHASED APPROACH TO DEVELOPMENT

The developmental stage of the NMP may be divided into three phases, each of which has been sponsored by the UNDP and UNCHS. The first phase, spanning 1981 to 1984, involved drafting an overall concept for the growth pattern of Greater Nicosia up to the year 2000. The uncertainty of continued division was a major obstacle, exacerbated by the fact that the scope and ambitions of the NMP are largely without precedent. The physical partition of a city is considered an unsustainable living situation, and a political settlement and physical reintegration is considered a prerequisite before revitalization and cooperative development may occur.¹³⁸ In Nicosia, however, those charged with creating the NMP balanced a hope for reunification with a pragmatic regard for the situation at hand. Accordingly, the plan produced in Phase 1 considered two Nicosias, one with and one without an impenetrable buffer zone. This plan for Greater Nicosia addressed the needs of the divided city as it existed in the early 1980s, yet it was flexible enough to meet potential demands (and opportunities) created by favorable political developments.¹³⁹ Primary concerns included accommodating a growing population, encouraging business, and managing increased motorized traffic. These efforts were intended to produce a future Nicosia that was productive as well as peaceful.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ Ibid.; UNCHS, *Nicosia Master Plan: A Landmark for Future Cyprus*, 3.

¹³⁸ Scott A. Bollens, "City and Soul: Sarajevo, Johannesburg, Jerusalem, Nicosia," *City* 5, no. 2 (2001), 169-70; Zinovia Foka, "Shared Space in Conflict Areas: Exploring the Case of Nicosia's Buffer Zone," *ATNIER's Conference Paper Series* (Athens: Athens Institute for Education and Research, 2014), 3.

¹³⁹ United Nations Development Programme, Division of Information, *Restoring the Heart of Nicosia* (Nicosia, Cyprus: UNDP, 1987), 10.

¹⁴⁰ *Summary Project Fiche: Rehabilitation of Nicosia – Phase 2* (Nicosia, Cyprus: Nicosia Master Plan Office, 2001), 1.

The NMP's second phase, which occupied planners from 1984 to 1985, concentrated on crafting a more detailed operational plan for Central Nicosia, primarily the area within the walls. The single grand objective of Phase 2 was social and psychological: "to contribute to the development, increase and enhancement of an atmosphere of mutual confidence, trust and respect between the Greek Cypriot (GC) and Turkish Cypriot (TC) communities."¹⁴¹ In application, projects designed in Phase 2 were primarily concerned with housing and infrastructure. This phase included the development of an investment program for specific area projects to be implemented over a five- to ten-year period; although these timelines have been stretched due to budgetary and political constraints, many of the Phase 2 area projects were completed during Phase 3, the implementation stage of the NMP.¹⁴² To give a sense of how preservation strategies were instrumental to Phase 3 implementations, two completed area projects will be examined in greater detail in Chapter V.

HISTORIC PRESERVATION AND THE NICOSIA MASTER PLAN

Because Phases 2 and 3 of the NMP are more targeted and programmatic than Phase 1, specific, localized project goals—e.g., the economic revitalization of a particular neighborhood, repopulation of the central city, the creation of safe venues for cultural events, etc.—and the mechanisms proposed to accomplish these goals may be more easily isolated for study. Examination and synthesis of project documents reveal preservation's critical role in holistic revitalization schemes.

Phase 2 of NMP development produced fifteen individual project proposals, eight of which were slated for priority attention (see Appendix). To direct the implementation of such an ambitious and multifaceted program, the project team identified four "major interrelated plans of action" that would guide Phase 3, the implementation phase.¹⁴³ As detailed in a 1988 project monograph released by the UNCHS, these four principles are:

- (1) The restructuring of Central Nicosia to accommodate for the realities of physical division;

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² UNCHS, *Nicosia Master Plan: A Landmark for Future Cyprus*, 11.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

- (2) the rehabilitation of the Walled City;
- (3) improvements in transportation; and
- (4) improvements in landscaping, urban design, and public spaces.¹⁴⁴

While the third and fourth principles may be considered generic guidelines, the first and second are location-specific and emphasize the importance of projects affecting the historic city center. The project monograph goes on to add that “although all these plans are important for the future development of Nicosia, priority is placed on projects which will give the authorities opportunities to achieve direct impacts on the revitalization of the Walled City.”¹⁴⁵ This assertion demonstrates that NMP planners operated under the deliberate assumption that physical, functional, economic, and cultural revitalization of the historic city center was key to the overall development of Greater Nicosia.¹⁴⁶

In relation to the project team’s focus on Nicosia’s ancient core, almost all of the priority projects drafted in Phase 2 of NMP development reveal a particular concern for the retention and renovation of historic structures within the Walled City (see Appendix). In creating a plan to encourage and guide their city’s growth, Nicosia’s bicomunal planning team did not advance a plan dominated by new construction and modern, international architectural styles. This is somewhat surprising, considering the level of damage and deterioration that many ancient buildings along the buffer had sustained. Physical damage aside, the psychological associations of these spaces—battered buildings marking the epicenter of aggressions, many of them referential to Greek or Turkish culture in style or function—might also have given the project team pause. However, the replacement of these ancient structures, marred as they were by literal shrapnel and charged cultural associations, was a key feature of the finalized NMP.

Although none of the available documentation provides explicit rationale for preservation’s role in the NMP, the language used in project documents supports a positive attitude toward restoration and adaptive reuse. For example, a UN project summary released in 1987 describes the “outstanding value” of the architecture in the

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 13

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 11.

Walled City and the ways in which traditional neighborhoods “reflect historic Nicosia.” It also calls for projects “to preserve for coming generations a cultural and architectural legacy.”¹⁴⁷ The project language itself seems to indicate that the history embodied by Nicosia’s traditional buildings made them inherently valuable in the eyes of the project team.

Undoubtedly, the NMP’s advancement of preservation aims was not limited to ideological considerations. Again, while the project team’s reasoning is not laid bare in the few documents released to the public, the nature of projects advanced in Phases 2 and 3 allow for conjecture. For instance, the economics of renovating Nicosia’s historic buildings may have been a powerful consideration; most of these structures are constructed from inexpensive and locally-sourced materials like mud and straw brick, and rehabilitation may have been a more affordable option than replacement. Certain projects call for the construction of new, architecturally compatible cultural centers in historic neighborhoods and along the historic fortification walls; these may have had an eye toward promoting heritage tourism, preserving heritage handicrafts, and encouraging cultural celebrations in a city once consumed by war. Other projects focus on restoring historic dwellings, attracting families back to the city center, and creating community facilities in historically significant buildings. Although new construction might have sufficed, the project documents specifically call for restoration and rehabilitation.

In drafting the NMP, practical and financial concerns may have been the driving force behind the retention and reuse of historic buildings. Perhaps the aesthetic and psychological benefits of rehabilitating Nicosia’s irreplaceable architectural heritage were a strong consideration. Whatever the rationale, however, preservation’s vital role within the NMP indicates that restoration and adaptive reuse were not only objectives of individual NMP projects: they were also considered fundamental tools for the achievement of broader project goals. The holistic revitalization of the Walled City could not be realized without the revitalization of its ancient architecture, and thus preservation of Nicosia’s historic built environment was made integral to the Nicosia Master Plan.

¹⁴⁷ UNDP, *Restoring the Heart of Nicosia*, 16.

CHAPTER V

CASE STUDIES

Underlying the Nicosia Master Plan is the idea that close, technical cooperation between the city's separate municipalities can foster peace, trust, and understanding between the communities of north and south Nicosia.¹⁴⁸ The Plan's second phase of development produced eight priority planning projects, all of which are located in and around the Walled City and feature some element of preservation and rehabilitation of the historic urban fabric.¹⁴⁹ In promoting livability and the revitalization of the city center, Nicosia's bicomunal planning team chose to prioritize rehabilitation and reuse over new construction; where new facilities and infrastructure were necessary, these projects were largely made to be sympathetic to and compatible with the existing architecture. In the pages that follow, two of the NMP's priority projects for the Walled City will be examined in detail. Both have a strong preservation element, and together, these projects are representative of the NMP's intentions, scope, and implementation strategies.

JUSTIFICATION

The Chrysaliniotissa and Arabahmet Area Projects were two of the first projects to be implemented by the NMP team, and they were also two of the most costly and comprehensive schemes proposed by the bicomunal planning committee. Of the eight priority projects identified by the project document, Chrysaliniotissa and Arabahmet were chosen for closer examination in this chapter because of their multifaceted approach to urban regeneration, similar budgets and implementation timelines,¹⁵⁰ and comparable location, demographics, and state of decay.

Chrysaliniotissa and Arabahmet are two of Nicosia's oldest residential neighborhoods. Both are located in the historic Walled City, adjacent to the buffer zone

¹⁴⁸ United Nations Development Programme Division of Information, *Restoring the Heart of Nicosia* (Nicosia, Cyprus: United Nations Development Programme Division, 1987), 10.

¹⁴⁹ See Appendix for a list of priority projects within the Walled City, including a brief description of each.

¹⁵⁰ Alyssa Juday et al., "The Buffer Zone in Nicosia: Border or Bridge Space?" *Progressive Planning* no. 199 (Spring 2014): 17.

and comprising some of the most severely neglected areas of post-conflict Nicosia. In the years following the division, both neighborhoods presented a high proportion of low-income and elderly residents as well as a disproportionate number of single-person households as compared to Great Nicosia.¹⁵¹ Despite these similarities, however, each neighborhood is located in a different post-division sector of the city, allowing for a comparison of projects implemented in the Turkish-Cypriot north and the Greek-Cypriot south: Chrysaliniotissa is located in south Nicosia, in the Republic of Cyprus, near the eastern boundary of the Walled City, while Arabahmet lies to the north of the buffer zone in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. Projects within each area were implemented along similar timelines, beginning in 1985 in Arabahmet and 1987 in Chrysaliniotissa.¹⁵² Funding was provided by the municipalities, the United Nations Development Programme, and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) in the amount of \$20 million U.S. dollars.¹⁵³

In addition to the potential for bicommunal comparison, the Chrysaliniotissa and Arabahmet Area Projects are suitable case studies because their collective scope is representative of many NMP priority projects. Most of the master plan's proposed projects also emphasize some combination of architectural preservation, housing rehabilitation, upgrading community facilities, landscaping, and pedestrianization of the historic thoroughfares of the Walled City. The primary objective of both the Chrysaliniotissa and Arabahmet projects is the general revitalization of residential neighborhoods in the most historic and most significantly deteriorated parts of Nicosia; consequently, the area schemes for each are focused on creation of affordable housing

¹⁵¹ Agni Petridou, *Nicosia Master Plan: Perspectives for Urban Rehabilitation – Building Bridges between the Two Communities of the Divided City of Nicosia* (Nicosia: EU Partnership for the Future Programme, 2010), 3.

¹⁵² *Arabahmet* [leaflet] (Bi-communal Development Programme, 2003); *Chrysaliniotissa* [leaflet] (Bi-communal Development Programme, 2003).

¹⁵³ Ibid; UNDP Division of Information, *Restoring the Heart of Nicosia*, 16; Nicosia Master Plan Office, *Summary Project Fiche: Rehabilitation of Nicosia – Phase 2*, (Nicosia, Cyprus: Nicosia Master Plan Office, 2001), 3. The Chrysaliniotissa Area Project was estimated at \$4,000,000 USD and the Arabahmet Area Project was estimated at \$2,500,000 USD in the late 1980s, but a 2001 report released by the NMP team notes that both projects were ultimately funded to approximately \$10 million USD each. USAID funds for both projects were distributed through the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR).

units suitable for modern living, improved community facilities, and safely walkable streets. On both sides of the buffer zone, in residential neighborhoods with divergent ethnic and economic histories, implementation relied heavily on preservation strategies including rehabilitation, restoration, and adaptive reuse to revitalize residential character and attract inhabitants back to the Walled City. Together, then, the Chrysaliniotissa and Arabahmet Area Projects may provide a sufficiently thorough and inclusive look at the role of historic preservation within the NMP.

CHRYSALINIOTISSA AREA PROJECT

Chrysaliniotissa is an historic neighborhood situated at the eastern edge of Nicosia's walled city, within the portion of the city under jurisdiction of the Republic of Cyprus and Municipality of Nicosia [Figure 5.1]. Its traditional inhabitants were primarily of Greek origin, speaking Greek and holding strong bonds to the Orthodox Church of Cyprus.¹⁵⁴ The neighborhood is named for the church at its center, the Panagia Chrysaliniotissa Church, which is dedicated to Our Lady of the Golden Flax and said to be the oldest Byzantine church in the capital city [Figure 5.2].¹⁵⁵ At one time, Muslim Cypriots of Turkish origin shared this neighborhood with their Christian neighbors, as evidenced by the Taht-el-Kale Mosque and Koran School near the neighborhood's southern boundary. The 1946 national census indicates that two decades before the first barriers were erected, Chrysaliniotissa was home to 865 Greek Cypriots and 29 Turkish Cypriots. The Tahtakale neighborhood, which borders Chrysaliniotissa to the north and now lies on the opposite side of the buffer zone, was more highly integrated, comprising 902 Greek Cypriots and 518 Turkish Cypriots. The Taht-el-Kale Mosque in Chrysaliniotissa served Tahtakale's Turkish Cypriot Muslim residents, indicating frequent social integration between the two ethnoreligious communities.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴ This is one of several autocephalous churches within the communion of the Eastern Orthodox Church.

¹⁵⁵ Nicosia Master Plan Office, *Walled Nicosia: A Guide to Its Historical and Cultural Sites* (Nicosia, Cyprus: Nicosia Master Plan, n.d.), 22. The church was built in 1735 on the spot where Eleni Palaiologou, the wife of one of Cyprus's Lusignan kings, had founded an earlier church in the mid-15th century.

¹⁵⁶ The 1946 census, conducted by the British, was the first in which Cypriots were recognized by categories other than "Moslems" and "Non-Moslems" but according to ethnic origin (Turkish, Greek, Armenian, Maronite, etc.). The last census before the island's division was conducted in 1960, but in accessible versions of this record, Nicosia's inhabitants are not apportioned by neighborhood.

