



Urban Rapprochement Tactics

Stitching Divided Nicosia

Andreas Papallas

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— Andreas Papallas —

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Preface

Thinkers and practitioners from various disciplines have studied the effects of excluding or including societal groups on the basis of identity, from the Jewish Ghetto in Venice of 1516 to the Brazilian favelas of the late 19th century, and the modern-day gated communities across the world. The frequently hostile relations that exist between excluded and included groups have manifested themselves in cities through the practices of division and segregation. Undoubtedly all cities, even deeply ethnically segregated ones, are vessels of a diverse public. Palestinians and Israelis shop at the Mamilla Mall in Jerusalem, while Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots take a Sunday stroll on Ledra Street in Nicosia. It has been established that space becomes political in environments of conflict and ethnic-hatred; hence, can be claimed, destroyed or abandoned for the purpose of advancing the gains of one side against the other. However, if space does hold the capacity to exclude and alienate, could it also serve as an environment of rapprochement? Could such interactions also ease interethnic tensions and reduce prejudice, or are we expecting too much from public space?

Nicosia’s Walled City

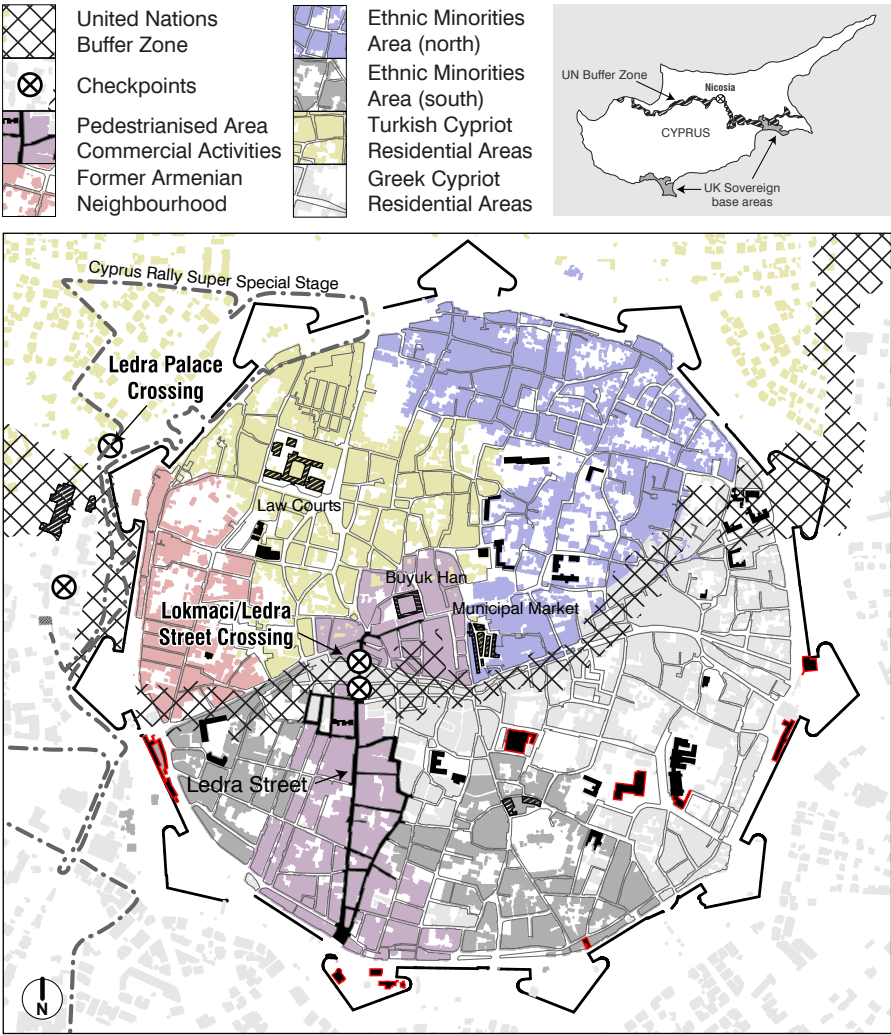


Figure 0.1 The walled city of Nicosia. The city is not only divided by the UN Buffer Zone to north and south but also by the commercial corridor of Ledra Street to east and west.

Source: Andreas Papallas 2016 ©.

Classic urban theorists in Heidelberg and Berlin (known as the German school), at the University of Chicago (known as the Chicago school) and later political theorists, geographers and sociologists (such as Hannah Arendt, Ash Amin and Richard Sennett) have written about the cosmopolitan city, questioning whether living together with strangers is possible. This thesis follows on from this body of theory, offering insights about Nicosia as a vehicle to answer two questions. First, what is the role of space in enhancing interethnic interactions; and second, what are the spatial conditions for such interactions to become environments of meaningful contact? Such study cannot be detached from the issues of citizenship, cosmopolitanism, inclusion, cohesion and public space - terms which are as contested as the environment of the divided Cypriot capital. There has been a volume of *fig.: 0.1* academic work on the quality of public space and social cohesion, the relationship of public space and identity, as well as on Nicosia as a topic of inquiry; however, there is no consensus regarding the management of ethnic diversity in facilitating interethnic understanding as a socio-spatial tactic.

This thesis is structured around three thematics. Each one employs philosophy and theory in order to raise questions and provide a critique on the urban character of the Nicosian conflict, as well as the attempts to resolve, manage or transform it. This process reveals weaknesses as well as opportunities for the urban planner who endeavours to create spaces that transcend ethno-national boundaries.

The first thematic, on spaces of encounter, postulates the notion that conflict is intrinsic to all cities as a form of 'sociation' (Simmel, 1971 p.70, 1964; Coser, 1956) and is embodied in its architecture and urban structures, as well as in societal processes and the psyche of its inhabitants. Consequently, the city without conflict - or the post-conflict city - becomes an undesirable utopia, while conflict is interpreted as a social transformational

tool on the basis of *agonism* and *antagonism*, as manifested in the urban condition. Both agonistic and antagonistic practices, inherent in the contested nature of a conflict, are normalised through the banality of daily life. Such divisive practices frequently involve a rhetoric of belonging and identity. In these cases, space becomes an important vessel of meaning. The quadrilateral nature of the Cyprus conflict will be exposed to show that agonism and antagonism can be as much intra-communal as inter-communal. Through examples of urban practices and structures that have been planned to bring people together or keep them apart, the value of agonism and antagonism will be brought into question.

To transform antagonistic spaces to agonistic environments (cf. Sennett, 1971; Pullan, 2015a; Leeuwen, 2015), a strategy of managing ethnic diversity in shared space is essential. The second chapter, on shared spaces, will address the much-debated argument about whether the difference found in a multiplicity of identities is to be denounced or admired. The distinction is made between community cohesive and socially inclusive spaces on the basis of cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism. The two predominant theoretical approaches come from Arendt and Jürgen Habermas, with the former envisaging a public realm characterised by a shared experience based on anonymity and the later distinguishing impersonality from anonymity.

Whether to embrace the two predominant identities in Cyprus as distinct or promote a singular identity based on commonalities, what is referred to as *Cypriotism*, follows on directly from Arendt's and Habermas' positions. While some argue that the differences in language and religion cannot be bridged by a common identity, others posit that the current constitution and a proposed reunification plan based on a narrative that divides the citizens in two communities, is inherently prejudiced and discriminatory. Consequently, public spaces that aim to include both communities can be viewed within this

framework as community cohesive or socially inclusive. This chapter will refer to the planning and design intentions to shift antagonism to agonism by employing a focus on cohesion, the blurring of identities or inclusion and the peaceful coexistence of a multitude of identities, rather than an understanding of how people experience and use the space.

Whereas the previous chapters dealt with the public realm of antagonism and agonism, and within that how community cohesive and socially inclusive spaces manifest, the third chapter, on overcoming boundaries, shifts focus to an experiential perspective of this realm. In urban conflict literature, the meaning of multi-ethnic coexistence within the public spaces of the diverse city has come under scrutiny. While some argue that non-direct interactions, such as vision and sound are good enough to contribute to interethnic understanding (cf. *Conflict in Cities*, 2012; Pullan, 2011), others posit that direct interaction is essential (cf. *micropublics* in Amin, 2002). Both arguments make claims to have an understanding of the psychological experience of the individual within the built environment. This chapter draws from *phenomenology* (cf. Merleau-Ponty, 2002; Heidegger, 1971), the philosophical research into experience and space, and Gordon Allport's *Intergroup Contact Theory*, the social psychology theory that has been used in Cyprus to detect interpersonal contact and levels of prejudice between the communities. Empirical research will bring forth individual perceptions within the Nicosian case studies to critique the transformational capacity of space and contribute to the urban conflict theory debate.

This thesis is informed by a six-month fieldwork period, which comprised four primary roles: a researcher at the Urban Conflicts and Segregation Research lab at the University of Cyprus; a period as a member of the UN OHCHR Regional Conference *Broadening Cross Boundary Communication* organising team; a participant at the International Summer School in Peace and



Figure 0.2 Shared spaces between the Ledra Palace checkpoints. The case studies of the bi-communal concerts (bottom), the Cyprus Rally (middle) and the Home for Cooperation (top) will be referred to throughout this thesis to inform the argumentation.

Source: Andreas Papallas 2015 ©.

Conflict Studies in Nicosia; and a design tutor at the *Re-Imagining No Man's Land* Workshop taking place within the UN Buffer Zone. The multiplicity of roles established proximity to all the actors under different conditions, which was essential to approach the research questions from different angles. Interviews with the major political decision makers at national and municipal levels, local NGO leaders and architects involved in bi-communal projects, as well as mapping exercises and observations, drive the discussion of the Nicosian case studies within the framework of agonistic transformation, sharing space and overcoming boundaries. This thesis contains only a selection of cases where Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot coexist in space or cooperate. At the time of writing, intense political negotiations continue with a renewed hope for a referendum to take place in 2016. It is still critical to understand that while issues, such as governance, economy and power sharing within the bi-communal bi-zonal federation model are vital, managing ethnic diversity in the urban realm is paramount to the future of our cities. fig.: 0.2

On Spaces of Encounter

Crooked men do not watch football

People meander through low-rise neighbourhoods, dash through busy high-streets, rest in plazas and squares, play with their children in parks, cycle and drive from home to work, and by doing so contribute to the diversity that characterises the contemporary public sphere. This diversity is a necessary ingredient, if not the basis of what makes the city a city. Aristotle in *Politics* asserted that ‘similar people cannot bring a city into existence’, a frequently quoted phrase to define the city on the basis of diversity. Forming diverse communities and cities is necessary for the development and evolution of humanity. Hegel, through his dialectics, and Marx, through his political theory, supported the view that development can come out of diversity and contradictions in society. Immanuel Kant found this development to be a product of antagonism, what he calls the *unsocial sociability of men*, the paradoxical tension between the pursuit of individual gains and the need for sociability. This tension is, according to him, unresolvable and inherently human: the ‘crooked wood [that] the human being is made, [from which] nothing entirely straight can be fabricated.’ (Kant, 1784, p.113)

This philosophical thinking of antagonism as a societal necessity, inherent to violent conflict, is very alarming. Simmel (1971) argues that the tension can be resolved through the social friction found in agonism. He argues that non-violent forms of conflict are what makes it possible to live with ‘unbearable people’ (Simmel, 1971, p.75). Sennett takes this idea further, supporting the view that confrontation in social conflicts is the only way to enable people to live together with difference in ‘a more civilised and mature’ manner (Sennett, 1971, p.150). The challenge lies in transforming antagonism into agonism, rather than finding ways to eliminate power and conflict such that a Kantian perpetual peace emerges (Mouffe, 2009). In both agonistic and antagonistic environments, conflict manifests in some form of tension or confrontation; however, the difference can be identified as the distinction between enemies and opponents. While antagonism is based on the pursuit of aims for a homogenous group at the expense of all others, agonism favours the pursuit of group gains as a mechanism of negotiation and transformation — a debate rather than a battle.

