SELECTIVE HERITAGE MANAGEMENT IN DIVIDED CITIES: FOCUSING ON NICOSIA'S WALLED CITY CENTRE

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Nottingham Trent University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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School of Architecture, Design and the Built Environment

Copyright Statement

Declaration

I hereby declare that a portion of the work that appears in this study has been published in four conference proceedings and a PhD poster. I am solely responsible for the ideas, data collection and critical analysis presented in the aforementioned papers, written under the supervision of Dr Ana Souto. I also declare that the work in this thesis was carried out in accordance with the regulations of Nottingham Trent University and that all parts and thoughts which have been taken from other sources are identified by reference.

Conference Papers

PIERI, C. (2015). The impact of conflict on the treatment of architectural heritage: Walled Nicosia, Cyprus. *REHAB 2015 International Conference on Preservation, Maintenance and Rehabilitation of Historical Buildings and Structures*, Green Lines Institute for Sustainable Development, 21-24 July 2014, Porto, Portugal. ISBN: 978-989-8734-06-8[1].

PIERI, C. (2015). Heritage Management in Contested Cities: The Impact of Boundaries as Regulators of Power and Conflict, *CADBE Research Conference*, June 2015, Nottingham, UK. ISBN 978-0-9576009-8-0[2].

PIERI, C. (2014). The invisible monuments of walled Nicosia: exploring the gradual disappearance of built heritage after the 1974 war. *REHAB 2014 International Conference on Preservation, Maintenance and Rehabilitation of Historical Buildings and Structures*, Green Lines Institute for Sustainable Development, 19-21 March 2014, Tomar, Portugal, ISBN: 978-989-8734-00-6.

PIERI, C. (2014). The invisible monuments of walled Nicosia: exploring the gradual disappearance of built heritage after the 1974 war. In: A. BILAL, A. RATNAYAKA, A. ZOBENBULLER, C. COINTOT, D. HARBIDGE, D. WHATMAN, E. MBISE, F. AL-HASHIMI, G. MARTÍNEZ-ARELLANO, G. ROGERS, I. GOSTAUTAS, J. TAYLOR, K. TRYTKO, L. PISCICELLI, M. AHMED, M. ALASHAB, M. MAHMOOD, S. WILSON, T. ELFAYEZ and Y. LIAO, eds., *Breaking Boundaries 2014: First Annual Professional Research Practice Conference*, Nottingham Trent University, 15 May 2014. Nottingham: Nottingham Trent University: Graduate School, pp. 4-9. ISBN 9780992995706.

Posters

PIERI, C. (2014). The issue of selective heritage management in divided cities: Focusing on Nicosia's treatment of cultural heritage. *CADBE Research Conference,* June 2014. Nottingham, UK[3].

Signed: …………………………………………..

Date: …………………………………………...

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[1] Paper shortlisted amongst the top ten early stage researcher conference papers.
[2] Award for the best conference presentation received.
[3] Award for the best conference poster received.

Abstract

The aims of this PhD thesis are to investigate the impact of conflict and division on walled Nicosia's heritage, in order to address existing gaps in knowledge concerning the heritage and heritage management of the city; and to further knowledge on existing heritage management approaches on either side of the city's divide. To achieve this, a multidisciplinary review of literature and research methods within the international heritage discourse is initially presented, and introduces relevant themes and a conceptual framework that guides the case study data collection and analysis. The thesis later concentrates on the case study of walled Nicosia, presents and critically analyses the field work findings in light of the established conceptual framework. In doing so, a stronger understanding of practical considerations behind the management of the city's cultural heritage is established and employed to further develop the conceptual framework, as well as a set of recommendations that seek to benefit the city and its stakeholders.

The objectives of this thesis are as follows:
- o To identify gaps and contributions concerning the heritage management of the city, by examining existing literature, as well as local and international approaches relevant to Nicosia.
- o To develop a context-specific conceptual framework relevant to the case study of Nicosia, through the identification of relevant themes and theoretical approaches around the topics of heritage and heritage management.
- o To apply the empirical data obtained from walled Nicosia in order to develop a comprehensive understanding of the impact of the Nicosia Master Plan, NGOs and bi-communal initiatives on the tangible and intangible heritage of the city on both sides of the divide.
- o To explore and expose new, alternative strategies for knowledge production and dissemination, by communicating the significance of the findings and methodology to Nicosia and to relevant international cases.

To address the above aims and objectives, this research utilises a qualitative case study approach. The data collection methods employed during the course of this study include structured and semi-structured interviews from several actors in Nicosia and empirical field studies. The outcomes of this research include the composition of a diverse body of primary data in the form of interviews, photographs, maps and diagrams from the case study of walled Nicosia.

Contributions to knowledge are claimed in the following four areas:
- o Contribution based on the novel topic of the research;
- o The contribution to knowledge based on the research process;
- o Contribution of thesis based on the conceptual framework;
- o The broader contribution of this thesis to relevant cases in addition to the one of Nicosia.

Acknowledgements

Κι αν πτωχική την βρεις, η Ιθάκη δεν σε γέλασε.
Έτσι σοφός που έγινες, με τόση πείρα,
ήδη θα το κατάλαβες οι Ιθάκες τι σημαίνουν.

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List of Abbreviations

AHDR: Association for Historical Dialogue and Research

BZ: Buffer Zone

CIAM: Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne or International Congress of Modern Architecture

EU: European Union

GC: Greek Cypriot(s)

H4C: Home for Cooperation

ICCROM: International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property

ICOM: Committee of the International Council of Museums

ICOMOS: International Council on Monuments and Sites

NGO: Non-Governmental Organisation

NMP: Nicosia Master Plan

PFF: Partnership for the Future

RoC: Republic of Cyprus

TC: Turkish Cypriots(s)

TRNC: Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus

UG: Urban Gorillas

UN: United Nations

UNDP: United Nations Development Programme

UNESCO: The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNHCR: UN High Commissioner for Refugees

USAID: United States Agency for International Development

WWI: World War I

WWII: World War II

Chapter 1: Thesis Introduction

1.1 Chapter Introduction

This PhD thesis examines, analyses and critically reflects on the impact of conflict and division on walled Nicosia's heritage and heritage management. This is established through the study of existing literature and research from a multidisciplinary body of work, and the subsequent creation of a context-specific conceptual framework that can benefit the heritage of the city in the long term. To enhance the validity and contribution of this process, empirical data and observations from the case study of Nicosia have formed a major part of this investigation.

This introductory chapter offers a detailed overview of the research herein, contextualising the topic to be investigated while presenting a brief explanation and justification for the research focus. The first part of this chapter (Section 1.2) describes the research problem, outlining the relevance of Nicosia to this thesis. In this section, a brief overview of the issues observed in Nicosia have been included, the research problem is stated, together with the aims and objectives set through this body of work and how these were addressed in each chapter. The methodological approach is explained in Section 1.3. This section provides a clear outline and justification for the methods used during this research, as well as the significance of the selected methods within the broader structure of this study. Lastly, section 1.4 offers a concise summary of the chapters of this thesis, outlining their relevance and role within the wider thesis.

1.2 Brief Description of the Research Topic and Statement of the Problem

1.2.1 General Overview

Heritage, both tangible and intangible, carries a multiplicity of meanings and values that differ depending on the region, the neighbourhood, the home, and most importantly, the individual (Howard 2003: 148). When effectively managed, historic urban environments can "anchor thriving communities by helping sustain cultural heritage, generate wealth and prosperity and, add to the quality of life" (PAN 71 Conservation Area Management 2004: 4). To achieve this potential, historic urban environments need to adapt and develop in response to the contemporary needs and aspirations of the communities in which they lie. This adaptation may include accommodating physical, social and economic change for the better management and understanding of heritage resource (ibid.). In this study, the reconstruction of identity and place, accompanied by the unpleasant memories of war, have proven to be crucial to the way heritage is managed and perceived, both by the associated authorities and by the public. Historic built environments and conservation practices cannot be excluded – nor can they remain unaffected – by the developing trends shaping contemporary urban planning. Nevertheless, when these inevitable developments

are coupled with ethnic, territorial and, politically driven disagreements, heritage management and identity become even more complex.

Effective heritage management can strategically contribute to the control of these changes; encouraging historic built environments to continue evolving and adapting to prevent urban decline (Günay et al. 2009: 129). However, declining trends of historic inner-city quarters have become an urban phenomenon since the industrial revolution (Hospers and Reverda 2015: 19). The common causes of urban decline can be associated with economic and social activity, as well as demographic and physical modifications (Lupton and Power 2004: 1). In terms of change and decline of urban space, these are largely inter-connected, enabling a 'part and whole' relationship of urban phenomena. As a result, social policy, urban design and protection of cultural, historical and, architectural heritage are also affected, with the dynamics of the economic and political structures turning the city into an arena of conflicts (ibid. 2004).

Nicosia, the capital of Cyprus and the last divided capital in Europe, has been subject to the above issues since the 1974 war. Following the division of the island between Greek Cypriot (GC) and Turkish Cypriot (TC) communities, the historic quarters of Nicosia have been continuously confronted with contested memories of conflict and, consequent heritage decline. The ongoing efforts of the GC and TC municipalities of the city to address this issue are constantly challenged by the existence of the UN-controlled buffer zone that intersects and divides the historic capital in half. This affects the protection of the historic built environment of walled Nicosia, as well as the heritage management approaches taken by the GC and TC communities. This thesis examines, documents and analyses relevant literature and data in order to establish the impact of conflict and division on walled Nicosia's heritage and heritage management.

1.2.2 Research Focus

A prevailing matter that has historically concerned the Cypriot society relates to the topics of power, dominance and cultural conflict. Since the late sixteenth century, the constant attempts to legitimise authority and the subordination of the weak have resulted in continuous disagreements between the two prominent cultures situated on the island (Pericleous 2009: 13; Bose 2007: 71). After the 1974 division of Cyprus into the GC and TC communities, attempts by the two states to mark their supremacy and truthful belonging began to reflect on the treatment of architecture and the urban fabric; an issue also currently influencing the tangible and intangible heritage of Cyprus. A grim consequence of this conflict is that the shared cultural heritage of the island has become neglected or used as a "politically motivated pawn indiscriminately played and, often sacrificed in a Machiavellian propaganda war between North and South" (Walsh 2005: 1). As a consequence,

each community's historical narratives materialise to endorse the widespread rejection of the opposing 'other' and the continual eradication of their sorrowful memories.

With reference to the conflict in Cyprus, Constantinou *et al*. (2012: 177) point out that, the link between "conflict and heritage is one loaded with assumptions about identity, otherness and the past," as well as "fraught with tension over cultural violation and communal obliteration". This phenomenon is vivid in Cyprus, where references to cultural heritage destruction occupy public discourse on either side of the divide. An important point made by Constantinou *et al.* (2012: 177) is the politically driven protection of cultural heritage, which has developed into a "showcase of reconciliation efforts at local authority and civil society levels"; while other sites of a-political, non-ethnicisable heritage continue to be overlooked.

Part of the intimate violence of the Cypriot conflict was the destruction of architectural heritage associated with the community on the opposite side of the divide. This included the vandalism and ruination of GC churches, cemeteries and houses in the North (Dikomitis 2012; Bryant 2009). Similarly, the destruction of TC villages, cemeteries and mosques was visible in the South. Constantinou and Papadakis (2012: 178) point out that the damage caused at the time remains and continues to influence "the ways that the Cypriots experience the conflict now." Being in the centre of the Cypriot conflict, Nicosia, is a prime example reflecting the above issues; with heritage decline dominating several areas within its historic core. Bakshi (2013: 200) explains that following the turbulent events between the GC and TC communities in Cyprus "selective remembering and forgetting of historical events and chronologies has resulted in the creation of two divergent myths about the site of the historic walled city centre." For this reason, Nicosia's historic urban core has evolved into a contested environment constantly marked by 'otherness', conflict and division. Considering the above, the city's unique historic urban topography, as well as its continuing division have made walled Nicosia the main focus of this research.

The 'other' and the notion of 'otherness' in this thesis

The depiction of 'otherness' within the cultural and national domain has occupied academic discussion over recent years. Said's *Orientalism* is a prominent example of this work, as he discusses, and often criticises, the bias of the West in creating a stereotyped image about the East through its depiction of the Orient as an "alien", "irrational", "different" 'other' (Said 1978: 51). Relevantly, Bhabha's examination of cultural difference through the conception of a hybrid 'third space' demonstrates the author's attempts to establish, acknowledge and understand the construction of culture "in the spirit of alterity or otherness" (Bhabha and Rutherford 1990: 209).

> With the notion of cultural difference, I try to place myself in that position of liminality, in that productive space of the construction of culture as difference, in the spirit of alterity of otherness (ibid.).

Moreover, Bhabha's (1994) work suggests that cultural difference, and consequently 'otherness', is inevitable and cannot be accommodated within a universal framework. Nevertheless, Coelho and Figueiredo (2003: 94) remark how several theories, from socio-constructivist to psychoanalytical, have reinforced the importance of recognising 'otherness' in the process of the constitution of the self. This notion of inter-subjectivity can also be associated with the situation in which numerous subjects form a community, or a common field, consequently referring to the group as 'us' (Jolivet 1975: 128). On the other hand, Calcutt et al. (2009: 175) suggest that forms of 'otherness' as expressed in manifestations of globalisation[4] have unwelcomed impacts at a local level due to the influence they can, or may have within their national territory. Similarly, Goulding and Domic (2009: 92) depict 'otherness' through the spectrum of nationalism, arguing that the term reflects themes of ethnic polarisation, and perceived differences in culture and tradition.

Whilst the above theories approach the topic in a diverse manner, they all acknowledge that forms of 'otherness' signify a sense of separation, suggested through the inclusion or exclusion of the 'us' and the 'other' within the national and cultural domains. Relevantly, in several publications concerning the ongoing division of Cyprus by Bryant (2004, 2012) and Papadakis (2000, 2008) the 'other' is often emphasised as a reflection of a separate, now unfamiliar group, or community, that occupies the opposite side of the divide. In line with Bryant and Papadakis' work, in this thesis, the 'other' refers both to the other side of the divide in its literal sense, but also aims to reflect the intangible meanings attached to the GC and TC communities as a result of the ongoing conflict and division in Cyprus.

In the context of the Cypriot conflict and division, the concept of 'otherness' is complicated further by the existence of a tangible boundary between the GC and TC communities. Perception of 'otherness', in this case, encompasses meanings of distance, division, duality and detachment. More specifically, through Bryant's and Papadakis' work, observations of the national GC or TC self, remain ones in which "an ethnicised 'other' is both the cause of suffering and, […] also on the other side of the division line" (2012: 12). In line with the above theoretical examinations, their work implies the inevitable bias against the 'other' as well as the act of 'othering' as a process of construction and protection of the self (Mushtaq 2010: 25). Creation of an 'other' in this case

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[4] These include three forms of cultural 'otherness': "'otherness' in the immediate environment, 'otherness' in the global environment and 'otherness' in the form of global media" (Calcutt *et al.* 2009: 175).

materialises as the result of division, which is manifested spatially, socially and culturally within the context of Nicosia and Cyprus.

> The other side of the same coin, however, is the creation of a culture of rumours, insider jokes, quasi-underground counter-histories, or subcultures based on the divergent memories of specific social groups (Bryant and Papadakis 2012: 18).

1.2.3 Why Nicosia

Being a Cypriot I was able to witness first-hand the ongoing impact of conflict on the city's built environment over the years. The belief that walled Nicosia represents a microcosm of the wider issues dominating the island, has made the selected case the primary focus of this research. Moreover, having studied the walled city as part of my MArch design thesis project (2011-2012), has offered useful insights into Nicosia's division, including the issues contributing to its urban and heritage decline. Therefore, selecting Nicosia as the primary case study of this PhD thesis derives both from a personal interest, but also from an increasing concern and curiosity regarding the future of its heritage on both sides of the divide. Considering the above, this thesis maintains that the ongoing decline of several, historically significant buildings and sites within the walled part of the city highlights a substantial gap in knowledge concerning Nicosia's heritage management after its division.

1.2.4 Statement of the Problem

Since World War II, there has been a marked shift in global warfare trends from inter to intrastate conflicts; with more than 127 sovereign states being created and thirty-five new international boundaries being drawn since 1980 (Calame *et al.* 2009b: 2). More recent conflicts, where the future of architectural heritage has been severely compromised include the Syrian Civil War, commencing in 2011, which continues until today (Laub 2016), as well as the Russian-Ukranian conflict of 2014 (United States Institute of Peace 2015). This increasing number of conflicts has raised significant concerns regarding the future of tangible and intangible heritage internationally, including questions regarding the effectiveness of existing heritage management approaches in addressing heritage loss and decline.

Nicosia

Similarly, the historic core of Nicosia has also been dealing with a multiplicity of issues associated with conflict and division. Despite the fact that the walled city has been declared a conservation area since 1989, it has experienced "only a limited level of changes in practical terms as well as in attitudes towards conservation and development," with "deterioration and decay [continuing] largely unchecked" (Doratli *et al.* 2004: 336). This has resulted in the significance of Nicosia's heritage neither being appreciated nor comprehended by the majority of the public (ibid.: 337).

Moreover, the top-down approach applied by the authorities responsible for the protection of walled Nicosia's heritage (ibid.: 337), poses a number of issues in relation to the realisation of a coherent, inter-communal heritage management initiative. In evaluating the built environment of the historic capital, many properties can be observed that illustrate its declining state (see Figure 1: *Conceptual representation of the walled city of Nicosia*). More specifically, the physical and aesthetic qualities of the city are being influenced by political, administrative, social and economic[5] issues, which in turn impact on the effective collaboration between the GC and TC municipalities of Nicosia. The reason for this outcome is inevitably engrained in the on-going inter-communal conflict in Cyprus, and the continuous struggle for cultural prevalence against the 'other'.

Considering the above, this thesis takes into consideration existing heritage management and conservation approaches applied, both internationally and in Nicosia in order to examine the impact of conflict and division on the walled city's heritage. Moreover, this study details how the two municipalities address the management of walled Nicosia's heritage while faring with the ongoing division of the island, as well as having to take into account the public and political ideologies rooted in the narratives shaping the city. This is achieved through the creation of a context-specific conceptual framework, which aims to contribute to the heritage management of Nicosia in the long term. Moreover, although this PhD research focuses on walled Nicosia as its main case study, this thesis aims to contribute to the protection of historic built environments internationally; both by adding to the international academic discussion on the topics of heritage and heritage management in divided cities, as well as by demonstrating the significance of a context-specific framework to address heritage decline during conflict. To realise this objective, this thesis has set two key aims which intend to determine the scope and overall direction of the study, while addressing the limited amount of information and existing gap in knowledge regarding the heritage and heritage management of the city of Nicosia after its division.

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[5] These characteristics of the current qualities of Walled Nicosia derive from the SWOT matrix of Cuesta *et al.* (1999, in Doratli *et al.* 2004: 335). In addition, the 2004 NMP Final Report (Nicosia Master Plan 2004b), highlights the political, administrative, social and economic issues dominating Nicosia after its division by offering a justified evaluation of the up-to-date heritage management of the walled city. Similarly, the report includes a SWOT analysis of the different regeneration approaches and points out issues and opportunities associated with the GC and TC municipalities of Nicosia.
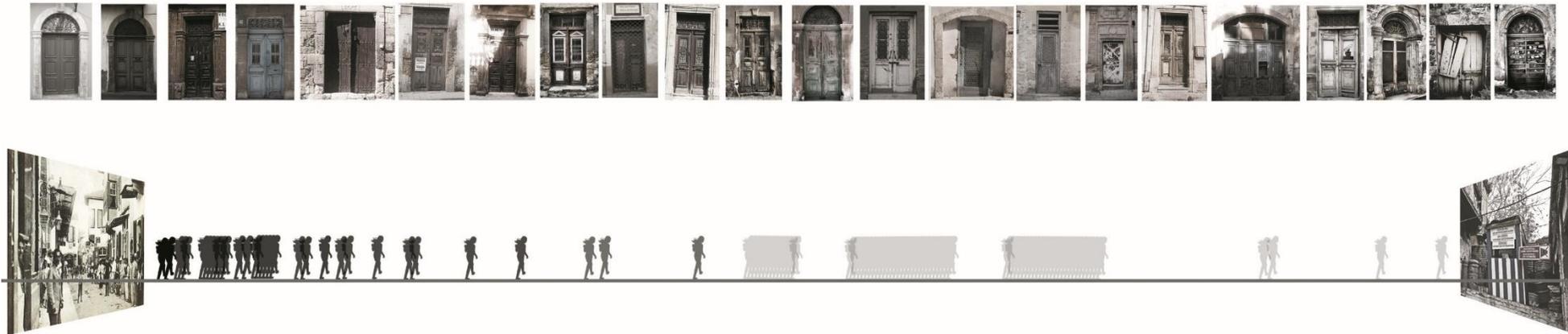
Figure 1: Conceptual representation of the walled city of Nicosia based on the initial impressions of the researcher about the impact of conflict and division on the built environment of the city. The study of doors represents the gradual decline of the historic core as one progresses towards the heart of the walls, where the buffer zone is located (Author 2012).

1.2.5 Research Aims and Objectives

The following section outlines the aims and objectives that have guided this research:

Aim 1: To investigate the impact of conflict and division on walled Nicosia's heritage, in order to address existing gaps in knowledge concerning the heritage and heritage management of the city.

Aim 2: To further knowledge on existing heritage management approaches on either side of Nicosia's divide.

> **Objective 1: T**o identify gaps and contributions concerning the heritage management of the city, by examining existing literature, as well as local and international approaches relevant to Nicosia.

> **Objective 2:** To develop a context-specific conceptual framework relevant to the case study of Nicosia, through the identification of relevant themes and theoretical approaches around the topics of heritage and heritage management.

> **Objective 3:** To apply the empirical data obtained from walled Nicosia in order to develop a comprehensive understanding of the impact of the Nicosia Master Plan, NGOs and bi-communal initiatives on the tangible and intangible heritage of the city on both sides of the divide.

> **Objective 4:** To explore and expose new, alternative strategies for knowledge production and dissemination, by communicating the significance of the findings and methodology to the case study of Nicosia and to relevant international cases.

Figure 2 shows the contribution of each individual chapter in addressing the research aims and objectives:

CHAPTERS

CHAPTER 1:
Introduction

CHAPTER 2:
Heritage,
Heritage Management
and Conflict

CHAPTER 3:
Examination of Selected
Themes and Establishment
of Conceptual Framework

CHAPTER 4:
Case Study Analysis:
Nicosia and the
Nicosia Master Plan

CHAPTER 5:
Presentation of Interview
Findings from the
Case Study of
Walled Nicosia

CHAPTER 6:
Discussion of
Findings

CHAPTER 7:
Conclusion

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

Objective 1:

To identify gaps and contributions concerning the heritage management of the city, by examining existing literature, as well as local and international approaches relevant to Nicosia.

Objective 2:

To develop a context-specific conceptual framework relevant to the case study of Nicosia, through the identification of relevant themes and theoretical approaches around the topics of heritage and heritage management.

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To apply the empirical data obtained from walled Nicosia in order to develop a comprehensive understanding of the impact of the Nicosia Master Plan, NGOs and bi-communal initiatives on the tangible and intangible heritage of the city on both sides of the divide.

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RESEARCH AIMS

AIM 1: To investigate the impact of conflict and division on walled Nicosia's heritage, in order to address existing gaps in knowledge concerning the heritage and heritage management of the city.

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Figure 2: Figure illustrating the contribution of each individual chapter to the research aims and objectives of this thesis (Author 2017)

Figure 3 illustrates a breakdown of the research process in the form of a timeline, demonstrating the different stages and activities undertaken during this process.

End of 2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017

FIRST SITE OBSERVATIONS

FIELDWORK (NICOSIA): INTERVIEWS AND ACCESS TO NMP ARCHIVES

FIELDWORK (NICOSIA): INTERVIEWS

PROJECT APPROVAL

REHAB CONFERENCE (GREEN LINES INSTITUTE): PAPER SUBMISSION AND PRESENTATION

NTU PHD CONFERENCE: POSTER SUBMISSION*

PROJECT TRANSFER

BREAKING BOUNDARIES CONFERENCE: PAPER SUBMISSION

REHAB CONFERENCE (GREEN LINES INSTITUTE): PAPER SUBMISSION AND PRESENTATION*

NTU PHD CONFERENCE: PAPER SUBMISSION AND PRESENTATION*

LITERATURE   COLLECTION   AND   REVIEW

EMERGING   THEMES: RESEARCH   FOCUS

PROFESSIONAL RESEARCH PRACTICE COURSE (PRP)

THESIS WRITING

Figure 3: Thesis timeline (Author 2017)

1.3 Methodology

The methodological approach applied in this research incorporates three components: a) the theoretical and philosophical perspectives introduced by the researcher, b) the empirical evidence from selected participants and site observations from Nicosia, and c) the viewpoint of the researcher. The following section provides a clear and informed rationale for the range of methods used in this thesis, explaining their merits and implications to the research process. Moreover, an aim of this section is to describe the practical application of the research methodology, pointing out the limitations faced, as well as the benefits of the selected approach. In doing so, this section highlights the contribution of the selected methodology, in addressing the gap in knowledge concerning the heritage and heritage management of walled Nicosia.

This investigation utilises qualitative research methods. Qualitative research is defined as a type of scientific research that "seeks to understand a given research problem or topic from the perspectives of the local population it involves" (Mack *et al.* 2005: 1). In addition, qualitative research enables the development of concepts which contribute to the understanding of phenomena in their natural settings, "giving due emphasis to the meanings, experiences and views of the participants" (Mays and Pope 1995: 42). Another key contribution of qualitative research is the culturally specific and contextually rich data it produces, with such data proving critical in the design of comprehensive solutions to problems in various disciplines (Mack *et al.* 2005: vi). Patton (2002) defines qualitative research as an attempt to understand the unique interactions of phenomena in a particular situation. Relevantly, in the case of Nicosia, an in depth understanding of the characteristics of the current situation, the meanings and perceptions introduced by the participating cultures and, what is happening to these cultures at present were vital in providing a strong understanding of the key issues threatening the city's heritage.

More specifically, by focusing on the divided city of Nicosia, this research adopts a single case study approach encompassing the examination of existing literature, academic research and historical texts, along with primary information gathered from maps, photographs and interviews. The collection of empirical data has allowed for a richly descriptive material, ready for analysis. Additionally, the methodology employed has encouraged the collection and analysis of information that incorporates theoretical, historical, contextual and sociocultural significances to the case of Nicosia, while taking into consideration the ongoing efforts of urban planning and heritage management initiatives. The empirical research process and methods used have been broken into three key phases illustrated in the following diagram:

RESEARCH PROCESS MODEL

| PHASE 1 | PHASE 2 | PHASE 3 |

PHASE 1

Defining the research question

First observations from Nicosia

Review of literature on the topics of heritage, heritage management, power, memory and authenticity within the built environment discourse

Review of existing theoretical frameworks & establishment of gaps in knowledge

Creation of Conceptual Framework

Methodology

Establishment of key methods for the case study data collection

PHASE 2

CASE STUDY APPROACH: WALLED NICOSIA

Case study examination and data collecion

- Empirical Data: Interviews, Observations

Validity assessment and applicability to similar international cases in addition to Nicosia

PHASE 3

DATA ANALYSIS: Data theorisation and re-contextualisation

Discussion of findings and review of conceptual framework

Conclusions

Ongoing review and updating of available literature and research

Figure 4: Empirical research process model employed in this thesis (Author 2017)

1.3.1 Literature Research and Review

For the examination of the issues influencing Nicosia's heritage and to address the limited amount of information available on heritage management in divided cities, this thesis initially engages with existing theories and research from recent scholarship on the topics of tangible and intangible heritage. This approach contributes to the establishment of a conceptual framework which incorporates the themes of power, authenticity and memory, and the consequent generation of a methodology that drives the data collection and analysis presented in this PhD thesis. This framework encapsulates the research by setting out the focus and content and by bridging the literature with the results (Vaughan 2008: 25).

The conceptual framework presented in this research was formed by:

a) Initial, first-hand observations from the case study of walled Nicosia,
b) Consideration of the multiple theories, themes, and concepts examined during the literature review process and,
c) The selection and merging of the selected themes, where appropriate, to create distinct categories, while eliminating redundant concepts.

As a result, the literature reviewed in this thesis is originally broad in nature, moving from the general international approaches on heritage management, to the creation of a conceptual framework and, to the more specific historical and theoretical examination of divided Nicosia and the NMP. The purpose of this approach was to first review and define the existing gaps and contributions to the field of heritage and heritage management, both internationally and in Nicosia during conflict; while establishing opportunities for further research within the built environment discourse. The following diagram briefly illustrates this structure.
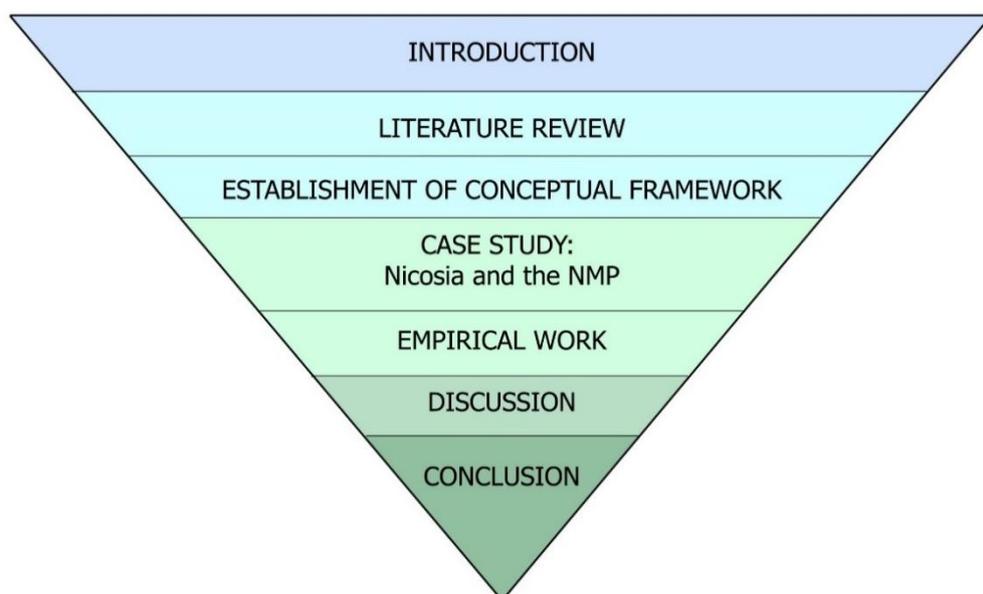
Figure 5: Thesis Structure Diagram (Author 2017)

1.3.2 Case study data collection

The case study approach is commonly employed in empirical research, as it can be based on observation, but can also be extended to incorporate other data collection methods, such as interviews (Slack and Rowley 2001: 39). The case study selected for this research is that of walled Nicosia. Yin (2003: 13) points out that, "a case study is an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident". The reason for following a case study approach is based on the need to gain an in-depth understanding of a specific phenomenon (in this case the heritage and heritage management of divided Nicosia) and the perceptions held by key stakeholders[6] (primarily the GC and TC municipal bodies, relevant NGOs, property owners and the inhabitants of the city) (Hancock and Algozzine 2011: 11). Through this approach, the phenomenon being examined is addressed in a specific context or situation (i.e. conflict and division), allowing the research to benefit from focused and intensive investigations. Moreover, this thesis maintains that the insights gathered from a case study approach can directly impact relevant policies and procedures, as well as future research (Merriam 2001) on Nicosia and other relevant international cases.

In addition to the examination of existing literature, and academic research, in order to establish a stronger personal understanding of walled Nicosia and the sites addressed by the NMP, a large part of this research consisted of direct visits to the site, recording impressions and characteristics of the city in the form of diagrams and photographs[7]. Moreover, data in the shape of primary and secondary photographic recordings has been valuable both in understanding the evolution of Nicosia's urban fabric over the years and for providing a vivid comparison between the physical state on both sides of the divide. Following these initial observations, interviews were carried out with individuals living and working in walled Nicosia, as well as experts from the NMP team and other bi-communal group and Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) representatives. A unique characteristic of this thesis, is the documentation of buildings and sites that were (during this study) or are in the process of being restored or regenerated as part of the NMP; which has allowed the researcher to witness, assess and understand first-hand the process, regularity and progress of this initiative by both GC and TC municipalities. The following table and timeline present the different data collection phases in Nicosia, accompanied by a summary of each visit and a description of the

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[6] Heritage stakeholders are defined as "individuals and organizations that are actively involved in the works (in this case Nicosia's heritage management), or whose interests may be affected as a result of works execution or completion. They may also exert influence over the objectives and outcomes." (Hajialikhani 2008: 1).

[7] These will be presented and further discussed in Chapter 4, *Case Study Analysis: Nicosia and the Nicosia Master Plan*.

nature of the obtained data. As can be observed, the initial visits focused mainly on familiarising the researcher's self with the walled city. As the research progressed, visits focused on gathering specific information in the form of visual material, interviews, and data from the NMP team and other key stakeholders.

Table 1: Fieldwork Table (Author 2017)

Date of visit	Brief description of obtained data	Additional notes
December 2012 – January 2013	Visual material in the form of photographs was obtained.	The main purpose of this visit was to familiarise further with the walled city, especially the north (TC) side of the walls
May 2013	Visual material in the form of photographs was obtained from areas close to the Buffer Zone. Site visits included the Selimye (North) and Omerye (South) quarters.	Collection of data was based on the fact that the two areas (i.e. Selimiye and Omeriye) were addressed together as part of the NMP initiative.
December 2013 – January 2014	Maps collected from the Department of Town Planning in Nicosia, including the historic (1885) Kitchener map which was used form many years by the Nicosia Municipality	Historic maps contributed towards a clearer understanding of the development of the walled Nicosia's urban fabric.
May 2014	Access was provided to the Nicosia Master Plan Final Reports by the Nicosia Master Plan office, as well as maps, plans and visual material of two completed projects within the walled city. Site visits to the Samanbache (North), Arabahmet (North), Chrysaliniotissa (South) and Takt-el-kale (South) quarters. Discussion about projects with South NMP Architect Mr Simos Drousiotis, who has also explained how funding and building ownership works within the walls, as well as how restoration works are approached.	Collection of data was based on the fact that Arabahmet (North) and Chrysaliniotissa (South) were addressed together as part of the NMP. The Samanbache (North) and Takt-el-kale (South) quarters also formed part of this visit, due to the fact that they are also considered as key areas of the NMP.
August 2014	Visual material collected from Dionissou and Omerye baths (South), following the information provided by the Nicosia Master Plan Office.	Information provided by the South NMP office only included interventions in the south, as they only deal with the specific part of the city.
December 2014 – January 2015	Interviews (semi-structured) were conducted with a total of 10 shop owners/ employees and residents of Nicosia.	One of the main aims of the interviews was to establish the interviewees awareness of (and participation in) the Nicosia Master Plan as well as finding out which areas they consider as the most authentic representation of the historic part of the city.
December 2016 – January 2017	Interviews with the North NMP architects Ali Guralp (NMP north team leader) and Cemal Bensel (north NMP Architect). Visit to the H4C and interview with Marina Neophytou (director).	The aim of the interviews was to establish the ongoing relationship between the North and South NMP teams, as well as learning about the progress of ongoing and past projects, any arising issues and successes, as well as future plans by the two NMP teams.

December 2012 - January 2013:
First site visits to Nicosia. The main purpose was to familiarise with the walled city, noting down any observations from the area. Notes and photographs were taken throughout the process.

May 2013:
Site visits to areas close to the buffer zone as well as Selimye (north) and Omerye (south), following initial studies of the NMP.

December 2013 - January 2014:
Collection of historic maps from Nicosia, as well as site visits to the historic core.

May 2014:
Access was provided to the NMP archives. Site visits and data collection from selected NMP addressed areas. (including: Samanbache and Arabahmet in the north, and Chrysaliniotissa and Takt-el-kale in the south).

August 2014:
Site visits to the NMP office and selected NMP areas.

December 2014 - January 2015:
Visit to Nicosia were interviews were conducted with members of the public, shop keepers and residents.

December 2016 - January 2017:
Visit to the NMP in the north as well as the House for Cooperation in the UN Buffer Zone. Interviews were conducted with relevant officials during both visits.

October 2017 - November 2017:
Interviews with bi-communak group representative.

End of 2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017

FIRST SITE INVESTIGATIONS AND DATA COLLECTION

FIELDWORK (NICOSIA): INTERVIEWS AND ACCESS TO NMP ARCHIVES

FIELDWORK (NICOSIA): INTERVIEWS

Figure 6: Fieldwork Timeline (Author 2017)

Interviews are one of the most popular methods employed when collecting qualitative data, as they allow researchers to study people's views in greater depth (Dörnyei 2007: 132; Kvale 2003). Relevantly, interviewing has proven to be a useful method for investigating "the construction and negotiation of meanings in a natural setting" (Cohen *et al.* 2007: 29), while enabling interviewees to "express their own thoughts and feelings" (Berg 2007: 96). The interviews undertaken throughout the course of this study seek to obtain information and strengthen the understanding of the "issues relevant to the general aims" of this research (Gillingham 2000: 2).

For the case study analysis and evaluation of the established conceptual framework, interviews, both structured and semi-structured, were carried out during the data collection process. This includes interviews from members of the public living and working in Nicosia, as well as experts from the NMP team, NGOs and bi-communal groups[8]. This approach has enabled the collection of interview data from diverse sources, subsequently enriching the contribution and validity of the study[9]. As a result, the interviews presented in this thesis have significantly enhanced the case study analysis by furthering the insights of the researcher on the heritage and heritage management of walled Nicosia from a range of perspectives.

The interviews conducted with the public were structured, in order to allow for the establishment of focused and concise responses (Gillingham 2000: 6). In this case, the interviews have been designed to understand the familiarity of the participants with the walled city, their perception of authenticity, and their knowledge and memories regarding the other side of the divide. The interviews with the NMP architects, H4C representative and Esra Can Akbil (TC architect and bi-communal group representative) were semi-structured in nature, enabling the researcher to modify and extend the questions during the process, while allowing flexibility for the interviewees to expand on topics they deemed important (ibid: 41). The interview obtained from the 'Urban

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[8] The Non-Governmental Organisations approached were the in Nicosia and the 'Urban Gorillas'. The 'Urban Gorillas' is run by "a multi-disciplinary team of urban enthusiasts who envision healthy and socially inclusive cities," aiming to activate urban spaces and transform them "into lively and creative hubs that encourage sustainable living and citizen participation" (Urban Gorillas 2017). The H4C claims to be "the embodiment of intercommunal cooperation, contributing to the collective efforts of civil society in their engagement with peacebuilding and intercultural dialogue," aiming to act as "a bridge-builder between separated communities, memories and visions" (Home4Cooperation 2017). Lastly, Esra Can Akbil is an educator and an active member of the bi-communal group Contested Fronts, the Hands-on Famagusta project and co-founder the bi-communal Archis Interventions Cyprus group. She is also a TC architect and Nicosia resident who contributed to the restoration of the building that houses the H4C.

[9] The interview collection process in this thesis can be broken down into two parts. The first part consists of the interviews obtained from members of the public living or working in south Nicosia and, the second part includes the in-depth, semi-structured interviews obtained from the NMP team, and NGO and bi-communal group representatives.

Gorillas' (UG) representative was in the form of an electronic interview. In this case, there was no opportunity to vary, modify or extend the discussion depending on the interviewee's response. However, Gillingham (2005: 5) explains that conducting distance interviews may pose constrains on the interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee, but can also allow the interviewee the time and freedom to address and justify each answer, constructing a rational response for each question. Textual analysis was employed for the description, interpretation and evaluation of the recorded material, looking for patterns, relationships and themes between the diverse interview material and the concepts relevant to this thesis.

The interviewee sample selected from the NMP team was purposive in nature, due to the role and extensive knowledge of the selected individuals in the realisation of the NMP, as well as their contribution to the heritage management of walled Nicosia. The interviews obtained from the NGO and bi-communal group representatives, provide a stronger understanding of the role of independent organisations in the protection of Nicosia's intangible heritage. The interviewee sample selected from the public in Nicosia mainly consisted of local residents, and shop keepers between the ages of twenty and sixty-five; and were selected due to their familiarity with the walled city. Their input has been vital in providing a more solid idea of the level of public awareness and participation in the overall regeneration of the city. As a result, the viewpoint of the interview participants was deemed essential in establishing the impact of conflict and division on public and individual perception; as well as their knowledge and understanding about the communities on the other side of the divide.

A first familiarisation with the interview data was internalised through the transcription and translation process. All interviews in Greek were directly translated to English by the researcher. Transcripts of interviews that were conducted in Greek have been inevitably edited as part of the translation process and can be considered as clean verbatim transcriptions[10] and translations, as the material contained closely represents the accurate statements of the interviewees. The same applies for the interviews obtained in English by the NMP officials in the TC part of Cyprus and the bi-communal group and NGO representatives (either through recordings or written transcripts), where clean verbatim transcription has been employed; although without detracting from the quality or reliability of the information collected. Following their transcription, interviews were divided into categories depending on the background of the interviewee. These were analysed to identify relevant themes, patterns and/or meanings within the transcribed data. Evidence of this

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[10] Clean verbatim transcription can be defined as data transcribed, or re-presented by the researcher "for a particular purpose, not just talk-written down" (Green *et al.* 1997: 172).

process is included in Appendices II and III, and demonstrate the different stages of interview data analysis and meta-analysis.

The significance of the NGOs and bi-communal groups in this thesis

This thesis maintains that heritage management in Nicosia is multifaceted, with different members and organisations influencing the protection and conservation of the city's historic core from different levels and perspectives. Relevantly, the significance of the selected NGOs in this thesis, is manifested through their impact on the management of Nicosia's intangible heritage, which also contributes to the protection of the city's historic built environment. In addition, by taking into account the efforts of NGOs, this thesis aims to unveil their relevance and contribution to the heritage management of Nicosia, while highlighting the different approaches undertaken for safeguarding the city's cultural inheritance in the context of conflict and division.

The NGOs and bi-communal group representatives examined during this study represent local initiatives embraced on either site of the divide. More specifically, the Home for Cooperation (H4C)[11] and the Urban Gorillas (UG) signify the culmination of liberal forces which come together through bi-communal enterprises for the benefit of the GC, TC and other communities on either side of the divide. These two NGOs are based in Nicosia, with the H4C being located directly in the UN-controlled buffer zone, west of the walled city and opposite the Ledra Palace hotel and crossing (Figure 7)[12]. Moreover, Esra Can Akbil's involvement with *Contested Fronts*, the *Hands-on Famagusta* project and *Archis Interventions Cyprus* has significantly enhanced the interview findings by providing additional insights on current initiatives taking place throughout the island and in Nicosia.

Further to the above, the work of additional bi-communal groups is considered when examining the different efforts of safeguarding the intangible heritage of Nicosia[13]. Some of these initiatives are organised by the H4C, with meetings or event taking place in the specific NGO's community centre and will be discussed further in Chapter 2.

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[11] The H4C is a non-governmental community centre initiated by the Association for Historical Dialogue and Research (AHDR) in 2011 and is known for "working towards enhancing dialogue on history education in Cyprus since 2003" and is supported by academics on both sides of the Cypriot divide (Foka 20014: 15).
[12] Both the hotel and the crossing hold a unique symbolic significance for the GCC and TC communities of Nicosia, as well as for the bi-communal movement. Over the years, the Ledra Palace hotel has acted as a neutral base for most bi-communal meetings and activities since the early 1990s. Amongst these are meetings for the NMP and official negotiations for the Cyprus Problem (Bjorkdahl and Kappler 2017: 42).
[13] These include the Association for Historical Dialogue and Research, the Buffer Fringe Festival, which takes place in Nicosia; Peace2Peace, which consists of a group of women across the divide using traditional crafts such as crocheting to bring the two communities together; Dance for Peace and the Bi-Communal Choir for Peace in Cyprus that use traditional dance and music as a means of rapprochement between the GC and TC communities.
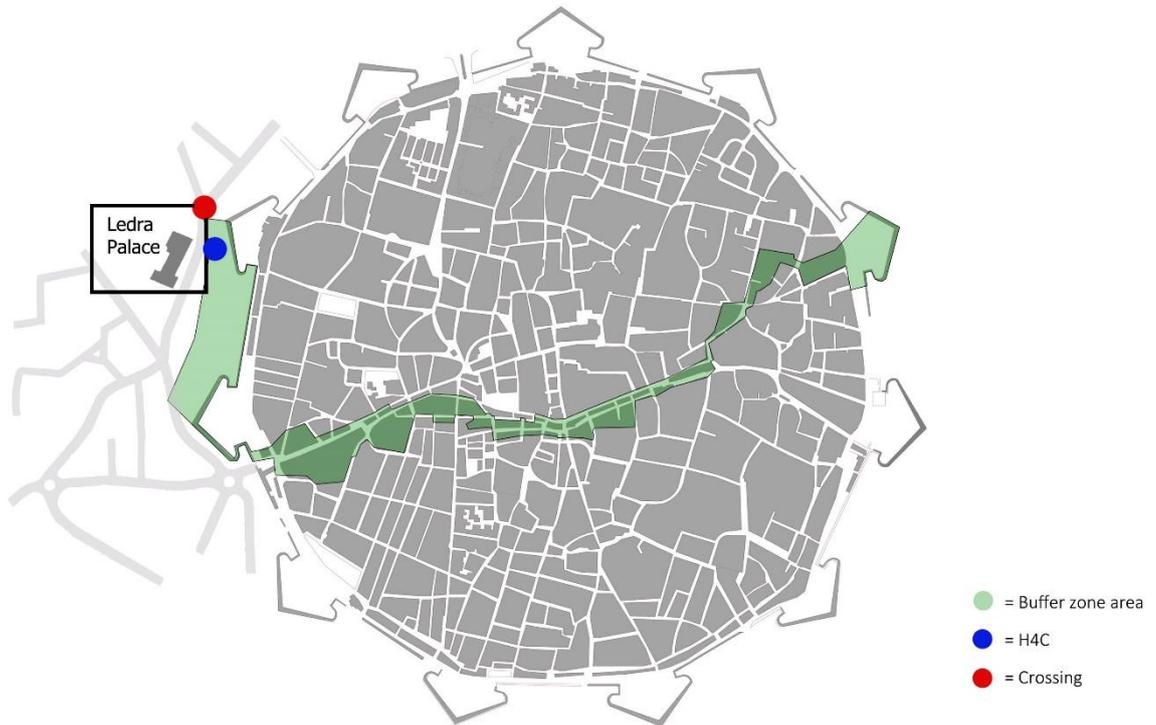
Figure 7: Map illustrating the location of the H4C, Ledra Palace Hotel and Crossing between the North and South Parts of Nicosia (outside the walls) (Author 2017).

The significance of the public in this thesis

According to UNESCO "the ethics of the city is to serve people" and "requiring participatory approaches, should become the driving force of urban management. If the inhabitants are to become the 'guardians' of their city, they must be given the means to learn about and appropriate their city" (UNESCO 2004: 5). For this reason, and in order to establish a stronger understanding of the impact of conflict and division on the historic core of Nicosia, this study takes into account the input of public stakeholders. By targeting individuals that interact with the walled city on a regular basis, either by living or working in the area, a stronger evaluation of the conceptual framework presented in this thesis is established. Moreover, interviews with the public have been vital in enriching the data collection process, through the inclusion of viewpoints beyond the ones of governmental and non-governmental organisations in Nicosia. As a result, this approach has enabled the analysis of different perspectives, from different backgrounds and involvements with the historic core, consequently strengthening the breadth and contribution of the interview data presented in this body of work.

The significance of the NMP in this thesis

The NMP is the primary organisation working on the protection and management of walled Nicosia's heritage on either side of the divide and the first bi-communal master plan after the division of Cyprus (Balderstone 2007: 7). At the moment, the NMP team is divided between GC and TC professionals, each allocated to their respective municipality and working on projects under

their jurisdiction. For this reason, this PhD thesis considers the examination of the efforts of the NMP as essential in determining the impact of conflict and division on walled Nicosia's heritage on either side of the divide. Moreover, by comparing the approaches undertaken by the GC and TC teams, a stronger understanding of the concepts of power, memory and authenticity will be established and their relevance on the city's heritage and heritage management.

Field Study: Empirical data collection and the significance of the researcher's observations

> Objects are concretely empirical as they appear to us. We see a person, living, appearing before us. This corporeal presence is taken as fact. Yet at the same time we "see" the person in the sense of a meaningful object whose various aspects, though not directly seen, are nevertheless known to us. The pre-given type, known to us as 'human body', does not refer to any one particular body but to the purely ideal, meaning creation of our human minds (Schutz 1962: 28, cited in Psathas 1989: 22).

Empirical data in qualitative research is data that is learned, or collected through experience (Dönmez 2015: 8). This data can be gathered in the form of observations and surveys, based on field studies and interviews and allows the researcher to be situated in the empirical world. By doing so, the researcher is connected "to specific sites, persons, groups, institutions, and bodies of relevant interpretive material, including documents and archives" (Denzin 2008: 34). For this reason, the observations and analysis of the case study of Nicosia are grounded on the empirical work undertaken throughout this research (Yanow and Schwartz 2006). Moreover, in addition to interviews that examine the participants lived experiences around the selected topic of enquiry (i.e. the impact of conflict and division on the heritage of walled Nicosia) (Hanckock and Algozzine 2011: 9; Schulz 1980: 5), the perspective of the researcher has been employed and has been key in the interpretation and analysis of the field work data. Such an approach has allowed for the study to take place within the selected context of walled Nicosia, resulting in the development and interpretation of associated meanings both by the researcher and by the selected participants.

1.3.3 Data Interpretation and Analysis

The site visits to the walled city, as well as to the NMP offices have contributed to the creation of a rich assortment of visual material in the form of maps and photographs. Using the raw data collected from Nicosia, diagrammatic illustrations and relevant drawings based on site observations and knowledge deriving from the unique characteristics of the city have been created. The theorisation and re-contextualization of the synthesised data has significantly contributed to the analysis of the case study. Moreover, to ensure the accuracy and reliability of the findings, while elucidating the applicability of the conceptual framework to walled Nicosia's heritage management,

the thesis cross validates - or triangulates[14] the data produced in the form of interviews, photographs, maps and diagrams. This approach has contributed to the corroboration of the material collected and tested against the previously examined literature and established conceptual model. A breakdown of this process is presented in the following figure.
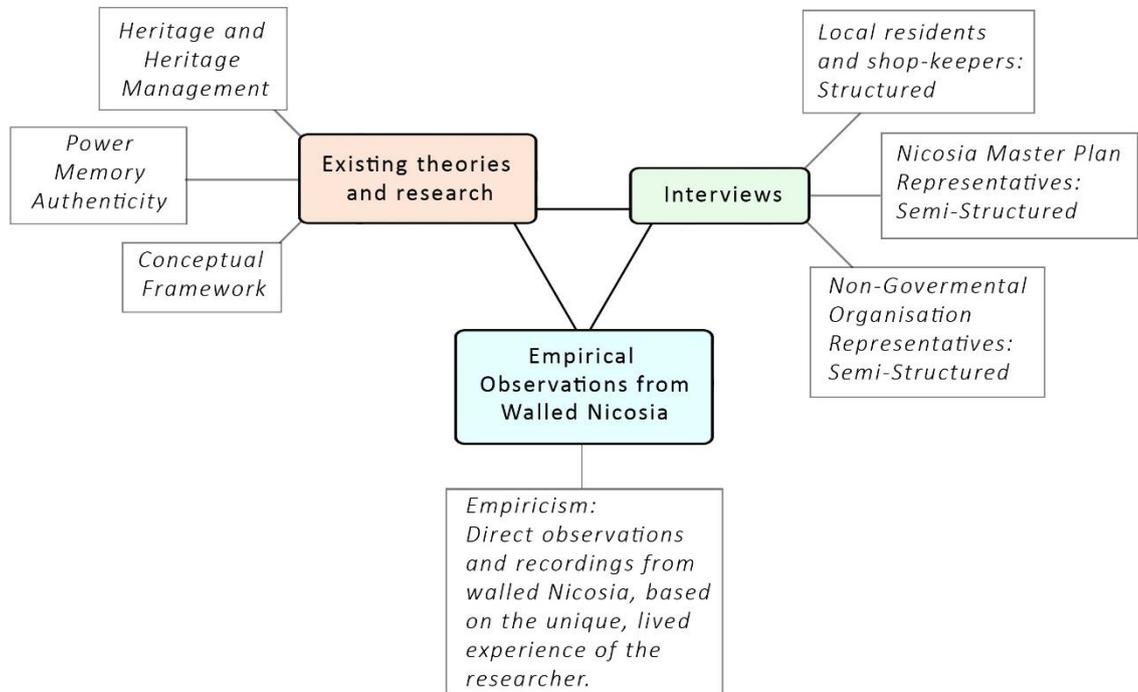
Figure 8: The triangulation process used to facilitate the validation and correlation of the research findings (Author 2017)

Further to the above, one of the primary objectives of this research was the production of findings that can be applied beyond the immediate boundaries of the selected case study. Nicosia, therefore, acts as a primary example where the selected theories and conceptual framework can be tested and potentially employed on cases of a similar nature. Subsequently, the intention of this research is to use the specific case study to enhance universal knowledge and contribution.

The following diagram (Figure 9) offers a visual representation of the PhD thesis, along with the different processes that fed into this document. A significant aspect of this diagram is the interrelationship between the different categories that contributed to this body of work, as well as their subcategories and their role within the thesis.

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[14] Triangulation in qualitative research refers to the use of multiple methods or data sources to ensure a comprehensive understanding of phenomena (Patton 1999). Triangulation is also useful as a qualitative research strategy for testing the validity of findings through the convergence of information from diverse sources (Carter et al 2014: 545).
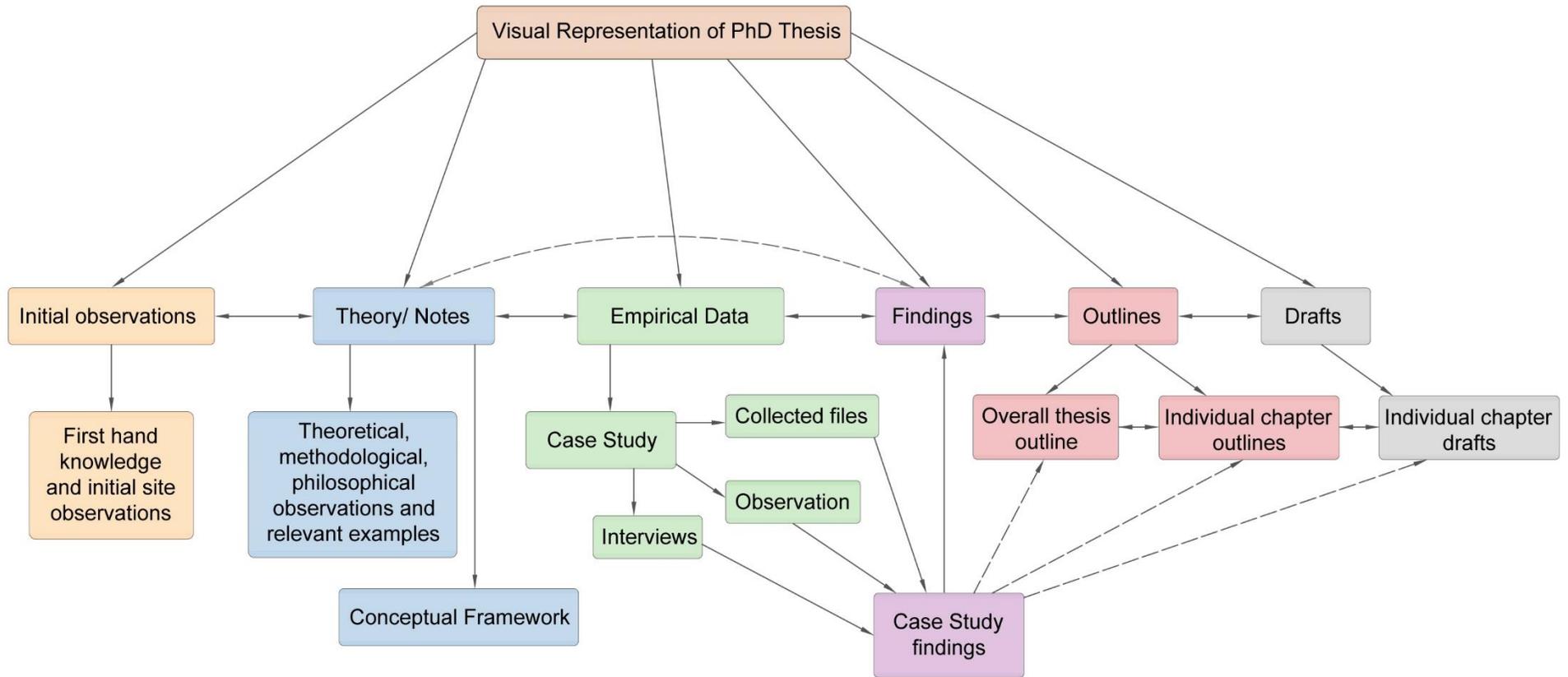
Figure 9: Visual representation of PhD thesis (Author 2017)

1.3.3 Establishing a conceptual framework

To address the aims and objectives set through this body of work, this thesis deems important the detailed examination of existing theories and research in order to develop an effective, context-specific conceptual framework. This framework seeks to contribute to the management of walled Nicosia's heritage, as well as to similar international cases. Miles and Huberman (1994: 18) support that the role of the conceptual framework is to inform the research process and explain the main matters to be studied, "the key factors, concepts, or variables—and the presumed relationships among them."

This research initially intended to examine the role and importance of authenticity on the heritage management of divided cities, using walled Nicosia as its primary case study. This was planned to be achieved through the examination of existing literature and research on the topic, while analysing completed interventions undertaken by the NMP. As the research progressed, it became apparent from the literature available that additional concepts, or themes, played a prominent role in the way heritage was addressed in the event of conflict or division; both in Nicosia, as well as in other examples examined. These additional themes have been identified as the topics of power and memory and have been incorporated in the study of heritage management in divided cities. In addition, and in order to enhance the contribution and validity of this thesis and of the conceptual framework, interviews from different actors were obtained; these include members of the public living or working in South Nicosia, representatives from both the NMP and other NGO and bi-communal group representatives.

Moreover, even though a substantial amount of literature and examples consider all three concepts (i.e. authenticity, power and memory), within the social domain, or in the context of conflict, it also became evident that limited literature and research addressed their collective impact within the discipline of heritage management in divided, or contested cities[15]. This includes the walled city of Nicosia throughout its division and since the initiation of the NMP. For this reason, the originality and a contribution of this research includes the use of a range of different literature and examples from diverse subject disciplines, drawn together to form and inform a single conceptual framework

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[15] Gaffikin *et al.* (2012: 494) argues that "all cities are 'contested'". However, the authors make a clear distinction between cities contested around pluralism and cities contested around "both *pluralism* and *sovereignty* – the latter concerning issues of state legitimacy and rival claims of national belonging" (ibid.). Moreover, the authors argue that cities like Belfast, Jerusalem and Nicosia belong to this category as they experience "contentions about equity with regard to class, gender, age, ethnicity […] superimposed upon the fundamental dispute about ethno-nationalist affiliation" (ibid.). Relevantly, Hepburn (2004: 10) maintains that in cities like the one of Nicosia, "ethnic competition and contestation" have resulted to the total partition of the GC and TC populations. Considering the above, the city of Nicosia is considered to suffer both from contestation and from division, with the latter being a consequence of the first concern.

that can further understanding on the impact of conceptual considerations on the practical application of heritage management systems in walled Nicosia.

The role of the conceptual framework

Rocco and Plakhotnik (2009: 122) assert that, the literature review and conceptual framework have five basic functions which are often, but not necessarily, fulfilled by the review and/or framework. These include (i) building a foundation, (ii) demonstrating how a study furthers knowledge, (iii) conceptualising the study, (iv) assessing research design and instrumentation, and (v) providing a reference point for the interpretation of findings (ibid.: 122). In this vein, the framework established in this thesis developed as the focus for organising theories, refining literature and, looking for similar ideas that may be applicable to the scope of this research; while establishing new definitions to existing ideas in order to corroborate their relevance and applicability to this investigation. Moreover, the conceptual framework formed the basis for the collection and analysis of the case study of divided Nicosia, as well as the associated empirical data and observations.

Jabareen (2009: 51) defines a conceptual framework as a network of "interlinked concepts that together provide a comprehensive understanding of a phenomenon or phenomena." In this case the phenomenon of investigation is the heritage of walled Nicosia in the context of conflict and division. Moreover, the author explains that the role of conceptual frameworks in qualitative research is to provide understanding rather than merely offering a theoretical explanation (ibid.). Rocco and Plakhotnik (2009: 122) argue that "the goal of a conceptual framework is to categorise and describe concepts relevant to the study and develop relationships among them". To realise this objective, Miles and Huberman (1994: 22) maintain that qualitative research incorporates "both relevant theory and empirical research" that contribute to the organisation of the framework, seeing where "overlaps, contradictions, refinements, or qualifications" exist.

The conceptual framework in this thesis

Considering the above, the framework established and tested against the empirical data has been developed conceptually, based on rhizomatic process of examination of existing theories and research; comprising of a set of ideas - or concepts - used to explain, understand and benefit the heritage and heritage management of walled Nicosia. Maxwell (2005: 43) suggests that, using existing theory helps draw the researcher's attention to particular events or phenomena, shedding light into relationships "that might otherwise go unnoticed or misunderstood." Consequently, part of this process consisted of the systematic acquisition and understanding of a substantial body of knowledge, while including or excluding elements of the various disciplines explored, to ensure their relevance and applicability to the established framework and research.

Throughout the research, different literatures were examined. The criteria for considering them initially being that they addressed heritage, heritage management and authenticity. As the literature review progressed, and by delving further into the examination of heritage and conflict within the built environment discourse, additional concepts were discovered, such as the role of power and memory. Although these concepts appeared to be relevant both to the topic of conflict, as well as to the discipline of heritage, as the research expanded there was insufficient clarity and knowledge available as to how these ideas linked to each other or, whether and how they influenced the heritage of divided cities, and in this case Nicosia. Moreover, and as demonstrated in Chapters 2 and 3, even though a substantial amount of literature and examples consider all three concepts (i.e. authenticity, power and memory), within the social, anthropological, historical and even philosophical domains, it also became evident that limited literature and research addressed the impact of these concepts on the heritage of Nicosia during conflict and after its division. As a result, a goal and contribution of this research, encompassed the synthesis and understanding of these concepts, creating a simple model that would incorporate ideas deemed relevant to the purpose of this investigation.

Based on the recommendations of McGaghie *et al.* (2001: 925), the following diagram represents a visual justification of the process which has led to the conceptual framework employed during this study. As can be observed, the process of creating a conceptual framework moved from the broad examination of selected literature, to the narrowing down of selected themes - or concepts - which have been synthesised according to their function and impact on the phenomenon of investigation.
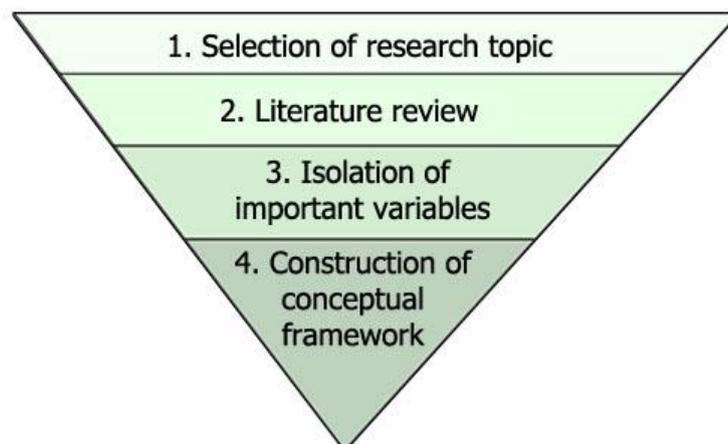
Figure 10:Conceptual Framework Model Employed in this Thesis (Author 2017)

1.3.4 Challenges and Limitations

The literature review presented in this thesis highlights that, Nicosia's tangible and intangible heritage during conflict and division is a topic which has not been examined in detail. Moreover, knowledge about the impact of the themes incorporated in the conceptual framework (i.e. power,

memory, and authenticity) on the city's heritage and heritage management during conflict is also scarce. This gap in literature – that this thesis aims to address – has made it harder to obtain relevant sources and data. Therefore, some of the primary topics examined in this thesis also address more general theories, before moving to the development of a more focused conceptual model. Additionally, the existence of a UN controlled buffer zone within walled Nicosia, as well as the presence of military troops in the specific area, has proven to be a limitation by restricting freedom of access between the north and south sides of the city[16]. It is worth mentioning that this area contains a significant amount of architectural heritage and is occasionally managed by the NMP in the case of emergency building collapse.

Limitations of the interview process

Language also proved to be a major limitation when interviewing members of the public, as information could only be collected from the GC part of Nicosia (i.e. the researcher's place of origin); and due to associated concerns in communicating, recording and interpreting information accurately between the researcher and non-native Greek or English speakers in the North[17]. Similarly, literature could only be obtained from sources written in English and Greek, due to the researcher's familiarity with the languages. Moreover, obtaining interviews from the NMP team has proven to be a lengthy process, as various attempts were made to engage with NMP officials, both from the north and south sides of Nicosia. Nevertheless, when contact was achieved, the individuals interviewed proved to be very willing and open to offer their assistance, especially in the North. It is also worth mentioning that numerous interview requests from the South NMP team were unsuccessful, which made the empirical data collection process very challenging. In addition, several communication attempts have been made with bi-communal groups in Nicosia, with only four out of the eight contacted responding to the researcher's interview request.

1.4 Thesis Chapter Breakdown

The core chapters of this thesis have been designed to address the aims and objectives of this research; starting with a theoretical discussion of the main themes examined through this body of work, and progressing to the case study approach and analysis of walled Nicosia. This section offers

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[16] Following a discussion in May 2014 with Simos Drousiotis, one of the architects of the NMP, it was confirmed that access to the UN Buffer Zone was only given to UN soldiers and relevant TC and GC officials (i.e. people working for the North and South Nicosia Municipalities and the NMP team) when necessary. For example, the GC NMP team was invited in 2013 to restore a building facade in the buffer zone as its derelict state posed a danger to UN soldiers patrolling the area.

[17] Nevertheless, the conceptual framework established is applicable to the walled city of Nicosia as a whole and may be employed for the evaluations of heritage management approaches on both sides of the divide, as well as in similar divided or contested urban settings.

a concise breakdown of each chapter, clarifying their specific role within the wider structure of the thesis, as well as their contribution in directly responding to the research aims.

Following the Introduction, Chapter 2 offers a theoretical examination of the key topics of this thesis: heritage and heritage management, delineating their significance to the scope of this investigation and to the case study of Nicosia. To achieve this objective, the chapter discusses relevant international theories, guidelines and recommendations, identifying and articulating existing gaps in knowledge concerning the topic of heritage management in divided cities and in this case, that of Nicosia. In doing so, Chapter 2 concludes by presenting three additional themes that this thesis endeavours to address in Chapter 3 in order to create a conceptual framework that can benefit the heritage and heritage management of divided Nicosia in the long term.

Chapter 3 presents a focused theoretical review of the topics of power, memory and authenticity; demonstrating their relevance to the scope of this thesis, as well as to the conceptual framework established in this study. In addition, this chapter highlights an existing gap in knowledge regarding the impact of these themes on the heritage and heritage management of walled Nicosia during conflict and division. Moreover, Chapter 3 offers an inductive examination of the topics of power, memory and authenticity within the built environment discourse, while also taking into consideration the context-specific nature of the case study. In doing so, this chapter sets the ground for the forthcoming conceptual framework section, as well as the case study description and analysis which follow. Following the presentation and justification of the conceptual framework, Chapter 4 provides an introduction to, and detailed analysis of the case study of walled Nicosia, using specific examples and empirical and observations to demonstrate the impact of conflict and division on the city's heritage and heritage management. To achieve this objective, the first part of this chapter introduces the history and division of the city, while presenting the field work findings of the researcher. The second part of Chapter 4 outlines the ongoing efforts of the bi-communal[18] NMP in dealing with Nicosia's heritage management, using primary and secondary data from the walled city in the form of photographs and diagrams. In addition, SWOT analyses of the selected areas discussed and of the walled city of Nicosia as a whole have been included; as well as a comparative evaluation of the city's heritage management on either side of the divide based on UNESCO's (2013) recommended framework for defining heritage management systems.

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[18] As defined by the UN, the term bicommunal means that "the two communities will participate effectively in the organs and decisions of the central federal government" (Press and Information Office of the Republic of Cyprus 2010: 12). This decision was initially incorporated in the 1960 Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus.

Chapter 5 presents the empirical interview data collected from different individuals from Nicosia. These include members of the public living and working in the south part of the city, representatives from NGOs and bi-communal groups, and members of the NMP team. This is a key chapter in this thesis, as it offers original insights into to the heritage and heritage management of Nicosia, while bringing together findings from different groups and individuals that influence the heritage of the city. In addition, Chapter 5 plays a vital role in assessing the relevance and validity of the conceptual framework, while contributing to its development following the findings of the Nicosia case study analysis. Chapter 6 offers a critical discussion of the literature review and field work findings, theorising their significance against the established conceptual framework. The role of this chapter in the context of the thesis is to bring together the results of this study, in order to demonstrate the contribution to knowledge and to the case study of Nicosia. Moreover, this chapter offers a comparative evaluation of walled Nicosia's heritage management on either site of the divide, using UNESCO's (2013) framework for defining heritage management systems; and outlines a set of context-specific recommendations that seek to benefit walled Nicosia and its stakeholders. Lastly, Chapter 7 concludes with a summary of the thesis findings, addresses the different limitations of this study and presents possible areas for future research - as informed by the literature review and case study analysis.

1.5 Conclusion

This chapter introduced this PhD thesis by offering a description and justification of the research focus, methodology and contribution of the overall study. Moreover, this chapter offered a brief introduction of the main case study of walled Nicosia, as well as relevant background information that aims to strengthen understanding of the topic of investigation. The aims and objectives of this study were presented, as well as the role and significance of the conceptual framework in establishing a context-specific approach to the data collection and analysis of walled Nicosia's heritage and heritage management. Lastly, the final sections of this chapter presented a concise summary of the individual chapters and illustrated the way these will contribute to the wider structure of the thesis.

Chapter 2: Heritage, Heritage Management, and Conflict

2.1 Introduction

Chapter 2 provides an examination of the topics of heritage and heritage management; outlining their relevance to this thesis, and to the case study of walled Nicosia. This is established through the review of relevant literature from different disciplines and by examining the ways in which current theory and practice intersect in the context of conflict and division.

Moreover, this chapter highlights an existing knowledge gap in the heritage management approach of walled Nicosia. To identify, articulate and justify this gap, the following literature review initially focuses on relevant international theories and guidelines that shape current understandings of conservation and preservation, as well as the tangible and intangible concepts within the heritage domain. These topics, along with the themes discussed in Chapter 3, form the backbone of the literature review, the establishment of the conceptual framework and the case study examination.

While this thesis subscribes to the international guidelines and research which have helped shape contemporary conservation practice, a key objective of this chapter is to demonstrate that the existing conservation approaches cannot adequately address the heritage and heritage management of walled Nicosia, due to the city's additional complications associated with conflict and division. These include, the presence of two different governments and legislative systems presiding over the GC and TC communities each responsible for their individual affairs; the displacement of many of the legal property owners during the 1974 conflict, which also raises property ownership and maintenance issues and; "the ambiguous relationship" between the GC and TC communities (Ker-Lindsay 2011: 4). As a result, this chapter contributes to the establishment of a framework, which aims to provide a context-appropriate heritage management approach tailored to the specific case and circumstances of Nicosia.

The structure of Chapter 2 is broken down into four distinct sections. The first section (2.2) examines and defines the role of heritage within the built environment discourse, paying particular attention to the topics of tangible and intangible heritage. The second section (2.3) focuses on the wider discipline of heritage management, addressing the topics of conservation, preservation, and adaptive re-use in order to examine their relevance and applicability to the scope of this thesis. Section three (2.4) introduces the theme of conflict within the heritage domain, guiding emphasis on the issue of heritage ownership in Nicosia. The fourth section (2.5) of this chapter concentrates on the topic of heritage management in the context of divided Nicosia and considers the existing theory and research available on the city. This section highlights the existing gap in knowledge and introduces key themes that can contribute to a stronger understanding of the impact of conflict and division on Nicosia's heritage and heritage management.

2.2 Definitions and Interpretations of Heritage

2.2.1 The meaning(s) and evolution of heritage

> Heritage is taken to include everything that people want to save […]. It is all pervasive, and concerns everyone (Howard 2003: 1).

The use and practice of heritage management has evolved into a prominent area of concern in the twenty-first century, as global issues affect the way the past is seen and used in local and global contexts. The first citations of heritage are those of "artistic heritage" referenced by Evdipidis Fountoukidis at the 1931 Athens conference and have since been commonly employed in the manuscripts of international organisations (ICOMOS 1931, Vecco 2010: 321).

According to Peter Howard (2003: 6) the word heritage is closely connected to the concept of inheritance, with *patrimoine* (meaning heritage in French) being exclusively employed to represent 'legacy'. Heritage can also be defined as "that which has been, or may be, inherited" and, "circumstances or benefits passed down from previous generations" (ibid.: 6). Both definitions imply a continuity of heritage ownership, with the former definition addressing heritage that is not owned, but could be at a later stage, and the latter referring to both a tangible and intangible notion of inheritance.

The 2005 Council of Europe's *Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society* maintains that "cultural heritage is a group of resources inherited from the past which people identify, independently of ownership, as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions" (Council of Europe 2005: 2). This idea of heritage as a continuous and constantly evolving entity amongst generations and communities is key to this thesis, as it highlights the on-going relevance of the concept within the cultural domain. What this point also emphasises is the adaptability of heritage within the social domain, based on the values transcribed and associated with its meaning.

Shackel (2010: ix) explains that the transformation of the world's political economy accompanied by climate change have threatened forms of heritage that are "important for providing a sense of place and identity" for communities. As a result, and in order to ensure the safeguarding of heritage, numerous scholars and organisations have established ways of assessing and addressing the topic of heritage within different disciplines. Specifically, UNESCO's formation in 1945 along with international heritage safeguarding campaigns that followed in the 1950s and 1960s, generated a positive environment for the conception of significant heritage protection initiatives (UNESCO 2015). Moreover, the creation of key international bodies, such as ICOMOS, ICOM and ICCROM, has added to the progress and internationalisation of the heritage discussion and as a result,

international conventions have pursued the codification of common understandings of language and meaning as the scope of heritage expanded. An illustration of this is Article I of UNESCO's 1972 Convention which focuses on the *Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage* and considers heritage to include "monuments, groups of buildings, and sites of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological, or anthropological point of view" (UNESCO [1972] 2016d).

To assess and address the topic of heritage within diverse disciplines and practices, heritage value typologies have also been suggested by various guidelines, scholars and organisations. Amongst them, Lipe (1984), Riegl (1903), Frey (1997), The Burra Charter by ICOMOS Australia (1998), English Heritage (1997). The table below provides a summary of the typologies ascribed to heritage values, highlighting key factors and considerations that characterise the qualities of heritage.

Table 2: Heritage values as identified by different scholars and organisations (Mason 2002; adapted by Author 2017)

Lipe (1984)	Riegl (1903)	The Burra Charter (1998)	Frey (1997)	English Heritage (1997)
Age	Economic	Aesthetic	Monetary	Cultural
Historical	Aesthetic	Historic	Educational	Educational/ Academic
Commemorative	Associative – Symbolic	Scientific	Option	Economic
Use	Informational	Social (including spiritual, political, national, cultural)	Existence	Resource
Newness			Bequest	Recreational
			Prestige	Aesthetic
			Educational	

With reference to the above classifications, Mason (2002) stresses the limitations in trying to create rigid typologies to break down and describe values ascribed to heritage; due to the different articulations and expressions of the topic seen through different eyes. This is one of the reasons why this thesis maintains that current heritage protection approaches need to be tailored to the peculiar situation of Nicosia, by taking into consideration its existing social, political, cultural and economic parameters. Subsequently, the fact that Nicosia's heritage, is challenged with diverse narratives and meanings connected to conflict and division, has provided the opportunity for the creation of a new framework, based on themes and values relevant to the specific context of the city.

The role of stakeholders

It is generally considered within the literature that stakeholders play a central role in adding value to heritage. De la Torre and Mason (2002: 3) highlight the vital role of stakeholders and the significance of their opinion and participation in the process of heritage protection; arguing that stakeholder contribution is key to the identification and measurement of heritage values and to the transmission of cultural significance. This point is further reinforced by Mason (2002), who considers the needs of the stakeholders as crucial in the establishment and characterisation of tangible and intangible heritage values relevant to all the disciplines involved.

Consequently, the social and cultural relevance of heritage emerges through the needs of its stakeholders. What is more important to this thesis however, is the recognition of the stakeholders' role, by acknowledging their potential contribution both to the protection and to the management of Nicosia's tangible and intangible heritage. This matter is addressed in the second part of this thesis (the case study examination and analysis), in order to assess and establish the ongoing and future impact of conflict on Nicosia's stakeholders, as well as the way this has influenced their approach to, and perception of the city's tangible and intangible cultural inheritance.

2.2.2 Tangible and Intangible Heritage

Two further central themes of this thesis are the roles played by tangible and intangible heritage within the built environment of walled Nicosia; these will be discussed in the following section. By addressing and comprehending the role of these themes, a stronger identification of the different dimensions and typologies ascribed to cultural heritage will be established, consequently allowing for this thesis to address the gap in knowledge concerning walled Nicosia's heritage and heritage management.

Tangible Heritage

The significance of tangible heritage was formally acknowledged with the creation of UNESCO's 1972 *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (UNESCO 1972). This guideline proved to be a turning point in the way heritage and heritage management tools were implemented in order to engage with visitors and users of heritage sites, while effectively conveying the messages embodied by heritage. The 1972 Convention lead to the creation of the World Heritage List, incorporating selected sites, monuments and groups of buildings of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV)[19] that are in urgent need of protection.

Tangible heritage represents the material expressions of human action, "which, having acquired a value, need to be protected" (Vecco 2010: 324). Moreover, tangible heritage incorporates material properties that reflect the cultural identity of cultures and settings and have been further examined and defined in key ICOMOS and UNESCO Documents (these include: The Venice Charter (ICOMOS 1964), The Burra Charter (ICOMOS 1979 - revised in 2013), The Quebec Charter (ICOMOS 2008a), The World Heritage Convention (UNESCO 1972).

The examination of tangible, or physical, artefacts of Walled Nicosia is important to this research for two key reasons. Firstly, it provides a concrete illustration of the impact of conflict and division

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[19] As defined by UNESCO (2008: 14) "Outstanding universal value means cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity. As such, the permanent protection of this heritage is of the highest importance to the international community as a whole."

on the city and secondly, the tangible heritage of Nicosia contributes to the understanding and interpretation of the intangible attributes currently ascribed to by the city and its inhabitants.

Intangible Heritage

The examination of the intangible within the context of walled Nicosia, has allowed for the emergence of key themes and explanations concerning the tangible heritage of the city after its division. Intangible heritage represents the immaterial expressions of human action, as well as the meanings and settings that contribute to the significance of such heritage (ICOMOS 2013: 3; Vecco 2010: 324). These include, "cultural and spiritual traditions, stories, music, dance, theatre, literature, visual arts, local customs and culinary heritage" (ICOMOS 2008: 5). The first document to explicitly highlight the significance of the intangible within the heritage discourse was ICOMOS' 1979 Burra Charter (revised in 2013). This Charter considers intangible heritage to incorporate elements of cultural significance that reflect the "distinctive character" and "meanings" of a place, as evoked or expressed by people (ICOMOS 2013: 3)[20].

Furthermore, the Burra Charter of 1979 is internationally acknowledged for its establishment of the concept of "places of cultural importance" (ICOMOS 1979) and differentiates between preserving the symbolic, or spiritual values (intangible) and, the built environment (tangible) (ICOMOS 1979, 2013). The guidelines introduce a set of intangible values, adding to the understanding of vital issues affecting contemporary heritage management and conservation practices. Moreover, by comprehending the intangible dimension of heritage, a stronger consideration of the role of communities and individuals is achieved, while acknowledging the role of context and cultural significance[21].

> Culture is the context within which we need to situate the self, for it is only by virtue of the interpretations, orientations and values provided by culture that we can formulate our identities, say 'who we are', and 'where we are coming from' (Benhabib 2002: 18).

In line with the above, protection and transmission of cultural significance in Nicosia, entails additional complexities, as the tangible and intangible heritage of the city is visibly influenced by conflict and division between the GC and TC communities. For this reason, this thesis considers both

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[20] In the case of Nicosia, in addition to traditional craftsmanship, arts, social and religious practices taking place within the walled city, Hadjichristou (2012: 362) sustains that the spatial typology of walled Nicosia is also an inseparable part of the city's intangible heritage. This includes traditional courtyards found at different places within the walls, which "carr[y] invaluable 'wisdoms' stemming out form the rich history of the island [and] the climatic and topographical conditions." Furthermore, according to Atun and Doratli 2009 (108) the buffer zone of Nicosia also carries intangible meanings, as it represents "division, exclusion, separation and confinement" for the GC and TC population.
[21] As defined by UNESCO (1979: 1), "Cultural Significance means aesthetic, historic, scientific or social value for past, present and future generations."

the tangible and the intangible dimensions of walled Nicosia's heritage. This approach has allowed for the critical discussion and analysis of the key themes presented in the forthcoming conceptual framework. These themes, which will also be employed in the case study analysis of walled Nicosia, aim to positively enhance the heritage management of the city, by furthering the protection of its "aesthetic, historic and social values" (UNESCO 1979: 1).

2.3 Heritage Management

Management in a generic form can be defined as "taking conscious decisions, with an eye to the future, about ongoing operations or the use of assets, or both in combination within a structured organisation" (Lichfield 1988: 38). Building on this definition, heritage management is concerned with the maintenance and protection of cultural heritage by considering its significance for the interest of the public, including its integrity and authenticity (UNESCO 2016c).

The international discussion of heritage management-related issues has developed significantly over recent decades, with the topic receiving increased attention by scholars and institutions (amongst these: UNESCO 1954, 1972, 2003; the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) 1964, 1979; Lipe and Lindsay 1974; Lipe 1974, 1984; Cleere 1984, 1995; Jokilehto 1999, 2001, Howard 2003; Messenger and Smith 2006; Bandarin *et al.* 2012; Bandarin and Van Oers 2015).

UNESCO's role in the development and monitoring of context-specific heritage management approaches for the safeguarding of heritage has long been established within the international domain. More specifically, UNESCO's Operational Guidelines define that the purpose of a heritage management system is "to ensure the effective protection of the nominated property for present and future generations" (UNESCO 2016c: 22). Understanding the "type, characteristics and needs" of heritage, its cultural and natural context as well as the role of the stakeholders is vital for the development of effective heritage management mechanisms (UNESCO 2016c: 23).

2.3.1 International heritage management guidelines and the creation of a common framework for defining heritage management systems

According to UNESCO (2013: 53) [22], effective heritage management systems should comprise of nine key components that can operate at a macro level (e.g. within a national context). The

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[22] UNESCO's 2013 publication on *Managing World Cultural Heritage*, where the above table derives from, is intended to provide focused guidance on the implementation of the World Heritage Convention to State Parties, "heritage protection authorities, local governments, site managers and local communities linked to World Heritage sites, as well as other stakeholders in the identification and preservation process." (UNESCO 2013: 1). The specific publication is intended as a manual and a joint undertaking by the three Advisory Bodies

following table outlines these components, separating them into relevant categories, defining their contribution to the wider heritage management approach. This table is revisited in Chapter 6, where a comparative evaluation of walled Nicosia's heritage management on both sides of the divide is presented, taking into account the literature review and case study findings.