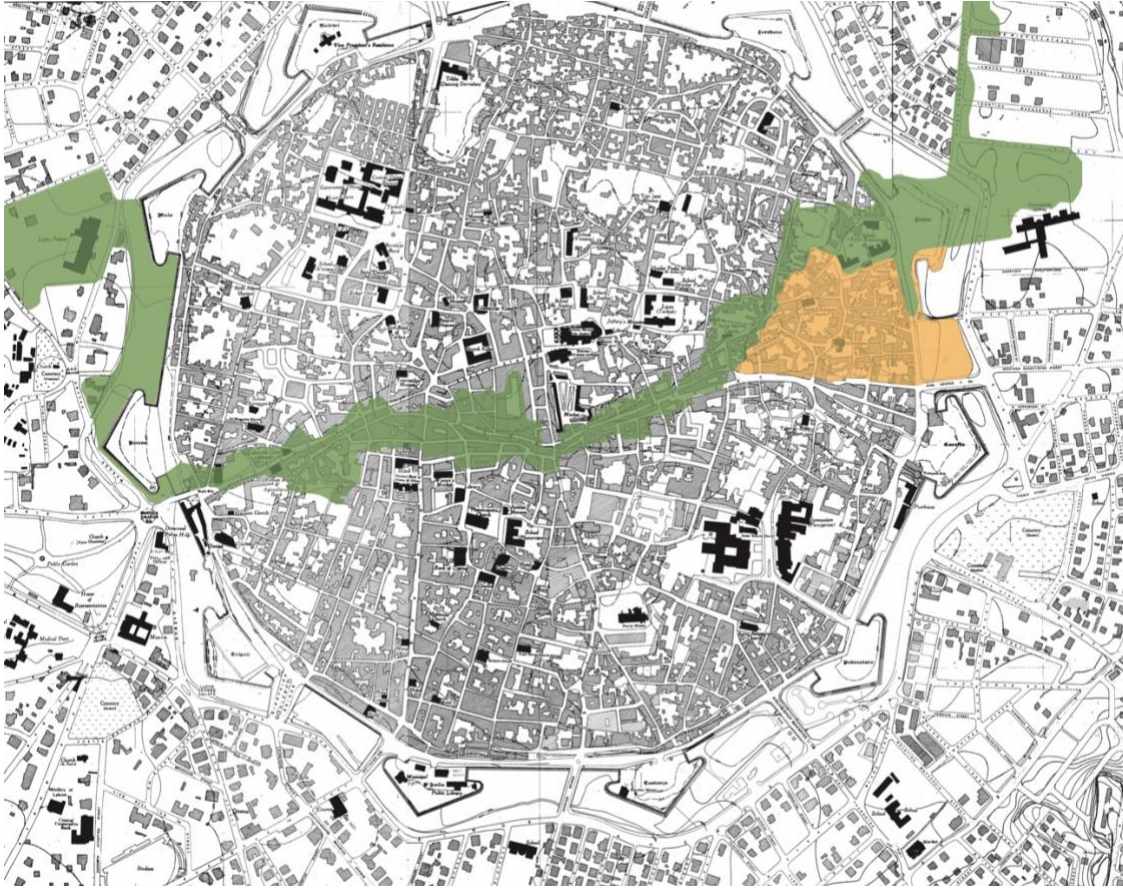


Figure 5.1 Chrysaliniotissa Area Project (orange) in the context of Walled Nicosia. Image courtesy of the Nicosia Master Plan Office, with markup by author.



Figure 5.2 Chrysaliniotissa Church. Photograph by author, December 2017.

Radiating outward from Chrysaliniotissa's religious foci are one- and two-story shops and single-family homes built from tightly-fitted blocks of soft local limestone and sun-dried brick. These buildings range in period and style, but most date to the 18th century and feature mixed elements of Byzantine, French, Venetian, and Ottoman design.¹⁵⁷ Central courtyards are not uncommon, even in humble examples. In more elaborate historic homes, an upper floor may feature loggia, clerestory windows for ventilation, and broad Turkish oriels called *cumba*.¹⁵⁸ All of these features may be seen on the Axiothea Mansion, an elaborate 18th century home said to have been built for a warden of Panagia Chrysaliniotissa Church [Figure 5.3]. The blend of styles and architectural elements common to Chrysaliniotissa's houses are evidence of broad cultural influences and a residential population which, before Nicosia's division in the mid-20th century, was not limited to ethnically-Greek Cypriots.



Figure 5.3 Axiothea Mansion. Source: Nicosia Municipality, *The Archontiko of Axiothea* [digital image], n.d., Nicosia.org.cy.

¹⁵⁷ Mohammad al-Asad, *Rehabilitation of the Walled City: 2007 On-site Report for the Nicosia Master Plan Team and UNDP* (Nicosia, Cyprus: Nicosia Master Plan Team, 2007), 2.

¹⁵⁸ Yusuf Cihat Aydin and Parham A. Mirzaei, "Impact of Turkish architectural element 'Cumba' in building's wind-driven ventilation enhancement" (presentation, 12th UK Conference on Wind Engineering, University of Nottingham, September 5-7, 2016), 1.

Streets are narrow and meandering, winding organically through the neighborhood and meeting at odd angles. Buildings are typically positioned against the street face with no setback and no sidewalk, maximizing interior space while leaving little room for carts or modern automobiles. While Chrysaliniotissa is largely residential, commercial activity was once concentrated along Ermou Street, the northern boundary of the neighborhood and the city's traditional east-west commercial corridor.¹⁵⁹

The establishment of the first barricades in 1963 and the buffer zone a decade later brought an end to the vitality and residential character of Chrysaliniotissa. With the buffer so near the north boundary of the neighborhood, Ermou Street was no longer a dynamic and accessible commercial center. The neighborhood's few Turkish Cypriots fled north across the nascent line of division, and many Greek Cypriot residents also moved outside of the walled city to escape the brunt of the conflict. Buildings rapidly deteriorated, damaged by repeated skirmishes and military occupation as well as looting, the activities of informal settlers, and general neglect.¹⁶⁰

Because of its architectural quality, state of deterioration, and potential to house a large number of permanent residents, Chrysaliniotissa was selected to be the site of one of the NMP's first priority projects.¹⁶¹ Planners appreciated that this had once been a vibrant neighborhood, and they contended that while many of Chrysaliniotissa's historic buildings lay vacant after the partition, most were not beyond the possibility of future productive use.¹⁶² The bicomunal team's primary objectives encompassed the restoration of these historic structures and the reestablishment of their traditional residents. Information released by the UNDP's Bi-communal Development Programme, which played a role in NMP implementation until 2005,¹⁶³ leads with an assertion that "primarily, the aim of this project was to restore, rehabilitate and re-use valuable existing

¹⁵⁹ Christina Kaoulla et al., *Nicosia is Calling* (Nicosia: Kailas Printers & Lithographers, Ltd., 2012), 22.

¹⁶⁰ UNDP, *Restoring the Heart of Nicosia*, 14.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 13-15.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 13.

¹⁶³ "About UNDP in Cyprus," *UNDP Cyprus*, accessed April 3, 2018, http://www.cy.undp.org/content/cyprus/en/home/operations/about_undp.html.

buildings and to attract young and economically active residents to the Chrysaliniotissa area, giving priority to families with children and with links to the neighbourhood.”¹⁶⁴ The language does not state outright that the NMP understands a correlation between rehabilitation and adaptive reuse of the historic fabric and the social revitalization of the neighborhood; however, the two goals are clearly seen as compatible aims. Traditional residents and traditional architecture alike were considered of importance to the overall urban regeneration of the Chrysaliniotissa neighborhood, and the advancement of one was not thought detrimental to the other.

To achieve their twin goals of social and structural revitalization, the NMP project team advanced projects that increased available housing, provided community facilities, and improved the quality of public open spaces while largely relying on existing infrastructure. Beginning in 1987, 27 vacant traditional homes were restored and rehabilitated in the Chrysaliniotissa neighborhood, while only 15 new units were constructed. The modern units were sympathetically designed in historic styles, constructed with traditional materials and building techniques, and erected on empty building plots owned by the public sector, thereby doing little harm to the existing historic environment and remaining residential population. These projects together created 42 new housing units, or about 25% of the area’s total building stock after the completion of the Chrysaliniotissa Area Project.¹⁶⁵

Planners and builders faced unique challenges in restoring the historic architecture within the Chrysaliniotissa neighborhood. Several buildings had been vacant for decades by the time the Chrysaliniotissa Rehabilitation Plan commenced in the 1990s, and most did not offer the modern conveniences which the NMP team believed would attract Cypriot families to the neighborhood (full kitchens, heating, etc.). Two historic houses posed a particular problem for the project team: located on Agios Georgios Street, both of these early 20th-century buildings were situated with their main entrances opening directly onto the buffer zone. These entries had to be closed off, and traditional materials

¹⁶⁴ *Chrysaliniotissa* [leaflet].

¹⁶⁵ Agni Petridou, “Rehabilitating Traditional Mediterranean Architecture. The Nicosia Rehabilitation Project: An Integrated Plan,” *Monumenta*, last modified February 28, 2007, accessed April 3, 2018, <https://www.monumenta.org/article.php?IssueID=2&lang=en&CategoryID=3&ArticleID=34>.

including sandstone and mudbrick were used to create new entrances on the south elevations of the houses. The two homes on Agios Georgios Street illustrate the proximity of the buffer zone and the very real challenges which it has posed to the revitalization of the Walled City.¹⁶⁶

In the late 1990s, Chrysaliniotissa's new and restored units were allocated with subsidies and long-term leases to young couples with children; priority was given to previous owners and those who held connections to the neighborhood before the establishment of the buffer zone.¹⁶⁷ The NMP team agreed that encouraging a new generation to take up residence in the neighborhood would both contribute to its vitality and help ensure its future, writing that, "subsidised housing has been offered to young families in order to create a healthy mix of inhabitants in the neighbourhood (and in the process help the established inhabitants, who were mostly elderly, feel part of the wider community)."¹⁶⁸ The importance of connectedness to the community and to the space itself is echoed in the residential architecture, preservation of which connects residents to more than a century of neighborhood history.

While the majority of Chrysaliniotissa rehabilitation projects were concerned with housing rehabilitation and residential expansion, planners also recognized that to maintain a stable and satisfied residential community, the neighborhood would need the means to support social integration and an active civic life.¹⁶⁹ The creation of new community facilities and commercial centers and the improvement of public open space would work together to promote a stable residential population, introducing a new generation of Cypriots to Chrysaliniotissa while also working to retain the traditional population, building stock, and historic character of the area. Accordingly, the Area Project included multiple public works projects, varying in function and scale. Opposite

¹⁶⁶ *Chrysaliniotissa* [leaflet]. For more information on traditional Cypriot building materials and techniques, see M. Pittas, "Restoration of a historical building for Cyprus Technical Chamber," in *Structural Analysis of Historic Construction*, ed. Dina D'Ayala and Enrico Fodde (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2008): 1499-1507.

¹⁶⁷ Petridou, "Rehabilitating Traditional Mediterranean Architecture," n.p.

¹⁶⁸ al-Asad, *Rehabilitation of the Walled City: 2007 On-site Report for the Nicosia Master Plan Team and UNDP*, 7.

¹⁶⁹ Petridou, "Rehabilitating Traditional Mediterranean Architecture," n.p.

from the Panagia Chrysaliniotissa Church, four historic buildings were redeveloped into a five-bedroom, twenty-bed student hostel operated by the Youthboard of Cyprus, a semi-governmental organization.¹⁷⁰ A new kindergarten was established in an adaptively reused housing unit [Figure 5.4].¹⁷¹ Three parking areas were created off of Athinas Street, the access road between the eastern boundary of the neighborhood and the historic walls of the city center; these enabled more intensive pedestrian use of residential streets and have helped to maintain the integrity of historic streetscapes.¹⁷² A garden at the eastern edge of the neighborhood was restored in 1993 and named after Steve Toufexis, a Chrysaliniotissa-born New Yorker who outfitted the park with children’s play equipment [Figure 5.5].¹⁷³ In each of these cases, the historic environment contributed to the creation of new facilities and public amenities.



Figure 5.4 Chrysaliniotissa Kindergarten. Source: The Aga Khan Award for Architecture, S337408 [digital image], 1997.

¹⁷⁰ “Nicosia Youth Hostel – General Information,” Youthboard of Cyprus, accessed April 3, 2018, <http://onek.org.cy/wp-content/uploads/HOSTEL-GENERAL-INFORMATION.pdf>.

¹⁷¹ *Chrysaliniotissa* [leaflet].

¹⁷² Ibid; Andreas L. Savvides, “Housing Rehabilitation as a Means of Urban Regeneration and Population Integration,” *World Academy of Science, Engineering and Technology International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* 6, no. 7 (2012): 1,752.

¹⁷³ “Stavou Toufexi Park,” *Nicosia Municipality*, accessed April 4, 2018, <http://www.nicosia.org.cy/en-GB/discover/parks/walled-city/small/49420/>.



Figure 5.5 Chrysaliniotissa Garden. Photograph by author, December 2017.

Perhaps the most ambitious civic project was the construction of a new municipal handicraft center, intended to serve as a tourist attraction and a means to preserve and showcase traditional Cypriot craft techniques. Located on Dimonaktos Street in the heart of Chrysaliniotissa, the Chrysaliniotissa Craft Centre is a modern complex of eight workshops and a coffee shop organized around an open central courtyard [Figure 5.6], which imitates the design of a traditional Byzantine inn [Figure 5.7]. Over the years, resident artisans have included silversmiths, glass blowers, wood carvers, doll makers, mosaicists, icon painters, and oil distillers.¹⁷⁴ Although the structure itself is not historic, it enhances the historic character of Chrysaliniotissa in both function and design. The use of a traditional floorplan in a modern building further illustrates the significance of historic architecture within the Chrysaliniotissa Area Project, supporting the conclusion that historic preservation was not only an objective of the project, but was employed as a tool for the overall regeneration of the neighborhood.

¹⁷⁴ *Chrysaliniotissa* [leaflet].



Figure 5.6 Chrysaliniotissa Craft Centre courtyard. Photograph by author, December 2017.



Figure 5.7 Chrysaliniotissa Craft Centre. Photograph by author, December 2017.

Of the scholars and international organizations that have commented on the project, most have deemed it a success. The UNDP- and USAID-funded Bi-communal Development Programme notes that the Chrysaliniotissa Area Project has effected a rising demand for area homes and a correlative increase in property values, asserting the project “has proven successful in attracting new residents and businesspeople to the area as well as in attracting private initiative and investment.”¹⁷⁵ The emphasis on private investment as a measure of success is echoed in a 2007 article by Derya Oktay of Ondokuz Mayıs University in Samsun, Turkey, who writes, “the Chrysaliniotissa residential rehabilitation scheme has had positive results, meeting the challenge of combining conservation objectives with socio-economic revitalization and encouraging private owners to invest in and re-use traditional buildings.”¹⁷⁶

However, the terms of the Chrysaliniotissa Area Project’s success may be limited by its scope. While the project has realized its immediate goals of urban regeneration and the resettlement of an historic neighborhood within the Walled City, this success does not extend to many of the broader social objectives of the overarching Nicosia Master Plan. Projects within Chrysaliniotissa have served the neighborhood’s traditional Greek Cypriot community and have contributed to the revitalization of the Walled City south of the buffer zone. The rehabilitation of historic Chrysaliniotissa buildings, the subsidized resettlement programs, and the various public amenities installed within the neighborhood were then accessible only to Greek Cypriots living south of the buffer zone, and so could not actively improve the relationship between Cypriots on either side of the divide as long as the buffer zone remained in place. The physical reality of the barrier proved insurmountable in this regard, and its removal was outside of the power and the project scope of Nicosia city planners and their international consultant teams. For these reasons, the Chrysaliniotissa Area Project was not immediately successful in advancing the overall objective of the NMP as stated in its Phase 2 project fiche: “to contribute to the development, increase and enhancement of an atmosphere of mutual

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Derya Oktay, “An Analysis and Review of the Divided City of Nicosia, Cyprus, and New Perspectives,” *Geography* 92, no. 3 (Autumn 2007): 244.

confidence, trust and respect between the Greek Cypriot (GC) and Turkish Cypriot (TC) communities.”¹⁷⁷

ARABAHMET AREA PROJECT

Like Chrysaliniotissa, Arabahmet is an historically significant residential neighborhood adjacent to the United Nations Buffer Zone and located within the walls of central Nicosia. Unlike Chrysaliniotissa, however, this neighborhood is situated in the northwest quadrant of the Walled City and falls under jurisdiction of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and the Nicosia Turkish Municipality [Figure 5.8].