Agon manifests in the Nicosian scene through institutions. These institutions relate to sports, trade, education and politics, yet they are most often presented in combinations. In Cyprus, football has been diachronically linked with politics and political parties. While Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot teams do not play against each other, the Cypriot football league is an example of how the conflict is quadrilateral: not only between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, but within each community as well. Many football club owners and board members have been involved in politics. It is no surprise that the rift between left and right in Greece, culminating in the 1946-1949 civil war, was reflected in the 1948 breakdown of the Cypriot football federation. Progressive thinking athletes who were affiliated with clubs that openly promoted ethno-national ideals were

Football Pitches in Nicosia's moat

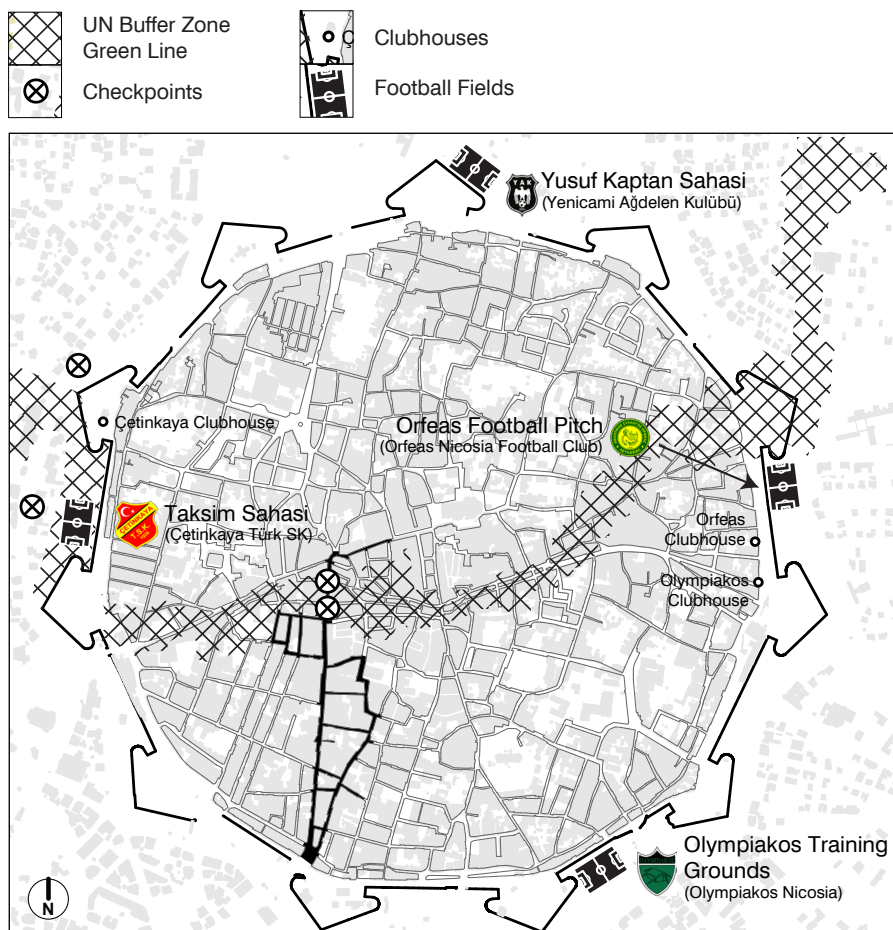


Figure 1.1 Nicosia's football pitches adjacent to the Venetian wall.

Source: Andreas Papallas 2016 ©.

discriminated against, and set aside in favour of athletes whose political views were aligned with the clubs. By the end of 1948, five new teams were established to accommodate progressive thinking athletes and together they formed an alternative football club federation. It was clear that in such a small country two separate leagues run by two federations was unfeasible. By 1953 the federations were reunited; however, two years later the federation decided to suspend the Turkish Cypriot teams from the league to avoid hostilities between Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot fans. The Turkish Cypriot teams consequently established the Cyprus Turkish Football Federation and their own football league. Today, football teams affiliated with the political left share a fan base more willing to coexist with the other, while those affiliated with the political right express ties with the motherland.

The four football stadia located in the moat of *fig.: 1.1* the Nicosian old city wall are a manifestation of the conflict's quadrilateral structure. Interpreted as another case of Pullan's urban frontiers, her example being the Museums of National Struggle (Pullan, 2011), the stadia are also distributed equally between the two sides - one being within the buffer zone and the other adjacent to it. Football grounds in the north have been used by Yeniciami Ağdelen Kulübü and Çetinkaya Türk Spor Kulübü, while those in the south by Orfeas Nicosia and Olympiakos Nicosia. These are not the primary training grounds for most of the teams, yet their frequent use reflects a politics of encounter. The Orfeas pitch in particular has been used by the Omonoia youth team, another left-wing club that emerged as a result of the 1948 breakdown. While the Olympiakos team seniors share the GSP stadium, located outside Nicosia, with Omonoia and right-wing Apoel, they still maintain their moat pitch for their youth club. The Greek Cypriot anthropologist Yiannis Papadakis (2005) has studied the dynamics extensively between the fields and the supporters' cafes belonging to Olympiakos

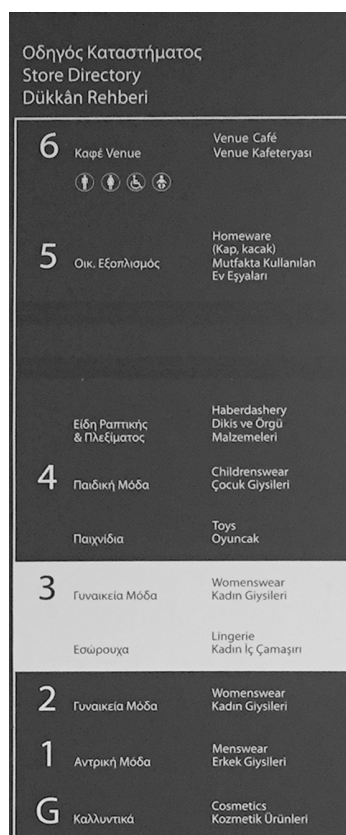


Figure 1.2 Debenhams store at Ledra Street. The trilingual signage and employment of Turkish Cypriot staff reveal a cross-communal exposure within the everyday life.

Source: Andreas Papallas 2016 ©.

and Orfeas, revealing a dichotomy based on the existence or absence of ethno-national ideals.

The Turkish Cypriot Football Association has applied to join the Cyprus Football Association following a provisional agreement in 2013, in order to allow Turkish Cypriot clubs and players to become associate members and have an international presence. Turkish Cypriot football supporters today cross to the south to watch the Greek Cypriot football league supporting Omonoia in Nicosia and AEL in Limassol (Koutsokoumnis, 2013). Attacks against Turkish Cypriots in streets by organised football fans typically originating from Apoel, reveals how politics and football intertwines in antagonistic ways.

Football is an appropriate example of the agonistic and antagonistic quadrilateral relations in Nicosia, yet remains an environment outside the form of everyday life. The absence of violent conflict in the daily routine – since the two halves of the city remain separate but functional – has led to a normalisation of the state of non-peace (Demetriou, 2015) and contentment at the political level with the status quo. Papadakis (2005) describes himself growing up thinking that Greeks and Turks were opposites, as they had nothing in common. Unable to interact and question their own indoctrination, the two communities go about their separate lives on each side of the buffer zone, ignoring the presence of the other. While an extended overview about the Lokmaci/Ledra street checkpoint will be made in the third chapter, it is worth mentioning that the commercial nature of the street attracts both communities on a daily basis. Ordered on a linear axis that cuts vertically through the buffer zone, it has attracted international chains such as Starbucks, McDonalds and Debenhams in the south, *fig.: 1.2* and shops selling counterfeit designer bags and clothing in the north. The relationship of the street with the city and the buffer zone counterbalances the quadrilateral embodiment of the conflict provided by the football



Figure 1.3 Student protest against the Turkish occupation of the island. Ledra Palace crossing (top), Lokmacı/Ledra Street crossing (bottom). The crossings can be as much as a meeting place as a space for confrontation. 16 Nov 2015.

Source: Andreas Papallas 2015 ©.

pitches in a space of encounter based on commerce and trade.

The football fields, commercial streets and other spaces of friction or encounter have been typically manifested within or adjacent the UN Buffer Zone by employing *fig.: 1.3* agonistic or antagonistic narratives to encourage or discourage people to interact. Such public spaces will question the Kantian political thinking that ‘evil thoughts are secret by definition’ (Arendt, 1990, p.18), and therefore publicity creates good citizens, by presenting these spaces as agonistic or antagonistic.

Terror at the checkpoints

To understand what makes a space incite feelings of animosity or amity one needs to begin with the differences between space and place, as well as interpreting the practice of *place-making* as a territorialisation practice. Urban theorists consider *space* to be an intricate network of social relations, based on movement and change (cf. Massey, 1984; Amin, 2004; Jessop, Brenner and Jones, 2008). On the other hand, *place* is infused with meaning and emotion. The phrase *sense of place* (cf. Hillier and Rooksby, 2005) is used when talking about environments that contain meaning that is deemed to be universal among people. The idea that diverse senses of place may co-exist finds resonance in environments of conflict, where different experiences lie not only between the contested communities, but also within each community. In these cases, space is not only territorialised on the basis of sovereignty being the control of access (cf. Sassen, 2008), but a sense of place is also created that alienates the perceived perpetrator. Stuart Elden stated ‘to control territory is to exercise terror’ (Elden, 2009, p.xxx); whereas antagonism and agonism can be manifested

through interaction, the spaces along sovereignty lines aim to decrease proximity, not only through physical, but also through emotional means, thereby encouraging antagonism without contact.

fig.: 1.4 The checkpoints at the Ledra Palace crossing go a long way towards revealing the intricate complexities between architecture, state and the public as an institutionalised aspect of the conflict. To understand the checkpoints as spaces of confrontation is to understand the architecture of territorialisation, as well as the spatio-political narrative of each side. The southern checkpoint is placed within a temporary steel frame structure on concrete blocks at the side of the main road. Its temporary nature relates to the Greek Cypriot narrative that 'Turkey is an occupying invader that has unjustly seized their lands and so must leave' (Bryant, 2012, p.116). It expects a swift dismantling of the checkpoint as the invader retreats and the island reunites. Two concrete barriers block the road used only by diplomatic cars and pedestrians. The Greek Cypriot checkpoint is not considered by the Republic of Cyprus to be a divide between two states as it retains its sovereignty throughout the island. Greek Cypriots that cross through are consequently not obliged to show identification, as they are not perceived to be traversing national borders. The identification process becomes very informal for the police to determine whether a person crossing is Greek Cypriot. A Greek Cypriot would walk casually going through the barriers saying something in Greek to reassure the checkpoint police of his or her ethnic identity. While this informal process is typical among the frequent crossers and the more informed, many people subsumed by the sense of place as a formal checkpoint choose to approach the police and display identification. Turkish Cypriots and nationals from third countries have to show identification that is digitally recorded by the police. Conversely, the police will let a mixed group cross without showing identification as long as it is perceived to consist of Greek Cypriots.

The northern checkpoint is a two-storey concrete building placed in the middle of a double lane street, which features sliding barriers and prominent Turkish and Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) flags that face the buffer zone. The dominance of the architecture and the permanence of the material selection reflects TRNC's aspiration to establish its sovereignty along the buffer zone's northern ceasefire line. This aspiration is also reflected at the requirement for everyone, even the Turkish Cypriot TRNC passport holders, to undergo an identification procedure that resembles border control checks. The northern checkpoint provokes feelings of exclusion and awareness of limitation of access through characteristics evident in borders: 'a combination of formalised rules and regulations, informal codes and signs, and fears and desires' (Madanipour, 1998, p.209). Signs above the checkpoint, directed towards the buffer zone side, read: 'Welcome to T.R.N.C. You are now entering the sovereign republic' and 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus FOREVER'. Analogous to the infamous TRNC flag on the Pentadaktylos mountainside facing the south side, these signs are directed towards the Greek Cypriot crossers and tourists. *fig.: 1.5*

The southern checkpoint also features two banners permanently attached to the concrete barriers; however, these banners face the south and are directed towards Greek Cypriot and international prospective crossers. Their content refers to the 1996 killings of Solomos Solomou and Tassos Isaac. The former was shot by a Turkish officer while trying to remove a Turkish flag from its mast near Deryneia, and the later killed by a mob of Turkish nationalists during a civilian demonstration against the military occupation of the north. Both events happened at an area far from the Ledra Palace checkpoints, under different conditions and context; however, the narrative feeds into the state's objective to reduce the amount of crossings, and as such was re-territorialised in order to deter prospective crossers. The banners have now



Ledra Palace checkpoint (south)

Figure 1.4

Source: Andreas Papallas 2015 ©.



Figure 1.5 Ledra Palace checkpoint (north)

Source: Andreas Papallas 2015 ©.



Figure 1.6 Banner at the Greek Cypriot crossing at Ledra Palace informing potential crossers about the 1996 killings of Solomos Solomou and Tasos Isaak.

Source: Andreas Papallas 2015 ©.

fig.: 1.6 faded due to their years of exposure to the weather but have not been replaced or removed. A policeman at the checkpoint, when asked what sort of political intent the banners reveal and to which people they are directed at, characteristically replied: 'I won't answer because I don't want to lose my job.' The state would not openly criticise Greek Cypriot crossers, as the practice of crossing has been normalised. The existence of these faded banners nevertheless reveals a general attitude in favour of the *status quo*. Replacing them would open the right-wing government to anti-reconciliation criticism and stir the negotiation table, while removing them would empower the extremists.