Table 3: Summary of UNESCO's 2013 recommended framework for defining heritage management systems (Author 2017)

A common framework for defining heritage management systems		
3 categories	**9 components**	
3 elements	**Legal framework**	The mandate that empowers people and organizations to act. It defines what constitutes heritage and criteria for its conservation and management, usually by means of legislation.
	Institutional framework	The organizational set-up that sets out the operational structure and working methods that allow actions to be taken.
	Resources	The human, financial and intellectual inputs that create operational capacity and facilitate processes.
3 processes	**Planning**	Understanding the 'who' of decision-making, deciding what objectives to reach, what actions to take and what the timeframe will be, and recording these proposals so as to communicate them to others and to review progress at every stage.
	Implementation	Taking the planned actions, checking that they deliver the outputs of each stage and the broader objectives defined at the outset. In the event of disparities emerging, making changes mid-way to the actions and how they are taken, as and when necessary.
	Monitoring	Collecting and analysing data to check that the management system is operating effectively and delivering the right results, and to identify remedial measures in the event of shortcomings or new opportunities.
3 results	**Outcomes**	The management system aims to achieve certain objectives, known as outcomes. Outcomes reflect the changes to (or continuity in) the existing situation that have been sought in planning stages. The aim in focusing on outcomes is to check whether the management system is achieving its objectives.
	Outputs	Processes deliver outputs which are those tangible products and services from a planned work programme that constitute direct support to heritage and to society at large. These outputs are necessary in order to achieve outcomes. Clarifying outputs is central to understanding heritage processes and their effectiveness.
	Improvements to the management system	Improvements to management systems are generated by corrective measures and feedback, either from external inputs or from within the management system, namely by monitoring processes and assessing outputs and outcomes. Continuous improvement is central to good management. It leads to changes in the management system that achieve greater effectiveness and efficiency.

In addition to the above, the following figures (Figure 11 and Figure 13) offer a visual breakdown of the categories presented in Table 3, as well as of the role of each component within the wider category structure.

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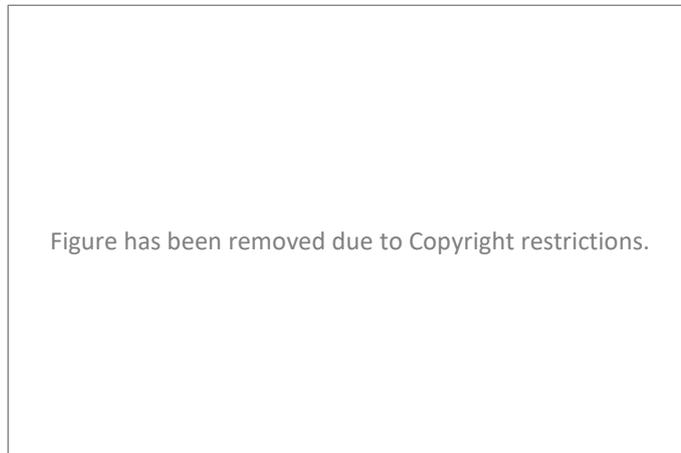
Figure 11: Outline of the 3 key elements of common heritage management systems as recommended by UNESCO (2013: 54)

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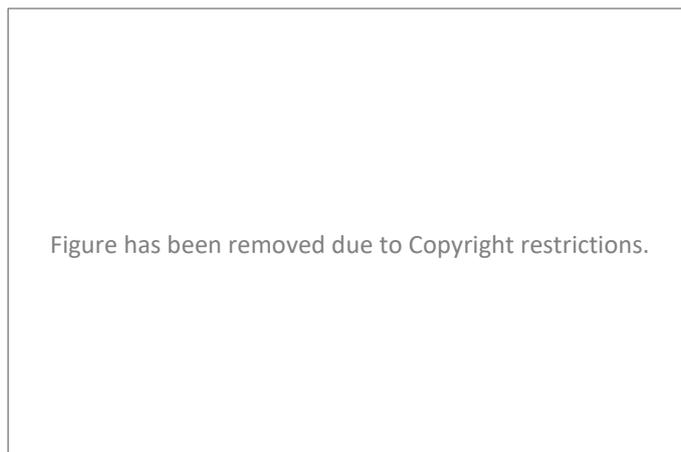
Figure 12: Outline of the 3 key processes of common heritage management systems as recommended by UNESCO (2013: 54)

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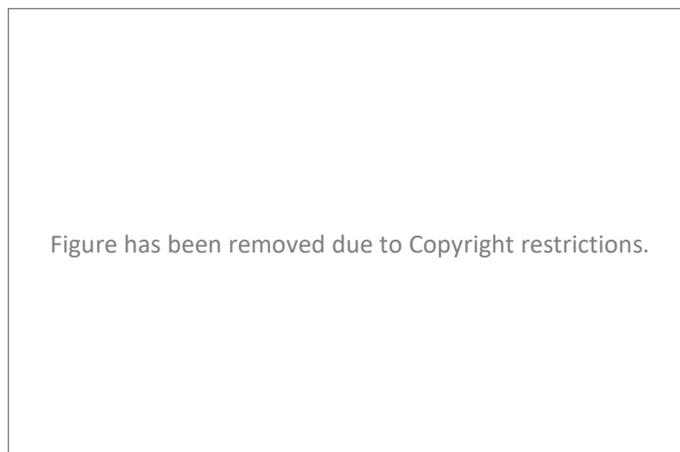
Figure 13: Outline of the 3 key results of common heritage management systems as recommended by UNESCO (2013: 55)

The components presented in Table 3 and in Figure 11 - 12 are intended to assist managers of cultural properties to "a) assess heritage management systems that aim to protect heritage values, and b) to view each heritage issue in a broader framework and promote an integrated approach to heritage management." To achieve the above outputs and outcomes, UNESCO's *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* encourage relevant State Parties to undertake the "identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission of cultural heritage" to future generations (UNESCO 1972: 125). Furthermore, the heritage management guidelines proposed by UNESCO (2013) enable the creation of different management scenarios that rely on the type of property, ownership, managing bodies and context. Examples of such scenarios are demonstrated in Figure 14.

In the first scenario example, the primary heritage management system owns and controls properties and resources, with some input from the local community. In the second management scenario, there are multiple owners of heritage properties, even though primary management systems and responsibility falls under a local heritage authority. Lastly, management scenario three consists of multiple entities involved in the management of properties and their immediate context, through direct and indirect input. These scenarios provide an indication of the different parameters influencing heritage management within different scales and contexts and strengthen understanding on the possibilities of decision making within heritage protection processes.

Figure 14: Examples of different heritage management scenarios as suggested by UNESCO (UNESCO 2013; adapted by Author 2017)[23]. At this stage, this thesis considers Scenario 3 to represent walled Nicosia's Heritage Management more accurately. However, private owners or stakeholders are not as strongly involved with the heritage of the city as local civic and heritage authorities.

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[23] Heritage MS is an abbreviation for Heritage Management Systems.

UNESCO's 1972 World Heritage Convention is one of the key documents dealing with the topic of cultural heritage management. Even though the Convention is primarily directed towards World Heritage Properties, the following articles are also concerned with a State Party's general responsibilities towards cultural and natural heritage:

Article 4: *Each State Party to this Convention recognizes that the duty of ensuring the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations of the cultural and natural heritage referred to in Articles 1 and 2 [i.e. World Heritage] situated on its territory, belongs primarily to that State. It will do all it can to this end, to the utmost of its own resources and, where appropriate, with any international assistance and cooperation, in particular, financial, artistic, scientific and technical, which it may be able to obtain.*

and,

Article 5: *To ensure that effective and active measures are taken for the protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural and natural heritage situated on its territory, each State Party to this Convention shall endeavour, in so far as possible, and as appropriate for each country:*

a. to adopt a general policy which aims to give the cultural and natural heritage a function in the life of the community and to integrate the protection of that heritage into comprehensive planning programmes;

b. to set up within its territories, where such services do not exist, one or more services for the protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural and natural heritage with an appropriate staff and possessing the means to discharge their functions;

c. to develop scientific and technical studies and research and to work out such operating methods as will make the State capable of counteracting the dangers that threaten its cultural or natural heritage;

d. to take the appropriate legal, scientific, technical, administrative and financial measures necessary for the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and rehabilitation of this heritage; and;

e. to foster the establishment or development of national or regional centres for training in the protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural and natural heritage and to encourage scientific research in this field.

Along with the specific document, relevant Operational Guidelines have been introduced in order to provide detailed guidance and practical advice on the implementation of UNESCO's 1972 World Heritage Convention. Two key references to heritage management in the World Heritage Operational Guidelines of 2016 include:

Operational Guideline 110: *An effective management system depends on the type, characteristics and needs of the nominated property and its cultural and natural context. Management systems may vary according to different cultural perspectives, the resources available and other factors. They may incorporate traditional practices, existing urban or regional planning instruments, and other planning control mechanisms, both formal and informal. Impact assessments for proposed interventions are essential for all World Heritage properties.*

and,

> **Operational Guideline 111:** *In recognizing the diversity mentioned above, common elements of an effective management system could include: a. A thorough shared understanding of the property by all stakeholders; b. A cycle of planning, implementation, monitoring, evaluation and feedback; c. The monitoring and assessment of the impacts of trends, changes, and of proposed interventions; d. The involvement of partners and stakeholders; e. The allocation of necessary resources; f. Capacity-building; and g. An accountable, transparent description of how the management system functions.*

Relevantly, Operational Guideline 112 encourages an integrated approach to planning and asserts that "management is essential to guide the evolution of properties over time" through the development of "a cycle of short, medium and long-term actions to protect, conserve and present" heritage (UNESCO 2016: 27). In addition, Operational Guideline 114 promotes the development of mechanisms of coordinated management of the separate heritage assets (UNESCO 2016: 28).

However, in cases like the one of Cyprus and in this case Nicosia, the dual municipal administration of the city materialises as a primary obstacle for the establishment of an effective and coordinated heritage management approach and delivery of the nine components presented in Table 3. The current duality Nicosia faces today, accompanied by the existence of the UN-controlled buffer zone are key contributors to the decline of historic buildings and neighbourhoods within its historic core by interrupting its organic urban growth and historical continuity. In addition, changes in ownership patterns primarily with respect to housing have furthered the accelerated decay of the city[24] (Doratli 2004: 337). This consequence has contributed to the physical, functional and locational obsolescence of walled Nicosia and has further highlighted changes in social composition, use and land and property values (ibid.: 340). Furthermore, the dual administrative nature of the NMP, further complicates the operational efficiency of this bi-communal initiative by contributing to the development of additional concerns that impact the heritage management of the city and affect the outcomes of the NMP initiatives on either side of the divide. These concerns are primarily ascribed to the ongoing GC-TC conflict, and to the subsequent themes presented in the conceptual framework of this thesis. Understanding the role and relevance of the selected themes, will potentially enhance existing management systems in Nicosia and "achieve outcomes for the properties in [their] care and for their stakeholders" (UNESCO 2013: 60).

The significance of context

The post-Wold War II period has also been very important for the advancement of heritage management mechanisms internationally, as well as for the establishment of major organisations

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[24] For example, between 1985 and 1999 owner occupied dwellings within the walls decreased from 47.1% to 27.7% (Doratli 2004: 337).

concerned with the conservation of heritage. The destruction of heritage due to the War, accompanied by the pre-1960s architectural principles of modern planning resulted in poor housing quality and monotonous, repetitive urban environments, dominated by social marginalisation. This outcome has reinforced the contrast between contemporary developments and historic urban environments (Bandarin and Van Oers 2015).

Bandarin and Van Oers (2015: 25) explain that, the consequences brought about by the modernist movement resulted in the younger generation of CIAM architects (CIAM X) employing further contextual considerations, including both tangible and intangible historical and cultural components within their design approach. The result of this methodology was the management of issues associated with contemporary design in historic cities, allowing context to develop as a crucial element in the theoretical work of many innovative architects of the post-war period (ibid.).

Relevantly, the work of Jokilehto (1999, 2001) has contributed significantly to creating a clearer understanding of the history and evolution of heritage from the early Renaissance until modern times. His work identifies key heritage conservation and restoration examples that have helped shape heritage management over the years; highlighting the diversity of approaches depending on the context, the stakeholders and the historical development of "major national European philosophies in respect to historic buildings." (Jokilehto 1999: 6).

In line with the above, UNESCO (2013: 4) also reinforces the crucial role of context; urging heritage management approaches to protect and respond to the cultural properties of places and arguing that "management success depends on the political, social, institutional and economic context of the specific property." What UNESCO also emphasises is the need for "heritage [to] function in the life of the community" (ibid.). In this vein, this thesis pays close attention to the contextual characteristics of divided Nicosia in order to develop an appropriate framework and to address the heritage management of the city. In so doing, a context-specific approach for the historic built environment of the city will respond to and accommodate the needs of its stakeholders and, at the same time encourage the long-term protection of its cultural heritage.

To achieve the above objective, the following sections examine key international conservation processes and guidelines, showing their relevance to the scope of this research and establishing the best possible approach for the heritage protection of walled Nicosia. This is done in order to develop an informed approach for the conservation of Nicosia's divided heritage that will also address issues related to its social and urban structure, while preparing the city for its future needs (including potential reunification).

2.3.2 Conservation of Heritage

According to Article 14, of the revised 1979 Burra Charter, conservation can be classified into different processes depending on the type and circumstances of each heritage. These classifications include retention or reintroduction, preservation and adaptation, and interpretation (ICOMOS 2013: 6).

The aim of conservation is to look after and manage the change of a place, "so as to retain its culturally significant qualities" (ICOMOS 2013: 2). A key objective of heritage conservation is the reduction of deterioration "unless the significance of the place dictates otherwise" (ICOMOS 2013: 6). Bandarin *et al.* (2012: xii) argue that conservation of heritage simultaneously concentrates on the past and the future by enabling an "intellectual process of mediation between diverse forces, searching for an equilibrium centred on the interpretation of the value systems of a social formation."

As established in the previous sections, heritage is considered to incorporate both the tangible and intangible elements that society seeks to protect. Despite this, heritage conservation is frequently criticised for focusing on individual historic buildings while excluding wider contextual considerations[25]; a consequence that relates to the fact that the connection between buildings and the urban environment to which they belong is frequently inadequately comprehended, represented or, articulated (Menon 2005). This issue is supported in UNESCO's *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*, where suggestions are made for Member States to take the appropriate steps in order to enhance existing conservation approaches, while considering the urban development of each context (UNESCO 2011). For this reason, even though conventional conservation approaches and guidelines are key in providing recommendations to protect heritage for present and future generations, this research focuses on the context of walled Nicosia and highlights relevant themes and approaches that can benefit the walled city in the long term.

2.3.3 Preservation of Heritage

Preservation also falls under the conservation heading and seeks to manage change and slow down heritage decline. More specifically, "Preservation means maintaining a place in its existing state and retarding deterioration" (ICOMOS 2013: 2). To date, the international policy dialogue on cultural heritage preservation has been largely driven by UNESCO (Jansen 2010: 230). Nevertheless, the

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[25] According to UNESCO (2012), "the development context has national, regional, global and time dimensions." In this thesis, contextual considerations also include the historical and political background of the GC and TC communities, as well as relevant socio-economic considerations affected by the ongoing division of Cyprus (and Nicosia).

contribution of ICOMOS and ICCROM also remain vital in the clarification and implementation of guidelines for the preservation of places of cultural significance.

The aim of preservation is to protect the tangible fabric of a building, monument or site, "without obscuring evidence of its construction and use" (ICOMOS 2013: 6). Moreover, preservation is merely limited to the protection, maintenance and stabilisation of the existing fabric without altering its cultural significance (ICOMOS 1979: 2). As can be observed, whereas conservation is concerned with managing change, preservation entails minimal alterations to the existing heritage structure, in order to protect as much of the authentic fabric as possible. For this reason, preservation as an approach in environments which have dealt with abrupt and accelerated deterioration over time, either due to conflict or division, might not be adequate in revealing the "culturally significant aspects of the place" (ICOMOS 2013: 7).

Based on the above, this thesis maintains that, in the case of Nicosia, where a large number of buildings have been reduced to ruins or are in a bad structural condition due to the ongoing division of the city, preservation is not the most suitable approach to ensure their functionality and survival for future generations. Moreover, the current interruption brought on the historic urban fabric of Nicosia obscures the cultural significance of several buildings and sites within the walls, while influencing their associated intangible values[26]. For this reason, this thesis examines the changes inflicted on Nicosia as a result of conflict and division, while considering adaptation, or adaptive re-use, as a possible approach to the conservation of the city's tangible and intangible heritage.

2.3.4 Adaptive Re-use of Heritage

With reference to the preparedness of context-specific conservation strategies, Stovel (1998: 100) considers the flexibility and adaptability of buildings and sites as key to dealing with emergencies of endangered heritage. Similarly, the Burra Charter (ICOMOS 1979: 2) deems adaptation as a possible option where conservation does not adequately safeguard the cultural significance of a place, building or site. This approach allows for the protection of heritage while providing a beneficial "continuation of activities and practices" (ICOMOS 2013: 4). While the earlier ICOMOS charters made little or no reference to the concept of adaptability, this conservation approach has been gradually incorporated into their guidelines to ensure the continuity and re-use of heritage through additional means of "interpretation and presentation" (ICOMOS 2008a: 4).

Considering the above, this approach can contribute to the protection of tangible fabric of buildings and safeguard the spirit of historic places, while at the same time ensure their functional use for

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[26] This issue, along with additional concerns associated with walled Nicosia's heritage after its division will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

present and future generations. For example, in walled Nicosia, adapting residential buildings to commercial use has allowed for the conservation of numerous culturally significant structures. Moreover, the restoration of building façades, as a way of encouraging the re-use of buildings has contributed to the continuity of decaying streets and neighbourhoods within the walls. Even though this approach has not been consistently employed throughout the historic core, there are vivid signs of positive regeneration through the aesthetic enhancement, structural upgrading, and adaptive re-use of selected buildings and streets within the walls. The following figures (Figure 15 and Figure 16) demonstrate this claim.

Figure 15: Dionisou Street (South Nicosia), before and after restoration to accommodate both commercial, as well as residential uses (Author 2014).

Figure 16:Buildings on Ektoros Street have also been adopted to suit contemporary needs (in this case a museum) (Author 2014)

Even though adaptation has been characterised as a "development pressure" (UNESCO 2016: 93) that impacts the property concerned by harming its authenticity through new uses; its role in improving conditions and creating a "climate of confidence" for its stakeholders has also been acknowledged (Haskell 2006: 230). By reviewing the dual character, ownership issues and contested meanings that characterise walled Nicosia, this thesis considers adaptive re-use to be an option for the successful maintenance of the city's contested heritage. This approach can potentially provide the opportunity for Nicosia to efficiently adapt and respond to the requirements of its contemporary context and political situation, while safeguarding its cultural heritage for current and future generations.

2.4 The Issue of Heritage Ownership During Conflict

As discussed previously in this thesis (Section 2.2.1), heritage ownership implies a form of inheritance passed down from generations, reflecting and expressing the evolving values and beliefs of the communities concerned. Heritage within a contested setting or 'contested heritage', creates further complications and entails a plurality of meanings, ownerships and definitions. The following section addresses the issue of heritage ownership, showing the relevance of the topic to this thesis, as well as to the selected case study of walled Nicosia. The aim of this section is to unveil the diverse complexities contested heritage brings to the built environment, while introducing relevant themes, or concepts that have emerged as a result of conflict and division in Nicosia. These concepts will be further discussed and analysed in Chapter 3 and will contribute to the formation of the conceptual framework and the case study analysis that follows.

2..4.1 Heritage Ownership

Within the urban domain, heritage and culture pose an ongoing matter of ownership, with the tangible urban fabric identifying both with the identity of individuals and communities (Orbasli 2002). Similarly, the identification of an urban environment as a World Heritage Site initiates an international heritage ownership, reinforcing a universally intense decision-making process, particularly when the future of historic urban contexts is involved (Orbasli 2002: 2). Zubrow (2002) argues that place ownership is a complicated topic that entails different meanings that are open to interpretation. For example, people might identify themselves with a place based on actual, tangible objects, whereas others might rely on their memories and interpretation (ibid.).

Likewise, in multicultural contexts ownership can become complex, as issues of identity – tribe, nationality, ethnicity and religion – have been presented as the cause of several recent wars[27], with

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[27] Amongst them are events such as September 11th 2001, thereby verifying the thesis of Samuel Huntington (1993), who argues that the global future will henceforth consist of ethnic and religious cultural clashes

strategic interests and economic concerns also performing a factor in these situations (Francis 2002: 4). In this thesis, the issue of heritage ownership relates directly to Nicosia, as the division of the city and the consequent shifting of population across either side of the divide has significantly impacted its tangible and intangible heritage[28]. Moreover, ownership of Nicosia's heritage, unveils a range of complications and emerging themes[29] that influence its historic urban core. These complications include unequal funding opportunities, social and administrative polarisation and rejection[30].

A charter that addresses the conservation of historic urban settings is the 1987 Washington Charter by ICOMOS[31]. This document is significant as it encourages an inclusive approach to the ownership of historic towns, acknowledging that "all urban communities, whether they have developed gradually over time or have been created deliberately, are an expression of the diversity of societies throughout history" (ICOMOS 1987: 1). Moreover, the Charter highlights that historic urban cores are the embodiment of the values of traditional urban cultures, reinforcing the need for an effective approach which will also contribute to the "economic and social development […] urban and regional planning at every level" (ibid.).

The relevance of the Washington Charter to this thesis is its inclusive approach to the different historic and cultural layers that have contributed to the development of historic urban towns. Its recommendations provide a useful overview of the key considerations that need to be taken in order to protect historic urban contexts and their residents, while allowing for "adaptation of these areas to contemporary life" (ibid.: 2). Nevertheless, while this Charter is broad and inclusive, it does not account for additional layers that can potentially influence the ownership of historic cities like that of Nicosia; these being conflict and division. As a result, this thesis considers the guidelines

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between civilisations. This idea has also been recently verified by the events of the Syrian (2011 – today) (Laub 2016) and Iraqi civil wars (2014 – today) with ISIS, as well as the conflict between Ukraine and Russia (2014) (United States Institute of Peace 2015); also mentioned in Section 1.2.4.

[28] This impact includes ownership perception after the division of the city and the consequences this has had on collective memory and subjective authenticity; which in turn influence the historic built environment of walled Nicosia and contribute to heritage loss and decline.

[29] Unstable power relations, memory and authenticity materialise as the key themes identified by this thesis and will be further considered in the following chapters due to the impact they have on the heritage of Nicosia after its division.

[30] In addition to existing literature on the topic (see Bakshi 2008, 2012; Bose 2007, 2013; Bryant 2004, 2012; Papadakis 2000, 2005, 2008), these issues have also been reinforced during the interview process with the North NMP architects, as well with discussions with the South NMP office, the H4C and TC architect Esra Can Akbil.

[31] According to ICOMOS (1987: 1), the Washington Charter was created to address "irreversible cultural, social and even economic losses" that impact historic towns and urban areas and is intended to complement the 1964 *International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites*, also referred to as *The Venice Charter* (ibid.).

provided by the Washington Charter as a point of departure for the examination of walled Nicosia, while taking into consideration issues of heritage ownership in the event of conflict and division.

2.4.2 Heritage Ownership and Conflict

In the event of conflict, the meanings attached to and heritage are inevitably distorted "attract[ing] great symbolic value and considerable emotion and nostalgia, as identity becomes wedded to place and conflict" (Zubrow 2002: 233). Identification with heritage and place brings about the desire for the protection of the physical relics of urban history, while evoking a sense of belonging (Orbasli 2002: 13). For this reason, damaging heritage in an attempt to weaken national power and collective identity is visible during war or conflict. This point is important in order to develop a better understanding of the consequences conflict can have both on the tangible and intangible meanings attached to place[32], by obscuring its identity and, consequently, the memories associated with it. This detachment caused by conflict is a subject examined through the case of Nicosia, in order for this thesis to unveil its impact on the tangible and intangible heritage of the city.

The Council of Europe (2011) supports this argument, stating that, the destruction of cultural expressions and of the associated heritage, materialises as a method of obstructing the unity of the targeted group. The long-term effect of this approach is the prevention of the group from freely expressing itself or fulfilling its potential within the global context (ibid.: 2). This issue is illustrated in cases such as the damage caused by heavy bombing of central European cities during World War II, which eventually resulted in extensive post-war attempts to reinstate historic structures. According to Jokilehto, this action echoed the significance of reconstructing badly damaged national monuments to reinstate the dignity of affected nations and to address the public's desire for a memorial (Jokilehto 1998: 17).

The above points are also relevant to divided or war-inflicted societies, where heritage becomes the means for national and cultural assertion. It can in fact be argued that heritage can become the primary target of violence and destruction, purely for the purposes of degrading the power, identity and sense of belonging of nations that claim ownership to that heritage. For instance, the recent

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[32] Place can be defined as where individuals have a complete perception of the universe and of their personal existence (Habibi 2008). Vali and Nasekhiyan (2014: 3746) maintain that, sense of place from a phenomenological perspective means "to link a place by understanding the symbols and everyday activities." Place according to Schultz is "an integral part of existence" introduced through the construction of "concrete phenomena" such as architecture, cities and landscapes and is perceived as inseparable from life and existence (Schultz 1976: 125). However, Schultz also recognises the inherent, intangible qualities of place, such as spatial relationships and character, "which become an important part of the experience [of place]" (ibid.: 131). "Character is determined by *how* things are, and gives our investigation a basis in the concrete phenomena of our everyday life-world. Only in this way we may fully grasp the *genius loci*; the "spirit of place" […]" (ibid.: 131).

demolition (2015) of the Assyrian sites of Nimrud and Palmyra by members of Islamic State in an attempt to eradicate previous Iraqi and Syrian cultural or religious influences demonstrates this occurrence. The same applies for the site of Hatra in Iraq, another UNESCO heritage site captured by Islamic State and utilised as an ammunition dump and training camp (Curry 2015).

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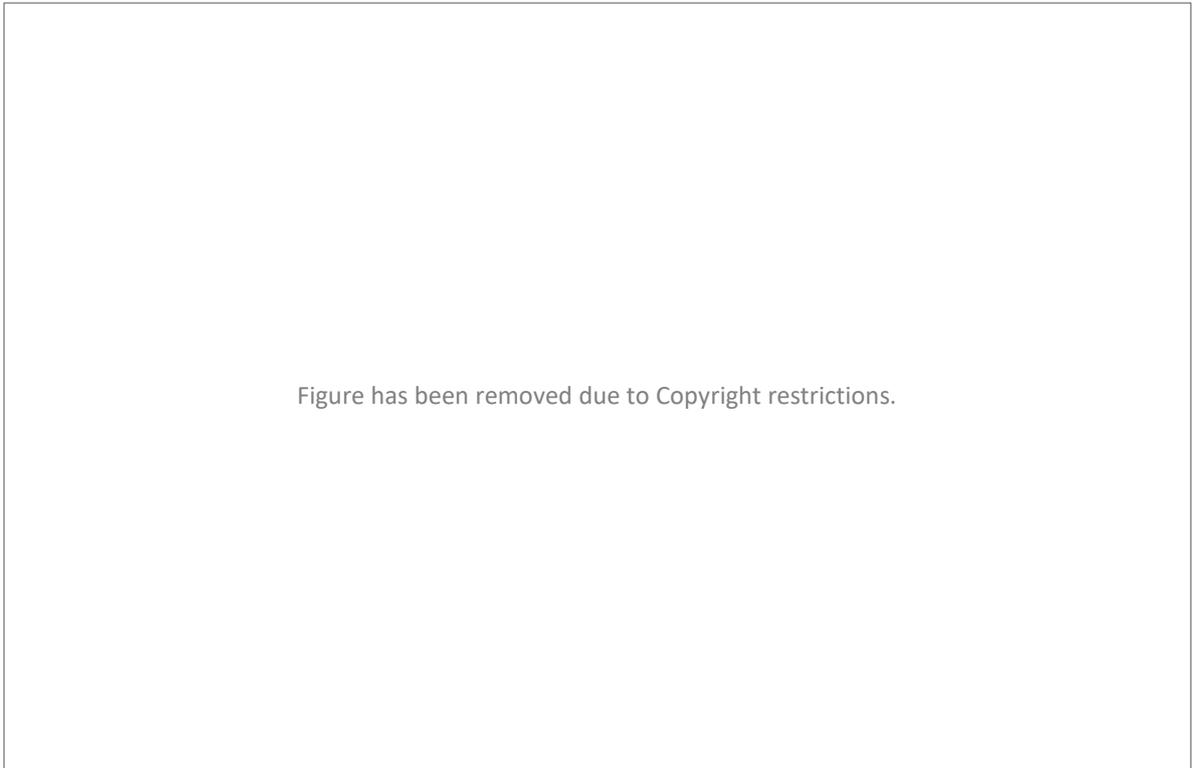
Figure 17: Image depicting the destruction of the ancient site of Palmyra in Syria (Wyke 2015)

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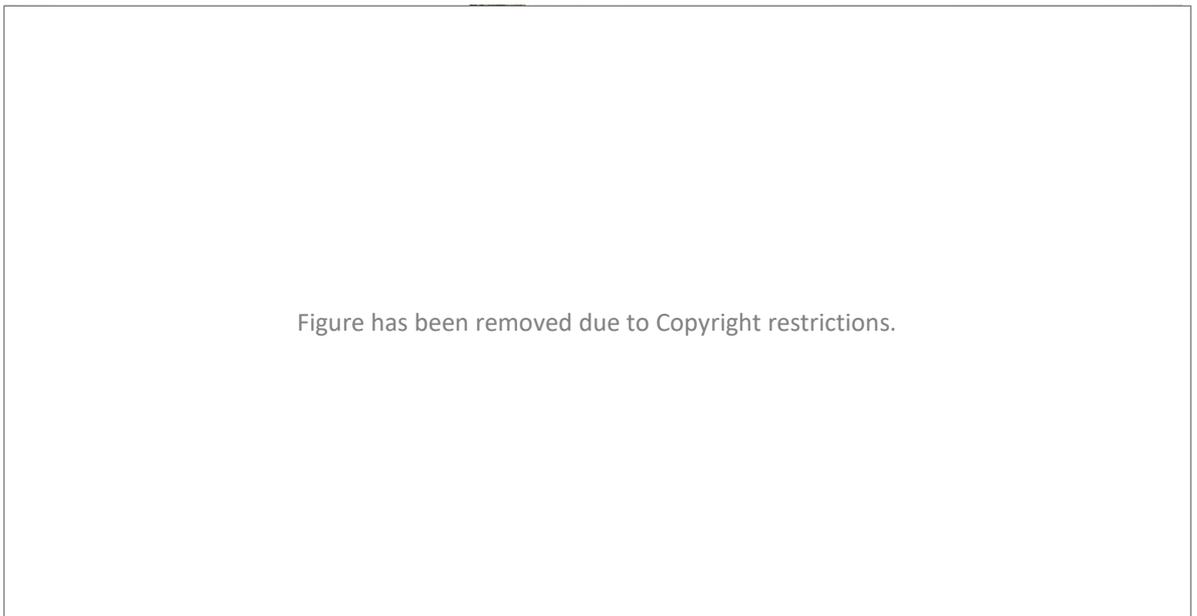
Figure 18: Image depicting the destructed state of the ancient city of Hatra, Iraq (Sandipan 2015)

As can be observed, heritage during conflict can reflect the violence and destruction imposed on the targeted cultures. Moreover, heritage becomes more vulnerable to destruction or damage during conflict. Even though the above examples can be considered as extreme cases of architectural vandalism, the principle still remains the same; the close association between heritage and cultural identity makes it particularly challenging to manage in multicultural, contested or divided contexts[33].

Finding effective ways to address this issue remains highly problematic, as compliance by all parties that claim ownership over the same heritage is difficult to control and is overlooked during conflict; with the above examples highlighting this claim. Furthermore, the above cases of architectural destruction demonstrate how the strong relationship between tangible and intangible heritage can influence the way the historic built environment is addressed, or perceived, especially when the heritage of the 'other' is concerned. It can therefore be argued that, the roots of intentional heritage neglect or destruction during conflict are closely associated with the deliberate damaging of communal power, unity and identity.

2.4.3 Heritage Ownership in Post-Conflict Berlin: Merging the Traces of Conflict into Contemporary Life

Berlin is host to several examples of post-war division and urban reconstruction, with a multiplicity of sites that commemorate the events of World War II, while also preserving the functionality of heritage into contemporary life. Re-instatement of the past through the use of heritage is visible throughout the city of Berlin, with the memory of conflict becoming part of its tangible urban fabric. Similar to the case of Nicosia, the city of Berlin has previously dealt with issues of division and heritage duality[34]. Subsequently, the (re)integration of the East and West segments of the city into a unified urban environment makes Berlin particularly relevant to the case of Nicosia and, consequently, a pertinent example to this thesis.

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[33] Even though international recommendations and conventions (such as the Rome Statute for the International Criminal Court (1998), The Hague Convention of 1954 or the recommendations by the Council of Europe (2000)) have been introduced as a means of protecting communities and heritage in the event of armed conflict, an effective model on how to pragmatically understand and/or address such destruction has yet to be developed.

[34] Duality in Berlin refers to the divided metropolitan character of Germany's capital, accompanied by East and West Berlin's dual national political identities that shaped the previously shared history and cultural heritage of the city (Pugh 2014: 2). However, and as identified by Assmann (2002: 181), duality in Berlin also associates with the ethnic schism initiated between the Jewish and native German population during World War II.

Figure 19: The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe in central Berlin dedicated to the remembrance of the Jewish victims of the Holocaust (Author 2011)

Even though the case of Berlin could be challenged by arguing that the city has evolved into a dense landscape of guilt-associated heritage and World War II memorials (MacDonald 2013), the shaping of post-war urban and social memory has encouraged the contested past of the German capital to merge into the current representations of the city's history, without detracting from the functionality of buildings or sites. This approach has encouraged the acceptance – and consequent ownership – of war-associated heritage throughout Berlin; a point also supported by Till (2005: 48).

Figure 20: Exterior image of the Neues Museum, where the restored (brick) section can be witnessed against the original neo-classical building (Author 2011)

The example of Berlin is significant to this thesis for three reasons. Firstly, the city contended with division for almost half a century and consequently had been required to adapt and evolve as two separate entities. Secondly, the fall of the Berlin Wall[35] demonstrates how an urban revitalisation approach was urgently needed and put forward to address the tangible reunification of the city. And thirdly, Berlin has dealt (and continues to deal) with the unpleasant memories of war and division, but has also instituted ways to protect and preserve those unpleasant memories, either through contemporary memorials, or by incorporating existing 'dark' heritage sites into the current fabric of the city.

Like North and South Nicosia, East and West Berlin faced radical economic and cultural differences, which widened the gap between the two urban fragments (Pugh 2010: 225). Nevertheless, the IBA's

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[35] At the Yalta Conference of February 1945, the British, Americans, and Soviets settle to the division of Germany into four temporary occupation zones, with France being the fourth occupying power. This arrangement also required that Berlin, although approximately two hundred kilometres within the Soviet occupation zone, should be jointly occupied (Ahlfeldt *et al.* 2015: 2133). For this purpose, Berlin was itself divided into separate occupation sectors. This decision resulted to the creation of the Berlin Wall, a physical barrier that separated the east and west parts of the city. The wall was breached on 9 November 1989, as part of wider transformations in Easter Europe and large-scale demonstrations that followed in East Germany (ibid.: 2135).

(1979-1987)[36] role in introducing an architectural dialogue between historic and contemporary architecture allowed the city to evolve with a liberal philosophy which suited the exceptionally complex context of Berlin at the time. The use of principles such as "Careful Urban Renewal" (Davey and Clelland 1987: 23) when addressing decaying and vulnerable areas have allowed for a gradual regeneration which respects the city's cultural significance, while taking into consideration the needs of contemporary society. As a result, the post-reunification management of Berlin's urban centre bridges the physical and symbolic connotations of its former division, with the present image of commemoration, power and renewal.

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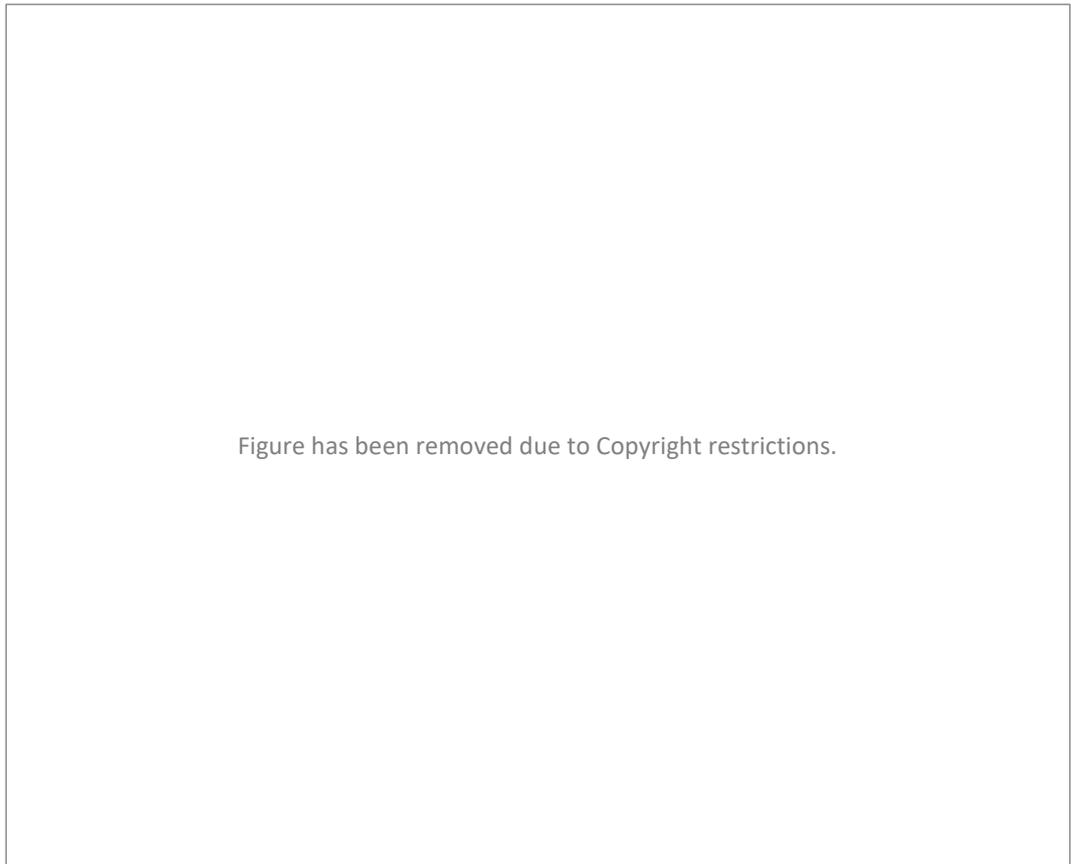
Figure 21: Branderburg Gate, Berlin 1961 (Crossley 2014)

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[36] In German, IBA stands for Internationale BauAustellung (International Building Exhibition) (Freestone and Amati 2014: 268)

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Figure 22: Branderburg Gate, Berlin 2014 (Crossley 2014)

Moreover, the contemporary urban development of central Berlin illustrates how the tangible memories of war and division have been retained and incorporated into the image of the city, becoming an integral part of social ownership and interaction[37]. Relevantly, Tsaliki (2007) maintains that in the case of Berlin, the politics of identity construction use cultural heritage for the improvement of social cohesion (Tsaliki 2007: 159).

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[37] From the 1970s onwards, the International Building Exhibition (IBA Berlin) took on the extensive task of – the then divided – Berlin's post Wold War II regeneration. Under the heading of *The Inner City as a Residential Area*, the IBA explored issues such as "Careful Urban Renewal" (*Behutsame Stadt-Enereuerung*) and "Critical Reconstruction" (*Kritische Rekonstruktion*) (Weszkalnys 2013: 52).

"Critical Reconstruction" is a planning concept developed during the late twentieth century by theorist and architect Josef Paul Kleihues. The concept incorporates "a combination of new and restored buildings to create an urban environment that draws upon historic forms to embody, according to its proponents, the true essence of the historic European metropolis" (Stimmann 2001:9). The results of this approach can be seen throughout Berlin, especially in the Friedrichstadt area, where construction has focused on large-scale office and commercial properties. Critical Reconstruction's key principles also establish the backbone of the inner city building plan (*Planwerk Innenstadt*), adopted in 1999 (Hohensee 2010: 57).

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Figure 23: Public engagement with the Berlin Wall Memorial, Belin 2012 (Hitij 2012)

Today, despite the Berlin Wall's physical destruction, its existence remains to be found through diverse means and representation, including physical traces in situ, "oral history, photographs, novels and film, on television and as ornaments and tourist trinkets" (Manghani 2008: 35). The memory of conflict and division has been preserved as part of the authentic historical narrative of the city. Moreover, the idea of recognising the past, regardless of its associated unpleasant memories, is also demonstrated through this approach. Heritage in this case is recognised as being part of the whole city, rather than fragmented by the physical partition separating the East from the West, allowing for contemporary city planning to consider future spatial and social integration in a more efficient way. These aspects make Berlin particularly relevant to the case of Nicosia as they demonstrate the diverse approaches and possibilities of addressing conflict-inflicted heritage, particularly in the event of reunification.

Further to the above, in Berlin, as in Nicosia, the presence of a tangible, dividing boundary for almost half a century has inevitably evolved into an integral part of social memory and of the existing topography. In addition, Berlin's regeneration illustrates how later heritage management initiatives take into consideration the physical partition and reconsolidation of the city, while using contemporary regeneration approaches and historic architecture to improve the war-inflicted urban fabric. This point has been demonstrated through examples such as the inclusion of the Berlin

Wall into the urban landscape, or the regeneration of buildings such as the Neues Museum (Figure 20)[38], while ensuring the careful protection of their truthful historical continuity; including the damage caused by conflict. In doing so, conflict-associated heritage is unified with the fabric of the city, consequently promoting engagement with, and recognition of the past[39].

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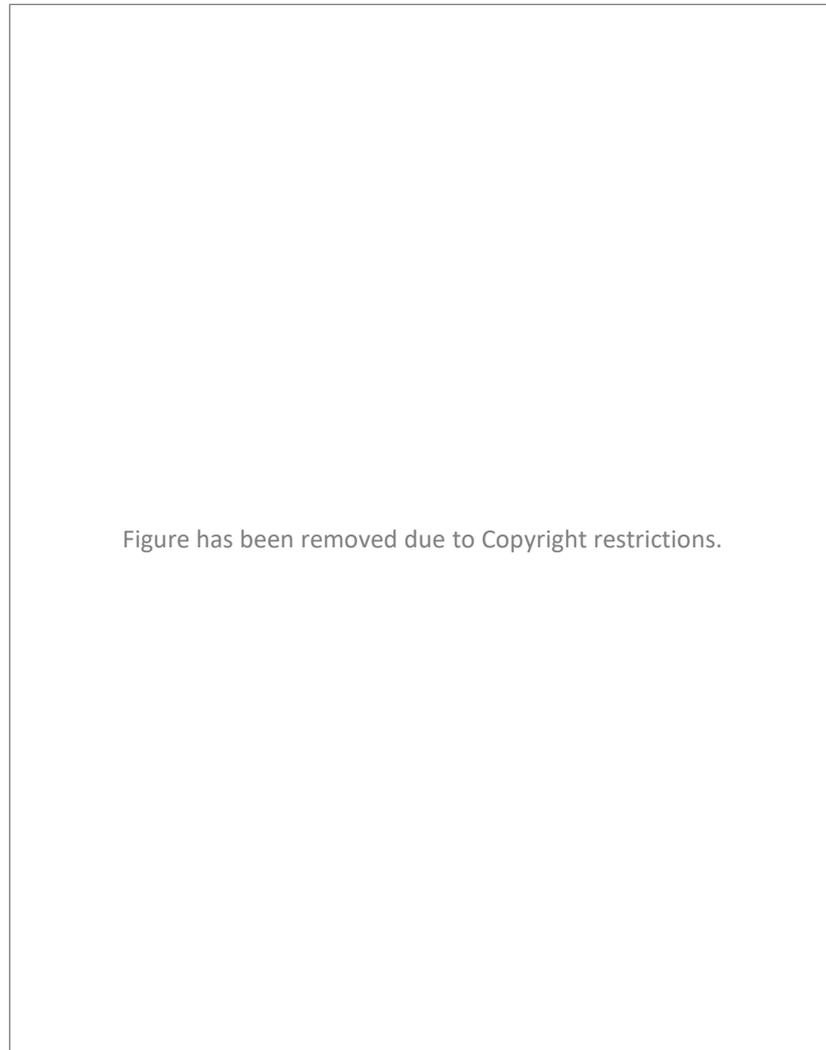
Figure 24: Copper strip 'memorial' along the route of the Berlin Wall (Manghani 2008: 37)

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[38] The regeneration of the Neues Museum is discussed further in Chapter 3 (Section 3.4.5), demonstrating the approach of David Chipperfield Architects in preserving the authentic fabric of the building following its destruction by bombing during World War II.

[39] This point is also reinforced through the recent *Neighbourhood Management* Report of Berlin that seeks to encourage a socially integrative city through a continuation of urban renewal policies (Badawy 2013: 11; Neighbourhood Management in Berlin 2013: 7). By doing so, the City of Berlin embraces a stronger bottom-up approach through public participation and the strengthening of social cohesiveness, an "integrated strategic and activity plan" (Neighbourhood Management in Berlin 2013: 7) and the support of projects "such as activities promoting the exchange of culinary and cultural heritage" (ibid. 21). By doing so, the city of Berlin focuses on setting up local networks and empowering public participation in decision making in order to ensure the lasting protection of different areas. This includes addressing disadvantaged areas close to the border of former East Berlin through the improvement of infrastructure, the creation of memorial landscape around the Berlin Wall Memorial, and finding ways to minimise public fluctuation that contributes to the lack of up-keeping of neighbourhoods (ibid.: 10).

As a result, despite the unpleasant memories of war, heritage management in Berlin appears to incorporate an inclusive approach to the conflict, which also reflects Whitehand *et al.*'s (1990) claim that heritage may be considered as an interaction with past generations, an educational accumulation of experiences, and an "objectivation of the spirit of society" (Whitehand *et al.* 1990: 371, cited in Orbasli 2002). Relevantly, Lowenthal maintains that history examines and explains opaque pasts, whereas heritage contributes to the clarification of those pasts infusing them with contemporary purposes (Lowenthal 1996). Lowenthal's statement is important, as it implies the role of heritage for the use and benefit of present and future societies; a principle also embraced by UNESCO's 1979 and 2003 Operational Guidelines (UNESCO 1979; UNESCO 2003). Subsequently, the truthful representation and inclusive ownership of history materialises as an essential prerequisite for the accurate clarification of the past into the present.

Encouraging Engagement with Heritage in Nicosia

As in Berlin, where the location of the wall is depicted by using copper floor strips embedded in the ground, a similar approach was adopted in walled Nicosia. In the South, copper floor markers were installed as part of a heritage tour around the walled city, while in the North, a similar but more cost-effective approach was taken for the same purpose which involved painting a route around the city.

Figure 25: Copper marker found around the South of walled Nicosia (Author 2013). Even though the central line in the specific markers is not intended to represent the buffer zone of walled Nicosia, but rather the walking tour around the city, the markers have previously been used as illustrations in scholarly discussions about the buffer zone of the walled city, such as in the work of Grichting et al. (2012: 149).

Figure 26: Light blue line marked on the streets of walled Nicosia (North) as part of the heritage tour of the city (Author 2016)

Despite the purpose of the floor markers in Berlin differing to that of Nicosia (the former depicting the route of the wall and the latter a tour); in both cases, effort was made to make use of the city's heritage, including war-associated monuments and sites. Nevertheless, in the case of Nicosia, the boundary is vividly avoided, whereas in Berlin, the boundary *is* the actual marking on the urban surface. It can therefore be argued that, in Nicosia concerns associated with memory and intentional consignment to oblivion as a means of prioritising heritage continue to dominate the urban landscape. Unlike collective amnesia, Lowenthal (1993: 171) asserts that oblivion is a purposeful and regulated method of forgetting, thus allowing selected aspects of memory and group identity to be sustained. This theory is also supported by Porter (2001: 31), who associates the idea of oblivion with obscurity in an attempt to demonstrate its impact on the fragmentation of historical narratives and artefacts.

Relevantly, this issue demonstrates how the ongoing memories of conflict and the current division of the city of Nicosia continue to impact heritage management decisions, influenced by the current urban and political composition of the city. This observation illustrates the damaging impact of conflict on the walled city, while highlighting a gap both in the management and the representation of its heritage.

2.5 Nicosia's Heritage Management

Historic urban environments have existed as the centre of power and social identity, with their management playing a continuing role in the representation of society (Bandarin and Van Oers 2015). Accordingly, different societies and settings maintain distinctive approaches to the safeguarding of heritage by producing and adopting both regional and international guidelines (ibid.). Nicosia's historic urban core is host to a multiplicity of social identities and memories that make up its cultural heritage. The division of the city, the events and consequences that followed are a primary concern of this thesis, which seeks to identify their impact on its tangible and intangible heritage. Even though a more detailed examination of the Nicosia's multi-layered history will be provided in Chapter 4, the following section introduces the key issues and emerging themes that have informed this investigation and the forthcoming conceptual framework.

Existing research and gaps on Cyprus and Nicosia's history and heritage

Undeniably, conflict and division have had a major impact on the tangible and intangible heritage of Nicosia, as well as Cyprus as a whole. Numerous Cypriot and international scholars have examined the impact these events have had on Cypriots from an anthropological, ethnographical, political, historical, and economic perspective (amongst the most recent are: Papadakis 2000, 2005, 2008; O'Malley 2001; Pandeli 2005; Papadakis, Peristianis and Welz 2006; Drousiotis 2009; Bryant and Papadakis 2012; Bryant 2004; Hyland 1999; Bakshi 2008, 2012a, 2012b, 2014; Demetriou 2008; Demetriou and Gürel 2008; Ker-Lindsay 2011; Yashin N.Y. 2012).

While authors such as Drousiotis (2009), Yashin (2012) and O'Malley (2001) attempt to objectively depict the GC-TC conflict and the reasons behind the island's partition, their work focuses mainly on the historical, political and social implications of the event, with no particular focus on the heritage of Nicosia. On the other hand, authors such as Papadakis (2000, 2005), Broome (2005), Bakshi (2008, 2012a, 2012b) Atun and Doratli (2009), Oktay (2007), Calame *et al.* (2009) and Charleworth (2006), in addition to the conflict in Cyprus, also focus on Nicosia and the impact of division on the city. Nevertheless, none of these authors discusses the role of power and authenticity on the tangible and intangible heritage of the city after the conflict and its consequent division. Bakshi (2008, 2012a, 2012b) is the only author whose research extensively examines the topic of memory in Nicosia[40] and sets out to understand the intersection between memory, place and conflict (Bakshi 2012b). However, even though her work is very enlightening in comprehending how conflict has shaped the memories of individuals in Nicosia, it does not address the impact of

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[40] Papadakis' (2005, 2008) work also considers the topic of memory in his work, but his work primarily focuses on the whole of Cyprus from a historical, sociological and anthropological perspective, rather than concentrating on the city of Nicosia and its heritage.

conflict on its heritage and heritage management; neither does the topic of memory clearly intersect with that of power and authenticity within the built environment of walled Nicosia. It is worth acknowledging that in this thesis, Bakshi's work does provide a starting point in understanding the role of memory on the intangible heritage of the city, as her contribution discusses topics such as "remembering and forgetting, memory and image, and memory and history" within the context of conflict and division (Bakshi 2012b: 3). As a result, this thesis maintains that, even though there are a number of authors, from a diverse spectrum of disciplines, whose work has made significant contributions to understanding the impact of conflict on the island of Cyprus and Nicosia, a gap in knowledge concerning the ongoing heritage and heritage management of the walled part of the city still remains unaddressed.

Moreover, even though authors such as Broome (2005), Hadjichristos (2006), Atun and Doratli (2009), Oktay (2007), Calame *et al.* (2009) and Charleworth (2006), Bakshi (2008; 2012a, 2012b), Hadjri *et al.* (2014) consider the efforts of the NMP in the regeneration of walled Nicosia, with some focusing on the (primarily tangible) heritage of the city after its division; their work does not examine, or assess, the NMP based on the themes and conceptual framework established in this thesis. In addition, despite their contributions offering a clear understanding of the challenges walled Nicosia faces today, this thesis maintains that there is a knowledge gap in providing a detailed examination, and assessment, of the current efforts of the NMP, and of the ongoing impact of conflict on the cultural heritage of the city.

Considering the above, this thesis examines the impact of conflict and division on walled Nicosia's tangible and intangible heritage, highlighting key themes that can benefit the city in the long term. Moreover, as argued in the previous sections, walled Nicosia's historic core requires a context-specific management approach, which takes into consideration the impact of conflict, while contributing to the ongoing efforts of the NMP. For this reason, the aim of the following sections is to provide a clearer understanding of the ways Nicosia's heritage and heritage management have been affected by conflict and division, while highlighting the existing gap in knowledge that this thesis aims to address.

2.5.1 Cultural Heritage Management in Cyprus

Heritage Management in North Cyprus after 1974

The Constitution of the TRNC forms the basis for all legislation in the North, including provisions for the safeguarding of historical and cultural inheritance. Of particular relevance and importance to this study is Section 39 of the Constitution (*Protection of historical, natural and cultural values*) which outlines the role of the Government in ensuring the protection of "historical, natural and

cultural heritage". This framework has played a key role in the development of the TRNC's 1989 Town Planning Law and 1994 Antiquities Law; both of which continue to be applied and influence heritage protection today (TRNC 1985:14; Hoşkara, and Doratli 2015: 860)[41].

LEGAL BASIS

Legislation directly related to the conservation of historic urban quarters

Legislation influencing the conservation of historic urban quarters

GROUP I

LAWS ON THE PROTECTION OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS AND SITES

LAWS AND REGULATIONS ON REGIONAL TOWN PLANNING AND HOUSING

GROUP II

LEGISLATION ON:

- immovable propery
- income
- taxation
- environment
- regulations on advertisements and billboards
- tourism

*Figure 27: Diagram of the legislative framework for the management and conservation of heritage in the **TRNC** (Hoşkara, and Doratli 2015; adapted by Author 2017)*

Formal interest in the protection of cultural heritage in Northern Cyprus dates back to the British Colonial period, although, some evidence of such an approach can also be seen during the Ottoman times where preference was shown to the preservation of monumental buildings as opposed to their demolition. This point is supported by Hoşkara, and Doratli who state that, during the Ottoman times, "buildings were subject to an indirect preservation" (2015: 862). Following the division of the island of Cyprus in 1974, legislation and, consequently heritage management, evolved slowly, particularly in the North. The main reason for this was the embargoes imposed by the RoC and other international organisations such as UNESCO, ICOMOS and ICCROM on the TRNC[42] (Stylianou and Bounia 2016: 17; Stubbs and Makaš 2011: 351). In addition, even though

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[41] Additional bodies that influence the management and conservation of heritage in Northern Cyprus include the Board of Antiquities and the Department of Ancient Monuments and Museums, as well as the Town Planning Department. Furthermore, the Association of the Chambers of Turkish Cypriot Engineers and Architects and the Department of Environment also play a role in the protection of heritage in the TRNC (Hoşkara, and Doratli 2015: 860).

[42] More specifically, the sanctions imposed on North Cyprus by the 1954 *Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict* pose a significant obstacle to any heritage conservation initiatives in the North, by preventing any intervention besides "preserving cultural property in that territory" (Şevketoğlu *et al.* (2015: 141).

amendments were made to the Antiquities Law of the TRNC in 1975 and in 1994, conservation efforts continued to be limited and less organised than in the South due to the restricted amount of available resources[43].

Considering the above, the partition of Cyprus has posed numerous challenges and obstacles to effective conservation planning in the North (Stubbs and Makaš 2011: 350). Despite the fact that both sides deny allegations that they allow the decay and even destruction of each other's heritage (over which they have control), TCs have clearly allowed Orthodox Churches in the North to deteriorate and their artefacts to be illegally sold, and GCs have done the same to mosques in the South (ibid: 350). This argument further demonstrates that the issue of selective heritage management and protection in Cyprus is deeply rooted in the GC-TC conflict and the ongoing division of the island. Relevantly, aside from the NMP projects, conservation work in the North focuses mainly on religious buildings of Ottoman descent. This is due to the restrictions and pressure imposed by the GC government, as well as by international bodies and organisations that do not recognise the TRNC[44] and therefore do not sanction the preservation of buildings from different heritage backgrounds (Hyland 1999: 70; Yuceer 2012: 279). This restriction further illustrates the issue of selective heritage management in the North, even though in this case it relates both to the lack of recognition of the TRNC by international communities and to the consequent lack of funding. The result of this is the increased economic power of the GC Republic of Cyprus and the resulting advancement of heritage protection in the South.

Heritage Management in South Cyprus after 1974:

Like in Northern Cyprus, the ROCs' current Antiquities Law dates back to the British Colonial period and regulations introduced[45] in 1935, "which [were] primarily intended to control archaeological excavations and protect ancient monuments of the Graeco-Roman, Byzantine, Medieval and Venetian periods" (Balderstone 2007: 6). However, a more significant law that is relevant to urban and rural heritage in Cyprus is the 1972 Town and Country Planning Law, which supports the

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[43] In 2002, the Council of Europe (CoE) called for the sanctioning of international support in the form of surveys and protection measures in Northern Cyprus in order to address the accelerated loss of heritage. However, the region's cultural heritage had already suffered as a result of its international isolation (Stylianou and Bounia 2016: 17).

[44] A large amount of heritage protection is supported by EVKAF, an Islamic religious organisation that addresses the "conservation and restoration of major monuments and cultural properties" for religious and non-religious purposes in Northern Cyprus (EMU 2016).

[45] Following the Ottoman Rule, between 1571 – 1878 AD, Cyprus was handed to Britain as part of an agreement to weaken Russian influence in the Mediterranean. However, following the Ottoman Empire's entry into World War I on the side of Germany, Cyprus was annexed by Britain in 1914 and was subsequently declared a Crown Colony in 1925 (Mallinson 2011: 19). Cyprus remained a British Colony until its independence in 1960, when a draft plan endorsed by the GC president and a TC vice-president was agreed under The Treaty of Establishment of the Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus (ibid.: 24).

protection of buildings and areas of special historical, architectural, social and other significance (ibid.). This law was passed shortly before the island's division and has been succeeded and supported by the introduction of incentive schemes in 1985 and 1992. These incentives offer "a combination of grants, low interest loans, and tax credits to assist owners of historic properties with their maintenance and restoration" (Stubbs and Makaš 2011: 350). In addition, the Department of Antiquities and the Department of Town Planning and Housing are two of the key institutions that influence heritage conservation policies in South Cyprus and formulate the legal basis for the management and conservation of its cultural heritage (Figure 28).
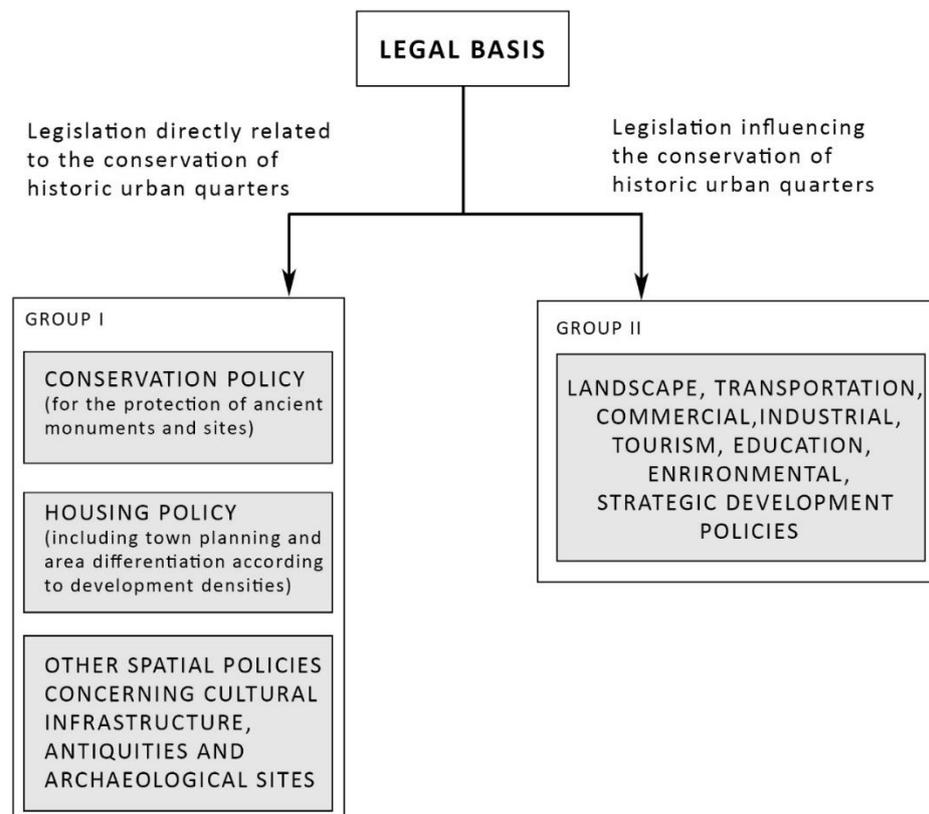
*Figure 28: Diagram of the legislative framework for the management and conservation of heritage in the **RoC** (Department of Town Planning and Housing 2017: 11; adapted by author)*

Moreover, legal frameworks for the protection of cultural heritage in the RoC are influenced by three central government institutions. These institutions are, to a large degree, responsible for laws on the protection and promotion of contemporary cultural expression of traditional and folk art (The Cultural Services which comes under the Ministry of Education and Culture), laws on the protection of ancient monuments and sites (The Department of Antiquities, Ministry of Communication and Public Works) and, laws on the conservation of architectural and local cultural heritage, as well as for the planning and control of physical development and land use (The Department of Town Planning and Housing, Ministry of Interior). These departments are influenced

indirectly by additional factors and organisations, such as UNESCO[46], NGOs and local authorities, including relevant municipal bodies (Figure 30).
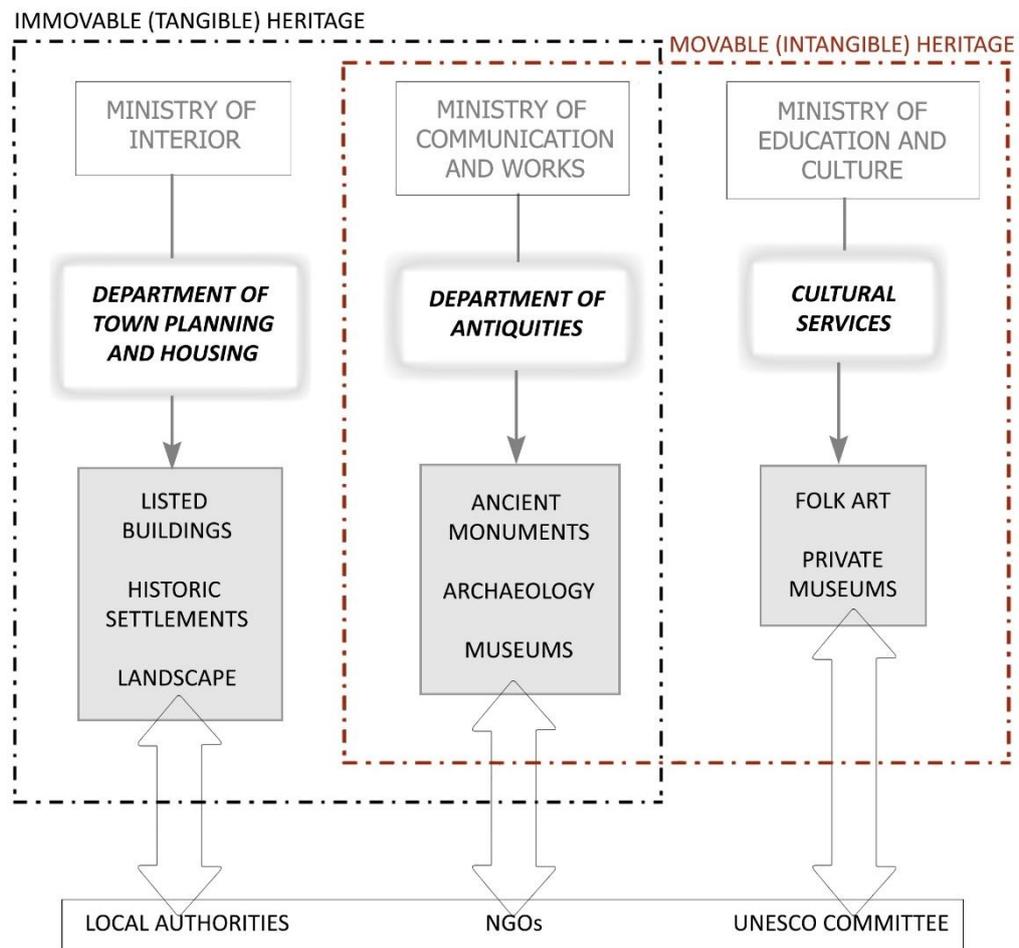
Figure 29: The three institutions responsible for the management and protection of cultural heritage in South Cyprus (HEREIN 2017; adapted by Author 2017)

As can be observed, even though established at different times, both governments have introduced relevant legal frameworks for the protection and conservation of their cultural heritage. Despite this, the duality caused as a result of Cyprus' division significantly complicates the effective application of the established frameworks as issues of ownership, ethnic and political competitiveness continue to exist. Moreover, even though both frameworks are rooted in the same

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[46] The RoC has ratified the following conventions on cultural heritage:
a) UNESCO, Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict (The Hague, 1954), b) UNESCO, Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property 1970, c) UNESCO, Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage 1972, d) Council of Europe, European Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe (Granada 1985), e) Council of Europe, European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage (Valetta, Malta 1992), f) UNIDROIT, Convention on Stolen or Illegally Exported Cultural Objects (1995), g) Council of Europe, European Landscape Convention, h) UNESCO, Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (Paris 2003), i) UNESCO, Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (Paris 2005) (HEREIN 2017).

legislation introduced by the British in 1935, division has become the primary cause for the development of two separate legislative bases by the GC and TC governments. In addition, the embargoes imposed on the TRNC by international organisations such as UNESCO, ICOMOS and ICCROM (Hoşkara, and Doratli 2015: 857), as well as the financial imbalances between the two governments further reinforce the inevitable development of different approaches to heritage management and protection in the North and South. Similarly, the financial assistance offered by the RoC in the form of incentives for the protection of historic properties in the GC part of Cyprus, is further testimony to the imbalance of opportunities available to the GC and TC communities. These points provide an explanation for the different heritage management approaches adopted in North and South Cyprus (and Nicosia), as well as the resulting development of additional considerations linked to the themes of power, memory and authenticity in the context of conflict and division.

2.5.2 Reversing the damage: The contribution of bi-communal initiatives to the protection of Nicosia's intangible heritage

UNESCO's 2003 *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* recognises that communities, groups and individuals "play an important role in the production, safeguarding, maintenance and re-creation of the intangible cultural heritage, thus helping to enrich cultural diversity and human creativity" (UNESCO 2003: 1). Relevantly, and despite the biased historical narratives and unpleasant connotations attached to the GC-TC conflict, the fear of tangible and intangible heritage loss has initiated the creation of several NGOs and informal bi-communal initiatives that use cultural heritage as a means of rapprochement. Abu-Orf (2005: 46) recognises the vital role of informal activities in strengthening interaction between the communities in Cyprus and asserts that detachment from formal institutional ties has significantly contributed to moving away from the "political constraints" associated to the GC-TC conflict[47].

Subsequently, in addition to the H4C and relevant technical committees established under the auspices of the UN, numerous other bi-communal initiatives have been introduced over the years; with some being closely connected to walled Nicosia's historic core. Several of these initiatives take place in the community centre created by the H4C, as the specific location has come to be known as "a shared space that can be used by all" (Europa Nostra 2014). Even though non-governmental, these groups instigate informal activities that seek to establish a common ground through

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[47] In this case, the author primarily refers to the informal meetings between the GC and TC mayors of Nicosia during the early stages of the NMP in 1981. At the time, planning issues regarding the city of Nicosia were directed away from political discussion and towards technical considerations in order to ensure "the successful completion of the joint plan" (Abu-Orf 2005: 46); a point also supported by Akinci (2004: 28).

intangible cultural heritage in Cyprus. These groups include the Association for Historical Dialogue and Research (AHDR), the Buffer Fringe Festival, The Bi-Communal Choir for Peace in Cyprus, Dance for Peace and the Peace2Peace group.

The Association for Historical Dialogue and Research (AHDR)

The AHDR is an NGO that has undertaken the task of bringing the GC and TC communities together, while finding ways to address the ongoing biased historical and political influences on both sides of the divide. It is characterised as "a non-governmental, non-profitable, multi-communal organisation in Cyprus" (AHDR 2010b) that addresses issues of "history, historiography, history teaching, and history learning" away from the politically and ethically driven biases dominating the GC and TC cultures. In doing so, a key objective of the AHDR is to "nurture a critical understanding of the linkages between perceptions of history, attitudes and behaviours towards the "other", and history education". They also aim to increase public awareness on the vital role of "dialogue and multi-perspectivity" in contested contexts like that of Cyprus and in this case Nicosia (AHDR 2010b).

Buffer Fringe

The Buffer Fringe is a performing arts festival that takes place around the buffer zone in Nicosia and "showcases new and experimental work by local and international artists" (EFFE 2017). The objective of the Buffer Fringe is to challenge physical and artistic barriers and create opportunities for different artists to come together and exchange ideas (ibid.). The festival is organised by the H4C (Home for Cooperation 2017) and has been labelled as being "one of a kind in Cyprus" (EFFE 2017).

> This 11 of July, first World Fringe Day[48] [...] we celebrate the power of the arts to create new imaginations, the power of fringe festivals to foster experimentation, the power of us to see the other (Theophanous 2017).

As can be observed, the H4C through the Buffer Fringe recognises the possibility of public empowerment, using art as a means of bridging the Cypriot divide. In this case, balanced power relations between NGO initiatives and the community can be observed, subsequently encouraging a more inclusive approach that addresses the creation and even (re)construction of shared memories. Subsequently, balanced power relations materialise as an agent to the management and protection of intangible heritage, while addressing issues such as selective memories and subjective authenticity.

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[48] The Fringe, also known as the 1947 Edinburgh Festival Fringe is an art festival and "a gesture of renewal and reconciliation for Europe" dating back to World War II, inviting performances from different theatre and music companies and artists in Europe (Fisher 2012: 11).

The Bi-Communal Choir for Peace in Cyprus

The Bi-communal Choir for Peace was established in 1997 and encompasses a repertoire of mainly traditional GC, TC, Greek and Turkish songs, as well as "any other language as long as they send messages of peace, love, solidarity and reconciliation, messages that conform with [their] aims and visions" (ChoirForPeace 2017). Initially based in Nicosia, the Choir has been significantly more active throughout the island after the opening of the crossings between the North and South in 2003 and has since taken part in a large number of activities around Cyprus (ibid.).

Dance for Peace

Dance for Peace is a bi-communal, rapprochement dance group that brings together GC and TC folklore dancers and musicians from both communities (Charalambous 2011: 1). Under the support of the H4C, this group seeks to bring the Cypriot communities together through traditional dance that reflects their common culture (Tuna and Karaolia 2002). In addition, like the Bi-Communal Choir for Peace in Cyprus, Dance for Peace primarily contributes to the preservation and dissemination of intangible heritage through a heavy reliance on common cultural characteristics. As a result of their efforts, the group was awarded the European Citizens' Prize by the European Parliament in 2013 (Samson and Demetriou 2015).

Peace2Peace

Peace2Peace is a bi-communal group of women in Cyprus who create traditional hand crochet flowers and squares that are subsequently stitched together and used to decorate landmarks on the island (Browne 2016). This initiative started in 2016 and has since attracted interest from individuals on both sides of the divide who are interested in sending the message "of [their] common culture and peaceful coexistence" (Peace2Peace Open Air Crochet Installations 2017). Like in the case of the Buffer Zone Fringe Festival, the Bi-Communal Choir for Peace and Dance for Peace, Peace2Peace focuses on the intangible aspects of heritage in order to establish a common ground between the GC and TC communities. In this case, returning to common cultural crafts, such as crocheting demonstrates the impact of informal, NGO-driven initiatives for the safeguarding of cultural heritage in Cyprus and Nicosia.

The image below depicts the Büyük Han (Great Han), a sixteenth century Ottoman monument in the North and "now a major landmark of cultural heritage in Nicosia" (Bakshi 2012c: 110), being used as an exhibition space for crocheting activities by GC and TC members.

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Figure 30: Figure illustrates some of the women who are part of the bi-communal Peace2Peace group (Dialogos 2016). The picture has been taken in the courtyard of walled Nicosia's Büyük Han and illustrates traditional crochet art along the balustrade of its Ottoman masjid (mosque).

In this case, the promotion of intangible heritage through the traditional craft of crocheting encourages the protection of walled Nicosia's tangible inheritance (and in this instance the historic Büyük Han), by supporting its continuous use and subsequent conservation for future generations. It can therefore be argued that, bi-communal groups across the divide can be viewed as key contributors to the protection and dissemination of Cypriot intangible heritage, while addressing previously discussed considerations raised by UNESCO's 2003 World Heritage Convention and by the 1979 ICOMOS *Charter for Places of Cultural Significance* (The Burra Charter)[49]. This point further highlights the vital role of bi-communal (informal) activities and the input of a bottom-up approach of heritage management systems on both sides of the Cypriot divide.

Similarly, the Buffer Fringe uses the walled city of Nicosia as a platform to address conflict-inflicted memories along the buffer zone through the use of cultural heritage and by strengthening interaction with Nicosia's historic core. In this case, walled Nicosia's and the buffer zone's association with conflict is shifted towards a culturally-oriented initiative that encourages public interest and participation both with Nicosia's built environment and with its cultural inheritance.

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[49] See Chapter 2, Section 2.2.2 *Tangible and Intangible Heritage*

Student Projects Along the Buffer Zone and their Contribution to Intangible Heritage Protection

Along with the contribution of NGOs and associated bi-communal initiatives, a significant number of architectural student projects have used walled Nicosia and its buffer zone as a platform for bringing the GC and TC communities together, while examining other issues that dominate the city. Some of the student projects look into ways of reconciling previous activities, or introducing new ones in an effort to address the fragmentation and decay of Nicosia's historic core.

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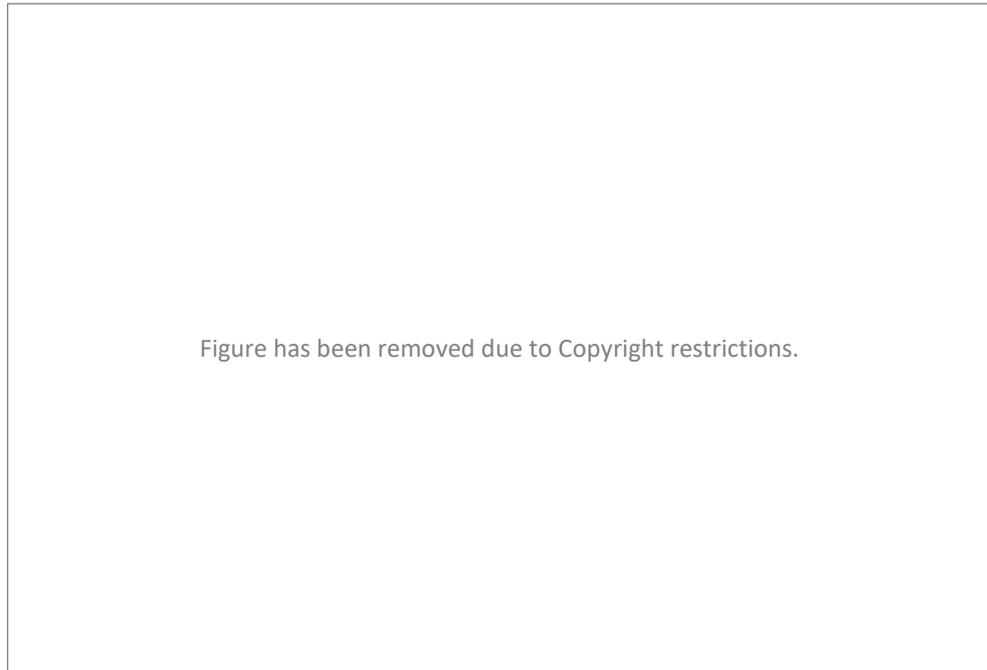
Figure 31: Proposal by a group of students from the University of Bath to 're-invent' walled Nicosia through ecological solutions that will encourage the city to evolve as a "catalyst for healing" (Ovens et. al 2013).

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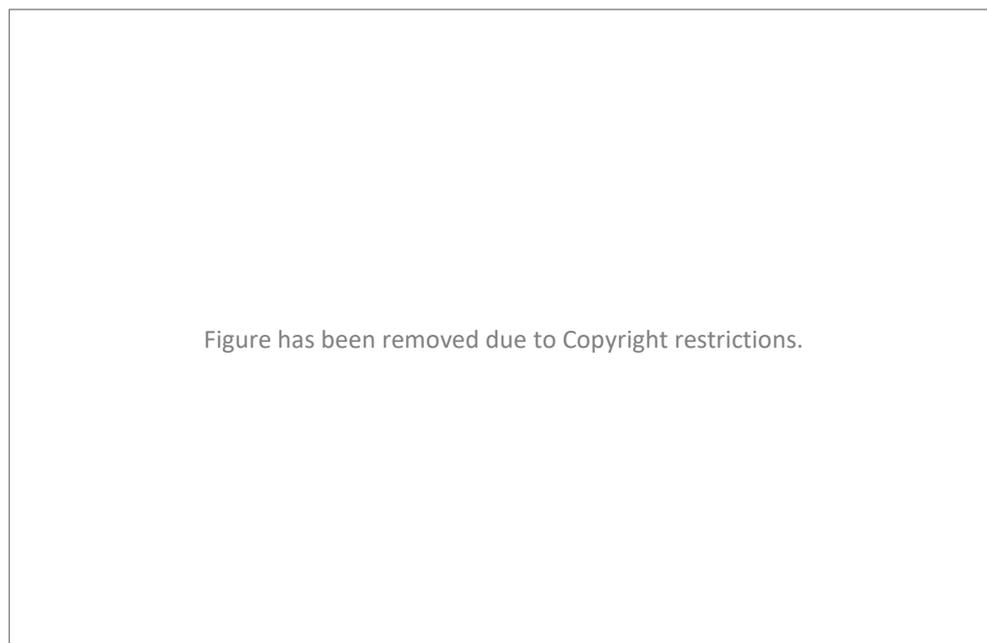
Figure 32: Student proposal from the University of Belfast that interprets Greek and Turkish traditions for the creation of "a national and lending library for the divided island of Cyprus" in the buffer zone of walled Nicosia (Martin 2009).

Similar to the bi-communal initiatives, even though informal in nature, these projects demonstrate a recognition of the historical importance of the walled city, while reinforcing its peculiar urban structure and unique cultural heritage. This point reflects Macdonald's (2004) forthcoming discussion on the role of heritage, memory and identity during conflict, demonstrating how heritage loss – or fear of it – can become an important motive for its protection; and highlights the vital role of bi-communal activities in safeguarding the intangible cultural heritage of Cyprus and, subsequently, Nicosia. In this case, the walled city materialises as a platform of conceptual experimentation that addresses existing, actual and ongoing concerns in order to propose solutions that will potentially promote regeneration through the reduction of heritage decline. This is a similar approach to that taken by this thesis, whereby by establishing a stronger theoretical comprehension of the themes of power, memory and authenticity; a stronger understanding of practical considerations concerning the protection of walled Nicosia's heritage is pursued.

2.5.3 Issues with Tangible and Intangible Heritage Protection in Cyprus

Heritage protection in Cyprus

As demonstrated in the previous sections (Sections 2.5.1 and Section 2.5.2), the significance of heritage protection is acknowledged by both GC and TC governments in Cyprus, as well as by several non-governmental, bi-communal organisations and initiatives. However, despite the existence of legal and institutional frameworks in addressing this matter, the 1974 conflict and consequent division of the island has resulted in the development of independent approaches on each side of the divide.

The legal framework developed in 1972 by the GC Department of Town Planning and Housing states that buildings of social, architectural and historical interest should be protected for the conservation of their physical and aesthetic qualities (Department of Town Planning and Housing 2017a: 29). The aim of this approach is to safeguard Cypriot cultural heritage, through the conservation of traditional and historic structures (Department of Town Planning and Housing 2017b). Similarly, the Supreme Council of Ancient Monuments and Immovable Antiquities established in 1975 by the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus (Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus from 1983 onwards) undertook the responsibility for conserving historic monuments and sites with the intention of safeguarding buildings of architectural and archaeological significance, while adding value to "enterprise[s], building[s] or neighbourhood[s]" (Department of Antiquities and Museums 1990; Hyland 1999: 72).

While both governments subscribe to the significance of heritage in the safeguarding of Cypriot cultural identity, the impact of conflict and division has had detrimental consequences on the

heritage of the island, and in this case, divided Nicosia. Balderstone (2007: 7) acknowledges that the main challenge GC and TC Cypriot heritage professionals face "is recognition of not only all periods of an individual site or area, but also the social and spiritual values attached to places by different communities". Moreover, Hyland (1999: 60) refers to the ongoing conflict between the GC and TC communities as a "restriction" in understanding the "extraordinarily rich cultural history" of the island. This restriction is further reinforced by Laouris *et al.* (2009: 364), who argue that conflict has resulted in the prevention of "the authentic, sincere and true engagement of the [island's] stakeholders".

Neglect of tangible heritage

In line with the above and with reference to the GC – TC relationship, Broome (2005: 64) maintains that identity issues are prominent between the GC and TC communities; with division "tear[ing] apart" their collective identity. The consequences of this separation are further highlighted through the wider neglect of tangible heritage on both sides of the divide.

For example, in North Cyprus, Orthodox Churches were vandalised shortly after the 1974 war in an attempt to eradicate the national and religious identity of the Greek Cypriot community, as well as the close link between the Church and nationalism (Bryant 2004). According to Balderstone (2007: 8) GCs perceive the neglect of the history and monuments of their church "as a deliberate strike against their Greek identity". Similarly, in South Cyprus, the former TC neighbourhoods situated in the centre of Larnaca[50] display similar signs of neglect and deterioration. These observations highlight the central role played by the built environment in reflecting the tangible and intangible meanings ascribed to heritage during conflict.

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[50] Larnaca is a situated on the South coast of Cyprus and used to be a significant port-city during the Ottoman rule of the Island (1571-1878) (Balta *et al.* 2012). Numerous neighbourhoods in Larnaca's old town are characterised by their association with the Ottomans.

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Figure 33: Example of neglected GC Church in the North of Cyprus (Enikos 2013)

Figure 34: Example of Neglected TC neighbourhood in the South of Cyprus (Author 2013)

The issue of heritage neglect as a result of conflict can also be seen in cases such as that of Jerusalem where, "the exacerbation of difference between Israel's Jews and its gentile population, specifically the Arab population" (Bevan 2006: 4) has resulted in the prioritisation of heritage protection of Jewish monuments and religious sites; as opposed to other sacred places (Breeden and Kershner 2015; UNESCO 2015: 40). Moreover, heritage neglect is further reflected on the intangible heritage of Cyprus and, consequently Nicosia, where contested narratives and dual historical representations of conflict highlight some of the key issues dominating the GC – TC relationship until today.