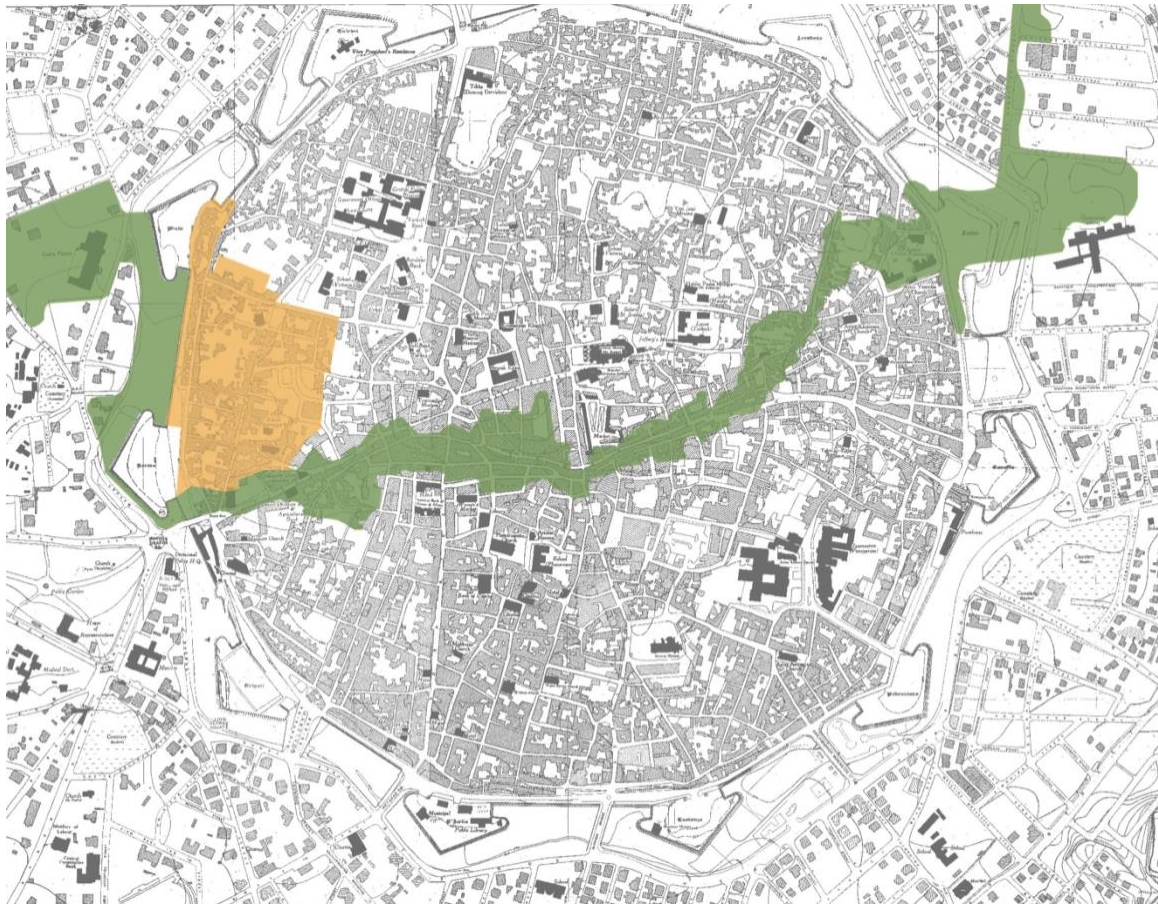


Figure 5.8 Arabahmet Area Project in the context of Walled Nicosia. Image courtesy of the Nicosia Master Plan Office with markup by author.

¹⁷⁷ Nicosia Master Plan Office, *Summary Project Fiche: Rehabilitation of Nicosia – Phase 2, 1*.

Because its location afforded the coolest breeze on hot summer evenings, Arabahmet was traditionally the most desirable and prestigious residential area of Nicosia.¹⁷⁸ The curving streets, which are some of the oldest in the city, are lined with two-story Lusignan- and Venetian-built mansions. These are typically constructed from tightly-fitted limestone blocks, and most feature small rear gardens.¹⁷⁹ After the Ottomans seized Nicosia in 1570, high-ranking officials claimed these elaborate and desirable homes for themselves; in addition to the architectural merit of the neighborhood, Arabahmet was near the Ottoman Saray (formerly the Lusignan and later Venetian administrative palace), where these officials held their offices. Many chose to embellish their mansions with traditional elements including *cumba* (broad oriels), wide eaves, and high garden walls, permanently marking these buildings with reminders of the Ottoman occupation [Figure 5.9]. Architectural elements are not this era's only legacy in Arabahmet, however; the neighborhood's modern appellation is derived from that of Arap Ahmet Pasha, who participated in the Ottoman conquest of 1570 and served as governor of Cyprus from 1584 to 1587.¹⁸⁰ The 16th-century mosque at the heart of Arabahmet, where several Ottoman officials are buried, also bears his name.¹⁸¹ Three centuries onward, when Great Britain took on administration of the island in 1878,¹⁸² many Ottomans vacated Arabahmet, and British bureaucrats took up residence their former homes. The neighborhood's main street, Salahi Şevket Street, was known as Victoria Road during the period of British rule.¹⁸³

Despite the presence of powerful Turkish Cypriot Muslims during the Ottoman period and British officials in the years afterward, Arabahmet was widely known as

¹⁷⁸ Ahmet An, "Coexistence in the Disappeared Mixed Neighbourhoods of Nicosia" (presentation, Nicosia: The Last Divided Capital in Europe Conference, London Metropolitan University, June 20, 2011): 2-3. At the westernmost edge of Nicosia, Arabahmet receives a cool evening breeze from the direction of Morphou Bay. In a city where summer temperatures regularly exceed 100° Fahrenheit, these breezy locations were naturally coveted.

¹⁷⁹ Nicosia Master Plan Office, *Walled Nicosia: A Guide to Its Historical and Cultural Sites*, 6.

¹⁸⁰ *Arabahmet* [leaflet].

¹⁸¹ Eileen Davey, *Northern Cyprus: A Traveller's Guide* (London: I. B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., 1993), 109.

¹⁸² Hunt, "The Turkish Period," in *Footprints in Cyprus*, 248.

¹⁸³ Davey, *Northern Cyprus: A Traveller's Guide*, 125.

Nicosia's Armenian quarter from the sixteenth century onward.¹⁸⁴ By the 1920s, in the wake of the 1915 Armenian Genocide in Anatolia, ethnic Armenians formed a majority of the neighborhood's multiethnic residents.¹⁸⁵ According to the 1946 census, in the decades before aggressions divided the city, Arabahmet was home to an ethnically mixed group of residents including 576 Greek Cypriots, 846 Turkish Cypriots, and 1,195 people of other ethnic origin, mostly Armenian. As described in anecdotal evidence, only a handful of Turkish Cypriot families remained in the area by 1950.¹⁸⁶



Figure 5.9 Ottoman *cumba* and broad eaves seen on single-family homes in the Arabahmet neighborhood. Photograph by author, December 2017.

¹⁸⁴ An, "Coexistence in the Disappeared Mixed Neighbourhoods of Nicosia," 2-3.

¹⁸⁵ Olga Demetriou, "'Struck by the Turks': Reflections on Armenian Refugeehood in Cyprus," *Patterns of Prejudice* 48, no. 2 (April 2014): 169.

¹⁸⁶ An, "Coexistence in the Disappeared Mixed Neighbourhoods of Nicosia," 2-3.

After decades of generally peaceful coexistence, the interethnic conflict of the 1960s and 1970s forced most of Arabahmet's Armenian population to flee south. As a traditionally Christian population living in the wake of Ottoman genocide, most Armenians had aligned themselves with Cyprus's Greek Cypriot population and feared persecution at the hands of Turkish Cypriots.¹⁸⁷ Arabahmet's grand houses were left vacant or occupied by Turkish refugees, themselves displaced from the southern part of the capital and left with few possessions and resources. Commercial and civic centers, including the 450-year-old neighborhood theater, shuttered in the 1960s and 1970s.¹⁸⁸ As the buffer zone began to solidify at the neighborhood's southern edge, the buildings of Arabahmet suffered neglect and deterioration as severe as that in Chrysaliniotissa.¹⁸⁹

Because of its architectural and cultural merit, residential character, and potential to attract permanent residents, Arabahmet was chosen to be the site of the NMP's first priority project in North Nicosia. Many of the neighborhood's historic buildings sat vacant but largely intact, allowing considerable opportunity for planners to achieve the NMP's twin goals of social revitalization and historic preservation in Arabahmet. The basic infrastructure for a thriving neighborhood was already in place, and it happened to exist in a context where the urban fabric itself was reminiscent of centuries of interethnic cohabitation.

The Arabahmet Area Project, which commenced in 1985, paralleled the Chrysaliniotissa Area Project in its funding, timeline, and objective.¹⁹⁰ The 1988 NMP project monograph states that the primary objectives of the Arabahmet Area Project are the "restoration of dwellings of historic and architectural value, the creation of community facilities, and the redesign of open spaces and traffic and pedestrian

¹⁸⁷ Demetriou, "'Struck by the Turks': Reflections on Armenian Refugeehood in Cyprus," 167-68.

¹⁸⁸ *Arabahmet* [leaflet].

¹⁸⁹ An, "Coexistence in the Disappeared Mixed Neighbourhoods of Nicosia," 2-3.

¹⁹⁰ *Summary Project Fiche: Rehabilitation of Nicosia – Phase 2*, 3. While the 1988 project monograph *Nicosia Master Plan: A Landmark for Future Cyprus* lists the Arabahmet Area Project's preliminary budget as \$2,500,000 USD to Chrysaliniotissa's \$4,000,000 USD, the 2001 summary project fiche (released after completion of both projects) notes that "both projects were funded up to approximately US \$10 million."

patterns.”¹⁹¹ These objectives, which largely reiterate those of the Chrysaliniotissa Area Project, clearly present preservation and housing aims as interdependent. Furthermore, the actual implementation of the Arabahmet Area Project reveals that preservation strategies were fundamental to achieving other project goals: adaptive reuse of civic centers and the rehabilitation of historic residences were fundamental aspects of the overall plan for neighborhood revitalization.

With the Arabahmet Area Project, the bicomunal planning team’s primary focus was, again, residential revitalization. With initial funding from the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and USAID, 30 historic homes were slated for rehabilitation and 12 new units were planned on publicly-held land, ultimately creating 42 new and updated housing units. One historic Ottoman mansion was subdivided into two units to make smaller, more affordable living spaces for future inhabitants. Additionally, repair grants were given to property owners for private restoration and rehabilitation projects.¹⁹²

Many civic buildings were restored and adaptively reused in pursuit of the Arabahmet plan’s second objective, “the creation of community facilities.”¹⁹³ The historic theater abandoned in the 1960s was reborn as the Arabahmet Culture and Arts Centre [Figure 5.10]; the building’s Lusignan-built walls, Ottoman wood-paneled ceilings, and British-era theater hall were carefully rehabilitated between 2000 and 2001, and the facility is now a focal point for cultural events in Northern Nicosia. A heating and cooling system was installed, and the building has since hosted theatrical plays, film screenings, discussion panels, exhibits, and more in a space that may accommodate up to 141 persons.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹¹ UNCHS, *Nicosia Master Plan: A Landmark for Future Cyprus*, 16.

¹⁹² “Arabahmet: Breathing new life into decaying inner city,” *North Cyprus Online*, accessed April 4, 2018, <http://www.cypnet.co.uk/ncyprus/city/nicosia/arabahmet/index.html>. Projects conducted using money from private repair grants do not seem to have been tracked.

¹⁹³ UNCHS, *Nicosia Master Plan: A Landmark for Future Cyprus*, 16.

¹⁹⁴ *Arabahmet* [leaflet].



Figure 5.10 The Arabahmet Culture and Arts Centre. Source: The Aga Khan Award for Architecture, S337429 [digital image], 1997.

Smaller civic projects in Arabahmet have included the creation of a library, small gallery, and folk dancing club.¹⁹⁵ Dervish Pasha Mansion, the former home of a high-ranking Ottoman official, was restored and opened to residents and tourists as an ethnographical museum [Figure 5.11].¹⁹⁶ In an effort to diversify neighborhood activities,

¹⁹⁵ Oktay, “Analysis and Review of the Divided City of Nicosia, Cyprus, and New Perspectives,” 242.

¹⁹⁶ “Dervish Pasha Mansion - Ethnographical Museum,” *North Cyprus Online*, accessed April 4, 2018, <http://www.cypnet.co.uk/ncyprus/city/nicosia/dervishpasha/index.html>.

some spaces also were converted to commercial use; on Salahi Şevket Street (Victoria Road), less than 150 yards north of the buffer zone, a one-hundred-year-old building named for an Armenian merchant has been converted into the popular Boghjalian Konak Restaurant.¹⁹⁷ Finally, in pursuit of infrastructural improvements, the neighborhood's original street patterns were completely preserved, and three large car parks were created to remove local and tourist traffic from Arabahmet's historic, walkable roadways.¹⁹⁸



Figure 5.11 Dervish Pasha Mansion. Source: Alexander Savin, *Dervish Pasha Mansion in Nicosia, Cyprus* [digital image], 2017, Wikimedia Commons.

¹⁹⁷ Arabahmet [leaflet].

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.; Nicosia Master Plan Office, *Walled Nicosia: A Guide to Its Historical and Cultural Sites*, 6.

Like its partner project to the south, the Arabahmet Area Project has certainly seen success in terms of its physical preservation objectives: many priceless, formerly-derelict historic buildings have been rehabilitated and returned to active use as a result of NMP efforts. The UNDP- and USAID-funded Bi-communal Development Programme asserts that “today, Arabahmet has re-established itself as an important cultural and social area that hosts many attractions,” noting the success it has seen in “adapting traditional buildings for contemporary needs.”¹⁹⁹ Indeed, the rehabilitation and upgrade of residential and commercial buildings under the NMP has saved a large portion of Arabahmet’s historic architecture from decay.

However, the Arabahmet project is generally regarded as less successful than the revitalization of Chrysaliniotissa.²⁰⁰ A 2001 summary project fiche released by the NMP project team asserts that in comparison to Arabahmet, “favorable conditions such as significant funding, better economic environment and strong political support have allowed for the programme’s sustainability to be within reach in Chrysaliniotissa.”²⁰¹ Regarding Arabahmet, the team writes that “achievements in the Turkish Cypriot community still need strong external support,” but declare that the project, as of 2001, “is starting to bear fruit.”²⁰² Unfortunately, contradictory to this hopeful claim, several of Arabahmet’s rehabilitated buildings have fallen into disrepair in the years since the completion of the NMP priority projects.²⁰³ Neither the UNDP nor Nicosia’s Turkish Municipality has inspected the condition of project sites in recent years,²⁰⁴ and several are shuttered and beginning to show signs of renewed deterioration [Figure 5.12].