The architecture of the checkpoint is one of confrontation, that shies away from interaction and imposes order, emphasising difference based on ethnicity. The symbolism and meaning attached to each checkpoint seeks to delimit the spatial practice of crossing, in the north by exercising the theatrics of sovereignty, and in

the south by employing narratives of terror. By becoming a frequent crosser myself for a period of six months and engaging with people who cross for various reasons, it becomes clear that this architecture has become normalised and consequently invisible. People who are pro-reconciliation do not pay attention to the faded out banners of Solomou and Isaac in the south or the meaning behind them. The banality of crossing has led to what Demetriou (2015) calls a bracketing of the conflict - a mere hindrance to the daily life of the inhabitants. Cypriots that are more reserved about crossing, are not deterred by the flags and banners at the checkpoints. Instead they fear the unknown, lacking a reason to cross.

It has been argued that increasing porosity at the borders is a way to dissolve the fear of the other (Becks, 2006). New checkpoints and a series of planned bi-communal encounters, did little to attract new *fig.: 1.7* crossers despite the increase of porosity at the city scale. Specifically, while there was a notable increase of crossings in the first half of 2009, a consequence of the 2008 opening of the Lokmaci/Ledra Street checkpoint, the second half of 2009 showed a return to pre-2008 crossing figures. On-site conversations revealed that first time crossers were motivated by specific events and reasons inherently outside their daily life. Furthermore, people were more likely to cross if joined throughout the journey to the other side by family or friends that had crossed before. Understanding the politics of crossing is vital for a city that will remain ethnically divided, even after a political solution and the removal of the buffer zone. Turkish Cypriot negotiator, Özdil Nami (2015), revealed that institutional duality will remain after a reunification and has to be considered as an inherent Cypriot element, reminiscent of both Flemish and French speaking hospitals in Brussels. Bryant also argues that 'any solution would entail creation of a federation of two states that would look much like they do now' (Bryant, 2012). While many Greek Cypriots imagine

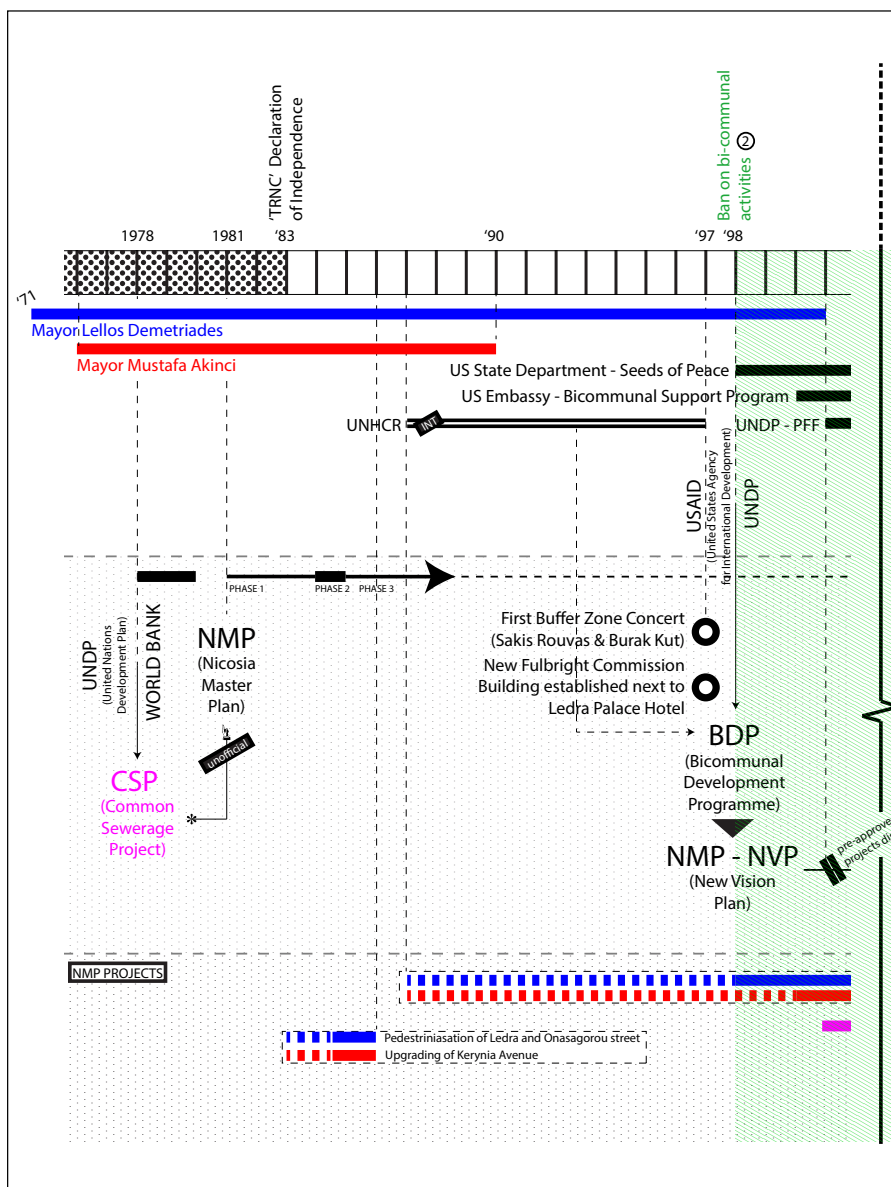
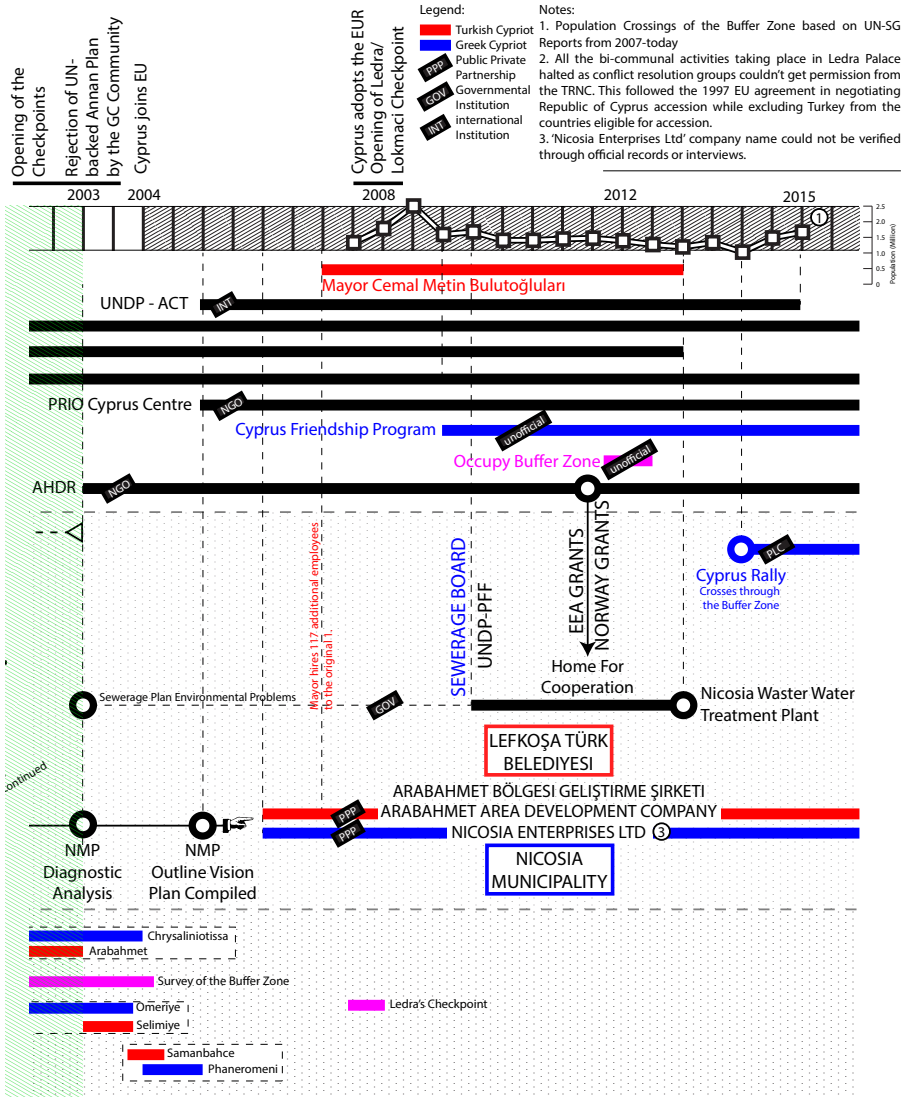
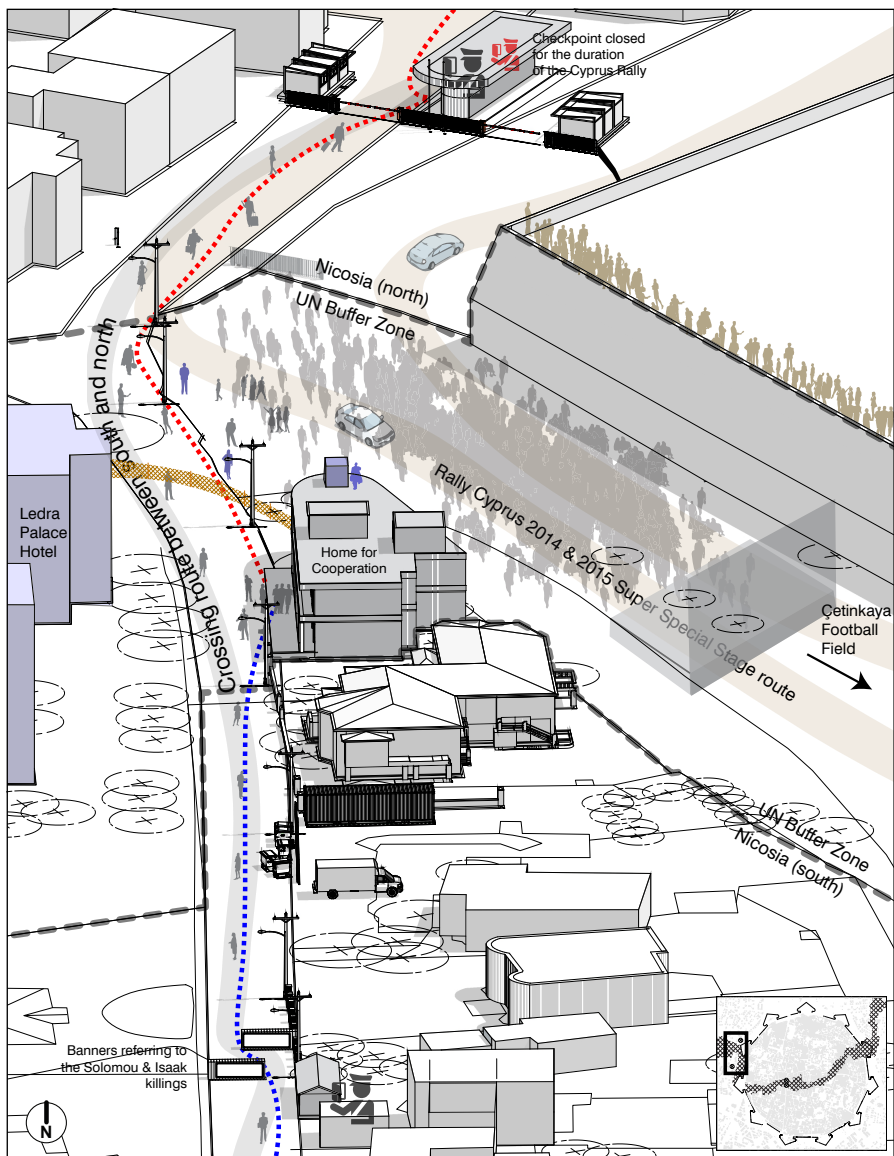


Figure 1.7 A chronology of bi-communal encounters. The walled city has been the focus of these activities whether it is planning projects or social events with the Ledra Palace area being the epicentre.

Source: Andreas Papallas 2016 ©.





Ledra Palace Buffer Zone: bi-communal events

Figure 1.8 Ledra Palace Buffer Zone. An area associated with bi-communal events and cooperation such as concerts (light gray) and the crossover point for the Cyprus Rally (light brown).

Source: Andreas Papallas 2016 ©.

that reunification would be an annexation of the Turkish Cypriot community into the existing Republic of Cyprus state structure, and subsequently the dissolution of the *de facto* state, the reality is much different. Whereas Nicosia might currently be two functioning cities, if the reunified city does not take into account agonistic public spaces, rather than antagonistic community enclaves, it might become socially dysfunctional and spatially fragmented.