Acknowledging the heritage of the 'other'

The consequent polarisation of opposing communities in an attempt to justify national and political claims has been observed throughout this research; particularly in Cypriot accounts and educational textbooks. This concern is similarly reflected in the work of Edward Said (2004: 111), where, with regards to the relationship between the United States and the Orient, he argues that the "Demonization of the other is not a sufficient basis for any kind of decent politics".

The above issue is relevant to divided societies, where perception and narratives between competing communities are often - intentionally - characterised by difference. For instance, Papadakis (2005: 56) with reference to the GC and TC narratives about the opposing community maintains that the youth has been exposed to selective memories of an unwanted suppressive 'other'. The author therefore implies that this biased and limited knowledge of a - previously shared - past is influencing the younger generations' awareness of their authentic heritage, "including historical figures and their origins" (Papadakis 2005: 64). In fact, after the division of Cyprus, history books on both sides made conscious efforts to portray the opposing community as the enemy, without reference to any common heritage or shared accomplishments[51].

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[51] This issue has also been recognised by the Association for Historical Dialogue and Research (AHDR) in Cyprus, who sustain that "currently a very limited amount of research exists on history education in Cyprus, mostly concerned with socio-political issues of identity formation and national representations" (AHDR 2010a: 2). As a result, this non-governmental organisation works towards the establishment of objectively informed and historically accurate education in Cyprus. This approach included both the GC and TC communities and aims to "Give equal emphasis to local, Cypriot, European and international histories." (ibid. 3).

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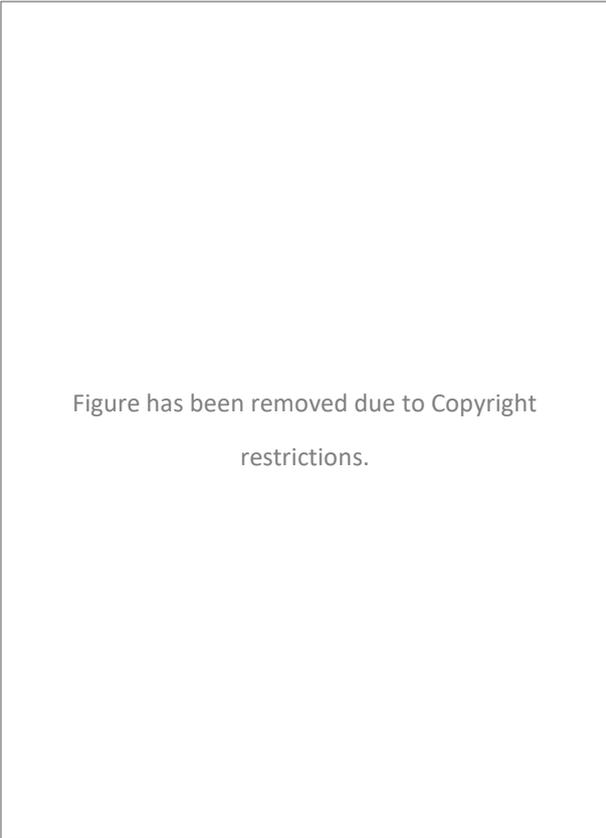
Figure 35: History book used by Greek Cypriot schools. The cover depicts the Greeks fighting the Turks during the 1821 Greek revolution, thus promoting an anti-Turkish and consequently Hellenistic identity (Cyprus Mail 2015).

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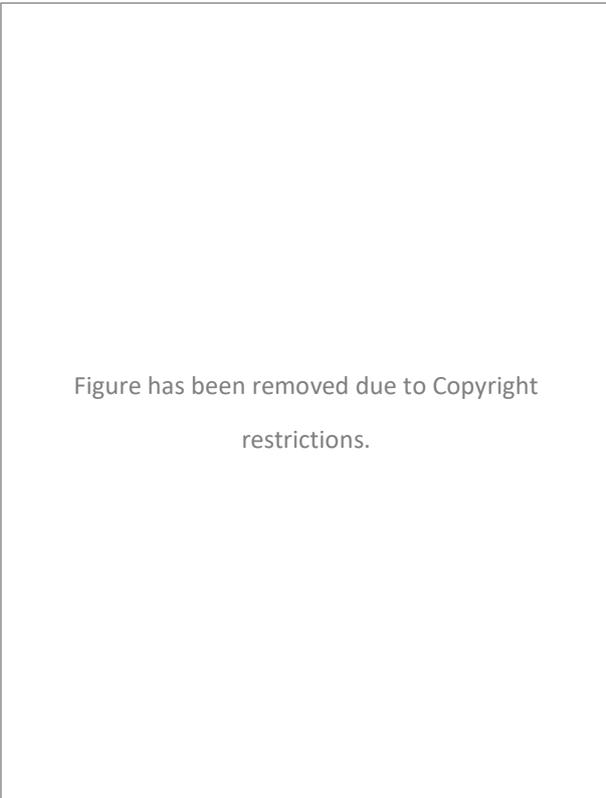
Figure 36: Post 2009 Turkish Cypriot schoolbook introduced when Dervis Eroglu came to power, illustrating the Turkish Cypriot struggle against the Greek Cypriots (Cyprus Mail 2015).

It is worth mentioning that between 2004 and 2009 there was a visible attempt by the TC community and its then president, Mehmet Ali Talat, to address the selective depiction of history through printing books that appeared more neutral with regards to the GC-TC conflict. This stance was reversed during Dervis Eroglu's presidency post 2009[52].

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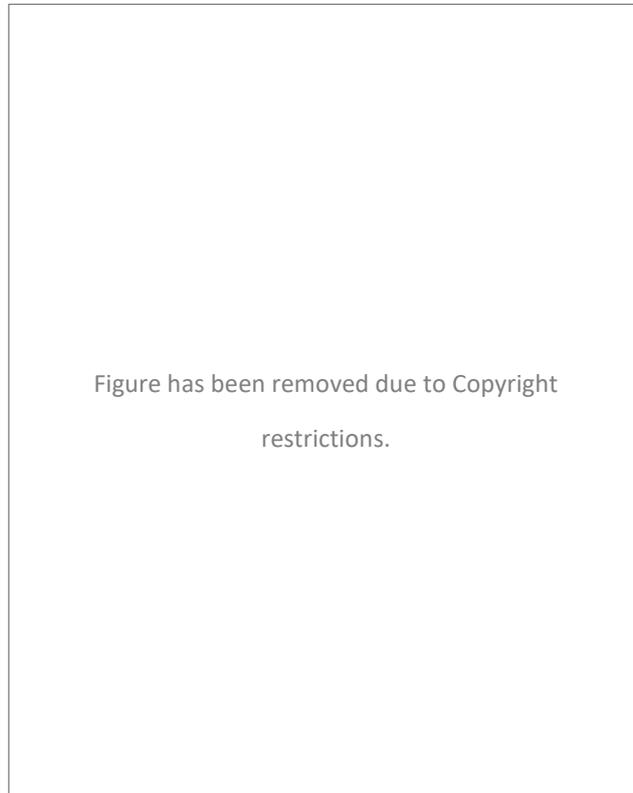
Figure 37: Mehmet Ali Talat period book 2004- 2009 showing Cyprus as a whole and intact (Cyprus Mail 2015)

The collective effort to conceal any association between the GC and TC communities illustrates a vivid intention to eradicate any painful memories of conflict by compromising their shared, or common, identity. An additional relevant example signifying this point is the creation of National Museums of Struggle[53] of either side of Nicosia, with each museum reflecting the selective historical narratives of its corresponding community (Papadakis 1994). These museums reinforce the officially recognised national narratives across the Cypriot divide, using photographic material to support their individual claims, while appealing to public and individual emotion (Stylianou-Lambert and Stylianou 2012: 183).

Subsequently, by considering the above issues, this thesis maintains that the painful memories of conflict have had a serious impact on the tangible and intangible heritage of Cyprus and consequently Nicosia. This includes rituals associated with heritage and place, as well as public

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[52] However, as Akbil (2017) explains, the latest history books are not as objective as the ones introduced in 2004, but are also not as biased as the ones before that.
[53] These will be discussed in the forthcoming chapter, Chapter 3, Section 3.3.3, *Selective Memory Protection*.

preference and engagement with selected parts of the walled city[54], which are disassociated with the ongoing conflict. This claim is based both on the selective perceptions and representations of history by both communities, as well as the neglect of the heritage of the 'other' throughout many parts of the island.

Change of street names in Nicosia

The above point is illustrated further through the changing of street names in North Nicosia following the division. More specifically,

> Cleansing was the officially designated method to erase any memory of its previous past and inhabitants. All Greek place names in the North […] were changed into Turkish (Papadakis 2005: 100).

This poses questions around the impact of memory on the built environment of walled Nicosia, as well as the influence of conflict on the authenticity of both its tangible and intangible heritage. Moreover, changing street names, demonstrates an intentional concealment of a common heritage by both the GC and TC communities and a deliberate shift towards a state of oblivion regarding the historical continuity of the walled city.

This issue and the motives behind it, materialise as obstacles to the bi-communal initiatives between the North and South NMP offices; a concern also raised during the interview with Akbil (2017: 123-141). According to the interview response of Bensel (2016)[55], one such bi-communal initiative after the opening of the checkpoints in Nicosia was the creation of a shared map, which would highlight significant monuments and heritage sites within the walled city. Nevertheless - and even though a common map was designed and printed by the NMPs - this initiative was rejected by the GC Government because they do not recognise the state of the TRNC and due to the change of original street names in the North to Turkish; something believed to be not reflective of the city's authentic past. This resulted in the printing of new maps – one for each Nicosia Municipality – which represented the walled Nicosia as two halves; selectively addressing the heritage falling under each jurisdiction.

The above point shows that Nicosia's heritage management is still largely dominated by the ongoing conflict. This issue also reinforces the unbalanced power relations between the GC and TC communities, illustrating that the North often has to rely on the South in order to proceed with measures and initiatives. In many cases, the reasons behind this relate to unequal funding

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[54] These issues will be further examined in Chapter 4, Section 4.3.3: *Heritage Affected by Conflict in the Buffer Zone.*

[55] Cemal Bensel and Ali Guralp are the NMP architects interviewed during the course of this study. Their interview responses will be further discussed in the following chapter (Chapter 5).

opportunities available to the South following their entry into the EU, as well as to the lack of recognition of the TC government (Bensel 2016).

Figure 38: Original heritage trail map including the whole of Nicosia and the buffer zone (NMP 2016)

Figure 39: Heritage trail map of North Nicosia (NMP 2016)
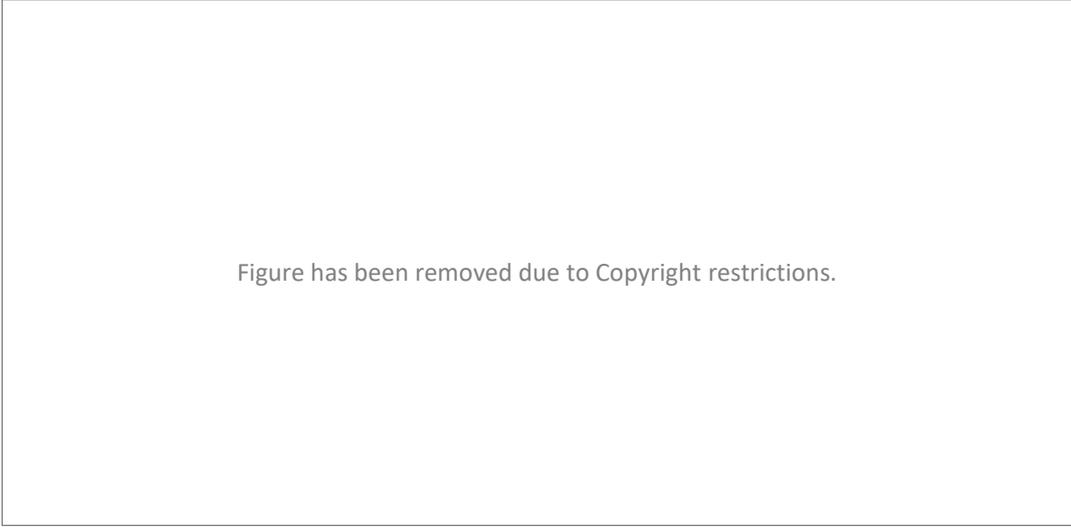
Figure 40: Heritage map of South Nicosia (Nicosia Tourism Board 2013)

Despite the Council of Europe (2011: 5) maintaining that cultural, ethical or religious pluralism does not interfere with the development of post-conflict[56] regeneration, the ongoing approach to the conflict and division by the GC and TC governments demonstrates that these continue to inhibit the protection of heritage. Moreover, the fact that the history of Cyprus is so vividly contested by the two main communities living on the island, further justifies an ongoing issue of selective heritage remembrance and protection; as well as a gap in the existing political and administrative approaches in managing the communal heritage of the island.

Considering the above, this thesis maintains that conflict and division have allowed for the development of additional factors, or themes, that influence the heritage of walled Nicosia. This conclusion highlights the disputed meanings behind the city's heritage, while justifying the need for a heritage management approach that takes into consideration the roles of power, memory and consequently authenticity on the tangible and intangible heritage of the city. These themes are introduced in the following section and are further discussed in Chapter 3.

2.5.4 Outline and Justification of Emerging Themes

Taking into account the literature presented in the previous sections, this thesis maintains that three emerging themes need to be examined in the context of the Nicosia's ongoing division. These are the role of power, memory and authenticity. Each theme will be examined individually in Chapter 3, in order to provide a more detailed review of their theoretical and practical relevance to

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[56] Even though conflict in Nicosia (and Cyprus) is still ongoing, the stagnant state of the GC – TC relationship, and the ongoing efforts of the NMP and NGOs in strengthening bi-communal collaboration has lead this research to take into account existing literature and research on the topics of *post*-conflict regeneration. By doing so, this body of work seeks to establish an informed understanding of the current impact of conflict on the heritage and heritage management of walled Nicosia, while applying knowledge gained from relevant examples and academic discussion to the specific case study.

the scope of this study and to the forthcoming conceptual framework which will inform the case study analysis.

Power

Power struggles have existed throughout Cyprus's multi-layered history, with the most recent and relevant examples being its transition from an Ottoman territory to British colonial rule at the end of the nineteenth century; to then becoming a bi-communal and independent Republic in 1960 and a divided island in 1974. This issue is also pointed out by Atun (2012: 369), who asserts that the social and spatial structures of Nicosia have been separated and transformed throughout the existence of the city; acting as a "defence oriented approach of people to the physical setting against a power struggle between different dominations." Atun highlights the social and spatial impact of the power struggle, as well as the consequent "voluntary separation of groups and their selective concentration in specific areas reflecting their religious/ethnic identity" (ibid.: 369). This thesis argues that, the selective concentration and consequent prioritisation of areas continues to reflect on the historic built environment of walled Nicosia more vividly after its division.

The literature examined in this chapter suggests the existence of unbalanced power relations between the GC and TC communities, with heritage being part of the antagonism reflected by each community. An example of this is the GC Government's refusal to promote a shared map of walled Nicosia; subsequently pushing the two municipalities to adjust their city heritage tours by focusing only on their territory. In addition, selective depiction of history which undermines the community on both the North and South, further illustrates the need for national and cultural assertion over the opposing 'other'; a topic demonstrated through the different historical narratives promoted by school education on either side of the divide. This issue is supported by Papadakis (2008) as well as by the Association for Historical Dialogue and Research in Cyprus (AHDR 2011a, 2011b), who promote the "advancement of historical understanding amongst the public […] children, youth and educators" (AHDR 2011b: 2). The AHDR hypothesises that intercommunal contact between the GC and TC communities, while adjusting teaching practices and views across the divide will "alter their representations of the other; provided the representations of such instances of intergroup contact are defined as pleasant, co-operative and based on mutual respect" (AHDR 2011b: 14). This approach would then overcome the need to follow historical interpretations driven by the need for power assertion and selective ethnocentrism (AHDR 2011a, 2011b).

Memory

Conflict and division in Cyprus is remembered differently by the GC and TC communities, with each side paying tribute to the event in a distinct way. Walled Nicosia can be seen to materialise as a microcosm which reflects this wider GC-TC relationship. In the work of GC authors (such as

Mallinson 2011; Pandeli 2005; Lyssiotis 2010), the division of Cyprus is viewed as an unfair intervention imposed by Turkey as a means of forcing their power over the island. On the contrary, within TC literature (Türkmen 2005; Lytras & Psaltis 2011; Psaltis & Cakal 2016), the conflict materialises as a peace operation that aims to protect the TC population from the harassment and discrimination inflicted by the GCs. What this has resulted in is the creation of histories and memories that are very selective with "changes over the years mak[ing] these memories unreliable as a guide to today's situation" (Broome 2005: 52).

As mentioned in the previous sections, the memory of conflict in Cyprus has played a key role in the work of authors such as Bakshi (2008, 2012a, 2012b, 2014) and Papadakis (2000, 2005, 2008). Even though these authors do not specifically deal with the heritage management of walled Nicosia, their work has contributed to establishing and understanding the role of memory from a historical, social and anthropological perspective; and is therefore significant to this study. Moreover, the change in street names in Nicosia, arguably highlights the selective representation of the past, as well as the intentional eradication of memories of the opposing 'other' from the tangible – and consequently intangible – fabric of the city. For this reason, this thesis examines the role of memory after the division of Cyprus, arguing that conflict has played a leading role in the way memories are managed and represented through Nicosia's cultural heritage.

Authenticity
Lastly, considering the dual identity of walled Nicosia, as well as the way history and heritage are managed, disseminated and consequently perceived, reinforces the selective interpretations of authenticity across each side of the divide. This topic is further highlighted through the history books adopted by each government, as well as the selective representation of heritage promoted by the maps – and municipalities – of Nicosia. The change of street names discussed earlier in this chapter also poses questions about the authentic representation of the city. More specifically, the fact that there are streets within the walls that share the same identity, but have now been interrupted both by the buffer zone, as well as by the change in name[57] on each side of the divide; underlines the impact of conflict on the historic built environment of walled Nicosia. For this reason, understanding what is considered to represent the truthful identity and authentic past of each community after the conflict, will consequently contribute both to a better interpretation of the

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[57] Tensions between the GC and TC communities are reflected in several ways, including the change of building and street names even before the 1974 division of the island (Bakshi 2016: 125). Initially, street names in Cyprus combined Turkish, Greek and British influences. An example of this is the Ledra – Lokmaci Street Crossing. According to Bakshi, the name given to the Turkish part of the crossing derives from the barricade that was built in front of a *lokma* (fried sweet dough) shop in 1964, known as the Lokmaci Barikat (ibid.).

ongoing issues dominating the city's tangible and intangible heritage; while furthering knowledge for the benefit of future heritage management initiatives.

2.6 Conclusion

Chapter 2 provided a detailed examination of the topics of heritage and heritage management, taking into consideration the contribution of international guidelines and research on the subjects. This approach has aided in providing a clearer understanding of the topics of tangible and intangible heritage, while demonstrating their relevance to this study, as well as to the case of Nicosia. Key international conservation approaches have also been presented, outlining their relevance to this investigation. This is an essential step in establishing the significance and applicability of such knowledge to the heritage management of walled Nicosia, while providing a clearer understanding of the role of conservation within the historic built environment of the city.

Moreover, this chapter presented current issues that dominate the heritage and heritage management of Cyprus and consequently Nicosia. These highlight the gap in knowledge concerning the walled city, while introducing selected themes that aim to contribute to the protection of the city's tangible and intangible heritage in the long term. As it has been demonstrated, conventional theoretical interpretations fail to account for heritage in conflict-inflicted or divided cities; where ownership carries heavier implications than simply being there as a result of inheritance. In addition, even though the literature and authors examined have been vital in comprehending the role of heritage and heritage management within the built environment discourse, this chapter establishes that the topic of heritage management in divided cities, and in this case Nicosia, remains largely unexplored. Furthermore, while international approaches play a central role in safeguarding heritage around the world and, even though very inclusive and broad in their scope, they are also very limited in providing context-specific guidelines for cases such as that of divided Nicosia; this too is a gap this thesis aims to address. For this reason, and by taking into consideration the contribution of existing guidelines and research on heritage management, this thesis seeks to encourage a context-specific heritage management approach that will enhance the ongoing efforts of the NMP, while providing a clearer understanding of the reasons behind Nicosia's current decline.

This is achieved through the forthcoming examination of existing theories on the topics of power, memory and authenticity, in order to provide a stronger understanding as to how these themes or concepts are influenced during conflict and in turn, how they impact the heritage of walled Nicosia. This consequently seeks to influence walled Nicosia's heritage management approach and contribute to the existing efforts of the NMP.

Chapter 3: Examination of Selected Themes and Establishment of Conceptual Framework

3.1 Introduction

The objective of this study is to establish a framework that will benefit the heritage management, and consequently heritage, of walled Nicosia in the long term, while offering a clearer understanding of the factors that contribute to the decline of historically significant buildings and sites across the North-South divide. The themes, or concepts, discussed in this chapter arise from: a) the examination of existing literature and research, b) initial site observations, and c) previous and newly developed knowledge of the ethnic and political differences that dominate the island of Cyprus.

The underlying aim of the following chapter is to show the relevance of the selected literature and emerging themes to the conceptual framework employed for the analysis of the main case study of Nicosia. To achieve this, Chapter 3 is structured into three thematic sections that have been developed following the examination of a diverse body of literature associated with the selected topics. These sections examine the role of power (Section 3.2), memory (Section 3.3) and authenticity (Section 3.4) within the built environment discourse, while also considering relevant philosophical perspectives and interpretations of the topics. This is done in order to demonstrate the impact and significance of these concepts on the heritage and heritage management of divided Nicosia; outlining the influence of conflict and division in their transformation. Finally, Section 3.5 presents and explains the established conceptual framework, setting the ground for the forthcoming chapters that focus on the case study of Nicosia.

Power

The first thematic section of this chapter examines the topic of power and delves further into the subject of power relations in the context of conflict or division. This is done in order to demonstrate the relevance of this theme to the study, while highlighting the associations between power, conflict and heritage.

Memory

The second thematic section of this chapter examines the topic of memory and illustrates its impact on both tangible and intangible heritage during conflict or division. This thesis maintains that, the influence of memory on the heritage management of Nicosia is a topic largely neglected by the existing literature. In order to address this, the second thematic section examines relevant theories informing research on memory, along with its impact on individuals and the urban fabric.

Authenticity

In divided, or conflicting contexts the topic of authenticity causes complications; particularly when two parties claim ownership of the same heritage. The diversity of cultural backgrounds along with the desire for power assertion over the opposing 'other' create a diverse and subjective perception of truth, which is often witnessed during the management of the built environment. For this reason,

the third thematic section offers a thorough investigation of the topic of authenticity in the context of divided cities, demonstrating its relevance to walled Nicosia.

3.2 Theme 1: The Impact of Power on Heritage During Conflict

3.2.1 Section Introduction

The contextual review presented in the following section aims to, firstly, demonstrate the impact of conflict on power relations and the consequent influence this has on heritage and, secondly, to unveil the relevance of the concept to the heritage and heritage management of divided Nicosia. This is done in order to establish the extent that unstable power relations reflect on divided Nicosia's heritage, while providing a clearer understanding of the reasons behind the city's heritage decline. To achieve this, the following thematic section is broken down into three main parts. Part 3.2.1 addresses the wider theoretical and philosophical considerations of power, part two 3.2.2 discusses the role of power during conflict and, part three 3.2.3 investigates the role of power in divided cities further – including Nicosia – and establishes how during conflict or division, power relations can have a significant impact on tangible and intangible heritage. Authors such as Foucault are examined in this section particularly in the context of the role of power in the functionality of groups or individuals.

A premise of this chapter is that conflict contributes to the development of unstable power relations, which in turn affect the heritage of historic urban quarters like walled Nicosia; leading to a selective or damaging outcome. Recognising and addressing the role of power within the built environment can, consequently, contribute to the safeguarding - rather than the decline - of heritage during conflict. To form a strong argument and demonstrate an understanding of the meanings behind power relations in Nicosia, this section examines selected theoretical and philosophical interpretations on the wider topic; highlighting key considerations relevant to the scope of this thesis and to the conceptual framework outlined after this chapter.

Following the information reviewed in this thesis, it has been observed that, even though there is a significant amount of literature that examines power from different perspectives, research into the impact of power on the heritage of divided cities remains scarce; particularly in the case of Nicosia. More specifically, numerous scholars, from diverse disciplines have examined the role of power from a social, religious, ethnic and political perspective, with some of these considered in this thesis (these include: Marx and Engels 1977, 1998; Said 1978, 1993; Foucault 1975, 1976, 1978, 1980; Spivak 1998; Lederach 1999; Francis 2002; Müller 2004; Bevan 2006; Wucherpfenning 2009; Gouarzi and Ramin 2014; Mancini and Bresnahan 2014). Moreover, even though authors such as O'Maley (2001); Papadakis *et al.* (2006), Pericleous (2009), Laouris *et al.* (2009); Constantinou *et al.*

(2012), acknowledge the unstable power relations between the GC and TC communities in Cyprus, they do not consider the impact this has on Nicosia's heritage. For this reason, and to address this gap in knowledge, the following section examines a selected body of work addressing the influence of conflict on power relations, further exploring the topic of heritage. This is done in order to provide a rationale of the topic's inclusion in the forthcoming conceptual framework, while explaining the meaning and significance of the concept to this thesis.

3.2.2 Theoretical and Philosophical Interpretations Adopted in this Thesis

Power relations: A multidisciplinary overview

> Power must be understood in the first instance as the multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their own organization; […] as the support which these force relations find in one another, thus forming a chain or a system, or on the contrary, the disjunctions and contradictions which isolate them from one another (Foucault 1976: 92).

The theoretical interpretations of Michael Foucault play a prominent role in this thesis, due to the philosopher's vast influence in shaping the understanding of the term power. Firstly, his work departs from the use of power as a coercion instrument and moves towards the idea that "power is everywhere" (Foucault 1976: 93). Secondly, Foucault shifts away from the top to bottom power possession rationale, moving towards a more inclusive, shared and, consequently, functional distribution of power (Foucault 1975, 1976). For this reason, his work differs from previous models of conceiving power[58], as he maintains that for power to be functional, it should be shared and pervasive, rather than being employed by sporadic acts of autonomous force or domination (Foucault 1976: 63). Power is consequently portrayed as a collective possession where it can only operate efficiently when collaboratively driven; it is, therefore, more of a shared strategy than an individual possession.

Relevantly, Edward Said, through his analysis of Eliot's famous essay *Tradition and the Individual Talent,* by trying to accurately comprehend the cultural forms of ethnographic and historical discourse, establishes how much the power and experience of the stronger party overlaps with, and depends on, the weaker (Said 1993: 191). Parallel to Foucault, Said also appears to recognise the existence of a network of relations; that would not have otherwise been established had the weaker party not facilitated the stronger in exploiting its power. This prominence of power in every aspect of society is what has made the concept particularly relevant to this research, as it points

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[58] See: Marx, K. (1998). *The Communist Manifesto*, New York: Verso. Marx on the other hand perceives power as economically determined, following a top down flow and supressing the less powerful groups. As a result, the dominant classes in society are the ones who hold power through ownership of the means of production.

towards the inevitable existence of power relations within the social and, consequently, cultural spectrum.

In the international relations domain, Chang (2004: 4) suggests different ways of addressing power relations, highlighting the need to understand "the relationship between tangible and intangible components of power". In the world politics discourse, a definition of power defines the term as having the "capacity to influence" (Singer and Small 1966: 237), whereas Palmer and Perkins (2005: 31) address the term as an "inseparable feature of the state". For this reason, states form alliances specifically to balance power and to create stability; an argument consistent with realist approaches to international conflict (Waltz 1979). Parallel to the Foucaultian perspective, Waltz (1979) further emphasises the role of a collaborative approach to power; suggesting that power relations are directly linked both with national and international affairs and stability. As can be observed, the role of power within national and international spectrums is widely acknowledged, consisting of diverse interpretations that address the topic as an inseparable aspect of society. For this reason, this thesis maintains that conflict and division disturb this perceived stability of power, which consequently reflects on different aspects of the state, including the social and economic balance and, subsequently heritage protection.

Culture[59] can also influence power relations; within this domain, Littler and Naidoo identify the complexity of constrained power relations, whether due to the presence of multicultural heritage, or due to the selective celebration of "unequal power relations of the past" (Littler and Naidoo 2004: 339). On the other hand, Kim (2004) argues that a multiplicity of culturalisms is essential in order to allow for a plurality of heritages to exist and evolve against antagonisms. Despite the conflicting perspectives, both scholars suggest a link between heritage and power, while indicating the inevitability of antagonistic relations within multicultural settings. It can therefore be argued that, conflict can be perceived as a form of interaction, where depending on the behavioural patterns between the parties involved, destructive or productive power relations may develop. In the case of Nicosia, where conflict and division are ongoing, power relations materialise as prominently destructive to the tangible and intangible heritage of the city[60]; despite the visible efforts of the NMP to address this issue. This observation is reinforced by authors such as Hyland (1999), Bryant (2004), Papadakis (2000, 2005), Balderstone (2007), Bryant and Papadakis (2012).

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[59] According to UNESCO, the term 'culture' can be used in a variety of ways and is, consequently, a controversial one. However, a commonly used definition is:
"[Culture] is that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, laws, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by [a human] as a member of society." (Tylor 1870: 1, cited in UNESCO 2017a).
[60] Examples of this issue are presented in Chapters 4 and 5.

Power and the nation

Considering the above, this thesis maintains that, the association between heritage and national power is intensified during conflict, as the historical and cultural significance of the collective seeks to strengthen its national identity and the community's sense of belonging. This issue has also been supported by authors such as Ruane and Todd (1996); Lederach (1997); Roudometof (2002); Papadakis *et al.* (2006); Bevan (2006); Rose (2007); Pullan (2007); ICCROM (2012). This is one of the reasons why heritage is often employed to act as a bond between historical narrative and cultural identity; and as an empowering component in the legitimisation of a nation's ownership of place (Bevan 2006). As a result, architectural heritage has frequently been attacked, with demolition being deployed to break up concentrations of resistance among the populace. The "Haussmannization" of Paris[61] is one of the most renowned instances of this approach, although this too was in the wake of violent revolutionary upheavals (Bevan 2006: 11).

As per the Foucauldian perspective, power should, therefore, be understood as a collectively apportioned constituent, equally dispersed to all members of society from the bottom up. Foucault's idea of power is further portrayed in *Discipline and Punish* (1975), where power is comprised of five key characteristics: 1) impersonality, meaning that it is not steered by the preference of individual subjects; 2) relationality, implying that power consists of relations between individuals, rather than owned by them; 3) decentredness, suggesting that power should not concentrate on a sole class or individual; 4) multi-directionality, meaning that power possession can come from below, rather than merely follow a top-down approach, even if it is nonetheless "nonegalitarian" and; 5) strategic in nature, possessing its own purposeful dynamic (Foucault 1975: 94). These portrayals of power relations are important, as in all cases they imply a balanced possession of power for the benefit of the community; an idea that contradicts the ongoing power relations visible in the management of walled Nicosia's heritage, with selected areas suffering from insufficient engagement with stakeholders, lack of funding and a top-down approach to heritage prioritisation and protection (CinC 2012: 2; Bakshi 2012: 483). More specifically, in divided cities like Nicosia, where heritage is contested with diverse meanings, power over ownership and belonging of heritage is limited to the community on either site of the divide. This issue is demonstrated during the case study and interview analysis in Chapters 4 and 5.

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[61] The Haussmannization of Paris describes the radical reformation and destruction of medieval neighbourhoods in Paris under the direction of Georges-Eugène Haussmann. This was done between 1853 and 1870, in an attempt to improve the city's structure, by responding to the rapid urbanisation and industrialisation during the middle nineteenth century (Giedion 1980: 740).

Power and conflict

Strategically perceived power has also dominated 20th and 21st century political affairs. More specifically Lederach (1997: 7) and Boehlke (2009: 15), by referring to The Cold War, explain how the leaders involved in the conflicts knew well how to play the rhetoric of a particular superpower to maximise their benefit. The authors maintain that power relations dominated the development of conflicts at the time, resulting in the loss of millions of people (Lederach 1997; Boehlke 2009).

Considering the above, conceiving power as a possession, as something that can be acquired, rather than as a strategy that must be exerted, prompts confrontation rather than solidarity and can thus result in conflict. Power as a possession implements ownership and coercion, whereas the perception of power as a strategic principle instigates its distribution and collective belonging. Imposition of power can, therefore, trigger tension between the parties involved, which in turn contributes to the initiation of conflict. This point also suggests that the bond between power and conflict relations can be very fragile, further highlighting the need for a balanced and efficiently managed distribution of authority.

Power and division

The above, multi-perspectival approach to power emphasises the interactive qualities of the concept within a society and its significance in the functionality of multicultural or contested environments. In line with Foucault's theories, which embrace a bottom-up and collaboratively driven possession of power, this thesis maintains that a stronger link needs to be made between power considerations and the management of divided historic built environments. Moreover,

> Power is diffused in such settings [...]. It is diffused because of the multiplicity of groups, weakened central authority, the shifting of alliances, the autonomous nature of action within alliances and groups by subgroups, and the general dynamic of groups and individuals seeking local influence and control (Lederarch 1999: 14);

an outcome that demonstrates the difficulty in identifying appropriate decision-making mechanisms during conflict and division in order to benefit both heritage and the community.

By considering the above described theories and their applicability to heritage management in divided cities, and in contrast to the Foucauldian perceptions of power, Nicosia's management of heritage follows a top-down approach, with primarily the GC and TC municipalities and relevant governmental institutions determining the fate of the historic urban environment. This issue was initially highlighted by a participatory development report released by ETEK and KTMMOB in 2013 (UNDP 2013). The report exposes the absence of public input in the NMP schemes, confirming the need for a stronger bottom-up approach and shared power over the heritage of the walled city of

Nicosia[62]. It is also worth mentioning that, this also highlights the impact of conflict and division on the unbalanced power relations not only between the GCs and TCs, but also between the city (on either side of the divide) and its stakeholders; a topic discussed later on in this thesis.

It can therefore be argued that, power relations can play a key role in the evolution of divided Nicosia's historic urban core. Indeed, in the context of this investigation, the multi-dimensional manifestations of power are deemed as a key consideration, as they demonstrate the inextricable link between heritage and conflict; as well as between political discord and urban decay. For this reason, this thesis maintains that further emphasis needs to be placed on understanding the state of power relations in Nicosia, especially when addressing communal heritage management decisions.

3.2.3 Heritage and Power in the Context of Conflict: The Example of Jerusalem

In divided societies, it is difficult for achievements to be celebrated by one community, since the same achievements are frequently those which the other wishes to forget; the traumatic events to which one community returns obsessively, may be ignored or regarded as trivial by the other (Ruane and Todd 1996: 200). Conflict therefore affects the capacity of each community to engage in these events freely and on its own terms. As a result, the meanings behind shared heritage – both tangible and intangible – will vary, with protection of the past being dominated by the narrative embraced by each community.

3.2.3.1 Jerusalem

The historic centre of Jerusalem reflects the above issue in various ways as the city's built heritage has suffered for centuries, from the destruction of the Holy Temple as far back as 70AD, through the Diaspora and the Israeli Palestinian Conflict (Bevan 2006: 27). The case of Jerusalem is deemed important, as it demonstrates the role of contending power relations on heritage, as well as in the promotion of national and political identities during conflict. The following section examines the influence conflict and division have had on the built environment of the city, establishing the relevance of the case to walled Nicosia.

The Impact of Nationalism on Jerusalem's Heritage

The heritage management and rehabilitation approach currently applied in Jerusalem appears to be selective and damaging to the heritage of the other nations; particularly Palestine. Larking and Dumper point out that the fifteenth session of the UNESCO General Conference (1968) was highly critical of the Israeli archaeological excavations in the historic part of the city, condemning any

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[62] This issue is discussed further in Chapter 5, where the empirical data obtained from interviews and field work in Nicosia is examined.

attempts to modify its "features or its cultural and historical character, particularly with regard to Christian and Islamic religious sites" (Larkin and Dumper 2010: 17). Mick Dumper (2010: 4) asserts that the city's location "on the interface (and possible final borders) between the two states and is the main point of entrance and egress between them, underscores the impact of the city on state to state relations". The author therefore acknowledges the unique topographical character of the city, with its border contributing to the ongoing turbulent social and political relations.

Peristianis (2006: 10) explains that, ethnic nationalism primarily stresses identification with - and loyalty to - the nation, where nationalist individuals are primarily concerned with the diachronic and ontological continuity of the present with the past and of the particular with the universal. Nevertheless, the destruction or lack of up-keeping of religious sites belonging to other (Christian and Islamic) nations is a prominent concern affecting the management and safeguarding of Jerusalem's cultural heritage. This disregard for the truthful protection of monumentality consequently endangers the heritage of the Old City. Power over heritage in this case is unevenly distributed, despite the multicultural identity of the historic capital.

This point is emphasised further by Bevan (2006), who maintains that the destruction of architecture is often accompanied by the decline in the power or presence of a community or, conversely, can reflect hostility to a group's rise. What is valued by a dominant culture is, therefore, preserved and looked after, whereas the rest can be carelessly or purposefully damaged, or just left to decay. These issues are even more vivid when the legacy of conflict still determines a country's demolition and rebuilding decisions, or where a country is fragmenting as war approaches (ibid.). Bevan, here, highlights the influence conflict has on power relations and the consequent implications this has on the built environment; reinforcing the link between heritage, power and conflict.

Relatedly, power during conflict plays a dominant role in the relationship between communities and individuals and, consequently, intangible heritage. In line with Bevan (2006), Regehr (1993) asserts that, identity conflicts are intensified when a community, resorts to struggle in order to strengthen its collective and political influence. The following images illustrate the tangible representations of national assertion and response to conflict in cities like Jerusalem and Nicosia. As can be observed, the use of flags, is a prominent instrument of national and cultural power and also reflects the intangible meanings behind such acts.

Figure has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.
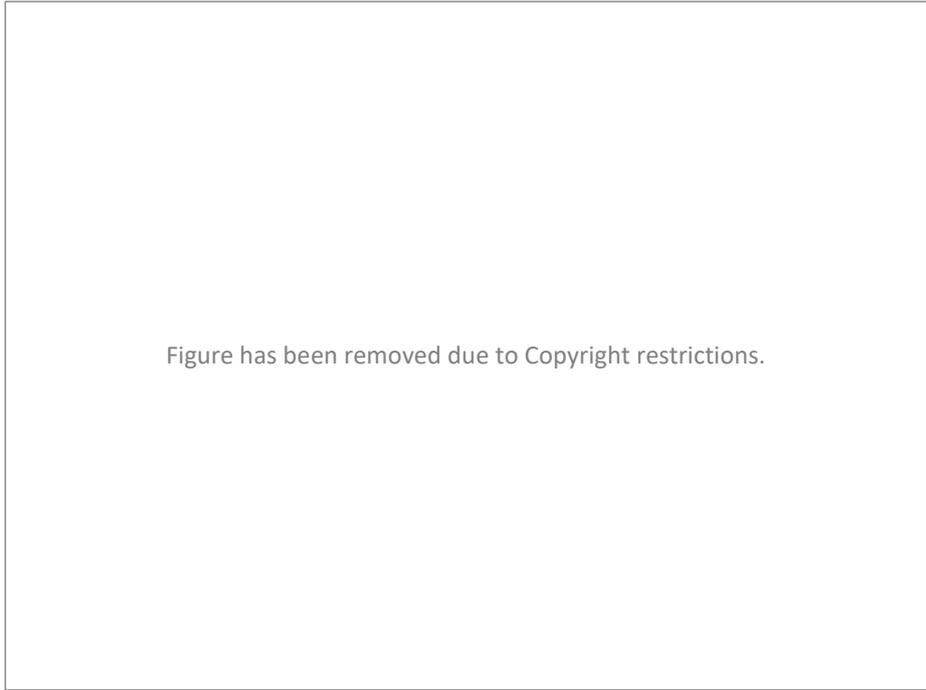
Figure 41: Preasence of national symbols close to the border in Jerusalem (Armangue 2016)

Figure has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.
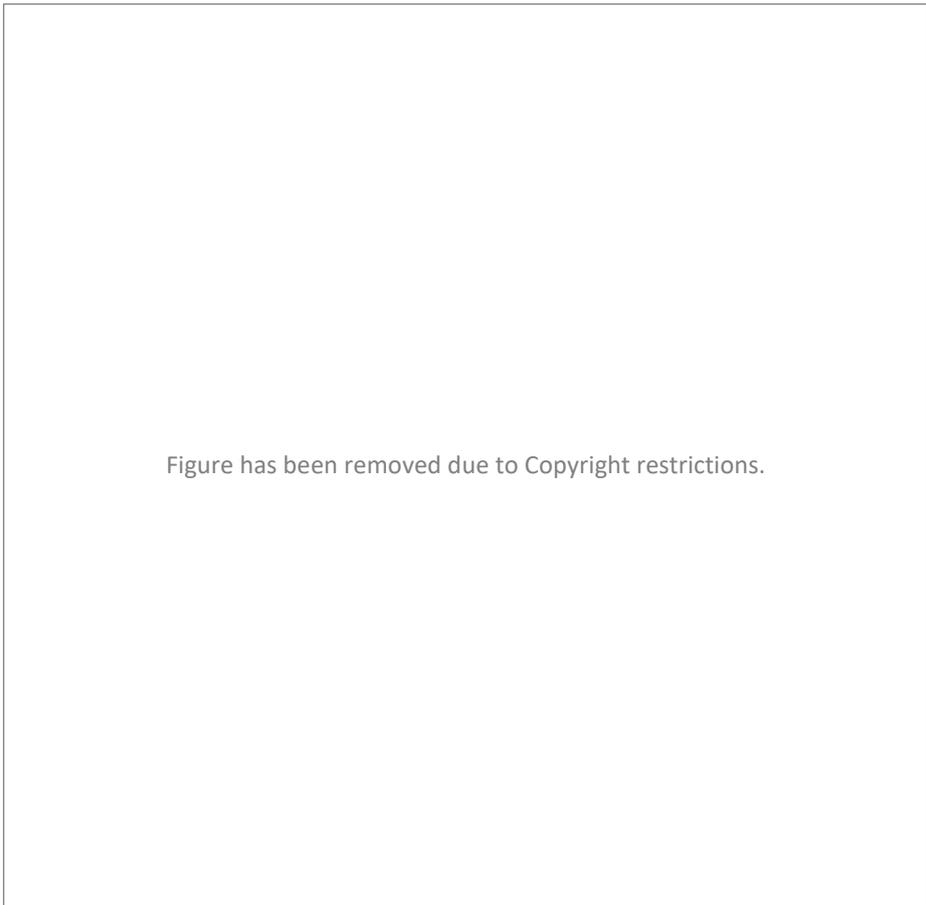
Figure 42: Presence of national symbols close to the Israeli West Bank barrier in Jerusalem (Bartlett 2010)

Figure 43: Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot flags facing each other across the boundary of Walled Nicosia (Author 2016). This image demonstrates a clear juxtaposition between the recently repaired facades concealing the buffer zone (right corner of the image), against the derelict state of the inaccessible area that is visible behind the recently constructed GC military post.

The boundary can often be used as a means of demonstrating against conflict, rather than just a tangible protective frontier. More specifically, the prominence and restrictive nature of tangible boundaries on urban and rural landscapes, accompanied by their intangible meanings and implications justify this consequence. Even though the following images illustrate hostility to division, they further suggest the recognised role of the boundary as a means of inclusion or exclusion and through the restriction of access and communication between communities. In the case of Jerusalem (Figure 41 and Figure 42) and Nicosia (Figure 43) this has been achieved by written messages on the boundaries themselves, or through protesting messages that object their existence.

Figure has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Figure 44: Wall mural by Banksy on the Israeli West Bank separation barrier (Renmar 2012)

Figure has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Figure 45: Illustration of public protest against military imposed boundaries in Israel (Schaber 2014)

Figure 46: Illustration of protest against the existence of boundaries in Walled Nicosia (Author 2014)

This point also reinforces the role of unstable power relations in the creation and persistence of boundaries, while signifying the importance of the concept in cases such as the one of Nicosia, where boundaries are indeed the result of competing political and national powers.

Understanding Division

Understanding the function and role of boundaries amongst different societies is also vital in order to comprehend the meanings ascribed to their conception or existence; particularly in the instance of conflict or division. Newman (2003: 13) explains that contemporary studies of boundaries focus their attention on the bordering process, through which individuals and territories are included, or excluded "within a hierarchical network of groups, affiliations and identities" (Newman 2003: 13). It is this process and the motives behind it that signify the role of boundaries on the evolution of historic built environments. Spatial boundaries can, therefore, perform as supplementary methods for regulating communication between groups or individuals and their surroundings.

In this vein, boundaries can also play a major role in the reflection of unstable power relations particularly in divided cities such as that of Nicosia. More specifically, the existence of a boundary like the UN controlled Buffer Zone implies both the inclusion of a group or community, as well as the exclusion of another, thus preventing the amalgamation of unwanted beliefs or ideologies; a result that promotes selectiveness and heritage decline due to conflict and division.

> A wall implies enclosure, exclusion, division, discontinuity, disturbance […] presence and absence […] acting as a type of border, a wall that in essence separates the 'self' from the 'other' and it is associated with protecting 'we-insiders' from 'those – outsiders' (Atun and Doratli 2009: 110).

The above point therefore illustrates that, boundaries can have a crucial role in the regulation of relationships on either side of the divide. Similarly, in the context of conflict, boundaries can influence the stability of power relations and, consequently impact the heritage of historic built environments like the one of Nicosia. Accordingly, this section reinforces the close association between conflict, heritage and power; highlighting the impact conflict can have on tangible and intangible heritage. This includes the meanings ascribed to division and walled Nicosia's boundary; and the subsequent impact this has had on the memories and perceptions of heritage and place. Moreover, the existence of a physical boundary, like the UN buffer zone in Nicosia or the Israeli West Bank barrier in Jerusalem, emphasises the inorganic interruption caused on historic built environments; reinforcing the need for a stronger understanding of power relations within the discipline of heritage management in divided or contested cities.

3.3 Theme 2: The Impact of Memory on Heritage during Conflict and Division

3.3.1 Section Introduction

Aldo Rossi (1982) presents architecture as an inseparable creation from civilised life and the society from which it is manifested. According to Rossi, "With time, the city grows upon itself; it acquires a consciousness and memory" (ibid.: 21). This characterisation of the city as a living and continuously evolving entity portrays the tight bond between memory, the city, and its inhabitants; or between the urban fabric and the social realm which cultivates it.

Section 3.3 focuses on the topic of memory and considers how it is expressed spatially, materially and through symbolic representation in the city during conflict. This is done in order to establish and define the role of memory and how this is associated with divided Nicosia. More specifically and in relation to the partitioned historical narratives and divided memories that inform Nicosia, "the unique capacity of place to embody memory, which is amplified in importance during conflict" (Bakshi 2011: 2), will be investigated. The role of memory, along with its relationship with the urban fabric has been examined extensively by recent studies. Today the connection between conflict, memory and place, is evolving as a topic of inquiry within a diverse range of disciplines (Pullan and Gwiazda (2009), Bakshi (2008, 2012a, 2012b, 2014) are included within the discipline of architecture; Papadakis (2005), Neyzi (2008), and Bryant (2004) in anthropology; Mills (2010) in geography; Farmer (2000) in history; and Larkin (2010) in the discipline of politics).

The subject of memory is of particular significance to this thesis due to the influence it can have on public and individual perceptions, as well as on personal and collective identities. In the theories and examples discussed in the forthcoming section, the role of memory during conflict is analysed, with the aim of establishing its potential impact on the heritage of historic built environments such as that of walled Nicosia. Moreover, and as mentioned in Chapter 2, even though Bakshi's (2012) thesis is very useful in addressing the role of memory in the re-creation of Nicosia's buffer zone, consideration of the role of memory, parallel to the topics of power and authenticity has never been examined in this specific context. As a result, the following thematic section aims to examine the role and influence of memory in the context of conflict; highlighting gaps in existing knowledge, while showing the reasons the selected topic plays such a vital role in the conceptual framework employed in this thesis.

3.3.2 Collective Memory and Conflict

> On the one hand, we find an integrated, dictatorial memory - unself-conscious, commanding, all-powerful, spontaneously actualizing, a memory without a past that ceaselessly reinvents tradition, linking the history of its ancestors to the undifferentiated time of heroes, origins, and myth - and on the other hand, our memory, nothing more in fact than sifted and sorted historical traces (Nora 1989: 8).

The subject of memory has progressed into a major preoccupation – in Europe and beyond – in the twentieth and into the twenty-first centuries. So much so that memories have often been involved in the justification for conflict and calls for apologies for past injustices (Macdonald 2013). Along with the widespread public worrying over 'cultural amnesia' due to inter-generational memory transition, a corresponding development of work focusing on public (and private) memory has also emerged (such as: Halbwachs 1992; Roudometof 2002; Kubal 2005; Crinson 2005; Moore and Whelan 2007; Litvak 2009; Boyer *et al.* 2009; Jacobs 2010; Edy 2011).

One of the most prominent figures who has contributed significantly to the concept of tangible and intangible memory is Pierre Nora. Nora (1989) is one of the first historians to make an explicit distinction between *milieu de mémoire* (real sites of memory) and *lieu de mémoire* (museum-like places which remind of the past, whether of tangible or intangible significance)[63]. What Nora's theories point out is the increased emergence of *lieu de mémoire* as a means of continuing to support communal memory, following the gradual disappearance of *milieu de mémoire* within contemporary society. This argument is important to the scope of this chapter for three reasons. Firstly, it highlights the vital role of memory, both tangible and intangible, in the protection of collective identity; secondly, it shows how alternative methods of re-constructed memory are utilised for the benefit of the community; thirdly, Nora establishes a link between memory (either real or reconstructed) and place and, consequently, reinforces the significance of memory within the different layers that make up the built environment.

Europe as a 'memory-land'

Europe has gradually evolved into a 'memory-land', obsessed with the loss of collective memory and its consequent preservation. As a result, Europe's cityscapes have swarmed with the embodied archives of collective memory, such as heritage sites, memorials and museums designed to recall histories that might otherwise be lost (Macdonald 2013). One notable dimension of this turn towards memory protection is the creation of public references to the past, or, multiple pasts. As a result, places are publicly flooded with references to historical narratives, and their content legitimated through memorials and other institutions (Macdonald 2013: 4). Memorials, or heritage

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[63] Symbols and flags are also considered to be part of lieu de memoire, as they are deemed as "a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community" (Nora: xvii).

sites, subsequently develop as the archives of tangible memory recording, in an attempt to salvage and transmit the legacy and, therefore, identity the communities involved. This demonstrates how heritage loss - or fear of it - materialises as a key motive for the protection of memory. Moreover, this view enhances the association between memory, heritage, and identity; signifying the safeguarding of historic built environments as a medium for the transmission and remembrance of the past.

The tangible and intangible significance of memory during conflict

The *Quebec Declaration on the Preservation of the Spirit of Place* (ICOMOS 2008b) considers memory as part of the intangible heritage of place, as well as an element that "significantly contributes to making place and to giving it spirit" (ICOMOS 2008b). Moreover, as pointed out earlier in this section, the close association between memory and heritage in the context of conflict has also occupied recent scholarship (Bryant 2004; Bevan 2006; Calame and Charlesworth 2009b; Bakshi 2008, 2012; Larkin 2010; Dumper 2010). Authors such as Bevan (2006) argue that one of the main reasons behind the eradication of the built environment during conflict is the connection between memory, heritage and identity; with imposed or forced forgetting emerging as the ultimate objective. The author uses the example of the 1938 destruction of German synagogues in Kristallnacht and argues that this act had a similar purpose of rejecting and attacking the collective past and future of the Jewish population (ibid.: 8). Accordingly, attacks on architectural heritage during war, or conflict, further exemplify the significance of heritage in the preservation of collective memory and identity. The recognition of how the tangible manifestations of memory contribute to the safeguarding of a shared past, consequently highlights the vulnerability of heritage during conflict or division.

3.3.3 Selective Memory Protection

As demonstrated in the above sections, memory can play a major role in the perception of both tangible and intangible inheritance, especially following the events of conflict and division. This is more pertinent when the events are still recent and "management decisions must be made whilst the survivors and relatives of the victims are still coming to terms with the event" (Wright and Lennon 2007: 520).

Choosing what to protect

The historian Pierre Nora (1989) poses the question of how national memory, and consequently national identity, is shaped and preserved in nation states with populations that are increasingly multi-ethnic, multicultural and peripatetically cosmopolitan. Nora's theories suggest the need for memory, and consequently heritage protection, when the cultural and political needs of society are

potentially challenged. Memory, through heritage, consequently materialises as the means for preserving the history and identity of a place or nation; with the desire for commemoration intensified in the prospect of loss. In contested environments, sites of memory, act as the primary agents for the transmission of national identity. For that reason, particularly during conflict, the vulnerability of such sites becomes even more evident; "it presumes that certain memories belong to certain people and thus serves to reinforce a group identity" (Landsberg 2004: 26).

In divided contexts, the impact of memory has an even greater significance on the evolution of the built environment, as the conflicting narratives of war overlap with the desire for cultural legitimisation and sense of collective identity. For example, cities such as Beirut or Dresden have chosen to abandon the negative memories of conflict in their urban regeneration approaches in an attempt to return to and evolve into a more pleasant outcome; thus, returning to a state of regulated oblivion (Charlesworth 2006, 2009; Bevan, 2006, 2015; Gaffikin and Morrissey 2011).

> Oblivion is unpardonable. It means wilful neglect or outright erasure of unwanted memories. An oblivious man is not just absent-minded, he is delinquent; those forgotten by him suffer for it (Lowenthall 1993: 173).

This point suggests that the role of memory is significantly heightened in the event of conflict or division; illustrating the vital influence of the topic on the perception and, consequently, management of heritage. In such cases, memory is employed not only as a method of preserving the past, but also as a way of adapting to the needs of a wider demographic. On the other hand, cities such as Berlin (Elkins 1988; MacDonald 2013), and to a smaller extent Warsaw (Erten, Pendlebury and Larkham 2015), have chosen to preserve the painful recollections of World War II; pursuing a more inclusive representation of the conflict that marked their urban landscape. In both approaches, the impact of memory (either accepted or rejected) has held a prominent role in the way urban regeneration was perceived and, therefore, expresses the influence that conflict and division have had on the tangible and intangible heritage of each city. The ongoing use of memory as a way of holding onto the past subsequently develops as critical in the representation and commemoration of national narratives.

The consequence of selectively protecting heritage is also pointed out by Papadakis (2008), who argues that, communities can collectively choose to ignore parts of their past, or exaggerate other elements. Equally, individuals or collectives may not accept the nationalist narratives and pursue to confront them. Relevantly, Alison Landsberg (2004), in her book *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture*, by focusing on the influence and over exposure of mass media and cinema, explores issues around the topic of memory and its impact on subjective thinking. The author initially refers to the pre-given experiential realm of the

person, and the influence it plays upon its entire perception, concluding that subjectivity is, or could be influenced by memories, both experienced or 'prosthetic' (unlived memories).

> Just as people rely on their memories to validate their experiences, they draw on memories to structure their subjectivity (Landsberg 2004: 25).

As discussed in Chapter 2, this is a vivid phenomenon experienced in Cyprus, where conflict remembrance has become part of school curriculums on both sides of the divide; with younger generations remembering and commemorating the GC-TC war in accordance to the narrative embraced by each community. Relatedly, the role of heritage in the transmission, or preservation of collective memory bears similarities with the above theories; which suggest that the approach and representation of heritage plays a major role in the way generations witness and perceive the past.

Memories of conflict in Cyprus

Many sites in Cyprus, including Nicosia, bare the marks of conflict-related memories[64]. In addition, the dichotomised physical and social condition of the city complicates the protection of its heritage. This issue results to additional management dilemmas linked to visitor and local perception and interpretation of heritage, which materialise as some of the main concerns dominating the treatment of Nicosia's historic core (Balderstone 2007). In fact, Bakshi (2012), considers walled Nicosia as a "shell of memory crammed with subjective constructions whereby the graphic image of the walled city is used as a symbol." The author maintains that, as a result of conflict, the divided historic core has evolved into a site that "negotiates between remembering and forgetting, past and present, inside and outside" marked by multiple images and symbols of conflict which consequently influence its spatial characteristics (Bakshi 2012: 2). Bakshi's observations are important, as they highlight the fact that walled Nicosia has evolved into a microcosm of contested memories, which in turn are employed to remember or forget conflict; further outlining its impact on the heritage of walled Nicosia.

The physical results of division consequently correspond to a symbolic meaning behind its creation (and destruction). In many cases, (e.g. Cyprus, Berlin, Belfast, Beirut, Jerusalem etc.), selective memories, opposing ideologies, nationalist ideas and religious beliefs have resulted in the tangible partition of territories (Gaffikin and Morrissey 2011; Bevan 2006, 2015; Calame *et al.* 2009b). For this reason, this thesis maintains that cities like Nicosia will eventually face serious questions concerning the way its history will be embodied on their urban fabric. These questions include the methods of conserving, removing, or synthesizing the divergent spatial representations of historical

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[64] This issue is further discussed in Chapter 4, during the examination of the walled city of Nicosia and the NMP.

narratives as presented by the GC and TC communities. Inevitably, and in line with Bevan (2006) competition between two cultures, ethnicities, ideologies or even races settling side by side, but not mixing, creates a heightened architectural consciousness regarding their past and future. This is one of the reasons why this thesis addresses the role of memory in divided Nicosia, aiming to provide a clearer understanding of the reasons that influence the walled city's heritage, while contributing to its ongoing heritage management approach.

Memory, conflict and the attack on Cypriot religious heritage

In line with the above, one of the main focuses of this thesis is to understand the impact of memory on the tangible and intangible heritage of divided Nicosia, while addressing the existing gap in literature on the topic. More specifically, authors such as Bryant (2004), Papadakis (2005) and Bakshi (2012a, 2012b) provide useful insight into the ways memory can influence social and national identity, but do not make contributions that address contemporary heritage management concerns; particularly while considering current bi-communal NMP initiatives. This topic will be addressed in the following chapters.

In Cyprus, the close relationship between politics, memory and religion has resulted in the destruction of heritage; with the annihilation of sacral buildings arguably becoming a key proxy through which post-partition intercommunal friction is articulated. An example that illustrates this was the destruction of GC religious structures in Northern Cyprus by the TCs after the 1974 war. This mainly concerned 20th century Greek Orthodox churches, where the close connection of the Greek Orthodox Church with nationalistic ideas - embracing and endorsing a strong Hellenistic spirit amongst the Cypriot population through the notion of a continuous deep rooted, ancient 'Greek Spirit'- has provoked the destruction of Christian Orthodox heritage (Bryant 2004). Even though this is an extreme example of heritage destruction in Cyprus, the close association between GC nationalism and the Church has triggered the reaction of the TC population in endorsing the elimination of the 'Greek Spirit' of Cyprus through the eradication of its tangible memories; the Greek Orthodox churches.

> This is where we find the significance and strength of the church, in fact it appears that there we may find some effective resolution of the oft-noted peculiarity of the Orthodox Church's involvement in a nationalism that appealed to the pre-Christian past (Bryant 2004: 198).

In contradiction, this concept also materialises as one of the main reasons why the GCs did not feel the need to eradicate any Muslim places of worship; in that Turkish nationalism and religion were not as closely attached to – or imposed on – the memories of the GC population during the peak of the conflict.

Balderstone maintains that the key challenge for heritage professionals on both sides of the Cypriot divide is to recognise not only the history/historical belonging of an individual site or area, but also the social and spiritual values attached to it by the different communities that have resided on the island over the centuries (Balderstone 2007: 7). Furthermore, Bryant (2004) asserts that the homogenisation of Cyprus' history into the history of two competing and conflicting sides, not only suppresses the possibility of other histories (and others' histories) in the public discourse, but has led to binary scholarship on the recent history of the island. In fact, several scholars have studied the development of these binary categories, often – unintentionally - reinforcing them (Demetriou 2004).

Bryant's and Balderstone's points are important, as they highlight that heritage protection in Cyprus and consequently Nicosia, can be selective not only amongst the GC and TC communities, but also by other members of the population; thus, reinforcing the need for an inclusive framework that can benefit Nicosia in the long term. As can be observed, conflict and memory influence the development and politics of Nicosia's urban environment. As a result, the subjective perception of place affects its character, which can in turn influence the way heritage is regarded, remembered, or forgotten.

Memory in divided Nicosia and the creation of parallel Museums of National Struggle

Developing the concepts established above, in Cyprus, and particularly divided Nicosia, 'intentional inconsistencies' in the remembrance and representation of conflict dominate the GC and TC relationship. A vivid example of this is the two 'Museums of National Struggle'[65]; with one situated in the North and one in the South. Both museums focus on the GC and the TC conflict, interpreting the events through their selective narratives. According to the sociologist Yiannis Papadakis, the two museums are so different and yet so similar, as they passionately disagree by speaking the same language and in the same tone of voice (Papadakis 2005: 176). Subsequently, even though both GC and TC communities share a common past, their lack of interaction following the partition of the island has allowed them to evolve separately, thus creating their own individual memories, detached from the other side of the divide.

The TC museum is "a modern concrete building specifically constructed for this purpose" and is situated next to a Turkish army camp, whereas the GC museum is located in an adapted building

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[65] The Museum of National Struggle in South Nicosia was established on January 1961 and goes back to "the liberation of the Greek Cypriots against the British" (Stylianou-Lambert and Bounia 2016: 188). The equivalent museum in the North opened in 1978 with the purpose of "immortalizing, displaying and teaching the generations ahead the conditions under which the Turkish Cypriot people struggled for their cause from 1955 till the present" (ibid).

from the British period and next to the Archbishopric (the GC ecclesiastical centre) (Papadakis 1994: 404). Considering their location, the religious secularism of the museum in the North contrasts the religious symbolism of its South equivalent and further demonstrates the different approaches to nationalism and the link of each community with its 'motherland'[66]. Furthermore, the historical narrative presented on either case highlights the longstanding power-struggle between the GC and TC governments, while reinforcing the instability of power relations throughout the years. This point demonstrates how the effects of the Cypriot conflict have resulted in the development of separate narratives that can be witnessed both through the creation of nationalist museums (acting as *lieu de memoire*, or place which reminds of the past), but also through the treatment of walled Nicosia's historic urban fabric (primarily a *milieu de memoire*, or real site of memory) on either side of the divide[67]. The role and representation of memory consequently materialises as a prominent concern in the GC-TC relationship, as well as in their approach to the ongoing conflict.

Moreover, and in addition to Papadakis' argument, what the two museums demonstrate is the existence of two, separate authenticities affected by the ongoing division of the island, as well as the political connotations accompanying the GC and TC relationship. In this case, subjective authenticity reflects on the representation of history and in the subsequent attitude of each community against the 'other'. As a result, the two museums reinforce the existence of 'otherness' between the two communities, raising concerns on the impact this has on the management and perception of walled Nicosia's (and Cyprus') heritage.

In addition to the Museums of National Struggle, the two major ethnic groups overlook and recall the past differently, utilising memory as a way of justifying their political beliefs; one side legitimises division through the use of the past, whereas the other legitimises re-unification through the same approach (Papadakis 2005). Along with memory and history, the experience of suffering in Cyprus has also become sharply divided to the point where terms such as "the dead," "the missing," or "the refugees" refer only to those of the speaker's side (Papadakis *et al.* 2006: 12). Conflict in this case shapes a structure of ethnic remembrance, while historical narratives and memory are directed towards the strengthening of national – collective – identity across the divide; an argument that echoes the concerns raised in the previous chapter regarding the selective representation of the Cypriot conflict in school history books[68].

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[66] Greece is perceived as the motherland of the GCs, whereas Turkey is considered to be the motherland of the TCs, especially after its 1974 intervention, or 'Peace Operation' against the Greeks (Stylianou-Lambert and Bounia 2016: 186; Papadakis 1994: 403).

[67] This argument is further developed in Chapter 4, Section 4.3.3, through the examination of the boundary on either side of the divide and the implicit, intangible meanings associated with its material treatment.

[68] See Chapter 2, section 2.5.3. *Acknowledging the heritage of the 'other'*.

As is evident, in the case of Cyprus, representation of cultural and ethnic identity also appears to be memory-driven and selective, particularly when considering the above examples. For this reason, the common past previously shared by the GC and TC communities seems to be "discarded in the bin of social amnesia" and, even though memory is revered through the creation of national museums on both sides, their role transpires to be as much about forgetting as it is about remembering the painful fragments of the past (Papadakis 2005: 178).

These conflicting narratives and commemorations of the past exemplify the significance of memory in the management of both tangible and intangible heritage in divided Nicosia. What this thesis finds most challenging is the paradox of the ongoing bi-communal attempts by the GC and TC communities to protect their common heritage and identity, while the commemoration of the conflict which resulted in the division of Cyprus also remains a significant part of their historical and political agenda. For this reason, this research has deemed vital the examination of the role of memory on the heritage of the walled city, as the topic contributes significantly to the way heritage and the past are portrayed after its division. Moreover, this research aims to explore and provide a better understanding of the way memory is currently employed in Cyprus, highlighting the ways that, on the one hand the two municipalities of Nicosia make ongoing efforts to protect the heritage of the walled city and; on the other hand, the GC and TC governments continue to reinforce their individual agendas.

3.4 Theme 3: Authenticity in the Context of Conflict

> Historical buildings and archaeological sites can be used to establish the history of a nation in people's minds (Feilden 2003).

3.4.1 Section Introduction

The last thematic section of this chapter focuses on the topic of heritage authenticity in the context of conflict and division. The topic of authenticity has occupied academic discussion throughout recent history, with scholars associating the topic with concepts such as truth, continuity and change (Jokilehto 2006). Moreover, the association between culture and the notion of truth has been emphasised in various instances by different communities around the world (ibid.). In the event of conflict, or division, truth acquires a more intricate significance for the communities involved, as the vulnerability of cultural heritage enhances the need to establish or protect a common identity. This section examines some of the key theories associated with the topic of authenticity, refining their relevance and applying these to the scope of this thesis; therefore offering a more thorough understanding of the role of authenticity in the management (and perception) of Nicosia's tangible and intangible heritage.

The first two parts of Section 3.4 examine the topic of authenticity within the domains of heritage conservation and modern philosophy, setting the ground for the last part of this section, where the relevance of the concept of authenticity in the context of conflict – and Nicosia – is addressed. The examples selected illustrate the diverse approaches to heritage authenticity following intentional, war-inflicted damage. Moreover, the impact of conflict on the way tangible and intangible authenticity is perceived, and consequently represented, will be demonstrated. In addition, Section 3.4 looks at the contested meanings behind the term authenticity, by firstly taking into consideration existing theories and frameworks such as UNESCO's 1972 World Heritage Convention and the Venice (1964) and Nara (1994) Charters, due to their contribution to the clarification of policies currently dealing with concepts such as the one of universal value, distinguishing cultural diversity as an essence of the heritage of humanity (UNESCO 1972; Jokilehto 1999, 2006). As a result, the purpose of this section is to, firstly, offer an interdisciplinary examination of the topic of authenticity, highlighting its significance in the management of heritage and, secondly, to outline the existing gap in knowledge regarding the role of this concept in divided cities like Nicosia.

Building on the above, the work of authors such as Sandowsky (2006) and Charlesworth (2006) will be examined due to their neutral stance and extensive contribution to the topics of post-conflict heritage management and reconstruction. Jokilehto's (1999, 2006) as well as Heidegger's ([1927] 1993) theoretical and philosophical approaches also play a major role in the exploration and refinement of the tangible and intangible perceptions of authenticity and truth. Through the

examination of relevant theories and examples, the aim of this section is to address the restricted amount of information available on the topic of heritage authenticity in divided cities, while providing a stronger understanding of the impact and significance of the concept on heritage during conflict and division.

3.4.2 Authenticity in modern philosophy

The following section examines the topic of authenticity within modern philosophy and aims to provide a review of the most prominent and relevant interpretations of the term to this thesis. This includes considerations of tangible and intangible authenticity, as well as the association of the topic with the concept of truth.

With reference to the notion of authenticity in modern philosophy, Martin Heidegger refers to two essential constituents forming an artistic work, i.e. "the earth (matter) and the world of significances (idea)" (Heidegger [1927] 1993: 143). The philosopher provides the example of a Greek temple stating that: "By means of the temple, the god is present in the temple. This presence of the god is in itself the extension and delimitation of the precinct as a holy precinct." (Heidegger [1927] 1993: 167). Heidegger maintains that it is the god's spiritual or intangible dimension, which provides the real meaning ascribed to that place and not the corporal existence of religious imagery, or the temple itself (Jokilehto 2006: 5). Heidegger's point is significant, as the philosopher draws attention to the power of the spiritual or intangible dimension, in the creation of meaning, while acknowledging the influence it can have on the physical presence, i.e. the object. Heidegger, nevertheless, differentiates between matter and idea, tangible and intangible, thus exemplifying the crucial role each attribute bears in itself and, consequently, in the understanding and interpretation of authenticity.

Intangible truth

The significance of intangible truth, or authenticity, can be linked back to the ancient Greek philosophers, Plato and Aristotle. Conway (1996) maintains that both philosophers hold fundamentally diverse notions of reality, with their distinct assumptions regarding knowledge, truth, and goodness influencing their beliefs about art. Plato argued that art emulates a world that is already remotely disconnected from truth, or authentic reality, with the Idea - or the Form - of an object being more real and consequently more significant than its tangible embodiment (Plato 380BC [1989]: 22). Plato's differentiation between the Idea and the actual appearance of an object illustrates the vital role the two concepts play on each other. In contradiction to this, Aristotle approaches reality from a completely different perspective. To Aristotle the world consists of a perpetually disparate series of parts being constantly exposed to individual observation and

examination. As a result, truth lies in the visible universe and in the existence of the object, rather than just its essence or its idea, urging individuals to embrace the specific in order to understand and obtain an appreciation of the universal (Aristotle 335BC (1989)). Even though the two philosophers embrace contradicting perspectives of the notions of authenticity, two significant points can be extracted from their theories. Firstly, the link between authenticity and truth and, secondly, the acknowledgement that authenticity possesses both a tangible and intangible dimension which depend on the individuals' perception.

Meanings of authenticity

In line with the above ideas and in the context of heritage authenticity during conflict or division, the role and perception of authenticity between communities can consequently vary between the tangible and intangible, individual and collective. Ashworth and Turnbridge (2010) further reinforce this theory by maintaining that authenticity in historic urban environments is also made of different parts, or classifications, with each encompassing its own significance. As can be observed, authenticity can be wide-ranging and fluctuate between different contexts and disciplines.

Table 4: Types of authenticity (Ashworth and Turnbridge 2000: 11, adapted by author)

MEANINGS OF AUTHENTICITY

The authenticity of...

Creator	Material	Funtion	Concept	History	Ensemble	Context
'The hand of the master'	'The original material'	'The original purpose'	'The idea of the creator'	'The history of the artefact'	'The integrity of the whole	'The integrity of the location'

Considering the above, authenticity is affected by a variety of components or meanings, which can influence the inherent qualities of an object. In divided cities, the topic of heritage authenticity falls into a more complex category as, even though truthful, it can also be selective in its representation. This is one of the main reasons why this research examines the impact of authenticity on the heritage of divided cities, as the contested meanings behind the term after conflict and division arguably influence the evolution of Nicosia's historic urban environment.

3.4.3 Authenticity within the Discipline of Heritage Conservation

The following section offers a review of the topic of authenticity within the discipline of heritage conservation and aims to provide a clearer understanding of the key definitions and considerations associated with the term, while highlighting its relevance to the scope of this thesis and case study of walled Nicosia.

The evolution of authenticity

The perception of authenticity, along with the approaches to the treatment of historic architecture have evolved over the last centuries; starting from the Italian Renaissance and progressing to the period after World War II. These include the traditional approach (also referred to as 'romantic restoration') principally established in the Italian Renaissance and evolved in the nineteenth century (Schinkel, Scott, Mérimée, Viollet-le-Duc) and the 'conservation movement' which reinforced the significance of a monument's material authenticity and documentary value (Ruskin, Morris, Boito) (Jokilehto 1999).

Key ICOMOS Charters

The Venice Charter (1964) played an important role in strengthening the concept of authenticity within heritage practice. With reference to historic monuments the preamble states that, "It is our duty to hand them on in the full richness of their authenticity" (ICOMOS 1964). The characteristics of authenticity have also been expanded to embrace intangible heritage qualities such as use, function, traditions, language, spirit, and feeling (Jerome 2008: 3). More specifically, the 1994 *Nara Document on Authenticity* (ICOMOS 1994) adopts a dynamic understanding of authenticity based on numerous aspects such as "form and design, materials and substance, use and function, traditions and techniques, location and setting, spirit and feeling, and other internal and external factors" (see article 13), which were later included in UNESCO's Operational Guidelines (UNESCO 2003). The Nara document illustrates a shift towards cultural awareness and consideration, while still making reference to the principles of the 1964 Venice Charter. More importantly, the Document recognises that authenticity in conservation practice plays a vital role in protecting the heritage of all humanity (ICOMOS 1964: 46).

The gradual evolution of the term authenticity is manifested through different practices within the fields of architecture and conservation. As David Lowenthal highlights in one of the Nara conference papers, "Authenticity is in practice never absolute, always relative," (Lowenthal 1994: 123), thus signifying a theoretically unrestricted and diverse nature of what can be perceived as authentic. The conceptualisation of authenticity has also occupied academic discussion, with definitions of the word inclining towards terms such as actual, genuine, truthful, accurate (Waitt 2000: 835). Moreover, the fact that the anthropological[69] view of cultural heritage has gradually superseded that of the monumental (Jerome 2008: 4), has allowed for the understanding of cultural heritage to substantially broaden; incorporating a wide range of tangible and intangible expressions of

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[69] The anthropological view in this case implies the consideration of culture(s), including human history, while drawing and building upon knowledge from the social sciences and humanities to respond appropriately to the management of heritage.

authenticity. Therefore, authenticity should be regarded as a transient concept, with both individual and collective interpretations of the term altering over time (Cohen 1988: 383). Nevertheless, and by taking into consideration the guidelines and literature examined on the topic, the subject of authenticity and the heritage of divided Nicosia after conflict remains largely unexplored. Moreover, even though authors such as Leonard (2007) and Papadakis (2005) suggest the existence of biased authenticities in Cyprus, no existing theoretical or conceptual framework challenges heritage authenticity in divided Nicosia. More specifically, Leonard (2007) highlights that conflict in Nicosia has resulted in the two communities promoting competing versions of history, based on their different perceptions of division. This emphasises the different authenticities embraced by the GC and TC communities and the need for a stronger consideration of the topic within the context of conflict and division.

Authenticity in divided societies

In divided societies, authenticity falls into a more complex category, particularly when both sides claim ownership over the same heritage. In the case of Nicosia, authenticity of the object is inevitably influenced by the subjective understanding of each community, along with the accompanying cultural influences. Primary research conducted in Nicosia in 2014 (further discussed in Chapter 5) exhibits local people's differing perceptions of heritage authenticity, with the majority maintaining that the areas least altered by war are the most authentic. Moreover, the fact that the 1974 conflict and the consequent division of the island are not regarded as part of the authentic past of the city, illustrates how the public's perception in Nicosia can be selective, by embracing heritage which has no association with unpleasant memories.

In keeping with the above findings, Ashworth and Tunbridge (1994) maintain that heritage authenticity emerges as the outcome of a selective procedure set amongst contesting ideas. In contradiction, Lowenthal (1998: 128) perceives heritage authenticity to be based more on faith than fact "endowing a select group with prestige and common purpose". Relevantly, Wiles (2007: 293) suggests that, the consequence of this development encompasses a heritage product only relevant to a specific audience, which consequently becomes detached from its real tangible artefacts. The above theories present heritage authenticity as a culturally driven and selective process, aiming to satisfy a particular purpose and population. Arguably, this issue becomes further amplified in the event of conflict and division, as the communities that claim ownership over shared heritage seek to unveil their individual authenticities in order to preserve their cultural beliefs. As mentioned earlier, this is visible in cases such as Nicosia, where cultural competitiveness, along with desire to overlook the negative memories of conflict result in a selective promotion of cultural and architectural heritage. This includes the complete disregard of division during the heritage tours in

the North (Leonard 2007: 60); or the consideration of buildings such as Selimye Mosque (previously Saint Sophia Cathedral) in walled Nicosia, as in-authentic due to their change in religious orientation (i.e. from Christian to Muslim places of worship) (ibid: 61). For this reason, and due to the impact it can have on the final heritage product within contested urban environments, authenticity in the context of heritage management in divided Nicosia is deemed a vital topic of concern.

3.4.5 International Approaches to Address Heritage Authenticity Following Conflict

The prioritisation of heritage protection, depicts the great influence conflict can exert at the individual level, with divided perceptions influencing the authenticity of historically significant areas or structures. According to Doratli (2004: 337), a lack of understanding and consciousness at the community level results in the relevance of "historic areas and conservation" neither being valued nor comprehended by large numbers of the population. With reference to Nicosia, the author criticises top-down order dictated by the authorities for the protection of cultural heritage, as it restricts the understanding and the population's participation in recognising the relevance of authentic heritage protection (ibid.).[70] The fact that more attention is paid to specific structures to depict the authentic representation of Nicosia's heritage, while neglecting others due to their location or characteristics consequently poses a variety of issues regarding the protection of the city's historic fabric. As a result, conflict in Nicosia plays a significant role in the approach to heritage authenticity, as the vulnerability of national identity exposes the need to promote and preserve selected structures of ethnic, religious and cultural significance; an issue also supported earlier in this section by Leonard (2008). Considering the above, this thesis maintains that the diverse character of divided cities like Nicosia can influence the perception and consequently, management of heritage. Moreover, the transient nature of authenticity during conflict or division further highlights the importance of the concept in the heritage management of Nicosia, while outlining its relevance to the conceptual framework discussed later in this thesis.

3.4.5.1 The example of the Neues Museum's post-conflict approach to heritage authenticity

The restoration of the Neues Museum in Berlin by David Chipperfield (David Chipperfield Architects 2015) is a relevant example to this chapter as it demonstrates how the damage caused by conflict (i.e. World War II, and lack of preservation during the Cold War) have been preserved within the restored fabric of the contemporary monument, thus maintaining both material and historical authenticity. Moreover, the example of the Neues Museum shows how the restoration of the

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[70] However, the interview findings demonstrate that besides the 'official' heritage protection of the heritage of walled Nicosia, there are also 'non-official approaches' and organisations that work towards the same cause. Amongst these include the UG and the H4C. This topic is further discussed in Chapter 5, through the analysis of the interview findings.

building has achieved an inclusive approach, establishing an accurate historical representation of the structure throughout the different stages of its existence; from its construction in the 19ᵗʰ century, to its destruction during World War II, and its consequent decay and restoration in the years to follow. As a result, the following examination demonstrates both the impact of conflict on heritage, as well as the approach that followed in order to conserve the authentic historical continuity of such a culturally significant building.

Figure 47: Details from the restored Neues Museum (Author 2011)

Unintentional monument of war

In his paper, *The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and its Origin*, Alois Riegl (1903) refers to several types of monuments and their classifications. In doing so, the historian suggests that monuments are either intentional (commemorative) or unintentional in nature and provides an improved understanding as to how and at which point buildings could start being perceived as part of national heritage (Riegl 1903: 22).[71] Riegl's (Ibid.) theories outline that all types of monuments

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[71] Extract from own paper (2012).

strive to portray a particular person or event; or they seek to achieve a link with the past, present and future of their existence and historical significance. In this vein, and even though not initially intended as a war monument, the Neues Museum manages to portray the different layers of Berlin's history through its tangible fabric. For this reason, the restoration of the Neues Museum is considered a significant example to this chapter, as it exemplifies the general approach of Berlin's post-conflict heritage management, with the disparate fragments of the building coming together to establish its continuous historical representation. This includes the unpleasant memories of World War II, as well as the remnants of the original museum prior to its destruction.

Figure 48: Details from the restored Neues Museum (Author 2011)

This continuity of the historical layers of the building is a concept comparable to the principles of the 1964 Venice Charter where, based on Articles 11 and 12, "the valid contributions of all periods to the building of a monument must be respected […] but at the same time must be distinguishable from the original so that restoration does not falsify the artistic or historic evidence" (ICOMOS 1964). As can be seen in the case of the Neues Museum and following the principles of the Venice Charter, authenticity was perceived as a form of un-concealment of all memories associated with the building; including the unpleasant memories of conflict. Another relevant point taken from this example is the consideration of authenticity as a method to avoid falsification of historic evidence. This point is very important when considering divided Nicosia, as the perception of authenticity and conflict suggests different meanings by the communities involved (Leonard 2008); a consequence that reflects on the tangible and intangible heritage of the city and an issue this thesis explores further in Chapters 4 and 5.

3.5 Conceptual Framework: Development and Justification of Selected Concepts

Conceptual Framework: Development and Justification

The conceptual framework presented in the following section has been created through a process of theorisation following the review of existing multidisciplinary literature and research examined in Chapters 2 and 3. This was done in order to link the emerging concepts to the empirical data, while discussing how the established framework will contribute to the analysis of the case study of Nicosia; and to a stronger understanding of the impact of the selected concepts on practical considerations associated to its heritage and heritage management. The following section summarises the key themes and their relevance to this thesis, providing an explanation of the role of each theme, as well as the expected outputs by the established conceptual framework. As discussed earlier in the thesis, the literature reviewed has been the primary source of input for the construction of the framework discussed hereafter, informing the development of key ideas, while establishing the significance of the current study vis-à-vis existing knowledge and research. By doing so, the established framework aims to provide a clearer understanding of the heritage and heritage management of divided Nicosia after conflict, by describing, explaining and analysing existing approaches currently influencing the historic core of the city.

Brief outline of selected mediator and moderator concepts

Mediators in conceptual frameworks are considered as variables that link a cause and an effect (Wu and Zumbo 2008: 368). The purpose of mediator variables is generally to specify how or why a particular relationship exists, by explaining how external events or additional parameters impact existing and anticipated conditions (Cooper *et al.* 1990; Barron and Kenny 1986). On the other hand, a moderator concept impacts the strength of a relationship between different variables. It is "a third variable that modifies a causal effect (Wu and Zumbo 2008: 368). Moderators signify the time or circumstances of experiencing a particular effect, while increasing or decreasing (i.e. moderating) their relationship. In general, mediators and moderators act as third variables with a purpose to "enhance a deeper and more refined understanding of a causal relationship between an independent variable and dependent variable" (ibid.). The conceptual framework presented in this thesis incorporates both mediator and moderator concepts, classified by their wider role within the framework. These are further explained in Table 5: *Concept identification and justification*.

Considering the above, the following section offers a brief description and justification of the different mediator and moderator concepts influencing the heritage and heritage management of Nicosia during conflict. This is followed by a diagrammatic representation of the conceptual framework established during the course of this research.

Power

The literature reviewed in Chapters 2 and 3 suggests that, during conflict the meaning and significance of the concept of power changes; an outcome which consequently influences the heritage of divided Nicosia. Moreover, lack of balanced power relations can have a major impact both on the tangible and intangible heritage of divided built environments. Power within this framework subscribes to the Foucaultian perspective on the power relations, by endorsing the use of power as a collaboratively driven mechanism to functionally exist between individuals and societies. The existence of both tangible and intangible boundaries as a means of power assertion is also taken into consideration, in order to examine their role and effect on the heritage of divided Nicosia.