¹⁹⁹ Arabahmet [leaflet].

²⁰⁰ Wendy Pullan, “The Migration of Frontiers: Ethnonational Conflicts and Contested Cities,” in *Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Boundaries: Conceptualising and understanding identity through boundary approaches*, ed. by Jennifer Jackson and Lina Molokotos-Liederman (New York City: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2015), 238; *Summary Project Fiche: Rehabilitation of Nicosia – Phase 2, 2*; Athina Papadopoulou (Nicosia Master Plan Office), interview by author, December 11, 2017.

²⁰¹ *Summary Project Fiche: Rehabilitation of Nicosia – Phase 2, 2*.

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Nezihan Asvaroglu, “Echoes of Revitalization Projects in the Historic Walled City of Nicosia, Cyprus: Non-Residential Reputation on Previously Stigmatized, Revitalized Neighbourhoods and ‘Back to the City’ Movement” (master’s thesis, Utrecht University, 2013), 52-53.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.



Figure 5.12 A row of homes at the western edge of the Arabahmet neighborhood. Photograph by author, December 2017.

The abilities and means of Arabahmet’s post-rehabilitation inhabitants may also limit its success. Arabahmet’s modern residents are typically less educated and less affluent than residents of Chrysaliniotissa, which has limited their ability to invest personal wealth into maintaining their homes and establishing new businesses.²⁰⁵ A significant portion of Arabahmet’s population is comprised of Turkish immigrants,²⁰⁶ or descendants of Turkish immigrants, who were encouraged by Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot administration to move to Cyprus in the 1970s and 1980s.²⁰⁷ This demographic

²⁰⁵ Oktay, “Analysis and Review of the Divided City of Nicosia, Cyprus, and New Perspectives,” 244.

²⁰⁶ Anita Bakshi, *Topographies of Memories: A New Poetics of Commemoration* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 86.

²⁰⁷ Mete Hatay, “Is the Turkish Cypriot Population Shrinking? An overview of the ethno-demography of Cyprus in the light of the preliminary results of the 2006 Turkish-Cypriot census” (PRIO Report, Oslo, Norway, 2007), 2-6.

lacks a longstanding cultural connection to the neighborhood, which, in combination with a general lack of capital, may contribute to the scarcity of private investment in Arabahmet as compared to Chrysaliniotissa.

Despite residential vacancies and a lack of private investment, however, the Arabahmet neighborhood should be considered neither blighted nor stagnant; most homes do remain occupied,²⁰⁸ the Dervish Pasha ethnographic museum is a popular and well-advertised tourist attraction,²⁰⁹ and in recent years, a small number of new bars and restaurants have opened in the neighborhood's west end.²¹⁰ The Arabahmet Area Project has not failed, but its success has been mixed, a fact which illustrates the difficulty of creating an evaluative framework for a singular plan intended to revitalize two physically, politically, and ideologically divided communities.

CONCLUSION

With the Chrysaliniotissa and Arabahmet Area Projects, the NMP bicomunal team sought to regenerate both the physical environment and the urban aspect of two historically significant residential areas in comparable settings and states of decay. Chrysaliniotissa and Arabahmet were considered blighted neighborhoods when the NMP was conceived; however, their potential to become resilient residential areas and to attract a permanent population back to the Walled City made them priority candidates for NMP revitalization schemes. In the interest of revitalizing a divided Nicosia, the historic character of these neighborhoods was celebrated and preserved through various NMP projects.

The success of the Chrysaliniotissa and Arabahmet Area Projects is difficult to measure. In project monographs, both area schemes are assigned similar goals: the

²⁰⁸ According to author's evaluation of neighborhood in December 2018, at which time an active residential population was easily observable.

²⁰⁹ The Dervish Pasha Mansion is broadly advertised in national and international travel resources, including Lonely Planet and TripAdvisor, and by native Cypriot travel agencies. According to the museum's online presence as of spring 2018, it is open to visitors six days a week.

²¹⁰ Ali Güralp (Head of the Nicosia Master Plan Team in Lefkosia), interview by Anita Bakshi, Lefkosia, Cyprus, December 23, 2008. Cited in Anita Bakshi, *Topographies of Memories: A New Poetics of Commemoration*, 136.

restoration and rehabilitation of historic structures, improved housing opportunity, the creation of community facilities, and the redesign of open spaces.²¹¹ Objectively, these goals were achieved. Through rehabilitation and new construction, dozens of housing units were improved and created in both neighborhoods; spaces like the Chrysaliniotissa Craft Centre and the Arabahmet Culture and Arts Centre now exist to serve each community; and car parks and gardens were developed or improved on the outskirts of each residential area. Preservation goals may be considered especially successful, as far more buildings were rehabilitated than were newly constructed, and as many new civic and commercial spaces were created in rehabilitated, adaptively reused historic buildings.²¹² Even new construction was made highly compatible with the historic environment, as in the case of the Chrysaliniotissa Craft Centre.

However, the broader social goals of the NMP were not so clearly achieved. Overall project objectives, as stated in the project monograph and Phase 2 summary project fiche, stress the development of mutual confidence and trust between Nicosia's Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities.²¹³ Consideration of these objectives is critical to a holistic assessment of the NMP. In Chapter VI, this project will attempt to evaluate the success of the NMP as it has been implemented in the Walled City, stressing the fundamental role of preservation strategies in effecting a more integrated, peaceful future for the divided communities of Nicosia.

²¹¹ UNCHS, *Nicosia Master Plan: A Landmark for Future Cyprus*, 16.

²¹² Petridou, "Rehabilitating Traditional Mediterranean Architecture," n.p.; "Arabahmet: Breathing new life into decaying inner city," *North Cyprus Online*.

²¹³ *Ibid*, 1; Nicosia Master Plan Office, *Summary Project Fiche: Rehabilitation of Nicosia – Phase 2*, 1.

CHAPTER VI EVALUATION

The Arabahmet and Chrysaliniotissa Area Project case studies begin to illustrate the significance of preservation schemes within the design and implementation of the Nicosia Master Plan. The rehabilitation of historic architecture damaged by Nicosia's division was not simply an objective of the NMP, but a vehicle for the advancement of the plan's broader social and economic goals. In the pages which follow, this chapter will establish and evaluate the role of preservation strategies in the broad success of the Nicosia Master Plan. In the absence of a clear evaluative framework designed by the NMP project office, the thesis will instead assess the preservation element of the plan according to three overarching project objectives distilled from the numerous goals expressed in major project documents:²¹⁴ first, the repopulation of Nicosia's historic neighborhoods; second, the economic recovery and resurgence of the Walled City, the area most negatively affected by the division; and third, the development of a respectful and productive working relationship between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots from either side of Nicosia's physical, political, and ethnoreligious divide. As this chapter will illustrate, the preservation element of NMP area projects was fundamental in advancing all three of these goals.

ESTABLISHING THE ROLE OF PRESERVATION IN THE NICOSIA MASTER PLAN

As detailed in Chapter IV, the preservation of Nicosia's historic built environment was a priority objective of the Nicosia Master Plan. The NMP project fiche, which summarizes the development and early implementation of NMP area projects, asserts four purposes or principles of the master plan:

²¹⁴ These major project documents are: United Nations Development Programme Division of Information, *Restoring the Heart of Nicosia* (Nicosia, Cyprus: United Nations Development Programme, 1987); United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, *Nicosia Master Plan: A Landmark for Future Cyprus* (Nairobi, Kenya: United Nations Centre for Human Settlements [Habitat]: 1988); Nicosia Master Plan Office, *Summary Project Fiche: Rehabilitation of Nicosia – Phase 2*, (Nicosia, Cyprus: Nicosia Master Plan Office, 2001).

- (1) To bring together members of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities, to work jointly in the preparation and implementation of bi-communal projects based on the bi-communally planned Nicosia Master Plan.
- (2) To support the rehabilitation of the Walled City of Nicosia and the conservation of its architectural and cultural heritage [...]
- (3) To sensitize Nicosia residents to conservation issues and the importance of their shared heritage and to mobilize them towards these goals [...]
- (4) To improve the living environment of the residents of Nicosia neighborhoods [...].²¹⁵

These principles, individually and in sum, demonstrate the pervasive role of preservation within the NMP. The second principle addresses rehabilitation and conservation projects directly, indicating that the preservation of Nicosia's architectural and cultural heritage actively supports the overall project objective. The third principle seeks to engage Nicosia residents in preservation efforts, asserting that issues surrounding the conservation of the historic capital may serve to unite Cypriots from either side of the buffer zone. Within the project fiche, the nature of these preservation projects is not politicized or affiliated with a single ethnoreligious group, although much of Nicosia's architecture is associated by style or geography with Turkish or Greek Cypriot histories. Instead, the "shared heritage" of these groups is emphasized. In this way, the rehabilitation of Nicosia's built environment is presented as a neutral objective with the potential for improving relationships between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities.

The first and fourth purpose statements do not directly address the preservation of Nicosia's architectural and cultural heritage, but they may be understood to underscore the relationship between preservation objectives and other project goals. The first principle calls for productive bicomunal relationships, established and strengthened through the creation and implementation of NMP area projects. As the case studies in Chapter V illustrate, nearly all of the NMP area projects are preservation-oriented as well as bicommunally-designed; in Chrysaliniotissa and Arabahmet, individually significant buildings and sites were targeted for restoration, and rehabilitation strategies were crucial to producing more and better housing within the framework of the historic urban environment. The focus of the Chrysaliniotissa and Arabahmet projects also demonstrates

²¹⁵ Nicosia Master Plan Office, *Summary Project Fiche: Rehabilitation of Nicosia – Phase 2*, 1.

the role of preservation in improving the living environment of Nicosia's historic neighborhoods, thus advancing the fourth purpose of the NMP. As both an explicit objective of the NMP and as a device for the advancement of other project aims, the preservation of Walled Nicosia is a fundamental and pervasive element of the NMP. Therefore, it may be assumed that preservation strategies have contributed to the success of the NMP, and it is therefore appropriate to evaluate the project through a preservation lens.

EVALUATING THE ROLE OF PRESERVATION IN THE NICOSIA MASTER PLAN

In the absence of an evaluative framework designed by project creators, executors, or financiers, this thesis will attempt to assess the preservation element of the NMP according to three broad project goals:

- (1) The repopulation of Nicosia's historic neighborhoods by permanent inhabitants,
- (2) the economic resurgence of the Walled City, and
- (3) the promotion of peaceful interaction between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots from either side of the United National Buffer Zone.²¹⁶

These objectives are distilled from the three major project documents which bookend the project's implementation phase, with two released by the UNDP and UNCHS in the late 1980s and one produced by the Nicosia Master Plan Office in 2001.²¹⁷ Each of these documents references the many challenges facing the capital city since its division in

²¹⁶ As existing scholarship has previously evaluated the effectiveness of stabilization and restoration projects within Walled Nicosia, the NMP's discrete conservation objectives will not be assessed by this evaluative framework. Rather, as established in Chapter I, this thesis will critically examine the role of preservation strategies only as they advance the broader social and economic goals of the NMP, as identified in this chapter. For evaluations specific to architectural survey and the conservation methods employed in specific restoration projects, see Maria Philokyprou and Elena Limbouri-Kozakou, "An overview of the restoration of monuments and listed buildings in Cyprus from antiquity until the twenty-first century," *Studies in Conservation* 60, no. 4 (July 2015): 267-77; and Mohammed al-Asad, *Rehabilitation of the Walled City: 2007 On-site Report for the Nicosia Master Plan Team and UNDP* (Nicosia, Cyprus: Nicosia Master Plan Team, 2007).

²¹⁷ UNDP Division of Information, *Restoring the Heart of Nicosia*; UNCHS, *Nicosia Master Plan: A Landmark for Future Cyprus*; Nicosia Master Plan Office, *Summary Project Fiche: Rehabilitation of Nicosia – Phase 2*.

1974, with a focus on the shrinking population and declining service industry within the Walled City.²¹⁸ The rehabilitation of historic neighborhoods and the importance of advancing “administrative and service functions” are considered crucial “to stimulate the physical, functional, economic and cultural reactivation of the Central Area, as the key to the overall development of Nicosia.”²¹⁹ This mentality is reflected in the list of priority projects included in the UNDP and UNCHS documents (see Appendix), all of which target neighborhood and commercial areas which were largely vacant or had been taken over by industrial uses in the years following the establishment of the buffer. For these reasons, the NMP’s contributions to the repopulation of historic neighborhoods and the economic resurgence of the Walled City will be considered in this evaluation.

The third project goal established by project documents and utilized in this evaluative framework is the promotion of “mutual confidence, trust and respect”²²⁰ between the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots separated by the buffer zone. All three publications share a vision of a revitalized urban area where the “two communities live in harmony”²²¹ and “Cypriots work for a more favourable political climate,”²²² presumably one in which hostility and physical division are eradicated. This social and behavioral goal, perhaps the most ambitious and challenging of the three, rounds out the evaluative framework used here to evaluate the preservation element of the Nicosia Master Plan.

PROJECT GOAL 1: REPOPULATION OF HISTORIC NICOSIA

Following the events of the 1960s and early 1970s, the historic residential neighborhoods along Nicosia’s buffer zone suffered from severe depopulation. The physical damage of the conflict and the psychological impacts of the barrier discouraged resettlement, and homes throughout the central Walled City remained abandoned for

²¹⁸ UNDP Division of Information, *Restoring the Heart of Nicosia*, 14; UNCHS, *Nicosia Master Plan: A Landmark for Future Cyprus*, 9; Nicosia Master Plan Office, *Summary Project Fiche: Rehabilitation of Nicosia – Phase 2*, 1.

²¹⁹ UNCHS, *Nicosia Master Plan: A Landmark for Future Cyprus*, 9, 11.

²²⁰ Nicosia Master Plan Office, *Summary Project Fiche: Rehabilitation of Nicosia – Phase 2*, 1.

²²¹ UNDP Division of Information, *Restoring the Heart of Nicosia*, 14.

²²² UNCHS, *Nicosia Master Plan: A Landmark for Future Cyprus*, 4.

years after the division. The creators of the Nicosia Master Plan considered residential revitalization the most important factor in the overall regeneration of the capital's historically mixed-use core,²²³ and multiple area project summaries speak to the use of preservation strategies to advance this goal.²²⁴ As the Chrysaliniotissa and Arabahmet case studies demonstrate, the rehabilitation of historic residential buildings was a key element of neighborhood area plans, upgrading traditional residences and creating new community centers while retaining the historic character of the area. Any success in repopulating these once-neglected neighborhoods was due, at least in part, to the preservation strategies that generated these livable housing units and public amenities.

Resettlement in North Nicosia

Due to the fractured nature of the city and restrictions imposed by the island's bifurcated national government, resources to track and enumerate Nicosia's permanent residents are unfortunately limited. Determining exact numbers is particularly complicated within North Nicosia, as until 1996, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus refused to disclose population statistics.²²⁵ In census reports released after this date, population figures are enumerated at the district level rather than in neighborhood tracts.²²⁶ Because the Nicosia District includes a large and populous area surrounding the historic Walled City, which was the focal point of the NMP, this attribute precludes analysis of population changes within the northern sector of the Walled City.