A concert and a race

Within the 250m strip of land between the Ledra Palace checkpoints one can find the Fulbright Commission, the Goethe Institut and the Chateau Status restaurant. Inside the buffer zone is the Ledra Palace Hotel, which is currently *fig.: 1.8* used by the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), as well as the Home for Cooperation, a centre for bi-communalism. The Çetinkaya Football Field is accessible from this middle ground and allows bi-communal activities to take place in a large outdoor space. The buffer zone is commonly referred to as ‘dead zone’, ‘no man’s land’ or an ‘open wound’ (Andreou, 2015) in the heart of Nicosia, and its access is restricted to UNFICYP, yet the pitch has been diachronically considered a state of exception. The football pitch has been on a lease to Çetinkaya Türk Spor Kulübü and in spite of its location within the buffer zone, it has been used as a secondary practice pitch. It has always served an important purpose as it allows Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots to meet and attend events, bypassing the political complexities of showing identification to the other’s authorities. Evidently, this is less of a problem for Turkish Cypriots, as they do not question the legitimacy of the Republic of Cyprus of which they are citizens. This self-imposed restraint lies predominantly amongst

a percentage of Greek Cypriots that perceive the display of identification to Turkish Cypriot police as an indirect recognition of the TRNC's sovereignty over the occupied territory.

The first time the pitch became a ground for bi-communalism was in May 1997. The Greek Cypriot Sakis Rouvas and Turkish Cypriot Burak Kut participated in a bi-communal concert that represented both communities as they sang in Greek and Turkish in front of a mixed audience, which included 580 Greek Cypriots and 2,000 Turkish Cypriots. This event took place six years before the opening of the checkpoints and only one year after the aforementioned Greek Cypriot killings in Deryneia. The spatial organisation and hierarchy of the field allowed for a mixing of the audience that willingly attended, knowing its bi-communal agenda. However, the concert was deemed to produce mixed messages regarding the peace process, rather than contribute towards reconciliation (Hocknell, 2001). The Turkish Cypriot singer was threatened and a bus of Turkish Cypriots attacked by the Turkish nationalist 'Grey Wolves', while the Greek Cypriot concert-goers were beaten by the right-wing extremist 'Pancyprian Anti-Occupation movement', who were protesting in the nearby Eleftheria square. Years have passed since 1997 and bi-communalism has become less of a taboo subject due to the checkpoints opening in 2003, ease of access to the internet, and the increased number of Cypriots who have gone abroad to study coming back having built cross-cultural bonds.

fig.: 1.8 In September 18th 2015, I attended a bi-communal concert co-organised by labour unions and guilds from both sides with the Turkish musical composer Zülfü Livaneli and the Greek singer Maria Farantouri singing for peace. The choice of two singers from the motherlands aimed to disperse the mainstream narrative that attachment to the motherlands is a characteristic of the ethno-nationals. The concert was not held on the football pitch, but a smaller strip of land that led to the pitch.

Access from the Greek Cypriot checkpoint remained informal, despite large crowds that were heading there to cross. Access from the Turkish Cypriot checkpoint was more strict, with increased police personnel and UN soldiers surrounding the area. According to an anonymous interviewee, these concerts and events are unique opportunities for people to enable their friends from the north that do not hold a Republic of Cyprus identity card to visit the south and walk around the old city, as there is minimal chance of being asked for identification by the Greek Cypriot police.

While these concerts attract a particular crowd that already sees agonism as the only way to coexist with the other, sports have been observed to be an opportunity to bring more politically inhomogeneous crowds together. In 2014, the Cyprus Rally crossed to the north for the first time, passing through the football pitch. The organisers of the rally identified the pitch as the only possible location for such a crossover to take place. Following *fig.: 1.8* a framework set by an international body was key in overcoming political complexities and enabling a fruitful collaboration between the bi-communal organising committee (Kontopoulou, 2015). While a rally generally enables observers to mix, the spatial organisation and planning of the Cyprus Rally unintentionally divides the communities along ethnic lines. The northern checkpoint had to be closed for the duration of the rally and all roads were fenced from both sides, with few crossover points in order to protect the crowds. The organisers did not account for how difficult it would be for pedestrians to cross and watch the event from the other side of the divide.

During the Cyprus Rally 2015, in an attempt to approach the northern checkpoint at Ledra Palace, I was escorted outside the area after being informed by a Greek Cypriot woman that ‘the buffer zone is off limits today.’ Visual contact between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot attendees was limited, with the



Figure 1.9 Cyprus Rally Super Special Stage 2015. Top: Greek Cypriots (left) and Turkish Cypriots (right) watching the cars entering the UN Buffer Zone. Bottom: The northern checkpoint at Ledra Palace was closed for the duration of the rally. 26 Sept 2015.

Source: Andreas Papallas 2015 ©.

Turkish Cypriots being able to watch ‘the most exciting segment of the rally’ from a higher point above the moat (Kontopoulou, 2015). The Greek Cypriots were excluded from that space, as the only access was through the buffer zone, and were confined at the bottom of the bastion. Loudspeakers at the north described the rally in Turkish, creating an auditory link between the two sides, but this was understood by only one community. *fig.: 1.9*

Two observations were made while I was amongst the Greek Cypriot crowd for the duration of the event. First, the crowd was of mixed political ideologies with mixed opinions about how the Cyprus problem should be managed. This was in contrast to the usual pro-reconciliation crowd attracted by events in this area. Characteristically, when a young child asked his father why they could not watch the rally from ‘up there’, pointing above the moat where the Turkish Cypriots were standing, the father’s answer identified those people as Turks and then proclaimed that the child should never go there. Secondly, while the crowd seemed annoyed with the lack of a good view on the Greek Cypriot side, it did not reflect an aggravated attitude towards the Turkish Cypriots who were enjoying a better view. What seemed to be an unjust predicament for these Greek Cypriot observers did not manifest in a Kantian antagonism – the inevitable pursuit of justice inherent to the human nature. The spatial organisation of the rally did not cater for agonistic coexistence either, as it removed any chance of finding out whether the Greek Cypriots were able to share the good view with the Turkish Cypriots.

Theories originating from Kant and Simmel have introduced agonism and antagonism as the two dominant modes that deal with conflict in a political theory context. Yet, as conflict becomes intrinsically urban and inscribed to the fabric of the city, as well as the way that people move around the city, agonism and antagonism is manifested spatially. Deconstructing the politics behind Cyprus football and understanding the four pitches adjacent to

Nicosia's walls provided an insight into the quadrilateral structure of the conflict. Space, place and territory become distinct when discussing the environment of the northern and southern checkpoints as institutional products of conflict. The dialectics of crossing, as well as meeting in the middle ground, begin to unravel confrontation as either an agonistic or antagonistic practice.

Despite the confrontational architecture deployed at checkpoints that aims to deter crossers, the antagonistic environment has been rendered of secondary importance. This is not due to an incapacity of the space to be agonistic or antagonistic, but is rather inherent in the prolonged nature of the conflict and overexposure of the communities to the symbols and structures related to it. Two types of temporary events that aim to bring the communities together, the concert and the race, have been presented through their spatial organisation as spaces of agonism. However, the race did not create the imagined agonistic environment, as it has avoided opportunities for contact and the concert created a mixing of a crowd that was mainly pro-reconciliatory. Nevertheless, observed informalities regarding the practice of crossing and overcoming self-imposed restraints on an individual level have revealed that agon is within the individual's psyche as much as between individuals of the same or different communities. In a reunited Nicosia, which will remain structurally divided for years after a solution, the need for agonistic pluralism is evident.

On Sharing Space

Your city is not your home

All public spaces that involve the coexistence of strangers have to negotiate a balance between *praxis* (action) and *lexis* (speech) (Arendt, 1998). Such a balance was seen in the Pnyx in ancient Athens, a space of civil rights practice where Athenian neighbours voted on whether the city should go to war with Sparta, and in the Red Square in Copenhagen, a space of visibility and enactment designed to celebrate the surrounding sixty nationalities. Iveson (2007) draws a distinction between publicness found in the procedural, where *lexis* gains dominance over *praxis*, and publicness found in the sociable, where *praxis* gains dominance over *lexis*. Nevertheless, the relationship between action and speech is always one of contestation. If action gains dominance, then any interaction between strangers is built on the basis of visibility in the public sphere, whereas the dominance of speech renders interactions anonymous, based on equality and limited by what one chooses to reveal. To understand the importance of this relationship in shared spaces, we need to refer to a much-debated argument – whether difference found in the multiplicity of identities

is to be denounced or admired (Wilson, 1966).

A political philosophy perspective reveals two kinds of spaces that involve multiplicity of identities in different ways. *Liberal egalitarian space* focuses on individual rights and freedoms based on autonomy and equality (Kymlicka, 2001, 2003), while *multicultural space* focuses on group identities and cultures (Parekh, 2002). The notion of the city as the ultimate celebration of diversity originates from Weber (1969), whose thinking departed from other sociologists of his time in interpreting the city as a human settlement that allows for the expression of the utmost degree of individuality. Pullan and Baillie (2013) similarly view plurality as a *sine qua non* for any city. In the aftermath of 9/11, a shift has been observed towards the ‘exclusion or domestication of the stranger’ (Amin, 2013, p.3), resulting from negative perceptions of multiculturalism. Given that the number of refugees and migrants that travel across the Mediterranean Sea and South-eastern Europe to find asylum is increasing exponentially (Held, 2016), the porosity of the European borders has been brought into question. This reveals attitudes towards the stranger. While people feel arguably more whole in an environment of less difference, to enforce internal uniformity through exclusion at borders or expulsion would be considered a politics of purification. Such thinking reveals ethno-national tendencies and is deemed dangerous, yet, it seems to find support from an alarming portion of the global population. Madanipour (1998, p.208) confirms this danger by identifying the exclusion of the stranger as the imposition of order, and its opposite as the celebration of diversity.

We can find this distinction articulated in different ways amongst academics, with space described either as integrative and inclusive, or pluralistic and democratic. I adopt *cosmopolitan* and *multicultural* to distinguish between *community cohesive* or *socially inclusive* spatial planning tactics. A community cohesive space is cosmopolitan as it seeks homogeneity and

the neutralisation of identity in order to encourage meaningful interactions. A socially inclusive space is multicultural as it interprets the display of different identities and pluralism as being a crucial component to interethnic understanding. This chapter will expose the planning of shared spaces on the basis of managing diversity and identity under the framework of community cohesion and social inclusion, and unveil the limitations and shortcomings of each.

Cohesion has been used as an ‘umbrella term for related, but separate [social] constructs’ (Stafford et al., 2003, p.1472). While cohesion was initially used to describe social order in general, it has later been adapted to describe a social order that allows for a public life without hostility and abuse (Nash and Christie, 2003, p.39). In a UK context, the term was first used in a new policy called *Community Cohesion: The Report of the Independent Review Team (the Cantle Report)* that sought an alternative to the multicultural model as a response to rioting that took place in Oldham, Burnley and Bradford in the summer of 2001. The report’s contradictory definition of the cohesive community, as one with shared common values and a sense of belonging, yet celebrating diversity (Home Office, 2001), was challenged for imposing a cosmopolitan identity that interpreted ‘identity, culture and tradition [...] as conducive to prejudice, antagonism, polarization, mistrust, hatred [...]’ (McGhee, 2015, p.172). My definition of cohesion departs from the narrative of the Cantle Report and draws from Arendt’s interpretation of the Kantian perpetual peace; an interpretation that privileges *lexis* over *praxis*, and defines the public realm on the basis of interactions between anonymous individuals. Sennett understood that Arendt’s idea of anonymity in essence meant that ‘you cannot identify how rich somebody is and what they do for a living’ (Sennett, 2003, p.393). In the space that this statement holds true for all individuals, community cohesion is found.

An example of such a spatial practice, albeit a temporal one, is the biannual Zinneke parade in Brussels. Organised as a collaboration between social and cultural groups, neighbours and communities, it emphasises a human element. The participants, dressed in costumes, dance and sing through the streets of the Belgian capital. The parade is organised so that Flemish and Walloon can celebrate their commonalities, rather than what divides them. The *cohesion* is not found in a consensus of beliefs, as it has been traditionally suggested (cf. Heyting, Kruithof and Mulder, 2002). The act of performance as a coping mechanism for being with others (cf. Bauman, 1991). If people within the parade are to embark in a conversation, then it will be one that begins outside the framework of identity. One can reveal himself or herself as Flemish or Walloon, but the choice to do so rests with each individual. In a similar fashion, many public spaces in London feature routines by mime artists painted as statues. The paint hides the identity of performers who can be Irish, French or Bangladeshi, male or female, in a representation of the bizarre. The dissolution of order, originating from the sheer population density of a busy Piccadilly Circus, is where we would find an Arendtian freedom established by anonymity (Arendt, 1998). While this does not create the absolute uniformity of a protesting crowd wearing Guy Fawkes masks, it does provide an anonymous public that consequently produces an egalitarian social realm.