Memory

The impact of memory on heritage during conflict and division has also been argued in the preceding literature review, as well as a gap in knowledge concerning the influence and consideration of the topic of memory on walled Nicosia's heritage. For this reason, the specific theme has been included in the established conceptual framework, in order to examine whether and to what extent it can - or has - influenced the heritage of divided Nicosia. The impact of unpleasant, or 'dark' memories on heritage, as well as the role of both tangible and intangible memories will be considered during this process, while aiming to contribute to the ongoing heritage management approach of the NMP teams.

Authenticity

The last mediating concept within the conceptual framework includes the themes of subjective and objective authenticity in divided cities. As established in Chapter 3, regardless of the international guidelines and approaches to authenticity embraced by different organisations, the concept may be perceived or promoted differently after conflict of division; consequently impacting the heritage and heritage management of cities like the one of Nicosia. For this reason, inclusion of the concept in the framework aims to establish whether diverse perceptions of authenticity, or truth, are indeed present in contested environments and to what extent they influence the tangible and intangible heritage of divided Nicosia.

Synthesis of concepts

Synthesising the concepts following the examination of existing theoretical frameworks, firstly required the establishment of their relevance to the case of divided Nicosia, as well as understanding their possible impact on the heritage of relevant cases. As demonstrated in Chapters 2 and 3, a contribution of this thesis encompasses the examination of the selected topics of power,

memory, and authenticity on Nicosia's heritage after conflict, as current knowledge on the topic is limited. Following the study of relevant literature on the development of conceptual frameworks for qualitative research (Miles and Hubermann 1994; Latham 2005; Sinclair 2007; Jabardeen 2009; McGaghie *et al.* 2001; Maxwell 2005; Rocco and Plakhotnik 2009) the selected concepts, themes, or variables, have been broken down into different categories (independent, moderator, mediator or intervening, and dependent), in order to establish their qualities and further clarify their role within the framework.

The following table identifies and briefly justifies the selected concepts, outlining their function within the conceptual framework employed in this thesis; whereas the subsequent model provides a visual synthesis of the selected themes as incorporated in the framework; illustrating their relationships, and their role within the context of walled Nicosia.

Table 5: Concept identification and justification (Author 2017)

Context: Divided Walled Nicosia		
Concept:	**Function:**	**Description and Justification:**
Heritage	Independent Variable	The tangible and intangible heritage[72] of walled Nicosia is deemed as the predetermined, INDEPENDENT topic of enquiry that leads to the impact of moderator and mediator variables on the heritage management of the city. By doing so, a stronger understanding of the specific variable will also be established.
Conflict	Moderator Variable	Conflict in this investigation is deemed as a CAUSE and a MODERATOR influencing the heritage of Nicosia. Conflict is perceived as the reason behind the way other mediator, or intervening variables (i.e. power, memory, authenticity), impact the dependent and independent variables in this framework (i.e. the heritage and heritage management of Nicosia).
Power	Mediator Variable	Power is treated as a mediator of the RELATIONSHIP between heritage, conflict and heritage management. In this case, the concept of power is employed to explain and understand its impact on the heritage of divided Nicosia during conflict.

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[72] In this thesis, walled Nicosia's heritage refers to the historic built environment of the city, including buildings, monuments, streets and neighbourhoods, as well as to its intangible cultural heritage; meaning living expressions such as social practices, oral traditions, festive events and rituals (UNESCO 2017a) associated with the historic core.

Memory	Mediator Variable	Memory is treated as a mediator of the RELATIONSHIP between heritage, conflict and heritage management. Within the established framework, the intervening role of memory on the heritage management of divided Nicosia is examined during conflict.
Authenticity	Mediator Variable	Authenticity is treated as a mediator of the RELATIONSHIP between heritage, conflict and heritage management. The role of authenticity within the context of division is also examined as part of this framework, to establish how it impacts the heritage management of divided Nicosia during conflict.
Heritage Management	Dependent Variable	Heritage management in divided cities represents the main topic of enquiry in this thesis. What this framework aims to establish is the potential EFFECT of the mediator and moderator variables (conflict, power, memory, authenticity) on heritage management of divided Nicosia, while demonstrating their impact on the heritage of the city.

The figure below offers a visual representation of the conceptual framework:
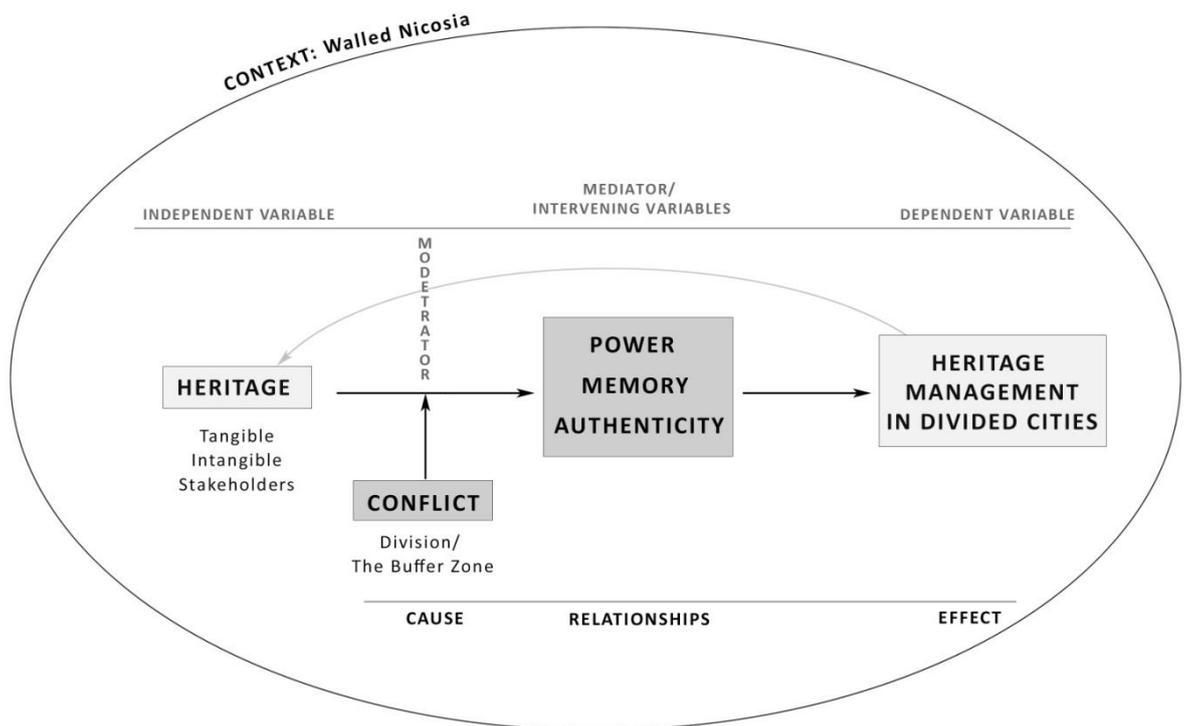
Figure 49: Conceptual Framework Model (Author 2017)

Expected outputs of established framework

In summary, the conceptual framework established in this thesis aims to further research through:

i. Providing a basis for the interpretation and development of further research in Nicosia and relevant cases.

ii. Integrating the established concepts to the study of the heritage of divided Nicosia.

iii. Furthering the theoretical perspective on the topic of heritage management in divided cities, and in this case Nicosia, by developing structured approaches to the examination of the topic.

iv. Enabling the articulation of the case study analysis findings.

v. Enabling the inclusion of emergent categories for the expansion of the conceptual framework.

vi. Offering a common ground for other researchers to consider, reflect upon, challenge and develop the established framework and research.

3.6 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to present an interdisciplinary review of the selected literature on the topics of power, memory and authenticity, while illustrating their relevance to the heritage of divided Nicosia. The examination of these themes is a fundamental step in the research process, as it provides the basis for the conceptual framework, also introduced in this chapter. This review also allows for the development of a broader understanding of the selected areas within the built environment discourse and context of conflict and division. The sections below, present a synopsis of the main observations that emerge from this review.

Theme 1: Power

Based on the literature, this chapter argues that the role of power (social, cultural, political, administrative, economic) is a key theme that requires further consideration. This is because; the consequences of unstable power relations, due to conflict, can significantly impact the heritage management of divided cities. Moreover, as established in this section, power is a topic that is subject to significant challenge in the event of war or conflict, as the antagonism between opposing parties that dispute cultural, territorial and political legitimisation and authority contribute both to the disturbance of social and economic cohesion, but also to the unhealthy evolution of the built environment. In the first thematic section of this chapter, the theoretical interpretations, primarily of Michael Foucault, have contributed towards a comprehensive examination of the role of power relations in society; illustrating how a balanced and efficiently managed distribution of authority can positively affect both the shape of cultures, as well as of individual subjects.

The relationship between power and conflict in divided cities has also been highlighted. Through the example of Old Jerusalem, the ways in which conflicting cultures can impact and lead to the decline or loss of heritage have been illustrated. In doing so, the need for a stronger consideration of the role of power in the management of heritage in divided or contested cities like Nicosia has

been reinforced; further highlighting an existing gap in literature concerning the specific topic. Furthermore, the emergence of boundaries as a result of unstable power relations in the event of conflict or division has been discussed, illustrating how boundaries and the process of bordering affect both the social and the physical evolution of historic urban landscapes, and in this case Nicosia. Accordingly, a further aim and contribution of this section was to demonstrate the relevance of the concept of power to the case study of Nicosia, by highlighting existing gaps in knowledge, while demonstrating how national antagonism and unstable power relations due to conflict can impact both the tangible and intangible heritage of the city.

Theme 2: Memory

Thematic Section 3.3 examined the role of memory on the management and perception of heritage, also in the context of conflict and division. This section established that in the event of conflict, the role of memory can have a great effect in the representation of history, often resulting in extreme attitudes such as neglect or even intentional destruction. The fact that divided communities have the power to use memory as a means of historical and political legitimisation illustrates the considerable power that memory has in upholding ethnonational and cultural differences. Memory, using heritage as its medium can consequently play a vital role in the protection of collective identity; this is a dominant notion in the social domain, which expresses the centrality of memory in the politics of heritage and recognition of identity, particularly in divided or contested contexts.

Through the examination of literature and research, this section also highlighted an existing gap in knowledge concerning the impact of memory on the heritage of divided Nicosia due to conflict; in addition to demonstrating the crucial role played by collective memory and its embodiment on the tangible and intangible heritage of the city. Moreover, in cities such as Nicosia, where the conflicting parties often share common heritage, this balance becomes even more sensitive, hidden behind the conflicting memories and dual narratives of both tangible and, intangible division.

Theme 3: Authenticity

The last section of this chapter discussed the role of authenticity in the context of contested heritage and, examined the meaning and evolution of the term within the discipline of heritage conservation. It is established that conflict can significantly influence heritage authenticity; an observation that is visible in divided cities like Nicosia, where perceptions of the concept vary on either side of the divide. For this reason, this section maintains that authenticity is a key consideration in the management of divided Nicosia, as a clearer understanding of the topic needs to be established in the context of conflict and division. Moreover, due to the diverse perceptions between the communities involved, the transience and selective nature of the term authenticity

needs to be acknowledged and further examined in order to provide a stronger understanding of how this reflects on the heritage of Nicosia. Relevantly, the notions of objective and subjective authenticities emerge in this chapter as central to the management of heritage, with different settings approaching heritage and its reconstruction in diverse ways. War and the negative connotations associated with conflict have proven to be a key focus of the literature and examples discussed, either by choosing to conceal all unpleasant associations or, by embracing them as part of the historical continuity of buildings.

Considering the above and as demonstrated though thematic section three, conflict can significantly complicate heritage protection and representation, as the vulnerability of historical buildings and structures becomes heightened along with the fears of cultural identity loss and destruction. For these reasons, consideration of the notion of authenticity between divided communities, can potentially contribute to a more effective heritage management approach in contested environments like that of Nicosia. Lastly, this chapter demonstrates that conflict and identity struggle in cities such as Nicosia bring additional complications that influence the heritage of the city; and consequently, require a more complex heritage management approach. Therefore, in order to better understand heritage management in divided Nicosia the relationship between power, memory and, authenticity during conflict must be considered.

Chapter 4: Case Study Analysis: Nicosia and the Nicosia Master Plan

4.1 Introduction

> Forgotten by foreign professionals, frozen in place by third-party interventions, monitored by two armies and the United Nations, scarred by blighting and dereliction on both sides of the interface, the capital of Cyprus remains crippled both physically and functionally (Smith and MacAskill 2002: 8).

The following chapter provides a detailed analysis of the case study of walled Nicosia and offers a closer examination of the impact conflict has had on the city's heritage and heritage management. To achieve this objective, field work data collected from Nicosia, including maps, photographs and diagrams are presented. Moreover, the efforts of the NMP in addressing Nicosia's urban regeneration after the city's division will also be discussed. Through the examination of specific examples, the fieldwork findings of the researcher will be used to analyse the impact of the NMP's approach on the heritage of the historic capital. In doing so, visual comparisons of the cases examined are provided and, informed by the empirical observations of the researcher.

This chapter has been broken down into three main sections. Section 4.2 briefly introduces the multi-layered history of Nicosia pre-and post-1974. The aim of this section is to expose the diverse heritage of the city, which spans back centuries before the GC and TC conflict; while at the same time highlighting the intricate character of walled Nicosia, both architecturally, as well as culturally. Section 4.3 focuses on the impact of conflict on the heritage of Nicosia, examining selected examples within the walls on three different levels or scales; these being the neighbourhood, the street, and the building or monument. Using this approach, a closer examination of the selected examples will be provided, outlining how conflict has impacted their continued use, while taking into account the themes discussed in the previous chapters (tangible and intangible heritage, power, memory, authenticity). Section 4.4 examines the efforts of the NMP through specific cases in walled Nicosia, establishing whether and to what extent this shared initiative has contributed to the protection of the city's tangible and intangible cultural inheritance.

Since 1974 the buffer zone, which currently divides Nicosia's historic core in half, has been a no-man's land, with its contents declining over time. Records that document aspects such as land ownership and land use in these areas are somewhat ambiguous and currently scattered between various government agencies on different sides of the border. Even the detailed survey completed by the bi-communal NMP, which generated a comprehensive record of the architectural heritage in a number of areas within the buffer zone, is not publicly available (Bakshi 2012: 2). For this reason, Sections 4.3 and 4.4 also discuss the impact of the buffer zone on Nicosia's tangible and intangible heritage; demonstrating how the boundary has led to the deterioration and obsolescence of buildings, activities and rituals within Nicosia's historic core.

4.2 The History and Division of the City, and its Impact on its Heritage and Heritage Management

The following section provides a historical examination of Nicosia before and after its division. The objective of this section is to demonstrate the historically rich and multi-layered character of the city, setting the ground for the following analysis of walled Nicosia and the impact of the GC – TC conflict on the city's heritage.

4.2.1 The Diverse Historical Layers of the City Pre- and Post-1974, and their Contribution to the Heritage and Heritage Management of Nicosia

Cyprus's strategic position in the Eastern Mediterranean has played a central role in the island's "long history of war, conflict and occupation by competing powers" (Balderstone 2007: 2). The greater city of Nicosia "has been inhabited continuously since the beginning of the Bronze Age (2500 BC)" with the Kingdom of Ledra recorded around 672 BC (Lyssiotis 2010: 6). The spatial structure of Nicosia can be broken down into two parts; (i) the walled part of the city, also considered to be the historic core of Cyprus' capital, "a fortified old town located at the very centre" and (ii) the part which developed outside the walls during and following the British Colonial Period (Atun 2012: 366).

Ancient Kingdom of Ledra

Byzantine Capital of Cyprus (330 - 1191)

Lusignian Rule (1191 - 1489)

Venetian Rule (1489 - 1570)

Ottoman Rule (1570 - 1878)

British Colonial Rule (1878 - 1959)

Establishment of the Republic of Cyprus with Nicosia as its capital (1960)

Division of Nicosia (1974)
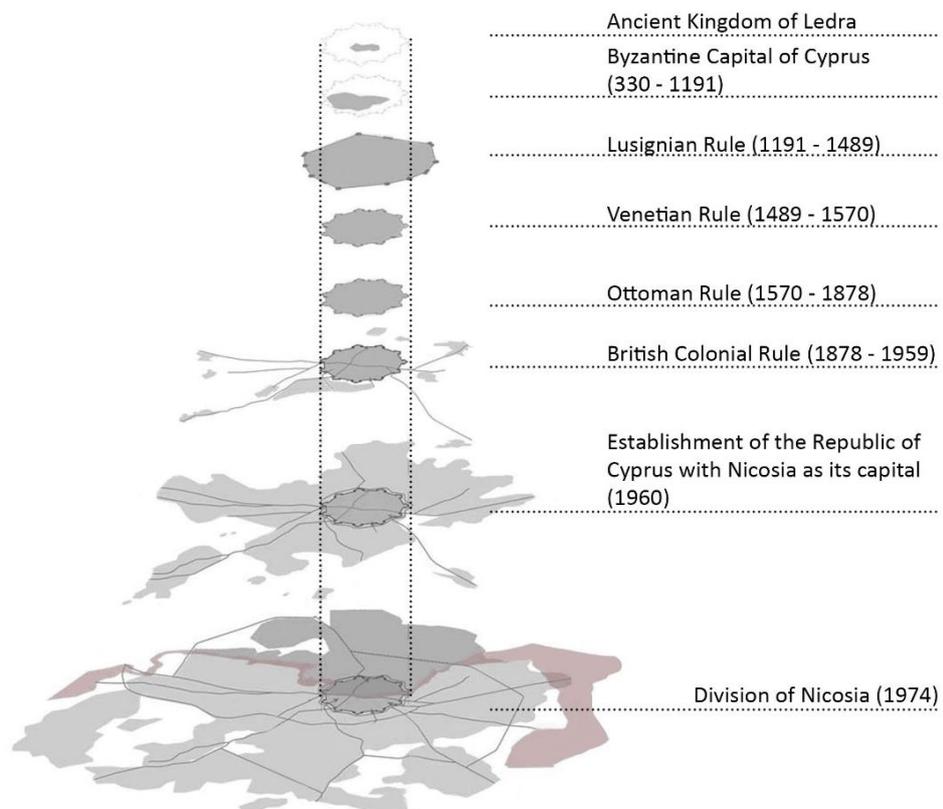
Figure 50: Timeline of Nicosia (Georgiadou 2016; adapted by Author 2017)

Throughout its existence and as far back as the fourth century AD, Cyprus and, consequently, Nicosia were conquered and ruled by numerous foreign kingdoms; including the Romans, Egyptians, Persians and Macedonians (Keshishian 1978). Nicosia became the capital of Cyprus

following the Byzantine rule during the fourth century AD. The majority of the heritage visible in walled Nicosia today is the legacy of later empires that conquered the island between the twelfth century AD and the present day. More specifically, the fortifications of Nicosia were significantly strengthened under the Lusignians (1191 – 1489) with the still surviving walls of the city rebuilt to resist Ottoman attacks during the Venetian rule (1489 – 1570) (Petre 2010).

Figure 51: Figure illustrating the development of walled Nicosia between the Medieval (330-1191) (left) and Lusignian and Venetian Periods (1192 -1489) (right) (Ε.Μ.Π. 2016; adapted by author)
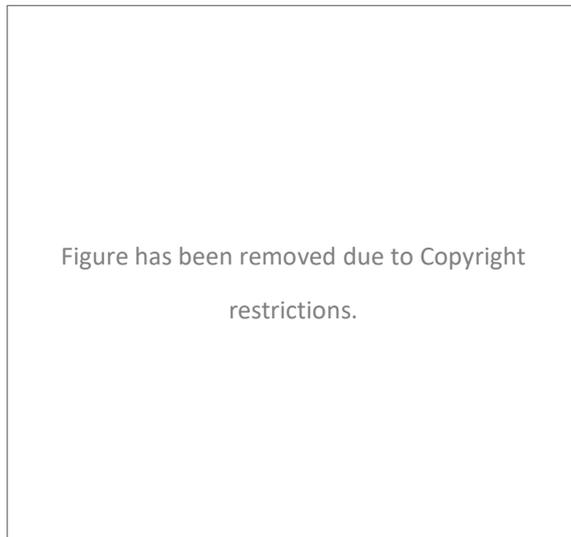
Figure 52: Fortification in the Lusignan and the Venetian periods illustrating the river that used to run through the centre of the walled city (Atun 2012: 367)
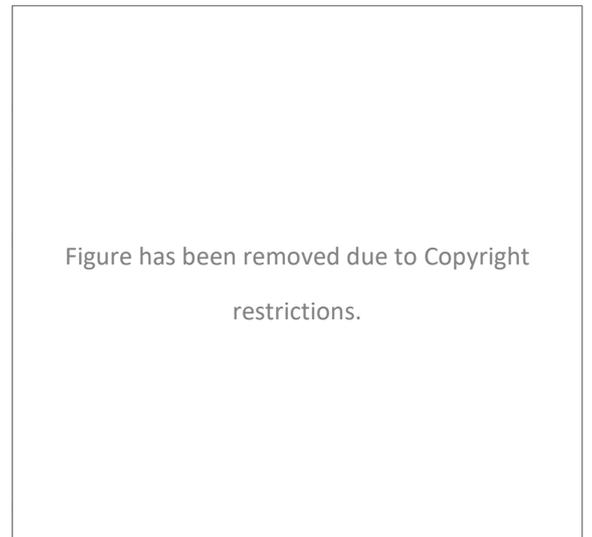
Figure 53: Map of Nicosia in Cyprus, created in 1597 by the Venetian Giacomo (Jacomo) Franco (1550-1620) for his book Viaggio da Venetia a Constantinopoli per Mare (PaulK 2010)

The Ottoman capture of Nicosia (1570 – 1878) signified a turning point for the history and heritage of the city, as the Cypriot capital remained deserted for many years before gradually reviving "its old splendour" under a more tolerant Ottoman administration during the nineteenth century (Lyssiotis 2010: 17). The succeeding British administration of Cyprus (1878 – 1960) contributed to the development of Nicosia's infrastructure; initiatives included increasing accessibility by making a number of openings in the city's walls (Balderstone 2007: 3). The houses built during the early twentieth century remain key to the heritage of the city, with many residences constructed during

the British rule being listed by the GC and TC governments (Nicosia Municipality 2014). It is worth mentioning that during the British Colonial period, both GC and TC communities continued to co-inhabit the island and the city of Nicosia; a fact that highlights the integration of the two communities and the consequent creation of a shared past[73].
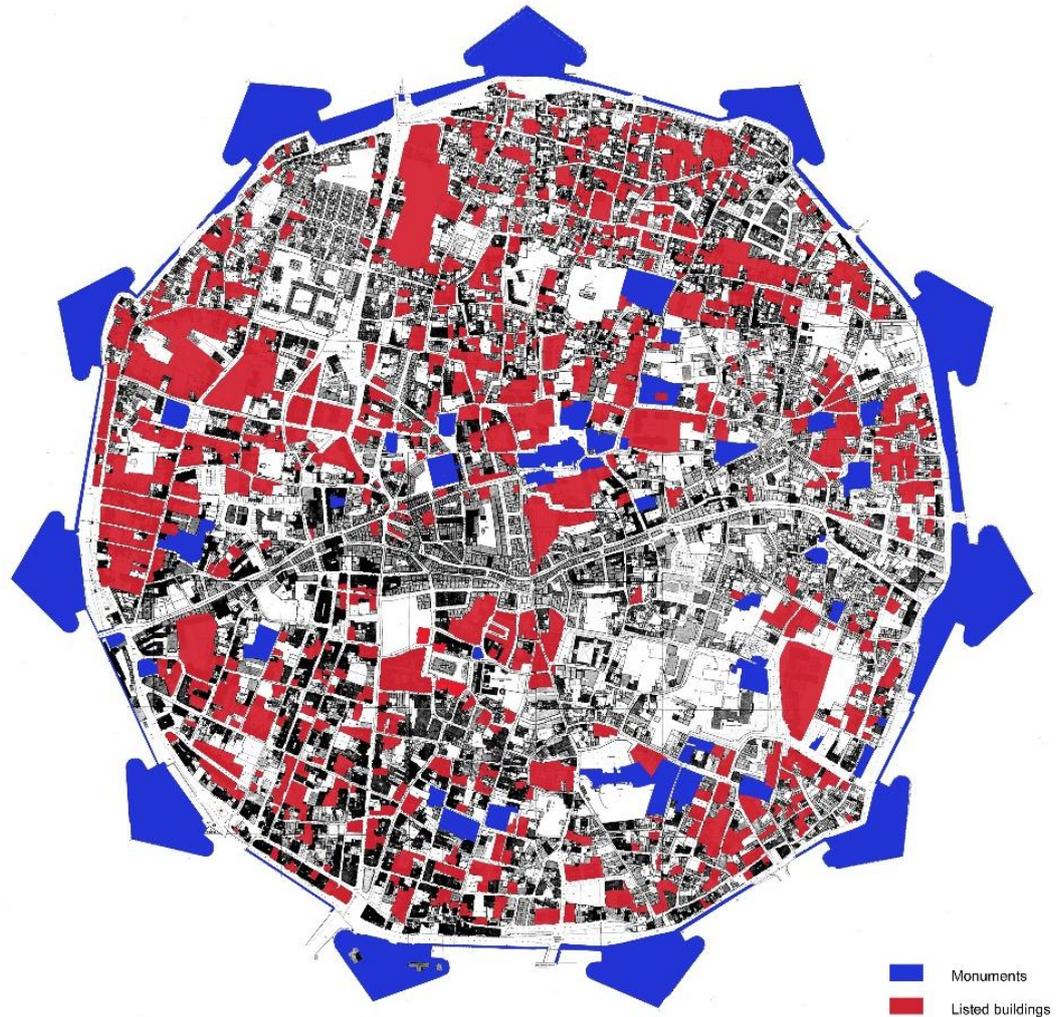
Figure 54: Listed buildings and monuments within walled Nicosia (Nicosia Municipality 2014)

Intercommunal violence between the GCs and TCs during the years 1963 to 1974 resulted in the division of Cyprus and the consequent creation of an UN-controlled buffer zone separating the two communities (Balderstone 2007: 4). This conflict and division resulted in the decay and destruction of a significant amount of heritage throughout the island and within the historic core of Nicosia, with the impact still visible on the tangible built environment of the city until today. The fact that 85% of the buildings within the walled city were constructed before 1960, with 64% of these being in poor structural condition (Doratli 2004: 337), denotes the severity of the threat to the existing building stock and emphasises the requirement for a rapid and coordinated intervention. However,

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[73] In his book *Echoes from the dead zone*, Papadakis (2005) explains how, despite their differences, the GC and TC communities co-existed peacefully and were tolerant of the differences between their cultures, until intercommunal conflict commenced in 1963.

the opening of the Ledra -Lokmaci crossing in April 2008 to allow access between North and South walled Nicosia was the first 'break' of the buffer zone within the historic core (Oswald 2013: 472), and has significantly contributed to the development of surrounding businesses and commercial activities in the area.
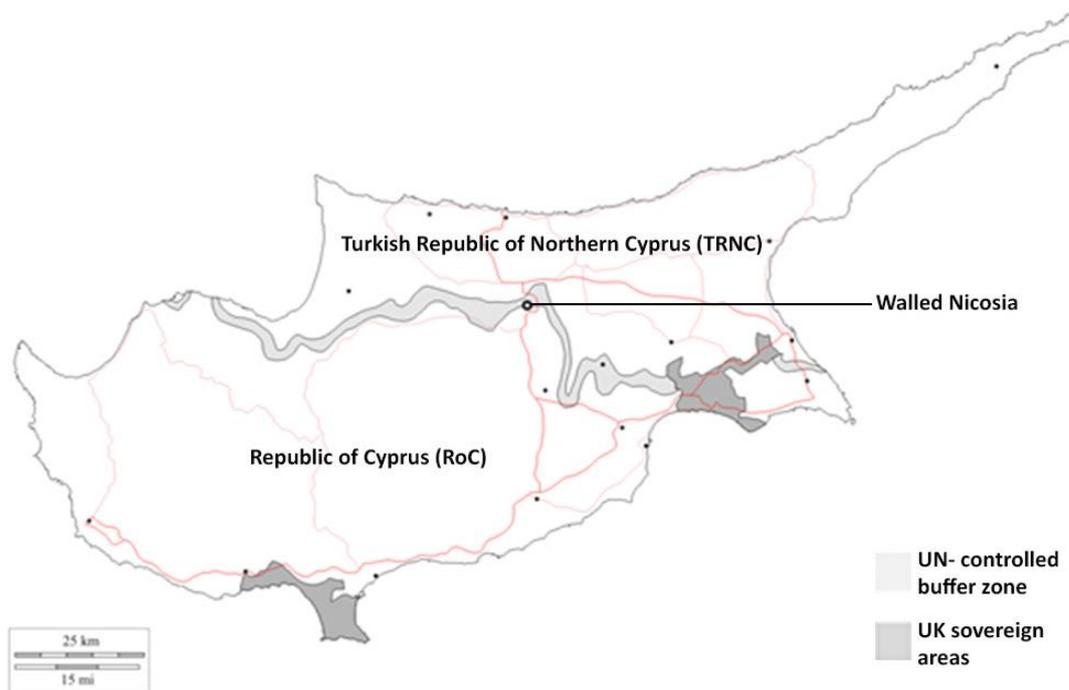
Figure 55: Map of the buffer zone through Cyprus (d-maps 2015, adapted by Author 2017)

The above historical review demonstrates how Nicosia is layered with heritage spanning back thousands of years; a finding which highlights both the historical but also the cultural significance of the city for the island of Cyprus. As a result, the accumulated heritage of Nicosia has defined the historic city as a *lieu de memoire* (site of memory) (Europa Nostra 2013); a point that further exemplifies the importance both of the tangible and intangible fabric of Nicosia and justifies the need to address the damage caused by conflict and division on either side of the divide.

4.3 A Closer Examination of Nicosia's Heritage Management After 1974

The walled city can be viewed to represent a microcosm of the wider social, political and administrative issues dominating Cyprus, with heritage management in Nicosia being complicated for several reasons. Firstly, the fact that the north part of the island has not been internationally recognised since 1974 has contributed to the lack of funding and resulted in the economic decline of the Turkish Cypriot community (Balderstone 2007: 4). This political isolation has widened the gap between the GC and TC communities in Cyprus; a consequence that has impacted upon walled Nicosia's heritage. Secondly, the fact that two municipalities address the management and rehabilitation of Nicosia's heritage independently from each other illustrates the complexity of coordinating projects on either side of the divide. Thirdly, the fact that the UN controlled buffer

zone runs through the heart of the historic core of Nicosia, cutting through neighbourhoods and interrupting the functional continuity of streets has resulted in the 'mirroring' of activities on both sides, in order to supplement and re-establish the functional continuity of both municipal fragments (Figure 56). This consequence has encouraged the socio-economic decline of areas along the buffer zone and towards the edges of the walled city.

Historically significant areas within the walls

Markets and areas of public interest

Religious buildings and sites

Educational buildings
(including schools and museums)
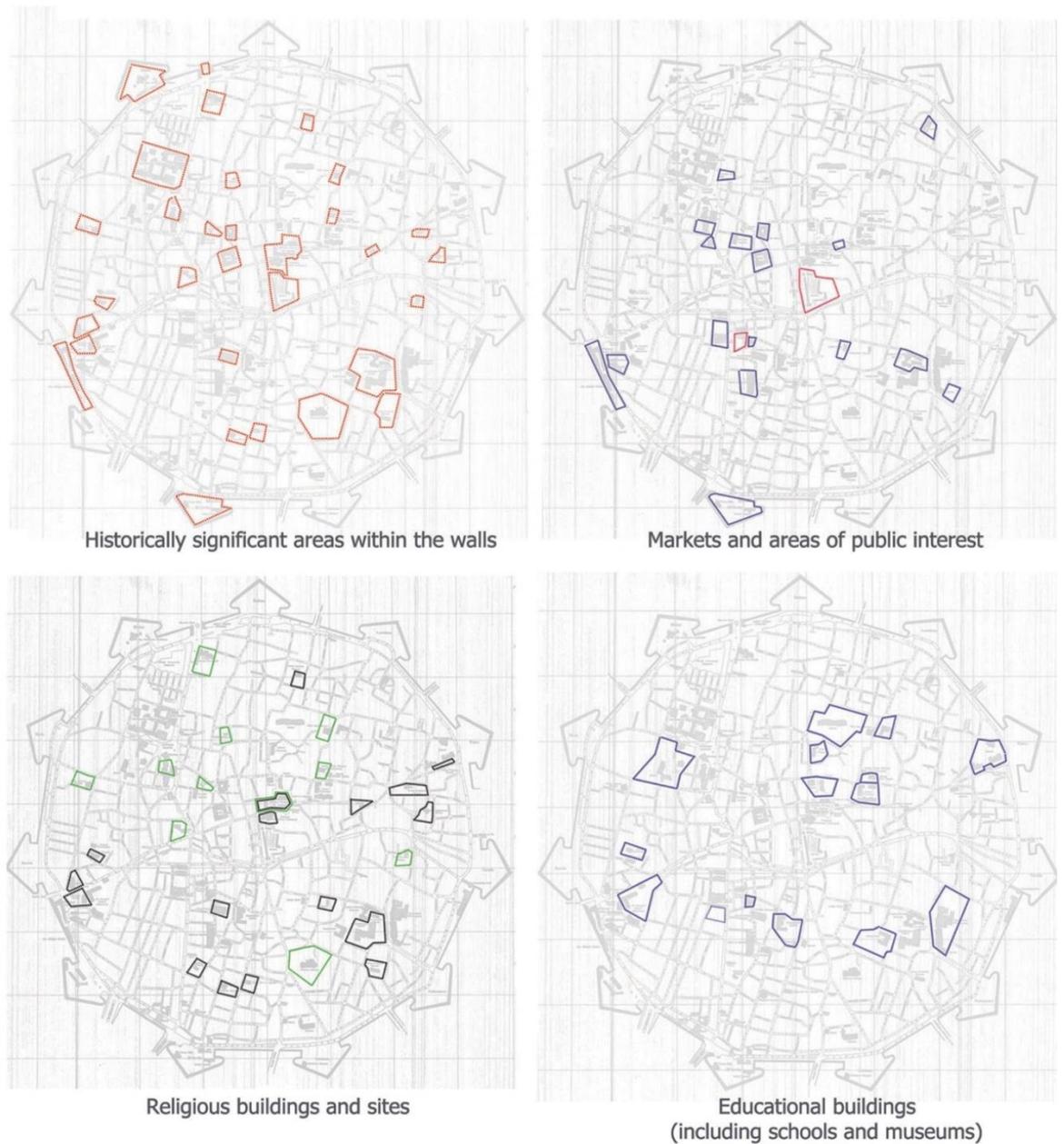
Figure 56: Diagrams illustrating the increasing mirroring of facilities, especially after the division of walled Nicosia (Author 2015). The green colour in the centre of the wall city represents the location of walled Nicosia's buffer zone.

This inevitable 'mirroring' of activities is further proof of the institutional fragmentation of the city of Nicosia and illustrates the inorganic and abrupt interruption of both its built environment, but also of the relevant bodies and organisations responsible for its development. In addition to the

above issues, the two Nicosia Municipalities (Nicosia Master Plan 1984: 131) identified several problems that influence the tangible heritage of the city following its division.

These include:

a) The locational, structural and functional obsolescence of properties, coupled with the lack of suitable instruments and measures to address the problems of decay. This has led to the demolition of buildings with architectural and environmental value and to their development at higher densities.

b) Limited public awareness of the importance of architectural heritage which results in clumsy modifications and unsuitable renovations of old buildings.

c) A mixture of incompatible land uses resulting in serious detrimental effects.

d) The accelerated process of deterioration of the city walls, historic buildings and old houses and the existence of many buildings in poor structural and aesthetic condition.

e) The low level of rents discourages regular maintenance and repair of buildings by their owners.

These concerns are visibly ascribed to the ongoing conflict dominating Nicosia and have a detrimental impact on the heritage of the city. In addition, issues such as lack of public engagement with the historic core can be observed. The existence of the buffer zone, as well as the prominence of military troops are strong contributors to this result, primarily due to the fact that the areas suffering within the walls are those closest to the boundary. Moreover, division has contributed to the ethnic fragmentation of the walled city, a factor that reflects on the social make up of walled Nicosia on either side of the divide (Figure 58). As a result, the walled city of Nicosia materialises as a microcosm of the greater issues brought to the city by division, with its current topography and peculiar urban structure amplifying the above concerns.

Expansion outside the walls

The architectural history of modern Cyprus is entangled with the histories of colonialism and decolonization, nation-building, socioeconomic modernisation, and identity politics (Pyla and Phokaides 2010). The Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN 2007) maintains that the two factors causing considerable harm to the rich architectural heritage of the walled city include the forces of modernisation[74] and the 1974 division of the city after the GC and TC conflict. The following figure demonstrates Nicosia's urban transformation, which became particularly intense after the 1960s. As can be observed, the division of Nicosia's historic urban centre in 1974 appears to have contributed to this accelerated growth beyond the walls; consequently leading to the gradual shrinkage and decline of the historic core. Arguably, the shrinkage of the walled city after its

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[74] Beginning in the period of British rule and reaching a climax in the 1960s, the historic urban fabric came under attack as streets were widened to accommodate traffic and old buildings were torn down to make way for new ones. A prominent early example of this was the demolition in 1931 of sections of the wall on both sides of the historic Kyrenia Gate (North) to ease traffic flow in and out of the city (AKDN 2007).

division, further exemplifies the impact of conflict on the heritage decay of Nicosia. Moreover, the outward growth of Nicosia can be equally witnessed on either side of the divide, suggesting that both communities continued to expand away from each other after the division, consequently allowing for the walled city to become a backdrop for activities rather than a central, unified space.
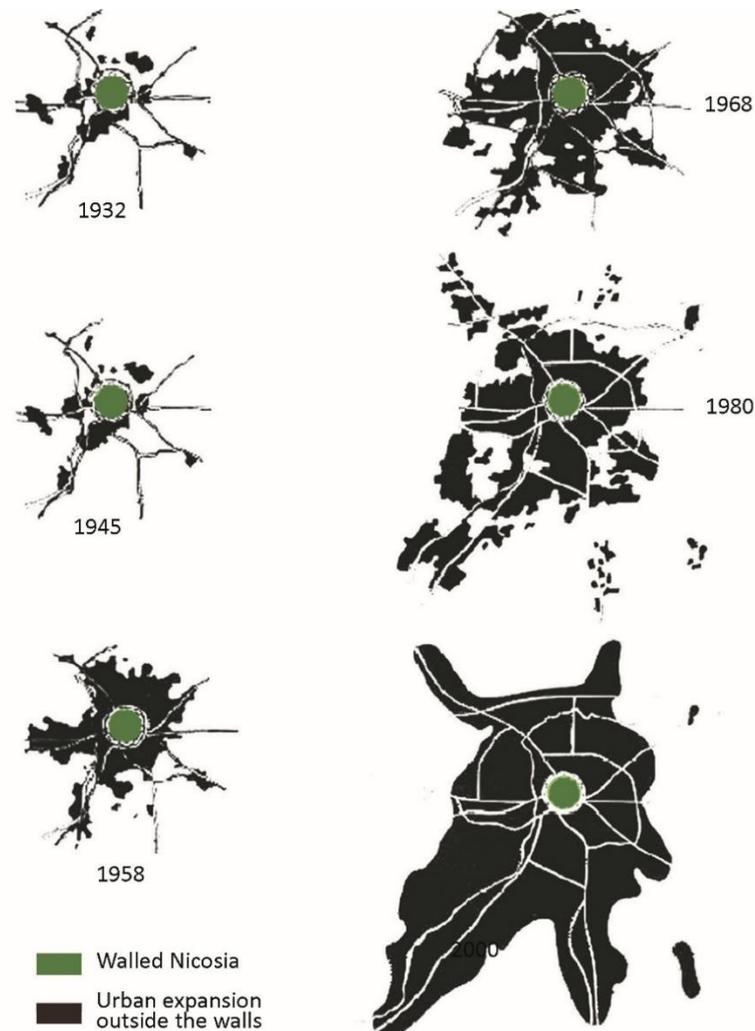
Figure 57: Urban growth of Nicosia since 1932 (Cyprus Department of Town Planning and Housing, adapted by Author in 2017)

Segregation

Studies of the use of Nicosia's public space highlight the segregation of the city between the different ethnicities occupying the historic walls (Aknar 2009; Parpa 2010; Charalambous and Hadjichristos 2011). These studies highlight social fragmentation as a result of division, while reinforcing the differentiation of groups based on ethnicity (Figure 58). However, this thesis mainly focuses on the impact of partition on the GC and TC communities, as the turbulent relationship between these two groups is the main factor behind the ongoing division of the island, and consequently, walled Nicosia. In this vein, the following section offers a detailed examination of the

wider impact of conflict on walled Nicosia's heritage, focusing on specific examples, at different scales[75] within the historic core.

ethnnic minorities
(north)

ethnnic minorities
(south)

former Armenian
neighbourhood
(currently occupied
by ethnic minorities:
north)

Turkish Cypriot
residential areas

commercial activities
(north)

Greek Cypriot
residential areas

commercial activities
(south)

Lokmaci/ Ledra
check point
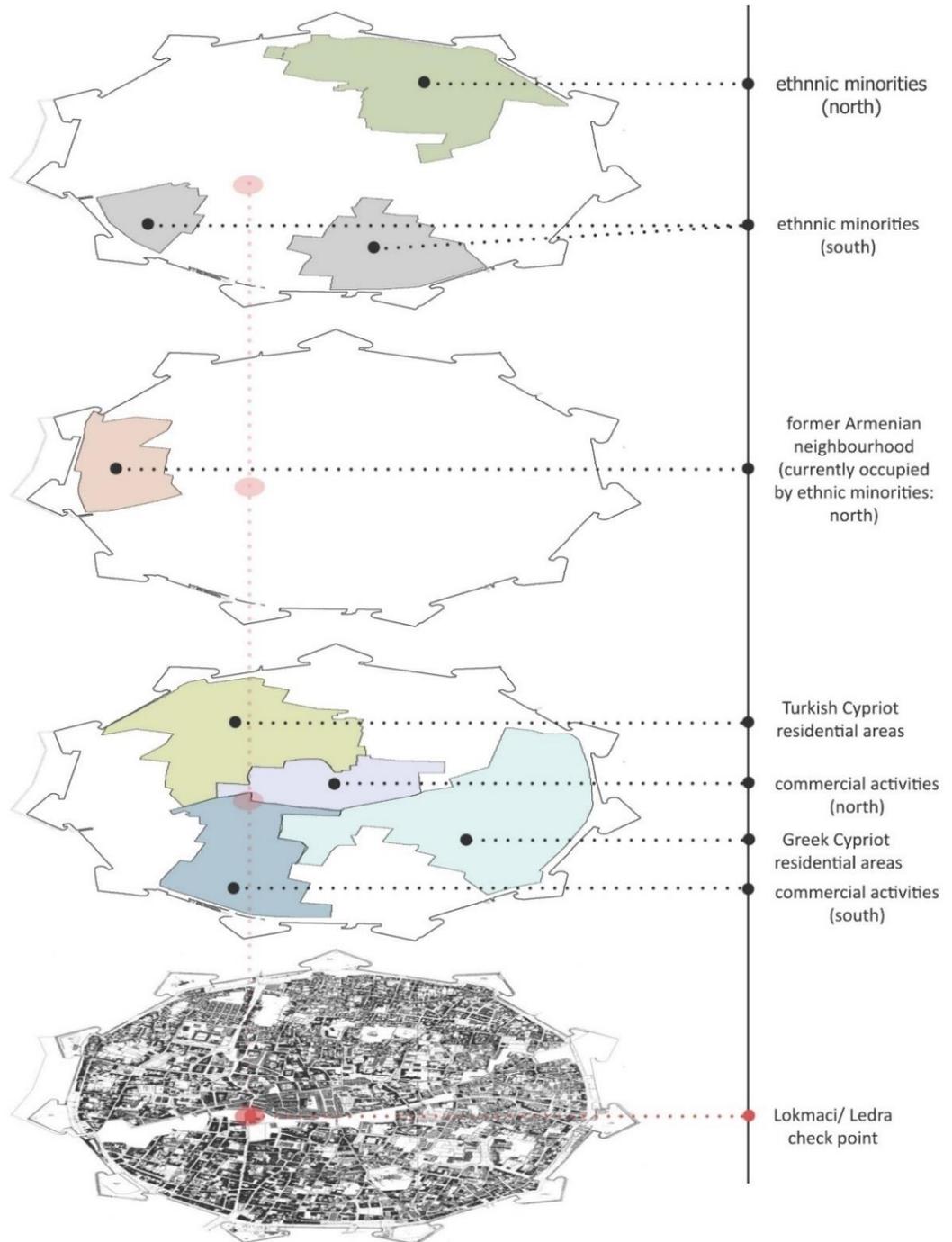
Figure 58: Study of the different area types of walled Nicosia[76] (Author 2017)

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[75] These being the neighbourhood, the street, and the building or monument.

[76] The ethnic minorities in the north part of walled Nicosia primarily refer to migrants from mainland Turkey (Hatay 2007: 38), whereas the ethnic minorities in the south part of the walled city represent "both EU and Third World countries" (Charalambous and Hadjichristos 2011: 73).

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4.3.1 Heritage Affected by Conflict in the North

As discussed earlier in this chapter, the international lack of recognition of the TRNC, as well as the perceived illegality of the "occupying administration in the North" means that no legitimate access to international financial aid is available for the Turkish Cypriots, except from some funds provided by the UN for emergency works (Balderstone 2007: 7). This issue has had a visible impact on the economic vitality of the Turkish Municipality of Nicosia by significantly decreasing its financial power and directly impacting on the management of its heritage. The following section examines two adjacent areas in North Nicosia, namely the Karamanzade and Arab Ahmet Quarters. Even though a significant amount of restoration has taken place in these areas, both continue to reflect the wider influence of conflict on the city's tangible and intangible heritage; demonstrating how unstable power relations, selective memories and subjective authenticity continue to create challenges to effective heritage management.

Karamanzade – Arab Ahmet Quarters
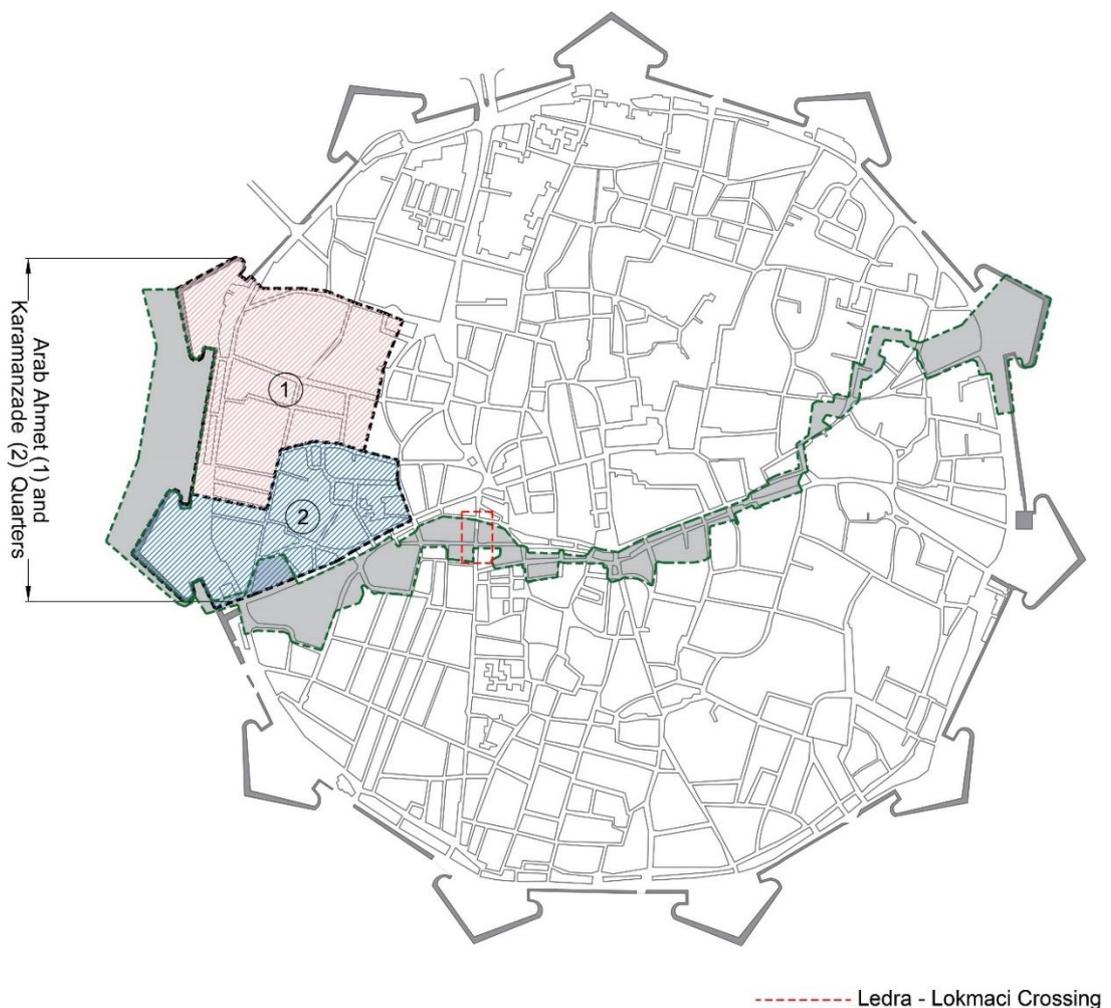
-------- Ledra - Lokmaci Crossing

Figure 59: Diagram illustrating the location of Karamanzade and Arab Ahmet (Author 2017). As specified on the drawing, the red square signifies the Ledra-Lokmaci Street Crossing between the North and South and demonstrates the proximity of the areas examined with the only crossing established within the walled part of the city.

The Karamanzade and Arab Ahmet[77] Quarters, located in the TC site of walled city, have been associated with the Armenian community[78] of Nicosia since the eighteenth century (Jeffrey 1935: 50). These areas are also known to include noteworthy buildings such as the medieval church and monastery of Notre Dame de Tyre and the Arab Ahmet Mosque (ibid: 50). Following the division of the city, Armenian and GC houses in the area were occupied by TC fighters (Gürel *et al.* 2012: 7), resulting in the Armenian population living in Karamanzade and Arab Ahmet fleeing the North of Cyprus and moving permanently to the South[79] (Hadjilyra 2009: 17). Today, the close proximity of the areas to the west edge of walled Nicosia and to the buffer zone materialises as one of the main contributors to their "high vacancy rates, low property values and rents, high proportion of incompatible uses, absence of development, instable population, [and] low ownership rates" (Doratli *et al.* 2004: 342). These issues have furthered the decline of the tangible urban fabric of Arab Ahmet and Karamanzade, and have consequently impacted both tangible and intangible heritage located within their vicinity[80] (Figure 60 and Figure 61).

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[77] Several areas within the Arab Ahmet quarter have undergone significant restoration as part of the NMP initiative. The efforts of the NMP in addressing some of the damage done to the area by conflict and division will be discussed in Section 4.4.

[78] Even though the Arab Ahmet quarter is the area primarily known to belong to the Armenian community of Nicosia (Keshishian 1978) before 1974, Karamanzade (Son of the Karaman) was also known to relate to the Armenian community of Nicosia (Jeffrey 1935: 50).

[79] In 1960, the year of the independence of Cyprus and the creation of the RoC the Armenian, Maronite and Latin communities voted in a referendum to be part of the GC majority of the island (Hadjilyra 2009: 5). By doing so, they were entitled to the same benefits and political rights as the GC population and were thus part of the same majority. The Armenian, Maronite and Latin communities are also recognised by the Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus (Articles Two and Three) as religious groups that belong to the GC community (Miltiadou *et al.* 2015: 114). This is also why Armenians fled to the South between 1963 and 1974, along with the rest of the GC population. For this reason, this thesis considers the Armenian population as being part of the GC community of Cyprus.

[80] In this case, tangible heritage refers to the material manifestations of the areas' heritage, whereas intangible heritage addressed the traditions, or rituals associated with several buildings in Karamanzade and Arab Ahmet. Some of these include religious practises that used to take place in the Armenian Monastery of Notre Dame de Tyre (currently being restored by the NMP) or the Catholic Church of the Holy Cross (currently located in the buffer zone next to the two areas.

Figure 60: Derelict residence directly next to the premises of Norte Dame de Tyre in Arab Ahmet and opposite the buffer zone (Author 2014)

Figure 61: Residence directly adjacent to the east of the Notre Dame de Tyre Church and Monastery and next to the buffer zone. The UN military surveillance post is visible at the top centre of the photograph (Author 2014)

According to Cemal Belsel (Bensel 2016) most of the abandoned and derelict buildings in the north part of walled Nicosia belong to TCs who have left their properties to decay due to the lack of funding available for their restoration. Moreover, the population living in the areas after the fleeing

of the GC, TC and Armenian owners primarily comprises low income migrants from eastern Turkey (Bakshi 2015: 204), who are, consequently, unable to maintain the properties they live in, or offer adequate rental return for the TC owners to invest in their assets[81] (Bensel 2016). These points are also supported by Hadjichristos (2006: 15) who asserts that, due addition to the division of the city, issues associated with population and unemployment decline have significantly contributed to the increasing number of vacant and poorly maintained houses within the walls. This has resulted in a mismatch of newly restored buildings as part of the NMP, next to ruined and often abandoned structures.

Figure 62: Abandoned residence next to newly restored residence in Arab Ahmet (Author 2014)

Beauregard (1993: 36, cited in Laursen 2008) maintains that, a common way to recognise urban decline is to examine the damage and loss which has occurred in that context. Doratli *et.al.* (2002: 409) further argue that some of the classical factors that contribute to the deterioration of historic environments such as the one of walled Nicosia include the destructive effect of time, nature and human action (such as conflict), and the upheavals in living conditions. Relevantly, Kaltenbrunner supports this claim, maintaining that, lack of employment opportunities, the departure of young

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[81] Asvaroglu (2012: 36) asserts that, following the establishment of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) in 1983 and the subsequent strengthened bonds with Turkey, the immigrant influx increased considerably. This changed the character and the status of the Arab Ahmet Quarter from one of the wealthiest residential area to an area, where Cypriots feel like foreigners and uneasy to walk in the streets; especially at night. In addition, crime levels and poverty increased in the area, with illegal workers occupying vacant buildings (Ibid: 36).

residents, empty houses, increasing poverty, a poor image and a reluctance to invest, contribute to economic weaknesses influencing every aspect of urban life in the form of "structural shrinkage" (Kaltenbrunner 2006: 38).

Figure 63: Abandoned residence behind a restored residence between Karamanzade and Arab Ahmet (Author 2014)

Figure 62 and Figure 63 verify the above points, by demonstrating how rapid changes associated with conflict and division have pushed the city's historic core towards social, economic and physical deterioration[82]; particularly in neighbourhoods such as Karamanzade and Arab Ahmet. Despite their historical significance for walled Nicosia, this finding demonstrates that Karamanzade's and Arab Ahmet's location encourages their segregation from the rest of the historic core and, consequently materialises as a key contributor to their ongoing neglect and decline. In addition, the fact that TC property owners have neglected their houses by moving away from the historic core demonstrates how conflict has impacted the heritage value[83] of the areas, subsequently encouraging the disinterest of the stakeholders in managing or protecting their individual assets. In this case, management of Karamanzade's and Arab Ahmet's heritage lacks in public engagement

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[82] According to the British Council, the character of walled Nicosia has endured significant changes over the recent decades, with low income Turkish nationals turning the city into "an immigrant ghetto" that is "bemoaned in the media by many Turkish Cypriots" (British Council 2009: 9). More specifically, according to official census results of 2006, fifty-seven percent of the population of walled Nicosia are Turkish nationals, seventeen percent are Turkish nationals with TRNC citizenship, two percent are nationals from third countries and only twenty-four percent are TCs whose parents were also born in Cyprus (ibid.).

[83] These include use value, economic value, aesthetic value, social value, tourist value and cultural value. See Table 2: *Heritage values as identified by different scholars and organisations* have been discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.2.1.

and contribution; an issue associated with the social and financial deprivation of the areas. These findings raise concerns about the sustainable protection of the two neighbourhoods, and highlight issues related to loss of authenticity and collective memory attached to heritage and place.

Overall, the impact of conflict and division on the areas of Karamanzade and Arab Ahmet can be broken down as follows:

a) The existence of the buffer zone has disrupted the functional continuity of buildings and streets, consequently resulting in the abandonment and neglect of several buildings in the area. This issue has influenced the authenticity of Karamanzade and Arab Ahmet, firstly by obstructing their organic continuity, secondly by stagnating their social, economic and cultural development and, thirdly, by encouraging their accelerated decay.

b) The fleeting to the South of Armenian and GC residents has contributed to the change of the identity of place, as Karamanzade and Arab Ahmet used to be considered as the Armenian quarters of walled Nicosia, with communal buildings and activities oriented around the Christian Orthodox Armenian population (Jeffrey 1935: 50). This has inevitably affected the memories associated with heritage and place, while raising concerns about authentic heritage ownership and sense of belonging.

c) Power over the future of abandoned heritage has changed, currently falling under the ownership of the Turkish Nicosia Municipality, with the displaced owners not having the same authority over their properties as previously. This has resulted in an imbalance of power between the different stakeholders, with TC owners also neglecting their properties by moving outside the walls, leaving them empty or renting them to low income tenants. As a result, on the one hand the Municipality is unauthorised to intervene on properties that do not belong to displaced GCs or Armenians[84] and on the other, funding limitations do not allow for extensive works on the properties they are in charge of.

d) The physical disruption of streets within the area has consequently resulted in the disruption of activities that used to happen in the area and, consequently affected individual and collective memories attached to the Karamanzade and Arab Ahmet Quarters.

e) The understanding of the authentic character of Karamanzade and Arab Ahmet has been influenced. This is due to the altered social, economic, physical, and functional structure of the areas, as well as the difference in perceptions regarding their truthful historical identity. More specifically, despite the historical association of the Armenian community with the areas

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[84] This point was also raised by Cemal (2016: 36-38), who explains that the TC and GC Municipalities of Nicosia are in charge of the properties belonging to displaced individuals from across the divide, but not properties that their legal owners have not fled after the 1974 conflict.

(Jeffrey 1935; Keshishian 1978; Hadjilyra 2009), they have now become part of the TC community that maintains that the truthful identity of the areas goes back to the Ottoman times (Bensel 2016). This poses further questions about the truthful identity of place, and the impact conflict and division have had in (re)shaping the perceptions of the GC and TC communities.

4.3.2 Heritage Affected by Conflict in the South

Even though the Greek Nicosia Municipality has received supplementary funding since the succession of the Republic of Cyprus (RoC) into the European Union in 2004 (European Commission 2014: 2), numerous areas within the walled city continue to bear the marks of conflict. This can particularly be observed in areas closer to the buffer zone and on streets interrupted abruptly by division. Asklipiou Street, located in the GC side of Nicosia, is a prime example of this; demonstrating signs of physical and functional deterioration, with many of the buildings on the street either being completely abandoned or used merely as storage rooms for neighbouring workshops.

Asklipiou Street
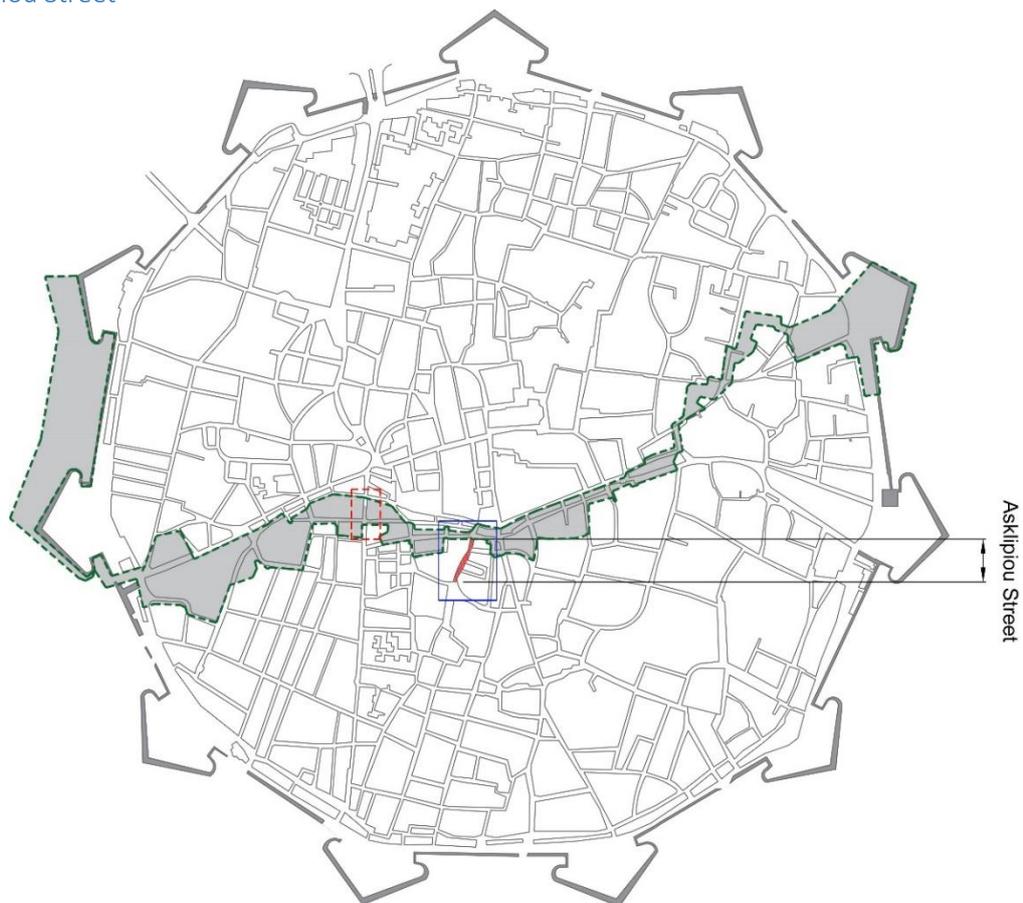
Figure 64: Diagram illustrating the location of Asklipiou Street, located in the south-central part of the walled city and right next to the buffer zone (Author 2017)

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Asklipiou Street demonstrates the impact of conflict and division on walled Nicosia's heritage, with accelerated weathering gradually damaging the fabric of historic structures located in the area. This includes adjacent streets and neighbourhoods. The buildings on Asklipiou Street are primarily residential, with a number of empty commercial units amongst them. The buildings situated on the northern section of the street - and directly next to the buffer zone - are used for military purposes, either as storage spaces or as surveillance posts. The field work findings clearly demonstrate the relationship between the declining state of the area and its interruption by the buffer zone, as the street previously (pre-1974) used to be connected to the vibrant Hermes Street; the main commercial area of walled Nicosia, bridging the North and South and now part of the buffer zone (Papadakis 2000: 2). In this specific case, decay due to inattention differs from natural weathering; a phenomenon which can aesthetically add to or enhance the sedimentation value of a building (Leatherbarrow and Mostafavi 1993: 6). It can therefore be argued that, this damage caused by accelerated decay due to inattention can visibly be associated with the imposition of the UN controlled buffer zone on the adjacent streets, as well as the existing military use of historically relevant structures; these consequently threaten the physical, aesthetic and historical integrity of the surrounding buildings.

Figure 65: Image illustrating the lack of up-keeping and derelict state of listed buildings in Asklipiou Street (Author 2016). As can be observed, inappropriate propping has been used to ensure the structural integrity of parts of the building that does not comply with local heritage conservation practices. This includes paragraph 1.2b of the Guidelines for the Preservation of Listed Buildings introduced by the Department of Town Planning and Housing (RoC), which sustains that all new interventions need to respect the original fabric of the building, including its material and structural composition (Department of Town Planning and Housing 2008: 4).

Considering the above, visual and structural deterioration can be seen to be a prominent factor influencing Asklipiou Street; with the majority of its buildings suffering from desertion and lack of maintenance. In addition, functional obsolescence emerges as one of the underlying issues threatening the area and thus reinforcing the deterioration of buildings of heritage value[85]. Moreover, even though "political, economic, demographic and also socio-cultural" differences between North and South Nicosia are visible (AKDN 2007: 2), heritage deterioration in the areas closer to the buffer zone can be witnessed on both sides of the divide. This issue has been observed in the previously discussed Karamanzade – Arab Ahmet neighbourhoods (North), with conflict and division materialising as common denominators for their decay.

Figure 66: Buildings located in the northern section of Asklipiou Street, next to the buffer zone (Author 2012)

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[85] Figure 54: *Listed buildings and monuments within walled Nicosia* demonstrates the historical richness of the area with all the buildings on Asklipiou Street being listed and consequently of significant heritage value.

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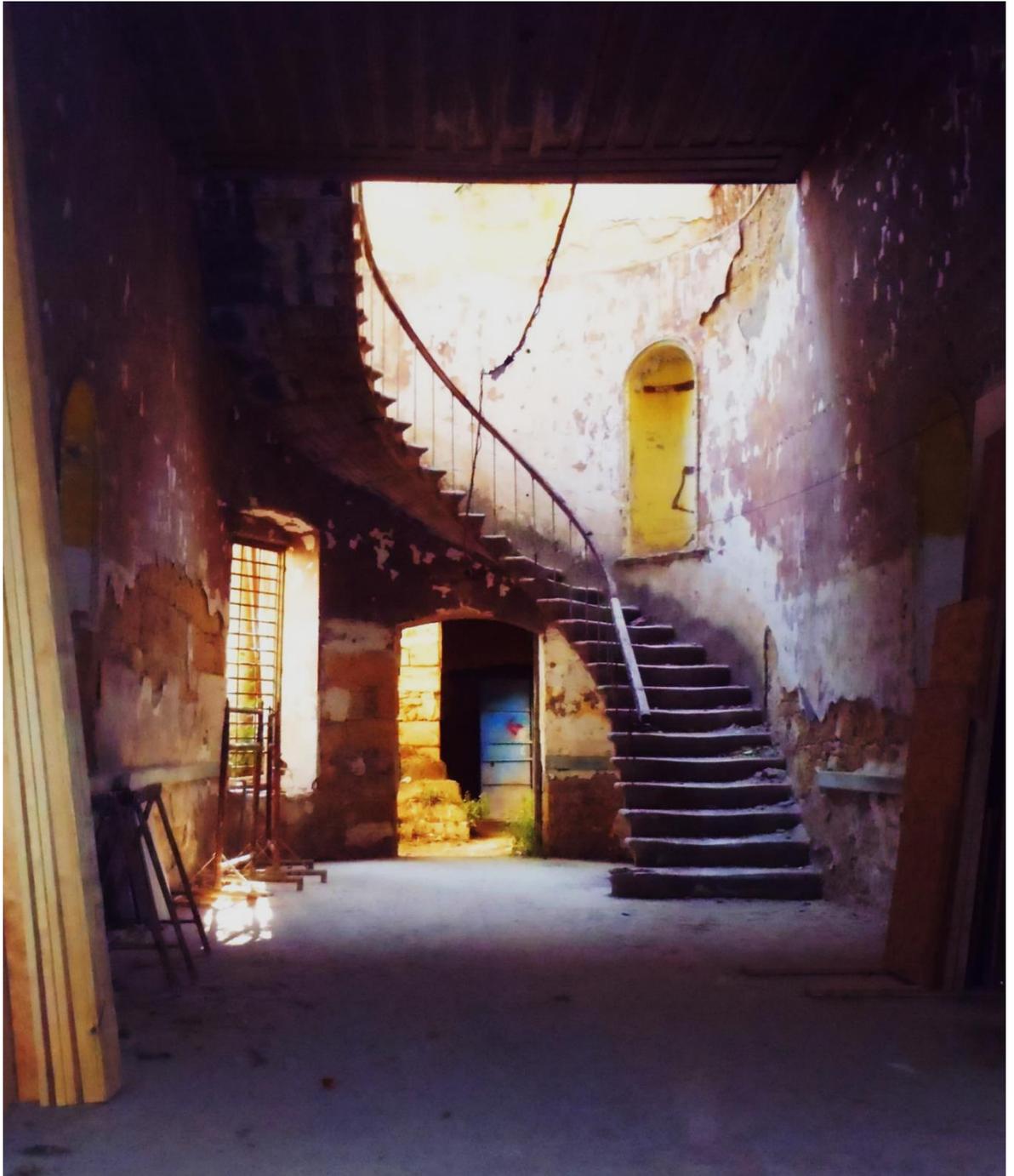
Figure 67: Old residence located in the north part of Asklipiou Street, partly situated in the buffer zone (Author 2012). Access to the public is currently restricted due to the severe decline and structural damage of the building. The entrance lobby of the building is used as a storage space for local carpentry workshops, whereas the back of the listed residence, has been converted to a storage area for the GC military services patrolling walled Nicosia.

Figure 68: Image illustrating the first floor of the same residence presented in Figure 67 (Author 2012). As can be observed, the roof of the building has collapsed, consequently preventing any protection from the elements, while encouraging its accelerated structural decay.

Considering the above, the impact of conflict and division on Asklipiou Street can be broken down as follows:

a) Development of functional obsolescence of the street due to its inorganic interruption by buffer zone. This interruption has significantly affected the identity of the street, as well as its use, value and the memories associated with it. In this case, and in line with the previously discussed 1994 *Nara Document on Authenticity*, the "use and function, traditions and techniques, […] spirit and feeling, and other internal and external factors" (ICOMOS 1994) that

were rooted in this street have been severely altered; resulting in the loss of its tangible and intangible authenticity.

b) Physical decline of buildings in the area, due to the lack of maintenance by their owners. The use of several buildings in Asklipiou Street by the GC army makes it harder for the street to return to its previously residential and commercial makeup. This has encouraged the functional and physical obsolescence of the area and raises the need for alternative uses that will encourage its occupation at different times of the day. At the present time, only one building on the street has been restored and adapted into a restaurant, while the remaining buildings continue to be deserted during the evening. In this case, the peculiar character of Asklipiou Street requires a stronger understanding of its use value[86] in order to identify an appropriate heritage management approach that will suit the distinctive character of the area.

c) Disruption of memories associated with the street, due to the disruption of its physical and functional continuity. The existence of GC military troops in the area and the abrupt intrusion of the buffer zone, accompanied by a consequent decline of its building stock have severely altered the intended use of the street and the memories associated with it. Moreover, the strong association of the area with the conflict has allowed it to evolve into a *milieu de mémoire* (real site of memory)[87] and raises concerns about the role of memory in the (re)shaping of collective identity and the prominence of conflict in the daily lives of the local community of Nicosia.

d) Shift of power over the buildings, as the GC army currently occupies properties adjacent to the buffer zone for military storage and surveillance purposes. This acts as a reminder of the street's association with the unpleasant memories of conflict, while reinforcing the imbalance of power over the management and protection of its heritage. This issue contradicts the Foucauldian perspective on sustainable power relations, by demonstrating how the dominance of conflict has pervaded over the shared ownership and positive development of the specific street by the local community and Municipality of Nicosia.

e) The authentic character of the street has changed due to the spatial and functional changes of the area after Nicosia's division. As a result, both the tangible and intangible authenticity of Asklipiou Street has been impacted by division. This includes the abrupt interruption of the street by the buffer zone, which has consequently influenced the material, functional and

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[86] See Table 2: *Heritage values as identified by different scholars and organisations*. In Chapter 2, Section 2.2.1.
[87] Nora's theories about the link between memory and place are introduced in Chapter 3, Section 3.3.2 and explains the difference between *milieu de mémoire* and *lieu de mémoire*.

historical authenticity[88] of its surrounding built environment. This has encouraged the neglect, abandonment and decay of buildings of heritage value, while raising questions about the use and spirit of place[89].

Figure 69: Military post at the northern end of Asklipiou Street in walled Nicosia (Souto 2013). The building on the right is currently used by the GC military (first floor) and by a local carpenter (ground floor). The building on the left is the one illustrated in Figure 67 and Figure 68

Interruption of walled Nicosia's horizontal (North – South) spatial patterns

The cases of Karamanzade, Arab Ahmet and Asklipiou Street, even though of different scales and at different locations within walled Nicosia, bear several similarities that can be ascribed to the ongoing conflict and division. Amongst these similarities is the physical decay of structures and

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[88] Chapter 3, Section 3.4.2, Table 4: *Types of authenticity* offers a breakdown of the different meanings of authenticity depending on different disciplines and contexts.

[89] This point reflects the previously discussed Nara Document on Authenticity that considers "form and design, materials and substance, use and function, traditions and techniques, location and setting, spirit and feeling, and other internal and external factors" (ICOMOS 1994) to play a prominent role in the understanding and interpretation of authenticity within heritage practice.

neighbourhoods closer to the buffer zone and the functional discontinuity of buildings and facilities within their vicinity. As a result, the identity of these areas has been affected, as well as the memories associated with them; a consequence that impacts on the management and protection of their tangible and intangible heritage. Moreover, what can be observed in areas such as Karamanzade, Arab Ahmet and Asklipiou Street is a vertical (East – West) interruption created between them and the rest of the city after division. This interruption has encouraged the prioritisation of selected areas in the rehabilitation process of walled Nicosia and has resulted in the neglect of others. Even though this approach helps protect heritage of "heavy symbolic significance" (Calame et al 2009: 40), it has contributed to the selective heritage management and protection of several areas within the walled city, while causing the gradual invisibility of less prominent buildings and neighbourhoods that also hold significant heritage value.
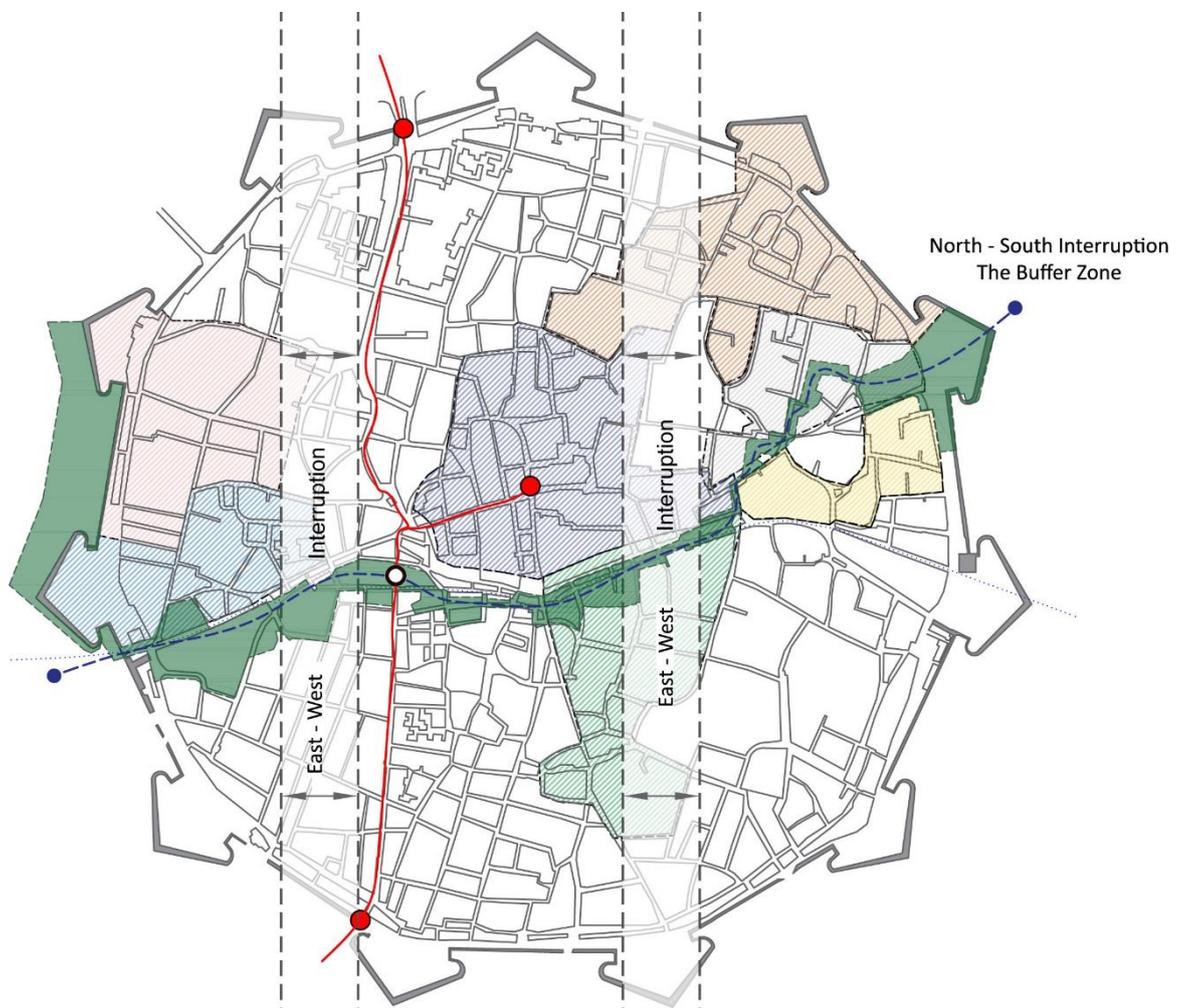
Figure 70: Diagram illustrating the North - South interruption of walled Nicosia's urban fabric due to the buffer zone (Author 2017). In the context of walled Nicosia, East - West interruptions refer to the vertical fragmentation of the walled city through the creation of disused, or liminal spaces that weaken the link between the different districts of walled Nicosia. Whereas North - South interruption refers to the horizontal division of the city by the buffer zone.

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As a result, poorly maintained areas within the walls act as an additional boundary between neighbourhoods and subsequently discourage visitors from the edges of the walled city. This issue can be observed in other areas within walled Nicosia where, due to the selective protection of the historic core, the attachment of the public appears to favour the more visually and functionally appealing as these are more accessible and pleasant to be in. This is at the expense of the adjoining hidden historical fragments, which are forgotten. A similar example to that of Asklipiou Street in South Nicosia are the Kafesli[90] – Yeni Jami areas in north-east Nicosia that face similar issues of heritage neglect and gradual invisibility, with surrounding quarters, such as that of Selimiye undergoing significant regeneration since the opening of the border crossings. This issue has gradually reflected on the built environment of Kafesli– Yeni Jami, with buildings of historical significance being left to decay (Figure 72 - Figure 74)[91].
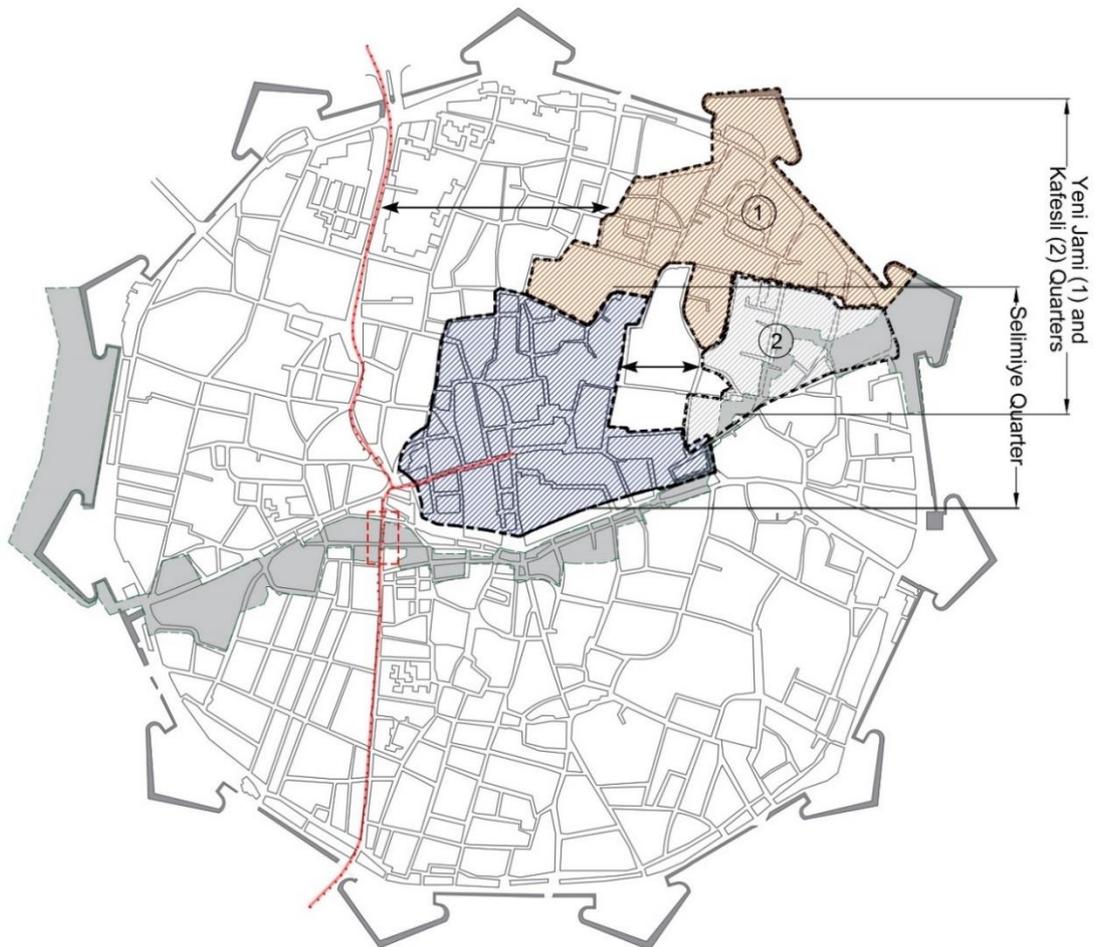
Figure 71: Diagram illustrating the location of the Kafesli/ Yeni Jiam and Selimiye areas (Author 2017).

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[90] The Kafesli area is also known as Ayios Kassianos (meaning Saint Kassianos).
[91] Figure 54: *Listed buildings and monuments within walled Nicosia*, demonstrates that a significant amount of listed buildings are located in the two areas, further highlighting the risk of heritage loss due to lack of maintenance and consequent decay.

In this case, conflict and division materialise as key facilitators in the urban decline of walled Nicosia by enhancing the gap between the different segments of the historic core. Moreover, the top down approach to protecting heritage, even though beneficial in encouraging public engagement within areas of the walled city, has also contributed to the deterioration of smaller buildings of notable heritage value. Considering the above findings, this consequence has arguably affected the heritage value of the areas concerned, by impacting their use, materiality and socio-economic integrity; an issue that also raises concerns about the authenticity and memory values of neglected neighbourhoods within walled Nicosia. In this case, heritage processes demonstrate limited consideration of areas along the edges of the walled city and concentrate on prominent quarters such as the one of Selimiye. This point raises a gap in the planning and implementation process of heritage protection, which subsequently reflects on the wider management conservation of declining buildings and neighbourhoods.

Figure 72: Decaying buildings within the Kafesli/ Yeni Jami area. The light blue line on the street indicates that the area is part of the heritage route created by the NMP as an attempt to encourage people to walk around the historic core and learn about the heritage of walled Nicosia (Author 2016).

Figure 73: Decaying building within the Kafesli/ Yeni Jami area. Image of Tandi's Hamam, left to decay since the division of the city, where materials were removed to be used for the construction of military posts (Author 2016).

Figure 74: A residence in dating back to the nineteenth century in a severely declining state (Author 2016). The picture demonstrates the poor physical condition of the illustrated building, partly located in the buffer zone; while a closer examination of the photograph suggests that the adjacent area continues to be inhabited despite the threatening structural state of the abandoned residence.