The population of North Nicosia may be evaluated generally and anecdotally, however. The 2011 census of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus counted 61,378 *de jure* residents in the northern portion of Nicosia Municipality, a five-year increase of

²²³ UNCHS, *Nicosia Master Plan: A Landmark for Future Cyprus*, 13; UNDP Division of Information, *Restoring the Heart of Nicosia*, 8-10.

²²⁴ See Appendix A for a brief description of the Phaneromeni, Samanbahce, Chrysaliniotissa, and Arabahmet neighborhood area projects. The Chrysaliniotissa and Arabahmet projects are further detailed in Chapter V.

²²⁵ Mete Hatay, "Is the Turkish Cypriot Population Shrinking? An overview of the ethno-demography of Cyprus in the light of the preliminary results of the 2006 Turkish Cypriot census" (PRIO Report, Oslo, Norway, 2007), 4.

²²⁶ Staff writer, "KTAMS: 'The Numbers of Population Are Not in Accord with Reality,'" *Havadis*, December 11, 2011.

9.3% [Table 6.1]. This is only slightly lower than the 11.5% increase reported in the country as a whole.²²⁷ Nevertheless, residents and researchers assert that within the Turkish-held portion of the Walled City, many homes remain vacant or occupied by temporary or informal residents, primarily Anatolian immigrants who entered the country after the Turkish invasion.²²⁸ This demographic group tends to be less well-educated and less affluent than native Turkish Cypriots and, consequently, unable to invest in their neighborhoods to the extent that the NMP’s authors had envisioned.²²⁹ This information seems to indicate that despite rehabilitation of the historic urban fabric, the repopulation efforts of the NMP have had limited success north of the buffer zone.

	Population 2006	Population 2011	Percent Change
Nicosia Turkish Municipality	56,146	61,378	9.3%
Nicosia Turkish District	84,776	94,824	11.9%
Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus	256,644	286,257	11.5%

Table 6.1 North Nicosia Population Change, 2006-2011. Population figures drawn from the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus State Planning Organization, *KKTC Nüfus Ve Konut Sayımı 2011* (Lefkoşa: Devlet Planlama Örgütü, 2011), 7.

²²⁷ Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus State Planning Organization, *KKTC 2006 Genel Nüfus ve Konut Sayımı Kesin Sonuçları (TRNC 2006 General Population and Housing Unit Census)* (Lefkoşa: Devlet Planlama Örgütü, 2007), 2; *Ibid.*, *KKTC Nüfus Ve Konut Sayımı 2011* (Lefkoşa: Devlet Planlama Örgütü, 2011), 7; Staff writer, “Cakici: The population census ended with fiasco,” *Ortam* [TRNC Daily Newspaper], December 12, 2011. The 2011 census of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus was performed under the auspices of the UN, and these numbers were highly disputed by both Greek Cypriots, who suspected that a high number of Anatolian immigrants had been purposefully excluded from the census, and Turkish Cypriots, who claimed that “primitive methods” of recording prevented an accurate count.

²²⁸ Development Associates, Inc., *Cyprus Bi-Communal Development Program Evaluation* (Arlington, VA: United States Agency for International Development, 2004), 24; Derya Oktay, “An Analysis and Review of the Divided City of Nicosia, Cyprus, and New Perspectives,” *Geography* 92, no. 3 (Fall 2007): 244; Mete Hatay and Rebecca Bryant, *Living Together Programme Migrant Cities Research: Nicosia North* (Nicosia: British Council, 2009), 9. Hatay and Bryant’s 2009 report, which was commissioned by the British Council’s Living Together Programme, goes so far as to describe North Nicosia as an “immigrant ghetto, a fact that is today bemoaned in the media by many Turkish Cypriots.”

²²⁹ Hatay, *Living Together Programme Migrant Cities Research*, 4, 9; Oktay, “Analysis and Review of the Divided City of Nicosia, Cyprus, and New Perspectives,” 244.

Resettlement in South Nicosia

Thanks to more thorough and more accessible census records, analysis of population changes within the southern portion of Walled Nicosia is a more straightforward process. The two most recent censuses collected by the Republic of Cyprus allow for a comparison between the population of the Walled City in 2001, one year after the conclusion of the NMP's implementation phase,²³⁰ and in 2011 [Table 6.2]. The 2011 census counted 15,080 residents within the thirteen administrative quarters of Walled Nicosia south of the buffer zone.²³¹ This amounts to a ten-year population growth of 12.6%, a figure slightly less than that of Nicosia Municipality at 15.0%, and significantly less than the nationwide average of 22.4%.²³² Neighborhoods specifically targeted by NMP residential preservation projects have all grown in population in the decade since the conclusion of the project's implementation phase, but admittedly, they do not show unusually high growth rates when compared with neighborhoods that were only tangentially affected.

Despite the relatively low growth rate of the Walled City south of the buffer zone, however, scholarly articles and official government reports describe a flourishing residential environment in the southern half of the Walled City.²³³ According to supplemental documents released with the 2001 census report, the Nicosia District had the highest occupancy rate of conventional dwellings of any district within the Republic of Cyprus at the end of the NMP implementation phase.²³⁴ In contrast to North Nicosia, the portion of the Walled City south of the buffer zone has had access to subsidized

²³⁰ Nicosia Master Plan Office, *New Vision for the Core of Nicosia Diagnostic Report: Executive Summary* (Nicosia, Cyprus: United Nations Development Programme and United Nations Office for Project Services Programme Management Unit, 2004), 1; UNCHS, *Nicosia Master Plan: A Landmark for Future Cyprus*, 5.

²³¹ Republic of Cyprus, *Population Enumerated by Sex, Age and District (1.10.2011)* (Nicosia: Republic of Cyprus Statistical Service, 2011), n.p.

²³² *Ibid.*, *Census of Population 2001*, vol. 2, *Data by District, Municipality/Community* (Nicosia: Republic of Cyprus Statistical Service, 2001), 359.

²³³ Nicosia Master Plan Office, *Summary Project Fiche: Rehabilitation of Nicosia – Phase 2*, 2; Oktay, "Analysis and Review of the Divided City of Nicosia, Cyprus, and New Perspectives," 244.

²³⁴ Republic of Cyprus, *Census of Population 2001*, vol. 3, *Households and Housing Units* (Nicosia: Republic of Cyprus Statistical Service, 2001), 18.

Neighborhood	Population 2001	Population 2011	Percent Change
Agios Andreas	5,185	5,767	11.2%
Trypiotis	1,986	2,158	8.7%
Nebethane	175	189	8.0%
Tabakhane	204	299	46.6%
Phaneromeni*	447	512	14.5%
Agios Savvas	523	581	11.1%
Omeriye*	132	206	56.1%
Agios Antonios	5,233	5,801	10.9%
Agios Ioannis	260	221	-15.0%
Tahtelkale	611	826	35.2%
Chrysaliniotissa*	114	124	8.8%
Agios Kassanios	73	82	12.3%
Yeni Cami	137	215	56.9%
Totals:	15,080	16,981	12.6%
Total Nicosia Municipality:	47,832	55,014	15.0%
Total Nicosia District:	273,642	326,980	19.5%
Total Republic of Cyprus:	686,565	840,407	22.4%

Table 6.2 South Nicosia Population Change, 2001-2011. Population figures are drawn from Republic of Cyprus *Census of Population 2001*, vol. 2, *Data by District, Municipality/Community* (Nicosia: Republic of Cyprus Statistical Service, 2001) and *Population Enumerated by Sex, Age and District (1.10.2011)* (Nicosia: Republic of Cyprus Statistical Service, 2011). Residential neighborhoods specifically targeted by NMP area projects are marked with an asterisk*. See appendix for a brief summary of each neighborhood project.

resettlement programs and a transferable development rights (TDR) program,²³⁵ allowing greater financial opportunity for residents to make their permanent homes in the city center. By improving living conditions and actively working to attract residents back to historic neighborhoods, the numerous housing units and public centers rehabilitated and restored through NMP preservation projects likely contributed to this residential revitalization of the southern Walled City.

PROJECT GOAL 2: ECONOMIC ADVANCEMENT WITHIN THE HISTORIC WALLED CITY

A second overarching objective of NMP projects was the economic revitalization of the Walled City, the historic heart of Nicosia. Planners envisioned an active urban center which would attract private investment and grow to become the “business and service centre of Cyprus.”²³⁶ On both sides of the buffer zone, early private investment within the Walled City tended to be in the form of homeownership and owner-initiated restoration projects; these were facilitated by grant programs and, in the southern municipality, the TDR program introduced in the early 1980s. However, on both sides of the buffer zone, the greatest strides in economic development within the historic city center have been driven by tourism.²³⁷ This industry, and subsequent growth of Nicosia’s economy, was aided by the restoration and rehabilitation projects of the NMP.

A Brief Overview of Tourism in Cyprus

Within Cyprus, the two major trends in the travel and tourism industry have been toward “sun and sea” tourism, attracting visitors to the island’s attractive beaches and

²³⁵ Agni Petridou, “Rehabilitating Traditional Mediterranean Architecture. The Nicosia Rehabilitation Project: An Integrated Plan,” *Monumenta*, last modified February 28, 2007, accessed April 3, 2018, <https://www.monumenta.org/article.php?IssueID=2&lang=en&CategoryID=3&ArticleID=34>; Oktay, “Analysis and Review of the Divided City of Nicosia, Cyprus, and New Perspectives,” 244; al-Asad, *Rehabilitation of the Walled City: 2007 On-site Report for the Nicosia Master Plan Team and UNDP*, 4. The TDR program allowed certain properties within the Walled City to sell their development rights to properties in greater Nicosia, outside of the historic Venetian Walls. This program was intended to help owners cover the cost of restoration work and to compensate for the two-story height limit imposed within the city.

²³⁶ UNCHS, *Nicosia Master Plan: A Landmark for Future Cyprus*, 2.

²³⁷ Oktay, “Analysis and Review of the Divided City of Nicosia, Cyprus, and New Perspectives,” 233.

coastal climate,²³⁸ and heritage tourism, drawing sightseers and amateur historians to the myriad monuments and archaeological sites throughout the country.²³⁹ Cyprus has been a destination for dedicated classicists for several centuries, but the island only began to attract broad recognition from international tourists in 1960.²⁴⁰ Despite political and social turmoil, 264,000 tourists visited Cyprus in 1973, with the resulting revenues accounting for 7.2% of the country's GDP.²⁴¹ The industry was initially devastated by the Turkish invasion and consequent division in 1974, but between 1980 and 1995, the annual growth rate of tourist arrivals averaged 12.6% per year; this was on track with other, politically stable islands in the Mediterranean, and far higher than the 3.2% rate of growth experienced by Europe as a whole.²⁴² By 1995, more than 2.1 million tourists were flocking to the island annually,²⁴³ and for nearly three decades now, the total contribution of tourism and travel to the Republic of Cyprus's GDP has averaged around 20%.²⁴⁴ This contribution is expected to increase by up to 7% in the next decade,²⁴⁵ with most visitors coming from the United Kingdom, Greece, Russia, Germany, Scandinavia, and Israel.²⁴⁶ In the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, the development of a thriving tourist industry has been hindered by a comparatively sluggish economy and the country's unrecognized status. There are few international flights, and virtually all commercial airlines must touch down in Turkey before continuing to the north side of the

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ Hospitality and Leisure Group of PwC Cyprus, *Opening the vault of tourism in Cyprus: A study on the competitiveness and prospects of tourism in Cyprus* (Nicosia: Pricewaterhouse Coopers Cyprus, 2013), 8.

²⁴⁰ Ron Ayres, "Tourism as a Passport to Development in Small States: Reflections on Cyprus," *International Journal of Social Economics* 27, no. 2 (2000): 115.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Ibid.

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ World Travel & Tourism Council, *Travel and Tourism Economic Impact 2017: Cyprus* (London: World Travel & Tourism Council, 2017), 1.

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

²⁴⁶ Republic of Cyprus Ministry of Finance, *Press Release: Tourist Arrivals March 2018*, April 17, 2018, 2.

island.²⁴⁷ However, despite these challenges, a 2014 report estimates that tourism contributes 9% annually to the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus's GDP,²⁴⁸ and industry profits show consistent annual growth.²⁴⁹

Heritage Tourism in Nicosia

In Nicosia specifically, heritage tourism has been a key feature of the local economy since 1990.²⁵⁰ Lacking the sandy beaches and agreeable climate of the coastlines, the inland city has instead capitalized on its rich architectural record, numerous museums, and captivating history of occupation and division. The Walled City, because of its historic character and many diverse cultural attractions, is the focal point of the heritage tourism industry in Nicosia. Today, much of the commercial activity within this urban core is oriented toward foreign tourists who come to immerse themselves in the island's unique culture. By stabilizing, restoring, and reopening many of Nicosia's historic structures for the enjoyment of these crowds, the preservation projects advanced by the NMP have directly contributed to the growth of this industry and the economic resurgence of the Walled City.

Within the southern sector of walled Nicosia, the primary tourist area is the *Laiki Geitonia*, literally the "popular neighborhood" [Figure 6.1]. Rows of 18th century residences have been restored to accommodate restaurants, tavernas, cafés, hookah

²⁴⁷ Salih T. Katircioglu, "Trends in Tourism in North Cyprus: A Historical Perspective," *e-Review of Tourism Research* 5, no. 2 (2007): 41.

²⁴⁸ Staff writer, "Tourism in the TRNC," *The Washington Times*, September 30, 2014. Tourism is tied with agriculture for the second-largest share of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus's gross domestic product, with light manufacturing coming in first at 22%.

²⁴⁹ Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus State Planning Organization, *ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL INDICATORS 1977-2016 (MS Excel)* (Lefkoşa: Devlet Planlama Örgütü, 2017), Table 34 (n.p.); Jon Sadler, "Sustainable Tourism Planning in Northern Cyprus," in *Costal Mass Tourism: Diversification and Sustainable Development in Southern Europe*, ed. Bill Bramwell (Clevedon, UK: Channel View Publications, 2004), 133-34.

²⁵⁰ Staff writer, "Preserving the architectural heritage in the buffer zone of Cyprus's Walled City," *European Investment Bank (EIB.org)*, last modified June 10, 2011, accessed April 20, 2018, <http://www.eib.org/infocentre/stories/all/2011-june-02/preserving-the-architectural-heritage-in-the-buffer-zone-of-cyprus-s-walled-city.htm>. "Nicosia Municipality is seeking to attract new residents, create a sense of community and boost economic activity, notably through tourism."