While Arendt argued that anonymity produces a Kantian cosmopolitan order, leading to *perpetual peace*, not all community cohesive public spaces can produce integration between adversaries. Planwerk Innenstadt, the 1996 urban design framework, aimed to integrate the two sides of Berlin within a new city centre by erasing physical traces of memory and redefining the place-identity (Neill and Schwedler, 2001). Despite academics and theorists advocating *identity neutrality* (Dryzek, 2006) and shifting the focus to 'common symbols of

belonging and attachment' (Gaffikin, Mceldowney and Sterrett, 2010, p.225), the plan was heavily criticised by advocates of Critical Reconstruction, especially in eastern Berlin where they were accused of proposing a forced monotony and lack of historical sensitivity (cf. Williams, 2008). Today, people in Berlin, even those born after 1989, identify themselves as Easterners or Westerners, as was evident in the German federal elections of 2013. The western district preference leant towards the Christian Democratic Union and the eastern district preference towards Die Linke. Western and eastern friendship circles have been conducive to a dual structure mobility and activity in the city, influencing the daily life of Berliners and maintaining the division in many ways until today.

Coser (1956) traces the dysfunctional manifestation of cosmopolitan space to closed systems with rigid structures, suggesting that there are two forms of community cohesive spaces. The first can be found in closed systems and the second in porous structures. Similarly, Bollens (2006) in his urban planning and peace building strategy draws a distinction between porosity and integration, stating that cosmopolitan space should be porous in order to facilitate peace building. A closed system implementation of community cohesive theory would impose order to create a uniform sense of belonging. Neil Leach (1998), a close reader of Heidegger, finds the notion of belonging to embed fascist tendencies. Such thinking led to Heidegger's affiliation with the Nazi Party. In these cases, cosmopolitan space is exclusive rather than inclusive. The call for inclusive rather than exclusive cosmopolitan space lies in parallel with Sennett's (2015) call to delimit the city from the home, as the latter is conceived as a place of hierarchy and inequality.

While the idea of community cohesion aligns with the Arendtian idea that entering public space means rising above ethnic, social and cultural conditions, Habermas (1974) wants people to account for these conditions while also expressing opinions on public affairs freely.

Where Arendt tries to think outside of the boundaries of identity, Habermas starts from impersonality in order to arrive at a higher understanding of identities. I refer to this Habermasian principle as social inclusion. The argument for not blurring identities in a cohesive way, yet allowing inclusion, can be traced back to Simmel's (1971) observation that a higher danger of confusion ensures that tensions are more passionate and irreconcilable. Borja and Castells (1997) find globalisation to be a threat to distinct cultural identities, and echoing Sennett's (2016) interpretation of cosmopolitanism as a 'stimulation by the presence of others but not identification with them', argue that a sense of belonging needs to be preserved. Consequentially, it seems that the existence of every identity needs to manifest spatially in a relational way (Mouffe, 2009). While the plurality of identities creates a tension, Connolly (2002) argues that this is to some degree vital in order to avoid antagonism.

In a multi-ethnic society such as Cyprus, the meaning of belonging and nationhood is contested and fought over. The Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus requires citizens to define themselves as Greek Cypriots or Turkish Cypriots on the basis of ethnicity and historical traditions drawn from Greece or Turkey. No one is purely Cypriot from the perspective of the state. A much-debated question in Cyprus is whether a singular identity is required to alleviate prejudice – a detachment from both motherlands that is scholarly known as *Cypriotism* (*cf. Mavratsas, 1997*) – or whether a co-existence of both identities could take place in a peaceful environment. To understand the clash of identities and the relationship between the communities, a look into the recent history of the island is essential. Two main political trends made an appearance from the early 20th century. First, a Greek Cypriot desire for 'enosis', union with motherland Greece, and then in response, a Turkish Cypriot desire for 'taksim', the partition of the island into Greek and Turkish parts. Within this ideological context, a five-

year Greek Cypriot guerrilla war was fought against the British colonial regime in 1955, which led to the birth of a new state. Neither ‘enosis’ nor ‘taksim’ was achieved. A series of constitutional changes proposed in 1963 were perceived by the Turkish Cypriots as endangering their political participation, and an escalation of inter-ethnic hostilities led to the departure of Turkish Cypriots from the administration. UN peacekeepers intervened in 1964 to prevent a war (Keshishian, 1978). A *coup d’état* in 1974 was orchestrated by the Greek dictatorship and the Turkish invasion that followed divided the island into two, along with a UN administered buffer zone. In 1983, the Turkish Cypriot administration in the north declared its independence under the name of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC). It failed to achieve international recognition, apart from its motherland Turkey from which it still relies on financially. In 2003, a UN-backed resolution plan, the ‘Annan Plan’, was rejected by the Greek Cypriot community, leaving the northern part of the island with the EU *acquis communautaire* suspended as Cyprus entered the EU in 2004 (Bahcheli, 2004).

The notion of having a singular Cypriot identity to replace the Greek and Turkish elements of the city is coherent with a cosmopolitan view of the city as a cohesive community, where everyone has an equal standing from the perspective of the state within an anonymous public space. On the other hand, the co-existence of both identities in a space of mutual respect is socially inclusive. Through discussions with the main political actors, two distinctly different approaches to this identity question were identified. The first was demonstrated by the UN Spokesperson, Aleem Siddique, who hoped that ‘people won’t see themselves as Greek Cypriots or Turkish Cypriots but simply as Cypriots’ (Siddique, 2015). In alignment with this position, the UN has always implicitly supported more community cohesive, rather than socially inclusive, endeavours.

The second approach that originated from the Turkish Cypriot negotiator for the Cyprus problem, Özdil Nami (2015), supported the logic that despite the existence of certain shared elements between the two communities, aspects of their culture and historical background are different. Respecting and accepting this difference, he elaborated, is key for achieving peace. The emphasis given by the bi-communal planning body of Nicosia to the 'development of a common identity' (Petridou, 2014, p.19) and the Cyprus Planners Association motto of 'uniformity in space is a necessity' (Christodoulou, 2015) suggest an alignment towards Cypriotism within Greek Cypriot planning policy.

A new perspective on the binary view towards the urban consequences of the identity dilemma stems from Amin's work on *urban interculturalism* (Amin, 2002). He sees value in interactions on the basis of equality and traces the weakness of multiculturalism in its tendency to 'stress cultural difference without resolving the problem of communication between cultures' and of cosmopolitanism that 'speculates the gradual erosion of cultural difference through inter-ethnic mixture' (Amin, 2002, p.11). Such criticism is coherent with the examples discussed in the previous chapter - the concert and the race. While the concert distinguished the performers based on ethnicity, the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot attendants shared the same rights and freedoms as individual human beings within the liberal space of the buffer zone. The disintegration of ethnic difference was partially achieved for the duration of the concert, especially when bi-communal friendships brought wider social groups together. Turkish Cypriots, however, walked towards the north and Greek Cypriots towards the south, rendering it a time of exception within their daily habitual reality, as opposed to a new norm. While the race employed a narrative of uniformity by banning national flags, and in essence extended the notion of the buffer zone through the racetrack, the spatial organisation resulted in

a distinct division based on ethnicity. The division was on an agonistic rather than antagonistic basis, as the participants were there for a common purpose - to enjoy the rally. In that sense, the rally was perceived as placing emphasis on group identities – distinguishing between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot observers, without facilitating communication and contact beyond the visual.

Little Home in the zone

During my fieldwork in Cyprus I have become a frequent visitor of the Home for Cooperation, one of the most celebrated bi-communal planning endeavours and a 2014 *fig.: 2.1* Europa Nostra Award recipient. The restored building is located between two checkpoints within the Buffer Zone, opposite Ledra Palace Hotel, and has been used as the primary bi-communal educational centre and home to many bi-communal NGOs. Entering the Home's café on the ground floor, I could see people sipping coffee and chatting. Listening carefully, I could distinguish between conversations in English, Greek and Turkish. Looking at those conversing in English, I could not distinguish between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. Moving towards the register I looked at the barista, not knowing whether to speak English, Greek or Turkish; I opted for English. In this case, anonymity does not come from the sheer population density that Arendt would see in a busy Piccadilly Circus, but from the design intention to create an environment where lexis dominates over praxis.

The Home took both communities by surprise when it opened in 2011, defying the buffer zone's reputation as a dead zone. Envisioned by the Association for Historical Dialogue and Research (AHDR) in 2003, an NGO established by Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot



Figure 2.1 The Home for Cooperation cafe. External (top) and internal (bottom) areas where Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots can meet and socialise.

Source: Andreas Papallas 2015 ©.

educators, the project was initially intended to be a bi-communal school. Its board of teachers and academics argued for educational reform and the need to re-think the way that history is taught on both sides. In the first three years, AHDR became well known in pro-reunification circles and gained important political allies. The initial idea for a bi-communal school was the basis for an EEA Grant application at the end of 2006 (Shiotani, 2007). A Greek Cypriot civil engineer was commissioned to prepare a feasibility report that formed the basis for an application made to UNFICYP for authorisation to use a building in the UN Buffer Zone (Crummey, 2007). AHDR stressed the inherent bi-communal nature of the project was to contribute to the peace-building efforts, with the still active t-shirt shop on site as a precedent. An initial meeting in March 2007 revealed that UNFICYP would support the project. Specific details were required about the teachers involved and the curriculum, as well as information regarding security and access. At that point, AHDR decided to change the brief to a more ambiguously defined educational centre (Shiotani, 2007).

This complex procurement process, which involved national and international actors, had a community *fig.: 2.2* cohesive narrative from the outset. The UN was adamant in their requirement to neutralise identity – a dialectic that was consistent with the UN Spokesperson's wish for individuals to view themselves simply as Cypriots. Such conditions included a requirement for the building 'to be visibly impartial to either Greek-Cypriot or Turkish-Cypriot communities at all times' (Shiotani, 2007), as well as for the absence of flags and insignia. At the Home, everything is written in all three languages – English, Greek and Turkish – from the labelling outside the building (Σπιτι της Συνεργασίας, Home for Cooperation, Dayanışma Evi) to the informational material, posters and café menu. While the lingual distinction is indeed a multicultural rather than cosmopolitan characteristic, the provision to include all three languages blurs the language

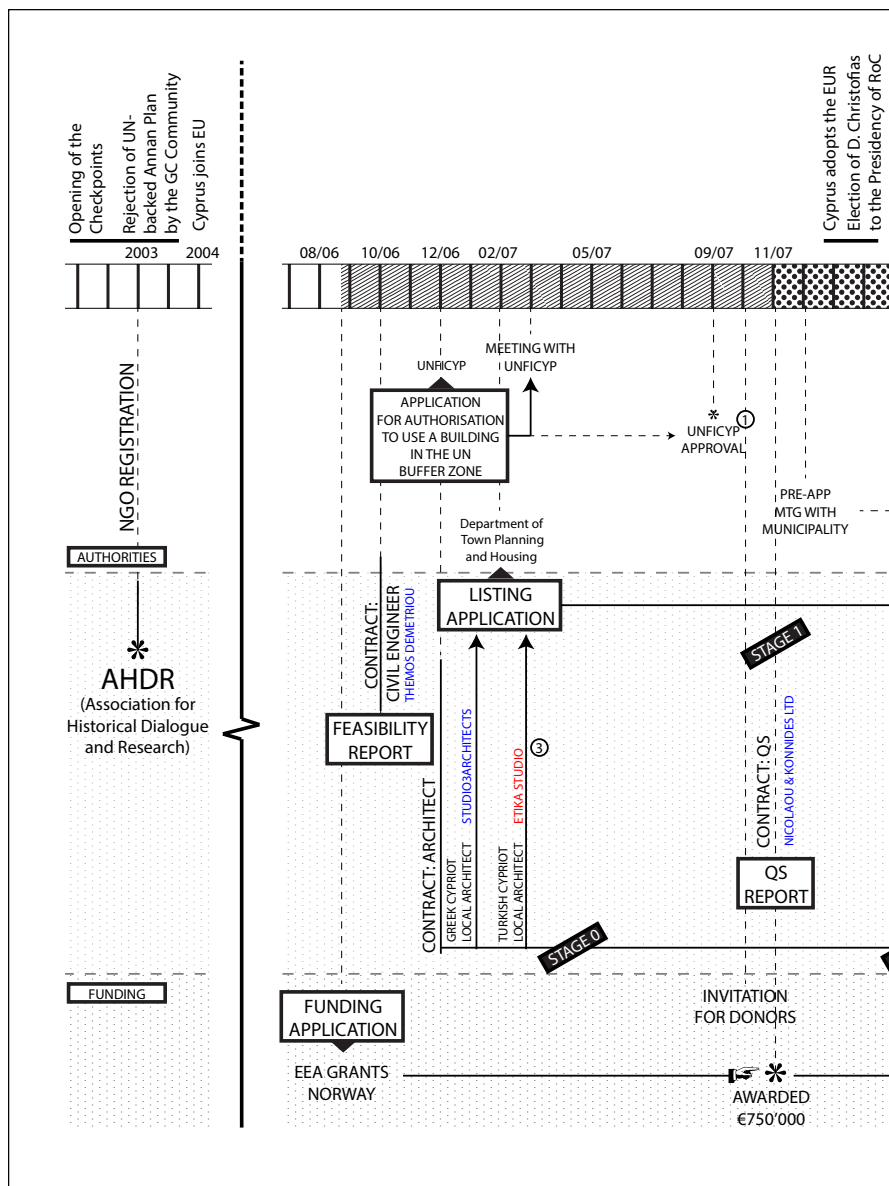


Figure 2.2 The Home for Cooperation procurement.