Figure 75: Image of recently restored building in the Selimiye area, demonstrating the contrast between the neighbouring Kafesli – Yeni Jami areas (Author 2012).

Figure 76: Image of recently restored building in the Selimiye area (Author 2012).

4.3.3 Heritage Affected by Conflict in the Buffer Zone

> It is along these streets that Cypriots from both sides of the city came together – streets that contained a mixture of Greek, Turkish and Armenian businesses. This historic urban topography has endured, with most of these riverbed streets falling within the United Nations Buffer Zone – radically transformed from spaces of cooperation into lines of division (Bakshi 2012:1).

As demonstrated earlier in this chapter, the UN-controlled buffer zone dividing Nicosia emerges as one of the key components in the deterioration of architectural heritage and in the communicative gap between the GC and TC communities. The fact that this area has contributed to the establishment of two states, one of which still lacks international recognition (Balderstone 2007: 4), further exemplifies the political and social paradox that shapes the current management of Cyprus' and, consequently, Nicosia's heritage. According to the NMP, the buffer zone has had a negative impact on its adjacent areas, being deemed as a major risk for the rehabilitation and reunification of the city (Nicosia Master Plan 2004b: 8). In the case of Nicosia, this imposition on the urban landscape can be considered both as a dividing element, as well as an individual entity and a third, middle ground that has been independently evolving since 1974. In fact, the buffer zone, even though only having received minimal maintenance over recent years due to access restrictions, is an interesting prospect for further investigation due to its "untouched" nature and the fact that its heritage and contents belong to both the GC and TC communities.

Background information

The UN controlled buffer zone spans approximately 180 kilometres across the island and covers around 3% of Cyprus's surface area. It varies in width from less than four meters within the city of Nicosia to approximately seven kilometres near the village of Athienou (south-east part of Cyprus) (Charlesworth 2006: 86). This border was established in 1964 following escalated antagonism and violence between the GC and TC populations caused by diverse ethnical objectives, and became a buffer zone and a permanent "no man's" land following the Turkish invasion in 1974 (Parpa 2010: 23). The fact that there is "one soldier for every fifteen inhabitants on the island of Cyprus" (Charlesworth 2006: 86), as well as ongoing armed supervision of the specific area, is a constant reminder of the continuing tension between the GC and TC communities; particularly in walled Nicosia, where division has visibly altered the topography of the historic core.

In walled Nicosia, this originally natural divider - previously a river running through the heart of the city and later a commercial street from the 19th century onwards (Figure 79) - was temporally transmitted to a manmade semi-controlled demarcation in 1956 due to interethnic conflict, and since then has continued to segregate the historic core (Drousiotis 2006). Today, the buffer zone is characterised by lack of development and being an area of profound spatial discontinuity. This

inaccessible central strip, which is around 10% of walled Nicosia, runs approximately 1.5km in length and "is suffering from an accelerated deterioration process" (Nicosia Master Plan 1984: 35). Moreover, in addition to the UN controlled buffer zone area, the Turkish military of North Cyprus maintain a further militarised zone accessible only by them (Figure 79). This area runs to the north of the UN controlled buffer zone of walled Nicosia and includes endangered buildings of significant heritage value (Bensel 2016).

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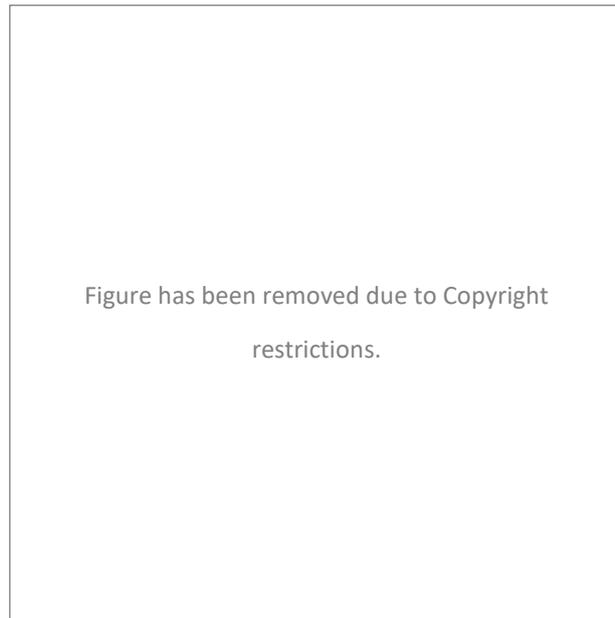
Figure 77: Nicosia's 1956 first demarcation line, also known as the Mason Dixon Line or the 'green line' (Majchút and Hrnčia: 71)

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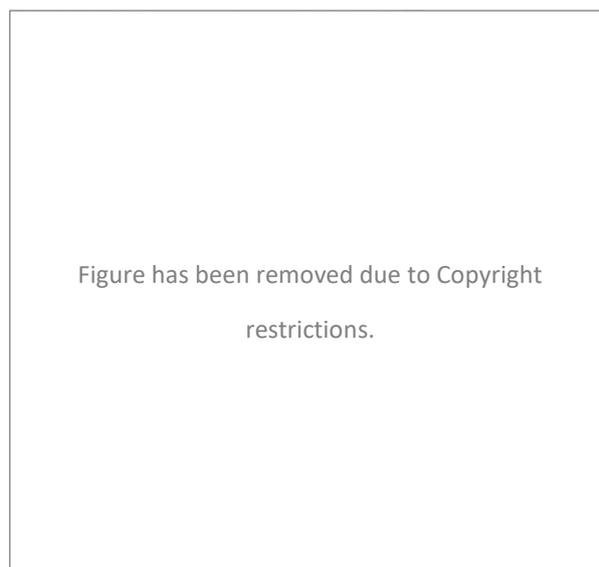
Figure 78: The 1974 UN enforced buffer zone, also known as the 'dead zone' or 'no-man's land' (Petridou 2008)

Figure 79: Drawing illustrating the buffer zone of walled Nicosia, along with adjacent building blocks, the location of the Turkish military zone within the vicinity and the river that previously ran through the walled city (Author 2017). The Turkish military zone currently runs along the existing buffer zone and splits the area between the UN soldiers (south part of the buffer zone) and the Turkish military (north part of the buffer zone).

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The significance of Nicosia's buffer zone

In the highly-restricted area of the buffer zone, medieval churches, neoclassical buildings, traditional houses, schools, shops and workshops are crumbling from neglect (Europa Nostra 2013).
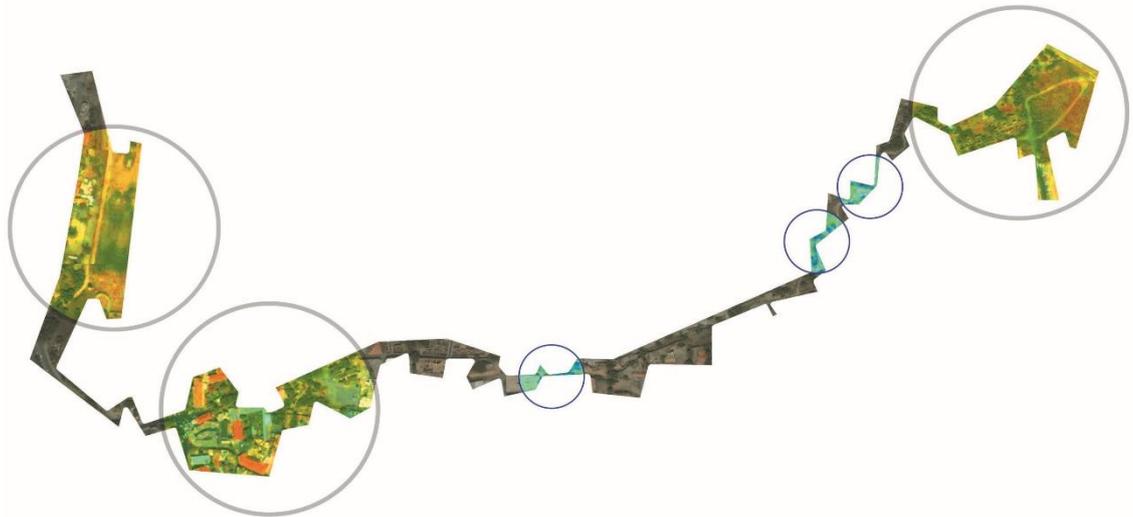
Figure 80: Study of the different densities of walled Nicosia's buffer zone (Author 2016)

Despite the devastating impact of abandonment on the buffer zone, it is still identified as the most important "gluing area" between the north and south sides of Nicosia and plays a vital role in the functional integration of the historic core (Nicosia Master Plan 2004a: 25). Moreover, many streets that currently lie within the buffer zone, such as Hermes street, had previously served as commercial arteries that brought the TC and GC communities together. Their consequent interruption again illustrates the buffer zone's impact on the intangible heritage of the city; i.e. commerce.

In addition to the decay of buildings of historical value, the field work from walled Nicosia also demonstrated how the buffer zone has evolved into a third, individual layer that not only includes a significant amount of heritage from before the division of the city, but has also developed additional significance for the soldiers patrolling the area. For example, Figure 85 and Figure 86 illustrate the creation of a 'museum' by the UN soldiers that patrol walled Nicosia, where items left by shop keepers in the buffer zone are displayed. This finding highlights how the division of the city into three autonomous entities (i.e. the North, South and the buffer zone - Figure 81), has contributed to their independent evolution, enabling them to develop their own heritage values and significance. It can therefore be argued that, the buffer zone possesses different heritage values for the local community and for the soldiers and relevant professionals that have access to the area.

This consideration raises concerns about the role and significance of collective memory associated with the area and of the authentic protection of its tangible and, in this case intangible heritage[92].
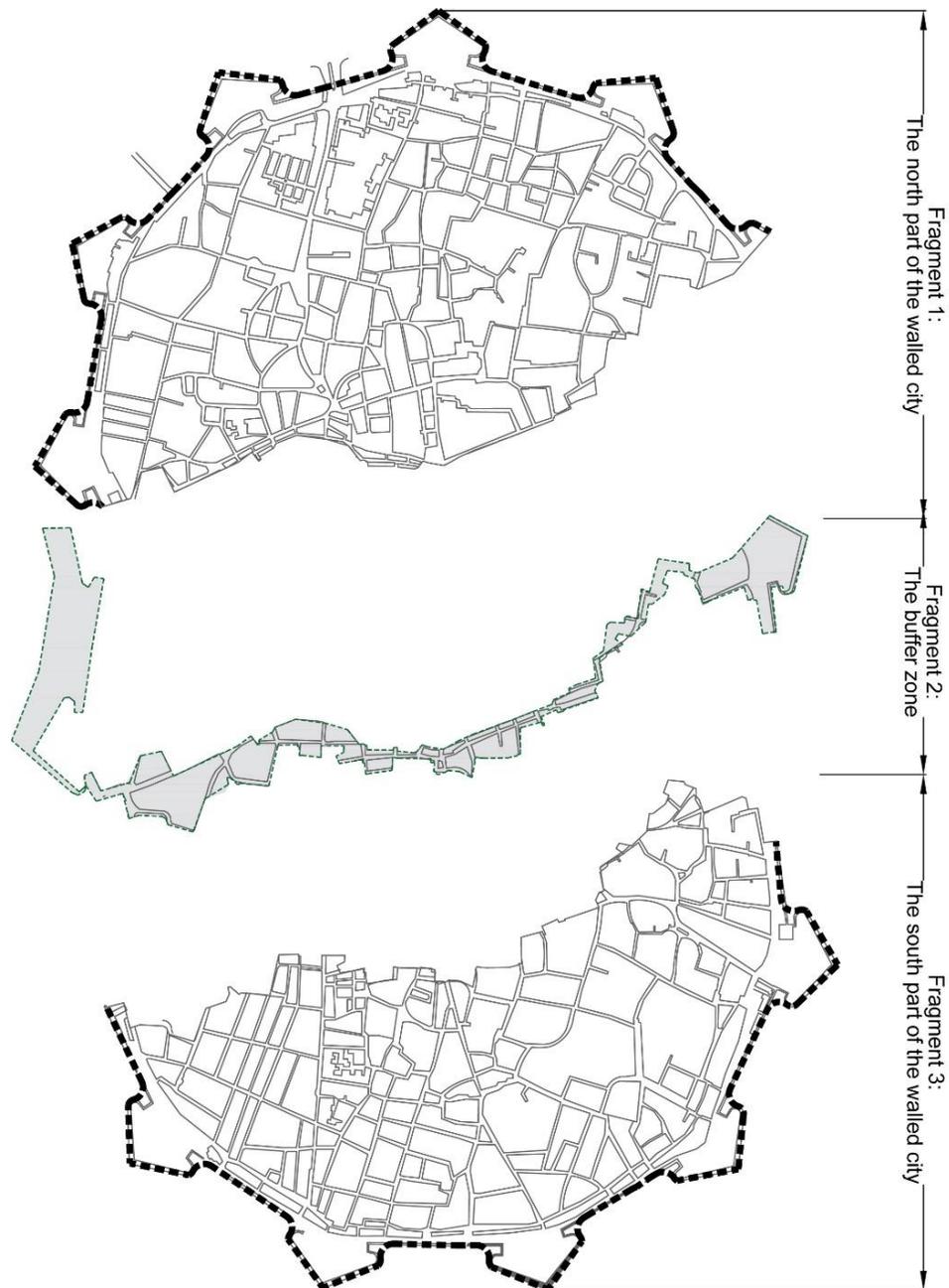
Fragment 1: The north part of the walled city

Fragment 2: The buffer zone

Fragment 3: The south part of the walled city

Figure 81: Figure illustrating the identified fragments of the walled city of Nicosia (Author 2017)

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[92] Also, refer to Chapter 3, Section 3.3.2: *The Quebec Declaration on the Preservation of the Spirit of Place* (ICOMOS 2008b) regards memory as part of the intangible heritage of place, as well as a factor that "significantly contributes to making place and to giving it spirit" (ICOMOS 2008b). Subsequently, the management approach of the buffer zone's tangible heritage is likely to have a detrimental impact on its intangible heritage; including the individual and collective memories associated with it before and after the division of Nicosia.

Figure 82: Image of Ayios Kassianos school within the buffer zone of old Nicosia (Author 2013)
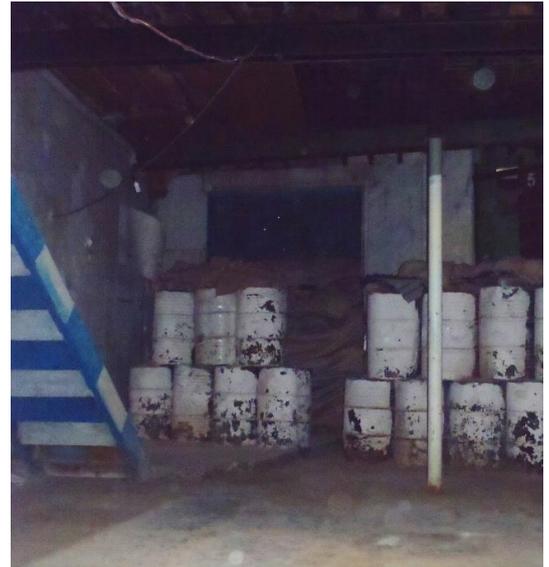
Figure 83: Old residence, partially located in the buffer zone of walled Nicosia and currently being used as a storage space by the GC military (Author 2013)

Figure 84: Old shops located in Hermes Street, a previously vibrant commercially 'bridge' between the North and South (Author 2013)
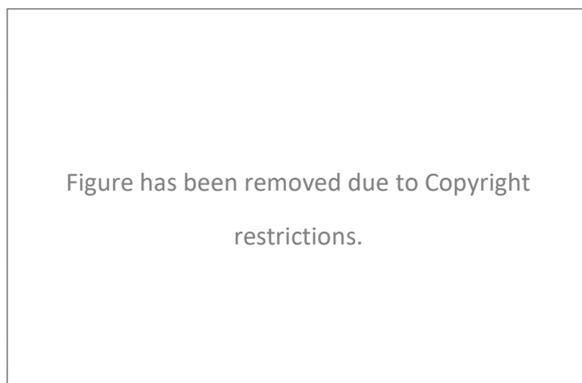
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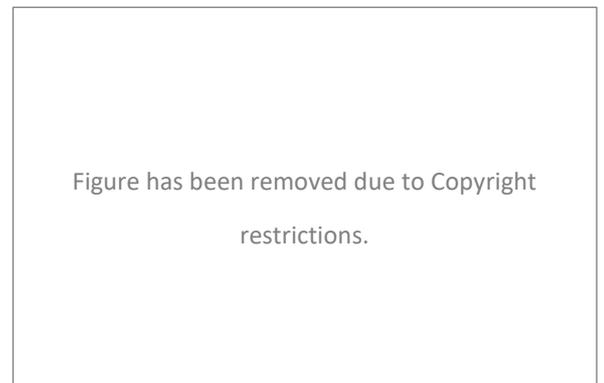
Figure has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Figure 85 and Figure 86: Old shops within the buffer zone. Image taken by UN soldiers in 2010 (UN 2010)

The Catholic Church of the Holy Cross

The effect of the buffer zone on walled Nicosia's built environment can be witnessed on different scales and locations within the historic core; from the wider neighbourhood scale down to

individual streets and buildings. An example worth noting that demonstrates this point is the Catholic Church of the Holy Cross, located in the Karamanzade Quarter. Following the division of the city, the main entrance to the Friary, as well as the carriage gate to the church's garden were blocked as they directly faced the Turkish-occupied part of the city. Access to the church is only possible from the GC part of Nicosia, while the gates facing the TC part of the city remain shut at all times (Barato 2012).

Figure 87: Map illustrating the location of the Holy Cross Catholic Church within walled Nicosia (Author 2017)

The Catholic Church of the Holy Cross is a prominent example demonstrating the effect of division on the tangible built environment of walled Nicosia, but also on the 'rituals', that represent the intangible meanings associated with heritage and place. As can be observed, the existence of the buffer zone is the reason for the changes imposed on this building as it has altered its use and spiritual values[93]. In this case, the authenticity of the church has been affected; firstly, by altering its material fabric to allow for its continuous use and secondly, by imposing changes on its intangible significance by obstructing the possibility of the entrance procession that is of sacred importance to Christian religious buildings.

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[93] The entrance procession is recognised by Christian Catholic religion as a vital part of the spiritual significance and experience of the building. More specifically, the entrance procession does not just provide access to the church, but has a more meaningful theological importance by representing a route which signifies that individuals are pilgrims of God; on the road from earth to heaven (McCaffrey 2017).

Figure 88: Historical photograph of the Catholic Church of the Holy Cross during the early nineteenth century, without the existence of the buffer zone (Hadjiliras 2010). The picture illustrates the church (left) with its adjacent shops functioning at the time. Paphos Street, between the church and the shops was also a functioning route leading to the commercial part of the walled city. The entrance illustrated has now become the only entrance to the premises.

Figure 89: Image of the Holy Catholic Church in Walled Nicosia's buffer zone (Koudounias 2013)

Interruption of walled Nicosia's vertical (East - West) spatial patterns

The spatial patterns of urban environments - like Nicosia - constitute a recovered account of the norms or customs of the society that has created them (Hillier *et al.* 1989). Interruption of these patterns indicates a possible disturbance to the overall human perception and interaction with real space, thus resulting in the decline of space through the change of social uses and activities (Hillier

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and Vaughan 2007). The field work findings demonstrate that, the abrupt disruption of Nicosia's spatial and consequently functional continuity, materialises as a leading cause for the decline of its tangible and intangible heritage. Indeed, the existence of the buffer zone disrupts a network of previously organic interactions between the North and South, while influencing the management and development of its historic urban fabric. The following image illustrates Nicosia's spatial discontinuity between the North and South segments of the city, particularly at the street and neighbourhood level. As can be observed, the width of the UN buffer zone magnifies the lack of interaction between the two sides, dividing the city both physically and socially. However, and as Figure 90 demonstrates, there are multiple possibilities of encouraging future interactions by thinning the boundary through the creation of more crossings.
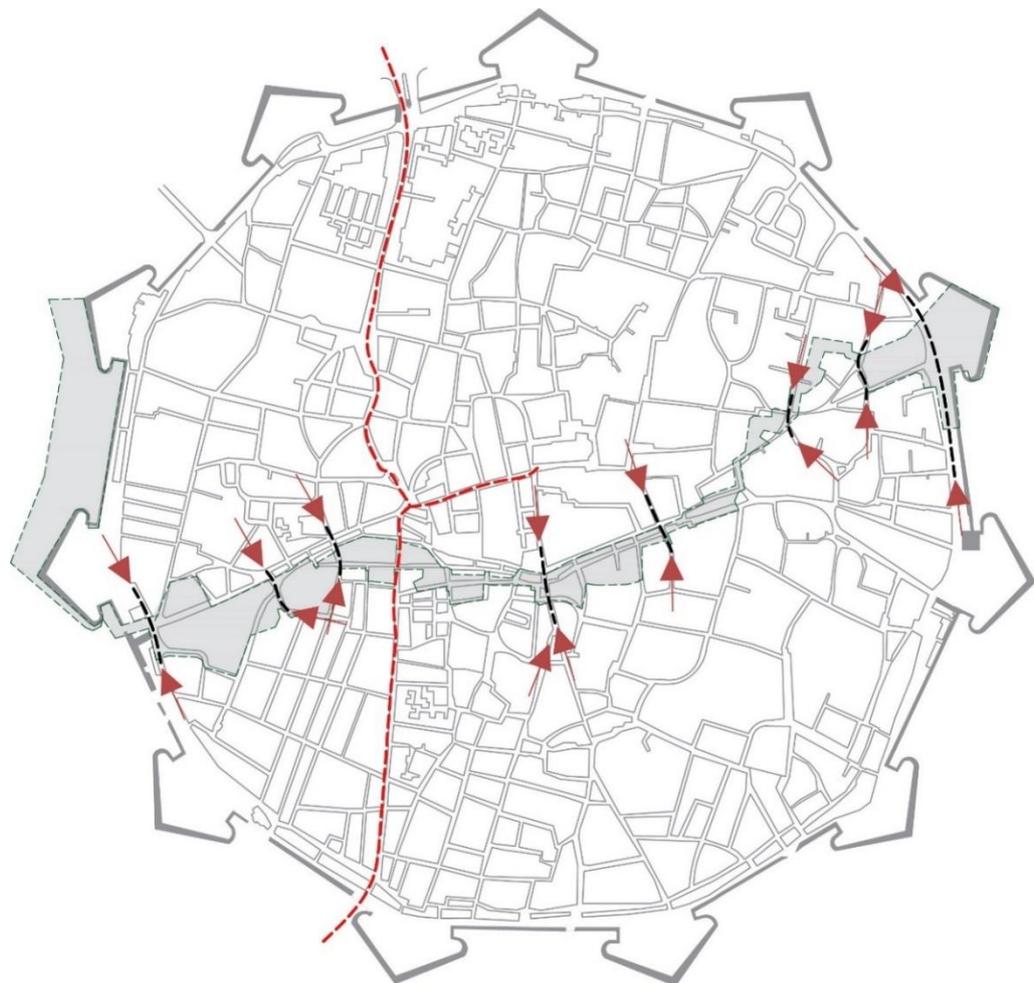
Figure 90: Diagrams illustrating the (directly) interrupted street patterns linking the North and South and the possibilities for further openings (Author 2017)

Overgrown vegetation is a further indicator of the scale of the division, as well as the degree of interaction (or lack of) between the adjacent communities. A visual comparison of Figure 91 and Figure 92 vividly illustrates this observation, as well as the altered spatial syntax of the urban core before and after its 1974 division.

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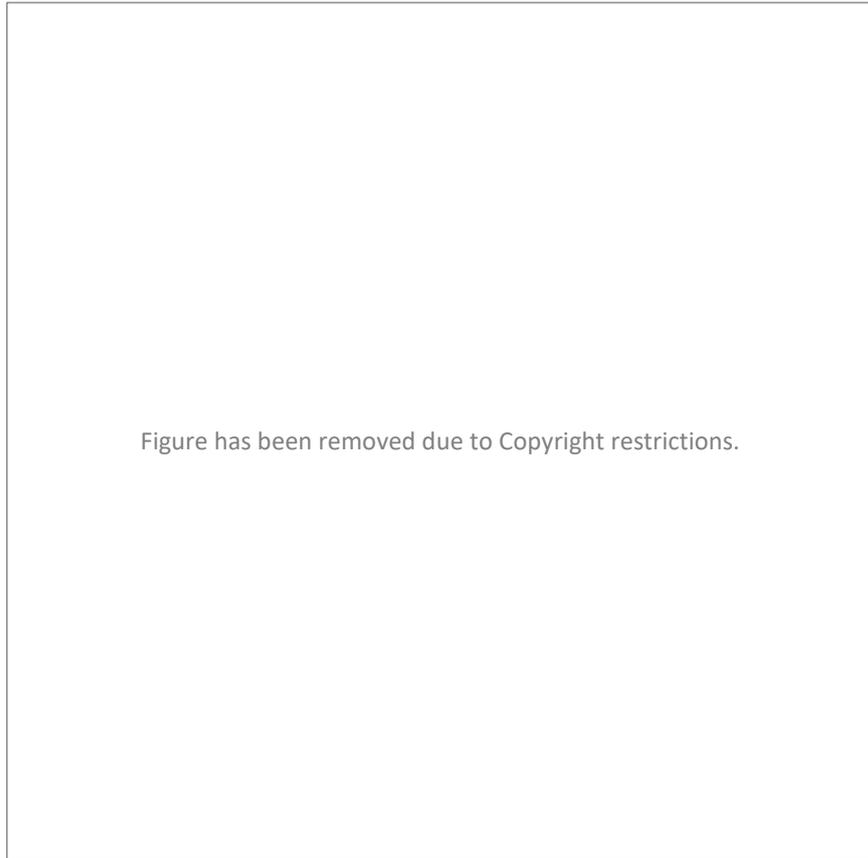
Figure 91: Aerial picture of Nicosia 1957 (Republic of Cyprus and Press Information Office 2010)

Figure has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.
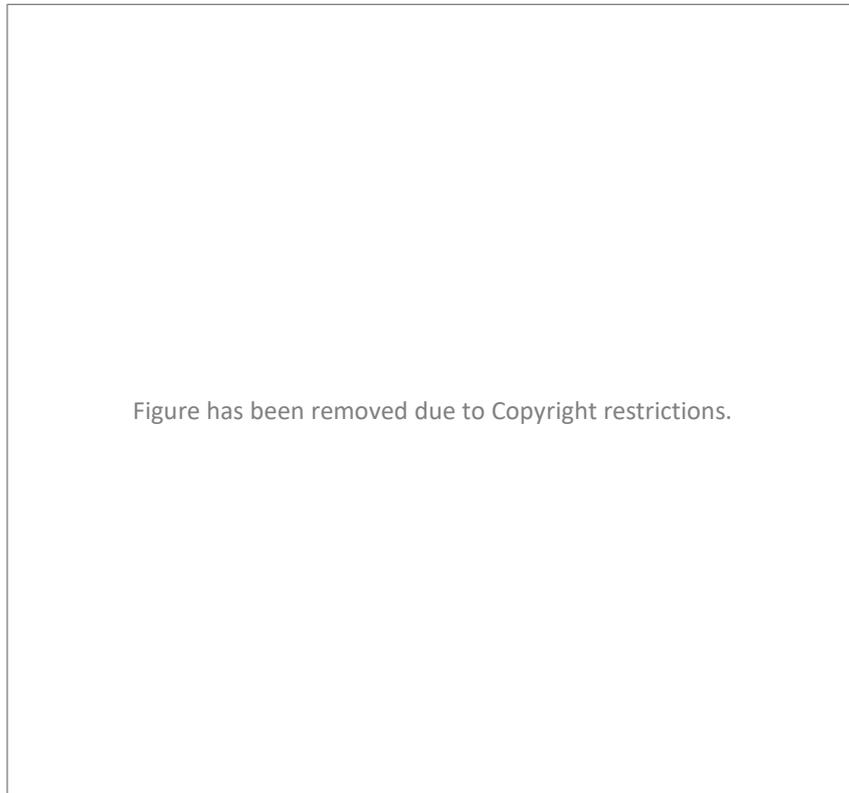
Figure 92: Aerial picture of Nicosia 2010 (Google Maps 2016)

In addition, following the division of the city a number buildings adjacent to the buffer zone, remain abandoned, neglected, and used as temporary workshops or storage spaces.

Figure 93 and Figure 94: Storage spaces (Author 2011)

Figure 95 and Figure 96: Abandoned buildings (Author 2011)

Figure 97 and Figure 98: Abandoned buildings next to the Buffer Zone (Author 2011)

This point demonstrates how the disruption of the spatial patterns of walled Nicosia has significantly influenced the development of its built environment, by encouraging the neglect and decline of historic buildings and neighbourhoods within the historic core. Furthermore, even

though areas such as the commercial Ledra Street (South) have undergone a significant amount of upgrading, other parts within the walls remain highly problematic[94].
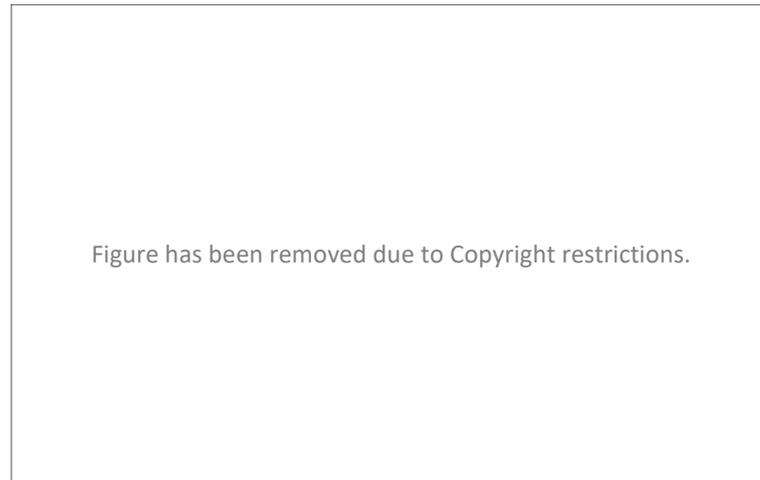
Figure 99: Ledra street in 1969 (Spier 2013)
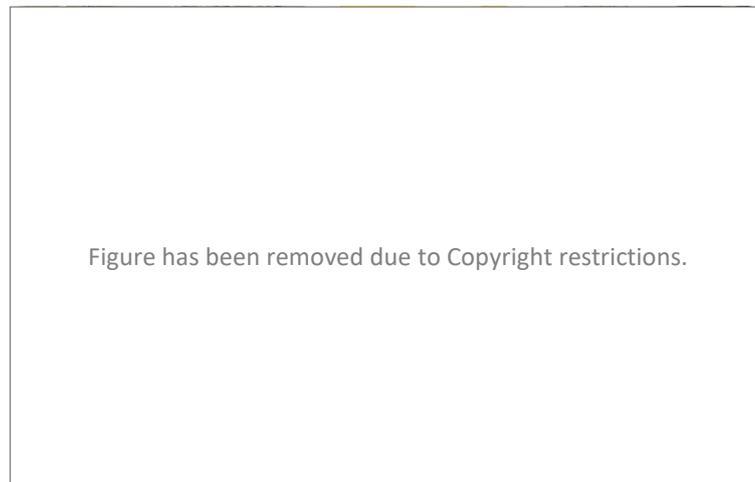
Figure 100: Ledra street in 2015 (Viator 2015)
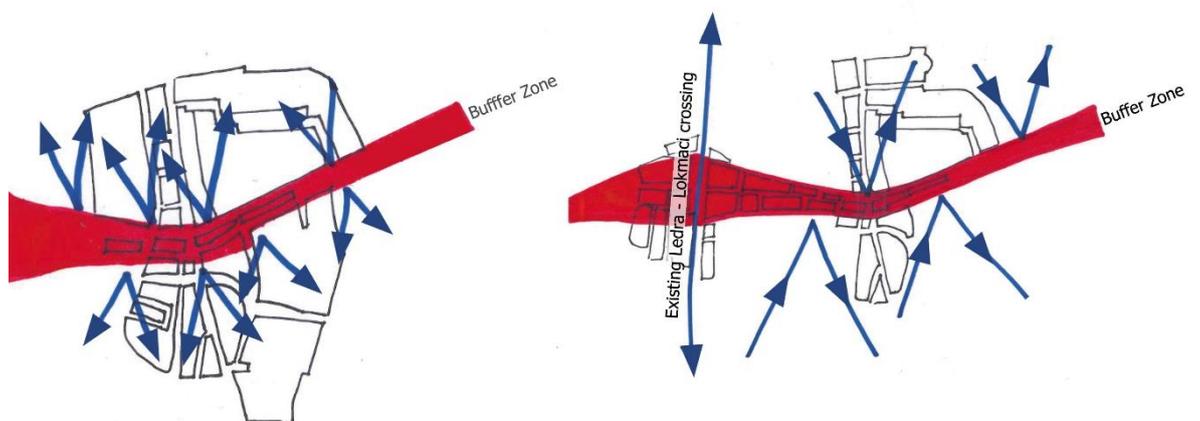
Figure 101: Diagrammatic representation of the current responses to the buffer zone, both from a public and a development perspective (Author 2016)

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[94] At the moment, Ledra Street is also the only route inside the walled city allowing for access between the North and South; further justifying its position as the commercial centre of walled Nicosia. Another checkpoint exists, but it is located at the west part of the walled city and outside the historic core. This is known as the Ledra Palace checkpoint.

This point reinforces the contrast between highly developed streets such as Ledra's and other declining areas adjacent to the buffer zone, thus influencing public preference and perception about specific places within the walls. Considering the above, it can be argued that the horizontal division between the north and south parts of walled Nicosia is compounded by the vertical (East – West) dispersion and decline of areas on either side of the divide. This encourages the prioritisation of more visually appealing streets, while allowing for the decline and lack of up-keeping of less attractive areas; a concern that demonstrates selectiveness, both in the management and in the public perception of walled Nicosia's heritage.
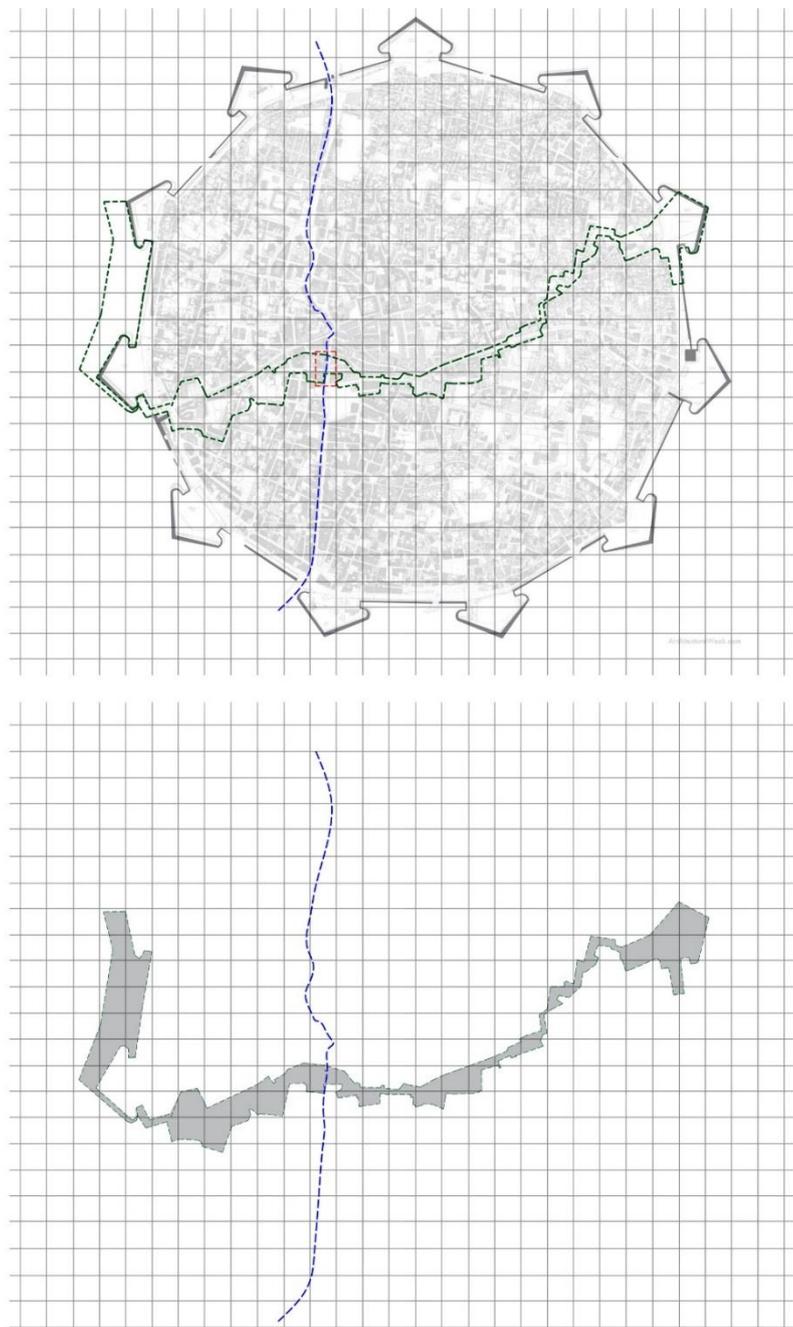
Figure 102: Diagrams demonstrating the location of Ledra Street in relation to the UN Buffer Zone, as well as the rest of the walled city (Author 2017)

The interruption of the organic flow of central streets within the historic core is a visible reminder of the long-lasting "degeneration and disinvestment" (Nicosia Municipality 2012: 4) dominating several areas within walled Nicosia. This issue has resulted in the independent growth of Nicosia outside the walls, leaving the walled city to shrink socially, functionally and economically[95]. The following images (Figure 103 and Figure 104) demonstrate how the organic interaction of streets continues to suffer due to the current urban structure of walled Nicosia, consequently resulting in the disruption of relevant activities and 'rituals' that used to reflect the cultural significance of streets and neighbourhoods. This finding further highlights the impact of conflict on the tangible and intangible heritage of walled Nicosia, and illustrates how the presence of division has contributed to the re-configuration of the city, as well as to the loss of orientation to and from different quarters within the area.

Figure 103: Trikoupi street, South Nicosia. The street includes abandoned shops that used to link with the previously commercial Hermes Street, currently bordering the buffer zone (Author 2012)

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[95] This issue was introduced in Section 4.3: *Expansion outside the walls* and is also highlighted by Parpa (2010: 25), who argues that the consequences of division has had a major impact on the physical, social and functional evolution of Nicosia both within and outside the walled city.

Figure 104: Kuyumcular Sokak, North Nicosia, previously the continuation of Trikoupi street (Author 2012)

Considering the above, several areas within walled Nicosia are a constant reminder of the unsolved conflict; not just the past war, but the potential outbreak of a future one. The role of memory in this case materialises as a prominent concern that is embedded on the tangible built environment of the walled city, with the neglected buildings reminiscing both the unpleasant past of Nicosia, but also encouraging the construction of 'artificial memories'[96] associated with the possibility of further interethnic discord. Moreover, the fact that the barricades and oil barrels are better maintained than the built environment itself, raises questions about the heritage management and protection of the old city, both from a municipal perspective, but also the contribution of private investment and public interest. In this case, the memories of conflict materialise as key contributors to the current state of the areas around the buffer zone, and to the lack of investment and public interest in the areas closer to the boundary.

'Rebranding' the streets of old Nicosia

The study of present-day divided Nicosia indicates the formation of new spatial patterns, as well as the transformation and 'rebranding' of streets, neighbourhoods and facilities within the walled city. As demonstrated earlier in this chapter, the field work conducted in walled Nicosia illustrates how

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[96] This point reflects Landsberg's (2004) discussion on the role of re-constructed or 'artificial memories' in the formation of culture (Chapter 3, Section 3.3.3).

the disruption of the organic links between streets and neighbourhoods has resulted in the ongoing decay of the areas bordering the buffer zone on each side of the divide. Further evidence illustrated in Figure 105 – 107 reveals the result of this disruption, where severe physical decay inside the buffer zone area is visible.

Figure 105: Declining retail buildings and workshops on Trikoupi Street, within walled Nicosia's buffer zone (Author 2012)

Figure 106 and Figure 107: Declining workshops on Trikoupi Street within walled Nicosia's buffer zone (Author 2012)

The 'rebranding' of streets can be observed through the examination of historic maps of walled Nicosia dating back to the British Colonial period[97]. More specifically, all Greek and British street names in the north part of the historic core have been replaced with Turkish names, consequently eradicating any association and memory of the colonial or Greek past. This point reflects the topic of selective memory protection discussed through the work of Papadakis (2008)[98], who suggests

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[97] The maps completed by Kitchener in 1885 were the first accurate maps of Nicosia, used for many years after their creation and on which larger scale maps were later based (Nicosia Municipality 2016).
[98] See Chapter 3, Section 3.3.3.

that, during conflict, communities can collectively choose to ignore or exaggerate elements of their past to serve their nationalist narratives. In this case, the heightened significance of memory is observed in walled Nicosia, as the change of street names in the North highlights concerns about the collective remembrance of the past and the impact this will have on the management and protection of the tangible and intangible heritage of the walled city. Arguably, purposeful amnesia, or a sense of regulated oblivion can be observed, further highlighting a selective approach in the management of Nicosia's historic core.

Figure 108: Drawing illustrating the name changes between street(s) within walled Nicosia (Author 2017). The example shown addresses a street in the central part of the walled city, where its name differs on each side of the divide. More specifically, the street is known as Trikoupi Street in the South and Kuyumcular Sokak in the North.

In addition, the renaming of the streets in the north side of Nicosia raises questions of authenticity and challenges the way memories have been preserved, altered or (re)constructed in order to strengthen cultural identity and establish a sense of belonging after the division of the city. This finding also suggests the difference in perception about the temporality and permanence of conflict and division between the North and South, as well as a selective protection of Nicosia's past; concerns that play a vital role in the historical continuity of the city as a whole. This observation is further reinforced through the examination of the materiality of the buffer zone between the two Nicosia municipalities; with the North using more permanent means to mark the border when compared to temporary methods used by the South.

Figure 109 and Figure 110 illustrate the buffer zone boundaries used by the GC and TC sides respectively. As can be observed, there is a distinctive contrast in the way each side has chosen to construct the dividing wall, with a more permanent fabrication being created in the North. In the South, oil barrels are the only visible items preventing access to the restricted area. This material contradiction further suggests a lack of mutual perception both about the future of the buffer zone, but also the potential for reunification.
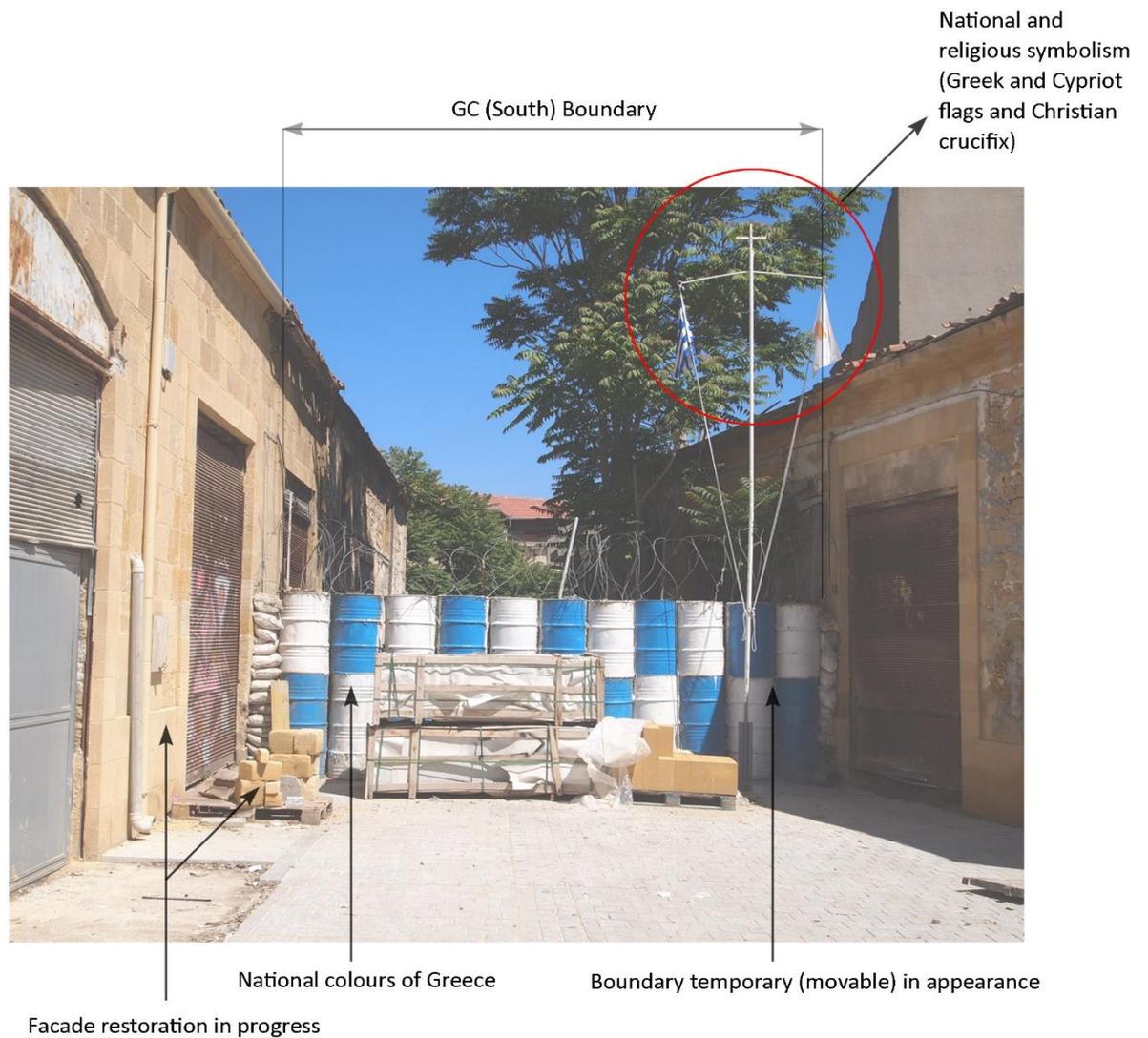
Figure 109: Analysis of GC (South) buffer zone boundary (Author 2017). In this image the Greek national colours (white and blue), the Greek and Cypriot flag (top right) and the Crucifix associated with these nations can be observed.

TC (North) Boundary

No visible national or religious symbolism

No visible facade restoration, or any other type of regeneration

Abandoned materials against the boundary

Boundary permanent in appearance (solid wall)
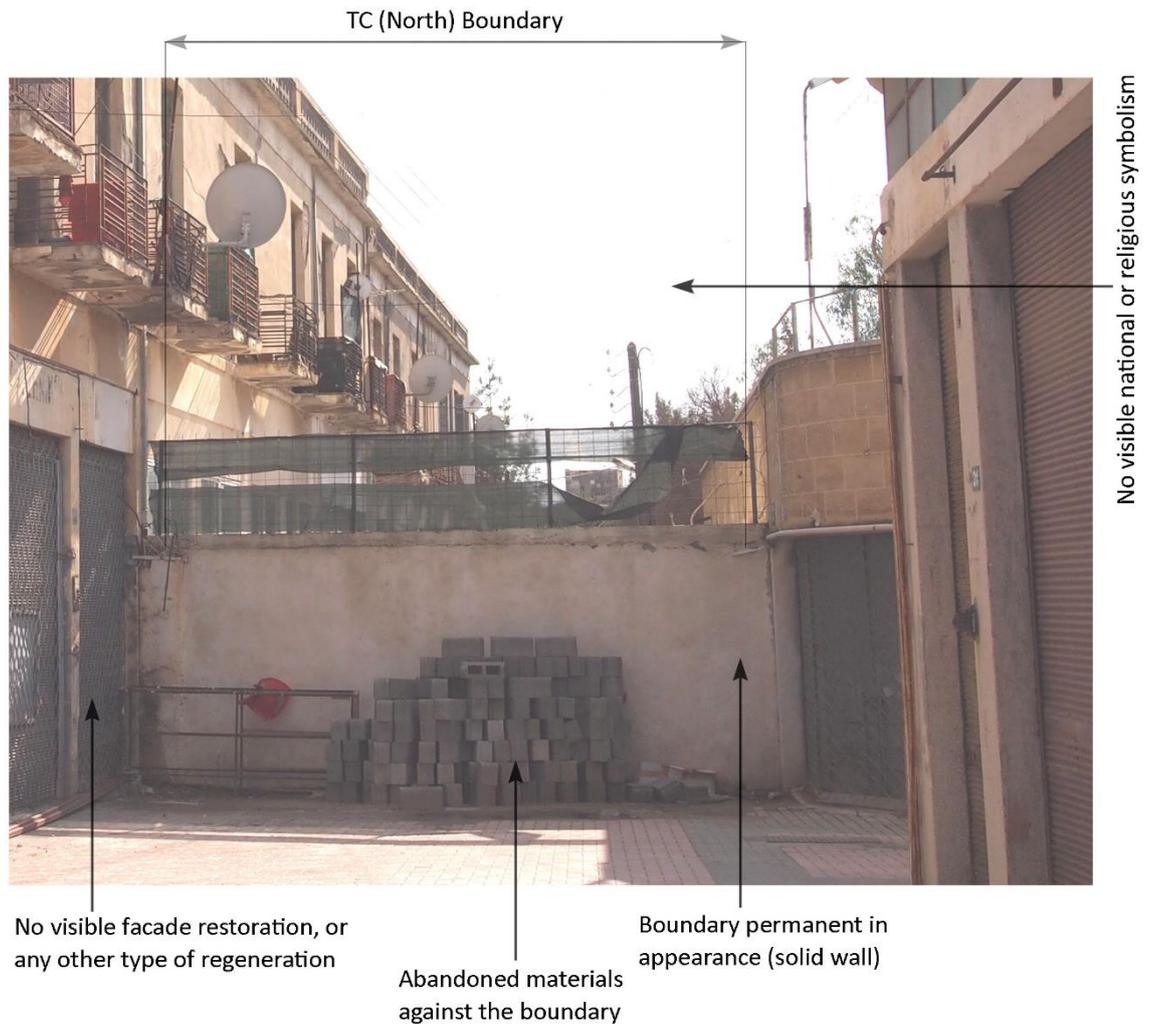
Figure 110: Analysis of TC (North) buffer zone boundary (Author 2017)

Nonetheless, the above images also demonstrate that even though the boundary in the South is physically temporary, the fact that national and religious symbolism is still prominent in the GC side implies that existing intangible boundaries associated with nationalist and religious ideas might be heavier to lift than the concrete walls constructed in the north part of old Nicosia. This finding demonstrates that, even though walled Nicosia's association with conflict and division has resulted in its development as a *milieu de memoire* (real environment of memory), national and religious symbolism in different parts of the city highlight the intentional, gradual expansion of *lieu de memoire* (places which remind of the past). This argument reflects Bryant's (2004) discussion[99] about the close link between politics, memory and religion in Cyprus and demonstrates that conflict and division in Nicosia emerge both as political and as social constructs, with a vivid attempt by each group to delimit and assert power and control over a previously shared urban landscape. In this case, the unstable power relations dominating the walled city's historic built environment are

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[99] See Chapter 3, Section 3.3.3: *Memory, conflict and the attack on Cypriot religious heritage.*

manifested through the treatment and materiality of the buffer zone boundary on either side of the divide.

The above points demonstrate how walled Nicosia's spatial composition has become fragmented, disrupting the link between space and the human understanding of it. This issue further obscures the interaction of human patterns and activities between the North and South; a trend that influences the public's and individuals' perception about the historic core and, consequently, the management and protection of walled Nicosia's heritage[100].

4.4 The Efforts of the Nicosia Master Plan to Protect the Heritage of Nicosia

As established in the previous sections, several areas within walled Nicosia suffer from abandonment, neglect and decay. The following section investigates the efforts of the NMP to deal with these issues and to protect the heritage of the city. To achieve this objective, selected projects of the NMP are being examined from both sides of the divide.

About the Nicosia Master Plan

In 1979, the mayors of Nicosia, Mustafa Akinci (North) and Lellos Demetrades (South), with the support of the UN, held a historic meeting that resulted in an agreement to work together on urban issues affecting Nicosia (Hadjri *et al.* 2014: 7). The initiation of the NMP included surveys, studies and plans for the walled city, with the first phase of implementation commencing in 1986 (Aga Khan Award for Architecture 2007: 4). The regeneration of the old town started with small improvements in the buffer zone, along with a series of local public spaces and development projects targeted at setting the groundwork and enhancing the quality of the later development phases. The NMP forms the principal strategic document, that guides the investigation of design projects for Nicosia and is thus the basis for evaluating the concept of "design as reconciliation" in the capital city of Cyprus (Charlesworth 2006: 89).

The efforts of the NMP have been widely acknowledged (AEDL 2012; Aga Khan Award for Architecture 2007; European Investment Bank 2011), with the GC and TC municipalities of Nicosia receiving the Aga Khan Award for Architecture for their ability to "transcend a tense political situation and take the first steps towards reversing the city's physical decay and economic decline through the catalyst of restoring the historic walled city" (Aga Khan Award for Architecture 2007: 132). To realise this objective, "Internationally accepted restoration practices were adopted with

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[100] This point has also been demonstrated through the interviews with the public living or working in South Nicosia, with their responses further justifying the great impact of conflict and division on their understanding and perception of the walled city. The interviews can be found in Appendix II, and will also be discussed in the forthcoming chapter (Chapter 5).

the aim of safeguarding the authenticity of the structures and ensuring that all interventions were reversible" (Aga Khan Award for Architecture 2007: 4). Subsequently, this award reflects the bi-communal nature of the NMP team and of the GC and TC Municipalities of Nicosia, by highlighting the potential of the walled city in addressing the social, cultural, economic and heritage decline resulting from its division. In addition, this opportunity signifies the international recognition of walled Nicosia's heritage, while providing wider awareness of the issues brought by conflict and division. Since receiving the Aga Khan Award for Architecture, international bodies and organisations, such as USAID, UNDP and the EU Partnership for the Future Programme, have provided funding for the continuation of the NMP initiative while privately funded restoration and upgrading of various areas of walled Nicosia have also commenced (Hadjigeorgiou 2010).

NMP Phases

The NMP initiative can be broken down into two major phases, with each phase separated into smaller sub-stages that complement one another. Phase One (1980 - 1985) involved the assessment of the impact of division on the city of Nicosia, producing long term (up to the year 2000) plans for its improvement. This phase considered two scenarios; one where the city was two separate, divided entities while the other considered how Nicosia would function as a unified whole. Phase One was broad in its scope and focused on the study of Nicosia after its division, while identifying the areas in need of urgent regeneration both inside and outside the walled city.
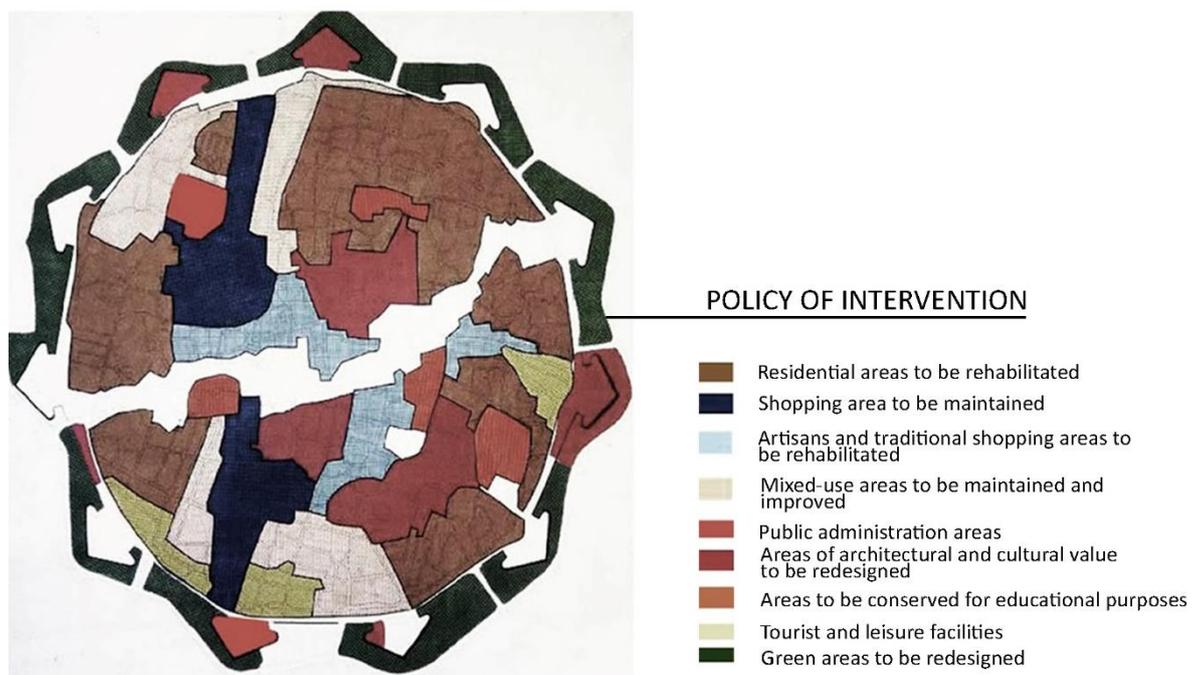
Figure 111: Policy of Intervention. One of the initial proposals of the Nicosia Master Plan. This proposal establishes the wider character of the areas to be rehabilitated and excludes the development of the UN Buffer Zone area (Nicosia Master Plan 1984; adapted by Author 2016)

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REHABILITATION OF NICOSIA
BI-COMMUNAL PRIORITY INVESTMENT PROJECTS

- Chrysaliniotissa and Arab Ahmet housing rehabilitation projects
- Pedestrianisation scheme of the commercial area
- Survey of the buffer zone
- Restoration of monuments: old aqueduct, Buyuk Khan
- Omerye and Selimiye projects
- Phaneromeni and Samanbache project areas
- Phaneromeni phase II project
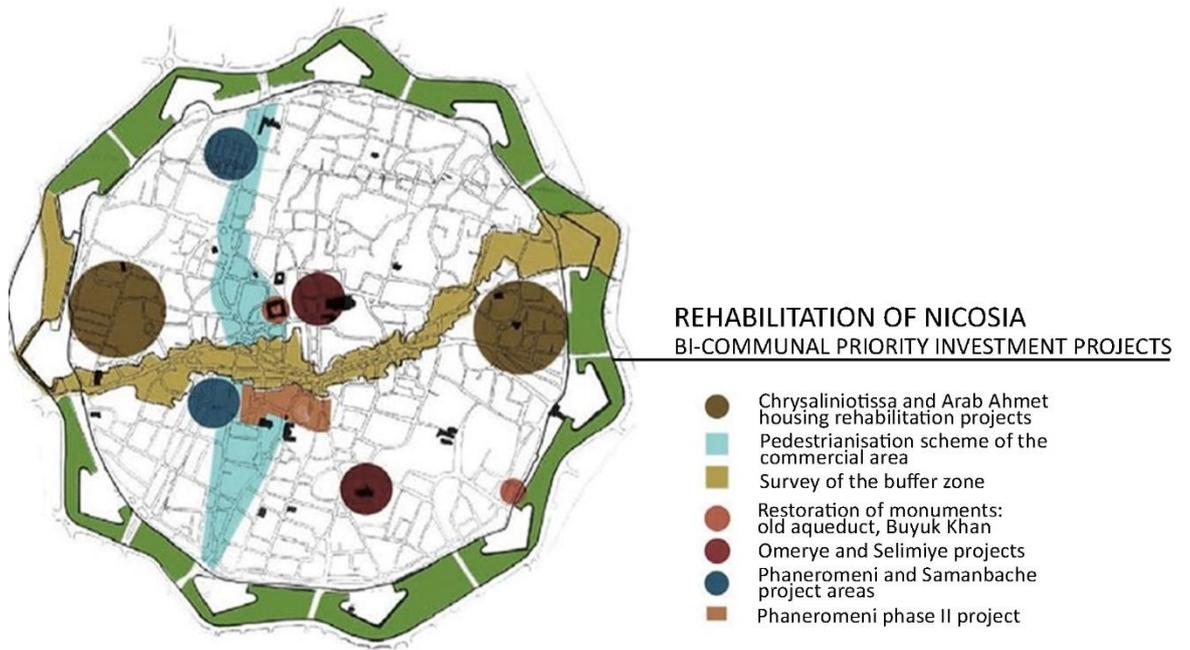
Figure 112: Bi-Communal Priority Investment Projects. This proposal establishes the wider character of the areas to be rehabilitated and excludes the development of the UN Buffer Zone area (Nicosia Master Plan 1984; adapted by Author 2016)
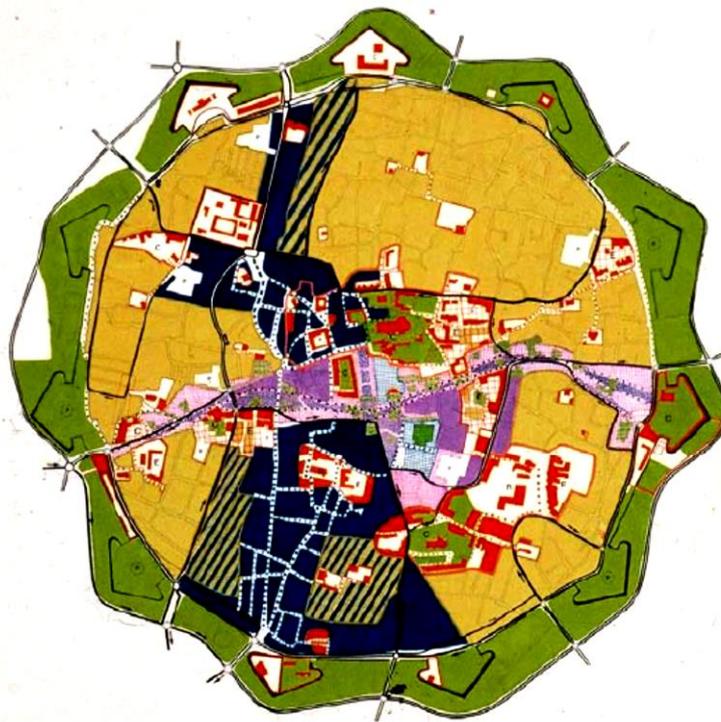
Figure 113: One of the initial proposals of the Nicosia Master Plan. This proposal includes the redevelopment of the UN Buffer Zone area and focuses more closely on specific streets and neighbourhoods (Nicosia Master Plan 1984; adapted by Author)

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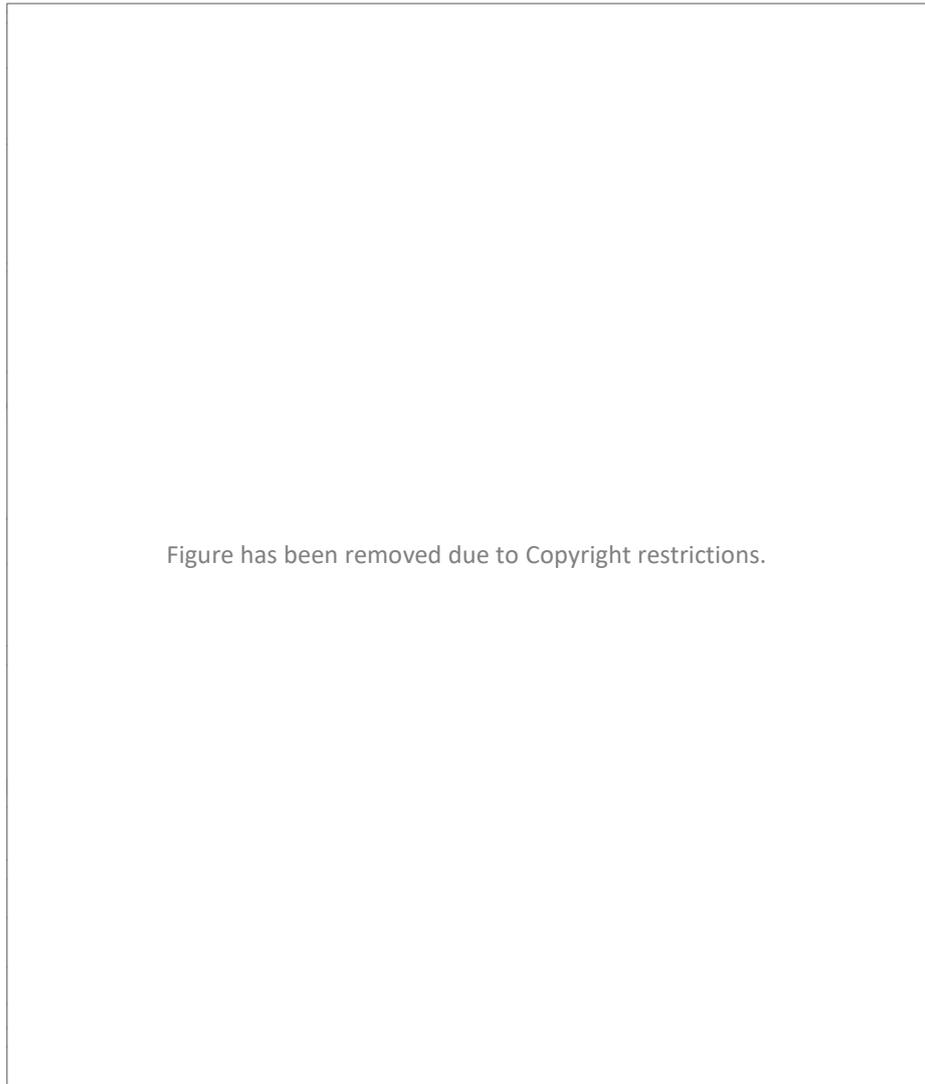
Figure 114: Assessment of the area types outside the walls of Nicosia (Nicosia Master Plan 1984)

The NMP maintains that walled Nicosia is an "outstanding example of international architectural heritage", acknowledging that the buffer zone is central to its ongoing problems by holding development back and by encouraging growth outside the walls (Nicosia Master Plan 1984: 20). For this reason, Phase Two of the NMP (2000 - 2004) concentrated more closely on the walled part of Nicosia, identifying areas of potential development on both sides of the divide. Heritage management in this phase was more focused, with significant revitalisation projects undertaken within the historic core. More specifically, this phase examined selected areas in more detail, with each municipality concentrating on its vicinity, while still accounting for the potential of reunification. In the Second Phase (Figure 115), consideration of the edges and the central part of walled Nicosia is observed, with less focus on the areas in-between. Within this framework, the NMP paid increased attention to the formulation of a preservation and rehabilitation policy for walled Nicosia, as the area within the walls is considered to be common heritage for both Nicosia's communities (Siatitsa 2012: 3).

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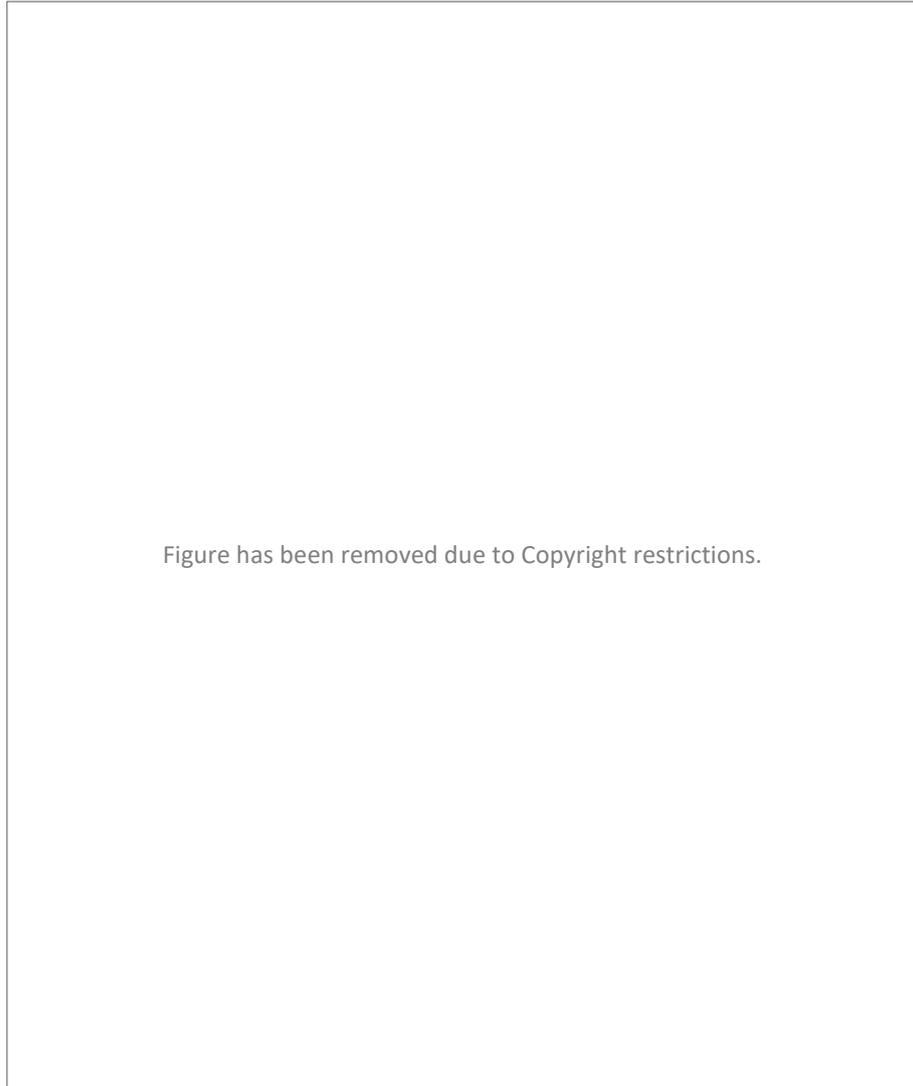
Figure 115: Proposed New Vision for the Core of Nicosia project map (Nicosia Master Plan 2014)

The Heritage Management Approach of the GC and TC Nicosia Municipalities

According to Balderstone (2007: 2), USAID and the EU, through the UNDP, have encouraged the TRNC and RoC to embrace "a pragmatic approach to heritage management" that takes into consideration the current political situation of the island. A key objective of the NMP has been the implementation of a strategy consisting of short-term and long-term management approaches for the walled city of Nicosia, following the second Phase of the NMP (*New Vision for the Core of Nicosia*) (Nicosia Master Plan 2004b: 16). In doing so, a focus on heritage conservation has been targeted, as a means of encouraging economic development via tourism and private investment through the adaptation of damaged buildings for new uses (ibid.). In order to support this objective, studies of the services and infrastructure needed were carried out during the initiation of the NMP in 1989, with an outlook of assessing the culturally significant areas and precincts of the city. Moreover, rehabilitation projects were identified for certain sites and monuments, as well as housing zones (Balderstone 2010: 234). Cultural tourism and the return of public interest in the

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historic core is also part of the NMP approach through the rehabilitation of "places of cultural value and heritage" as well as through culture-based activities[101] (ibid: 12). In addition, awareness of the value of urban heritage has been reinforced as a way of "regain[ing] the vitality and regenerat[ing] the cohesion and unique quality" of the walled city (ibid.: 7).

Considering the above, the NMP recognises the significance of public knowledge and participation in conserving the heritage of walled Nicosia; a finding that emphasises the wider role of the public in the effective, long-term heritage management of the city. In addition, heritage identification and prioritisation based on cultural significance form part of the heritage management approach of the NMP, in order to enhance the social and economic vitality of the walled city by attracting tourism, local engagement and private investment back to the historic core.

Table 6 summaries the shared heritage management approach applied in walled Nicosia and outlines the plans proposed for the historic core since the initiation of the second key phase of the NMP (2000-2004). This approach succeeds Phase One of the NMP (1980-1985) and is focused on the walled city and its adjacent neighbourhoods.

Table 6: Walled Nicosia's Heritage Management as Interpreted from the NMP's 2004 Final Report (Nicosia Master Plan 2004b; adapted by Author 2017)

Main goal for the walled city of Nicosia
The regeneration of the Walled City and the Buffer Zone area based on the social and economic potential inherent in the area's cultural heritage and environmental character.
Actions applied to realise the above goal
a) Strengthen the centrality of the walled city and its socio-economic base. b) Prepare a strategic land use plan for the walled city and its buffer zone. c) Create links with the European TELS Project[102] addressing the needs of the visitor and national population. d) Prepare public information material and activities and strengthen the role of the bi-communal Information Centres. e) Establish a strategy for communication / negotiation with property owners and investors to assess and stimulate their interest and willingness to invest in the walled city within the ambit of important planning and social principles and objectives. f) Explore opportunities and improve legal frameworks in order to efficiently apply economic instruments to collect revenues from property owners who have benefitted from the projects and improvements made to public places.

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[101] Culture-based activities are also prominent in the initiatives of NGOs and bi-communal groups, which contribute towards safeguarding Nicosia's intangible heritage though art, music, food, and signing-oriented activities. The efforts of bi-communal initiatives in protecting the intangible heritage of Nicosia (and Cyprus) will be examined further in the forthcoming chapter (Chapter 5).

[102] TELS is one of the first "learning city projects" funded by the European Commission that developed programmes to assist in learning more about the requirements of different cities. It is referred as "a learning cities audit tool" that contributes towards understanding the basic essentials associated to the different domains of city life (Longworth and Franson 2010: 7).

g) Introduce fiscal charges on long term private vacant plots and buildings.

h) Define areas (project packages) around important cultural landmarks and prepare outline site plans identifying opportunities for joint Public–Private Partnerships.

i) Designate residential zones, apply strict land use controls and provide financial incentives for housing restoration.

j) Establish the principles and mechanisms for a 'Revolving Fund' for sustainable finance channelled to a rolling implementation programme, including the restoration of listed and other housing units

k) In the 'project packages' containing private investment opportunities, include selected housing blocks and open spaces for private sector participation in the cost as part of the total investment.

l) Implement a rational traffic and parking policy in favour of public transport, bicycle movement and pedestrian circulation

Addressing the outward growth of Nicosia

An additional issue created by the division of Nicosia is the expansion of development away from the walled city, which has resulted in the historic core being neglected and overlooked as a region for commercial and social activities. This concern was highlighted in the 2004 Final Report of the NMP, which sustains that the division of Nicosia is responsible for the continuing problems of the city by holding back development, while imposing diverse planning issues (Nicosia Master Plan 2004a). The fact that "two planning authorities produce two separate local plans with varying degrees of closeness to the principles and approaches of the NMP" further complicates this issue (ibid.: 1). Subsequently, the division of Nicosia has encouraged a process of outward growth away from the historic core, and has increased its economic and social shrinkage, neglect and marginalisation (Figure 57 and Figure 116).
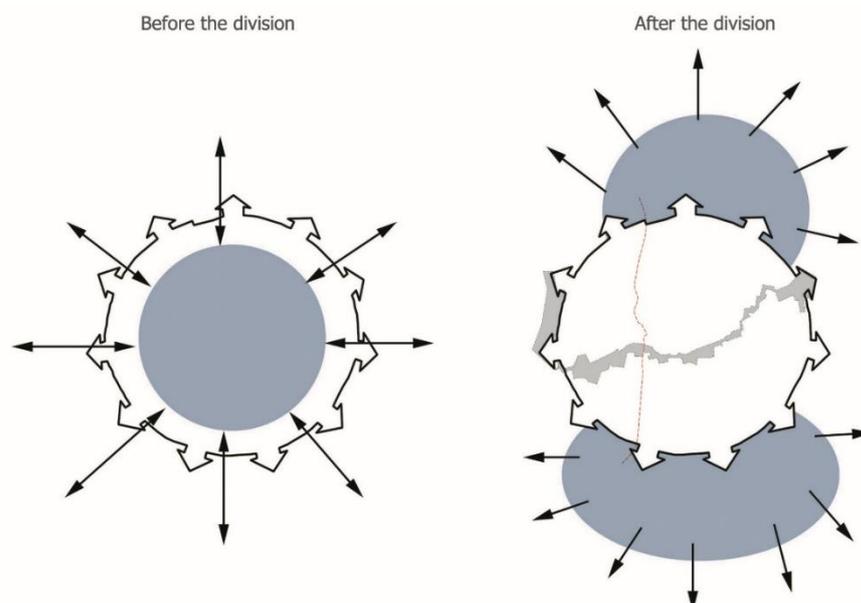
Figure 116: Diagrammatic representation of the outward growth of Nicosia as influenced by the ongoing division of the city (Author 2016)

This loss of centrality has resulted in the shift of population and private sector investment outside the walls (ibid.) and is a dominating concern that continues to affect the heritage of the walled city.

This point is also raised by Hadjichristos (2006: 15), who asserts that the increasing lack of up-keeping within the historic core of Nicosia has significantly encouraged this consequence. In addition to the buffer zone, the Venetian walls in this case have created a further boundary, which separates the walled city from its contemporary development. This issue is also acknowledged by Atun and Doratli (2009), who highlight the damaging impact of division on the unique historic urban fabric of Nicosia.
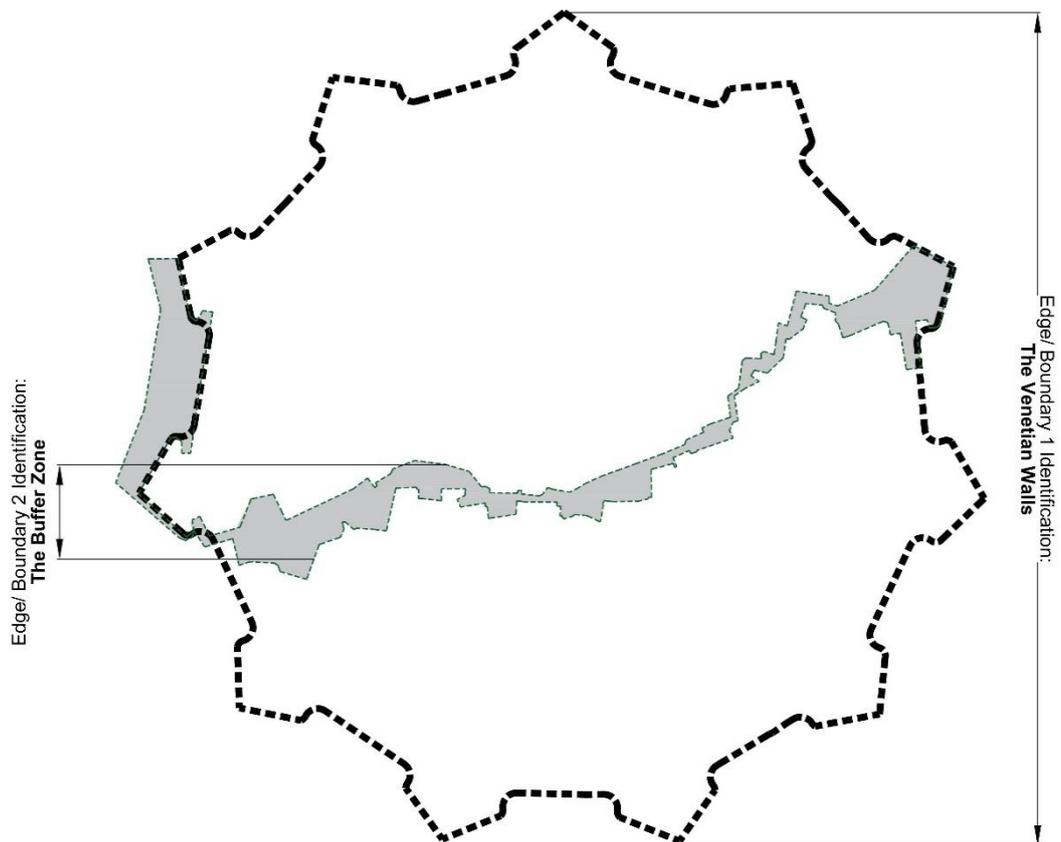
Figure 117: Identification of walled Nicosia's boundaries (Author 2017). The image identifies two main tangible boundaries that make-up the fabric of walled Nicosia; the first boundary refers to the Venetian walls of the city and the second boundary refers to the buffer zone.

To address this concern, the NMP focused their efforts towards establishing an integrated regeneration strategy that could create a sustainable demand for places and buildings within the historic core (ibid: 9)[103]. Accordingly, the second phase of the NMP concentrated on the heritage and heritage management of walled Nicosia and particularly on its cultural significance to both

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[103] The proposed Strategy contains three basic premises:
- It focuses on the potential of the cultural character of the walled city and its capacity to lead the regeneration process; to become the prime mover in the process.
- It emphasises the potential of environmental quality and the significance of the common historical heritage of the walled city as market driven development resources.
- It emphasises the centrality of the walled city as a unifying factor across the existing Buffer Zone and for Nicosia as a whole (Nicosia Master Plan 2004a; Appendix I).

communities (Nicosia Master Plan 2004a: 12). Through this approach, the NMP pursued the creation of stronger links with the Core Business Areas[104] outside the walls (Nicosia Master Plan 2004a: 16).

An example illustrating this goal is that of Eleftheria (Freedom) Square situated on the southern edge of walled Nicosia (Figure 120 and Figure 121). Eleftheria Square is a contemporary urban intervention that aims to bridge Nicosia's historic core with the South-Central Business District (CBD) outside the walls. The regeneration of this specific square is of particular symbolic importance to communities on both sides of the divide, as the Venetian walls of Nicosia have come to be associated with the identity of both GC and TC Municipalities (Figure 118 and Figure 119). This point can also be observed from the figures below, where the two Nicosia Municipalities have incorporated the Venetian walls in their logos, without making any reference to the current division of the city.

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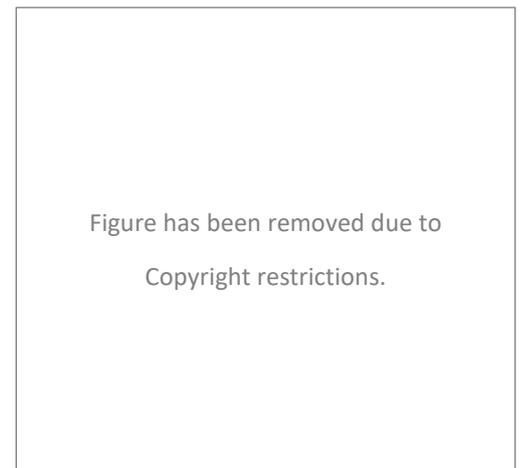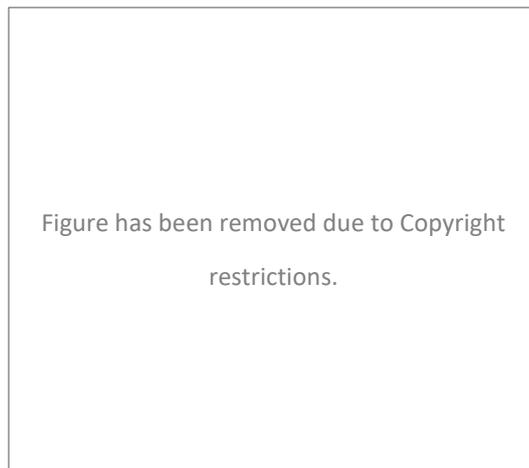
Figure 118 (left) and Figure 119 (right): Figures illustrating the logos of the Turkish Nicosia Municipality (left) and the Greek Nicosia Municipality (right) (Lefkosa Belediyesi 2017, Nicosia Municipality 2017). As can be observed, both logos incorporate the Venetian walls of the city, without including any references to its ongoing division.