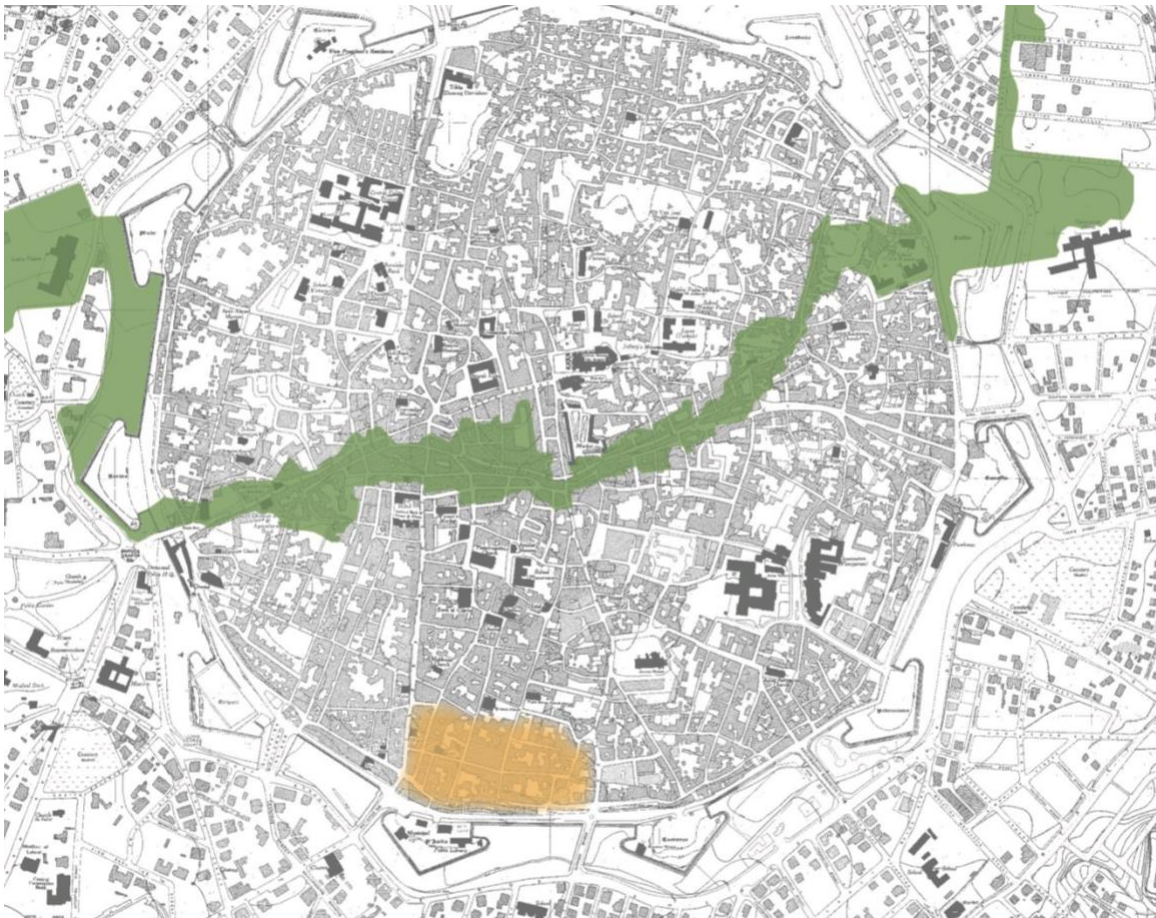


Figure 6.1 *Laiki Geitonia* (orange, approximate) in the context of Walled Nicosia. Image courtesy of the Nicosia Master Plan Office, with markup by author.

lounges, and a massive, wandering block of souvenir shops.²⁵¹ Much of this area has been closed to automobiles and is exclusively accessible by foot. Ledra Street and Onasagorou Street, two major north-south commercial corridors branching off from the Laiki Geitonia, have been similarly pedestrianized through NMP efforts. Both streets are lined with boutiques and cafés, and in recent decades, international chain retail and restaurants have also attempted to capitalize on the popularity of these now-trendy tourist thoroughfares. Ledra Street was once branded “The Murder Mile,” in reference to EOKA attacks on British officials in the years preceding Cypriot independence;²⁵² today, it is

²⁵¹ Nicosia Tourism Board, *VisitNicosia* (Nicosia: Nicosia Tourism Board and Cyprus Tourism Organisation, n.d.), 4; “Laiki Geitonia,” *Nicosia Municipality*, accessed April 22, 2018, <http://www.nicosia.org.cy/en-GB/discover/sights/laiki-geitonia/>.

²⁵² Staff writer, “Cyprus: The First Move,” *Time*, August 27, 1956.

safe and bustling with commercial activity, and properties with this coveted address command some of the highest real estate prices in the country.²⁵³ Ledra Street runs all the way to the buffer zone, and in 2008, a pedestrian-only crossing was opened to allow residents and tourists alike to move between the two sectors of the Walled City. Although lacking the chain retail south of the buffer zone, the northern stretch of Ledra Street is similarly pedestrianized and vibrant, packed with cafés and open storefronts catering to international and domestic tourists. The NMP projects which rehabilitated these historic corridors helped to attract some businesses back to Ledra and Evagorou Streets and, in the long term, prepared them to manage the increased traffic which followed the opening of the border crossing in 2008.

Ledra Street is one of more than eighty points of interest on the self-guided walking tour prepared in connection with NMP projects [Figure 6.2].²⁵⁴ This tour leads participants through the Walled City on both sides of the buffer zone, with points of interest denoted by sidewalk stamps [Figure 6.3], interpretive panels, and markers printed in Greek, Turkish, and English [Figures 6.4 and 6.5], which reach a broad audience and eliminate the need for printed or electronic materials. Many NMP preservation projects, including the Dervish Pasha Mansion in Arabahmet and the Panagia Chrysaliniotissa Church, are featured on this tour.

Both Nicosia municipalities also offer guided walking tours through their respective portions of the Walled City. In the south, twice-weekly tours led by the Cyprus Tourism Organisation focus on the city's architecture and aim "to give an overall picture of the city within the walls";²⁵⁵ one tour specifically highlights rehabilitation efforts within the Chrysaliniotissa neighborhood and includes a stop at the Chrysaliniotissa Craft Centre, where local artists sell traditional wares.²⁵⁶ In North Nicosia, a special excursion

²⁵³ "Ledra Street property prices go through the roof on Cyprus peace hopes," *The Financial Mirror*, March 26, 2008.

²⁵⁴ Nicosia Master Plan Office, *Walled Nicosia: A Guide to Its Historical and Cultural Sites* (Nicosia, Cyprus: Nicosia Master Plan, n.d.).

²⁵⁵ "Walking Tour within the Walls City Route," *Nicosia Municipality*, accessed April 23, 2018, <http://www.nicosia.org.cy/en-GB/discover/walkthroughs/48021/>.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*



Figure 6.2 Nicosia Master Plan Walking Tour panel, Arabahmet neighborhood, Nicosia. Photograph by author, December 2017.

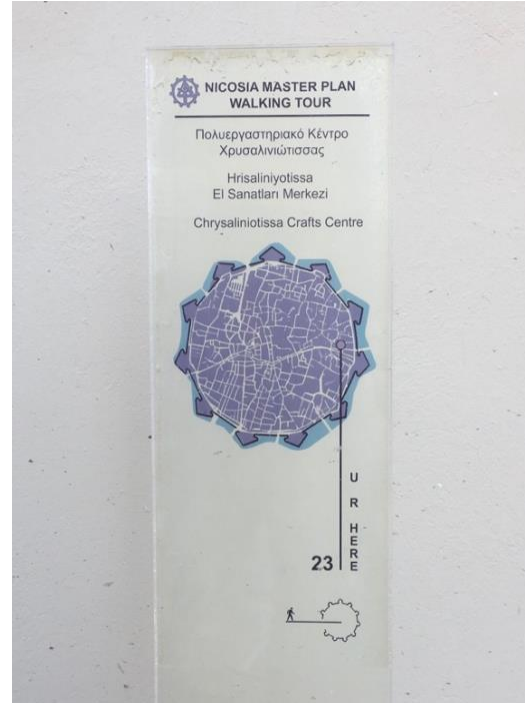
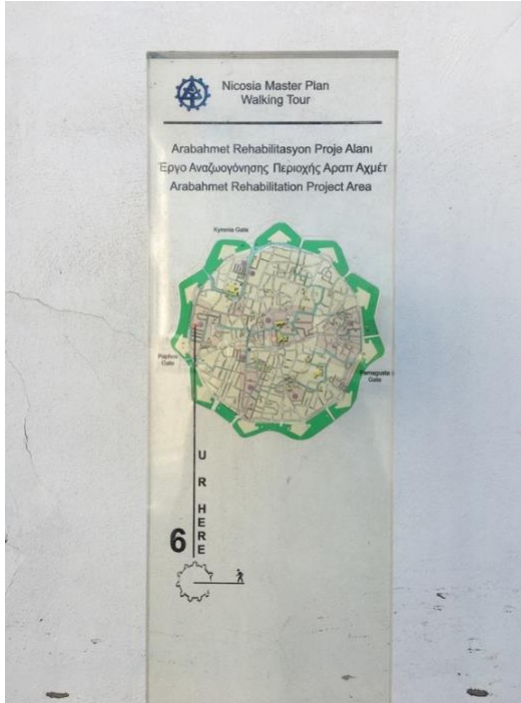
created by the Turkish Prime Ministry’s Directorate General of Foundations and the Union of Turkish Tourist Guides, called “Nicosia: Foundation City,” examines “all the locations that have hosted civilizations that form the basis of the island.”²⁵⁷ Many private companies and individuals offer their own tours, as well, contributing directly to the tourist economy within the Walled City.²⁵⁸ Nearly all of these tours emphasize the diversity of Nicosia’s historic architecture and its role in telling the story of the divided

²⁵⁷ Melis Alphan, “A cultural route in Nicosia,” *Hurriyet Daily News*, March 16, 2018, <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/opinion/melis-alphan/a-cultural-route-in-nicosia-128818>.

²⁵⁸ See TripAdvisor, “Nicosia Tours,” *Trip Advisor*, accessed April 20, 2018, https://www.tripadvisor.com/Attractions-g190383-Activities-c42-Nicosia_Nicosia_District.html.



Figure 6.3 Nicosia Master Plan Walking Tour sidewalk stamp, Chrysaliniotissa neighborhood. Photograph by author, December 2017.



Figures 6.4 and 6.5 Nicosia Master Plan Walking Tour guideposts in the Arabahmet (left) and Chrysaliniotissa (right) neighborhoods. Photographs by author, December 2017.

city, past and present. By choosing to rehabilitate and restore architecture associated with all ethnicities and periods of Cypriot history, NMP projects have preserved the physical component of these stories, directly supporting tourist activities that strengthen the local economy even as they educate the public.

PROJECT GOAL 3: ADVANCING PEACE IN NICOSIA

Perhaps the most audacious goal of the NMP was to “contribute to the development, increase and enhancement of an atmosphere of mutual confidence, trust and respect between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities.”²⁵⁹ Multiple project documents advance a vision of a peaceful capital city, prepared for smooth reintegration after the dissolution of the buffer zone at some indeterminate future date.²⁶⁰ Fewer than five years had passed from the Turkish invasion of Cyprus and the partition of the island to the beginning of the negotiations that led to the NMP. In this political and social turmoil, any attempt at bicommunal collaboration might be considered inauspicious. However, with the aid of the UNDP and other foreign entities, the creators of the NMP persisted in their efforts to create a plan that might promote an amicable relationship between Nicosia’s divided communities.

Bicommunal Planning and Implementation Efforts

The fact that the NMP was completed in a collaborative fashion and implemented to serve both the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities is, in and of itself, the first indication that the master plan has made progress toward promoting peaceful and productive interaction between Nicosia’s two municipalities. The preservation aims inherent to the NMP served as a neutral point for collaboration between planners from either side of the buffer zone. In accordance with NMP area schemes, architecture of all periods and ethnoreligious associations was preserved, rehabilitated, and restored on both sides of the barrier; this would seem to demonstrate a baseline respect for the heritage of each side’s rival ethnic group, or even a hope that their futures will be as comingled as

²⁵⁹ Nicosia Master Plan Office, *Summary Project Fiche: Rehabilitation of Nicosia – Phase 2*, 1.

²⁶⁰ UNCHS, *Nicosia Master Plan: A Landmark for Future Cyprus*, 4; UNDP Division of Information, *Restoring the Heart of Nicosia*, 10.

their past. For example, in the southern portion of Nicosia, the NMP called for the restoration of the Omeriye Mosque and associated Turkish baths, built by the Ottomans in the 16th century and now reopened to tourists and worshippers; these structures are visually and functionally associated with Muslim Turkish Cypriots, but they were nevertheless preserved and returned to active use through NMP directives in the predominantly Christian Orthodox, Greek Cypriot sector of the capital. Similarly, in North Nicosia, the Bedestan, a Byzantine-style building that has served as both a Christian church and an Ottoman-era covered marketplace, has been carefully restored despite its patent visual association with the cultural history of Greek Cypriots. These projects protecting and honoring the architectural heritage of both cultures—despite the animosity of division—promote respect between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities, serve as a reminder of a shared history, and prepare the capital city for reintegration should the buffer zone ever be dissolved.

Because of restrictions associated with crossing the buffer zone in the 1980s and 1990s, North Nicosia and the Nicosia Municipality to the south generally implemented NMP area projects separately. The single exception to this is the restoration of the Venetian Walls, which encircle the historic heart of Nicosia and constitute the city's most iconic feature. The last two bastions to be restored, the Roccas and Flatro Bastions, are located within the buffer zone. Here, under the auspices of the Bicommunal Development Program, Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot masons worked side by side for the first time in the recent history of the island.²⁶¹ In this instance, as in the creation of the NMP itself, preservation interests directly effected collaboration and productive, respectful interaction between members of the two ethnoreligious communities.

Lasting Contributions of NMP Preservation Projects

Indirectly, the preservation element of the NMP has served reintegration efforts by revitalizing the infrastructure around the division and encouraging the continued active use of spaces which are in close proximity to the buffer zone. This is especially significant in light of the controlled crossing points established in the early 2000s. The

²⁶¹ *Venetian Walls of Nicosia* [leaflet], 2003.

buffer zone had been virtually impenetrable for three decades when in 2003, the Ledra Palace Crossing at the western edge of Nicosia was opened to automobile and foot traffic.²⁶² This was something of a social and political experiment, described by the deputy Turkish Cypriot prime minister as “a test of whether the two sides could live together.”²⁶³ Two more crossing points were established at Pergamos, to the southeast, and near Strovilia, at the eastern end of the island. In the week following the opening of these monitored gateways, approximately 140,000 Greek Cypriots crossed to the north and nearly 34,000 Turkish Cypriots crossed to the south.²⁶⁴ Today, a total of seven buffer zone crossings have been opened across the island. In 2008, the pedestrian-only crossing was opened on Ledra Street, further stimulating activity along the Walled City’s historic commercial thoroughfare. These checkpoints have, at last, enabled face-to-face interaction between the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot communities. While these strides toward peace and reintegration of the Walled City were made after the conclusion of the NMP’s implementation phase, the physical and economic infrastructure supporting the Ledra Street Crossing was largely revitalized through NMP preservation projects.

With the new opportunities afforded by these crossings, local organizations have had greater opportunity to advance programs that promote peaceful and productive interaction between Nicosia’s two ethnic communities. These often make use of restored facilities and streetscapes in the Walled City, actively using the spaces targeted by NMP preservation projects. The Buffer Fringe Performing Arts Festival, which showcases local and international artists and is now in its fifth year of operation,²⁶⁵ erects installments and hosts events throughout the Walled City. The historic architecture of the capital, much of it preserved through direct NMP initiatives, serves as an interesting and aesthetically

²⁶² “About the Buffer Zone,” *United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus*, accessed April 22, 2018, <https://unficyp.unmissions.org/about-buffer-zone>.