Source: Andreas Papallas 2016 ©.

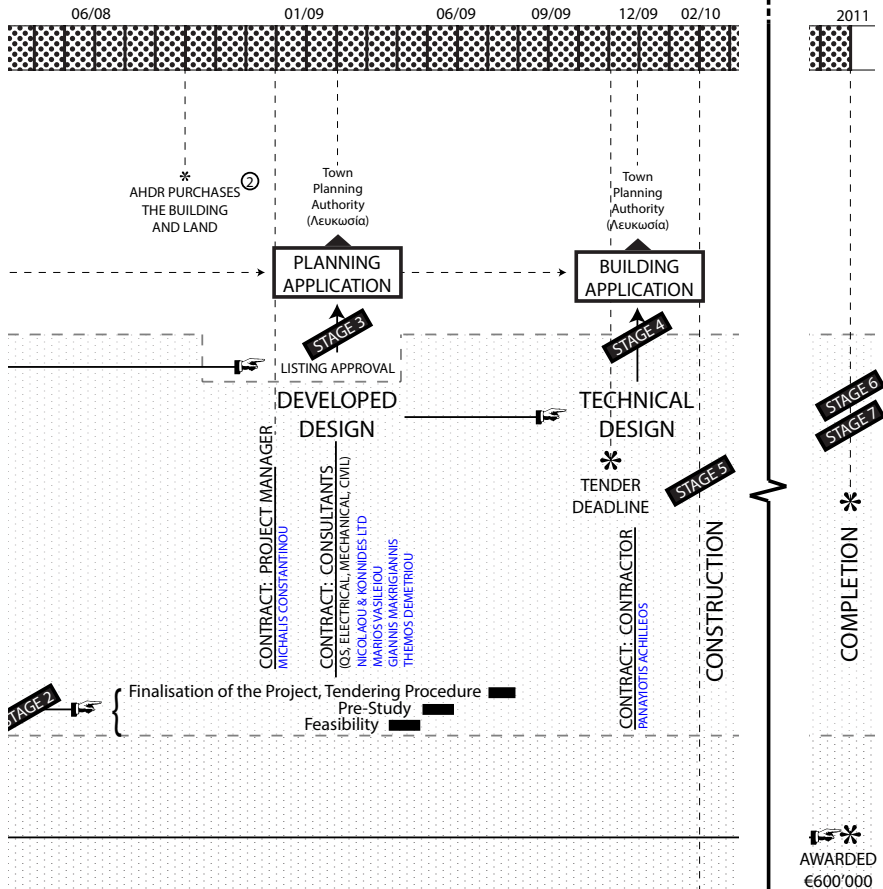
Opening of Leda/
Lokmaci Checkpoint

Legend:

- Turkish Cypriot actor
- Greek Cypriot actor
- Matching of procurement to RIBA Plan of Work 2013

Notes:

- UNFCYP's approval was given at this point to restore the building with intent to use subject to various conditions.
- While all the reports and commissions up to this point had AHDR as the client, the land was owned by Avo Mangoian who allowed AHDR to assume they were the owner until they could actually purchase the land. Mangoian's cooperation and relaxed attitude was key in the success of the implementation of the project.
- ETIKA Studio was the sole Turkish-Cypriot actor in this project. Their contribution was very limited.



barrier as it provides access to both communities and non-Greek/Turkish speakers on the basis of equality. The capacity of the Home to be, in fact, a ‘home’ for everyone is based on creating a procedural public space, where the public is regarded on the basis of their individual rights, rather their community affiliation. Following Bollens observation that segregation in contested cities happens at the ‘fault lines of cultures’ (Bollens, 2000, pp.5–6), the Home was tasked to erase this line, not only by creating a cosmopolitan experience – a *sense of place* – but also through demonstrating how the procurement of such a project can foster meaningful collaboration.

On that basis, the Greek Cypriot architectural practice Studio3Architects was commissioned to apply for the listing of the Home’s building. Since the building wasn’t owned by AHDR yet, this was done in coordination with the original owner Avo Mangoian, who was supportive of the project from its inception. The project received the go-ahead from UNFICYP in September 2007, 5 months after the initial application for authorisation (Civil Affairs Branch UNFICYP, 2007). With UNFICYP’s backing, three further steps were taken prior to the end of 2007. AHDR sent out invitations to potential donors hoping for monetary support, a Greek Cypriot quantity surveyor was commissioned to produce a report, and the first pre-planning application meeting with the Nicosia Municipality took place (AHDR, 2007; Zisimos, 2015). AHDR was awarded an EEA Grant of €750.000 to establish the Home (EEA Grants, 2001). The following year, intense deliberations took place between various Greek Cypriot authorities and the architects. A shift in the top political stratum at that time, and the bi-communal balance, tipped the scales in favour of the project: the election of the left-wing leader Demetris Christofias to the presidency of the Republic of Cyprus and the opening of the Lokmacı/Ledra checkpoint. Studio3Architects applied for Planning Permission after the purchase of the building in October 2008, for its listing in February

2009, and for the extension of the design team to include a project manager, electrical, mechanical and civil consultants (all Greek Cypriots) in March 2009. For the rest of the year, the team proceeded to the technical design stage, appointed a Greek Cypriot contractor and applied for Building Permission (Zisimos, 2015).

This description of the Home's procurement process, negotiating planning and funding hurdles, reveals that the main mechanism for the establishment of shared spaces as being cosmopolitan or multicultural is planning; it is this that subsequently shapes the social space (Gaffikin, Mceldowney and Sterrett, 2010). The project's procurement and implementation strategy has been criticised for exclusively involving Greek Cypriot companies. A Turkish Cypriot architectural practice was brought in to collaborate, but their input and role was limited in a process that involved *de jure* only Greek Cypriot authorities and planning bodies (Zisimos, 2015). The material procurement for the reconstruction followed the same pattern, with most sourced from the south and only limited quantities of limestone brought in from the north.

The Home's containment within the Buffer Zone is both a virtue and a curse. Its location between the checkpoints provides a safe haven in a 'neutral zone' where people from both communities can attend events without crossing to the other side, allowing the inclusion of those who are adamant not to cross. At the same time, however, it is bound by its location as a ground for cosmopolitanism that attracts a public specifically interested in participating in bi-communal activities or being at the same environment with *the other*. Following from Coward's assertion that public space is the product of heterogeneous identities, and therefore buildings become the 'crucible of politics, the place in which identities negotiate the multiple boundaries of self and other' (Coward, 2008, p.48), the Home fails to become a frontier for identity politics. Remaining well within the bubble of bi-communalism,



Figure 2.3 Peace Day installation at the Home for Cooperation. The public was asked to respond to the phrase 'I want my Cyprus to be...'. The high number of trilingual responses reveal the pro-reconciliation mindset of the crossers. 27 Sept 2015.

Source: Andreas Papallas 2015 ©.

the self-congratulatory institution fails to attract the more oppositional elements to a federal solution (Foka, 2014). While social events without a bi-communal agenda, *fig.: 2.3* such as salsa nights and food-oriented events, have been observed to attract a crowd that is less interested in bi-communalism, they remain of secondary importance to the Home (Epaminondas, 2015). The Home's community cohesive character creates a risky environment of identity confusion, which Simmel identified as a deterrent for sceptics of bi-communal engagement.

Shared spaces can be deciphered based on an intention to celebrate the multiplicity of identities as a pathway to intercultural understanding, or to encourage equality amongst the public outside the scope of a community in order to have meaningful interactions. Community cohesion and social inclusion have been widely used to describe related, yet different, social constructs. A distinction was drawn between these notions, based on political philosophy and planning policy theory. Therefore, this framework became useful in discussing the meaning of both belonging and nationhood in Cyprus, a contested matter itself as the constitution draws a distinction between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. A future bi-communal, bi-zonal federation will also be inevitably based on this distinction. Shared spaces based on community cohesion or social inclusion tackle the issues of belongingness and identity in Cyprus differently. The Home for Cooperation, between the checkpoints of Ledra Palace, has been analysed as such a space. A comprehensive investigation into its procurement, through letters and documents provided by the architect, reveals its planning was a contested process influenced by many actors that involved narratives of cohesion. The weaknesses of community cohesion have been demonstrated by examples of UK planning policy and contemporary critiques on theories that emphasise belonging. The local and international actor's predisposition to correlate the creation of the Home as a

centre for bi-communalism, with a radiant and infectious Cypriotism, has been argued to be insufficient and idealistic. The agonistic spatial practices described in the first chapter – the concert and the race – have been equally problematic because of their aspiration to promote cohesion or inclusion. Yet, while it is useful to interpret spaces in this binary and identify the fallacies within the planner's aspirations, in reality these spaces transcend from one to the other and perceptions of cohesion and inclusion vary, based on an individual's viewpoint.

On Overcoming Boundaries

The girl that crossed

Planning projects and spatial practices that claimed to have authoritative positions on identity and space were critiqued on their limitations and shortcomings, rather than the perception of the individual towards the stranger. The relationship between space and social interaction can be understood in order to identify the characteristics of spaces that can lead to interethnic understanding through enabling the crossing of boundaries and establishing meaningful contact.

There are two predominant ideologies regarding the capacity of spaces that have a transformational effect on its users. The first one has its roots in environmental determinism, the conviction that we can solve social problems through design, or at least prescribe space to a degree that enables social transformation. This derives from the realisation that the sheer manifestation of diversity in public space does not counter shared apathy. A belief and need for spatial engineering has emerged that strengthens community cohesion or social inclusion. Carr, Francis, Rivlin and Stone (1993) argue that the diversity of cultural groups in parks, markets and plazas

‘in a supportive context of mutual enjoyment offers the potential for social communion [...] and as a result increase our disposition towards the other’ (Carr et al., 1993, p.344). Kohn (2004) also sees shared spaces as sites of co-inhabitation, leading to solidarity with strangers; whether or not discussion between strangers subsequently occurs is of less importance. In the same line of thinking, recent research into a range of contested cities supports the view that simply getting to see the other, observing customs and hearing the other’s language can improve relations (Conflict in Cities, 2012).

The second school of thought has its roots in cultural geography; possibilism is the belief that designed environments can merely suggest patterns of sociability. Kellner (2015) argues that the public sphere is unable to solve problems on its own. David Harvey similarly criticises the architectural belief that ‘new spatial structures alone would yield new patterns of socialization’ (in Corner, 1999, p.227). Amin posits that while planners and architects aim to cultivate an intercultural ethos with open shared spaces where strangers have the freedom to mingle and linger, they often achieve nothing more than ‘place[s] of transit, with little meaningful contact’ (Amin, 2002, p.967). Amin traces the problem in spaces that enable only sociality and suggests that the ‘micropublics of everyday social contact’ are far more crucial in ‘reconciling and overcoming ethnic cultural differences’ (Amin, 2002, p.959).

The race, the concert and the Home can be thought as an assemblage of spatial elements that have contributed to cohesion or integration, whether through the fencing of specific areas, the orientation of a music stage, or the management of the checkpoints. By doing this, the race and the concert employ a deterministic narrative that suggests the spectacle-observer relationship would be enough to transform the social predispositions of strangers. The assumption that people would casually converse if put together in a cohesive or inclusive space is problematic.

The Home took a more possibilistic approach by hosting or organising activities and performances based on joint interests that bring people together in an environment of doing and making, rather than observing. In a typical week, one can attend ‘Dance for Peace’ rehearsals, ‘Old Nicosia Revealed’ photography workshops, Tai Chi and Zumba classes, learn to dance Salsa or play the djembe. The events are highly successful, yet attended by a portion of the public that is characterised as ‘pro-reconciliation’ or ‘critics of ethno-nationalism’ (Psaltis, 2012). The challenge lies in identifying the spaces and events that could attract those with lower levels of trust and contact, notably the 28.9% of the Greek Cypriots and 37% of the Turkish Cypriots identified as ethno-nationals (Psaltis, 2012, p. 91, 95).