It can therefore be argued that, the fact that the NMP considers both historic and contemporary parts of Nicosia in order to improve living conditions, demonstrates a promising approach for establishing a coherent relationship between all parts of the city; and a starting point for encouraging future regeneration and a stronger integration between the communities across the divide.

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[104] Also referred to as Central Business Districts (CBD). Refer to Figure 114.

Figure 120: Eleftheria Square proposal currently under construction (Zaha Hadid Architects 2005)
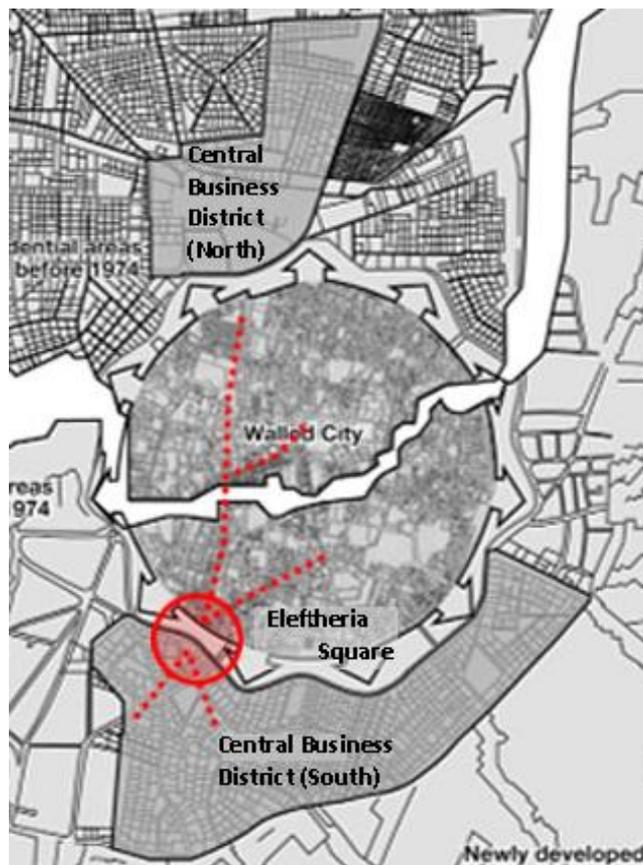
Figure 121: Location of Eleftheria Square in relation to the walled city (Nicosia Master Plan 1984; adapted by Author 2017). The red circle signifies the location of Eleftheria Square, where as the red lines illustrate the direct routes leading to the Square from both sides of the divide.

Unquestionably, the regeneration of Eleftheria Square by an internationally renowned architectural practice will promote the area and attract cultural tourism and visitors back to the walls. This approach can significantly contribute to the social and economic development of the historic core

(and its heritage), subsequently addressing the shrinkage and decline witnessed following its division. In addition, the goal of the NMP teams to strengthen the links between the walled city and the rest of Nicosia signifies a mutual recognition of its heritage value and of the need to decelerate its decline. From a heritage management perspective, a stronger understanding of the requirements and characteristics of heritage and its cultural and natural context is observed[105], consequently encouraging a more thorough engagement between the city and its stakeholders.

Access to funding for regeneration projects by the GC and TC Municipalities of Nicosia

Even though not part of walled Nicosia's heritage regeneration approach, the Nicosia Sewerage Project was the first bi-communal collaboration between the GC and TC communities after the 1974 division of the island (UNDP UNCHS (HABITAT) 1995). To achieve this joint objective, the GC and TC mayors of Nicosia at the time, Lellos Demetriades and Mustafa Akinci came together informally, as "Representatives" of the two communities to develop "a framework for working together on the sewerage project" (ibid.: 8). The result of their efforts was the continuation of this scheme, which initially commenced in 1968 (Sewarage Board of Nicosia 1999: 2).

The Nicosia Sewerage Project was perceived as an opportunity for the initiation of a larger bi-communal programme; the NMP. During the – informal – conception of the NMP, joint deliberations focused on specific area schemes, technical analysis and mutual contribution (Abu-Orf 2005: 52). Through this approach, the "inequalities arising from power relations" were more effectively addressed (ibid. 55). This includes the imbalance of power between planners and/or planning authorities and other participants taking part in the consultation process. With the support of the UNDP, a bi-communal technical team consisting of GC and TC professionals was put together to address "planning, architectural, economic, environmental, and social problems caused or accentuated by the divide" (Foka 2015: 53). Funds were channelled through USAID into the responsible UN sub-division, with assistance for Cyprus from the United States of America amounting to ten million dollars by the year 1995. This funding was initially dedicated to humanitarian purposes, however, from 1992 onwards, all monetary aid received was solely aimed towards bi-communal projects. In spite of this, "local communities were not sharing part of the realisation costs" (ibid.).

This finding suggests that community engagement and participation was ineffective from the early stages of the bi-communal initiatives. In addition, the fact that limited funding was provided to the public, indicates the restricted power handed to private investors and property owners to ensure

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[105] Understanding and addressing the specific needs of heritage properties and their cultural and natural context is outlined in UNESCO's *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage* (UNESCO 2016c: 23), also discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.

the sustainable and ongoing management and protection of their properties, especially in conservation areas such as that of walled Nicosia. This power imbalance between public and governmental organisations such as the NMP is also acknowledged through the interviews with Bensel (2016), Neophytou (2017) and Akbil (2017), who also recognise the role of public engagement in addressing the heritage protection of walled Nicosia. The issue of power in the management of walled Nicosia's heritage can be likened with the theoretical considerations of Foucault (1976), who maintains that a power needs to be collaboratively addressed in order to be effective. In the case of Nicosia, the limited power provided to local communities and non-governmental organisations counteracts this theory, by restricting the potential chain of relationships that could contribute to the long-term protection of the city's cultural inheritance.

Despite the above concerns, what can be observed through the work of Foka (2015) is that, by 1995, international monetary aid begun to shift towards the support of bi-communal initiatives such as the NMP. This development indicates an increased need to strengthen collaborative projects between the North and South, in order to encourage heritage protection, private investment and public engagement. The following table presents all funding provided to the GC and TC communities by USAID between the years 1997 – 2004 solely for the needs of the second phase of the NMP. This included the twin projects of Arab Ahmet (North) and Chrysaliniotissa (South).

Table 7: Key NMP Projects funded by USAID and UNDP between 1997 – 2004 for the rehabilitation of walled Nicosia (Author 2017)[106]

Breakdown of Key NMP Projects Funded by USAID and UNDP between 1997 – 2004 for the Rehabilitation of Walled Nicosia		
Project Description	**Municipality**	**Funding USD**
Survey of the Buffer Zone	Turkish Nicosia Municipality	**$201 800.56**
Emergency support for buildings in the Buffer Zone	Turkish Nicosia Municipality	**$102 727.98**
NMP – Turkish Cypriot Municipality	Turkish Nicosia Municipality	**$ 227 368.43**
Nicosia Master Plan: Arab Ahmet Rehabilitation Project	Turkish Nicosia Municipality	**$1 481 230.65**
Total funding provided for the Turkish Nicosia municipality by USAID and UNDP between 1997 – 2004 for the Rehabilitation of Walled Nicosia		**$1 910 399.64**
Survey of the Buffer Zone	Greek Nicosia Municipality	**$228 981.56**
Emergency support for buildings in the Buffer Zone	Greek Nicosia Municipality	**$99 576.00**
NMP – Greek Cypriot Municipality	Greek Nicosia Municipality	**$202 694.00**
Nicosia Master Plan: Chrysaliniotissa Rehabilitation Project	Greek Nicosia Municipality	**$2 617 142.88**
Total funding provided for the Greek Nicosia municipality by USAID and UNDP between 1997 – 2004 for the Rehabilitation of Walled Nicosia		**$3 148 394.44**

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[106] The figures presented in Table 7 derive from the *CYPRUS BI-COMMUNAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM EVALUATION FINAL REPORT* of May 2004: Annex 9, which was submitted to the United States Agency for International Development (USAID 2004). The above table represents a selected summary of the relevant projects implemented under the NMP and has been informed by the specific report.

Despite the declining state of heritage in the north side of walled Nicosia, as this table demonstrates, the financial support made available to the TC community during this period is substantially less than what has been provided to the GC Municipality of Nicosia. This finding further highlights the disadvantageous position of the North due to its occupied status, while reinforcing the power of the South over funding opportunities due to its international recognition.

Similarly, in the run up to and after the RoC's accession into the EU in 2004, funding for the Turkish Municipality of Nicosia was also limited[107]. Table 8 provides a summary of key projects funded primarily by the EU after 2004 (i.e. the commencement of the NMP's second part entitled: *New Vision for the Core of Nicosia*, which focuses on the rehabilitation of areas within the walled city). This table outlines some of the projects discussed in this thesis and illustrates how the difference in funding has enabled the strengthening of heritage management in the GC part of Nicosia.

Table 8: Key projects funded by the EU in walled Nicosia (Author 2017)[108]

Completed projects in the south part of Nicosia[109]			
Project	Description	Funding	Funding Source
Taht-el-Kale	Regeneration of the area and restoration of building facades	€7 million	€6 million from the EU and €1 million from municipal and other governmental contributions
Phaneromeni	Restoration of building facades* and redesign of roads and public utilities	€3.15 million	EU funding through the support of the UNDP/ UNOPS PFF
Omeriye	Restoration of Omeriye Hamam and surrounding site, including building facades.	€5.48 million	EU funding through the support of the UNDP/ UNOPS PFF
Market	Revitalisation of the market area	€1 million	EU funding through the support of the UNDP/ UNOPS PFF
Ledra and Onasagorou Streets	Pedestrianisation and improvement of the areas	€1.25 million	EU funding through the support of the UNDP/ UNOPS PFF
Kaimakli and Pallouriotissa	Revitalisation of the major areas (next to the walled city)	€15.96 million	EU funding through the support of the UNDP/ UNOPS PFF
*Provision of optional financial incentives were also made available to shop owners for the restoration of their building façades (€8,500 per shop) under the support of the EU through the UNDP/ UNOPS PFF. A total of €260.000 00 was made available.			

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[107] In the four financial protocols distributed under the 1978 -1999 EU – Cyprus association agreement, Cyprus received an average of €10 million per annum while the TC community only received twenty percent of the EU funds allocated under the first protocol (Tocci 2007: 51). Under the remaining three protocols, the TRNC only received limited funding for bi-communal projects such as the sewerage system (ibid.). Between the years 2000 and 2004, the RoC received an average of €11.4 million per annum in pre-accession aid, with no funding reaching the TRNC. Overall, between 1987 and 2009, the Turkish Municipality of North Nicosia received €9.66 million for spending on revitalisation projects; an amount that was eclipsed by almost €50 million spent on similar revitalisation initiatives in the GC part of Nicosia over the same period (Yorucu *et al.* 2010: 1757).

[108] The figures presented in Table 8 derive from the Project Summary Reports of the European Commission (2000, 2001, 2002, 2003), AEIDL (2012b), Petridou (2005) and UNDP (2017).

[109] Even though in Table 7 funding for NMP projects was presented in dollars, all funds provided by the EU in Table 8 are presented in euros in order to be consistent with the sources where the information has been obtained from.

Total Funding Received for the Selected Projects: **€ 34.1 million**			
Completed projects in the north part of Nicosia			
Project	Description	Funding	Funding Source
Bedestan (St. Nicholas Church)	Restoration and re-use of a previously derelict building in the Selimiye Quarter	€2 million	Funded by the EU with a contribution from EVKAF
Bandabuliya (Old Market)	Renovation and re-use of the old market	€2.5 million	Funded by the EU and
Armenian Church and Monastery	Restoration and re-use of a previously dilapidated building.	€2.6 million	Funded by the UNDP/ UNOPS PFF
Selimiye	Revitalisation of the area as part of phase 1 of the NMP's New Vision for the Core of Nicosia (2000-2004)	€1.5 million	EU funding through the support of the UNDP/ UNOPS PFF
Samanbache	Revitalisation of neighbourhood and building facades	€1.65 million	EU funding through the support of the UNDP/ UNOPS PFF
Kyrenia Avenue and Lokmaci Street	Pedestrianisation and improvement of the areas	€1.25 million	EU funding through the support of the UNDP/ UNOPS PFF
Total Funding Received for the Selected Projects: **€11.5 million**			

The above table demonstrates that, even though funding has been made available to the Turkish Municipality of Nicosia, the balance of funds for individual areas within and around the walls is weighted substantially in favour of the South. This point coincides with the concerns of Bensel (2016) who, asserts that the accession of the RoC into the EU has significantly decreased funding from the UNDP to the North, while EU funding is considerably less for the TRNC due to its lack of recognition and consequent polarisation from the rest of the international community[110].

Despite the political and legal complications associated with the creation and legitimacy of the TRNC, this inequality demonstrates the disadvantage and powerlessness of the TRNC and consequently north Nicosia in effectively managing its heritage. Lack of funding and international recognition in this case has proven to be a key factor in the unequal power relations between the GC and TC communities; a consequence that is visible in the heritage management of the city. Relevantly, the following timeline (Figure 122) illustrates the major projects undertaken by the NMP since its inception. This timeline excludes individual building interventions, as it aims to visually capture the balance and duration of key regeneration projects on both sides of the GC-TC divide.

As this timeline demonstrates, projects carried out in the GC and TC parts of Nicosia differ both in duration, but also in scale, with key areas in the South benefiting from the allocation of EU funds.

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[110] It is acknowledged that since 2006, the TRNC has received funding of up to €259 million (European Commission 2013: 13). However, this funding was allocated to projects throughout the north part of Cyprus, and not exclusively for the protection of heritage in Nicosia.

Subsequently, the division of the city, as well as the different legal and administrative instruments responsible for the management of walled Nicosia's heritage have significantly affected the pace, duration and coordination of projects on each side of the divide. However, what the following timeline also demonstrates is the steady continuation of rehabilitation initiatives by the NMP (more visible in the South); a finding that highlights the vital role of this bi-communal enterprise in ensuring the steady heritage protection of the walled city.
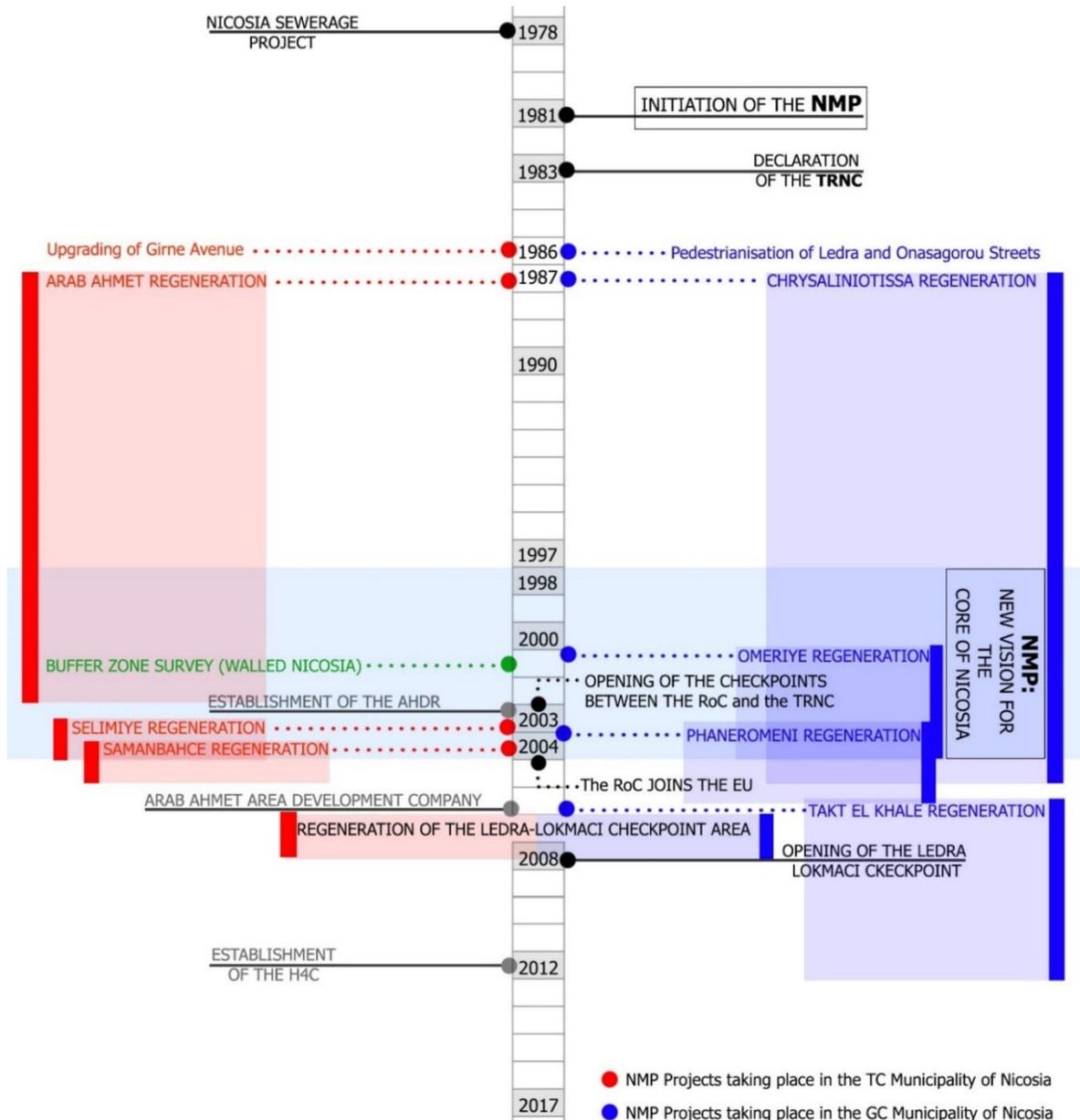
Figure 122: Timeline of the key NMP projects within walled Nicosia, excluding individual building interventions (Author 2017)

Following on from the above, the subsequent sections focus on selected areas and critically assess the approach applied by the bi-communal NMP in safeguarding the heritage of walled Nicosia.

4.4.1 Examination of the Nicosia Master Plan Approach to the Areas of Selimiye and Omeriye

The areas of Selimiye (North) and Omeriye (South) are located centrally within walled Nicosia. These two quarters have been selected for examination firstly, because they are regarded as "two of the most important historic areas of the walled city" (Petridou 2003: 13) and secondly, due to the fact that they have undergone a significant amount of rehabilitation work as part of the NMP; with a long-term outlook of strengthening connections between the North and South and encouraging visitors back to the historic core.
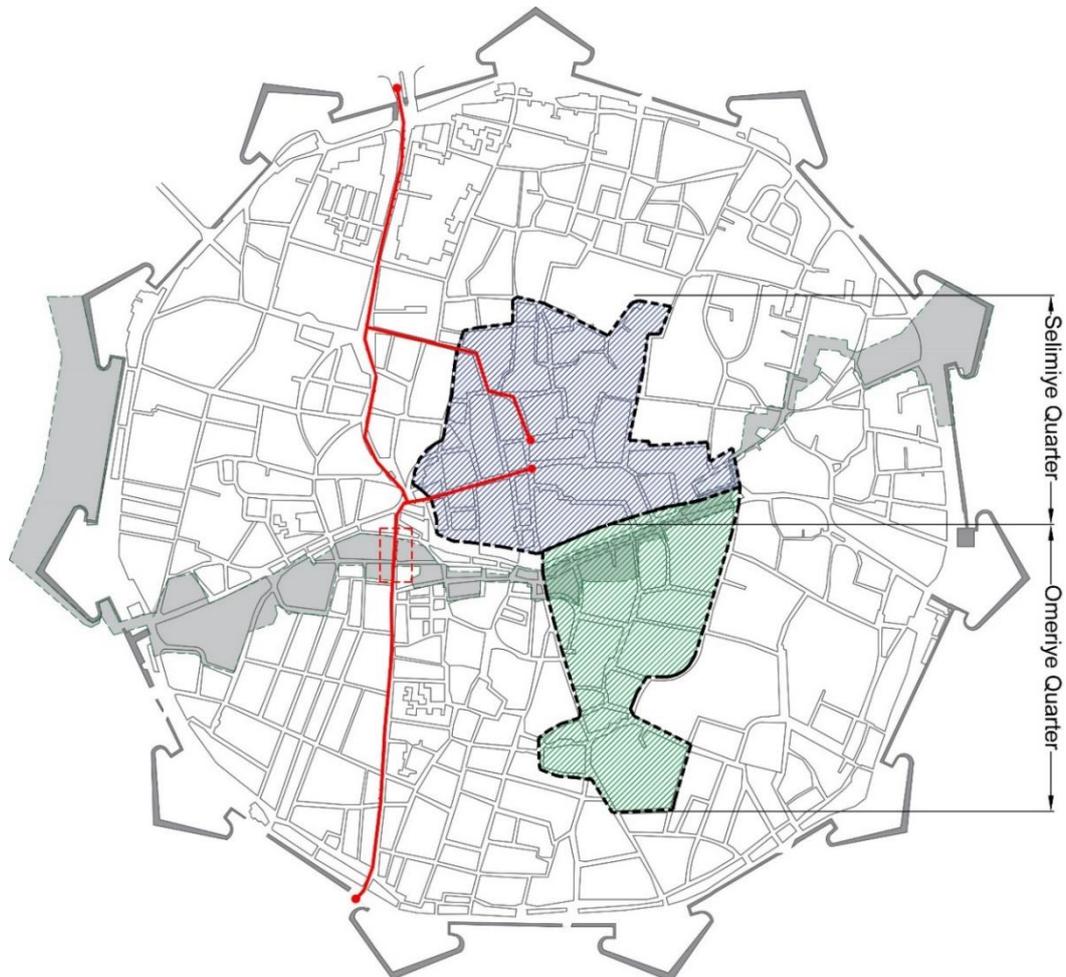
Figure 123: Map illustrating the Selimiye and Omeriye areas (Author 2017)

Selimiye Quarter

Some of walled Nicosia's most significant monuments are situated within the Selimiye district[111] (UNDP 2012b). The main arteries into the Selimiye area are Idadi Street (north-west of Selimiye), which is also one of the most noteworthy streets within the Venetian walls, and Arasta Street

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[111] Such as the Kadı Menteş Mansion (originally a Lusignan residence and now used by the TC Union of Municipalities, Selimiye mosque (previously St. Sophia) originally a gothic cathedral, the Bedestan (previously St. Nicholas Church), Haydar Pasa Mosque (formerly St. Catherine's Church), the Chapter House, the ancient Buyuk Khan, Kumarcilar Khan, Buyuk Hamam and from the British period, the Market (UNDP 2012b).

(south-west of Selimiye) which is situated in close proximity to the Ledra street check point and therefore can be seen to link the two parts of the city together (Figure 123). Selimiye contains a collection of commercial and residential buildings, including rows of houses from the Ottoman, Venetian and Lusignan times, and stone masonry buildings dating to the British colonial period (ibid.). As the following figures demonstrate, many of the historical buildings in the Selimiye area suffer from a lack of maintenance and restoration (UNDP 2012b). It is evident that the buffer zone has contributed directly to this disrepair and neglect as the buildings worst affected are those closest to the boundary [112].

Figure 124: Buildings adjacent Selimiye mosque (Author 2012)

Figure 125: Declining buildings in Selimiye, next to the buffer zone (Author 2012)

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[112] This includes damage and disrepair on Kuyumcular Sokak and Trikoupi Street (discussed in Section 4.3.3), as well as buildings adjacent to Selimiye Mosque.

Omeriye

Omerive was one of the wealthiest quarters of the city during the medieval times; this highlights the cultural and civic importance of the area (UNDP 2012b). Like the Selimiye area, Omeriye contains several buildings of heritage value such as the former Augustinian monastery of St. Marie which was converted into a mosque during the sixteenth century, and the Omeriye Hamam (baths).

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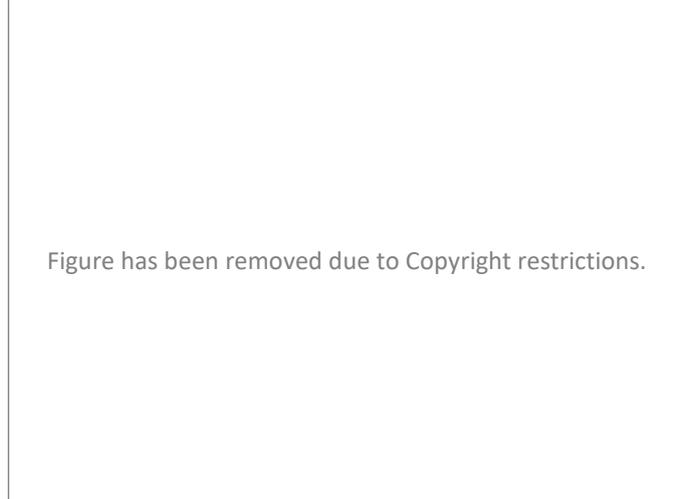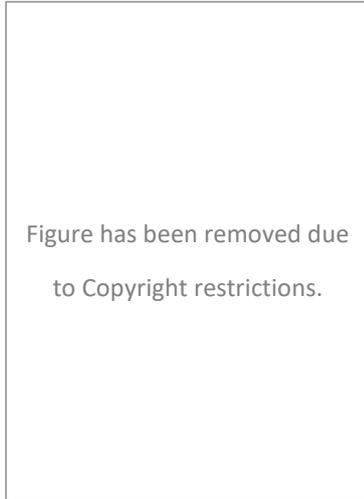
Figure 126:Omeriye Mosque today (Hanson 2011) Figure 127:The restored Omeriye Hamam (Nicosia Master Plan 2014)

As was the case in Selimiye, the parts of Omeriye that show greatest signs of deterioration are those closest to the buffer zone. Many of the buildings in these areas are currently being used as workshops and storage spaces; such as those on Trikoupi Street[113].

Figure 128: Declining area in Omeriye impacted by the existence of the buffer zone (Author 2014). As can be observed, the site is used as a storage space for construction materials, with surrounding buildings suffering from lack of up-keeping and decay.

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[113] See Section 4.3.3, *'Rebranding' the streets of old Nicosia*.

One of the key overarching objectives of the NMP is to improve the environment for the residents living in the different quarters of walled Nicosia through regeneration and restoration projects (European Commission 2001: 4). The districts of Selimiye and Omeriye are good examples of these initiatives, where rehabilitation has taken place in order to re-establish and emphasise cultural significance and to benefit the residents of the walled city as a whole (UNDP 2012b). The approach taken by the NMP in these cases involved encouraging local property owners to take responsibility and to restore, protect and undertake the ongoing maintenance of their buildings. This was achieved by providing an initial financial stimulus (obtained through EU grants), supporting rehabilitation and the consequent conservation of buildings and neighbourhoods of cultural significance in these and the wider area of walled Nicosia[114].

Moreover, the NMP targeted the strengthening of Selimiye's commercial character and encouraged visitors and investment in the area through a programme of pedestrianisation. Similarly, large parts of the Omeriye area have been pedestrianised, with the Omeriye Mosque undergoing partial restoration and the Omeriye Hamam being restored from its severely declined state. In order to accurately rehabilitate the two quarters, the NMP first conducted a number of surveys to determine the condition of buildings and to record, understand and assess the level of intervention required (Figure 129 and Figure 130)[115].

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[114] An example of this financial stimulus is the funding provided to shop-keepers (€8.600 per shop) for the restoration of façades (Petridou 2005: 6). This approach has been implemented by the South NMP team with funding provided by the District Office of South Nicosia, in order to encourage shop-keepers to maintain their buildings and provide initial support for their complete regeneration.

[115] This approach is also consistent with UNESCO's *Operational Guidelines;* firstly, encourage the identification of cultural heritage in order to ensure its "protection, conservation, presentation and transmission" for future generations (UNESCO 1972: 125). The identification and recording of heritage in walled Nicosia subsequently encourages its authentic conservation, by assessing its (heritage's) needs and obtaining appropriate financial, artistic, scientific and technical, assistance for its protection.

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Figure 129: Survey of the existing condition of buildings in the Omeriye area by the NMP (Nicosia Master Plan 2014)

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Figure 130: Proposed intervention by the NMP, based on the surveys of the Omeriye area (Nicosia Master Plan 2014)

In addition, the NMP has proposed the creation of a new border crossing linking Omeriye and Selimiye, in order to strengthen their relationship (Bensel 2016). This approach contributes to the NMP's wider objective, by encouraging and spreading activities throughout the historic core and not just around the current crossing of Ledra-Lokmaci Street.

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Figure 131: Proposal for the rehabilitation of Selimiye and Omeriye (Nicosia Master Plan 2004)

The rehabilitation of selected buildings, or building façades, acts as a starting point and encourages private investment, by promoting the return of the general public to the areas. As a result, this approach can be considered a stimulus for further investment and an effective contribution to the heritage management of the walled city. In doing so, power over the city's heritage is returned to the stakeholders of walled Nicosia - in this case the local property owners and the public - who can manage and protect their individual properties and subsequently the historic core in the long term.

Figure 132: Facade Restoration on Trikoupi Street, adjacent to the buffer zone (Author 2014)

However, and following the revitalisation of several neighbourhoods within Selimiye and Omeriye, one of the main weaknesses observed is the lack of wider functional continuity of buildings. Specifically, the fact that several, previously residential and commercial streets have now been aesthetically (i.e. through the restoration of façades), but not functionally restored illustrates this statement. Furthermore, on the GC side, even though restoration has commenced and, in some areas of Omeriye even completed, buildings continue to remain unoccupied and therefore unmaintained. This reflects the ongoing impact of conflict and the prominence of the buffer zone, despite recent revitalisation initiatives. It can be argued that in this case, the collective role of memory materialises as a prominent concern as it appears to impact public perception and consequently investment in the areas adjacent to the buffer zone. As a result, the connection

between conflict, memory and place has evolved into a key consideration for the protection of Omeriye and Selimiye, by demonstrating how several areas close to the boundary continue to be considered as unpleasant *milieu de mémoire* (real sites of memory)[116].

Figure 133: Interior of the building restored on Trikoupi Street (Author 2014)

In addition, and despite the shared initiation of the Selimiye – Omeriye project in 2001 (European Commission 2001: 6), streets on the TC side that are interrupted by the buffer zone have received limited resource, with restoration efforts focused towards the areas around Selimiye Mosque and other prominent landmarks. This issue is illustrative of the selective protection of heritage at the

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[116] See the theoretical examinations on *Collective Memory and Conflict*, in Chapter 3, Section 3.3.2. The Section introduces the role of memory during conflict as well as recent scholarship on the topic in order to demonstrate the significance of the term to the case study of Nicosia, as well as to the conceptual framework presented earlier in this thesis.

expense of less prominent buildings or sites within the walls. This concern echoes Bevan's (2006) discussion on the prominent role of conflict in the prioritisation of heritage and Laouris *et al.*'s (2009: 364) argument regarding the impact of conflict and division on "the authentic, sincere and true engagement" of the Cypriot stakeholders with their heritage[117].

Figure 134: Example of building rehabilitation on the south side of Selimiye mosque (Author 2012)

Nonetheless, what can also be observed from the Selimiye – Omeriye project, is the urgent need to re-instate the commercial character of the specific quarters in order to encourage visitors back to the historic core. This can be witnessed through the attempts of the NMP to create a stronger connection between the North and South, by proposing the creation of additional crossings. As a result, this approach also illustrates how the NMP has considered both the functional and cultural values associated with the areas, through the strengthening of links between the North and South. In addition, even though the buildings closest to the north part of the buffer zone continue to show signs of heritage decline and selective protection, the wider approach to the areas also suggests that the NMP interventions seek to complement the diverse character and activities of the walled city. Lastly, the specific project can be deemed of particular significance to both communities, as the restoration and ongoing protection of the Ottoman baths and the Omeriye Mosque in the GC part of Nicosia, highlight an objective and inclusive approach to the heritage management of the particular area. This point carries a symbolic meaning for the GC and TC population, as protection

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[117] Also discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.5.2: *Tangible and Intangible Heritage in Cyprus*.

of the heritage of the 'other' forms a crucial step in establishing a more effective heritage management approach in the long-term.

SWOT Analysis of Selimiye and Omeriye following their rehabilitation by the NMP

In line with the above, the following tables present a comprehensive SWOT analysis of the areas of Selimiye and Omeriye based on the wider empirical field work findings of the researcher. The aim of these tables is to summarise the existing condition of the cases examined, while providing an appraisal of their future potential.

Table 9: SWOT Analysis of Selimiye

STRENGTHS	OPPORTUNITIES
- One of the most visited areas within the walled city. - Contains a collection of commercial and residential buildings, including rows of houses from the Ottoman, Venetian and Lusignan times. Also comprises stone masonry buildings from the British period. - Selimiye Mosque and Buyuk Khan are also located in the area and attract a significant number of visitors throughout the year. - One of the most commercial areas within the walled city. - Connects with the Ledra-Lokmaci crossing. - Contains several mixed-use buildings/ facilities.	- More effective utilisation and improvement of public open spaces. - Rehabilitation of workshops to reflect the traditional character of streets along the buffer zone, rather than demonstrating severe signs of decay due to the abrupt interruption of those streets. - The use of existing heritage buildings, sites and cultural activities in order to attract more tourism to the area. - Creation of a network of green areas that will potentially encourage interaction and strengthen links between Selimiye and its adjacent neighbourhoods (including the South). - The creation of additional, central crossings between Selimiye and Omeriye to 'thin' the buffer zone and to allow the re-connection of the built environment, as well as of the activities (and/or rituals) that used to take place in the area. - Adaptive re-use of obsolete buildings and activities to respond to contemporary demand. - Strengthening of private investment through the provision of incentives, in order to encourage building owners to restore and conserve their individual properties.
WEAKNESSES	THREATS
- Situated directly next to the buffer zone. - Several areas within the Selimiye Quarter suffer due to lack of up-keeping, especially those next to the buffer zone. - Street-lighting and pedestrian routes beyond the areas around Selimiye Mosque are poor. - The (lack of) existing infrastructure contributes to the deterioration of the area. - Ownership issues after GCs moved to the South and TC to the North. - Change of street names following the division of the city and the creation of the TRNC, which has furthered the disconnection between the North and South, especially in cases where one street is divided by the buffer zone and has a different name on either side of the divide.	- Existence of the buffer zone. - Lack of up-keeping. - Not adequately engaging with the areas adjacent to the buffer zone, which could result to further decline. - Over-commercialisation and touristification of Selimiye. - Loss of authenticity as a result of the above. - Ineffective employment of adaptive re-use and, consequently, inappropriate use and management of historic buildings. - Lack of bi-communal initiatives. - Lack of private and public investment. - Lack of international recognition and embargoes. - Heritage prioritisation and consequent neglect of less prominent, yet historically significant architecture.

The SWOT analysis for Selimiye highlights issues associated with heritage prioritisation and illustrates how division is a leading obstacle to its sustainable development. In addition, issues linked to the lack of up-keeping can be observed, as well as concerns associated with the loss of authenticity attributable to over-commercialisation (and excessive touristification). These are amplified by the possibility of further neglect, decay and consequent loss of heritage within the area and raise questions about the impact of conflict on the memory of the collective; that has already resulted in the inattention of buildings closer to the buffer zone. However, the popularity of Selimiye, accompanied by its central location and rich cultural identity highlight its advantageous position against less prominent quarters within the walled part of Nicosia, suggesting its growing revitalisation in the long-term and the continuing return of investment in the area.

Table 10: SWOT Analysis of Omeriye

STRENGTHS	OPPORTUNITIES
• Mix of residential and commercial activities. • Noteworthy buildings of historical, religious and cultural significance. • Return of visitors to the area due to the increase in commercial and leisure activities. • Contains a diverse range of heritage belonging to the different cultures that lived in the area, including both GC and TC communities. • Central location within the walled city and (despite the buffer zone) directly next to Selimiye. • Nicosia's municipal market is also located in the area, along with traditional workshops. • The existence of noteworthy museums, historical remains and the Archbishop's palace. • The existence of important municipal bodies within the area, including the Cyprus Scientific and Technical Chamber. • The existence of a bi-communal café.	• Stronger connection between open spaces, monuments and other areas of public/tourist or heritage value. • The creation of additional crossings between Selimiye and Omeriye to 'thin' the buffer zone and to allow the re-connection of the built environment, as well as of the activities (and/or rituals) that used to take place in the area. • Use of façadism as a means of regenerating areas quickly and attracting private investment. However, this approach needs to be carefully employed in order to avoid authenticity loss. • EU funding for the sustainable rehabilitation of the area. • Archaeological remains that can attract heritage tourism to the area.
• WEAKNESSES	• THREATS
• Obsolescence of buildings and lack of activity along the buffer zone. • Disjointed areas, both due to the buffer zone and as a result of the different levels of up-keep and rehabilitation between streets and neighbourhoods. • Selective protection and prioritisation of heritage due to the allocation of funding in the area. • Façadism rather than complete restoration and conservation. • Existence of empty properties and consequent ownership issues after the division of the city. • Lack of car parking space. • The existence of the buffer zone reflects memories of conflict. This is aggravated further by the	• Excessive use of façadism that doesn't generate the expected public interest or investment. • Loss of authenticity and memory due to the excessive use of façadism and the consequent concealment of the truthful historical continuity of the city's heritage. • The existence of the buffer zone. • Lack of up-keeping. • Lack of bi-communal initiatives. • Lack of investment or funding. • Functional and aesthetic obsolescence of buildings and sites. • Neglect of archaeological sites.

presence of nationalist and religious symbols such as Greek and Cypriot flags and the orthodox cross. • The identity/character of the area is not as clearly defined as in areas such as Arab Ahmet, Selimiye or Chrysaliniotissa.	• Heritage prioritisation and consequent neglect of less prominent, yet historically significant architecture.

Amongst other things, the SWOT analysis for Omeriye also highlights the buffer zone's impact on the neglect and obsolescence of buildings and activity in the area. As was the case in Selimiye, this issue raises concerns about the role of unpleasant memories of conflict on the up-keeping of properties and the attraction of private investment. This argument is even stronger in the South since, despite the beautification of buildings and neighbourhoods closer to the buffer zone, a vivid lack of occupancy and investment continues to be observed; raising questions about the long-term management and protection of the specific areas. Furthermore, the use of façadism is more vividly employed in Omeriye, due to the funding availability to the South. Even though this method contributes to the skin-deep beautification of buildings and to their consequent protection in the short-term, this heritage management approach also raises concerns about their authentic conservation and historical continuity, as all traces (and memories) of conflict have been eradicated from the buildings' fabric. In this case, selective heritage protection materialises as a method for addressing the damaging effect of the buffer zone. However, it could also be argued that this challenges the recommendations set by the Nara Document on Authenticity that consider "form and design […] location and setting, spirit and feeling" (ICOMOS 1994) as essential prerequisites to the protection of tangible and intangible heritage authenticity, by concealing the historical continuity of the walled city. This point is based on the fact that, the beautification of the buffer zone boundary contradicts with the treatment of other areas around the walled city that continue to preserve the unpleasant traces of conflict[118], thus suggesting a level of inconsistency in the management of the different areas within the walls.

4.4.2 Examination of the Nicosia Master Plan Approach to the Areas of Arab Ahmet[119] and Chrysaliniotissa

From 1987 to the end of 1997, the NMP with support from USAID and the UNDP, funded the parallel implementation of the rehabilitation of the Arab Ahmet (North) and Chrysaliniotissa (South) Quarters in the walled city (European Commission 2001: 3). Being two of the first areas to undergo significant rehabilitation work as part of the NMP illustrates Arab Ahmet's and Chrysaliniotissa's

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[118] This issue includes the example of the Paphos Gate, discussed later in this chapter (Section 4.4.3: *The use of façadism by Nicosia Master Plan*).
[119] Even though this section primarily refers to the area of Arab Ahmet, Figure 149 demonstrates that part of the Karamanzade area was also addressed as part of the NMP's 'twin' rehabilitation project. For this reason, despite the fact that this section primarily refers to the Arab Ahmet Quarter when discussing the NMP, the interventions undertaken in Karamanzade have also been incorporated in the forthcoming examination.

historical and architectural importance to the walled city. The two neighbourhoods have been defined as residential and are amongst the few areas of the city that retain their "original street pattern, urban fabric and architectural and environmental character and disposition" (Savvides 2012: 1751); while the ongoing attempts of the NMP to generate interest and investment in the districts suggests the urgent need for their protection. The following section focuses on the neighbourhoods of Arab Ahmet and Chrysaliniotissa and, analyses the efforts of the NMP in addressing the damage caused by the division of the city. These areas have been chosen as examples due to their proximity to the UN buffer zone, as well as to the walls of the Nicosia. Moreover, being the first major bi-communal 'twin' projects undertaken by the NMP, provides the opportunity to assess their success in encouraging the development and protection of the areas, while ensuring their effective heritage management in the long-term.
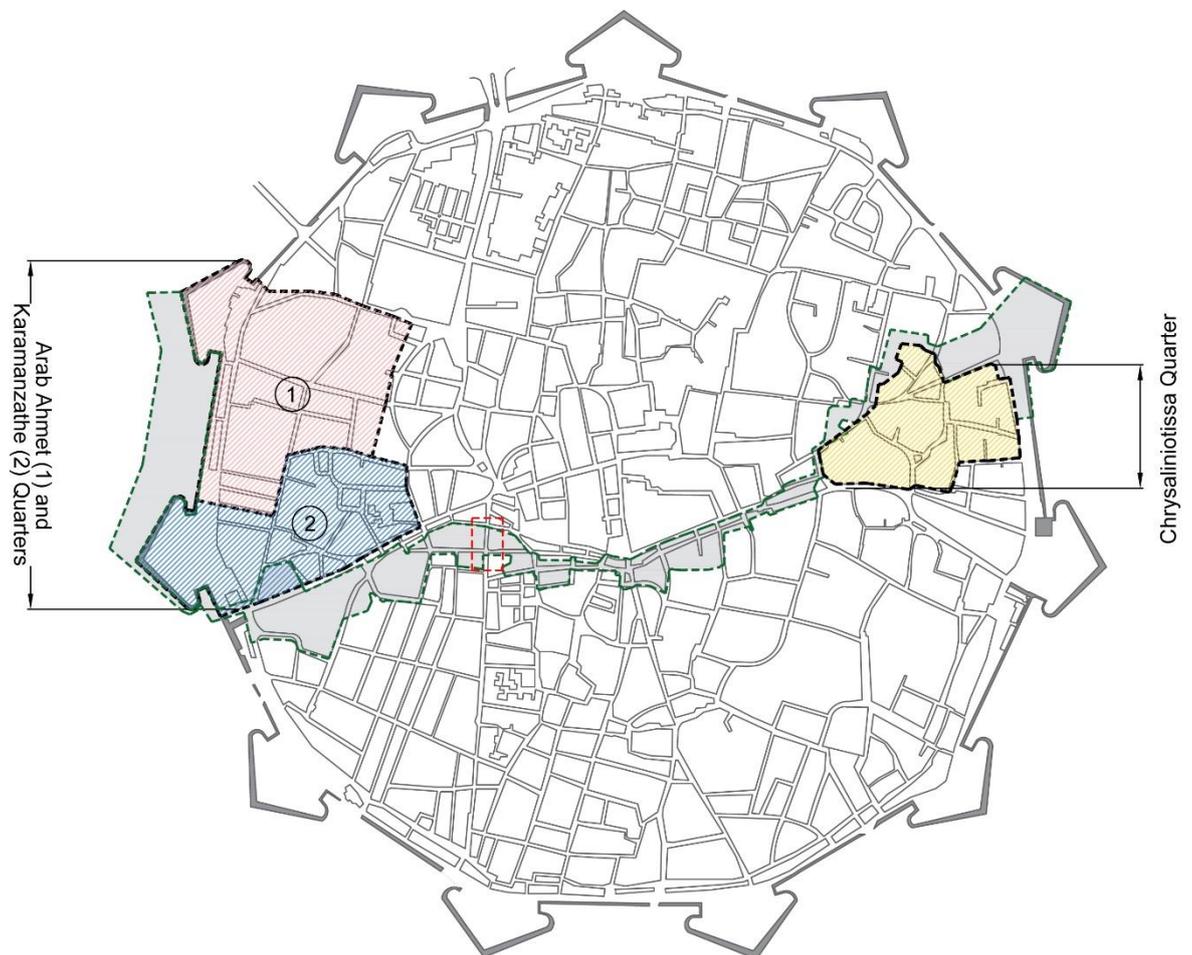
Figure 135: Diagram of the Arabahmet (left) and Chrysaliniotissa (right) neighbourhoods (Author 2017)

Arab Ahmet

As discussed in Section 4.3.1, the Arab Ahmet Quarter includes noteworthy buildings of heritage significance including medieval buildings and residences dating back to the Lusignan, Venetian, Ottoman and British periods (The Cyprus Gazette 1923). The area of Arab Ahmet is primarily

residential and is one of the highest points of the old city. Historically, Arab Ahmet was one of the most important quarters within the walls and housed wealthy merchants and high-ranking officials (Ibid.).

Figure 136: The Dervish Pasha Mansion (converted to a museum) in the Arab Ahmet Area (Author 2014)

Figure 137: Zahra Sokak residences at the east edge of Arab Ahmet (Author 2017)

Chrysaliniotissa

Like Arab Ahmet, the Chrysaliniotissa neighbourhood is one of the oldest and historically noteworthy districts within the walled city (AEIDL 2012a: 2). The area takes its name from the Franco-Byzantine Church of Panayia Chrysaliniotissa, which is also considered one of the most important churches within the Walls (Davies 2007: 97).

Figure 138: Chrysaliniotissa neighbourhood and church (Author 2014)

Even though Chrysaliniotissa was historically rich in culture, its current deprivation can be illustrated through various indicators, such as the reduction in the number of economically active permanent residents, as well as the high concentration of economically and socially vulnerable groups (AEIDL 2012a: 2). Furthermore, and as observed in other areas, Chrysaliniotissa's close proximity to the buffer zone is one of the primary reasons for its declining state, with the area being located on the east edge of walled Nicosia and directly next to the boundary.

The Nicosia Master Plan's heritage management approach for Arab Ahmet and Chrysaliniotissa

The goal of the NMP for Arab Ahmet and Chrysaliniotissa was to restore buildings for residential and community use, with housing rehabilitation projects undertaken in both areas, as well as artisan workshops being created in the process (Charlesworth 2012: 92). Through the realisation of the Chrysaliniotissa and Arab Ahmet project, the aim of the NMP was to attract new residents to the old city, by increasing the availability of housing within the walls, while ensuring provision for community facilities and improvement of open public spaces (Petridou 2008). Following the Nicosia Master Plan's initiative, many dilapidated buildings in the Arabahmet area have been privately restored as residences, small commercial ventures and cultural centres.

Figure 139: Image of the newly restored Cultural Centre in the Arab Ahmet Quarter (Author 2014)

Figure 140: Restoration of the medieval church and monastery of Notre Dame de Tyre in Arab Ahmet (Author 2014)

As a result, the restoration of decaying structures has been a key contributor to the revitalisation of the two areas, in addition to increasing the occupancy of empty buildings and disused neighbourhoods. The use of façadism by the NMP can also be observed in this case. As discussed earlier in this chapter and observed in Selimiye and Omeriye, even though skin-deep, this approach can be considered as a promising method in maintaining the aesthetic and historical values of heritage, while encouraging private investment and rehabilitation of the areas. Façadism in Arab Ahmet and Chrysaliniotissa, even though a temporary solution to the ongoing decline of historic buildings within the walls, offers an incentive for the continuing regeneration and occupancy of private properties and the consequent long-term protection of walled Nicosia's buildings and neighbourhoods of heritage value. Again, similar to Omeriye and Selimiye, this approach demonstrates how the eradication of the memories of decay and, subsequently conflict can play a prominent role in the heritage management approach of the areas.

Figure 141: Residential façade restoration in the Chrysaliniotissa area (Author 2014)

Figure 142 (right): Residential façade restoration in the Chrysaliniotissa area (Author 2014)

By taking into account the characteristics of the selected areas it can be argued that the revitalisation of Arab Ahmet and Chrysaliniotissa is significant to the heritage protection of walled Nicosia for three reasons. Firstly, both projects are located close to the UN buffer zone and the Venetian walls, thus encouraging interest and investment to spread from the central part of walled Nicosia towards the edges of the city. Secondly, the regeneration of residential buildings close to the buffer zone promotes the inhabitation and, consequently, a multiplier effect by continuing maintenance of the areas. Thirdly, encouraging a diversity of uses and facilities such as workshops and other buildings of public interest makes the areas appealing to a wider demographic; thus, enhancing their social and cultural and economic values. These characteristics illustrate the complex yet promising nature of the two neighbourhoods in the long-term and in the case of future reunification; as well as the need for their ongoing maintenance and protection as part of Nicosia's tangible and intangible heritage.

Considering the above - in practice - the rehabilitation of Arab Ahmet and Chrysaliniotissa has resulted in the recovery of several declining buildings, with an outlook to encourage their occupancy and ongoing protection. However, the following sections demonstrate that issues such as lack of up-keeping[120] and the specific location of the two areas within the walled city has significantly impacted on their development, public engagement and heritage protection. These issues arguably correlate with funding imbalances between the GC and TC Municipalities,

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[120] This issue relates to the lack of funding (primarily in the North) and will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

consequently fostering the financial power of the South and also demonstrate how the association of the unpleasant memories of conflict has impacted the specific neighbourhoods.

Lack of up-keeping

A prominent finding from the field work in Nicosia is the visible lack of up-keeping of restored[121] buildings and therefore wider neighbourhoods by the NMP; an issue particularly evident in the Arab Ahmet Quarter. This has resulted in a returning state of decay, with several listed buildings now suffering from physical deterioration. This has also been stressed by the NMP office, who maintain that the lack of up-keep has been caused by the restricted funding available to the Turkish Municipality of Nicosia and to the low-income residents occupying the area who are unable to maintain their buildings (Guralp 2016; Bensel 2016; Bakshi 2015: 204).

Figure 143: Restored building in Arab Ahmet showing signs of a lack of maintenance. This building was previously restored as part of the NMP initiative (Author 2014)

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[121] In addition to the responsibility of property owners to maintain their buildings, listed buildings in North and South Cyprus are under the control of the Department of Town Planning and Housing on either side of the divide. In the South, the works of preservation of listed buildings enforce internationally accepted charters and conservation principles and "play a very important role in the protection and enhancement of all physical and built manifestations of the heritage of the island" (Philokyprou and Libouri-Kozakou 2015: 272). Moreover, listed properties that belong to TC displaced individuals are now under the control of the RoC (through the Ministry of Interior) and are managed by relevant Municipalities and planning authorities (top-down approach) (Ministry of Interior 2017; Ministry of Interior Technical Services 2013: 14). In the North, "ownerless properties" (including listed buildings) are also protected by the Antiquities Law and are "under the care, control and management of the [TC] state" under the Abandoned Immovable Property Law (top-down approach) (Hardy 2014: 91; Kıbrıs Türk Federe Devleti, 1975).

On the contrary, buildings in Chrysaliniotissa appear to be better maintained and are subject to increasing interest from governmental and private businesses. More specifically, the adaptation of previously residential buildings to meet contemporary demands can be noted, including the conversion of residences into art workshops and crafts centres.

Figure 144: Image of residence converted to the Chrysaliniotissa Crafts Centre (Author 2014)

Figure 145: Image of residence converted to an art workshop in Chrysaliniotissa (Author 2014)

In the case of Chrysaliniotissa, the restoration has proven to be more effective in the long-term, with ongoing projects and private investment gradually being drawn to and established in the area. Furthermore, financial support provided for restoration projects is more visible than in Arab Ahmet, with streets and neighbourhoods better maintained and more aesthetically pleasing[122]. This highlights the difference between the North and South parts of Nicosia, both in terms of financial power, private investment and, consequently, heritage management effectiveness. The division of the city has also encouraged significant spatial differences between Arab Ahmet and Chrysaliniotissa that appear to have impacted their social and economic developments, as well as their heritage management and protection over time. In either case, despite the existence of relevant frameworks for addressing the conservation of walled Nicosia, the imbalance of resources, including the financial empowerment of the South clearly affects the heritage protection processes between the two Municipalities and results to significant differences in outcomes and outputs.

Comparison of Arab Ahmet and Chrysaliniotissa

The two quarters of Arab Ahmet and Chrysaliniotissa bear several similarities connected to their heritage values and historical significance to the rest of the walled city, thus justifying their parallel revitalisation as part of the NMP. However, fundamental differences associated with the relationship of the two sites with the buffer zone boundary and walls of the city have also been uncovered.

Firstly, in the Chrysaliniotissa Quarter, declining buildings next to the buffer zone have been restored (Figure 147), consequently encouraging residents to inhabit them. On the contrary, in the Arab Ahmet Quarter (and adjoining Karamanzade Quarter), restoration has been focused on areas away from the buffer zone (Figure 146). This approach has resulted in the decay of several abandoned residences closer to the boundary and, subsequently, to the vivid endurance of the memories of conflict. This observation further highlights the different approach to the treatment of the boundary taken on each side of the divide; an issue that effects the tangible built environment of the two quarters. Moreover, this finding suggests that, the value placed on the buffer zone appears to differ between the two Municipalities, with the GC South using the boundary as a façade to conceal the boundary and as a means of reinforcing its ethnic and political suffering (using religious and national symbols). In this case, the impact of collective memory appears to be a primary influencing factor on the management and protection of the specific area.

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[122] The restoration of the medieval church and monastery of Notre Dame de Tyre in Arab Ahmet, as well as the restoration of the Arab Ahmet Cultural Centre are two of the most recent projects undertaken in the area. However, aside from these specific initiatives addressed by the Turkish Municipality of Nicosia (and the NMP team in the North), private investment and restoration work remain stagnant in the area.

On the other hand, in the TC North, the areas closer to the buffer zone appear as overlooked of no memory value and of no visible consideration[123]. This point also raises questions about the authentic protection of the historic built environment of walled Nicosia by the GC and TC communities; as well as the public's perception of the ongoing conflict, the permanence of the buffer zone and the public's understanding and appreciation of the value of walled Nicosia's heritage.

Figure 146: Residential building in Arab Ahmet, next to the buffer zone (Author 2014)

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[123] This issue is also discussed in Section 4.3.3 *'Rebranding' the streets of Nicosia* and is illustrated through Figure 146 and Figure 147.

Figure 147: Restored residence in Chrysaliniotissa, directly next to the buffer zone (Author 2012). The signs on the right specify that the specific restoration project is part of the NMP's Chrysaliniotissa rehabilitation project.

Secondly, even though both areas benefit from nearby vehicular access, in the case of Arab Ahmet, access from outside the walls naturally leads from the north-west Mahmut Pasha Quarter towards Girne Avenue; a more prominent location within the north part of walled Nicosia. However, in the case of Chrysaliniotissa, vehicles are led directly into the Quarter, thus encouraging more engagement with the specific area (Figure 148). As can also be observed from Figure 148, direct access to Arab Ahmet (and consequently Karamanzade) has altered following the creation of the buffer zone, as the Paphos Gate, one of the main entrances to the walled city, now only services the south side of Nicosia. This fact has worsened the invisibility of the Arab Ahmet Quarter in comparison to the rest of the walled city and justifies the reasons for the returning decline of several buildings within the area; an issue also identified in Section 4.3.2.
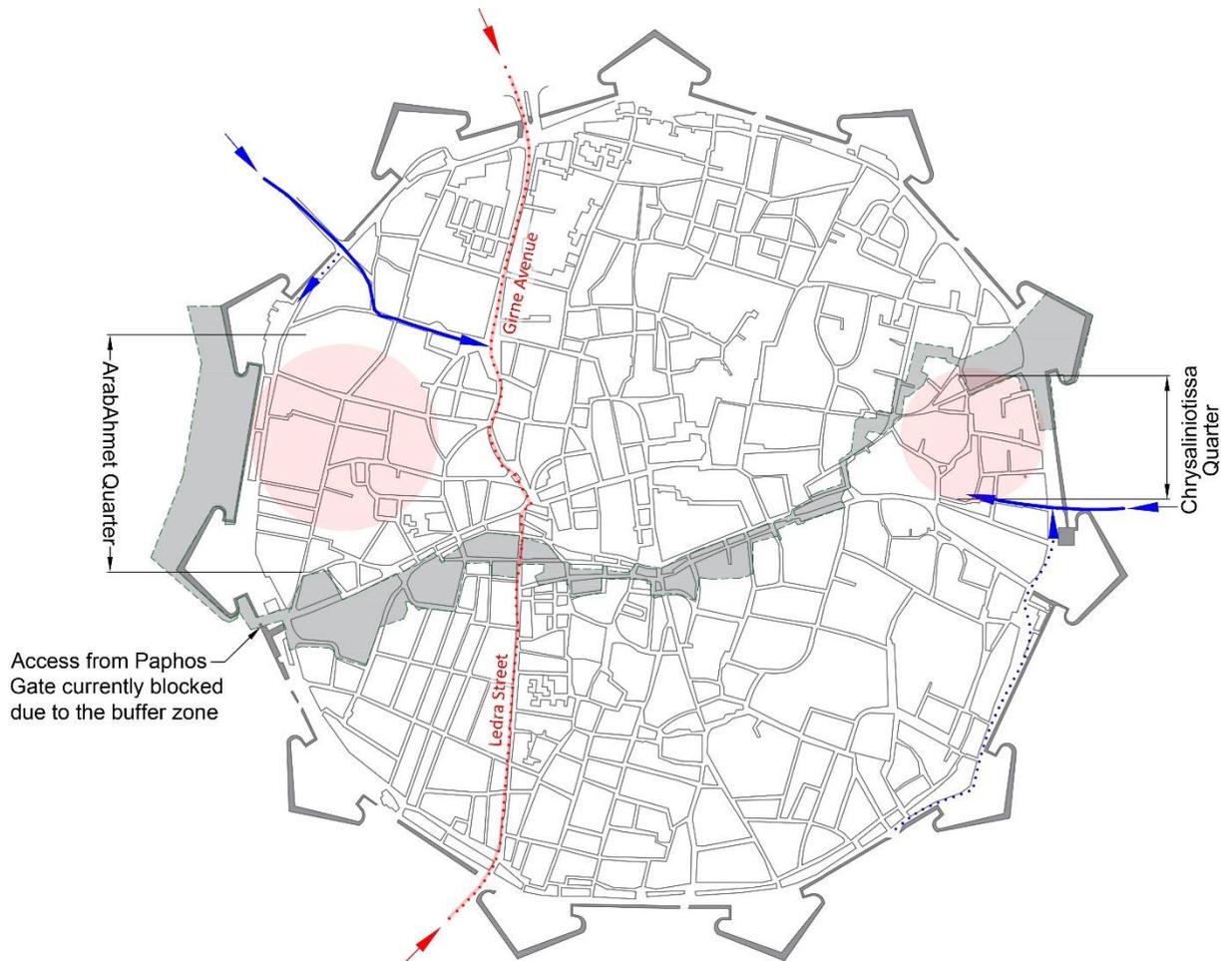
Figure 148: Analysis and visual comparison of Arab Ahmet and Chrysaliniotissa (Author 2017)

Thirdly, the impact of the buffer zone on the two quarters also differs. While the buffer zone only affects the northern side of the Chrysaliniotissa Quarter, the Arab Ahmet Quarter is interrupted by the buffer zone both from the west, as well as the south (also visible from Figure 148). This again limits access to the specific Quarter, while magnifying its isolation from the rest of the walled city. Considering the above, the authentic character of the Arab Ahmet quarter has been significantly affected by the current division, both due to its inorganic interruption, but also due to the resulting detachment of the specific neighbourhood from the rest of the historic core, which has equally impacted upon its tangible and intangible heritage[124].

Lastly, the rehabilitation currently observed in the Chrysaliniotissa area reflects the previously discussed international guidelines, which embrace adaptive re-use as a conservation approach, more vividly than in Arab Ahmet. As a result, historic buildings in Chrysaliniotissa have been adapted to meet contemporary demands, subsequently addressing any potential physical or use

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[124] The example of the Holy Cross Catholic Church exemplifies this point, by demonstrating that, in addition to the tangible fabric of the Church, previous – intangible – traditions, or rituals, associated with the building have been altered due to the existence of the buffer zone.

obsolescence and therefore widening the development gap with Arab Ahmet (where this is not applied). This method also echoes the recommendations made by the World Heritage Conventions (UNESCO 1972; UNESCO 2003), which support taking the necessary measures to ensure the safeguarding of heritage "present in its territory" (ibid.).

SWOT Analysis of Arab Ahmet and Chrysaliniotissa following their rehabilitation by the NMP

Like in the examples of Selimiye and Omeriye, the following section provides a comprehensive SWOT analysis of the Arab Ahmet and Chrysaliniotissa Quarters. The aim of this is to summarise each district's key characteristics and provide considerations and contributions for their effective heritage management. This analysis has been primarily informed by the field work findings on Nicosia.

Table 11: SWOT Analysis of Arab Ahmet following its rehabilitation by the NMP

STRENGTHS	OPPORTUNITIES
• Contains buildings and monuments of significant heritage value to both GC (including the Armenian community of Cyprus) and TC communities. • Knowledge gained by the NMP and wider community regarding the heritage of the area, as well as its condition after the division of the city. • Several streets, buildings and building facades have been restored, consequently making the area more appealing. • The creation of the Arab Ahmet Development Company in 2004 has contributed to the heritage management and protection of the area, as well as to the regeneration of its built environment. • One of the most historically noteworthy areas within the walls.	• Adaptive re-use of historic buildings to meet contemporary demand (such as Girne University's proposed occupancy of large parts of the area). • The potential opening of a crossing to encourage visitors to the area and address the issue of disorientation and interruption of horizontal (North – South) spatial patterns by 'thinning' the buffer zone. • More power given to the public to become responsible for the heritage management of the area through the Arab Ahmet Development Company. • Development of more mixed-use buildings to encourage occupancy throughout the day and night. • Use of historic buildings in the area (such as the monastery, churches, mosques and museums) to attract cultural tourism.
WEAKNESSES	THREATS

- Lack of private investment in the area. - Lack of up-keeping. - Lack of funding and relevant resources to encourage the ongoing regeneration of the area. - Located on the more isolated west edge of the walled city. - Located next to the buffer zone which results in the physical disruption of streets and neighbourhoods, but also in the loss of 'rituals' that used to take place in the area. - At a higher point, situated on top of the walls, consequently access is limited due to the existence of the buffer zone. Access limited from outside the walls as previous direct entry points lie on the south side (Paphos Gate). - Difficulties in locating and orientation of the area due to the interruption of spatial patterns caused by the existence of the buffer zone. - Low income residents are unable to maintain their properties. - Lack of appreciation of heritage by current residents. - NMP rehabilitation only appears to be effective in the short term. - TC landlords have moved to new developments outside the walls which has resulted in a large number of properties being empty or rented to low income residents and therefore not being maintained. - Sharp contrast between newly restored buildings and derelict buildings. - Lack of public participation. - No financial incentives provided for property owners to restore or maintain their properties.	- Continued presence of low income tenants from mainland Turkey occupying the area. - Inability to access funding to address the rehabilitation of buildings of heritage value. - Loss of heritage due to lack of private contribution to the protection of Nicosia's historic core. - Existence of the buffer zone. - No opening of additional crossings. - Building owners moving permanently outside the walled city. - Heritage prioritisation and consequent neglect of less prominent, yet historically significant architecture. - Loss of the authentic character of the area of Arab Ahmet either due to the buffer zone, or to regeneration approaches that fail to embrace the truthful historical qualities of buildings and neighbourhoods, either through restoration, conservation, preservation or adaptive re-use.

The SWOT analysis for Arab Ahmet highlights the historically significant character of the area and its potential to attract public interest and investment; and therefore, encourage its sustainable heritage protection. However, even though conceived as a 'twin' project with Chrysaliniotissa, after its rehabilitation the area has returned to a state of decay, with its heritage not being conserved by the current, low income residents. This point raises concerns about the financial imbalance between the North and South, as well as the role of memory and authenticity amongst the residents of Arab Ahmet and Chrysaliniotissa; with the latter neighbourhood being more carefully managed and gradually occupied by different users.

Table 12: SWOT Analysis of Chrysaliniotissa following its rehabilitation by the NMP

STRENGTHS	OPPORTUNITIES
• Strong residential character and noteworthy buildings of cultural and religious value. This includes Panayia Chrysaliniotissa which is one of the oldest and historically significant churches within the walls. • Even though it is located at the east edge of the walled city, the Chrysaliniotissa area is well connected both with the rest of walled Nicosia and also new parts of the city. • Not as affected by vehicular traffic due to its distance from the busy areas around Ledra Street. • Home to numerous independent businesses. • Buildings along the buffer zone are better conserved than in other areas within walled Nicosia.	• Attraction of new residents (including young families) through the provision of incentives in return for long term commitment to the area. • Attraction of private investment through the provision of incentives and therefore by encouraging more independent businesses to occupy the area. • Improvement of pedestrian routes and public spaces in order to attract visitors to the area. • Use of façadism or partial regeneration to encourage property owners to continue with the complete regeneration of their buildings. • Close to open spaces and parks to the east of the neighbourhood.
WEAKNESSES	**THREATS**
• Limited car parking space. • Not as commercially vibrant as other areas within the walls. • Adjacent the buffer zone. • GC military posts are present in some of the residences close to the buffer zone, which consequently brings memories of conflict and division and can be intimidating to locals and visitors. • Lack of funding and of a strong area/micro economy. • Economically and socially deprived or vulnerable groups live in the area. • Limited number/amount of public space. • Roads and wider infrastructure is not pedestrian-friendly. • Weak incentives for visiting the area. • Use of several parts of the area for military purposes, including surveillance and access to the buffer zone.	• The existence of the buffer zone. • The ongoing tenancy of low income residents who are unable to maintain their properties. • The lack of investment due to the above two points. • Continuing use of several parts of the area for military purposes, including surveillance and access to the buffer zone. • Excessive use of façadism, without the continuation of investment for the complete rehabilitation/restoration of buildings and sites. • Reduction of funding from international and governmental organisations that therefore limits the regeneration of the city. • The selective protection of buildings in the area.

The SWOT analysis of the Chrysaliniotissa area demonstrates how the work of the NMP has encouraged the gradual occupancy of buildings and neighbourhoods and their consequent adaptation to meet contemporary demands; thus, ensuring the continued use of heritage and the delay of their deterioration. This point suggests that the area's management and continued rehabilitation has been more successful and embraced by the public in the South when compared to Arab Ahmet. In this case – and in addition to the availability of funding – the increased use of façadism and the gradual concealment of the unpleasant memories of conflict has contributed to the return of private investment and stakeholder engagement. This highlights the close link between memory and walled Nicosia's historic built environment, as well as the effect this can have

on the management and perception of heritage on either side of the divide. Bryant (2004), Papadakis (2005), Balderstone (2007) and Bakshi (2012) echo this point and acknowledge the impact of conflict on the collective memory of the GC and TC communities[125]. This finding also demonstrates how walled Nicosia's stakeholders do not acknowledge conflict as part of the city's authentic historical narrative, despite its inevitable association with the city's past. This raises questions about collective perception of the meaning and significance of Nicosia's tangible and intangible heritage authenticity and the way this impacts upon the management of the city's heritage[126].

4.4.3 The Nicosia Master Plan's Efforts to Protect the Buffer Zone: Focusing on Specific Buildings within the Area

As discussed earlier in this chapter, 10% of walled Nicosia is currently part of the UN buffer zone, with buildings in this area declining due to lack of maintenance (Nicosia Master Plan 1984: 35). To address the ongoing decline of the buffer zone, the second phase of the NMP carried out detailed surveys of 265 buildings, created a comprehensive record and proposed emergency interventions to prevent structures from collapsing (Nicosia Master Plan 2004a: 133; Petridou 2003: 15). Being considered as "a further extension of the negative impacts on the areas in the walled city" and "an open wound of history" has made the buffer zone's regeneration one of the main goals of the NMP initiative (Nicosia Master Plan 2004b: 8-9).

The following table demonstrates the proposed projects for the area during the second phase of the NMP[127].

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[125] Also discussed in Chapter 3, Section 3.3.2: *Memory, conflict and the attack on Cypriot religious heritage*.

[126] Even though in cases such as Berlin, the memories of conflict have been embedded into the urban landscape and are part of the historical narrative of the city, this has not yet been consistently done in Nicosia (See Chapter 2, Section 2.4.3: *Heritage Ownership in Post-Conflict Berlin: Merging the Traces of Conflict into Contemporary Life).* Arguably, this observation can be due to the ongoing presence of conflict and division, the different administrative bodies managing Nicosia's heritage, and the difference in historical narratives and political agendas on either side of the Cypriot divide.

[127] According to the NMP, lack of access to the buffer zone can constrain the implementation of projects. Despite the hard reality of the presence of the buffer zone, the extent of its impact on implementation must be seen in context of the Vision and Strategy for re-uniting the Core of Nicosia (Nicosia Master Plan 2004b: 20).

Projects	Main Strategic Feature and Purpose
A. Buffer Zone and the Walled City	Projects in and across the buffer zone that act as 'city gluing' elements
A1. Academic, residential and development area in the Buffer Zone.	Projects focusing on development opportunities for educational and research uses in the heart of Nicosia.
A2. Linking of Municipalities	Project focusing on opportunities for linking the two municipal markets located in the heart of Nicosia (one in the area of Selimiye (North) and one in Omeriye (South)).
A3. East Residential Area	Project focusing on opportunities and needs for the residential development on the Eastern part of the heart of Nicosia.
A4. West Residential Areas	Project focusing on opportunities and needs for the residential development on the Western part of the heart of Nicosia.

In addition to the above, a further initiative titled, the *New Vision for the Core of Nicosia Project* has been implemented by the NMP. This aimed at creating a "demonstration scheme" that consisted of the "development and 'packaging' of an implementation project in a strategic location in and across the buffer zone to act as the focus for the application of bi-communal efforts, the consultation process and the governance and financial mechanisms." (Nicosia Master Plan 2004b: 23). As a result, the second phase of the NMP initiative more strongly considers the buffer zone area, demonstrating a broader recognition of the urgency to safeguard its tangible and intangible heritage. Moreover, the potential of the buffer zone as a bridge between the GC and TC Municipalities can be observed, with projects focusing on aligning the two side's efforts and perspectives. Despite this, Figure 149 depicts the current NMP interventions and illustrates that no significant projects have been undertaken within the area yet. Furthermore, as pointed out by the NMP team, despite its heritage significance, the revitalisation currently taking place in the buffer zone is aimed at ensuring the structural integrity of buildings through the restoration of façades; an approach taken for the health and safety of soldiers patrolling the area rather than for the protection of the buffer zone's heritage (Bensel 2016)[129]. In addition, the NMP team does not have any authority to intervene in the Turkish Military controlled area (discussed in Section 4.3.3), which has resulted in a growing unfamiliarity with regards to its decaying building stock (Bensel 2016)[130].

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[128] For a complete list of the projects see Appendix I, *Nicosia Master Plan, New Vision for the Core of Nicosia: Priority Projects.*

[129] This point was confirmed by NMP architects Cemal Bensel (North) and Simos Drousiotis (South) who assert that they have restricted access and no power over the future of the buildings in the buffer zone, as they are merely allowed to intervene in the area for emergency works.

[130] This issue was primarily raised during the interview with Bensel (2016: 188-189), who expressed his concerns about the future of heritage located within these inaccessible premises. This is further discussed in Chapter 5.

Restoration of listed buildings

Survey and Documentation

Rehabilitation projects

Pedestrianisation - Infrastructure

Landscaping

Public-Intensive uses

Restoration of monuments

Partial Restoration/ Facades
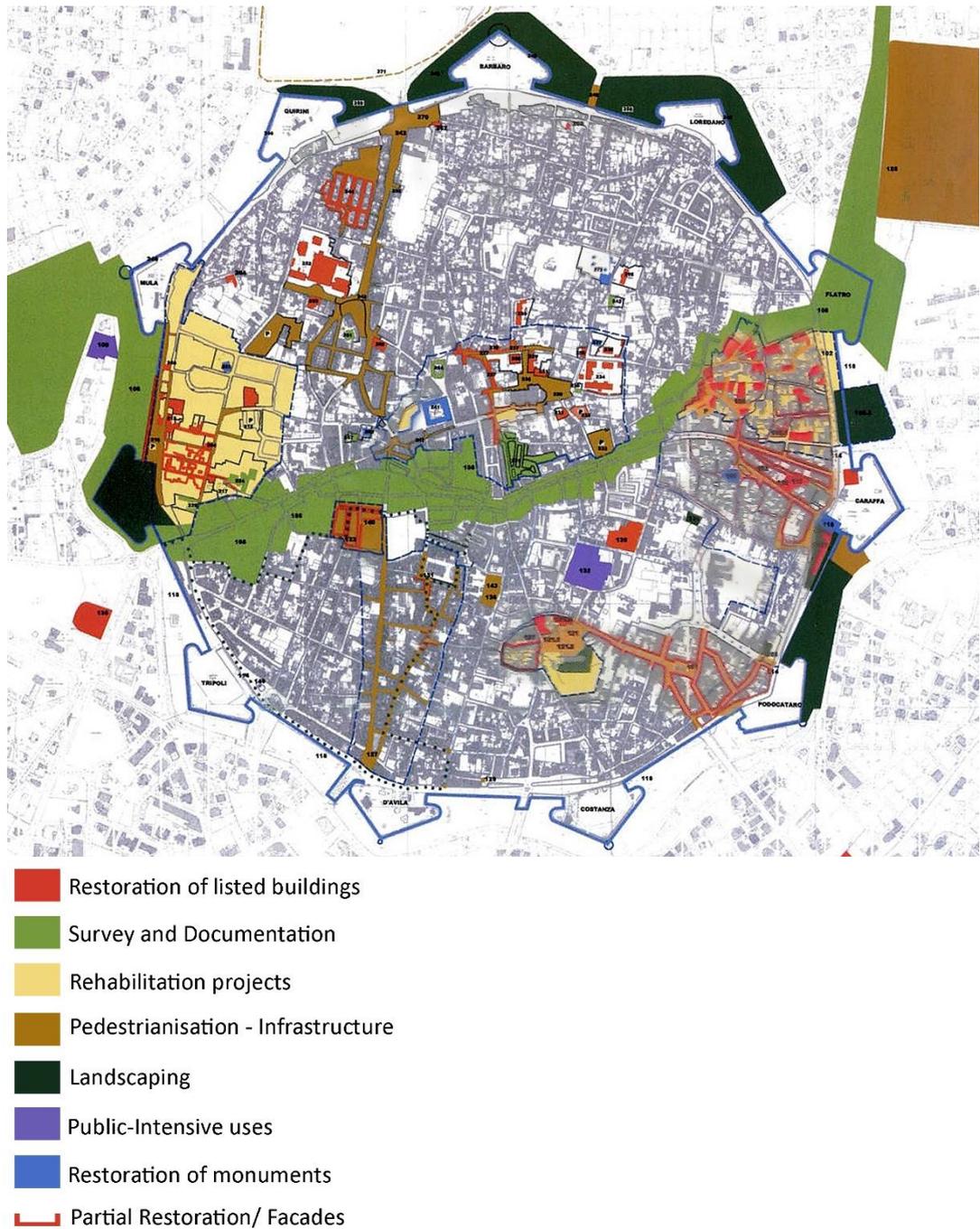
Figure 149: Current interventions completed by the NMP (Nicosia Master Plan 2004; adapted by Author 2015)

As a result, despite the intentions of the NMP to protect the architectural heritage of the buffer zone, no significant rehabilitation work has yet been allowed. In addition, like in the case of Chrysaliniotissa, the use of façadism has also been observed on buildings directly adjacent to or partly in the restricted area, further highlighting the prominence of the specific approach by the NMP.

Figure 150: Example of facade restoration in the buffer zone (Author 2014)

Figure 151: Recently restored building facades, partly in the buffer zone (Author 2017)

Figure 152: Façade restoration of building located partly in the buffer zone (Author 2017)

The use of façadism by Nicosia Master Plan and its impact on the wider heritage management of walled Nicosia

As demonstrated earlier in this chapter, the restoration of facades is an approach observed both in the areas of Omeryie and Selimiye, as well as the Arab Ahmet and Chrysaliniotissa quarters. According to Siatitsa (2012: 8), the NMP's choice to restrict restoration to facades is due to a strategic choice made by the team to focus resources on the attractiveness of public space. In doing so, the NMP team aimed "to achieve a multiplier effect and motivate the owners to complete the restoration using their own means, as well as mobilising private investment." (ibid.: 12). Petridou (2005: 12) also sustains that, the restoration of facades is aimed at upgrading and enhancing the physical environment and streetscape of neighbourhoods, while "rais[ing] the consciousness of inhabitants about maintaining the quality of the built environment". To achieve this, the NMP team carried out detailed surveys to safeguard the authenticity of each facade, while restoring the original elements through "compatible and reversible materials and methods" (ibid.: 7). As a result,

material authenticity and reversibility emerge as key considerations in the restoration of historic buildings within the walls.

A prominent example that demonstrates this approach is the previously discussed case of Dionisou Street (South Nicosia) (see Section 4.4.1). This area primarily consists of workshops and residential buildings. Nevertheless, its proximity to the dividing boundary, along with the gradual departure of long-term tenants from the area, had resulted in the decay of its tangible fabric and vocational character.

Figure 153: Dionisou Street before its rehabilitation by the NMP (Nicosia Master Plan office 2014)

Figure 154: *Dionisou Street before its rehabilitation by the NMP (Nicosia Master Plan office 2014)*

Following its restoration and despite the fact that the functionality of the area has not been completely reinstated, the Nicosia Master Plan's goal of 'gluing'[131] the historic city back together has visibly altered the appearance of the specific street. Nonetheless, even though the buildings

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[131] The 2004 NMP *Strategy Report* emphasises the significance of the buffer zone in unifying the walled city and in strengthening the links between the GC and TC Nicosia Municipalities (Nicosia Master Plan 2004b: 20).

have been made structurally safe before being restored, the NMP's focus was on the aesthetic upgrading of buildings, primarily through façade restorations, rather than repairing their entire structures.

Figure 155: Restored facades at Dionisou street (Nicosia Master Plan Office 2014)

Figure 156: Restored facades at Dionisou street (Nicosia Master Plan Office 2014)

As a result, the promotion of façadism and the consequent skin-deep beautification of buildings materialises as a notable approach used widely by the NMP and is aimed at encouraging their speedy recovery and attracting users back to the area. Arguably, the reconstruction of damaged or

declining areas next to the buffer zone can be considered as a form of healing after the 1974 conflict. Nevertheless, the skin-deep concealment of any traces of conflict and, therefore, the screening of war-associated memories suggests a temporary solution to an ongoing problem of decline. In addition, the field work findings have led to the observation that, this method of concealing the unappealing and declining 'skin' of the buffer zone boundary is very different to the treatment of the Venetian walls surrounding Nicosia; that separate the historic and contemporary parts of the city. This observation primarily relates to the south part of Nicosia, where traces of conflict have been preserved on the external fabric of the Venetian walls. An example that highlights this finding is that of the Paphos Gate area[132], where bullet holes and other conflict related damage on the fabric of buildings over the walls has been preserved despite restoration initiatives in the area (Figure 158 - Figure 160).
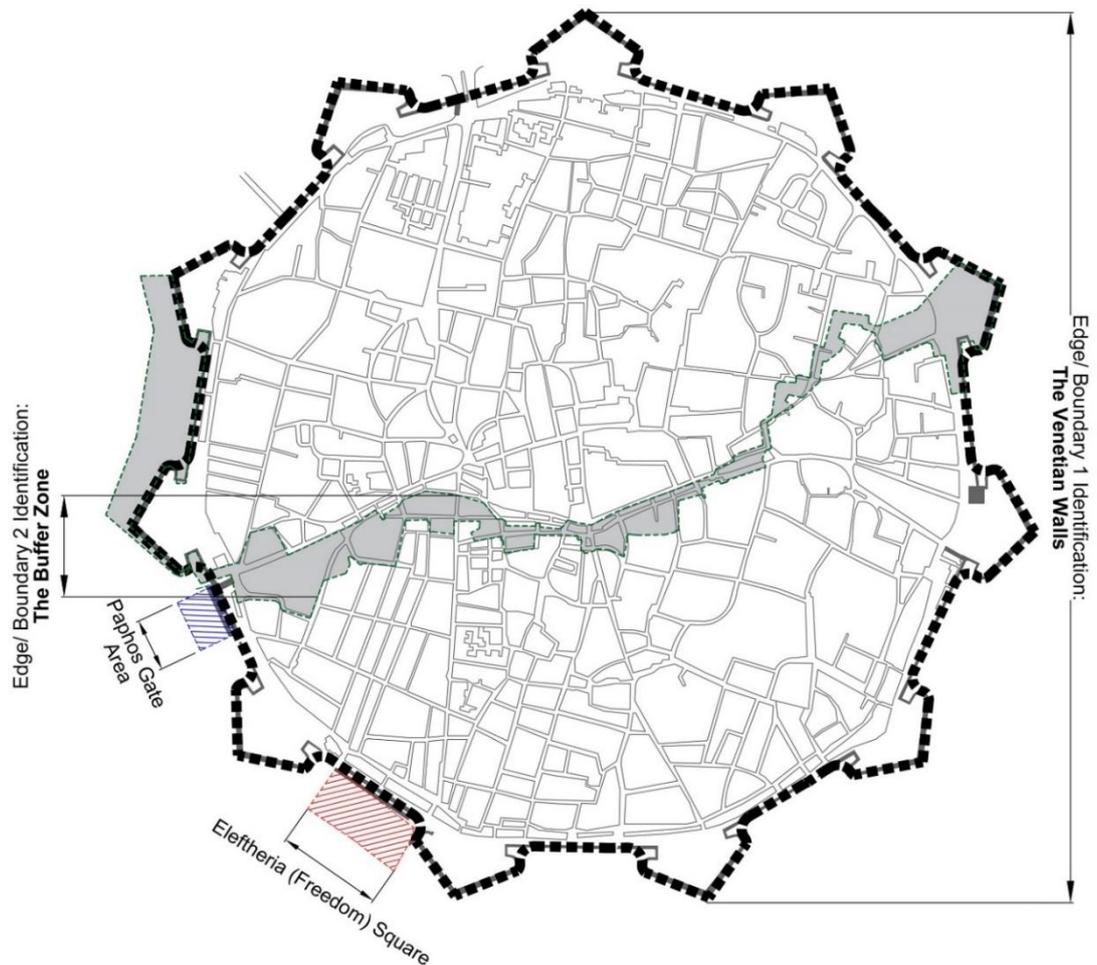
Figure 157: Edge identification diagram illustrating the location of Paphos Gate, Eleftheria Square and the different boundaries making up the physical fabric of walled Nicosia (Author 2017). The image shows the close

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[132] The Paphos Gate served as warehouse during the Ottoman period and as headquarters for the British Colonial police. Paphos Gate is one of the three gates built during the Venetian Period (1489-1570). The road beginning outside the gate led to the town of Paphos, hence the origins of the gate's name (Nicosia Municipality 2017). Today the Gate is one of the main vehicular access points to the south part of the walled city and the only access (to the South) from the west part of the walls (Figure 157 and Figure 159).

proximity between the identified boundaries, despite their diverse treatment at different locations, particularly in the South part of the walled city.

Figure 158: Governmental building (police station) next to the vehicular access and above the pedestrian access of Paphos gate (Author 2014).