²⁶³ Staff writer, “Emotion as Cyprus border opens,” *BBC Online*, April 23, 2003, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/2969089.stm>.

²⁶⁴ Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Cyprus, *Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Cyprus (for the period from 16 November 2002 to 20 May 2003)* (New York, NY: United Nations Security Council, 2003), 2. Duration of stay on the opposite side of the buffer zone was not recorded.

²⁶⁵ “Buffer Fringe V,” *Home for Cooperation*, accessed April 22, 2018, <http://www.home4cooperation.info/node/8795>.

appealing backdrop for performance art pieces and photo walks. It also provides a visually and psychologically stimulating environment in which the festival may attempt “to influence the construction of new societal identities between the communities of Cyprus.”²⁶⁶ The architecture of Nicosia’s historic core is physically reminiscent of the diverse cultures that have shaped its development: its preservation has ensured that a thought-provoking contrast to the current division remains to be examined by the Buffer Fringe Performing Arts Festival and other popular programs.

Another project that has benefited from the effects of NMP preservation projects is Ermou 1900, an annual event celebrating one of Nicosia’s historic commercial corridors. Ermou Street, the primary east-west thoroughfare of the Walled City, “was once the backbone of the city’s main marketplaces,”²⁶⁷ a commercial hub for textile factories and merchants, carpenters, and cobblers. Today, the road dead-ends into the buffer zone, and the small shops and factories within the divide have sat empty for more than four decades. However, the eastern end of Ermou Street is still accessible and runs through the Chrysaliniotissa neighborhood. NMP area projects restored much of the historic fabric lining Ermou Street and played a role in attracting residents, commercial ventures, and nonprofit organizations back to Chrysaliniotissa. One of these organizations, the Centre of Visual Arts & Research (CVAR), founded Ermou 1900 in 2014 with a mind to bring Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots together on the south side of the buffer zone to celebrate their common history.²⁶⁸ The one-day event transforms the historic street into a semblance of the vibrant, integrated marketplace it was at the turn of the 20th century, with historic objects and costumes on loan from CVAR, local artisans who sell their handiwork, and Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot food vendors who peddle traditional treats like carob syrup nut brittle and eggs cooked

²⁶⁶ Sasha Shumarayeva, “How the youth are solving the Cyprus problem for themselves,” *Malta Today*, March 6, 2017, https://www.maltatoday.com.mt/news/world/75045/the_youth_are_solving_the_cyprus_problem_for_them_selves#.Wt7oaS-ZPEZ.

²⁶⁷ Alexia Evripidou, “From no-one’s land to trendy hot spot,” *CyprusMail Online*, November 23, 2014, <http://cyprus-mail.com/2014/11/23/from-no-mans-land-to-trendy-hot-spot/>.

²⁶⁸ “Center of Visual Arts & Research (CVAR),” *VisitCyprus.com*, accessed April 23, 2018, <http://www.visitcyprus.com/index.php/en/discovercyprus/culture-religion/museums-galleries/item/116-centre-of-visual-arts-research-cvar>

over charcoal.²⁶⁹ Thousands of people flock to Ermou 1900 each year, and in 2016, it gained both corporate and municipal sponsorship.²⁷⁰ The executive director of CVAR, Rita Severis, emphasizes the convivial, integrated nature of the event, and hopes that Ermou Street will once again “become a focal point for locals”—Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots alike—should it be reopened to normal traffic.²⁷¹

This well-received advocacy for reintegration and the dissolution of the buffer zone reflects a drastic change in interethnic relations; as events that promote peaceful and even celebratory interactions between Nicosia’s two ethnic groups, Ermou 1900 and the Buffer Fringe Performing Arts Festival have been made possible in part by preservation projects advanced by the NMP. The process of creating the NMP was itself a radical move toward respectful, productive interaction between the Greek Cypriots to the south of the buffer zone and the Turkish Cypriots to the North. The implementation of the plan, however, created an urban environment where future collaboration and more mundane, ordinary interactions between Nicosia’s two major ethnic groups might happen naturally. The rehabilitation of Ledra Street prepared Nicosia’s primary north-south corridor for the opening of the pedestrian crossing years later, and today, residents of either side of the buffer zone may pass through quickly and without fear of harm. Restoration and adaptive reuse projects throughout the capital have created venues for events like the Buffer Fringe Performing Arts Festival, which celebrate a city once considered ruined by physical and ethnic divisions. Projects targeting commercial spaces, like the Chrysaliniotissa Area Project which enabled CVAR to launch Ermou 1900, have also contributed to this growing air of peace and prosperity within Nicosia, as the continued maintenance of infrastructure near the buffer zone demonstrates a concerted and persistent hope for future reunification.

²⁶⁹ Evie Andreou, “Ermou: Going Back in Time for a Third Year,” *CyprusMail Online*, December 17, 2016, <http://cyprus-mail.com/2016/12/17/ermou-going-back-time-third-year/>.

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

²⁷¹ Ibid., “‘Ermou 1900’ Revives Last Century Market,” *CyprusMail Online*, December 20, 2014, <http://cyprus-mail.com/2014/12/20/ermou-1900-revives-last-century-market/>.

CONCLUSION

To an extent, the preservation element of the NMP served to advance the plan's three overarching objectives and contributed to the overall regeneration of the Walled City. By rehabilitating historic residences, NMP neighborhood projects increased the availability and attractiveness of housing stock in the epicenter of the capital; by restoring traditional commercial facilities and adaptively reusing historic buildings as museums and cultural centers, the plan has helped to promote the heritage tourist industry and reinvigorate the local economy on both sides of the buffer zone; and through collaborative agreements which respected the architectural heritage of both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, the NMP laid ideological and physical foundations for future cooperation and peaceful interaction between Nicosia's two major ethnic communities.

NMP projects, specifically those preserving existing historic fabric, are preparing the capital of Cyprus for a future after division. They have helped restore the vibrancy of the city center through residential projects that house a new generation of Cypriots and through commercial rehabilitations that serve local inhabitants as well as tourists. These projects facilitated the opening of border crossings in the historic heart of Nicosia, which have allowed for a certain level of reintegration as well as peaceful, productive interaction between residents of either side of the buffer zone. The very creation of the NMP set a precedent for collaboration, one which has been greatly advanced in the years since the conclusion of the plan's implementation phase. Although the buffer zone still rends the capital into two sectors based on ethnic and traditional religious affiliation, the NMP cannot be considered a failure in light of all it has accomplished. Dissolving the buffer zone was never in the project's scope, but even so, the plan's preservation projects have penetrated the barrier both physically and ideologically. Reunification of a fractured nation may be beyond the power of municipal planners in a war-torn city, but preservation efforts have clearly worked to prepare Nicosia—physically, economically, and socially—for potential reintegration.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

Having evaluated the preservation element of the Nicosia Master Plan within the broader context of social, economic, and infrastructural accomplishment, it is apparent that historic preservation strategies and projects have contributed to the renewed vitality of Europe's last divided capital city. The NMP's planning horizon ended in 2001, and additional or unfinished bicommunal projects were taken on by the multifaceted Bi-communal Development Programme (funded by the United States Agency for International Development and implemented by the United Nations Office for Project Services), which operated throughout the island until 2005.²⁷² Additional and ongoing support has been provided by the European Union-funded UNDP Partnership for the Future Programme (UNDP-PFF), which works to support peace-building in Cyprus through a wide variety of community development programs.²⁷³ The UNDP-PFF in particular has played an important role in working with the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities to implement trust-building measures aimed at the economic and social development of the island. Reunification is still a distant prospect, but these bicommunal projects continue to move Cyprus toward a future without physical or ethnic divisions.²⁷⁴

In light of continued collaborative planning efforts, lessons learned from the preservation element of the NMP might indicate a path forward for Walled Nicosia, which, like the rest of the island, remains divided by the physical reality of the United Nations Buffer Zone. Participatory development and bicommunal processes may be

²⁷² "About UNDP in Cyprus," *UNDP Cyprus*, accessed April 29, 2018, http://www.cy.undp.org/content/cyprus/en/home/operations/about_undp.html.

²⁷³ "In Depth," *UNDP Cyprus*, accessed May 1, 2018, http://www.cy.undp.org/content/cyprus/en/home/ourwork/partnershipforthefuture/in_depth.html.

²⁷⁴ Vincent L. Morelli, *Cyprus: Reunification Proving Elusive* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 2018), 19; C.M., "Our View: Reunification no longer an option for today's voters," *CyprusMail Online*, January 28, 2018, <http://cyprus-mail.com/2018/01/28/view-reunification-no-longer-option-todays-voters/>; James Ker-Lindsay, "What Anastasiades' Re-Election Means for the Prospects of Cyprus Reunification," *World Politics Review*, February 8, 2018, <https://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/24150/what-anastasiades-re-election-means-for-the-prospects-of-cyprus-reunification>.

particularly promising avenues for future planning projects. Regional planners and researchers might also consider how the benefits of integrating preservation strategies and objectives into Nicosia's master plan might translate to similar contexts, where cities may or may not be divided by a physical barrier, but still suffer from social and political divisions that threaten daily operations and the safety of residents.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE FUTURE OF COLLABORATIVE PRESERVATION PLANNING IN NICOSIA

Participatory development programs seek to engage local populations in the development decisions that affect their communities. The idea of participatory development first emerged in the 1970s as a counter to the predominant Western communication and development processes, which have increasingly become seen as paternalistic and marginalizing.²⁷⁵ The NMP did not actively promote participatory processes in its development or implementation, but future planning projects may benefit from utilizing this approach in their development processes. Engaging the residents of Nicosia in the planning process may foster community investment and discourage the neglect that certain NMP projects have suffered in the years since project implementation. Preservation projects, in particular, may benefit from participatory development, as Nicosia's architectural heritage contributes to the local economy and, perhaps, residents' sense of identity and connection to the urban environment. In the divided capital, the benefits of the process itself might also be used to advance social goals, if planners endeavor to engage the communities from either side of the buffer zone in collaborative conversations about shared heritage and a shared future. The continuing division of Cyprus may prove challenging, but the opening of multiple buffer zone crossings in recent years presents an important opportunity for collaborative, bicomunal participatory development that enables Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots to revitalize their community together.

²⁷⁵ Thomas Tufte and Paolo Mefalopulos, *Participatory Communication: A Practical Guide* (Washington, D.C.: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/The World Bank, 2009), 3.

Learning from the Shortcomings of the Nicosia Master Plan

In a 2012 report by the bicomunal Future Together Project, the creators of the NMP acknowledged that a participatory process was not a priority in 1979, when the collaborative planning process began.²⁷⁶ In fact, the residents of Walled Nicosia were not consulted for the design phase of the project, and most were only made aware of area projects through media coverage and municipal authorities promoting the exigency of the NMP.²⁷⁷ Known as passive participation, this is the least participatory, least-engaged approach to participatory development; on Sherry Arnstein's famous "Ladder of Citizen Participation," this form of so-called "participation" after-the-fact falls below even the lowest rungs of the participatory ladder.²⁷⁸ Nonparticipation is, however, more expedient and reflective of the time period and high-stress environment in which the NMP was produced.

Participatory processes that worked to engage the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities together in planning efforts were even more rare. Any bicomunal interaction at all was limited to professionals involved in the plan. In fact, throughout the development and implementation of the NMP, Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots were brought face-to-face in only three circumstances: the composition of the plan through collaborative meetings at Ledra Palace, the restoration of the Roccas and Flatro Bastions within the buffer zone, and the architectural survey conducted in and along the buffer zone.²⁷⁹ However, because the barrier was largely impermeable before the opening of the Ledra Palace crossing point in 2003, a lack of bicomunal participatory development is understandable.

²⁷⁶ Prologue Consulting Ltd. / CYMAR Market Research Ltd., *Participatory Development Models: The Cypriot Experience* (s.l.: Future Together Project, 2012), 14. The Future Together Project is a bicomunal project implemented by the Cyprus Technical Chamber (ETEK) and the Union of Chambers of Cyprus Turkish Engineers and Architects (KTMMOB). It receives funding from USAID.

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

²⁷⁸ Tufte, *Participatory Communication: A Practical Guide*, 6; Sherry Arnstein, "A Ladder of Citizen Participation," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 35, no. 4 (1969): 217.

²⁷⁹ *Venetian Walls of Nicosia* [leaflet], Bi-communal Development Programme, 2003; *Survey of the Buildings along the Buffer Zone in Nicosia* [leaflet], Bi-communal Development Programme, 2003.

Two buffer zone crossing points have opened in the vicinity of Walled Nicosia since the conclusion of NMP implementation, and today, the physical limitations upon bicomunal participatory development have been diminished. Because of this, future projects have the potential for greater collaboration, and for development schemes that elevate citizen participation to a point where decision-making powers are partially redistributed. Rather than simply receiving notification of a project, by this model, community stakeholders would have the opportunity to collaboratively advance projects that they have initiated and helped design. The preservation of Nicosia's architectural heritage could and should continue to play an important role in development projects, but under a participatory development model, the public would have greater opportunity to suggest projects and direct preservation funding. On either side of the buffer zone, shopkeepers, hoteliers, and restaurateurs in the Walled City rely on income from the heritage tourism industry, so both the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot communities should have a vested interest in the restoration of significant structures and monuments, as well as the small shops and homes that contribute to the character and charm of the historic capital city.²⁸⁰ These buildings may also play a psychological role in interethnic relations, as their architecture is referential to a shared history that has been shaped by Byzantine, Ottoman, and other European players. In bringing the city's ethnic groups together to discuss the preservation and management of Nicosia's historic resources, a bicomunal form of participatory development has the potential to build positive social relationships even as it more equitably effects the preservation of the Walled City.

Direction from Grassroots Peace-building Programs

Shared heritage, including architecture, has also been emphasized by popular organizations working to build relationships between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities. Of the many grassroots organizations advocating the reunification of the island, one in particular has been promoting bicomunal participatory communication as a means to effect a more integrated, more vibrant Nicosia: the Association for Historical Dialogue and Research (AHDR), established in 2003, was

²⁸⁰ Ron Ayres, "Tourism as a Passport to Development in Small States: Reflections on Cyprus," *International Journal of Social Economics* 27, no. 2 (2000): 115.

founded by Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot educators and researchers who sought to create a dialogue across the divide. AHDR has consistently used preservation strategies and emphasized shared heritage to advance these goals. In 2007, the group began working to establish a headquarters and community center in the buffer zone, near the center of historic Nicosia. After obtaining permission from the United Nations and funding from European Economic Area (EEA) and Norway Grants, AHDR purchased a two-story 1950s mixed-use building across the street from the Ledra Palace Hotel.²⁸¹ The building had been constructed just as ethnic tensions in the capital city were giving way to full-scale aggression, and it was quite literally caught in the crossfires when the United Nations Buffer Zone was established in 1974. Its exterior was crumbling after thirty years of neglect when AHDR acquired the building, and razor wire blocked many of the windows [Figure 7.1]. However, its architecture, which is visually reminiscent of the last few years that Cyprus was unified as one nation, and its location were perfectly suited to AHDR's needs. The rehabilitation of this structure, subsequently named the Home for Cooperation [Figure 7.2], earned the project a 2014 Europa Nostra Award:

The Jury felt that the Home for Cooperation was something to be really proud of. It constitutes, they felt, a substantial contribution to the revitalization of Nicosia's United Nations Dead Zone as well as to the wider peacemaking procedure. Furthermore it represents a typical example of the 1950s architecture of Cyprus, which finds few supporters but which we are again starting to see as a brave and distinctive statement of the character of its period.²⁸²

Today, the Home for Cooperation (H4C) is transforming the buffer zone into a space for bicommunal dialogue, and the building itself offers a variety of opportunities for Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots to interact casually—in the H4C's café space or community library, for instance—or more formally, through workshops and music

²⁸¹ Anita Bakshi, "The Home for Cooperation Opens in Nicosia's Buffer Zone," *Conflict in Cities and the Contested State*, accessed April 26, 2018, http://www.conflictincities.org/PDFs/CinC_Web%20report_Nicosia.pdf. Some additional funding was provided by other international donors and supporters including UNFICYP, UNDP, Council of Europe, Switzerland, Sweden, the Netherlands and the United States.