All activities based on shared narratives or curiosity, or advertised to foster bi-communal engagement, fail to attract these more reserved ethno-nationals. Amin *fig.: 2.3* (2002) posits that public spaces have a limit to influence intercultural understanding, as the prejudiced will always stay away. Would a Neo-Zionist Israeli and a Palestinian jihadist attend a screening of ‘Budrus’, the film about the story of unity between Palestinians and Israelis to save a village from the Israeli Separation Barrier? Would the upper class residents of the Manhattan Upper East Side venture into Spanish Harlem for a taste of La Marqueta? Sennett admits that placing it at the centre of Spanish Harlem rather than at the perceived edge of 97th Street was the wrong choice (Sennett, 2016). Community resources placed at the borders create porosity and while the buffer zone is the edge between the two communities, it is also the epicentre of bi-communalism. The example of the Cyprus Rally suggests that the issue does not lie only at the physical crossing of boundaries, but at the psychological.

To understand the space of the buffer zone as an individual experience, a phenomenological approach can come into play, specifically Heidegger’s notion of

the bridge and the river (Heidegger, 1971). In the same way that riverbanks exist only in reference to the bridge, the buffer zone as a place for cooperation exists only in reference to the checkpoints and the Home. The Home, the race and the concert re-negotiate the perspective of the buffer zone (Heidegger's river) in the experience of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot public. In his metaphor, the banks are presented as apart, brought together through the bridge that changes the daily life of its locality and consequently the perception of the people towards the banks. Its physical presence has a phenomenological impact mediating the world and the people around it. The Home, the race and the concert are all conceived as different 'bridges' that carry little significance in their technical approach or construction management process. Heidegger's perception of the bridge reflects on the individual and introduces the opportunity for renegotiation of each person's relationship with the world. Frequently crossing the bridge produces familiarity and a deeper understanding of its meaning. This need for familiarity and understanding is popular amongst the bi-communal events and activities, such as concerts and events at the Home, that are predominantly based on opportunities to meet and engage with the other. Consequently, this emerging psychological transformation can be thought as a renegotiation of the person's understanding of the Cypriot sphere. The role of the bridge, the Home, the concert and the race is to produce this familiarity with the other. In this sense, the buffer zone exists only in the way that each individual perceives it; no other interpretation matters. For the children playing in the Çetinkaya football pitch, the buffer zone does not exist, the space is merely a playground. For the ethno-nationals, the buffer zone is the ultimate frontier, the embodiment of their struggle. For the ones willing to coexist with the other community, it represents their true home, the only Cypriot space.

Movement across the buffer zone was established in 2003, yet the opening of the Lokmacı/Ledra Street crossing in 2008 was the first direct connection between residential and commercial pedestrianised areas. The checkpoints themselves, while both temporary structures, mirror the same attitudes towards security as the ones in Ledra Palace. The years following the checkpoints' opening saw a renewal of what was one of Nicosia's most decayed and abandoned areas, with new shops and restaurants bringing life back to the walled city, albeit more in the south than the north. Nevertheless, *fig.: 3.1* even people born after the opening have never crossed to the other side (12.5% of the Turkish Cypriots and 52% of the Greek Cypriots) or do so rarely (31.5% of the Turkish Cypriots and 43% of the Greek Cypriots) (Psaltis, 2008; Charalambous, 2016). This reiterates the narrative that the act of showing identification to cross is equal to the recognition of the *de facto* state in the north. While crossing is important in order to maximise the instances where Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots can share spaces, the Lokmacı/Ledra Street crossing has successfully introduced this condition to the realm of the non-crossers. This is more important for the Greek Cypriots who cross less frequently and in a smaller proportion than the Turkish Cypriots, with the former crossing to see sights and the latter to shop (Jacobson, Musyck, Orphanides and Webster, 2009). Greek Cypriots today, adamant in their position not to cross to the other side, can be seen standing in the Starbucks queue next to Turkish Cypriots waiting for their morning iced latte or enjoying a meal next to a Turkish-speaking restaurant table. While increasing the permeability of the city through new checkpoints increases crossings only temporarily, it does create a shared environment outside of the usual narrative of bi-communalism and peace-building. More importantly, it facilitated a shared experience between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots outside the confines of the buffer zone. Perhaps, if we

Nicosia Social Media Map

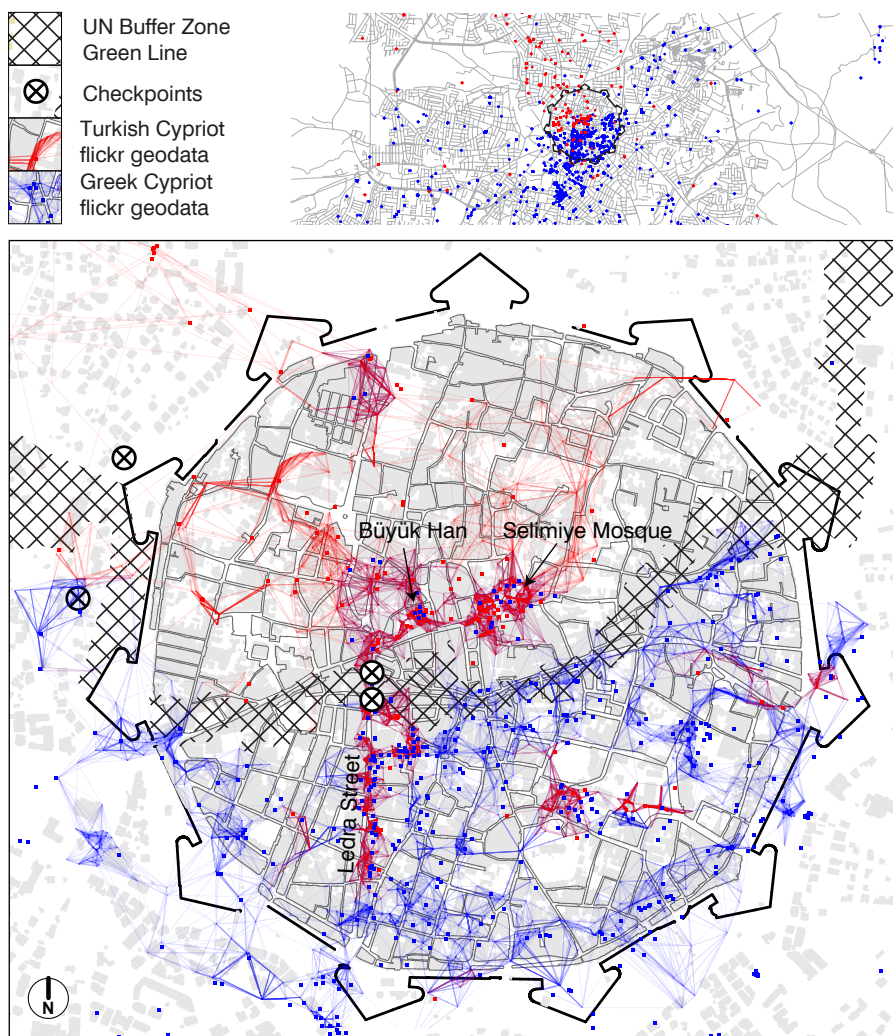


Figure 3.1 Social media activity in Nicosia. The walled city is the most active area overall with Ledra Street in the south and Büyük Han & Selimiye in the north having a mixed crowd. Data up to the 20th of October 2015 sourced from Flickr, Panoramio and Foursquare.

Source: Andreas Papallas 2015 ©.

use the Heideggerian river metaphor, we could say that the river in this instance is not the buffer zone's physical territory, but the city itself.

Of the Greek Cypriots who are adamant about refusing to cross because they have to show identification, not all are ethno-nationals. Even people involved with bi-communal activities and with Turkish Cypriot friends, perceive the display of identification as an act of recognition or legitimisation of the de facto state in the north. I had the opportunity to take such a person for the first time to the other side. The twenty-four-year-old girl, following years of involvement in the labour party and a key actor in organising bi-communal activities in the south and the buffer zone, had never crossed on principle and in order not to disappoint her father, who had adopted the same belief. I suggested she joined me in a walking tour of old Nicosia that involved both the Ledra Palace checkpoint and the Lokmacı/Ledra Street crossing. The tour was organised by a Greek Cypriot educator and has been described by himself as a '*casual stroll with friends*' (Epaminondas, 2015). Having attended the event before, I promised that the walk would begin and end in the south, and be conducted in a safe and friendly casual environment as we would be within a group for the walk's duration. Being late afternoon and very hot, a stop was suggested for refreshments. Another psychological hurdle for Greek Cypriot crossers is spending money in the north, as the dominant perception is that they should not be supporting financially a rogue state and their perceived perpetrators. While the girl was clearly not at ease with the concept of spending money there, the relaxed attitude of the old Turkish Cypriot canteen owner and the group shopping as a whole led to her overcoming this particular boundary as well. After returning to the south, she described the short trip as very insightful and added that she regretted that she had not crossed before. Since then, the girl has crossed twice. In the first instance, it was within the scope of another tour to a village in

fig.: 3.2



Figure 3.2 Casual stroll with friends. A walk in the north Nicosia organised by Marios Epaminondas (right). 25 Sept 2015.

Source: Andreas Papallas 2015 ©.

the north, and in the second instance with another friend to the see the northern walled Nicosia once more. Her story suggests that even when physical and psychological boundaries are overcome and friendships across the border are in place, the realities of daily life make the frequent crossing difficult.

The examples given here depict two different conditions for trans-boundary interaction. The Ledra Street commercial shops and restaurants show that crossing is not a prerequisite for meeting or being at the same space with the other, while the walking tour shows that crossing and overcoming psychological boundaries cannot be equated with having substantial or frequent contact with the other. A survey carried out following the opening of the checkpoint states that 'less than one in four Greek Cypriots who cross to the other side [...] has contact with people living in the north' (Jacobson et al., 2009, p.16). The race, the concert and the Home were used to introduce two additional levels of inquiry. First, possibilism and determinism questions the capacity of spatial order and the relationship between space and praxis in producing societal change. Second, Heidegger's bridge provides an opportunity to question the fluidity of the buffer zone as a psychological space and reflect on the individual experience and the objects surrounding it. The existence of people from both communities in the same space is essential. However, this does not only require an overcoming of physical and psychological boundaries, but also a persistence based on the daily experience of the city.

Finger food is best

The public realm is a space that fosters equality and free dialogue amongst citizens concentrated, at least partly, in a discussion of their relationship. To understand the conditions that could foster such a discussion and therefore the public realm itself, Gordon W. Allport's seminal work on contact hypothesis is key (Allport, 1979). *The Robbers Cave Experiment* by Muzafer Sherif (1988) has showed that people cannot cooperate when they are brought together without a common goal. Allport, building on Sherif's experiment, identified the conditions for contact that leads to a reduction of prejudice in what is known as the *Intergroup Contact Theory*. This theory has become the basis of a significant amount of research done in Cyprus regarding the feelings and attitudes between the two communities. As such, Allport's five conditions will be discussed through the Nicosian case studies on the basis of the framework of critical urban theory and the political philosophy of exclusion and inclusion.

The first condition dictates that the contact should happen between equals. The equal status here refers to both a similar background and characteristics, while minimising differences in skill, wealth or education. This egalitarian view towards interaction that reverberates amongst Arendtian theorists, is that privileged anonymity resulting from similarity is a necessary condition for free dialogue. Intercultural understanding cannot come from an interaction where one group or individual ranks higher than others. The criticism towards the cosmopolitan blurring of identities can be traced back to Simmel, who argues that it is in these cases of identity confusion that tensions build and threats arise (Simmel, 1971). There is an on-going debate concerning whether communities should be on an equal standing, or maintain proportionality. Communities can be on an equal standing where the minority community would get as many parliament

seats as the majority. Alternatively, proportionality can be maintained, in which the parliament seats are based on a proportional distribution. Consequently, equality and justice are relevant concepts based on individual perceptions of sharing power and consequently space. While, for example, the governance of the Home is based on an equal representation from each community, the race was organised by a Greek Cypriot majority and a Turkish Cypriot minority as collaborators. Interestingly, the Greek Cypriots involved with organising the Cyprus Rally, having not had contact with Turkish Cypriots before or even crossed to the other side, were reported to have changed their attitudes about their ability to coexist and cooperate with each other (Kontopoulou, 2015).

The second condition is for both groups to share a common goal, which is referred to as a *superordinate goal*. This requires members from both groups to pool their resources in order to attain it. Both the concert and the rally were based on passive participation and an observer-spectacle relationship. Proponents of environmental determinism would argue that the sharing of a common goal is not a necessary requirement, as simply seeing and listening to the other from a distance is enough, yet both the concert and rally failed to facilitate a noticeable level of new cross-cultural interactions. A good example of how superordinate goals facilitated meaningful interaction is the first bi-communal planning project, which started after 1974. The two mayors of Nicosia, Lellos Demetriades and Mustafa Akıncı, who were also close friends, faced a problem that did not involve boundaries and borders, a superordinate problem: the city was in desperate need of a sewerage and rainwater drainage system as it overflowed from the south to the north. The story of how they met with community leaders and convinced them to face this problem together at the municipal level has been widely reported (Papadakis, 2005; Abu-Orf, 2005; Gaffikin, Mceldowney and Sterrett, 2010; Hocknell, 2001).