Figure has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Figure 159: Vehicular access to Walled Nicosia from the Paphos Gate (Unknown 2016)

The contrast between the treatment of the buffer zone boundary and the Venetian walls is further highlighted through the recent renovation of building façades on Paphos Street which is located next to the buffer zone, opposite the Paphos Gate and inside the walled city. This renovation followed the attempts of the NMP to upgrade and enhance the physical environment of the historic core (Petridou 2005: 12).
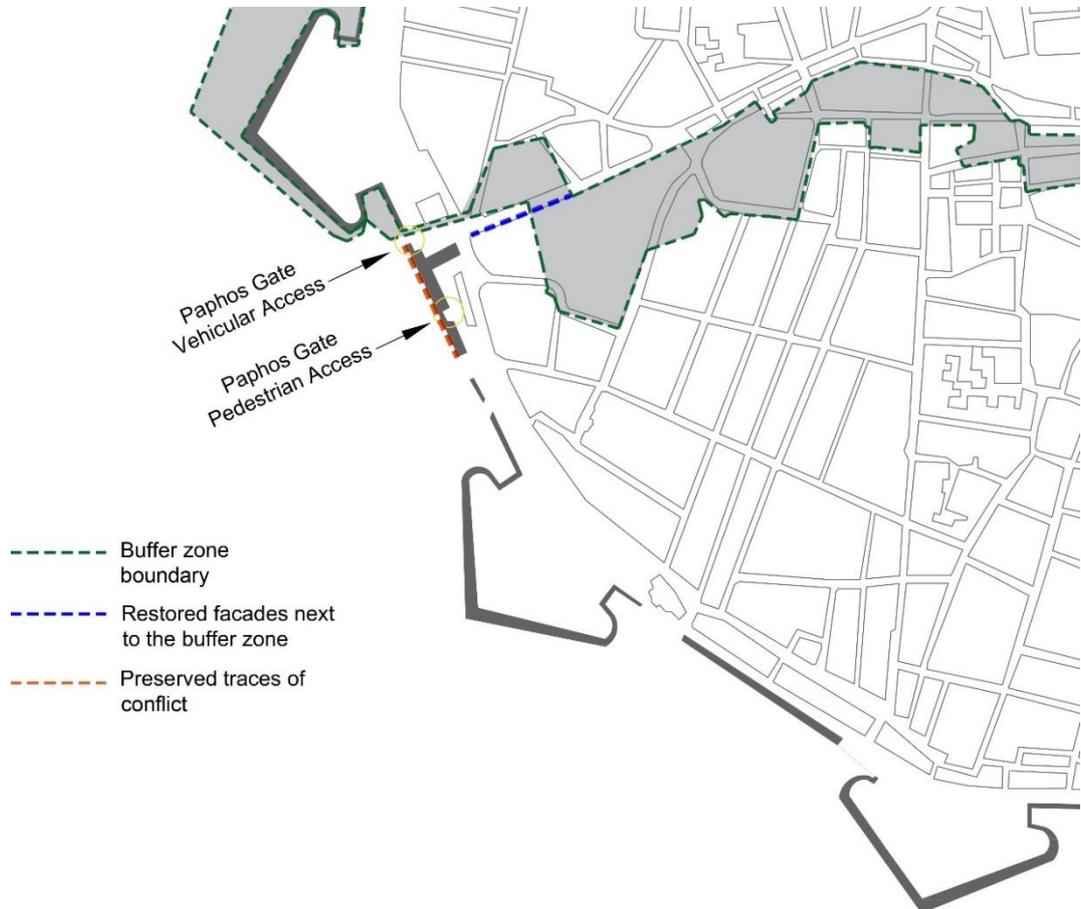
Figure 160: Map of the Paphos Gate area, illustrating the location of the newly restored facades, as well as the preserved traces of conflict (Author 2017)

Figure 162: Recently restored building facades on Paphos Street, walled Nicosia (Author 2017)

As can be observed in Figure 161 and Figure 162, on Paphos Street, buildings next to the buffer zone have been restored following a similar approach to that used on Dionisou Street. In both cases, the use of façadism is visible as a key strategy for the beautification of decaying buildings and neighbourhoods. However, the example of Paphos Gate suggests a disparity between the treatment of the buffer zone boundary, when compared to parts of the Venetian walls that have been influenced by conflict. Management of heritage in this case differs from one area to the other, with traces of conflict being selectively preserved throughout the walled city. This phenomenon is mainly visible in the south-west (GC) part of Nicosia and closer to the buffer zone area, due to the increased number of projects undertaken by the NMP in the GC part of the walled city. Moreover, this approach to the walls is very different to that applied in Eleftheria Square (Section 4.4: *Addressing the outward growth of Nicosia*); where the area does not bear any traces of conflict and

is currently being regenerated to provide a public open space linking the historic core with the rest of the city.

Considering the above, it can be argued that heritage conservation and, subsequently, the use of memory, is practiced differently in areas around Nicosia's Venetian walls when compared to the buffer zone. This observation illustrates a level of heritage management inconsistency depending on the area within the walled city. This point also challenges the meanings associated with tangible and intangible heritage authenticity and the truthful historical narrative promoted by the Municipalities of Nicosia. In the case of Paphos Gate and the adjoining Venetian Walls, the historical continuity of the structures has been preserved, consequently reflecting the documentary value of authenticity as promoted by conservationists such as Ruskin and Morris[133]. In this case, the use of façadism has not been employed as a method of healing the damaged fabric of the Venetian walls, but has intentionally been avoided to preserve the tangible and intangible memories of conflict. This finding demonstrates that the issue of selective heritage management continues to dominate the historic core of Nicosia and highlights the ongoing impact of conflict on collective memory and on the coherent representation of the walled city.

Lastly, the field work findings have demonstrated that the use of façadism has been more vividly employed in the south part of the walled city (Figure 163) which, as argued earlier in this chapter, has contributed to the beautification of buildings and neighbourhoods. However, the fact that the practice of façadism is uniform throughout the historic core raises questions about the individual assessment of the building stock and the understanding of their unique characteristics, historical significance for the walled city and for the buffer zone[134]. Subsequently, concerns regarding the authentic treatment of heritage relate both to the material fabric of buildings, but also to their intangible qualities that façadism may conceal. This matter contradicts the recommendations set by the previously discussed Nara Document on Authenticity[135], as well as UNESCO's World Heritage Conventions (UNESCO 1972; UNESCO 2003).

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[133] Initially introduced in Chapter 3, Section 3.4.3: *Authenticity within the Discipline of Heritage Conservation*.
[134] For example, facades of residences that have not been affected by conflict or division have been restored analogously to facades that border the buffer zone, or have suffered damage and decay due to the 1974 conflict. In either case, the narrative attached to heritage and place is different - and so should be their treatment.
[135] The 1994 Nara Document on Authenticity considers both material and immaterial qualities as vital in the preservation of heritage. These include "use and function, traditions and techniques, […] spirit and feeling, and other internal and external factors" (ICOMOS 1994).

The following figure illustrates the use of façadism throughout the walled city of Nicosia and the prominence of this approach in the South. The image is informed by the field work findings and the information provided by the NMP and excludes complete building restorations.
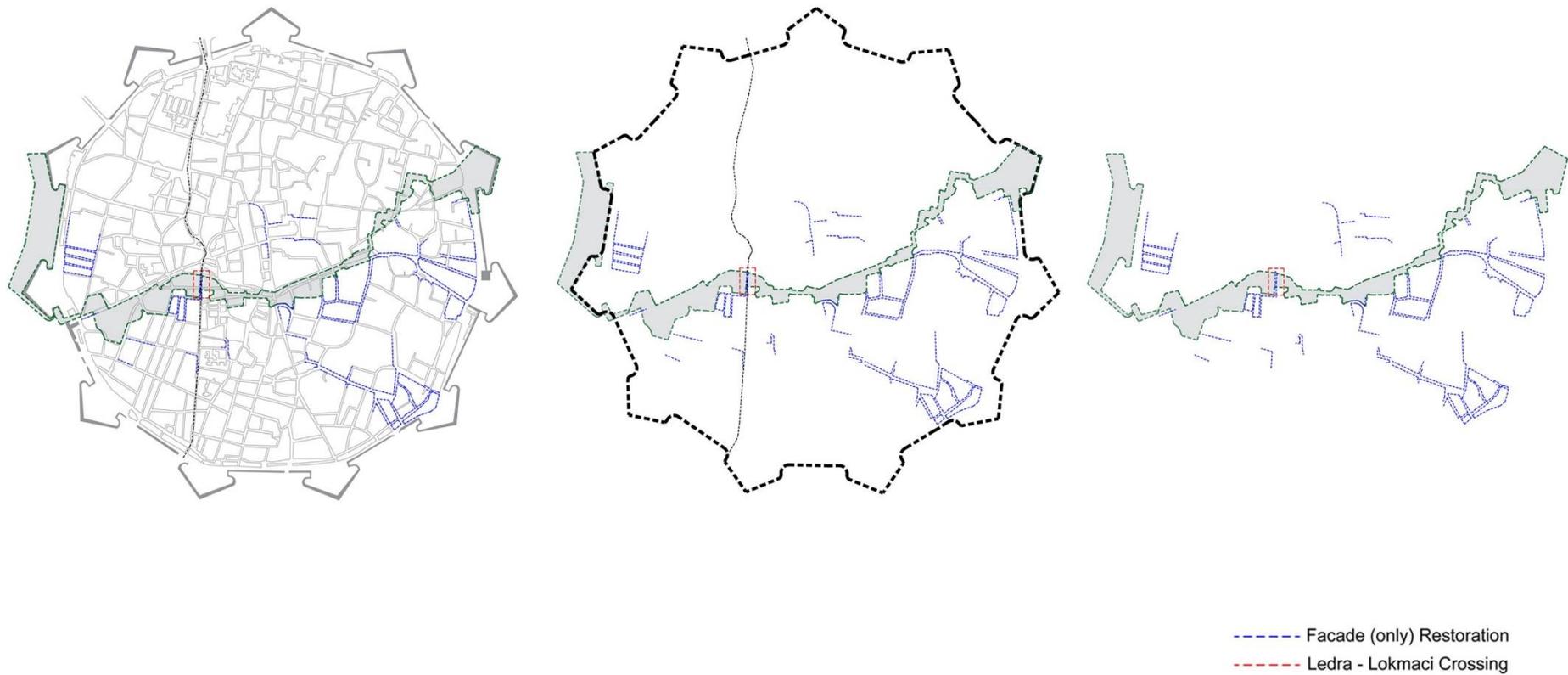
Figure 163: Figure illustrating the use of façadism throughout the walled city of Nicosia (Author 2017). As can be observed, funding availability for the South Nicosia Municipality - and NMP team - has encouraged the increased implementation of this approach at different locations within the walls, including areas close to the buffer zone.

As can be observed from Figure 163, a significant amount of façade restoration has been established, particularly in the south part of walled Nicosia. This finding further justifies the more visible lack of up-keeping in the North – discussed earlier in this chapter – and the subsequent decline of its architectural heritage[136]. As a result, the existing gap in the regeneration approaches between the GC and TC NMP teams has been emphasised, demonstrating the impact funding inequality and lack of international recognition for the TRNC have on the effective implementation of heritage protection processes.

SWOT Analysis of the walled city of Nicosia

The following section brings together the field work findings presented in this chapter and summarises the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats that impact the walled city of Nicosia. The aim of the forthcoming SWOT analysis is to strengthen the contribution of this thesis through the creation and interpretation of new knowledge based on the findings of the researcher. In addition, the following section builds on the work of Doratli *et al.* (2004) who focused on the north part of the walled city only and whose research dates back to before the year 2004. This table considers the findings presented by the authors at the time and contributes to existing knowledge and research by applying the empirical field work findings to develop a SWOT analysis that encompasses the entire walled city of Nicosia (i.e. North and South).

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[136] This issue is also raised in the following chapter (Chapter 5), which includes the interview responses of the NMP representatives.

Table 14: SWOT Analysis for the whole of the walld city of Nicosia, building on the SWOT analysis carried out on North Nicosia's historic core by Doratli et al. (2004)[137]

The Walled City of Nicosia	STRENGTHS	WEAKNESSES	OPPORTUNITIES	THREATS
Natural Environment *Fauna, flora, air, water, pollution*	• Having a Mediterranean climate which is attractive for tourism. • Central location of the city on the island. • Presence of greenery in almost every house garden. • Existence of date palms in public spaces which have symbolic values to the city. • Existence of an urban park attached to the border line.	• Lack of maintenance in house gardens. • Unworkable street fountains. • Scarce amount of water. • *Limited numbers of visible/accessible green spaces within the walls.* • *Continuing lack of maintenance of house gardens, particularly in decaying or abandoned buildings.*	• *Define and beautify public spaces by using planting and water features to encourage people to spend more time within walled Nicosia.*	• Decay of the natural beauty. • *Increasing traffic within the walls creates pollution and limits the use of open spaces/ gardens.* • *Pollution of the walled city due to increasing vehicular use can also impact the condition of historic buildings.*
Built Environment *Physical and aesthetic qualities*	• Being the traditional core of the city. • Existence of star-shaped city walls. • Existence of identical districts and monumental buildings (a covered Bazaar, khans, baths, cinemas). • Mix-uses within the district. • Existence of various reference points in each district. • Predominant human scale pattern. • Continuous urban form with well-defined streets and cul-	• Limited area for development. • Existence of a buffer zone. • Inappropriate additions to the building facades such as architectural elements and advertisement boards. • Inadequate lighting. • Lack of unity among the definer buildings. • Existence of unused urban spaces. • Inadequate and inappropriate street furniture elements.	• Existence of many defined open spaces. • Existence of housing stock. • Existence of public building stock. • *The use of facadism as a short-term approach for the beautification of buildings and the possibility of attracting private investment for the complete rehabilitation of properties of historical significance – multiplier effect.* • *The strengthening of bi-communal activities as a*	• Existence of the buffer zone. • More deterioration on the monumental buildings. • More deterioration in the traditional pattern. • More visual misery. • Multi-storey building additions to the traditional human scale pattern. • Physical, functional, locational and image obsolescence. • Lack of maintenance in private, semi-private and public spaces. • Incompatible uses in the traditional buildings, such as small industry.

[137] The text in black is derived from the findings of Doratli *et al.* (2004), whereas the text in red represents the field work findings of the researcher.

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de-sacs, which create a sense of place. • Existence of special corner-defining buildings. • Existence of well-defined public urban spaces/ squares in various dimensions. • Existence of traditional housing dwellings belonging to previous cultures. • *Many buildings of heritage value on both sides of the divide.* • *Common heritage shared by the GC and TC communities (includes other minorities that occupied the island over the years).* • *The possibility of adapting buildings to meet contemporary demand, while conserving their aesthetic qualities and, possibly, memory value.* • *The existence of strong commercial centres/streets on either side of the divide that attract visitors, employment and funding back to the historic core.* • *The opening of the Ledra-Lokmaci checkpoints allowing people to cross –*	• Scarce amount of places for sports. • Car parking problems. • *Return of decay and lack of up-keeping of private properties (more vividly in the North).* • *Obsolescence of public spaces at the edges of the walled city.* • *Several areas adjacent to the buffer zone carry memories of conflict, with some being intentionally preserved (e.g. Paphos Gate in South Nicosia).* • *The use of facadism as a superficial restoration approach throughout the historic core.* • *Differing treatment of the buffer zone boundary in the north and south parts of the walled city, which suggests contradictory approaches to the ongoing conflict and division.* • *The existence of an additional buffer zone; the Turkish military zone, running parallel to the current UN-controlled buffer zone.*	*means of protecting and managing the tangible and intangible heritage of the walled city.* • *The increase of public participation and consultation as a way of encouraging private investors and property owners to be part of Nicosia's heritage management, by protecting their individual properties.* • *The opening of additional checkpoints within the walled city, to 'thin' the decaying buffer zone and to strengthen relationships and economic activity between the North and South.* • *The opening of the buffer zone and its potential use as a means of attracting cultural tourism.* • *The stronger collaboration between governmental and non-governmental organisations in order to address the heritage management of the walled city more effectively in the long term.* • *The adaptation of unused buildings to meet*	• Incompatible/inefficient uses in public open spaces and urban squares. • Weaknesses in the Master Plan. • *The North's ongoing lack of power and influence in issues concerning funding for the NMP.* • *The continuing use of memory through heritage for strengthening the political antagonism between the GC and TC communities.* • *The loss of authenticity due to the walled city's over-development and commercialisation.* • *The loss of walled Nicosia's authentic heritage due to conflict and division.* • *The decrease in collaboration between the two NMP teams.* • *The lack of coordination between the NMP initiatives in the North and South.* • *The lack of up-keeping of restored buildings and monitoring of future developments.* • *Inappropriate adaptive re-use of buildings, resulting in their consequent decay or loss of authenticity.*

	Strengths	Weaknesses	Opportunities	Threats
	and experience – both sides of the walled city. • *The existence of public and private facilities (including Universities) within the walls.* • *The creation of a large, open public square on the historic Venetian walls of Nicosia by an internationally renowned architect.* • *The strengthening of the links between the walled city and the contemporary parts of Nicosia (more visible in the South).*	• *The decay of heritage within the buffer zone.* • *The lack of knowledge of the contents of the Turkish military zone.* • *The interruption of vertical (east – west) spatial patterns due to the horizontal (north – south) division of the city, which contributes to disorientation and neglect of several areas around the edges of the walls.* • *The prioritisation of heritage rehabilitation and conservation due to lack of funding (primarily in the North), which contributes to selective heritage management.* • *The use of tangible heritage to recollect the intangible memories of conflict.*	*contemporary demand and in order to attract investment back to the historic core on both sides of the divide.* • *The use of the memories of conflict for the benefit of the two communities rather than as a means of reinforcing division (e.g. as in Berlin).*	• *Increase of low income tenants within the walled city.* • *The fragmentation between the historic core and the contemporary parts of Nicosia.*
Socio-Economic Environment *Including political and administrative conditions*	• Presence of a culture mosaic. • Existence of a recently developed master-plan. • A shared culture. • Being the capital city of Cyprus. • Existence of two universities within the borders of the (North) city.	• Improper enterprises of monumental buildings. • Static development dynamics. • Existence of embargos (in the North). • Lack of uses after working hours and during the weekends. • Uses of the houses over their capacities.	• Aid from abroad for the restoration of the traditional pattern. • High tourism potential. • Existence of a tourism encouragement law. • Existence of the Cyprus Biological Research Association. • Existence of the Department of Antiquities.	• Loss of the historical heritage. • Loss of meaning in urban spaces. • Increase of the bankrupt shops day by day. • Decrease of public activities. • Being used by fewer people. • Increase of the male immigrant workers in the city. • More immigration of the Turkish Cypriots (the actual

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• Existence of businessmen who volunteer in improving the historical buildings. • *The establishment of NGOs promoting peace and the protection of tangible and intangible heritage in Nicosia and Cyprus as a whole.* • *The strengthening of commercial and entertainment activities that contribute to the economic vitality of the walled city.* • *The existence of public organisations and governmental bodies within the walled city.* • *The continuation and updating of the NMP that seeks to rehabilitate and vitalise walled Nicosia.* • *The promotion of interaction through bi-communal activities and – in principle – shared visions for the core of Nicosia.* • *The increasing international interest in academic research about the walled city and its current social, urban and political structure.*	• Safety problem. • Immigration of the Turkish Cypriots (the actual owners of the houses) to the new development areas. • Existence of many immigrant, low-income male workers. • Low education level of the new users. • Lack of consciousness for the environment. • Low income level of the new settlers. • Temporary work of the immigrants. • Decrease of social activities in the walls. • Not to be recognised by the world. • Economic crisis. • Problems created by expensiveness. • Inadequate municipality services. • Inadequate mass transportation. • *Detachment of minority groups from the GC and TC communities* • *Lack of up-keeping of historic buildings and neighbourhoods occupied by low income residents.*	• Existence of the City Planning Department. • Existence of the various chambers of different professions. • Existence of many civilian society organisations which work to enhance the city. • Sensitivity of the local and governmental authorities to the environmental policies. • Existence of the Ministry of Tourism and Environment. • Existence of tourism agents. • Existence of the UNCHR, UNDP and UNOPS. • Increase of interest in cultural tourism on world scale. • Integration process with the EU. • *The strengthening of NGOs that contribute to peace-keeping and educational activities, as well as to the protection of Nicosia's (and Cyprus') intangible heritage.* • *The strengthening of interaction between the North and South through the opening of additional checkpoints within the walls.*	owners) from the walled city to the new developing areas. • Not to be recognised by the world. • Continuation of the existing embargos. • *The adoption of an exclusively top-down approach for the heritage management of the walled city.* • *Lack of public consultation and participation in the NMP planning process.* • *Lack of public participation in the heritage management and protection of the walled city.* • *Unequal political, social and economic powers between the North and South.* • *Lack of interaction between the GC and TC communities, as well as between other communities on both sides of the divide.* • *Lack of engagement with peace-keeping operations encouraged by several NGOs and by the UN.* • *Inefficient administrative and planning tools.* • *Lack of awareness for the value of Nicosia's urban heritage.* • *Lack of mechanisms for sustainable finance.*

		• *Ongoing institutional fragmentation* • *Financial inequality between the North and South Municipalities of Nicosia, which contributes to the financial powerlessness of the North.* • *Lack of sources for sustainable finance for both communities in the long term.* • *Fragmentation and ineffectiveness of financial and legal administrative instruments for supporting the bi-communal NMP.* • *Display of national symbols of power, such as flags on buildings and areas of heritage and memory value (i.e. on Selimiye Mosque and along the buffer zone).* • *Ongoing memories of conflict embedded on the urban fabric of the historic core.*	• *The creation of stronger links between the historic core and the new part of Nicosia.* • *The adaptation of buildings to attract a wider demographic range back to the historic core.* • *The coordination of heritage management and other legal and administrative activities to ensure the effective operation of the NMP initiative on either side of the divide.* • *The consultation and participation of private investors and members of the public to encourage their engagement with the heritage management of walled Nicosia in the long term.* • *The strengthening of research and, consequently, academic input regarding the heritage of the walled city in order to attract international interest and scholarly activities, as well as potential funding sources and collaborative projects.*	• *Un-coordinated legal-administrative instruments.* • *Lack of private sector investment.* • *Imbalance of power relations.* • *Use of memory to preserve conflict.* • *Use of heritage as a means to reinforce the ongoing division and as a method for power assertion (e.g. treatment of the buffer zone boundary, the existence of a Turkish military zone, the increasing use of flags and other national symbols on historically significant buildings).* • *The return of social activities outside the walls and the consequent shrinkage of the historic core both economically and socially.*

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The above SWOT outlines the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats walled Nicosia's historic built environment faces today. As can be observed, the built environment of the city has a significant impact on socio-economic conditions, as the regeneration approach of the historic core directly affects the stakeholders – and stakeholder engagement – of walled Nicosia, as well as the possibility for further investment. Correspondingly, the socio-economic environment of the area plays a vital role in the sustainable maintenance of buildings and neighbourhoods of heritage value; thus highlighting the inevitable association between social stratum and contextual considerations associated with tangible and intangible heritage. This is a point also argued by the UNESCO's earlier examined *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*, which sustain that the diverse types, characteristics and needs of heritage, as well as the role of the stakeholders need to be considered for the effective application of heritage management mechanisms (UNESCO 2016c: 23)[138].

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter provided a detailed examination of the case study of walled Nicosia, while demonstrating the impact of conflict and division on its heritage and heritage management. Moreover, using selected examples, this chapter has investigated the efforts of the NMP team in addressing the heritage management of the walled city; highlighting the contribution of this bi-communal initiative in reversing its accelerated decay. Issues resulting from the lack of up-keeping of heritage protection (already carried out) are discussed, as well as concerns associated with the financial powerlessness of the North and the consequent return of heritage decline in areas such as Arab Ahmet, Kafesli and Yeni Jami. Relevantly, this chapter has illustrated how division has significantly altered not only the physical continuity of the historic core of Nicosia, but also its functional and historical integrity; further demonstrating the impact conflict has had on the city's tangible and intangible heritage. This issue has been exhibited through the examination of walled Nicosia on different scales or levels, including individual buildings, streets and neighbourhoods; pinpointing the way partition has interrupted – and continues to interrupt – the physical, social and cultural stability of Nicosia.

In addition, the use of façadism has been critically examined in terms of its short-term potential to revive the historic built environment of Nicosia and encourage investment back to the walled city. Considerations relating to its long-term endurance, as well as concerns connected with facadism's impact on collective memory and the authentic conservation of the walled city have been presented; demonstrating the significance of the approach to the case study. Nicosia's urban

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[138] Also refer to Chapter 2. Section 2.3: *Heritage Management*.

growth outside the walls has also been explored, showing how conflict and division have encouraged the decentralisation, marginalisation, and consequent economic and social shrinkage of the historic core. In doing so, this chapter has outlined some of the strategies employed by the NMP to contain external urban growth and bring public interest and investment back to walled Nicosia.

In this chapter, field work findings are presented in the form of photographs, maps and diagrams, providing unique and detailed explanations and analysis of the issues currently affecting the walled city. As a result, a contribution of this chapter to the wider literature is the use of the researcher's empirical insight and observations in order to analyse both the impact of conflict and division, as well as the NMP's efforts on the heritage and heritage management of Nicosia's historic core.

The examination of Nicosia's problematic urban development following the 1974 division of the island has brought the conflict's influence on the management and protection of the walled city into perspective. The bi-communal NMP demonstrates a significant step in decelerating the loss of Nicosia's heritage. Accordingly, through the comparison of different NMP initiatives, this chapter explains and analyses both the impact of conflict on the heritage of Nicosia, as well as of the effectiveness of the NMP efforts on each side of the divide. By doing so, this chapter contributes to the academic discussion about Nicosia's heritage by introducing new topics associated with the division of the city. These include issues such as the interruption of vertical (East – West) and horizontal (North – South) spatial patterns, heritage prioritisation, façadism, the rebranding of streets through the change of street names and the diverse approaches to the materiality of the boundaries on both sides of the divide. Moreover, the field work findings have guided the SWOT analyses introduced in this chapter, which have provided a comprehensive outline of the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats walled Nicosia faces today. In doing so, this chapter has furthered knowledge on the specific characteristics of the walled city, thus encouraging a more informed heritage protection on either side of the divide.

Lastly, this chapter's role within the wider structure of the thesis was to present and analyse the field work findings from Nicosia. The following chapter presents the empirical data from Nicosia which has been collected through interviews taken from different stakeholders living or working within the historic core and includes representatives from the NMP and selected NGO and bi-communal group representatives. The interview findings will then be discussed vis-à-vis the findings from this chapter and the literature review in order to establish the role and relevance of the established conceptual framework in this thesis and to the case study of walled Nicosia.

Chapter 5: Presentation of Interview Findings from the Case Study of Walled Nicosia

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter provided a detailed examination of the case study of walled Nicosia, utilising field work that took place between December 2012 and January 2017[139]. In doing so, Chapter 4 outlined several issues that influence the heritage and heritage management of Nicosia's historic core, while analysing the efforts of the NMP in addressing the accelerated decay of its historic built environment. In order to gain a more thorough understanding of the impact of conflict and division on the heritage and heritage management of the walled city, and to enhance the validity and depth of the case study data, this thesis contains interviews taken from individuals working or living in Nicosia, as well as interviews from relevant NMP and NGO representatives[140].

Accordingly, and to complement the field work findings presented in the previous chapter, the aim of Chapter 5 is to present and offer a critical account of the interviews that took place over the course of this research. The interview sample consisted of ten members of the public with links to walled Nicosia, two members of the North NMP team and three members working for NGOs and bi-communal groups for the benefit of Nicosia and Cyprus as a whole. The empirical data presented in this chapter provides primary information and an original insight into the impact of conflict and division on Nicosia's heritage and heritage management; and has been informed by the themes presented in the conceptual framework. In order to substantiate the points being made in this chapter, discussions and analysis of the responses contain quotations from the interview data, as well as references to the literature. The contribution of this chapter to the wider thesis is the compilation and analysis of a diverse body of responses that develop an understanding about the different factors that impact upon walled Nicosia's heritage. These will be further discussed in Chapter 6 and are also examined in the literature review and field work findings examined in the previous chapters.

This chapter has been broken down into five main sections based on the themes presented in the conceptual framework. An additional section introducing new themes that have developed during the empirical data analysis process has also been included. The first four sections (Section 5.2 to Section 5.5) of this chapter outline the relationship of the interview data with the topics of heritage - both tangible and intangible - power, memory and authenticity and examine whether and how these themes were present in the responses of the interviewees; either explicitly or implicitly. Finally, the fifth section (Section 5.6) introduces unanticipated themes that were uncovered during the interview process. These themes will also be discussed in light of the literature review and case

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[139] Also refer to Table 1: *Fieldwork Table.*

[140] A more detailed explanation and justification of the interviewee sample and their age group has been included in Chapter 1, Section 1.3.2, *Interviews* and in the following section (Section 5.1.1).

study analysis findings, in order to determine their relevance to the conceptual framework and demonstrate their wider role in the heritage and heritage management of walled Nicosia.

5.1.1 Interview analysis Process

Responses from interviews presented in this chapter were transcribed by the researcher and analysed through a process of coding, whereby the key issues, themes, or concepts were extracted from the answers provided by the interviewees. In order to ensure the accurate and thorough examination and interpretation of findings, the transcription of the interviews was succeeded by three different stages of interview data analysis and meta-analysis. More detailed evidence of how the information has been coded and analysed is available in Appendices II and III.

The background of the interviewees

The participants selected for the interviews can be broken down into three categories consisting of a) local residents and shop keepers from the South, b) representatives from the North NMP team and c) NGO and bi-communal group representatives. The first category includes public and private sector employees, a shop owner, a police officer working on the Ledra-Lokmaci checkpoint, a planning, transport and environmental consultant working on selected NMP projects and five independent residents. The second category includes two North NMP team representatives, namely architects Ali Guralp and Cemal Bensel, who have extensive experience with the rehabilitation of walled Nicosia over the years and have provided a valuable insight into the efforts of the NMP. As mentioned in Chapter 1, requests for interviews with architects from the South NMP office have repeatedly been turned down. Despite this limitation, informal communication has been established with selected NMP architects from the South team. This has been useful in furthering the researcher's understanding about the NMP initiatives by providing guidance on specific areas and projects, while reinforcing the validity of the information obtained from the North NMP team.

Lastly, the third category consists of representatives from selected NGOs and bi-communal groups that promote peace-building initiatives across the Cypriot divide. These groups and organisations are considered to play a central part in encouraging public engagement in Nicosia and throughout Cyprus, using various initiatives in order to contribute to the safeguarding of tangible and intangible heritage. The first representative, Marina Neofytou, is the director of the H4C and plays a prominent role in the operational structure and decision-making of the specific organisation. The second NGO representative is Eleni Philippou, who is the UGs' (Urban Gorillas') Communications and Research officer and is actively involved in projects that aim to promote interaction between the different communities of Cyprus. The third interview participant and bi-communal group

representative, Esra Can Akbil, is a TC architect who has contributed to the restoration of the building that houses the H4C. She is also an educator; an active member of the bi-communal group *Contested Fronts*, the *Hands-on Famagusta* project; and co-founder of the bi-communal *Archis Interventions Cyprus* group. Even though Akbil's bi-communal initiatives do not solely focus on the walled city of Nicosia, they have provided invaluable guidance and contribution by demonstrating how public input and participation encourage the safeguarding of Cypriot cultural heritage on both sides of the divide.

5.2 What has been Learned from the Interviews about Nicosia's Heritage and Heritage Management Following the City's Division.

Section 5.2 provides an overview of the interview findings and what these reveal regarding the heritage and heritage management of walled Nicosia. To achieve this objective, this section has been broken down into four distinct parts that are informed by the themes derived from the interview responses.

5.2.1 Lack of Public Awareness

One of the first findings highlighted by the interviews provided by members of the public, is the lack of public awareness regarding the efforts of the NMP in protecting the heritage of Nicosia. More specifically, despite having close relationships with the walled city, seven out of the ten interviewees had limited or no knowledge about the existence of the NMP. Moreover, only one person (A.M. 2014: 3-7) knew specific details about the NMP's efforts, due to first-hand involvement with some of the NMP projects as a planning, transport and environmental consultant[141]. This finding highlights the limited participation of Nicosia's stakeholders (in this case the public) in the city's heritage management, while suggesting the application of a top-down approach by authorities in projects that influence the historic core.

Interviewee A.M. also pointed out that the heritage management and revitalisation taking place in walled Nicosia (South) is not consistent between contractors undertaking individual schemes.

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[141] This issue was also pointed out by the bi-communal Future Together Project (UNDP 2013); an initiative that examined "participatory approaches used in inter-communal projects in Cyprus (UN 2013: 05). Part of this process consisted of in-depth interviews with shop owners from the TC and GC parts of Nicosia. The aim of these interviews was to receive feedback about the efforts of the NMP. A total of twenty-one shop owners were interviewed who demonstrated are limited awareness about the NMP, as well as a lack of involvement in the process. Participation in this project merely consisted of municipal authorities meeting with the shop owners in order to convince them of how essential the plan was (UNDP 2013). The Future Together Project maintains that even when shop owners from either side were involved in the discussions, the issues raised by them during meetings were not taken into consideration. This has resulted in anger and mistrust in both communities of their respective municipality (UNDP 2013). Furthermore, the lack of incentives given to counterbalance the negative impact on many businesses, resulted in their closure (UNDP 2013).

> One of the things that I have noticed is that the contractor I work with has stayed truthful to the traditional materials of the projects we undertake, but this is not the case everywhere, as there are inconsistencies between the old and new and between the contractors (A.M. 2014: 13-15).

This finding is important, as it underlines issues not only between the heritage and heritage management of North and South Nicosia, but also 'inconsistencies' between the different actors involved with individual NMP projects. As a result, issues concerning the protection of Nicosia's tangible heritage can be observed; suggesting additional threats to the historic built environment of the city.

Moreover, throughout the interviews with the public, a vivid lack of familiarity with the areas around the buffer zone was observed. More specifically, the only historic (or heritage) sites mentioned were the recently restored areas of Takt-el-Kale, Omeriye, and Chrysaliniotissa. While on the one hand these responses indicate the public's lack of familiarity with Nicosia's heritage[142], particularly in the North; on the other, it demonstrates the NMP's success in attracting the attention of the public through specific interventions. This finding illustrates how the current, divided urban structure of walled Nicosia and the interventions of the NMP have encouraged people's collective memory to become more selective, by focussing on particular areas within the walls. It can therefore be argued that, due to current planning and administrative restrictions rooted in the ongoing conflict and division, the areas addressed by the NMP materialise as key influences on public knowledge and perception regarding the different areas of walled Nicosia.

The NMP's response

When asked about the reasons for the public's lack of awareness and knowledge about the efforts of the NMP, both members of the NMP team sustained that the public consider all regeneration as the work of Nicosia Municipality, rather than of the bi-communal master plan. This issue echoes the lack of knowledge identified from the interviews with the public about the existence of the NMP and about the collaborative nature of this initiative. According to Bensel (2016), one of the reasons for not encouraging public awareness stems from an ongoing fear of raising opposition against the NMP, due to the collaboration between the GC and TC communities.

> If they [the public] find out that the two municipalities are working underground to achieve more than the sewage system, they might be scared or get negative reactions due to the current political situation. It's not good for the NMP. That's why the collaboration is going on underneath (Bensel 2016: 94-99).

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[142] In the context of the interviews, heritage refers to buildings, sites or monuments of cultural and/or historical importance within the walled city of Nicosia and around the buffer zone (i.e. tangible heritage), as well as traditions, and/or rituals that associate with the area (i.e. intangible heritage).

Political uncertainty, and public concerns consequently materialise as additional obstacles to the promotion of the bi-communal master plan. Conversely, in interviews carried out on the public and as further corroborated by the Future Together Report (UN 2013), shop keepers and other local stakeholders expressed their dissatisfaction in not being regularly consulted about the efforts of the NMP.   On the one hand, the response of the NMP architect, Cemal Bensel, suggests that the memories of conflict continue to intimidate public perception about the 'other', whereas existing research alludes towards a stronger need for public participation and consultation. This finding highlights a gap in the communicational structure between the NMP and public stakeholders, while also raising concerns about the unequal power relations between shop and property owners and the NMP team in decision-making processes.

Public awareness and participation as a way of strengthening the efforts of NGOs

On the contrary, when both NGO representatives were asked about the role of public awareness and participation in their approach, their responses contrasted with those of the NMP, as they supported that public engagement has been vital in ensuring the realisation of their efforts; bringing communities together and protecting the city's heritage. More specifically, Marina Neofytou (H4C) maintained that their work and funding by international organisations had benefited due to the fact that they are "community led" and "accommodate various formal and informal activities" for different target groups (Neofytou 2017: 14-16). Similarly, Philippou (2017: 3-4) argued that "urban innovation and social inclusion" are key to their projects. Moreover, Akbil (2017: 5-7) sustained that the use of "participatory urban tools" have been key in finding ways to "turn the inaccessible decision-making processes about the urban future of Cyprus into more porous ones." These responses demonstrate how NGOs and bi-communal groups acknowledge the role of intangible heritage through their work; both as a means for establishing a common ground between the GC and TC communities, but also as a way of protecting Nicosia's tangible inheritance.

In line with the above, additional ways of transmitting and safeguarding the heritage of the walled city include music, art, food and language; all of which have also been embraced by the H4C (Neofytou 2017: 128-135). These efforts have contributed to the H4C's receipt of the 2014 *Europa Nostra Award for Cultural Heritage*[143] and demonstrate the organisation's input in the protection

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[143] In addition to the bi-communal initiatives of the H4C, its location in a restored historic building in the buffer zone, west of the walled city of Nicosia, has also contributed to the receipt of the specific award. In fact, the Europa Nostra Heritage Awards reported that the restoration of the decaying buildings in the UN controlled buffer zone "constitutes a substantial contribution to the revitalization of Nicosia's United Nations Dead Zone as well as to the wider peace-making procedure" (Europa Nostra Heritage Awards 2014). This decision was initially encouraged and implemented by the Association for Historical Dialogue and Research (AHDR), who have promoted the function of the restored building as an educational community centre (ibid.).

of the city's cultural and historical values. This award also illustrates the international recognition of such community oriented activities, while further promoting public knowledge and participation within the walled city. Accordingly, the above point suggests the importance of community engagement in the safeguarding of Nicosia's local customs, as well as to the protection of culinary and artistic heritage; a consideration that echoes the recommendations of the 1979 Burra Charter for the conservation of places of cultural significance.

The value of intangible heritage has also been emphasised by Philippou (2017: 125-141) who argues that the tangible urban fabric, as well as historic monuments are important in preserving the intangible, while at the same time "claiming the public space" for citizens. This is established either through the use of art, food or other urban interventions that take place in walled Nicosia, as well as other parts of Cyprus. Similarly, Philippou's response reflects the significance of intangible heritage as presented by the Burra Charter (ICOMOS 1979), demonstrating its prominent role in safeguarding the "distinctive character" and "meanings" of a place (and in this case Nicosia) as evoked or expressed by people (ICOMOS 2013: 3). It can therefore be argued that, consideration of both the tangible and intangible qualities of Nicosia's heritage will encourage a more inclusive management and protection of the city's authentic character.

Nevertheless, lack of awareness about the ongoing efforts of the NMP was also established through the interviews with the NGO representatives, who report that no official collaboration has taken place between them and the NMP team (Neofytou 2017: 99-102; Philippou 2017: 172-176). It is however acknowledged that, un-officially, and like many other individuals working for the government, the NMP teams make use and "definitely acknowledge this space" (meaning the H4C building) (Neofytou 2017: 82-83; 101-102). Neofytou's point is important for two reasons, firstly because it indicates an informal recognition of the H4C by representatives of official organisations and secondly, because it highlights the indirect support of the H4C in protecting the city's intangible inheritance.

Relevantly, Akbil states that,

> Any kind of urban policy produced both in the North and South is not transparent. They do not really share information openly with people and participation processes are just made up (Akbil 2017: 51-52).

Considering the above, a significant gap is exposed between the formal (municipal and governmental) and informal (public, NGOs and other bi-communal groups) processes for the urban development and subsequent heritage protection of Nicosia; an argument that challenges the balance of power relations between the different actors influencing walled Nicosia's cultural inheritance. In addition, the identified lack of transparency on both sides of the divide raises

concerns about the effectiveness of heritage management procedures due to the restricted awareness and involvement of NGOs and the public in the NMP initiatives. This point suggests that ongoing operations by different stakeholders are unstructured and unequally apportioned; a finding that raises concerns about the existence of an effective, common system for managing the heritage of Nicosia. As a result, incongruities in the organisational set-up and operational structures that impact upon the planning, implementation and monitoring of heritage[144] are revealed.

It can therefore be argued that, the NGOs play a prominent role in the management of Nicosia's intangible heritage protection by fostering public knowledge and engagement in bi-communal processes. In doing so, the advancement of historical understanding amongst the public is further promoted, thus highlighting the significance of bottom-up approaches in the sustainable heritage management of the walled city in the long term[145]. Furthermore, the community-oriented approach of bi-communal organisations contributes towards addressing the concerns of the 1984 NMP Report, that ascribe the restricted public awareness of the importance of architectural heritage as a reason behind clumsy modifications and unsuitable renovations of old buildings in Nicosia (Nicosia Master Plan 1984: 131). In view of the above, public knowledge and engagement with walled Nicosia's (and Cyprus') cultural heritage encourages a stronger appreciation and understanding of its value; subsequently nurturing its informed management and protection.

5.2.2 The Role of Division

All interviews taken from the NGO representatives support the social role of addressing division, while embracing a non-biased approach to history and knowledge. Through their concerns, the intangible connotations accompanying the division of Cyprus - and consequently Nicosia - have been expressed, including the impact on pubic and the individual's perception.

> […] the mindsets of people were very interesting for us […] we are trying to get to know each other and see how our perception is about our cities and about our culture and everything and see how we can somehow develop a common language (Akbil 2017: 59-61).

Therefore, consideration of the buffer zone boundary by the NGOs expands beyond its physical impact and takes into account the effect it has within the social domain. More specifically, with reference to the buffer zone, Philippou (2017: 168-169) maintains that their organisation's perception of the boundary is "beyond physical, it's almost mental, and this is why changing perceptions of people is a priority"; thus, underlining the intangible significance of division and its

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[144] Also refer to Table 3: *Summary of UNESCO's 2013 recommended framework for defining heritage management systems* for further information on the different components that are considered to impact upon the management of heritage.

[145] See Chapter 4, Section 4.3: *A Closer Examination of Nicosia's Heritage Management After 1974*.

influence on public and individual perception. On the other hand, the interviews with the NMP representatives primarily focused on the issue of tangible division and the impact this has on the heritage of the city and the buffer zone. With reference to the buffer zone, Cemal Bensel focuses on the tangible impact of conflict on heritage, arguing that,

> In this area there are many important buildings like Kitchener's house[146]. It is inside that [Turkish] military zone and no one is recognising the importance of such buildings (Bensel 2016: 191-193).

Considering the above, heritage values in walled Nicosia vary according to the priorities of each organisation. In addition, public knowledge about - and engagement with - heritage and heritage management differs between organisations depending on their scope. NGOs and other bi-communal groups are socially oriented and community-dependant; consequently, reflecting a bottom-up approach. On the other hand, in the case of the NMP, even though social benefit and heritage protection are key objectives, decision-making and heritage prioritisation rely on the governmental and municipal bodies on either side of the divide; consequently, suggesting a strong top-down approach to the heritage and heritage management of the city. Despite the fact that this thesis does not condemn the top-down approach employed by the GC and TC NMP teams, it aims to highlight the contrast between the governmental and non-governmental methods of addressing heritage protection; subsequently illustrating the merits and draw-backs of each approach and the possibility of establishing a balance between the two[147].

5.2.3 Different Approaches to Heritage Management: Focusing on the NMP Team and the NGOs

Economic differences and the issue of funding

One of the main issues observed in the heritage management approach between the North and South municipalities of Nicosia, is the different pace at which heritage decline is addressed. This concern has been raised by one of the leaders of the NMP team, Ali Guralp, who maintains that, since The Republic of Cyprus' (South) entry into the EU, "there has been no bi-communal collaboration" between the two municipalities (Guralp 2016: 69-70). The reason for this is the limited financial support available to the North, both due to its lack of international recognition and due to its exclusion from EU grants (Guralp 2016: 65-67). Moreover, even though in principle the

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[146] Lieutenant Horatio Herbert Kitchener was responsible for "the first full triangulated survey of the island of Cyprus, carried out in 1878-1882" (National Library of Scotland 2016).
[147] Similarly, UNESCO (2013: 15) acknowledges the merits of top-down heritage management approaches, nevertheless arguing that a top-down approach is not the only way to effectively handle heritage protection. As a result, an inclusive management of heritage is encouraged that "facilitate[s] a participatory approach" that might promote information-gathering and fill gaps in the intellectual resources of existing management systems (ibid.: 111).

collaborative spirit between the GC and TC Nicosia municipalities continues to exist, in practice, the priorities of the two municipalities have changed, both with regards to the management of heritage, but also the management of the city as a whole.

> We are working perfectly with our counterparts, but they cannot do anything about our lack of funding. […] The South has progressed from merely repairing the city to managing what has been fixed, whereas the North is still trying to catch up with the South by, at least, keeping buildings upright (Guralp 2016: 73-78).

Guralp's statements highlight how the impact of division, compounded by funding differences between the North and South has contributed – and continues to contribute – to the lack of a coordinated heritage management approach in walled Nicosia. With reference to the same issue, architect Cemal Bensel (2016: 8-17) further emphasises the economic gap between the GC and TC municipalities, suggesting that division between the two segments of Nicosia has widened after the South joined the EU; not at an individual level, but at a municipal and governmental level. This has impacted – and continues to impact - upon heritage management decisions taking place in the North, including heritage prioritisation and consequently the return of decline in areas such as Karamanzade and Arab Ahmet (discussed in Chapter 4). In this vein, Akbil sustains that a major obstacle during the bi-communal restoration of the building that houses the H4C today was the lack of international recognition for the North, which resulted in official planning processes being undertaken solely in the South in order to secure international funding. This process was further complicated by the incompatibility of recorded street names between the two Nicosia Municipalities, with the address of the H4C building differing on each side of the divide; a finding echoing the concerns raised through the analysis of the field work findings in Chapter 4[148].

> […] there were many issues related with legitimisation and who is dealing with the buildings in the buffer zone. The names of the streets are different between the ones we have in the documents in the North and between the ones in the South. […] even the address of the building is different in the documents of the two sides. It was really a challenge to know which planning office to go to and how to deal with it. When we went to our funding buddies, because of the recognition issues they wanted this building to go through the planning processes and municipality in the South (Akbil 2017: 123-129).

As a result, even though bi-communal initiatives are perceived as a catalyst for bringing the two municipalities together, economic and political difficulties inhibit the ongoing heritage protection of Nicosia's historic core. In addition, despite the fact that this concern is more prominent in the north part of the city, the increasing gap between the two sides highlights challenges for the heritage and heritage management of Nicosia as a whole in the long term - and in the case of reunification. It can therefore be argued that, heritage is not prioritised or selectively addressed

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[148] See Chapter 4, Section 4.3.3, *Heritage Affected by Conflict in the Buffer Zone*.

merely due to the political antagonism between the GC and TC governments, but also due to the economic obstructions and legal complications that widen the gap between the North and South municipalities of Nicosia. This concern illustrates the financial imbalance between the two NMP teams and demonstrates how unstable or uneven power relations have allowed heritage management in the North to fall behind. In this case, the sphere of collaborative operational relationships as introduced by Foucault (1976: 92)[149] and the functional distribution of power are challenged, subsequently encouraging disjunctions and contradictions which isolate the two communities – and their heritage management approaches – from one another.

Funding for the NGOs

The topic of funding was also present in the responses of the NGO representatives, who have highlighted the lack of governmental financial support in realising their efforts. On the contrary, international assistance from the European Economic Area (EEA) and Norway Grants[150] has been vital to the continuation and expansion of the H4C and the UG (Neofytou 2017: 5-6; Philippou 2017: 74-75). The obstacles faced primarily from a governmental perspective relate to the fact that the NGOs in question work with both the GC and TC communities. More specifically, Marina Neofytou sustains that the difficulties currently faced by the H4C can be associated with the lack of recognition of the TRNC by the GC government, as well as with the political uncertainty that continues to dominate several individuals and organisations in Cyprus. This finding suggests the existence of a power struggle between governmental and non-governmental organisations, thus reinforcing concerns raised earlier in this thesis about the imbalance of power relations in divided Nicosia.

> For example, one of the organisations upstairs has to do with freedom of religious faith, which for many this might be considered as a threat, like many other things we do here. […] Even if what we are doing is clearly cultural and a-political, we will not receive any financial support from the government. We usually have external funders. This is hard for us, because we know that any application we submit [to governmental organisations] will be rejected due to social uncertainty (Neofytou 2017: 64-70).

While Neofytou's point emphasises similarities with the funding issues the NMP team has to face, it also underlines a funding gap between independent (NGO) and governmental organisations working for the protection of Nicosia's social and urban fabrics. In this case, the informal nature of the H4C, along with its a-political identity materialises as a challenge from a governmental, social and financial perspective; either due to the non-recognition of the North, or due to the perceived

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[149] Also refer to Chapter 3, Section 3.2.2: *Power relations: A multidisciplinary overview*, for a more detailed justification behind the Foucaultian significance of power relations and its relevance to this thesis.
[150] "The EEA Grants and Norway Grants represent the contribution of Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway to reducing economic and social disparities and to strengthening bilateral relations with 16 EU countries in Central and Southern Europe and the Baltics." (EEA Grants - Norway Grants 2017).

threat associated with the efforts of the H4C. On the other hand, international support embraces a neutral and unprejudiced attitude to the ongoing GC and TC relationship, thus contributing to the strengthening of bilateral relations by addressing existing economic gaps dominating the two communities. This point suggests disparities between local and international contributions, while emphasising the impact of the ongoing conflict on governmental decisions in Cyprus and the consequent effect stakeholders have on the heritage, and heritage management, of walled Nicosia[151].

5.2.4 Formal and Informal Recognition

The interviews obtained from NGO representatives have consistently demonstrated the ongoing efforts of their organisations in preserving the tangible, but more vividly the intangible heritage of Cyprus (and Nicosia) while bridging the gap between the GC and TC communities. What has also been established are the difficulties NGO's have to face during this process. These difficulties are attributable to the ongoing division of the walled city and subsequent governmental obstructions. More specifically, Neofytou (2017: 61-65) maintains that the H4C is a prime example that illustrates the above issues; with funding, social uncertainty and administrative issues influencing the smooth operation of their "a-political" organisation:

> We usually have external funders. This is hard for us, because we know that any application we submit will be rejected due to the social uncertainty. […] The other limitation associates with the location of the H4C. […] For example, we had issues with electricity cables and the electricians did not want to enter the buffer zone. People are confused about what is going on here and how to administratively address this place. […] We have many obstacles we have to overcome (Neofytou 2017: 67-81).

Marina's statement demonstrates the severe impact of division on the social fabric of Nicosia and highlights how the existence of the buffer zone impacts on different municipal - and governmental - administrative and operational aspects responsible for the functionality of the walled city. In addition, the confusion and uncertainty associated with the buffer zone, either due to its connotations with the negative memories of conflict or due to its liminal character, exemplify the impact of division both on the social and use values of Nicosia; an issue that affects the tangible and intangible inheritance of the city.

The informal collaboration of the NMP teams has also proven to be important in ongoing heritage management decisions taking place on both sides of the divide. Guralp (2016) and Bensel (2016)

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[151] In this case the RoC, the TRNC, the GC and TC Nicosia Municipalities, the relevant NGOs and the local community of Nicosia.

have pointed out that, despite the political uncertainty dominating the island, unofficially, the two NMP teams continue to work towards the benefit of walled Nicosia.

> Following the initiation of the NMP, the result should have been no cooperation, with the two municipalities functioning individually. [..] Nevertheless, the people with the rightful thoughts keep things going (Guralp 2016: 63-68).

Despite the fact that no tangible, bi-communal projects have been realised between the GC and TC municipalities of Nicosia over the last decade, Guralp's point similarly shows a gap between formal governmental support for the NMP and the informal contribution of individual actors. These findings expose the different layers influencing the heritage of walled Nicosia, with governmental support and recognition from the South proven to add to the complexity of the efforts of the NMP. In addition, even though the collaboration between the NMP teams highlights the continuing bi-communal intentions of the NMP, its current subversive nature raises concerns and potential obstacles to the strengthening of public knowledge and participation. On the other hand, the informal character and neutral stance of the NGOs allude towards a more socially accepted and community-led approach; suggesting a gap between the bottom-up processes of the NGOs and the governmentally influenced, top-down decisions of the NMP initiatives.

5.3 The Role and Meaning of Power in Divided Nicosia as Interpreted from the Interviews

Following the findings from the literature review and the initial observations from Nicosia, the conceptual framework established earlier in this thesis suggests that conflict and division influence different layers of power (social, cultural, political, administrative, economic) between the GC and TC communities. This section discusses what the interview findings have unveiled about the role of power in divided Nicosia and the consequent impact on the city's heritage and heritage management.

5.3.1 Managing the Walled City

The interviews with the NMP representatives have confirmed that following the division of Nicosia, control over different parts of the historic core has significantly changed. This includes the relationship between the GC and TC municipalities, but also between organisations within each individual municipality. A relevant concern has been pointed out by the H4C representative, who maintains that their initiatives face several "political and administrative difficulties" due to the location of the H4C in the buffer zone; approvals depend on the decision of the local authority to which the issue or project relates (Neofytou 2015: 9-10). Relevantly, Akbil has raised similar concerns due to the highly complicated restoration process of the building that houses the H4C in

the buffer zone; a point that also highlights the ambiguous future of the area due to political and administrative considerations.

> The [GC] municipality didn't know what to do because they never dealt with any projects in the buffer zone before, so they had no idea about what to do or how to proceed. So, we had to prepare documents to put the building into the cultural heritage list first because the building was not in the cultural heritage list, although it is a cultural heritage building and it was given a grade II protected building (Akbil 2017: 130-134).

In addition, apprehensions over the lack of knowledge of the contents of the buffer zone have been uncovered; with particular reference to the recognition and protection of buildings of heritage value.

> At that stage, we did not know that none of the buildings in the buffer zone are not listed, because they are not evaluated[152] (Akbil 2017: 134-135).

Even though Akbil's concerns about the buffer zone's heritage primarily relate to the area outside the walled city of Nicosia, they also highlight a significant gap in its wider protection caused by rapid physical decay. This argument is demonstrated both by the lack of knowledge on how to proceed with planning processes during the restoration of the H4C and also through the limited awareness of the buffer zone's contents[153].

Relevantly, with reference to the Turkish military zone, Cemal Bensel has pointed out that TC municipal and international bodies (including the UN) have no power over the specific area. This issue has contributed significantly to the accelerated decline and loss of historically noteworthy buildings in the area and highlights the lack of administrative power over parts of walled Nicosia's heritage. Furthermore, this finding suggests the existence of an independent, autonomous layer that spans the north and south parts of the city and runs parallel to the UN controlled buffer zone; this further complicates the effective management and protection of the city.

> There is a second buffer zone and no one is working in that area. It is not seen as a buffer zone, but as a military zone. We wanted the EU to at least fund us to make a measurement of the buildings in that area because they are collapsing (Bensel 2016: 188-189).

Considering the above, power over the buffer zone consequently poses a major issue, both for governmental bodies on either side of the divide, but also for independent NGOs such as the H4C, who face access and administrative limitations due to the ongoing division of Nicosia. Moreover, the findings from the NMP team, as well as the issues pointed out by the NGOs, outline the diversity

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[152] This comment primarily relates to the buildings located outside the walled city of Nicosia, as between 2001 and 2003, the buffer zone area of the walled city was surveyed by the GC and TC NMP teams, which resulted in the recording and evaluation of the architectural heritage existing in the area. Through this initiative, a total of 238 buildings of heritage value were documented (Nicosia Master Plan 2008: 25).

[153] This includes the Turkish Military zone within the walls and areas within the wider urban fabric of Nicosia.

of layers influencing the built environment of the walled city and highlight the complexity of issues associated with the protection of historic buildings and sites in the area. Unbalanced power relations in this case affect the broader relationship between the North and South and also have a micro-scale impact on the different actors and organisations working for the benefit of Nicosia and its heritage. For the above reasons, the concept of power has developed into a prominent concern in the management of Nicosia's historic core, both between the two Municipalities, but also between governmental, non-governmental bodies and external impositions such as the existence of military grounds within the buffer zone. This imbalance of power contradicts realist approaches to international conflict management as presented earlier in this thesis[154] and highlights the capacity of the concept in influencing the heritage management and protection of walled Nicosia; either through the prevention of access (i.e. in the buffer zone), or through administrative and political constrains (i.e. against the NGOs).

5.3.2 Funding as the Empowerment of the South

As discussed earlier in this thesis, funding arises as a major issue for the North NMP team; with lack of economic support playing a significant role in the heritage management decisions of both NMP teams and municipalities. Economic obstacles and international embargoes have been repeatedly mentioned during the interviews with the North NMP representatives, as well as earlier in this thesis, suggesting that the Turkish Municipality of Nicosia faces growing challenges as a result of division. According to Guralp (2016: 75) this issue has shifted the priorities of each Municipality, with the South progressing significantly faster than the North. Moreover, the frequent reliance of the North NMP team on their South counterparts for funding, highlights a dependency that emphasises the unequal financial opportunities that exist between the GC and TC municipalities. In this case, the imbalance of power relations is reflected through the financial inequality between the GC and TC Nicosia Municipalities and through the international polarisation of the north part of Cyprus.

> The South has more access to funds and is now part of the EU, whereas the North not only is not part of the EU, but is not internationally recognised and consequently has access to limited funding. […] If we want to keep the bi-communal project together, we must be at an equal level, but this is not the case and the South cannot be blamed (Guralp 2016: 69-79).

> They [NMP South] do not need our collaboration, but if there is something to help get funding they will collaborate with us as a bi-communal project and apply to the fund as a bi-communal project, but then they can do whatever they want as they are not forced to continue their collaboration with the NMP North (Bensel 2016: 12-15).

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[154] See Chapter 3, Section 3.2.2, *Power relations: A multidisciplinary overview*, where the concept of power is presented as an "inseparable feature of the state" (Singer and Small 1966: 237) that requires balance and alliances in order to create stability within a state (Waltz 1979).

Even though the NMP's efforts aim to protect the heritage of Nicosia for both communities, while considering the possibility of future reunification (Nicosia Master Plan 1984; Nicosia Master Plan 2004a: 12), the above evidence suggests that the imbalance of funding is a major obstacle to realising the bi-communal objectives of the NMP. This argument is also supported by Akbil (2017: 268-272), who sustains that lack of international recognition, accompanied by subsequent embargoes imposed by organisations such as UNESCO have resulted in the development of two major issues; funding and know-how. More specifically, Akbil states that "UNESCO does not work with the North because of the embargoes," which also limit access to international contacts and experts that could work and educate the TC community in order to be enable them to address heritage protection more effectively (ibid.). In light of UNESCO's *(*2013) recommended framework for defining heritage management systems (Chapter 2, Table 3), it can be concluded that significant inconsistencies between the resources available on either side of the divide impact on the planning, implementation and monitoring of projects, as well as on the delivery of sustainable results to ensure the long-term heritage management of the whole of Nicosia.

5.3.3 Social Empowerment as a Means of Heritage Protection

Chapter 3 used the example of Jerusalem to demonstrate how the decline of the presence - and consequently power - of a community can be accompanied by intentional or unintentional heritage destruction. Moreover, Chapter 3 argued that power relations during conflict play a dominant role in the management and protection of tangible and intangible heritage. Relevantly, a concern raised by the NMP team representatives, was the power decline of the North, following the division of Cyprus. More specifically, according to Guralp (2016) and Bensel (2016), after the Republic of Cyprus (South) joined the EU, support by the UNDP significantly decreased. This has had a considerable effect on the TC part of Nicosia, due to difficulties in accessing EU funds, together with earlier discussed problems such as lack of international recognition for the TRNC and partial control (and therefore inaccessibility) of the walled city by the Turkish military zone. These issues have further aggravated the lack of coordination between the GC and TC Municipalities, with the GC side prevailing to be more economically powerful when compared to its TC counterpart.

> The EU has actually been very unsuccessful in managing and funding relationships between the North and South Nicosia Municipalities and NMP teams (Guralp 2016: 82-83).

To address the above concerns, the Turkish Municipality of Nicosia, with the support of private investors, created the Arab Ahmet Development Company (ADC); an organisation responsible for the management of the area's development[155]. Despite the fact that the majority of the ADC is

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[155] The Arab Ahmet Development Company (ADC) is the main organisation responsible for managing the development of the Arab Ahmet Quarter. It is a regeneration company founded in 2004 and owned by the

owned by the TC municipality of Nicosia, the Company empowers public building owners and investors by nurturing the creation of long-planned sociocultural and economic activities. This approach aims at promoting stakeholder engagement within the specific neighbourhood and consequently encouraging its long term sustainable development. Ali Guralp maintains that, even though the Arab Ahmet Quarter faces several challenges associated with the low-income population that occupy the area, as well as with the lack of funds dominating the North,

> if the right environment is brought, it can function very easily because it addressed construction, economic and social aspects which can help the livelihood of the area. It is not just a restored site, but it can be socially appropriate as well, encouraging economic activity (Guralp 2016: 113-118).

Similar to the ADC, The Nicosia Old Town Initiative (North) has also recently been established and brings together the civil society, planning officers, several independent organisations and EVKAF. Even though these initiatives seek public engagement in the urban regeneration of Nicosia, concerns have been raised about the involvement of governmental bodies and dominant organisations such as EVKAF, as these can influence decision-making processes to promote their own individual agendas.

> When EVKAF is involved it can be tricky as they may want to use the civil society to accept their own decisions (Akbil 2017: 88-89).

Despite Akbil's concerns, the need and trend for social empowerment has also been observed in the GC part of Nicosia, with the South NMP team offering several incentives to encourage public engagement and private investment (Bensel 2016: 61-73). However, the interviews conducted with members of the public, accompanied by the findings of the 2013 Future Together Report (UN 2013), suggest that a significant gap between public and governmental cooperation continues to dominate the management and protection of walled Nicosia's heritage. As a result, even though - in principle - the two NMP teams acknowledge the significance of public participation in the heritage management of walled Nicosia, in practice the funding difficulties accompanied by a wider lack of investment in the North prolong the realisation of their objectives.

In contrast, the NGOs outline the vital role of public awareness and involvement in preserving the heritage of Nicosia and Cyprus as a whole. This finding further highlights the different approaches to heritage protection applied by governmental and non-governmental organisations in Nicosia, with the latter relying on a bottom-up approach to strengthen its initiatives. With reference to the above, Neofytou (2017: 14-17) sustains that the H4C is a "community led" initiative and a shared

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North Nicosia Municipality (80% share) and private stakeholders (20% share). The ADC coordinates rental activities, collecting money that is used to maintain the area (Guralp 2016: 38-41; Lefkosa Belediyesi 2017).

space "for whoever wants to come into contact with the community across the divide". Moreover, the success of the H4C is reflected through its ongoing expansion to accommodate the increasing number of visitors and activities of the organisation (Neofytou 2017: 48-53). This network of activities created by the H4C, echoes the Foucaultian perspective of functional power relations, which portray power as a shared and pervasive possession, rather than an instrument of domination or coercion (Foucault 1976: 63). In this case, the stance taken towards the tangible (and, consequently intangible) heritage of Nicosia is more inclusive, thus encouraging the public to engage more actively with its management and protection in the long term. Considering the above, differences in public empowerment can be witnessed not only between the North and South, but also between organisations on either side of the divide; a point that also demonstrates the diversity of approaches applied to the heritage of walled Nicosia.

5.4 The Role and Meaning of Memory as Interpreted from the Interviews

The following section discusses the topic of memory as interpreted from the interviews taken in Nicosia. By taking into consideration the findings from the literature review and Nicosia case study, Section 5.4 contributes towards creating a clearer understanding of the role of memory, as well as its impact on the heritage and heritage management of the city following its division.

5.4.1 The Role of the Buffer Zone in Collective and Individual Memories

A prominent observation deriving from the interview analysis, is the fact that the topic of memory was significantly more noticeable in the interviews with the public. Conversely, the NMP team and the NGO representatives did not make any specific, either implicit or explicit, references to the topic when discussing the heritage and heritage management of the city, or other initiatives associated with their organisations. In addition, the role of the boundary in preserving the memories of conflict has been established through the interviews with the public; demonstrating the role of the built environment in the manifestation of memories and the consequent impact this has on the management and perception of Nicosia's cultural heritage. More specifically, with reference to the 'beautification' of the areas around the UN buffer zone, A.M (2014: 25-26) expressed a disagreement with the specific approach, stating that "[he does] not want to forget that the boundary still exists". Subsequently, the Nicosia buffer zone is considered to bear a memory value, not only due to its tangible contents, but also because of the intangible significance it has for members of the population. Relevantly, and as pointed out in Chapter 2, "Heritage is taken to include everything that people want to save [...]. It is all pervasive, and concerns everyone" (Howard 2003: 1). In this case, the use of façadism along the buffer zone boundary as a means of addressing the decay caused by conflict on the tangible built environment of walled Nicosia is also deemed as

a means of concealing the truthful past of the city. This point subsequently raises concerns regarding memory and authenticity loss, while demonstrating the significance of the concepts to the management and perception of Nicosia's historic built environment.

Selective memories of the 'other'

Further to the above, a common finding from the interviews with the public is their limited awareness - and memories - of the north part of Nicosia. This observation is illustrated by the individuals who had visited the North, but could not clearly recall details of the areas they had been. Moreover, interviewees such as Y.Ch. (2014) and S.S. (2014), who both experienced the GC-TC conflict in 1974, refrained from visiting the TC side after the opening of the checkpoints.

> No. Never been and I refuse to go. I just work as a policeman in the South (S.S. 2014: 34).

What is also relevant in this case is the occupation of the two interviewees, with Y.Ch. being a shop owner in walled Nicosia and S.S. serving as a police officer at the Ledra-Lokmaci checkpoint within the walls. Despite their daily interaction with the historic core, their responses indicate that their lack of familiarity with the TC side is intentional and stems from their refusal to visit the north part of Nicosia due to the ongoing conflict and division. Selective knowledge and memories in this case are a result of the current political situation in Cyprus; an issue which, as argued in Chapter 3, has an impact on public and individual perceptions of heritage. This finding also demonstrates how conflict has contributed to the (re)structuring of the public's subjectivity, subsequently encouraging the differentiation between the GC (self) and the TC ('other').[156] This issue is also raised by Akbli, who explains that the previous lack of interaction between the GC and TC communities, accompanied by biased school education (primarily in the South) has significantly obscured public perception about the 'other'.

> One of my colleagues in the South told me that when he was a soldier, before studying architecture in Italy, he thought that in the North were no people. That it was only soldiers. (Akbil 2017: 42-43).

Despite the above point being based primarily on Akbli's personal interaction with a GC architect, it echoes the concerns raised by the responses of Y.Ch. (2014) and S.S. (2014), who - choose to - remain oblivious to the conditions in the North after the division of the island. Along with the impact of conflict and division on memory, lack of recognition and official legitimisation of the TRNC by the RoC also raises questions regarding perceptions of authenticity about the 'other'. It can be argued that, the fact that the TRNC is not accepted as an official state deems its establishment as

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[156] Also refer to Chapter 3, Section 3.3.3, *Selective Memory Protection*, where the concept of memory is introduced in the context of conflict and division.

inauthentic or untruthful. Subsequently, for the GC community, a non-authentic nation also holds non-authentic heritage; which also explains the limited public knowledge and acceptance of the North by the South, as well as the consequent refusal to visit the other side of the divide.

(Re)Constructed Memories

An objective of the interviews taken from the public (i.e. local stakeholders, including shopkeepers), was to establish the extent of their knowledge and familiarity with the north part of Nicosia and with selected areas within the walled city. This was pursued in order to determine the impact of conflict and division on their individual and collective memories and the way this impacts upon tangible and intangible heritage. As part of this process, images from the boundary (i.e. the buffer zone) were shown and interviewees asked to identify the location of the photographs (either north or south) and to justify their claims[157]. Even though most interviewees had either limited or no memories of the North, their collective responses indicate that their perceptions about the TC part of walled Nicosia are consistent and influenced by common factors such as political and historical biases. For example, even though the images from the North were not recognised by nine out of ten interviewed individuals, all made assumptions regarding which images belonged to the TC part of Nicosia based on the fact that they expected the TC side to be in worse physical condition than the GC side.

> I cannot recognise the North, but I am assuming the images with the wall, which are also more badly maintained are from that side (A.M. 2014: 33-34)
>
> I am assuming that this is the TC part because it is very dirty (S.S. 2014: 28).
>
> I can assume which images belong to the north part of the city because they are very dirty (G.P. 2014: 23).
>
> I can recognise the images from the South, but not from the North […]. I can assume which images are from the North because the areas are dirty and neglected (L.K. 2014: 22-24).

The above responses demonstrate that, despite the lack of contact with the TC part of Nicosia, the collective memory of the interviewees has been influenced by their subjectivity[158]; a theory reflecting Landsberg's (2004) discussion on the impact of 'prosthetic' or unlived memories on collective and individual remembrance. In addition, even though the interviewees correctly pointed out – or made assumptions about – which images belonged to the South and which to the North, they were not able to provide further justification for their answer besides the fact that they

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[157] These images represented the boundaries of walled Nicosia (North and South); in one case the pictures were taken from the same street on either side of the divide, and in the other cases the images were taken from areas addressed by the NMP. These pictures can be found in Appendix IV.

[158] This includes bias promoted through education and media about the community across the divide, as well as their lack of knowledge and familiarity with the North due to the ongoing division of the island.

expected the TC part of Nicosia to be in worse condition than the GC part. Their responses resulted primarily either from their general impression from when they visited the TC side, or from their 'prosthetic' memories which were based on what they had been told about the North. Relevantly, all interviewees recognised some or all images shown from South Nicosia, either due to their familiarity with the GC part of the walled city, or due to the national and religious symbols accompanying the boundaries next to the buffer zone. In this case, the GC-TC conflict appears to be embedded in the memory of the collective, as national symbols have come to be associated with the urban fabric of Nicosia's historic core.

> I can recognise two images from the South because I am familiar with the area, but even if I did not know, the flag and colours make it clear which site is which (A.M. 2014: 32-33).

> I can recognise two from the South side, because of the flags and the colours of the barrels, as well as the fact that the surrounding buildings are newer (V.M. 2014: 22-23).

> I can recognise the images which are ours, not only because I know them, but also because of the blue and white colours (K.M. 2014: 24-25).

This point emphasises the close association of memory (experienced or artificial) with the historic built environment of Nicosia, by demonstrating how the South has encouraged the creation both of real sites of memory (*milieu de mémoire*) and museum-like places which provide reminders of the past (*lieu de mémoire*) to promote national symbolism. In addition, the different approaches towards the boundary adopted by the North and South further highlight existing differences in the management of the built environment of walled Nicosia from a military, municipal and governmental perspective; with the maintenance and presentation of heritage and national symbols differing between the two sides. Arguably, and as demonstrated through the fieldwork findings presented in Chapter 4, the different ways of treating the boundary in walled Nicosia suggest each side's perception about the ongoing conflict. More specifically, nationalism appears to overshadow the GC part of the city; whereas in the North, detachment with conflict and the buffer zone can be observed. This point is also demonstrated through the different approaches to division from a military perspective, with the TC part not having any contact with the army, only with the boundary, whereas the GC public interact with the army on a daily basis; consequently, integrating conflict more vividly into the memories of the community.

Another point transpiring from the interviews with local residents and shopkeepers, is the difference between lived and imagined or constructed memories which insinuates that the younger generation who has not experienced the war "feels less intimidated and more used to this situation (i.e. the division of Nicosia)" (A.M. 2014: 26-27). This statement demonstrates how the memories of conflict and division have a different impact on individuals who have experienced incidents first

hand, when compared to the individuals who have been accustomed to the current political situation throughout their life[159]. Moreover, A.M.'s point suggests that attention to younger generations, who have not suffered from the memories of conflict, could promote interest and entice individuals to return to the walled city, consequently ensuring its sustainable, long term protection.

Nonetheless, Akbil (2017: 224-252) sustains that biased historical education in Cyprus, both in the North (particularly) before 2004[160] and currently in the South has contributed to the creation of selective and artificial memories about the community on the other side of the divide. These continue to impact upon public perception and subsequently recognition of the communal value of heritage. Akbil's concerns reflect the theoretical examination of historical education in Cyprus presented in Chapter 2, as well as Papadakis' (2005: 56) discussion on the impact of selective education on younger generations in Cyprus[161]; and the result this has on their memories. In this case, memory and selectiveness appear to be closely connected, thus suggesting the conceptual significance of the topics on practical considerations associated with heritage and heritage management on both sides of the Cypriot divide.

5.4.2 Memory as Observed in the Interviews with the NMP Team and the NGO Representatives

As established earlier in this section, the theme of memory was more vividly observed during the interviews with the public, rather than with the NMP and NGO bi-communal group representatives. More specifically, the interviews with the NMP team suggest that their concerns are more practical in nature and primarily directed towards the tangible heritage protection and wider functionality of walled Nicosia. Instead, the interviews with the NGO representatives suggest that memory of conflict is something they want to leave behind by creating collaborative initiatives and activities to encourage future relationships between the different members of the community. As a result, the NGOs and bi-communal groups target the intangible values attached to cultural heritage in Nicosia (and Cyprus), through the promotion of community-oriented, educational and creative activities[162].

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[159] Encouraging younger individuals back to Nicosia's historic core is also an objective of the NMP (Nicosia Master Plan 2004b: 6), but has not been considered from the perspective of memory and the impact this could have on their perception and engagement with the walled city.

[160] As explained in Chapter 2, Section 2.5.3, *Issues with Tangible and Intangible Heritage Protection in Cyprus*, following the election of Mehmet Ali Talat as the President of the TRNC, school history books were rewritten to embrace a less biased narrative of the Cypriot conflict. Despite the fact that these books were amended in 2009, they continue to be less biased than what was originally printed in the North during the creation of the TRNC in 1983 (Akbil 2005: 249-250; Makriyianni *et al.* (2011); Papadakis (2008)).

[161] Also refer to Chapter 2, 2.5.3 *Issues with Tangible and Intangible Heritage Protection in Cyprus*.

[162] These activities include the previously discussed Buffer Fringe Festival that takes place in Nicosia, as well as bi-communal activities that seek to safeguard Cypriot customs through dance, singing and crafts. Also refer to

> Our goal is to help, regardless of the solution that might come between the two communities, through transitional support both at a personal and a wider level. We might achieve this through panels, discussions, videos explaining through simple words what is happening (Neofytou 2017:123-125).

Similarly, the UG representative asserts that their up-to-date artistic interventions, even though temporary in nature, contribute to changing perceptions that are connected with the locations they address. In doing so, the UGs also aim to create new memories within the social collectives which they work, using heritage as a medium for achieving their goal.

> Throughout these temporary actions we address issues like political connotations, symbolism, creation of new memories and reinvention of social relations. [...] By using historical landmarks that are present in the collective memories of the citizens, the intervention challenges its everyday use or rather its non-use in the middle of the city (Philippou 2017: 132-138).

In line with the above, a prominent example of addressing the political connotations ascribed to heritage through bi-communal activities was the restoration of the building that houses the H4C[163]. According to Akbil, despite issues that relate to the legitimisation of the North and the ownership of buildings in the buffer zone, the restoration process of what became the H4C entailed a collaborative and neutral approach with design teams, materials and construction works sourced from both sides of the divide (Akbil 2017: 123-141). Considering the above, heritage by the NGOs - both tangible and intangible - is employed as a means of bringing communities together by enforcing new, collective and individual memories, rather than promoting nationalism and conflict remembrance; an observation raised in Chapter 4 and currently visible throughout walled Nicosia.

Moreover, even though the interview responses and field work from Nicosia demonstrate that the NMP team primarily focuses on the tangible aspects of memory through the management of the built environment, the initiatives of the NGOs also indicate that tangible heritage is utilised as a means of safeguarding the intangible and, consequently, the memories of the collective. This finding further highlights the use of distinctive heritage management approaches by governmental and non-governmental enterprises, as well as the differing approaches to memory taken dependent on the priorities and operational structure of each organisation.

Chapter 2, Section 2.5.2 *Reversing the damage: The contribution of bi-communal initiatives to the protection of Nicosia's intangible heritage*.

[163] As explained earlier in this chapter, the building that houses the H4C is located in a restored building in the UN-controlled buffer zone area, directly next to the walled city of Nicosia.

5.5 The Role and Meaning of Authenticity as Interpreted from the Interviews

5.5.1 Collective Authenticity in Walled Nicosia

A key observation   from the interviews with the public, is their perception of what forms part of Nicosia's authentic heritage. When asked to name and justify (their reasoning) authentic[164] areas within the walled city, the majority of interviewees referred to areas such as Palia Gitonia (also known as Laiki Gitonia), Onasagorou street and Phaneromeni, as well as to some NMP-regenerated neighbourhoods (such as Takt el Kale and Chrysaliniotissa). The justification provided for these responses was due to the fact that these areas looked traditional, reminded them of the past and preserved original features.

> I think the most authentic areas are the residential neighbourhoods of Takt-El-Kale and Chrysaliniotissa, because they have changed less than the rest of the city (Y.Ch. 2014: 34-35).

> Takt-el-Kale neighbourhood is also an area which I consider authentic, as well as Pafos and Famagusta Gates, because they all look as they were many years ago (V.M. 2014: 41-42).

> Phaneromeni area has retained some of its original buildings and materials, as well as its early twentieth century primary school which is reminiscent of a more historic Cyprus (L.K. 2014: 36-37).

An additional observation from the interviews with the public was that most responses focused on the south part of the walled city, further suggesting the respondent's limited knowledge about the North. Furthermore, even though the term authenticity was not defined during the interviews, perceptions were very similar amongst interviewees regarding what the authentic character of walled Nicosia was considered to be. More specifically, all responses dwelled on tangible elements, such as the materiality and appearance of selected streets and historic neighbourhoods. Only one interviewee referred to the intangible authenticity of walled Nicosia, arguing that despite the fact that the material authenticity of buildings has been conserved, the functional authenticity of buildings has not; with buildings not returning to their previous use. It must be pointed out that this interviewee did not express disapproval for such an approach and furthermore, the response demonstrates an awareness of the changes taking place in walled Nicosia.

> I consider some of the buildings [in Takt-el-kale] authentic in appearance, but not in use (A.M. 2014: 57).

Furthermore, despite the fact that words such as "the old", "the traditional" and "the unchanged" were used as a justification for what was considered to form an authentic part of walled Nicosia, no interview participant mentioned areas or buildings specifically situated around the buffer zone

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[164] The terms authentic or authenticity were not specified during the interviews, as the process sought to establish their meaning through the responses of the interviewees.

as being authentic (or in-authentic) in any way. This finding suggests a collective detachment from conflict, division and, consequently the buffer zone, as these are not considered to be part of the city's truthful historic urban fabric. Moreover, the interview responses demonstrate how conflict and division have shaped public and individual perceptions about the walled city; subsequently establishing the diversity of meanings attached to heritage authenticity from a subjective point of view.

Commercialisation of Nicosia as in-authentic

A further theme surfacing from the interviews with the public is that of walled Nicosia's commercialisation. The return of commercial activities to the walled city was encouraged, through investment incentives, by the NMP as a way of addressing the economic shrinkage of the historic core (Nicosia Master Plan 2004a; Nicosia Master Plan 2004b). Even though no disapproval of this approach was suggested in the interview responses, it was also not perceived to represent the authentic character of walled city.

> Palia Gitonia (Old Neighbourhood), even though tourist-oriented, I think it also has some authentic qualities, but not Ledra's Street due to over-commercialisation (V.M. 2014: 39-40).

> Laiki Gitonia (meaning Palia Gitonia) is quite authentic as well as the alleyways leading to and from Ledra's because they are less commercial and more in their original state (S.S. 2014: 49-51).

> Onasagorou Street, as well as the Phaneromeni area because the buildings have not really changed or overly commercialised like Ledra Street. In Onasagorou the older buildings have just been restored, but not replaced (G.P. 2014: 43-45).

The above extracts also suggest that public perception of authenticity bears different meanings that depend on the use and appearance of different places within the historic core. In addition, these findings demonstrate how the character of walled Nicosia is gradually adapting to meet contemporary demands; with material authenticity being employed as a means of preserving the spirit of place through the protection of tangible heritage[165]. Furthermore, the fact that no responses have openly opposed the commercialisation and adaptation of several buildings and neighbourhoods indicates a level of public acceptance of such an approach; with local stakeholders recognising the need for the walled city's revitalisation. In line with the above responses, adaptive re-use of tangible heritage materialises as a promising way for ensuring the on-going use of decaying heritage, while safeguarding the symbolic and spiritual values attached to Nicosia's

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[165] Chapter 3, Section 3.4.3, *Authenticity within the Discipline of Heritage Conservation* examines the role of authenticity in protecting the spirit of place and explains the tangible and intangible, subjective and objective associations with the term. The 1994 *Nara Document on Authenticity* is also discussed and echoes the work of Jerome (2008), who expands on the evolution of authenticity within heritage conservation and explains its inclusion of intangible elements such as traditions, language, spirit and feeling.

historic building stock. This approach suggests the continuing management of heritage and its consequent "identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission" to future generations, as encouraged by UNESCOS 1972 Operational Guidelines (UNESCO 1972: 125).

5.5.2 The Nicosia Master Plan's Approach to Authenticity

Despite the fact that the interviews with the public did not refer to the traditional crafts workshops situated along the buffer zone as being part of Nicosia's authentic heritage, NMP architect Ali Guralp explained that developing and re-introducing such facilities would benefit the walled city in several ways. Firstly, by encouraging tourist interest and secondly, by protecting the intangible cultural heritage of Nicosia's historic core.   For this reason, many of these workshops have been re-introduced as part of the NMP (Guralp 2016: 95) and are encouraged on both sides of the walled city.

> We are trying to keep traditional craftsmen and remove modern technology equivalents from the walled city. This will also encourage tourists to visit the city, raising interest in the tradition and intangible heritage of walled Nicosia (Guralp 2016: 95-96).

Nonetheless, even though the significance of traditional crafts is acknowledged by the NMP teams as part of walled Nicosia's intangible heritage, the field work findings and interviews with the NMP team indicate that further investment is needed for their improvement in the North and South. What is also important from the above extract is the regard of heritage by the NMP as a means of encouraging tourist interest. Accordingly, Guralp's (2014) statement suggests that heritage, both tangible and intangible, can potentially be employed to enhance the economic and functional values of walled Nicosia, by encouraging engagement with the historic core. In this case, the involvement of both local and external stakeholders in the heritage management of the walled city is supported as a means of enhancing the social and economic resources and the subsequent sustainable development of Nicosia[166].

5.5.3 The NGOs Role in Protecting Nicosia's Cultural Heritage Authenticity

Even though interview responses from NGOs do not suggest that the topic of heritage authenticity is of considerable concern to their initiatives, the use of intangible heritage to find a common ground between the GC and TC communities indicates a general objective approach to the topic. The fact that an inclusive consideration of the cultural values of both communities is embraced implies the use of heritage in order to establish a common cultural authenticity based on Cyprus as

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[166] The significance of resource availability has been introduced in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.1, *International heritage management guidelines and the creation of a common framework for defining heritage management systems* and highlights the human, financial and intellectual inputs that create operational capacity and facilitate processes (UNESCO 2013: 53).

a collective, rather than on the selective characteristics of each community. Moreover, even though this approach might not embrace the ongoing conflict and division in an explicit way - as applied by the NMP and public - it implicitly creates a bi-communal atmosphere for addressing the damage caused. In doing so, the tangible and consequently intangible heritage of the island is used as a tool to address issues resulting from the current political, economic and social divisions that dominate Nicosia.