²⁸² "Home for Cooperation: Educational Centre in the Buffer Zone of Nicosia," *EU Prize for Cultural Heritage/Europa Nostra Awards*, last modified March 20, 2014, accessed May 2, 2018, <http://www.europeanheritageawards.eu/winners/home-cooperation-educational-centre-buffer-zone-nicosia/>. Europa Nostra is a pan-European federation representing citizens' organizations that protect and celebrate Europe's cultural and natural heritage.



Figure 7.1 The Home for Cooperation in Nicosia's buffer zone, before rehabilitation efforts. Source: Giorgos Psaltis, *Home for Cooperation: Educational Centre in the Buffer Zone of Nicosia, CYPRUS*, 2006, 2014 EU Prize for Cultural Heritage / Europa Nostra Awards.



Figure 7.2 The Home for Cooperation in Nicosia's buffer zone, one year after opening. Source: AHDR, *Home for Cooperation: Educational Centre in the Buffer Zone of Nicosia, CYPRUS*, 2012, 2014 EU Prize for Cultural Heritage / Europa Nostra Awards.

sessions on most Thursday nights. These events frequently utilize shared intangible heritage, such as music, dance, and food, as a means to unite Nicosia's two ethnic communities and emphasize shared culture. The NMP also made small forays into the preservation and celebration of intangible cultural heritage, such as through the establishment of the Chrysaliniotissa Craft Centre and a cultural center created during the restoration of the Famagusta Gate. These projects serve as a reminder that despite the island's complicated and contested history, Cypriots share a common heritage spanning hundreds of years. In Nicosia, the heart of the island, this is reflected in architecture, food, music, art, and dance. Taking the successes of the H4C and NMP as an example, future planning projects may be wise to emphasize shared heritage in advancing bicomunal projects, facilitating participatory communications, and encouraging local investment in a community that hopes for a reunified, reintegrated future.

Toward a Bicomunal Participatory Development Model

A movement toward bicomunal participatory development in Nicosia planning projects will likely begin with administrative changes. Although implementation of NMP projects concluded in the early 2000s, a dedicated NMP office south of the buffer zone continues to oversee bicomunal and co-funded projects, such as urban redesign and infrastructure upgrading in the Walled City. An equivalent office has never existed in North Nicosia, as NMP duties were simply taken on by the general planning offices of the municipality.²⁸³ Officials may explore the possibility of establishing partner offices on either side of the buffer zone, with in-person, integrated meetings held at regular intervals, much like the NMP's original Ledra Palace Hotel meetings. As the buffer zone in Nicosia is now permeable at the Ledra Palace and Ledra Street crossing points, the two municipalities may even consider a combined NMP office, where employees from both the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot communities may interact on a daily basis to advance planning projects within Nicosia. However, due to the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus's status as an unrecognized country, this may hinder both sides'

²⁸³ Prologue Consulting Ltd. / CYMAR Market Research Ltd., *Participatory Development Models: The Cypriot Experience*, 14.

accessibility to international funding opportunities, so a combined office may not be practical.

To move bicommunal planning in Nicosia toward a more participatory model, next steps will involve public education and forming groups of primary stakeholders to participate in the various stages of project development. The early years of NMP implementation were marked by poor local advertisement, and this failure to communicate should be avoided in future; better outreach will solicit more community input, and perhaps encourage more local interest and investment in preservation planning. Ideally, Nicosia planners would also enable community members to initiate projects, in a version of participatory communication known as empowerment participation.²⁸⁴ Nicosia's urban identity, as it exists through historic architecture and modern use, may be defined best by those who live and work within its walls.²⁸⁵ It follows that in prioritizing resource stabilization and rehabilitation, planners should collect and consider input from residents and local business owners before selecting projects and creating project timelines. In order to gather input from both the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot communities, and to bring the two groups together in the public comment process, planning officials might look to the methods used by AHDR, the H4C, and other organizations already utilizing participatory communication to promote interethnic community-building.

Conclusion

Bicommunal participatory development and preservation planning may be compatible tools for promoting the continued economic, social, and physical revitalization of historic Nicosia. Although potential procedures will require significant research before implementation, the successes and the shortcomings of NMP preservation projects suggest a benefit to combining bicommunal planning and preservation strategies with better public outreach. In the case of Nicosia, and in many contested environments, architecture and cultural landscapes are often a physical manifestation of the ethnicities,

²⁸⁴ Tufte, *Participatory Communication: A Practical Guide*, 7.

²⁸⁵ Zehra Öngül, "Analyzing the City Identity of Nicosia from a Historical Perspective: External Effects, Solutions Proposed," *Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences* 35 (2012): 285-86.

cultures, and/or political groups that are in conflict. The preservation of these structures and sites, through a bicomunal and participatory process, would seem to bring conflicting groups together for a common good, preserving the most visible reminders of shared heritage and identity.

OTHER OPPORTUNITIES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This thesis has offered new insights into the role of preservation strategies and objectives within the design and implementation of the NMP. However, some of the measures used by this study have clear limitations that deserve attention in future research; population data within the Walled City is particularly lacking, as is information regarding homeownership and the use of rehabilitation and restoration grants by private citizens. This data, if procured, could support or qualify anecdotal accounts of Nicosia's revitalization over the past thirty years. Additional interviews with NMP project staff, local residents, and business owners from both the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities would also strengthen any conclusions reached through the evaluation of the NMP.

The research contained in this thesis may also be used to inform more detailed analyses and evaluations of the NMP's success within Nicosia itself, and to further explore the benefits of bicomunal preservation schemes within other divided communities. In building on this project, researchers might explore the dominant planning theories surrounding the bicomunal development of the NMP, in order to postulate the reasons for its reliance on preservation projects to effect social change. Sociologist Juergen Habermas's concept of communicative action may be particularly applicable, as it specifically refers to circumstances in which multiple parties with diverse motivations, interests, and levels of technical knowledge are involved.²⁸⁶ The bicomunal aspect of the NMP's preservation projects should also be considered for its applicability to other historic cities faced with social, political, and physical divisions. Belfast, Jerusalem, Sarajevo, and Berlin may all be candidates for cooperative preservation planning; although scholars including Scott Bollens, Jon Calame, and Esther

²⁸⁶ Hazem Abu-Orf, "Collaborative Planning in Practice: The Nicosia Master Plan," *Planning, Practice & Research* 20, no. 1 (February 2005): 42.

Charlesworth have examined these and other cities from collaborative planning and peace-building perspectives, the potential benefits of bicomunal preservation projects have not yet been explored by the existing literature.²⁸⁷

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

In a divided city faced with unique and seemingly insurmountable urban planning challenges, preservation activities have served as a tool for urban regeneration and intercommunal dialogue. The NMP's rehabilitation and restoration projects have promoted positive social relationships between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, both directly and indirectly, as they have restored the physical environment of the capital, encouraged resettlement in the city center, and prompted economic revitalization. These successes may indicate the benefit of collaborative preservation planning in other cities with rich histories and contested urban landscapes; they may also provide a foundation for more participatory development in Nicosia, as the city works to further reintegrate its population and prepares for a future with or without the United Nations Buffer Zone.

In the current political climate, and after four decades of failed compromise, the dissolution of the buffer zone and the reunification of Cyprus still seem remote. Talks most recently stalled in the summer of 2017, ending two years of promising negotiation.²⁸⁸ Despite the intransigence of the division, however, Nicosia remains vibrant and functional. The preservation objectives and implementation strategies of the NMP have contributed to this continued vitality by creating attractive residential options, restoring and promoting popular tourist sites, and retaining the tangible history of a city that was ethnically integrated before its division in 1974. Advancing additional collaborative preservation projects will continue to preserve Nicosia's multiethnic identity even as it restores and improves necessary infrastructure. These projects, in and

²⁸⁷ See Jon Calame and Esther Charlesworth, *Divided Cities: Belfast, Beirut, Jerusalem, Mostar, and Nicosia* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009) and Scott A. Bollens, "Town Planning and Peace Building in Polarized Cities," in *Report of Valladolid: Human Rights and the Town 2002 (Informe de Valladolid: Los Derechos Humanos y la Ciudad)*, ed. R. del Caz, M. Rodriguez, and M. Saravia (Valladolid, Spain: University of Valladolid, School of Architecture, 2002), 35-37.

²⁸⁸ Staff writer, "Cyprus Talks End without a Peace and Reunification Deal," *BBC Online*, July 7, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-40530370>.

of themselves, may not have the immediate power to dissolve the barrier that divides the island. But as the lasting effects of the NMP illustrate, preservation strategies are capable of creating urban conditions that promote peace and work to prepare the capital for potential reunification.

APPENDIX

NICOSIA MASTER PLAN PROJECTS (IN BRIEF)

The following information was compiled from the *Restoring the Heart of Nicosia*, published by the United Nations Development Programme Division of Information in 1987;²⁸⁹ *Nicosia Master Plan: A Landmark for Future Cyprus*, published by the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements in 1988;²⁹⁰ a series of informational leaflets provided by the Bi-communal Development Programme;²⁹¹ UNDP online resources;²⁹² and a 2004 diagnostic report prepared jointly by the UNDP and the United Nations Office for Project Services (UNOPS).²⁹³

These programs were funded variously by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), grants from the Bi-communal Development Programme (BDP, which is funded by the USAID and the United Nations Development Programme), local funds, and EU Structural Fund aid. The latter are only available to NMP projects within the Republic of Cyprus (i.e., south of the United Nations Buffer Zone), as the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus is not a member of the European Union.²⁹⁴

²⁸⁹ United Nations Development Programme Division of Information, *Restoring the Heart of Nicosia* (Nicosia, Cyprus: United Nations Development Programme, 1987), 15-16.

²⁹⁰ United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS), *Nicosia Master Plan: A Landmark for Future Cyprus* (Nairobi, Kenya: United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat), 1988), 16-17.

²⁹¹ *The Ancient Aqueduct* [leaflet] (Bi-communal Development Programme, 2003); *Arabahmet* [leaflet] (Bi-communal Development Programme, 2003); *Survey of the Buildings along the Buffer Zone in Nicosia* [leaflet] (Bi-communal Development Programme, 2003); *Buyuk Han – The Great Inn* [leaflet] (Bi-communal Development Programme, 2003); *Chrysaliniotissa* [leaflet] (Bi-communal Development Programme, 2003); *Taht-El-Kale Mosque* [leaflet] (Bi-communal Development Programme, 2003); *Venetian Walls of Nicosia* [leaflet] (Bi-communal Development Programme, 2003). These leaflets were provided to the author by Nicosia Master Plan Office staff in December 2017.

²⁹² UNDP - Partnership for the Future (UNDP-PFF), “Support to the Nicosia Master Plan (NMP),” *UNDP Cyprus*, accessed April 5, 2018, http://www.cy.undp.org/content/cyprus/en/home/ourwork/partnershipforthefuture/in_depth.html.

²⁹³ Nicosia Master Plan Office, *New Vision for the Core of Nicosia Diagnostic Report: Executive Summary* (Nicosia, Cyprus: United Nations Development Programme and United Nations Office for Project Services Programme Management Unit, 2004), 2.

²⁹⁴ European Investment Bank, “Preserving the architectural heritage in the buffer zone of Cyprus’s Walled City,” last modified June 10, 2011, accessed October 20, 2017,

PRIORITY PROJECTS IN THE WALLED CITY

Chrysaliniotissa Neighborhood Conservation Project (Republic of Cyprus)

Rehabilitation of one of the oldest and most historically significant areas of the Walled City, involving the restoration of homes, the redesign of a public garden, and the creation of a kindergarten, traditional handicrafts center, and other facilities.

Arabahmet Neighborhood Conservation Project (Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus)

Rehabilitation of a second ancient and historically significant residential area within the Walled City, involving the restoration of historic dwellings, the creation of community facilities, and the redesign of traffic and pedestrian patterns.

Selimiye Improvement Project (Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus)

Stabilization and restoration of the most important historic monuments in the Walled City, including the Selimiye Mosque in North Nicosia.

City Walls, Bastions and Moat (Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, Republic of Cyprus, United Nations Buffer Zone)

Restoration of the 16th-century Venetian-era walls and bastions encircling Nicosia and landscaping of the bastion and moat areas.

Mula Bastion Open-air Theatre (Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus)

Construction of an open-air theatre on the Mula Bastion to serve various cultural functions.

Famagusta Gate Open-air Theatre (Republic of Cyprus)

Construction of an open-air theatre on the Caraffa Bastion, near Famagusta Gate, to serve various cultural functions.

Ledra and Onasagorou Street Project (Republic of Cyprus)

Combination of traffic, parking, pedestrian, and landscaping improvements in the commercial core of the Walled City along Ledras and Onasagorou Streets.

Kyrenia Avenue and Saray Square Project (Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus)

Combination of traffic, parking, pedestrian, and landscaping improvements in the Kyrenia Avenue area, which connects a central square with Kyrenia Gate at the northern edge of the city walls.

OTHER INVESTMENT PROJECTS

Eleftheria Square (Republic of Cyprus)

Expansion and development of a central square into an open plaza and redevelopment of a section of moat into a large urban park.

Pedieos River Landscaping (Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus)

Development of a public park and recreation facilities along a section of the Pedieos River.

Tripoli Bastion Parking Garage (Republic of Cyprus)

Construction of a parking facility in the most congested part of the central business district, adjacent to the Walled City.

Survey of Buildings within the Buffer Zone (United Nations Buffer Zone)

Comprehensive professional survey of deteriorating buildings within the United Nations Buffer Zone.

Omeriye Area Project (Republic of Cyprus)

Road rehabilitation, full restoration of historic Ottoman baths (*hamam*), and partial restoration and landscaping of the 14th-century Omeriye Mosque.

Phaneromeni Area Project (Republic of Cyprus)

Multifaceted neighborhood revitalization of an historically significant residential area within the Walled City.

Samanbahce Area Project (Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus)

Multifaceted neighborhood revitalization of an historically significant residential area within the Walled City.

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