Figure 3.3 The future of a united Nicosia, presentation by Nicosia's Greek Cypriot mayor and the former NMP Director. 2 Mar 2016. Titled: *Reconstruction of the divided city. A particular planning process.*
Source: Andreas Papallas 2016 ©.

A team called the Nicosia Master Plan (NMP) emerged to deal with the sewerage problem, which included Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot architects, planners and engineers. Dubbed by UNDP as the ‘most celebrated bicommunal activity they had ever supported on the island’ (Hocknell, 2001, p.295), the team was tasked to address the issues of the city as one. Beyond the sewerage problem and the opening of the Lokmacı/Ledra Street crossing, following projects required little cooperation (Guralp, 2016). As such, the communication between the two branches of the NMP was more like two practices that only cooperated as necessary, rather than a single practice spread over two locations. Architects and planners in non-managerial roles had no contact with the other side at all. This rift while evident since the declaration of TRNC’s independence in 1983 (Klokkaris, 2016), was made particularly evident in a 2016 presentation regarding the future of the united Nicosia by the mayor Constantinos Yiorkadjis and former NMP director Agni Petridou. The hour-long presentation was made in the south of Nicosia in Greek. It involved a *them* and *us* narrative, with Petridou talking about the NMP being a bi-communal team in the past tense and Yiorkadjis referring to a future rainwater pipeline having to ‘*unfortunately*’ pass through the north (Yiorkadjis and Petridou, 2016). What would have in the past seemed to be a superordinate goal, providing an opportunity for cross-boundary collaboration, was now considered a politico-territorial nuisance. fig.: 3.3

The third condition is that interaction has to be based on intergroup cooperation and not competition. This relates clearly to the discussion regarding the role of conflict in the daily life of the contested city, on the basis of agonistic and antagonistic spaces and practices. While the positive environment fostered by an intergroup cooperation definitely leads to cross-cultural understanding, a competitive framework does not necessarily have to result in increased hatred. A form of confrontation is intrinsic to agonism, allowing for tensions to perpetually manifest

and dissolve. A noteworthy observation is that while the Home offers activities that revolve around intergroup cooperation, rather than competition, the race and the concert did not touch on cooperation or competition as they catered for an environment of passive observation.

The fourth condition relies upon the presence of institutional support from the authorities or the law. Pullan supports the view that *nomos* can be understood as law tied to territory and sovereignty, or in a culture of praxis that makes everyday life possible (Pullan, 2015b). Consequently, the institutional support can be thought of as legal or cultural. While examples of *nomos* as law would be the municipality support given to the Nicosia Master Plan, the role of the UN to the realisation of the Home or the Fédération Internationale de l'Automobile setting the conditions for the Cyprus Rally to take place, the element of praxis is resonant with the walk of an individual crossing the Greek Cypriot checkpoint. The UN will remain in some form in the island as an international actor, even after a political solution. As such, it could be utilised as an institutional facilitator, rather than an observer. The limitation and the criticism towards any provision of institutional support lies within its deterministic character, its ability to undertake the role of the judge when tensions rise, and an inevitably biased or at least perspectivist view of justice. Pullan's view of *nomos* as a culture of praxis is also found in Habermas' view of the public realm guided by the principle of impersonality. In the case of the commercial Ledra Street, the key principle is the retail culture. As such, the conventions of interaction between shoppers, rather than between Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot citizens, become the measure of lawfulness.

The fifth and last condition is the involvement of informal yet personal interaction across the groups; without mingling there cannot be the opportunity to learn about the other or an emergence of friendships. A theoretical school of thought, represented by Sennett,

Erving Goffman and Clifford Geertz called *teatro mundi*, exemplifies this point. They interpret interactions in public space and the praxis of sharing the public realm as the theatre of public life (Goffman, 1990; Geertz, 1980; Sennett, 2003). In that realm, lexis is given dominance over the visual in a public theatre of enactment. Amin takes a similar position arguing that local liveability, ‘the micropolitics of everyday social contact and encounter’ (Amin, 2002, p.959), has a crucial role in overcoming and reconciling ethnic cultural differences.

I have identified such an example in a discussion about bi-communal events with Nicosia’s deputy mayor Eleni Loucaidou (2015). During 2015, a group called the Nicosia Coordination Group held activities to foster cooperation between the two municipalities of Nicosia. Such activities included study trips, photography exhibitions and dinners at the Chateau Status restaurant between the checkpoints of Ledra Palace. Loucaidou described characteristically how the dinners were intended to be an introductory meeting between Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot planning and technical experts, council officials and police personnel. People did not mix when they sat down to eat during the first dinner she organised. The Greek Cypriots sat on one side of the long table with people they knew and the Turkish Cypriots on the other. Conversations in Greek and Turkish took place and interaction between the communities was minimal. While this was disappointing, the solution was very simple and spatial. The menu for the second dinner was changed to finger food and the table and chairs removed. The participants were more relaxed as they walked back and forth to the food table and engaged in various conversations in groups that included members from the other community. Most conversations occurred in English with occasional cross-cultural vocabulary that both sides were familiar with.

Boundaries can be overcome, physically and psychologically, yet establishing meaningful contact

between the two communities requires much more. An aspect of the problem that Greek Cypriots face in overcoming boundaries is their dichotomy between ‘discovering the appropriate way to “fight” for the country’s problem and aligning themselves with the older generation’s critique about the nature of authentic national struggle’ (Christou, 2006, p.301). The idea that spaces can determine or suggest patterns of social interaction has been examined through the examples of the Home, the race and the concert. Since all the examples refer to the buffer zone as the territory of interaction, a phenomenological approach was used to understand what the space means for each case from the perception of the individual.

The example of the girl who crossed to the other side for the first time and the interactions since 2008 at Lokmacı and Ledra Streets reveal two observations. First, that interactions that happen outside the buffer zone are equally or even more meaningful due to their frequent nature, and second, that crossing to the other side and overcoming psychological and physical boundaries is not a panacea to establishing meaningful contact. To further understand what meaningful contact truly is, Intergroup Contact Theory’s five conditions have been juxtaposed to the theory and examples used in this thesis. Some conditions have revealed spatial components that are worth exploring further, such as the brief or the programme that needs to go beyond an observer-spectacle relationship and the notion of equality on the basis of a shared environment. Other conditions need to be combined to produce significant effects, such as sharing superordinate goals. Finally, urban theory becomes a lens through which to view the condition of institutional support as a spatial principle and the interaction between individuals as a theatrical experience.

Conclusions

This thesis set out to explore the role of the urban realm in ameliorating interethnic tensions in Nicosia. It has identified certain theoretical approaches to exclusion and inclusion on the basis of identity, as well as the role of contact and interaction in reducing prejudice. It has also sought to bring together strands of urban sociology and political theory to critique specific cases within the Cypriot bi-communal public sphere and narrative of conflict. Furthermore, the empirical discussion between the Nicosian examples and this theory were juxtaposed to fundamental social psychology theory around the capacity of space in ameliorating interethnic prejudice. The general theoretical literature on this subject is contradictory and inconclusive. The thesis sought to answer two questions. First, what is the role of space in enhancing interethnic interactions? Second, what are the spatial conditions for such interactions to become environments of meaningful contact? At the interface of these questions one can find what I call urban rapprochement tactics.

An extensive understanding of literature revealed two main theoretical approaches to these questions. One approach posits that any level of contact between adversaries, even the merely visual, establishes familiarity with the other (Pullan, 2012). Another approach argues that coexistence or cohabitation in a public space cannot be equated with meaningful interaction and interethnic understanding outright (Amin, 2006). These two positions were linked to two interpretations of Kant's ideas on perpetual peace: Arendt (1958) advocating for anonymity as a prerequisite for interethnic understanding, and Habermas (1962) for impersonality as an indispensable starting point.

In Cyprus, the communities were separated for almost thirty years until the checkpoints opened. Yet, even people born after the opening of the checkpoints have never crossed to the other side or do so rarely. The buffer zone has been fertile ground in cross-boundary interaction through spatial practices and urban strategies; however, little is known about the impact of these particular spaces in interethnic relations. This study hopes to inform planners, policy makers and those seeking to encourage bi-communal interactions about the limitations, shortcomings and opportunities inherent with design and planning in the Nicosian context. The empirical research revolved around five spatial practices or spaces that have enriched the discussion and offered another layer to the arguments made in each chapter.

The study tackled the notions of community cohesion and social inclusion, as well as agon and antagonism, to respond to the research questions. Space can be designed to enhance or deter interethnic interactions; however, spaces that are designed to deter, in the case of Nicosia, have shown not only to have enabled interaction, but have also created the primary space where bi-communal interaction takes place. Taken together, the empirical research and the theory suggest that while checkpoints are institutional products of conflict and

their antagonistic nature and narratives of terror are evident, their positive role manifests in delimitating the middle space of interaction - the 'pure' Cypriot public sphere. Furthermore, the informal attitude to security at the south enhances interethnic interactions and enables contact; however, the checkpoint is not a place of contact on its own. The institutional role of the checkpoint and the theatricality embedded in the praxis of crossing are two key factors in overcoming psychological boundaries. The role of space in enhancing interactions is therefore to enable the manifestation of spaces of exception as places where exceptional things may happen, rather than as zones of exclusion.

This study has revealed that seemingly agonistic and pro-reconciliatory practices might not enhance interethnic interactions as intended, but instead prevent them from even happening. The example of the rally indicates the spatial nature of the problem. Furthermore, spatial structures revolving around the production of observer-spectacle relationships, such as the concert, reproduce existing interethnic interactions rather than create new ones, while maintaining a form of contact that is bound by the hierarchical relationship of the spectacle rather than praxis. The Home for Cooperation does enhance interethnic interactions, being the only meeting space within the Cypriot sphere of the buffer zone, yet it fails to attract more prejudiced people due to its cohesive nature. Contact created at the Home is certainly meaningful, but not transformative. The bi-communality of the buffer zone in these cases becomes the predominant perception of the space. A common thread between the discussed spaces and spatial practices is the role of the theatre and the city as it relates to the urban experience and social issues. It has not appeared as a vehicle or lens to view and understand life within the contested city, yet emerges as the major spatial device for creating shared space in the buffer zone.

The study also suggests that contact can happen outside the buffer zone, especially for those not seeking bi-communal interactions. Such contact is centred around spaces of production and commercial use. Intergroup Contact Theory suggests there are some parameters that can be interpreted as spatial conditions for meaningful interactions. Those that have emerged through this research are: (1) spaces need to be manifested through Arendtian anonymity, thus ensuring interactions amongst equals; (2) observer-spectacle relationships or passive environments must be avoided, as spaces need to include an element of agonistic praxis; (3) the conventions of interaction must be provided by an impersonal overarching principle; and (4) the spaces must offer the potential for frequent interaction rather than separate instances. The multiplicity of programmes and multi-functionality of space is therefore necessary.

This thesis has offered an empirical perspective on attempts to bring the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities together in shared spaces. I have to acknowledge my own role and impact on the research, not only as a researcher who is observing and therefore influencing the environments in which I have been entrenched, but also as a Greek Cypriot investigating a conflict between the two communities of which I am a part. All possible efforts were made to detect and eliminate bias, such as interviewing both Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot actors with the same roles and using the same questions, and also by ensuring Turkish Cypriot colleagues read my work. While Nicosia was chosen as the focal point for this research, future investigations could include other examples across the island, such as the bi-communal village of Pyla and religious pilgrimages in villages on both sides. The fieldwork period was structured around understanding the conditions of the site based on qualitative methods and selected interviews, rather than larger quantitative surveys that would have provided another layer of information regarding

prejudice levels and perceptions of space. Future research could identify patterns of urban rapprochement in other Cypriot spaces, as well as different methodologies that could strengthen some of the findings. Furthermore, the scale of this study is suitable to replicate in other cities that are struggling with issues of territorial exclusion based on ethno-national conflict, such as Belfast and Jerusalem, and also in cases where the territories of exclusion fade, such as Brussels.

Although this study focuses on an empirical understanding of spaces of meaningful contact and enabling interethnic interactions, the findings may well open opportunities for an urban interpretation of the Intergroup Contact Theory. This research brings together different examples of bi-communal interaction from the Nicosian scene and consequently serves as a base for future studies on the role of space in the Cypriot peace process. The study has revealed limitations and shortcoming of community cohesive and socially inclusive planning attitudes that can influence and inform planning policies at the municipal and national level. There is, therefore, a need for discussion regarding the urban identity of a reunited Nicosia that involves the municipal authorities and the public, as well as establishing a policy framework for encouraging interaction and contact between the communities. If the political elites who are negotiating a future reunited Cyprus fail to appreciate the role of urban rapprochement and do not introduce spaces of meaningful interaction to the Cypriot scene prior to a reunification, the country will remain in many ways divided.

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