> We aim to collaborate with all creative individuals without concentrating on cultural, political or religious identities (Philippou 2017: 34-35).

> As an organisation, we are also trying to find ways, not to normalise this situation, but to make the people familiar with it. This is because in many cases we live and accept the stories learned at school, instead of trying to learn by human contact. And I think this attitude has to do with the knowledge and education you receive and we see people here that represent many success stories of changing their perspective and trying to learn and accept new things (Neofytou 2017: 93-96).

Neofytou's above extract also addresses the topic of biased education in Cyprus, a topic discussed earlier in this chapter and in Chapter 2, where selective historical narratives materialise as a barrier to the protection of Cyprus' intangible, and consequently tangible heritage and truthful historical continuity. Moreover, the interview responses of the NGO representatives suggest that heritage authenticity appears to be driven by the backgrounds and cultural identities of the individuals engaging with the organisations; rather than being limited to the selective narratives and cultural characteristics embraced separately by communities on either side of the divide. This finding further supports the social orientation and bottom-up approach of the NGOs in protecting the heritage of Nicosia - and Cyprus - as a whole; thus encouraging public understanding of the relevance of heritage, historic areas and conservation[167].

5.6 Additional Findings from the Interviews

In addition to the themes presented in the literature review and conceptual framework, the interview findings have highlighted additional topics affecting the heritage and heritage management of walled Nicosia after its division. These topics include the economic value and commercial adaptation of the walled city, as well as the social impact and significance of public participation in the sustainable protection of heritage. These are presented in the following section.

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[167] Lack of public understanding of the significance of historic areas and the value of conservation has been criticised by Doratli (2004:337), raising concerns about the heritage protection and restricted public involvement with the historic core of Nicosia at the time (See Chapter 3. Section 3.4.5, *International Approaches to Address Heritage Authenticity Following Conflict*).

5.6.1 Functional Adaptation as a way of Protecting Walled Nicosia's Historic Built Environment

As pointed out in Section 5.2, the issue of funding plays a prominent role in the management of Nicosia's heritage and the development of the city as a whole. The interview findings, supported by the literature review and field work on Nicosia highlight the financial inequality between the GC-TC communities and the impact this has on safeguarding heritage; particularly in the North. This problem affects several areas within the historic core, with cases such as the traditional neighbourhood of Arab Ahmet suffering considerably as a result of division; despite the fact that parts of the area have already been regenerated as part of the NMP. To address this issue, the Turkish Municipality of Nicosia in conjunction with the NMP team have emphasised the need for declining areas to incorporate and develop additional facilities and functionality. Through this approach, economic growth and demographic diversity are also encouraged as a means of benefiting the different stakeholders of the walled city; including local residents, visitors, investors and the Nicosia Municipalities. For this reason, by making areas available to local businesses and organisations, the NMP team aims to address the issue of invisibility and heritage decline, by adapting several buildings and original functions to meet contemporary demands.

> The Arab Ahmet Development Company is not strong enough to maintain the area all the time, but they are trying to encourage wealthier population to occupy the buildings. […] They recently started renting buildings to the American Kyrenia University. They have also moved the faculty facilities to the south part of Arab Ahmet (Guralp 2016: 49-54).

This finding demonstrates how a lack of resources (such as funding and public input) has encouraged the need to adapt areas in order to ensure their continuity. By doing this, the management system applied in problematic parts of the walled city is driven by corrective measures tailored to achieve greater effectiveness and efficiency[168].In spite of this and due to the fact that most property owners have moved outside the walls, a lack of care and consequent decay of buildings has ensued, particularly in the North (Bensel 2016: 53). This issue further highlights the division both between the two parts of the walled city and between the historic and contemporary parts of Nicosia. Respectively, Guralp (2016) and Bensel (2016) stress that the current, low income tenants living in areas such as Arab Ahmet are unable to maintain their residences. This point suggests weaknesses in the monitoring mechanisms of heritage and limits the establishment of outputs that guarantee the continued protection and up-keeping of Nicosia's historic core; a concern further justifying the need for alternative solutions to the recurring decline of historic buildings and neighbourhoods within the walls. Nonetheless, a solution to this issue can be

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[168] See Table 3: *Summary of UNESCO's 2013 recommended framework for defining heritage management systems*.

witnessed in the South, where permission for the conversion and commercialisation of (previously) residential buildings has encouraged their rehabilitation and re-use. This includes areas such as Chrysaliniotissa, where residences have been converted to art workshops and craft centres[169]. In this case, adaptive re-use of walled Nicosia's endangered heritage reflects Stovel's (1998: 100) theoretical approach and the Burra Charter's (ICOMOS 1979: 2) recommendations to promote alternative strategies for conserving the cultural significance of places, buildings or sites within the contemporary context[170].

In addition to the above, the interview findings informed by the field work conducted in Nicosia demonstrate that the adaptability of non-governmental institutions such as the H4C has proven to be one of the main reasons behind their ongoing growth and perceived success by the public.

> It (the H4C) is a very busy space and it has become even busier since it opened. Even the presidents of the GC and TC Republics - who we refer to as leaders to avoid misunderstandings - meet in this space. […] this is a space that at any time it can be used by many different people, activities and stakeholders (Neofytou 2017:34-41).

Neofytou's point is important for two reasons. Firstly, because it highlights how the NGOs are community driven and guided by the social and cultural preferences of the different actors involved with their initiatives. Secondly, it confirms the difference between formal, governmental support and the informal support by individuals from either side of the divide in addressing issues associated with Nicosia. Similarly, the UG have suggested that their temporary, informal activities are used as a means of engaging and interacting with the general public in order to "inspire people – from both Cypriot communities – to move across the checkpoints" (Philippou 2017: 42-43). In doing so, familiarity between communities is fostered, consequently addressing the current limited knowledge and (re)constructed, artificial memories about the 'other'. In this case, collective memory is employed as a means of addressing selectiveness, by promoting the integration of individual, subjective authenticities, while creating a platform for addressing opposing ideologies and competing historical and political narratives.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter presented an in-depth analysis and interpretation of the empirical interview data obtained from different participants in Nicosia. Through this process, and informed by the literature review and Nicosia field work, the different themes influencing the heritage and heritage management of the walled city were critically examined. Relevantly, a contribution of this chapter

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[169] Discussed in Chapter 4, Section 4.4.2.

[170] Refer to Chapter 2, Section 2.3.4: *Adaptive Re-use of Heritage* and Chapter 4, Section 4.4.2: *Examination of the Nicosia Master Plan Approach to the Areas of Arab Ahmet and Chrysaliniotissa*, where the topics of adaptive heritage re-use are examined.

to the thesis – and to knowledge – is the integration of the different responses from local residents and shopkeepers from South Nicosia, the North NMP team members and the NGO and bi-communal group representatives. This approach has enabled the development of an effective understanding, assessment and analysis of the impact of conflict and division on the heritage of the historic core; taking into account the conceptual framework introduced earlier in this thesis.

The analysis of interview responses on the topics of heritage and heritage management have demonstrated that, in addition to the ongoing conflict and division, issues such as public awareness and participation play a significant role in the ongoing protection of Nicosia's historic core on both sides of the divide. Furthermore, the interview findings highlight the financial inequality between the GC and TC communities; a consequence of the ongoing division and lack of international recognition for the TRNC. This matter materialises as a prominent contributor to the heritage management disparities between the North and South; an issue that also echoes the field work findings presented in Chapter 4. Moreover, the diverse approaches to heritage taken by the NMP and the NGOs demonstrate the different focus embraced by governmental and non-governmental organisations; with the NMP primarily focusing on tangible aspects of heritage, whereas the NGOs and bi-communal groups embracing the intangible.

The topic of power also transpired through the interviews, with the numerous participants providing valuable insight into the impact of conflict and division on the different layers of power that influence Nicosia's heritage management. The interview analysis suggests that power over the heritage management of the city is subject to constraints that relate to the ongoing political situation dominating Cyprus; these include physical access limitations due to division and economic differences between the North and South. Moreover, the benefits of a community-oriented approach in safeguarding the tangible and intangible heritage of Nicosia have also been established. More specifically, the topic of social empowerment as a means of heritage protection has been discussed; demonstrating how the community-focused approach of the NGOs and bi-communal groups have fostered an increasing public engagement and participation with their initiatives.

Findings on the topic of memory were observed more prominently in the interviews carried out with members of the public. These discussions produced an in-depth understanding regarding the collective remembrance and perception of the 'other' that results from the ongoing division of Cyprus. The information presented demonstrates that conflict and, consequently division, have contributed to the selective recollection of the historic core of Nicosia. This concern creates limitations related to collective and individual memories and commemoration of the past. Relevantly, the buffer zone boundary materialises as a key factor in reinforcing the above issues, as

its treatment and presentation on both sides of the divide is representative of historical and political selectiveness and biases. This consequently has enabled the creation of (re)constructed or 'artificial' memories associated with the adjacent community.

The role and meaning of authenticity has also been discussed in this chapter, using the interview responses to analyse, interpret and assess whether and how heritage authenticity - both tangible and intangible, subjective and objective - is indeed being influenced by the division of Nicosia; and how this impacts upon the heritage management and protection of its historic core. The interview findings consider how authenticity is perceived by the collective, who distinguish between material and functional authenticity through their responses. The topic of walled Nicosia's commercialisation and, consequent adaptive re-use, as a means of addressing contemporary demands has also been investigated. Despite the fact that this topic was not part of the conceptual framework and not a primary focus of the interview process; its recurrence and emphasis in the responses suggests its relevance to this study and to the stakeholders of Nicosia. Consideration of the commercial adaptation of walled Nicosia has provided a clearer understanding of how this approach is perceived by the public, while establishing its significance to the economic growth and heritage management of the city. Reflecting on the above, the empirical interview data presented in this chapter has offered a critical account and a thorough understanding of the impact of conflict and division on the tangible and intangible heritage of walled Nicosia, using the literature review and field work findings to inform this process. In doing so, the depth and breadth of information about Nicosia's historic core has been enhanced, while providing valuable insights and a contribution to the city's heritage management discussion.

Chapter 6: Discussion

6.1 Introduction

This study sets out to assess the impact of conflict and division on walled Nicosia's heritage, by developing a context-specific conceptual framework that addresses existing gaps in knowledge concerning the heritage and heritage management of the city. In doing so, the intention of this thesis is to contribute to the heritage protection of divided Nicosia in the long term, while adding to the knowledge about the issues impacting its historic built environment. Moreover, this research seeks to use the knowledge gained from the case study of Nicosia to further academic discussion on the topics of heritage and heritage management in the context of conflict, or division. The following chapter offers a critical discussion of the principal findings of the primary research, which have been informed by the literature review and Nicosia's case study. These are considered vis-à-vis the conceptual framework presented in this thesis, which also illustrates how findings contribute to, and extend current knowledge on walled Nicosia's heritage management.

This chapter is broken down into five sections. The first section (Section 6.2) discusses the findings from the case study analysis and considers the empirical evidence and observations of the researcher. Section 6.3, discusses the significance of the research findings to the case study of Nicosia, as well as other relevant cases. In this section, a critical comparative evaluation of walled Nicosia's heritage management based UNESCO's 2013 framework for defining heritage management systems is included[171], followed by a discussion on the relevance and applicability of the existing heritage management framework to the case study of this thesis. In addition, Section 6.3 introduces a developed conceptual framework which has been informed by the literature review and case study findings. Section 6.4 presents the hypotheses established following the literature review and case study analysis. Section 6.5 outlines the relevance of the thesis findings to the field. Lastly, section 6.6 outlines the significance and contribution of this PhD thesis to knowledge and outlines the target stakeholders that will benefit from this work, as well as a series of recommendations that seek to benefit the management and protection of Nicosia's heritage.

A significant aspect of this chapter is its amalgamation of the thesis' outcomes in order to provide additional insight into the understanding of Nicosia's heritage and heritage management in the context of conflict and division. This includes the assessment and critical analysis of the established conceptual framework, by taking into consideration the literature review, case study analysis and field work data. Through this process, additional themes have been established and developed; consequently addressing existing gaps in knowledge regarding the heritage of walled Nicosia.

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[171] This framework has been introduced in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.1: *International heritage management guidelines and the creation of a common framework for defining heritage management systems*.

6.2 Review and Discussion of the Main Findings of the Case Study Analysis

The field work data and interviews collected in Nicosia have provided a useful insight into the condition and perceptions of the walled city at different areas and on either side of the divide. This insight includes findings about the impact of conflict and division on the city's heritage, while highlighting the role and significance of stakeholder engagement in encouraging private investment back into the historic core. These findings are evidenced through photographs, maps and diagrams, combined with the interview responses collected from local residents, subject matter experts and other stakeholders. The following section reviews the empirical findings from the case study of Nicosia, which were presented in Chapters 4 and 5. The aim of this section is to offer a discussion of the main points that arose throughout the case study analysis chapters, in light of the literature review and conceptual framework presented earlier in this thesis.

6.2.1 Selective Heritage Management

As demonstrated in Chapter 4, the historic built environment of walled Nicosia consists of several unique characteristics, ranging from its multi-layered history, to its ongoing division and dual municipal administration. This duality materialises as the main contributor to the decline of the city's heritage and lack of effective maintenance of several areas within the historic core. The literature review and case study findings demonstrate that conflict and division are indeed primary contributors in the promotion of selectiveness; an issue currently manifested through the tangible and intangible heritage of walled Nicosia, as well as through the approaches applied by the GC and TC municipalities.

A first and wider example that justifies this claim is the selective historical narratives introduced through the Museums of National Struggle on either side of Nicosia's divide and through primary and secondary education[172]; with conflict and division overshadowing the common past and shared heritage of the GC and TC communities. These issues have been discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 and reinforced by Papadakis (2005), who demonstrated how this phenomenon has encouraged biased perceptions about the 'other'. In line with the literature review, these perceptions are reflected through the interviews taken from the public living and working in South Nicosia, which also established that the GC community has limited knowledge about the north part of the city. This finding highlights the selective public knowledge about the historic core, with meanings and values

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[172] This includes the biased history text books introduced by the TRNC and more vividly by the RoC; discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.5.3: *Acknowledging the heritage of the 'other'*.

ascribed to heritage and place[173] being limited to what is available in the GC part of Nicosia. In this case, the social setting of South Nicosia appears to merely acknowledge one side of the divide, rather than the city as a whole; a concern that reinforces selective knowledge and perception about the city's heritage. Similarly, this result reflects Orbasli's (2002) theoretical discussion on heritage ownership and the role of conflict in obscuring its tangible and intangible meanings[174]. Considering the above, the fieldwork findings from Nicosia contribute to the literature review by demonstrating how, in addition to the political situation in Cyprus, the existence of the buffer zone amplifies the gap between the GC and TC communities by preventing their interaction. These issues are reinforced further by the different approaches adopted by either side with regards to the boundary; with the buildings lining the buffer zone in the South being better maintained than in the North[175]. This finding demonstrates a difference both in the management of the buffer zone boundary, as well as in the encouragement of public engagement with its adjacent areas.

Heritage prioritisation is an additional topic established through the analysis of the case study. More specifically, this thesis has demonstrated that the interruption of walled Nicosia's horizontal (North – South) spatial patterns as a result of division encourages the equivalent interruption of vertical (East – West) relationships and the consequent neglect and decline of affected areas within the walls. This has been observed in cases such as the ones of Arab Ahmet and Kafesli in the North, as well as in Asklipiou Street in the South, which suffer from neglect due to their detachment from other parts of the walled city. This finding also shows that conflict and division have contributed to the lack of orientation and organic continuity within walled Nicosia, an outcome that affects the effective management and evolution of the city's heritage.

6.2.2 The Different Layers of Heritage Management and the Issue of Heritage Ownership

As discussed in Chapter 2, heritage is considered to represent "that which has been, or may be, inherited" (Howard 2003: 6) and "monuments, groups of buildings, and sites of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological, or anthropological point of view" (UNESCO 2016). In addition, Chapter 2 discussed the concept of heritage as a continuous and

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[173] Chapter 2, Section 2.2 addresses the different values ascribed to tangible and intangible heritage, reflecting on the "distinctive character" and "meanings" of a place, as well as the role of communities and individuals in protecting those values (UNESCO 1979; ICOMOS 2013: 3).

[174] The theoretical examination on the topic of heritage ownership during conflict has been discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.4.2, and explains the impact of conflict on the tangible and intangible meanings attached to place by obscuring its identity and, consequently, the memories associated with it.

[175] This point has been examined in Chapter 4, through the example of Dionisou Street in the south part of the walls and in Section 4.3.3, *'Rebranding' the streets of old Nicosia*.

constantly evolving entity amongst generations and communities, highlighting the ongoing relevance of the concept within the social and cultural domains.

The interviews with NGO and bi-communal group representatives were key to providing a stronger understanding of the role of the public in protecting the heritage of the city, while reinforcing the social and cultural significance of intangible heritage through their work. In this case, public stakeholders materialise as key instruments to the effective (tangible and intangible) heritage management of the city in the long term. Moreover, the NGOs' community oriented approach, demonstrates the valuable role of public engagement and an inclusive bottom-up approach in conserving Nicosia's historic core. This point links closely with the Foucaultian perspective on power relations, which portrays power as a collective possession embracing the different levels of society (Foucault 1976: 63).

In contradiction to this finding however, the field work and interview data also demonstrates that Nicosia's heritage is managed and perceived differently by the various groups and organisations that work to develop and benefit the city. These different perceptions include concerns about the lack of public participation and consultation as raised by the public and by the NMP team. This illustrates how the top-down approach adopted by the two Municipalities, albeit contributing to the rehabilitation of Nicosia's historic core, it also results to issues associated with insufficient public knowledge and engagement, weak heritage ownership and lack of up-keeping.

Relevantly, even though Chapter 2 considered heritage ownership as a means of national and political assertion between opposing communities, the empirical data reflects additional issues, such as an ongoing gap between the administrative bodies and communities involved within each Municipality. However, this thesis has demonstrated that residences in the south part of the walls appear to have a better response to the rehabilitation approaches of the NMP than in the North, consequently contributing to a more sustainable protection and regeneration of neighbourhoods in the long-term. This finding can be ascribed both to the continuing restoration works undertaken in the south part of the walled city, as well as to the interest demonstrated by existing tenants, who also play a key role in the management of their individual properties. For this reason, even though the approach of the NMP follows a top-down trend, it can be argued that funding availability and the continuing regeneration works by the GC NMP team have provided an advantage to the heritage protection of South Nicosia. This consequence demonstrates the empowerment of GC part of the city, both economically and politically, due to its increasing external support for regeneration initiatives.

Nevertheless, concerns over the limited bottom-up input have also been expressed in this thesis, as limitations ascribed to heritage prioritisation by the managing authorities, accompanied by lack public engagement continue to impact heritage protection – more vividly in the North. Correspondingly, the unique character and dual administration of walled Nicosia are seen to further complicate heritage protection on either side of the divide. These findings, accompanied by the interviews with the NGO and bi-communal group representatives outline the importance of a stronger bottom-up approach and the role of public engagement in the heritage management the walled city; highlighting the different layers influencing its heritage and heritage management.

6.2.3 The Issue of Funding and its Impact on Power Relations between the North and South

An additional matter uncovered by the empirical findings is that of funding. As discussed in Chapter 2, the 1987 Washington Charter reinforces the need for effective heritage management approaches in order to encourage the economic development of historic urban cores (ICOMOS 1987). However, the peculiar case of Nicosia, which deals with tangible division and dual municipal administration, raises further obstacles such as unequal funding opportunities, low income residents and lack of international recognition for the North. In fact, heritage management between North and South reflects the wider political and governmental restrictions faced by the TRNC. Amongst these are the return of decline due to funding limitations, the subsequent abandonment and neglect of heritage and the inability of existing, low-income stakeholders to maintain their properties. As a result, heritage management and conservation falls solely under the jurisdiction of the NMP team, which tries to keep up with the wider protection of the walled city.

As a result, funding contributes to – unintentional – selective heritage management by the GC and TC Municipalities of Nicosia, with limited access to financial resources in the North subsequently obstructing the heritage protection process. Moreover, as established from the interviews with the NMP representatives, limited access to funding in North Nicosia has resulted in the decline of several areas within the walled part of the city. This has also contributed to the prioritisation of particular areas within the historic core in an attempt to encourage public engagement and, consequently, investment. More specifically, the field work data demonstrated that an increased focus has been directed towards the mixed-use quarters of Selimiye and Omeriye, with a long-term objective of linking the two areas together. This finding highlights the efforts of the two municipalities in encouraging the continuation of culturally, economically and socially vibrant activities and practices; an approach that also reflects the earlier discussed recommendations of

the 1979 Burra Charter (ICOMOS 1979)[176]. As a result, the empirical field work findings demonstrate that heritage prioritisation is indeed the outcome of the ongoing division of Nicosia and is also influenced by the ongoing need to encourage investment back into the walls.

Considering the above, funding limitations and the economic differences between the North and South have encouraged the imbalance of power relations between the GC and TC communities. This consequence has resulted to substantial differences in the management of heritage on either side of the divide, accompanied by the strengthening of the South NMP initiatives and the gradual reliance of the TC NMP team on its GC counterpart. Moreover, despite the fact that informal collaboration continues to exist between the two NMP teams, financial limitations, lack of international recognition and subsequent international embargoes on the TRNC demonstrate how power relations in Nicosia have moved away from the decentredness and multi-directionality encouraged through the Foucaultian perspective, and towards a more constricted and imbalanced dynamic.

6.2.4 The Spatial Manifestations of Memory

The case study analysis has demonstrated that the memories associated with the walled city have been influenced significantly, or distorted, by its ongoing division. This was established through the interview findings from local residents and shop-keepers from South Nicosia who, even though possess limited memories of the north part of the city, made biased assumptions about its physical appearance. As also pointed out in Chapter 5, this finding links back to Landsberg's (2004) discussion on the role played by 'prosthetic', or unlived memories on collective and individual remembrance and further reinforces the impact of division on the subjective thinking of Nicosia's residents. It can therefore be argued that, the detachment between the GC and TC communities, as interpreted from the interviews with the public, emphasises the previously discussed notion of 'otherness' and the existence of the 'other' on the collective memories Nicosia's residents.

The field observations from Nicosia offered additional insight about the commemoration of the 1974 conflict and its manifestation on the tangible built environment of the city. More specifically, the examination of the boundaries, including the Venetian walls, demonstrated the different approaches taken to preserve the memories of conflict. This finding is more prominent in the South, where the use of façadism along the buffer zone in order to attract public interest and investment,

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[176] As stated in Chapter 2, the Burra Charter sustains that heritage should incorporate elements of cultural significance that reflect the "distinctive character" and "meanings" of a place, as evoked or expressed to people (ICOMOS 2013: 3). Moreover, according to Article 14, conservation can be classified into different processes depending on the type and circumstances of each heritage. These classifications include retention or reintroduction, preservation and adaptation and interpretation (ICOMOS 2013: 6).

is contrasted by the preservation of bullet holes on the Venetian Walls around the Paphos Gate area (Figure 158 and Figure 159). This point also reflects the discussions of Bakshi (2012), Papadakis (2005) and Bryant (2004), on the relationship between politics, memory and conflict, while outlining selective memory concerns and the encouragement of a state of oblivion through the protection of Nicosia's heritage. In this case, the walls of Nicosia have been preserved as *milieu de mémoire* (real environment of memory) (Nora 1989: 7), whereas the historic core is gradually being restored as a *lieu de mémoire* (museum-like places which remind of the past, whether of tangible or intangible significance)[177]. Subsequently, the spatial manifestations of memory are visible throughout the historic core, with their impact witnessed through the different approaches to the heritage management of the walled city. This finding also poses questions regarding the authentic[178] conservation of walled Nicosia, with the representation of conflict varying between different areas within the walls[179].

6.2.5 Multiple Authenticities in Nicosia

Building on the above, the theme of authenticity was also prominent in the case study findings. The site visits to Nicosia, as well as the examples discussed, demonstrated that the authentic character of different streets and neighbourhoods has been influenced by the division of the city. This includes the functional continuity of previously commercial areas and the neglect and deterioration of buildings and neighbourhoods. This has consequently affected the public's perceptions as to what is considered part of walled Nicosia's authentic heritage and raises questions regarding the impact of conflict on the tangible and intangible heritage of the city and its ongoing management. In addition, as argued in Chapter 3, heritage authenticity can be affected by a variety of meanings, which can in turn influence the inherent qualities of the object (Ashworth and Turnbridge 2000: 11). This point is illustrated through the change of street names in North Nicosia, as well as through the use of façadism as a way of concealing the unpleasant memories of conflict. Interview participants such as Akbil (2017) further exemplify this argument, by demonstrating how communities on each side of the divide have developed or (re)constructed their memories – and

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[177] Also discussed in sections 6.2.4 and 3.3.2.

[178] Articles 11 and 12 of the 1964 Venice charter sustain that "the valid contributions of all periods to the building of a monument must be respected […] but at the same time must be distinguishable from the original so that restoration does not falsify the artistic or historic evidence" (ICOMOS 1964) (Discussed in Chapter 3, Section 3.4.5: *International Approaches to Address Heritage Authenticity Following Conflict*).

[179] Places like Asklipiou Street that have not undergone any significant regeneration as part of the NMP are also considered to have evolved as *milieu de mémoire* (real environment of memory).

authenticities; consequently, shaping perceptions and interpretations of heritage based on their subjective experiences[180].

Relevantly, the review of existing international theories and guidelines on the topic of authenticity[181] established the transience of the term between different disciplines and practices (Lowenthal 1994: 123). The case of Nicosia reflects this argument, by showing how the separate individuals and organisations interviewed address the theme in different ways. More specifically, the interviews from the NMP representatives demonstrate the significance of tangible authenticity in the management of Nicosia's heritage; whereas the responses of the NGO and bi-communal group representatives prioritise the protection of intangible authenticity as a means of bringing communities together and encouraging the protection of the tangible. The approach of the NMP consequently focuses on the material qualities of heritage; whereas the initiatives of the NGOs and bi-communal groups demonstrate their relevance to the recommendations of the 1994 *Nara Document on Authenticity*, which illustrates a shift towards cultural awareness and intangible heritage significance (ICOMOS 1994). Considering the above, the case study analysis adds to the above theoretical examinations by demonstrating the diverse meanings of authenticity on either side of the divide that have resulted due to conflict and division. This includes tangible and intangible, as well as individual and collective authenticities and the impact these have had on the management and protection of Nicosia's historic core.

6.2.6 Adaptive Re-Use as a Heritage Management Consideration

As discussed in Chapter 4, one of the main issues resulting from the division of Nicosia and the existence of the buffer zone is the outward growth of the city and its consequent neglect and deterioration; an area which was given conservation status in 1989. The interviews with the NMP team, along with the examination of the NMP Reports (Nicosia Master Plan 1984, 2004a, 2004b) have demonstrated that both municipalities are aware of this issue. Moreover, the NMP representatives highlighted additional considerations such as the existence of the buffer zone, funding inequality and low-income residents as some of the main contributors to the ongoing decline of several areas within the walls. As a result, the efforts of the NMP team in encouraging investment back into the walled city of Nicosia, through the functional adaptation of buildings materialises as a promising approach for promoting interest and investment in the historic core. This reflects the previously discussed recommendations by UNESCO, which suggest that

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[180] Through her interview responses, Akbil explains that places like Salamis, which are associated with the Hellenistic past of Cyprus are also considered to be part of TC heritage, due to their historical and memory values for the TC population (Akbil 2017: 64-73).
[181] See Chapter 3, Section 3.4 on the Venice Charter and Nara Document on Authenticity.

understanding the "type, characteristics and needs" of heritage, its cultural and natural context as well as the role of the stakeholders is vital for the development of effective heritage management mechanisms (UNESCO 2016c: 23).

The site visits to Nicosia have also demonstrated this point, with the conversion of previously residential buildings to workshops and craft centres (see Chapter 5, Section 5.6); an approach more prominent in the South and currently being pursued by the North NMP team. This links closely with the guidelines of the 1987 Washington Charter, which emphasise the role of historic urban cores in enhancing social, economic and urban development at different levels (ICOMOS 1987). As a result, management of divided Nicosia as a continuously evolving entity, through the functional adaptation of declining buildings and neighbourhoods suggests a promising approach in the return of stakeholder engagement, by addressing contemporary needs and encouraging private investment back to the walled city.

6.2.7 Overview of the layers affected by the division of Nicosia

The field work on walled Nicosia has allowed for a comprehensive understanding of the different layers affected by the city's division and the influence this has had on the built environment of the city. Moreover, the empirical findings and researcher's observations from the case study have furthered existing literature and research, by providing a stronger understanding of the impact of conflict on the heritage management processes of walled Nicosia. Part of the field work examination and analysis considered the impact of the different boundaries of Nicosia, taking into consideration its tangible and intangible make-up. In doing so, this thesis has established that the walled city is influenced by a multiplicity of political, social, administrative and economic factors that add to the complexity of its heritage management.

The following diagram (Figure 164) illustrates the different layers affected by the partition of walled Nicosia, taking into account the different types of division influencing the city. This diagram is important for two reasons. Firstly, it illustrates the researcher's interpretation of the different layers constituting walled Nicosia's heritage, as informed by the literature review and field work findings; secondly, it unveils the intricate nature of division influencing the walled city at different scales and between different groups.   By doing so, the diverse layers affecting and being affected by the division of the city are being presented, aiming to strengthen understanding of its social, cultural and economic characteristics.

Layers affected by the division of Nicosia:

Layer 5:
The streets and neighbourhoods close, or next to, the buffer zone

Layer 4:
The buffer zone area

Layer 3:
The Venetian walls

Layer 2:
The historic core and its occupants/users.

Layer 1:
The contemporary city(ies) outside the walls
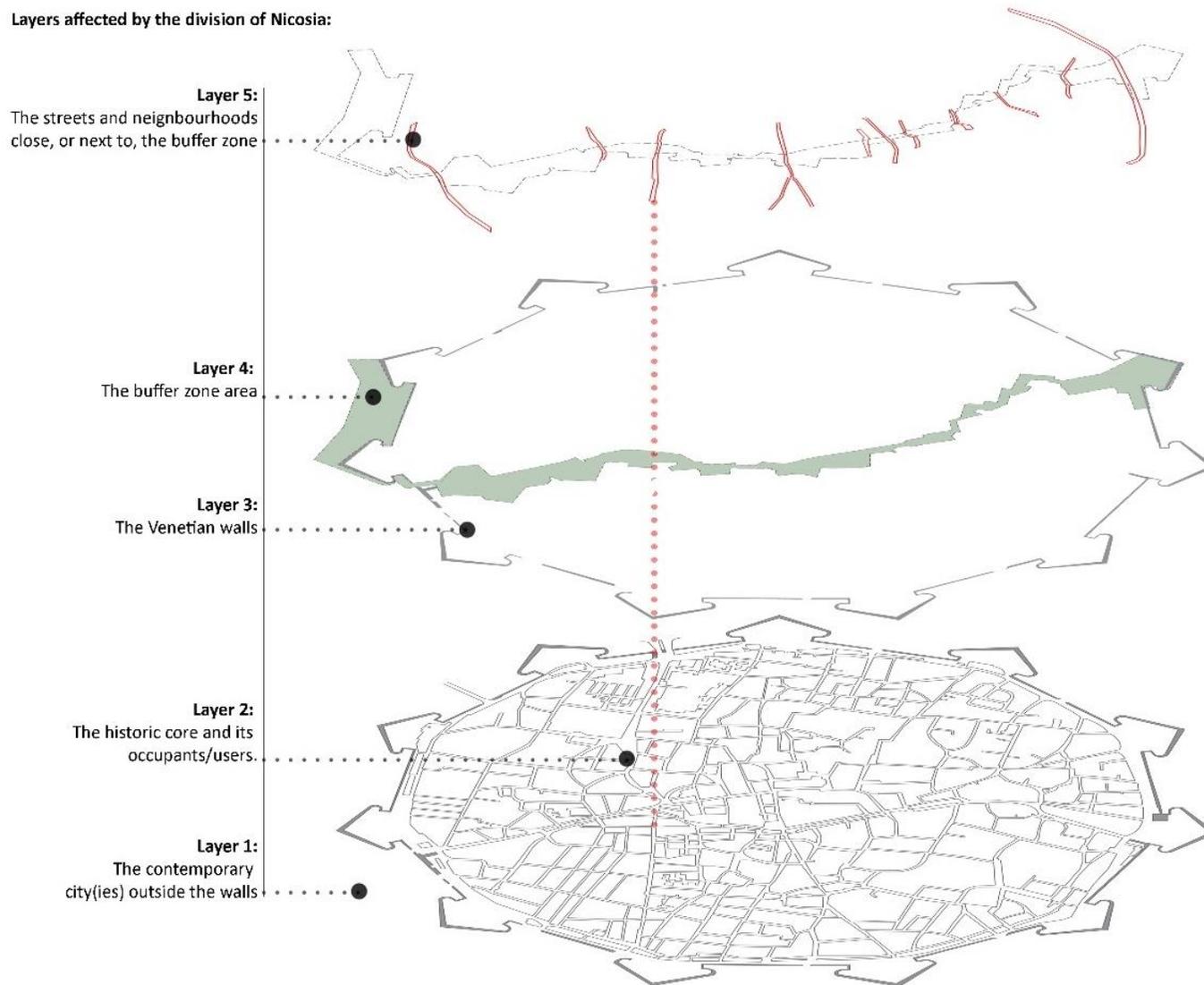
Types of division:

Type 5 division:
Interrupted spatial patterns within the walls (buildings and neighbourhoods)

Type 4 division:
North Nicosia, South Nicosia

Type 3 division:
North Nicosia, South Nicosia, UN - controlled buffer zone, Turkish military - controlled zone

Type 2 division:
UN - controlled buffer zone, Turkish military - controlled zone

Type 1 division:
The historic core of Nicosia vs. contemporary development outside the Venetial walls.

Figure 164: Visual representation of Nicosia, based on the different layers and types of division influencing the city (Author 2017).

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6.3 The Meaning and Significance of the Research Findings

6.3.1 Establishing the Values Ascribed to Nicosia's Heritage

In Chapter 2, a detailed overview of the key international guidelines on the topics of heritage and heritage management were presented. In doing this, the values ascribed to heritage have been established, as suggested by prominent literature and research. These values reflect the attributes attached to heritage and are summarised in the table below (also available in Chapter 2, Section 2.2.1).

Table 15: Heritage values as identified by different scholars and organisations (Mason 2002; adapted by Author 2017)

Lipe (1984)	Riegl (1903)	The Burra Charter (1998)	Frey (1997)	English Heritage (1997)
Age	Economic	Aesthetic	Monetary	Cultural
Historical	Aesthetic	Historic	Educational	Educational/ Academic
Commemorative	Associative – Symbolic	Scientific	Option	Economic
Use	Informational	Social (including spiritual, political, national, cultural)	Existence	Resource
Newness			Bequest	Recreational
			Prestige	Aesthetic
			Educational	

As demonstrated through the literature review, this study recognises that existing international guidelines and recommendations have contributed significantly to the progress and internationalisation of the heritage discussion within the built environment discourse. Considering the above, the empirical data from the case study of Nicosia has encouraged the establishment of a set of context-specific heritage values, which reflect existing social, practical, political and other theoretical considerations regarding the protection of the city's historic built environment. These are presented in the following table (Table 16) and take into account the impact of conflict and division on the tangible and intangible heritage of Nicosia's historic core. For this reason, in addition to the conceptual framework, this thesis maintains that these values represent a more accurate picture of the historic built environment of the city, by providing additional insight into its cultural heritage. Understanding the significance of these values, will potentially encourage a more detailed assessment of the different areas of the walled city, based on their individual attributes, subsequently encouraging a more informed heritage management approach.

Table 16: Heritage values as established from the case study analysis (Author 2017)

Heritage Value	Justification
Political Value	This value derives from the ongoing ethnic conflict in Cyprus, which has resulted in issues such as the division of the island and, consequently, Nicosia. The lack of international recognition for the North and the dual municipal administration of Nicosia are also relevant.
Social Value	The empirical interview findings have demonstrated the impact of conflict and division on the social make-up of the city, with wealthier residents moving out from the historic core, while those of lower income continuing to occupy significant parts of the walled city. This issue has resulted to the lack of up-keeping of the historic built environment of walled Nicosia.
Functional/ Use Value	The outward growth and consequent social and economic shrinkage of walled Nicosia justify this value. In addition, the interruption of the functional continuity of the city, as well as the consequent decay of previously economically vibrant commercial areas advocated the need for the city to adjust in order to encourage interest back into the historic core. This includes the adaptation of buildings to meet contemporary demands, as well as the use of façadism to encourage the use of previously neglected buildings.
Community Value	This value emerged following the empirical interview findings from Nicosia, and especially the NGOs, which highlighted the vital role of community engagement in safeguarding Nicosia's heritage.
Public Value	This value includes the wider social make-up of Nicosia and the Cypriot population. The historical examination of Nicosia supported by the empirical findings, suggest the selective knowledge of the public about their counterparts on the other side of the divide. This consequently influences the understanding as to what is considered Nicosia's authentic heritage, while underlining the existence of the 'other' amongst the GC and TC population.
Economic/ Monetary Value	The lack of funding available to the TRNC as well as the existing gap in the pace and scale of regeneration between the GC and TC municipalities of Nicosia supports this value. In addition, the economic shrinkage of the walled city after its division, as well as the isolation of one of its main commercial streets justifies the ongoing pursuit for investment in the historic core, on either side of the divide.
Stakeholder Value	As unveiled by the examination of the NMP Reports, as well as from the interviews with the NMP representatives, private investment and higher income residents and activities are crucial to the up-keeping of the walled city. The value of the stakeholders of walled Nicosia is key in establishing this objective. This has been demonstrated by the formation of enterprises such as the Arab Ahmet Development Company in the North, as well as the provision of incentives by the South to encourage investment and public engagement with walled Nicosia.
Historical Value	The dual historical narratives of Cyprus after its division, as well as the ethnonational and political connotations attached to the turbulent Cypriot past, outline the significance of this value for both communities. In addition, the promotion of selective histories through education and the consequences of this approach on public and individual perception suggest the prominence of the specific value for the GC and TC communities. Lastly, the significance and ongoing interest of non-biased history education by organisations such as the AHDR and the H4C further highlights the historical value of heritage, both for Cyprus and Nicosia.
Cultural Value	The cultural significance of walled Nicosia's heritage for the GC and TC communities supports this value. This relates to the distinct cultural characteristics adopted on each side of the divide, as well as the independent management and evolution of Nicosia's heritage after its division, which has allowed both cultures to grow individually.
Aesthetic Value	The beautification of building façades throughout Nicosia and along the buffer zone as a means of making the areas more appealing justifies the aesthetic value of walled Nicosia's heritage.
Commemorative Value	The role of memory on the historic built environment of Nicosia has been demonstrated through the literature review and case study findings. Examples such as

	the preservation of traces of conflict on the Venetian Walls of Nicosia justify the commemorative value of the city. In addition, the topic of memory has been supported by the NGO representatives, as well as by the responses from the public living or working in Nicosia.
Educational Value	This value relates to the role of education about the conflict and division in Cyprus, but also the knowledge available with regards to the 'other'. The GC interviewees' lack of familiarity with their TC counterparts highlights this conclusion.
Symbolic Value	The symbolic value of heritage in walled Nicosia is reflected through the initiatives of the NMP team and the NGOs, with all associated organisations using heritage to establish bridges between the GC and TC communities. Even though the efforts of the NGOs are more vivid in developing this objective, the long-term plan of the NMP of connecting neighbourhoods together and 'thinning' the buffer zone also reflects this goal.
National Value	The use of political symbols by the South along the buffer zone illustrates the symbolic meaning of the boundary as a means of national and cultural assertion. In addition, the prominence of national flags throughout the historic core further justifies this value.

6.3.2 Implications of the Case Study Findings on the Conceptual Framework

As suggested earlier in this thesis, in order to categorise, describe and analyse concepts related to power, memory and authenticity in the context of divided Nicosia's heritage, this research takes into account both relevant theory and research, as well as the field work findings and empirical data collected from the case study (Rocco and Plakhotnik 2009: 122). This approach has developed the conceptual framework; establishing where the "overlaps, contradictions, refinements, or qualifications" exist (Miles and Hubermann 1994: 22). Furthermore, the conceptual framework in this thesis supported the analysis of the case study, by bringing together key concepts that furthered knowledge on the heritage and heritage management of the city. The previous sections discussed these findings, consolidating the literature review and case study of Nicosia. This section reflects on the role of the conceptual framework in this study and discusses how the case study findings furthered its development. In doing so, additional themes that can contribute to Nicosia's existing heritage management systems in the long term will be presented.

Revisiting the conceptual framework

The conceptual framework in this thesis was developed in order to organise the different concepts in the literature and structure the case study analysis. Accordingly, this framework included:

- The identification and justification of key concepts that influenced the heritage and heritage management of divided Nicosia.
- The organisation, integration and review of literature associated with the established concepts.
- The composition of these themes into a model, outlining their role and significance within the framework.

Figure 165 recaps the conceptual framework presented earlier in this thesis.
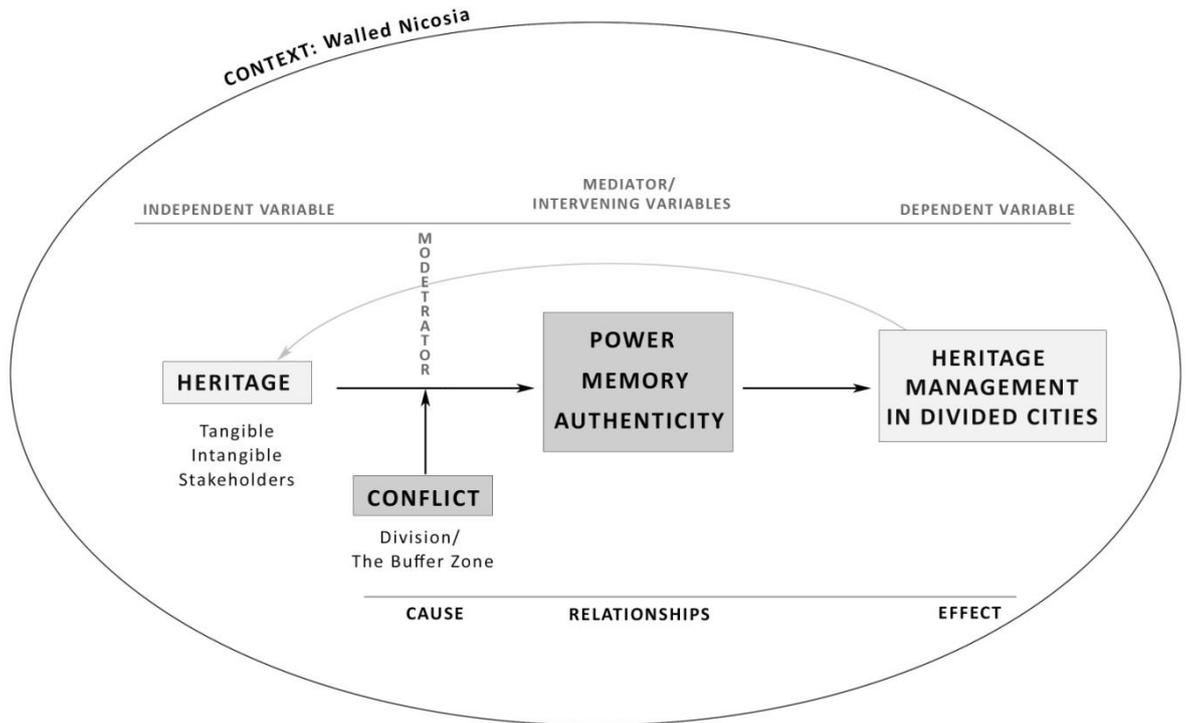
Figure 165: The Conceptual Framework as informed by the literature review (Author 2017).

Developed conceptual framework

The following section presents the developed conceptual framework, which incorporates the findings from the case study[182], in addition to the themes introduced earlier in this thesis. Through this process, existing concepts have been broken down into additional sub-categories, in order to more clearly expand the meaning and significance of each concept in the context of the framework. The new concepts included are Public Participation, Adaptability and Funding. Similarly, sub-categories have been incorporated to explain the wider connotations of these concepts as established from the case study analysis process and are illustrated in Figure 166.

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[182] These include the empirical findings and researcher's observations established from Nicosia and based on the interviews and site visits.

CONTEXT: Walled Nicosia

Power
Political
Economic
Administrative
Social/ Community
Governmental
Non-Governmental

Memory
Individual
Collective
Tangible
Intangible
Artificial/(Re)Constructed

Heritage
Tangible
Intangible
Stakeholders
Culture
History

Authenticity
Tangible
Intangible
Individual
Collective
Subjective
Objective

**Heritage Management
in Divided Cities**
Management of Tangible Heritage
Management of Intangible Heritage
Stakeholder Engagement/
Public Participation
Funding

Conflict
Division
Boundaries
Contested Histories
Selective Education

Public Participation
Bottom-up Approach
Stakeholder Engagement
Bi-Communalism

Adaptability
Adaptive Re-Use
Conservation
Heritage Continuity

Funding Sources
Private Funding
Governmental Funding
International Funding

CAUSE   **RELATIONSHIPS**   **EFFECT**

Figure 166: Revised conceptual framework as informed by the data analysis process.

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Table 16 discussed the different values associated with the heritage of Nicosia. These values correlate with the themes presented in the final conceptual framework (Figure 166) and contribute to providing a more detailed explanation and justification of the literature review and case study findings. This section builds on this and offers a brief explanation of the new themes incorporated into the framework.

Public Participation: The theme of public participation was established through the interviews with the public as well as from the NMP, NGO and bi-communal group representatives. This theme encompassed additional sub-categories such as the need for a stronger bottom-up approach in order to encourage public and stakeholder engagement and consequently a more sustainable protection of walled Nicosia's heritage. The communal initiatives undertaken by the NGOs considered in this thesis, have also demonstrated the significance of bi-communalism in protecting the intangible heritage of the city. Furthermore, the great impact of local residents and associated stakeholders on the maintenance of walled Nicosia's heritage has been established through the fieldwork findings, demonstrating the vital role of local communities in the long-term protection of the city. In this case, the significance of public participation has been introduced in the conceptual framework in order to encourage public engagement with, and contribution to walled Nicosia's heritage management processes.

Adaptability: One of the topics discussed early in this thesis is that of adaptive re-use as a conservation approach. The different case study findings have demonstrated that the division and consequent economic and social shrinkage of walled Nicosia called for additional strategies to ensure the protection and continuity of its cultural heritage. The resulting commercialisation of several areas within the walls, as well as the adaptation of residences for university facilities justify this point. As a result, adaptive re-use of heritage has been incorporated in the conceptual framework, in order to demonstrate the relevance and potential contribution of the specific approach to the effective management and sustainable protection of walled Nicosia's cultural inheritance.

Funding: A key topic uncovered through the case study examination is the issue of funding and its impact on the heritage protection of the walled city. The international polarisation and lack of recognition of the TRNC has resulted in unequal funding opportunities and the consequent imbalance in the heritage management approaches applied by the North and South. This has reflected on the historic built environment of walled Nicosia, as well as on the priorities of the GC and TC municipalities. In addition, this issue highlights the wider impact of conflict on the city, by

demonstrating how the political situation in Cyprus affects additional parameters and adds to the ongoing issues that dominate the city. Moreover, the significance of funding has been repeatedly raised during the interviews with the NMP and NGO representatives, further highlighting the vital role of the topic to this thesis; as well as its relevance to the developed conceptual framework.

6.3.3 Comparative evaluation of walled Nicosia's heritage management on either side of the divide taking into consideration UNESCO's 2013 framework for defining heritage management systems.

Further to the updated conceptual framework presented in the previous section, the following table (Table 17) merges the field work and literature review findings in order to offer a critical evaluation of the heritage management of walled Nicosia after its division and following the initiation of the NMP. UNESCO's 2013 *Managing Cultural World Heritage* framework[183] has been used for this process, as it integrates components that address heritage protection from multiple operational and organisational perspectives. An objective of Table 17 is to provide a concise comparison of the two Municipalities of Nicosia, by considering the *Elements*, *Processes* and *Results*[184] undertaken in the selected case study using the field work findings to assess their effectiveness.

This comparative evaluation is important to this study for three reasons. Firstly, it offers a comparison of the thesis findings against the heritage management and ongoing protection of Nicosia's historic core. Secondly, the research findings are employed against a framework introduced by UNESCO and the three key Advisory Bodies of the World Heritage Convention (ICCROM, ICOMOS and IUCN) in order to establish the effectiveness of Nicosia's heritage management on either side of the divide. Thirdly, it fills a gap in knowledge concerning the relevance of international heritage management frameworks against the ongoing approaches taking place in Nicosia.

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[183] Originally introduced in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.1 *International heritage management guidelines and the creation of a common framework for defining heritage management systems*.
[184] These three categories are further explained in Table 3, Section 2.3.1.

A comparative evaluation of walled Nicosia's heritage management			
3 categories	**9 components**	**North Nicosia Municipality and NMP team**	**South Nicosia Municipality and NMP team**
3 ELEMENTS	**Legal framework**	• A legislative framework responsible for the conservation of heritage in the North has been established by the TRNC and continues to evolve and operate independently than the one of the RoC. • The legislative framework of the TRNC, including legislation on Antiquities and Town Planning has limited powers against the heritage of the displaced GC people. This is due to the illegal status of the TRNC, as well as the international embargo on the country, including organisations such as UNESCO, ICOMOS, ICCROM, as well as the RoC. • As a result, conservation of heritage moves slower and more contained than in the South. • This consequence restricts existing and future heritage management approaches, and has a detrimental impact on the social, economic and cultural development of the heritage of North Nicosia.	• The legal basis of the RoC is supported by international bodies and organisations such as UNESCO, ICOMOS and ICCROM. This has allowed legislation and, consequently heritage management and conservation to progress faster than in the North. • The development of additional policies associated to landscape, transportation, commerce, industry, tourism, strategic development and the environment contributes to the existing legislative framework incorporated by the Departments of Antiquities and Town Planning in the South. • The financial incentives introduced in 1985 and 1995 by the department of Town and Country Planning as well as the international funding support towards the RoC and the Municipality of South Nicosia have provided an advantage for the South, which reflects on the heritage management of Nicosia's historic core.
	Institutional framework	• The North NMP team is responsible for the protection of heritage in their vicinity, as well as for the establishment of funding sources to enable the continuation of their initiative. • Along with the NMP, the Department of Town Planning and Housing and the Department of Antiquities play a vital role in the decision-making of Nicosia's heritage protection. • This process further delays decision-making and the quick realisation of projects by the NMP North.	• Like in the North, the South NMP team is responsible for the protection of heritage in their vicinity, as well as for the establishment of funding sources to enable the continuation of their initiative. • Similarly, the Departments of Town Planning and Antiquities play a key role in the decision-making of Nicosia's heritage protection. • However, the South NMP team has more authority in the planning and implementation process than in the

			North, due to the operational structure of the current municipal division.
	Resources	• Restrictions in funding and in international support by specialised professionals from the fields of heritage conservation. • Subsequent imbalance of resources between the North and South. • Consequent delays and limitations in the heritage management and protection of Nicosia's historic core. • Resources are scattered depending on the type of area, e.g. Selimiye is one of the most visited neighbourhoods in the North and subsequently benefits from private investment and the up-keeping of many of its buildings; which also encourages selectiveness through heritage prioritisation.	• Additional funding from the EU. • Consequent progress of NMP initiatives and operational gap between the North and South teams. • Commercial and entertainment industries more visible in the South, providing a financial boost for businesses in the walled city and the consequent resources for the protection of buildings and neighbourhoods. • Incentives encouraging private investment are available as a means of restoring and conserving historic buildings within the walls.
3 PROCESSES	**Planning**	• The NMP North faces restrictions in the decision-making of planning procedures, both due to the lack of international recognition of the TRNC, as well as due to the administrative and operational framework set by the Turkish Municipality of Nicosia. • Along with the lack of funding, this consequence further delays the realisation of the objectives of the NMP North, as well as the coordination between the GC and TC NMP projects. • Proactive planning has been targeted by the NMP teams taking into consideration the needs and characteristics of individual neighbourhoods. However, mechanisms for sustainable finance continue to overshadow heritage management in the North.	• The NMP South (and the RoC) rely on different planning authorities (and policies) than in the North and consequently operate differently. • Planning and implementation of the NMP initiatives move at separate phases between the North and South. • Integrated NMP strategies are targeted in the *New Vision for the Core of Nicosia* and are currently more visible in the South. • The private sector is strong on either side of the divide, however, Local Plans and the current regulatory approach by the two Nicosia Municipalities are insufficient in encouraging new life back to the historic core in the long term. • However, incentives have been introduced in the GC part in order to encourage private investment back to the walls.

	Implementation	• The second phase of the NMP (*New Vision for the Core of Nicosia*) focuses on the implementation of actions. • Under separate management boards, as no joint walled city development board has been achieved yet besides the Arab Ahmet Development Company which primarily focuses on the specific quarter. • Access restrictions in the buffer zone, the south part of Nicosia, as well as funding and lack of international recognition continue to restrict the implementation of projects in the north part of the walls. • Issues associated to imbalanced power relations are also a predominant concern, as the north part of Nicosia is less powerful against the south in the attainment and control of funding and specialist international support.	• Several NMP projects have been implemented throughout the south part of the walled city, with a wide variety of residential, commercial and mix-use buildings of heritage value being restored and conserved as a result. • Adaptive re-use has been observed as part of the NMP project implementation. • The buffer zone poses a major restriction in the South, even though the use of façadism is employed to conceal and slow down decay. • Memories of conflict and unstable power relations and funding contribute to the different pace of project implementation.
	Monitoring	• Monitoring of the heritage of the walled city was significantly stronger during the first phase (1980 – 1985) and second phase (2000-2004) of the NMP. • The NMP is responsible for the monitoring of walled Nicosia's heritage and urban development, focusing on the Core of Nicosia since the year 2000. • Funding provision by the UNDP encouraged the progression of heritage assessment and rehabilitation projects. However, this became stagnant after the accession of the RoC in the EU due to decrease in funding sources. • Several areas within the walls continue to suffer due to lack of monitoring (e.g. Arab Ahmet, Karamanzade, Yeni Jami). • The creation of detailed records (inventories, photographs and drawings) has contributed to the monitoring of buildings of heritage value in the North and in the buffer zone.	• Public-private partnership is limited and consequently impacts the input of private investors in the heritage management and protection of Nicosia's historic core. • Monitoring of projects and the conservation of historic buildings and sites appear to be more efficient in the South than in the North. • The NMP South is also responsible for the monitoring of walled Nicosia's heritage and urban development, following the *New Vision*'s focus on the historic core. • Even though not as vivid as in the North, several areas along the buffer zone continue to suffer due to lack of up-keeping (e.g. parts of Omeriye, Phaneromeni and Agios Kassianos along the buffer zone). • The creation of detailed records has contributed to the monitoring of buildings of heritage value in the South and in the buffer zone.

3 RESULTS		• The America Kyrenia University's potential adaptation and occupancy of several buildings in Arab Ahmet will encourage the monitoring and conservation of heritage, while strengthening the Resources available for the Turkish Municipality of North Nicosia and the NMP projects.	
	Outcomes	• A stronger awareness of the issues contributing towards the decay of the north part of the walled city have been demonstrated through the NMP approach. • Several historically significant areas and their specific requirements have been acknowledged, such as Arab Ahmet and Selimiye. • Selimiye's rehabilitation and conservation approach has been more successful that the one of Arab Ahmet, due to the interruption of spatial patterns and the central location of Selimiye.	• Stronger focus on the walled city after the phase two of the NMP (*New Vision for the Core of Nicosia*). • Several buildings and sites of heritage value have been acknowledged and restored as part of the NMP. • An initial financial stimulus for property owners has been provided, in order to engage people back to the historic core. This stimulus seeks both private and public investment and, in principle, the long-term heritage management of the walled city by different stakeholders (i.e. stakeholder engagement).
	Outputs	• The use of façadism has been applied, contributing to the beautification of several buildings and neighbourhoods, consequently making them more appealing, while initiating their conservation. Even though this approach is not as effective as in the South, it still contributes to the short-term protection of buildings and sites of heritage value. • The production of relevant documentation, in the form of inventories, photographs and drawings has encouraged the accurate recording of buildings within the walled city (and the buffer zone), to ensure their effective protection. • The collaboration of the GC and TC Municipalities has been achieved, even though obscured by political differences and lack of international recognition and funding for the TRNC, has generated a common plan of	• Like in the North, the production of relevant documentation, in the form of inventories, photographs and drawings has encouraged the accurate recording of buildings within the walls (including the buffer zone). • The strengthening of relationships between the North and South NMP teams has been achieved, despite the institutional fragmentation and lack of coordination between several projects. • Like in the North, the use of façadism has been applied, but in a rather more rigorous manner due to a lager availability of resources. This has contributed to the speedy (skin-deep) regeneration of a large amounts of buildings throughout the historic core, thus encouraging private investment and their long-term conservation.

		short-term and longer-term projects to bring the two communities together and to ensure the protection of walled Nicosia's heritage. • The return of economic and social growth of walled Nicosia has been observed. However, this growth is more visible in the South. • The regeneration of several areas of heritage value has also been observed, even though their conservation is a matter of concern.	• The regeneration and conservation of several buildings and neighbourhoods has been observed, even though there are areas that continue to be influenced by conflict, division and, consequently decay. • The informal collaboration between GC and TC NMP professionals has been observed, despite the fact that the South moves at a different pace than the North, subsequently adopting different priorities when dealing with the historic built environment of Nicosia.
	Improvements to the management system	• Heritage belonging to the north part of the walled city has been protected, however, the outputs discussed in the previous section are not as well monitored as in the South. This concern primarily relates to the up-keeping of historic buildings and sites, as well as to the inconsistent conservation and maintenance of heritage. • The issue of funding, as well as additional concerns such as institutional fragmentation could be addressed more effectively by both sides (i.e. NMP North and South), by returning to bi-communal initiatives of similar nature and scale and through the establishment of additional funding sources for the North. • Public participation and consultation could be stronger, in order to allow the public to engage more with the historic core and become key instruments for Nicosia's heritage management in the long term.	• Buildings and sites of heritage value in the south part of the walled city have been restored and are being conserved, with adaptive re-use being a visible approach on several occasions. • Collaboration between the North and South NMP teams could be more visible, especially from a public participation and consultation perspective. • Management of the buffer zone continues to be unclear due to its vague future and could be pursued more strongly by the South, as they have the resources and international support. • A mixture of uses has been observed throughout the south part of the city. Even though this approach poses questions regarding the authenticity of the historic core, it is also justified by the need for investment and growth to back to the historic core.

Critical discussion of the comparative evaluation of walled Nicosia's heritage management

Table 17 provides a comparative evaluation of walled Nicosia's heritage management in light of UNESCO's 2013 framework for managing cultural heritage. Use of the specific framework as a comparison tool between the TC and GC Municipalities of Nicosia seeks to strengthen understanding of the different components and their effectiveness, through a parallel appraisal of the heritage management approaches on either side of the divide and as informed by the research findings. These are compared and contrasted, subsequently encouraging an analogous evaluation of the existing conditions influencing the walled city. By doing so, informed recommendations that target the long-term protection of walled Nicosia's heritage have also been introduced by the researcher and are presented later in this chapter.

Table 17 demonstrates that relevant mechanisms for the management and protection of Nicosia's heritage are in place, both from a legislative and an institutional perspective. This point is valuable as it shows that appropriate measures have been set to address heritage decline – both tangible and intangible – on either side of the divide. However, the effective implementation of these measures is affected by the ongoing division of the island and the consequent polarisation of the TRNC. This finding identifies conflict as a common denominator and a key influence on the effective application of heritage management systems, subsequently hindering the coordination of the GC and TC Municipalities and NMP teams.

In the same way, the dual administrative authorities managing the city of Nicosia and its historic core, coupled with funding inconsistencies and lack of recognition of the TRNC exacerbate the operational gap between different institutions across the divide. However, while this is the case with the two Municipalities, the interview findings have unveiled a significant difference between formal (NMP and governmental institutions) and informal (NGOs and bi-communal groups) contribution; with the latter approach fostering public engagement and, consequently participation in the protection of the city's cultural heritage. This point highlights that existing approaches, such as the one of the NMP could direct greater emphasis to the public stakeholders of Nicosia in order to encourage the sustainable conservation of walled Nicosia's heritage; an argument echoing the interview findings presented in Chapter 5.

Another essential point rising from the above comparison is the imbalance of *resources* allocated to the North. UNESCO's framework clearly identifies the role of human, intellectual and financial inputs in order to facilitate the heritage management process, while creating an appropriate operational capacity. However, the imbalance of resources available between the two communities, challenges this recommendation both from a financial and an operational

perspective as the limited funding available to the Turkish Municipality of Nicosia (and NMP team) reflects on the effectiveness and coordination of *planning, implementation and monitoring* actions on either side of the divide. This argument is supported by the empirical case study findings, particularly in cases such as the ones of Arab Ahmet, Karamanzade, Kafesli and Yeni Jami that demonstrate signs of poor up-keeping due to limited resource availability.

Besides the inaccessible Turkish Military Zone, one of the strengths of the NMP teams has been the detailed recording of historic buildings throughout the walled city in order to ensure their accurate monitoring and conservation. This measure demonstrates a pro-active attitude towards the authentic protection of Nicosia's tangible heritage, by collecting and analysing data to ensure the efficient operation of existing management systems. However, and in addition to the above, the dual administrative and, consequently operational character of the city, amplified by issues such as *legal* and *institutional* fragmentation obstructs the long-term achievement of *outcomes and outputs* that inform relevant heritage processes in North and South Nicosia. This issue is further emphasised by the lack of ongoing public participation and consultation, and the subsequent gap created between formal administrative bodies and the rest of Nicosia's stakeholders.

This leads to the conclusion that a stronger need for considering the different layers that make-up the tangible and intangible heritage of walled Nicosia is required and that, in addition to the agenda of the NMP, an updated framework tailored to the specific needs of each Municipality could potentially inform and further promote Nicosia's tangible and intangible heritage protection.

The relevance of the conceptual framework and case study findings

Taking into consideration the three categories presented in Table 17 (*Elements, Processes and Results)*, the presented comparison underlines the direct impact of heritage management *processes* on the effectiveness of subsequent *results*; particularly in the form of *outcomes and outputs*. More specifically, and as demonstrated in Chapters 2 and 4, even though existing frameworks (*legal* and *institutional*) for the protection of Nicosia's heritage are in place[185], the fieldwork findings presented in Chapters 4 and 5, clearly indicate that along with *resource* limitations additional factors introduced in the conceptual framework have a visible impact on the heritage management *processes* of walled Nicosia. Based on this argument, this thesis establishes a key distinction between the theoretical and practical parameters affecting Nicosia's heritage and heritage management, with the latter signifying a threshold whereby Nicosia's dualism is materialised through the cultural heritage of the city.

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[185] These include legislation introduced by the Departments of Antiquities and the Departments of Town Planning on either side of the divide (Chapter 2), as well as the ongoing NMP (Chapter 4).

It is important to underline that, the comparative examination of the *results* of the two Municipalities suggests the promising contribution of their initiatives in the short-term and shows that results have indeed been achieved on either side of the divide. Amongst these are the structural and aesthetic regeneration of selected buildings, the identification of areas suffering from lack of maintenance, as well as the informal collaboration between the two NMP teams. However, it can also be concluded that existing *processes* bear limitations in their long-term effectiveness. Socio-demographic characteristics, politically-rooted differences and division have proven to be the main reasons behind this outcome and are ascribed to the current political situation dominating the island.

Tailoring UNESCO's framework for defining heritage management systems to Nicosia's demands

Considering the updated conceptual framework and research findings, this study concludes that UNESCO's (2013: 53) framework for defining heritage management systems needs to be further tailored with allocated, regionally-based components that address the specific requirements of the walled city of Nicosia. Even though Table 17 is deemed as a relevant medium for evaluating ongoing heritage systems, a context-specific framework, shaped to incorporate additional considerations through long-term and short-term objectives would contribute to the existing NMP objectives more effectively[186].

More specifically, aspects such as public participation and consultation, which have been repeatedly reinforced throughout this thesis and by UNESCO (2004) need a stronger consideration of the *processes* of walled Nicosia's heritage management. This consideration could be introduced as early as the *planning* stage of proposed works and could inform the overall development of initiatives. In addition, and as discussed earlier in this chapter, the interview findings have allowed for a distinct differentiation between formal (municipal and governmental bodies) and informal (NGOs and bi-communal groups) heritage protection in Nicosia. This point suggests that existing organisational set-ups (i.e. *Institutional Frameworks*) could tailor their operational structure to allow for these approaches to be monitored and promoted more resourcefully. Relevantly, effective implementation of the different heritage management components presented in Table 17 should allow for a clear distinction between tangible and intangible heritage protection, pinpointing relevant mechanisms and institutions responsible for each process. Considering the lack of coordination between the two Nicosia Municipalities and between the different institutions within each Municipality, this approach should encourage a more carefully tailored methodology that

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[186] Tailoring the specific framework to the micro-level of heritage properties is also recommended by UNESCO (2013: 53), in order to enhance heritage processes and promote a cohesive and context-specific heritage management approach.

addresses walled Nicosia's heritage; while clarifying long-term and short-term objectives more clearly for the benefit and information of the city's stakeholders.

Based on the above, this thesis has identified several critical findings that provide a stronger understanding of the impact of conflict and division on the heritage and heritage management of walled Nicosia, both from a heritage management perspective (Table 17) and from a theoretical and conceptual perspective (Figure 166). Furthermore, although conflict and division in Nicosia might appear as the obvious reason behind the above concerns, this thesis compiles and analyses a significant amount of primary information through a conceptual framework that has not previously been considered. This has allowed the study to identify issues and opportunities attached to the multi-layered historic built environment of Nicosia and to direct attention to specific areas and concerns established as part of the research process. By doing so, the need for a framework tailored to the requirements of the walled city has been demonstrated, seeking to contribute to protection of Nicosia's heritage on either side of the divide.

6.4 Presentation of Hypotheses

From the literature review and the implementation of the conceptual framework and case study findings, two hypotheses have been built up. These are as follows:

Hypothesis 1:

Conflict has an impact on additional themes, or concepts, which in turn influence the urban fabric and heritage of Nicosia's historic core. These are: power relations, memory, authenticity, public participation, adaptability and funding. As a result, consideration of these themes will develop the insight into the management, and decline, of walled Nicosia's heritage after the division of the city.

Hypothesis 2:

Nicosia's historic built environment would respond positively to a stronger bottom-up approach and alternative conservation strategies, such as adaptive re-use as a way of re-ensuring interest, investment and heritage protection within the historic core. The above hypotheses are an integration of data and theory targeting a more systematic examination of the topic of enquiry (Glaser and Strauss 1967); in this case the walled city of Nicosia. However, this thesis maintains that the above hypotheses could also merit cases dealing with heritage management concerns similar to Nicosia.

6.5 Relevance of Findings to the Field and Transferability of Established Conceptual Framework

6.5.1 Relevance of Findings to Nicosia and to Similar Settings

The conceptual framework has provided the opportunity to assemble a selection of themes that are relevant to the case study of Nicosia. In doing so, a clearer understanding of the impact of conflict and division on the city has been established, as well as weaknesses and opportunities associated with current heritage management approaches. Similarly, the empirical findings have furthered insight into the social make-up of the walled city and the effect this has on its different stakeholders[187]. By taking into consideration the themes presented in the conceptual framework, this PhD study aims to benefit the historic core of Nicosia and its stakeholders in two different ways:

i. By helping address current issues associated with its heritage and heritage management.
ii. By suggesting approaches that encourage the return of social interest and investment back into the historic core.

Transferability to associated settings

In addition to the case study of Nicosia, the findings of this study aim to contribute to the safeguarding of heritage of similar settings that deal, or have dealt, with decline due to conflict and division. For this reason, even though this framework was created using a context-specific paradigm, this thesis maintains that its applicability and contribution spans beyond the case of Nicosia. More specifically, the establishment of a conceptual framework which contributes to a clearer understanding of the reasons behind heritage decline, can further existing heritage management approaches by helping to expose and address ongoing issues that might have otherwise been overlooked. Thus, the themes presented in the initial framework of this thesis can be applied to associated settings, such as the previously discussed example of Jerusalem. By doing so, context-specific frameworks, applicable to relevant cases can be established.

6.6 Contribution of Thesis and Target Stakeholders that will Benefit from this Work

This thesis has addressed a topic and case study which had been largely unexplored. No existing literature or PhD thesis was found that deals with Nicosia's heritage and heritage management, while at the same time connecting the topics of power, authenticity and, memory to the context of conflict or division. More specifically, through the examination of the selected theories, this thesis established a theoretical, conceptual and methodological template, which, through the case study of Nicosia, the relevance and applicability of the topics researched can be communicated and interpreted. This approach has encouraged the generation of new knowledge in the field, by

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[187] The target stakeholders that will benefit from this work are discussed in the following section (Section 6.6.2).

contextualising the examined theories and by using walled Nicosia as a first testing point to enhance their applicability and contribution to other associated contexts.

In addition to the above, the literature and examples researched and analysed merge principles and ideas that could potentially further knowledge in the areas of urban regeneration and heritage management in divided cities; while shedding light on the issues behind the loss and destruction of historic urban environments like that of walled Nicosia. For this reason, the theoretical, conceptual and methodological frameworks provided can aid the discipline and relevant practitioners in evaluating contested heritage management decisions more carefully; by considering the defined physical, social, political and, administrative consequences, and whether there is sufficient operational knowledge, capacity and expertise to deliver their targeted objectives more effectively.

6.6.1 Summary of Contribution to Knowledge

In summary, the contribution of this thesis can be broken down into four areas which include, the contribution of the thesis based on the unique topic of the research. This contribution includes, first addressing a case study that has been largely unexplored, as well as filling a gap in knowledge concerning the information available on the heritage and heritage management of the walled city of Nicosia after its division. The second contribution is claimed in the methodological approach of this PhD study, including the unique empirical insights and observations of the researcher; as well as the selection of interview participants that have significantly added to the depth and breadth of knowledge and information about the impact of conflict and division on the historic core of Nicosia. The third contribution is based on the creation of a context specific conceptual framework that has guided the case study approach, while offering a stronger understanding of the theoretical considerations associated with walled Nicosia and their practical implications. Lastly, the fourth contribution is based on the broader impact of this thesis on relevant cases and international frameworks, demonstrating how the findings deriving from the selected case study can further knowledge within a multidisciplinary spectrum of work. The key stakeholders that will benefit from this work are outlined in Section 6.6.3.

The following section offers a more detailed breakdown of the significance and contribution of this thesis both to the case study of walled Nicosia as well as to relevant international cases.

6.6.2 Detailed Breakdown of Contribution to Knowledge and Statement of Originality

This PhD study built a body of work relevant to the fields of heritage management, conservation, architecture and conflict, sociology, anthropology, urban and historical studies. The following section outlines the contributions of this thesis to knowledge.

1. **Contribution based on the unique topic of the research:**

a) This study presents a comprehensive and extensive discussion on the heritage of walled Nicosia following its division, while examining and analysing the existing efforts of the NMP to address the decay of the walled city.

b) This research responds to an existing gap in literature concerning the research and information available on walled Nicosia's heritage and heritage management. This has allowed for the generation of new knowledge concerning the walled city, by providing an in-depth examination of the ongoing issues influencing walled Nicosia.

c) A further contribution of this PhD study includes showing the interrelation of the topics of power, conflict, authenticity and memory in light of the unpublished bi-communal NMP. Therefore, through gathering, evaluating and critically analysing the above themes, this research produces results which will add to the general body of knowledge in the area of heritage management in divided or contested cities. In doing so, this PhD contributes a constructive explanation of some of the issues influencing the protection and conservation of divided urban environments such as that of Nicosia.

d) The fact that the initiation of the Nicosia Master Plan was agreed in 1979, but has not yet been published or made publicly available, illustrates a significant gap and concern that this research seeks to address. This is particularly the case due to the effect it has had on public awareness and participation from both sites of the divide. Accordingly, a further contribution of this thesis includes the examination and publication of a substantial amount of information from the NMP, shedding light on some of the initiatives of this bi-communal enterprise (see Appendix I). As a result, by investigating and critically analysing a number of the NMP initiatives using the established conceptual framework, this thesis furthers knowledge on the heritage and heritage management of Nicosia.

e) This thesis contributed to existing knowledge and research by building on Doratli *et al.*'s (2004) SWOT analysis for the north part of the walled city of Nicosia and by developing this thirteen-year-old assessment to include the whole part of the walled city. By doing so, a stronger and more inclusive understanding of the existing condition of the historic core is provided, while establishing an informed appraisal of its future threats and opportunities in order to encourage its effective heritage protection in the long term.

2. **The contribution to knowledge based on the research process:**

a) The methodology employed during this study has allowed for the collection of a detailed and descriptive body of empirical work that has been interpreted based on the unique perspective of the researcher.

b) The methodological approach has enabled the collection of a broad body of data from different sources, which have been brought together to offer novel insight into the heritage and heritage management of walled Nicosia in the context of conflict and division.

c) No other PhD research has combined empirical research and personal observations to specifically examine the historic built environment of Nicosia after its division using a context-specific conceptual framework. This approach has enabled the first-hand interaction and interpretation of the researcher with the different primary sources of information, as well as with the walled city. In doing so, the unique and personal experiences of the researcher, along with the conceptual framework and knowledge obtained from the literature review have strengthened the understanding of the walled city and illustrated the significance of the field work findings in order to contribute to divided Nicosia's heritage protection.

3. **Contribution of thesis based on the conceptual framework:**

a) This thesis establishes a context-specific conceptual framework that contributes to the data collection and analysis of walled Nicosia; which in turn reveals significant findings about the impact of conflict and division on the historic core of the city. This is relevant not only to the fields of architecture, but also to the fields of heritage management, sociology and anthropology.

b) The conceptual framework developed in this thesis has encouraged a stronger theoretical comprehension of the themes of heritage, heritage management, power, memory and authenticity within the built environment discourse. In doing so, a gap in knowledge concerning practical considerations and their manifestation on the built environment of walled Nicosia have been established, subsequently contributing to the protection of the city's cultural inheritance.

c) While existing theses (see Bakshi 2009, Papadakis 1993) examine the social impact of memory after the 1974 conflict, the topic of heritage, both tangible and intangible, in light of the concepts of power, memory and authenticity was largely unexplored. For this reason, the amalgamation of the above themes in a conceptual framework has strengthened the focus of this PhD study, and has encouraged the collection and critical examination of a diverse body of primary information based on the unique empirical perspective of the researcher.

4. **The broader contribution of this thesis:**

a) In addition to the contribution to Nicosia and Cyprus, the focus of this thesis on heritage management in divided cities is also supported by interdisciplinary research that includes the fields of heritage, conservation, architecture and conflict, sociology, anthropology, urban and historical studies. Accordingly, a contribution of this thesis is the advancement of knowledge

through the examination and interrelation of existing theories and research, in order to demonstrate their relevance to the topics of heritage management in divided cities.

b) This PhD thesis employed UNESCO's (2013) framework for defining heritage management systems in order to establish its relevance and applicability to the case study of walled Nicosia. As a result, a further contribution of this study is the development of the specific framework to respond to the micro-scale of walled Nicosia, while providing a comparative evaluation of the city's heritage management processes on either side of the divide. By doing so, this thesis has demonstrated how UNESCO's framework can provide valuable insights to existing heritage management systems, subsequently allowing them to develop to meet the requirements of each case.

c) Lastly, this PhD thesis makes a contribution to the academic discussion on the topic of heritage management in divided contexts, by providing a valuable assessment of the impact and implications selective treatment, both intentional and unintentional, can have on the future of historic urban environments and contested heritage.

6.6.3 Stakeholders that will Benefit from this Research

By taking into consideration the findings from Nicosia, and the established conceptual framework, this body of work seeks to benefit several actors and organisations in Nicosia and Cyprus. More specifically, the stakeholders that will benefit from this work are as follows:

- **The citizens of Nicosia and Cyprus:** The field work studies and interviews from Nicosia, accompanied by existing theory and research have demonstrated that the public is continuously confronted by the ongoing division of Nicosia. Limited familiarity and interaction with the communities on the opposite side of the divide as well as with the NMP initiatives has also been established. This issue has consequently resulted to their selective knowledge about the tangible and intangible heritage of Nicosia. As a result, by exposing issues such as selectiveness, the impact of memory on public and individual perception, and the need for a stronger bottom up approach, the citizens of Nicosia will have a stronger involvement with the heritage and heritage management of the historic core. In doing so, they will feel empowered to engage more actively with the walled city and potentially establish a healthier interaction with the communities on either side of the divide.

- **Shop and Property Owners:** The interviews and research on walled Nicosia has demonstrated that shop and property owners had limited input in the initiatives of the NMP, as well as in the overall regeneration of the city. As a result, by highlighting the consequences of this issue on the historic core of Nicosia, and by introducing a framework that seeks to contribute to a stronger understanding of the heritage and heritage management of the walled city, shop and

property owners will also benefit from this body of work. This will be established by the strengthening of local and tourist interest for Nicosia's walled city, creating opportunities for private investment and economic growth.

- **Government authorities, the Municipality of Nicosia and the NMP team:** The conceptual framework developed in this thesis aims at pointing out issues influencing the heritage and heritage management of Nicosia. In addition, the field work data offers additional insights about the impact of conflict and division on the walled city. Some of these include the impact of unstable power relations (i.e. economic, administrative, governmental) on the heritage of Nicosia, as well as the need for a stronger bottom up approach in order to protect the heritage of the city. For this reason, this thesis maintains that the information presented in this body of work will benefit the different bodies and organisations working for the heritage protection of Nicosia, by providing additional information on current issues that compromise tangible and intangible heritage on either side of the divide.

- **NGO's:** The information obtained by the NGOs was vital in providing a stronger understanding of their cause, the ways they deal with issues associated with conflict and division and their approach to heritage protection in Cyprus. In addition, their significance to the wider heritage management of Nicosia has been raised. As a result, by examining the work and establishments of selected NGOs, this thesis seeks to promote engagement with associated initiatives and strengthen their community-focused enterprises. In doing so, stronger public engagement can potentially support the management and protection of Nicosia's, and Cyprus' tangible and intangible heritage more effectively in the long-term.

- **Tourists:** The establishment of a heritage product (in this case walled Nicosia) that is inclusive and protected from ethnic and political bias will benefit the tourist population, by offering a more authentic experience of the history of the city. By doing so, sustainable tourism[188] will be encouraged, while strengthening national and international interest on the heritage of walled Nicosia. Subsequently, the increased availability of resources that will allow the two Nicosia Municipalities to develop a balanced and inclusive framework for the city's heritage management.

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[188] According to the World Tourism Organisation (WTO), sustainable tourism refers to tourism that "meets the needs of the present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunity for the future. It is envisaged as leading to management of all resources in such a way that economic, social, and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity, and life support systems" (World Tourism Organisation 1998: 19; cited in UNESCO 2009: 9).

6.6.4 Recommendations and Target Stakeholders

This research set out the examination of the case study of walled Nicosia's heritage and heritage management, through the development of a context-specific conceptual framework that would further understanding on the impact of conflict and division on the tangible and intangible heritage of the city. The field-studies and interview findings, informed by the conceptual framework and relevant international heritage management guidelines have advised the following set of recommendations that seek to contribute to existing heritage processes, address issues associated to selective heritage protection and benefit the stakeholders of the walled city of Nicosia.

These are as follows:

Recommendation 1: Strengthen the connections between the North and South parts of the walled city through the creation of more crossings. This includes the (re)printing of maps that recognise and represent the city of Nicosia as a whole.

The field work findings have demonstrated that areas close to the buffer zone boundary suffer from an accelerated pace of decay. Even though several buildings lining the south part of the buffer zone have been restored, either through the use of façadism or by simply reinstating their structural integrity, public investment along these areas continues to be slow. However, in cases like the one of Ledra-Lokmaci street, where the crossing between the North and South currently exists, a significant amount of private investment and public interest has been demonstrated. This approach would help with issues such as heritage invisibility, selective memory and authenticity and is expected to address the interruption of vertical (East – West) spatial patterns within the walled city; an issue established through the analysis of the case study findings in Chapter 4 (Section 4.3).

Stakeholders that would benefit from this:

1. The residents of declining areas such as the one of Arab Ahmet, Karamanzade and Yeni Jami are expected to benefit from this approach, as it would bring life back to their neighbourhoods and encourage their maintenance and regeneration; either through the occupancy and subsequent restoration of private residences, or through the increase of investment.

2. Shop and property owners along the areas addressed, as their businesses are expected to profit from the creation of new crossings and their properties to increase in value.

3. The Municipalities of Nicosia and the NMP team, as the financial boost and anticipated public interest and investment would contribute to the up-keeping and consequent heritage protection of areas along the buffer zone. In addition, this approach could

potentially address the financial imbalance between the two Municipalities, subsequently encouraging the stabilisation of power relations on either side of the divide.

4. Cultural tourism (both national and international) will gain from this approach, as a stronger engagement with, and a more inclusive experience of the walled city and its multi-layered history will be achieved.

Recommendation 2: Strengthen education on the value of Nicosia's tangible and intangible heritage on either side of the divide. This includes raising awareness about the NMP and its wider objectives and focusing on primary and secondary education in Cyprus, in order to address selective memories and subjective authenticity through the use of history.

Examination of existing theories and research, accompanied by the interview findings has led to the conclusion that members of the public have limited knowledge about the bi-communal efforts of the NMP. This consequence has encouraged the lack of public engagement with the heritage management procedures of the walled city. Moreover, study of history books used for primary and secondary education, along with the ongoing division and lack of interaction dominating Cyprus - and in this case Nicosia - highlights the nurturing of biased ideologies about the community across the divide and fosters perceptions of 'otherness' that reflect on the management and perception of Nicosia's historic core. Encouraging a more inclusive and objective education is therefore expected to address the above concerns and encourage the strengthening of bi-communal relationships and non-selective heritage protection. This includes a stronger involvement of NGOs and bi-communal groups in educating the local communities of Nicosia by working closer with governmental organisations.

Stakeholders that would benefit from this:

1. Governmental and non-governmental organisations are expected to benefit, as strengthening public knowledge about current regeneration approaches and the significance of walled Nicosia's heritage will allow a stronger bottom-up contribution and a more sustainable collaboration between formal and informal actors.

2. Local residents of Nicosia, as well as the wider Cypriot population, as they will have the opportunity to address ethnic and political bias through education, while gaining a stronger knowledge and appreciation of the cultural and historical significance of Nicosia's historic core. Subsequently, the values associated with walled Nicosia's heritage will be understood and appreciated, which will also encourage local stakeholders to protect their individual properties and become active participants in the long-term heritage protection of the city.

Recommendation 3: Strengthen governmental and non-governmental collaboration to ensure the protection of Nicosia's tangible and intangible heritage.

As established from the interview findings, there is a clear distinction between the formal, top-down approaches of the NMP and the informal, bottom-up approaches of the NGOs. Despite the fact that this finding demonstrates the diversity of strategies and organisations concerned with the tangible and intangible heritage of Nicosia, it also highlights an ongoing lack of collaboration and coordination due to the political differences dominating the island. This issue reflects on public perception and engagement with heritage processes in Nicosia, and on the ways collective memory and heritage authenticity are interpreted and disseminated by the different organisations. As a result, a closer relationship between formal and informal institutional frameworks is expected to strengthen the management and protection of Nicosia's tangible and intangible heritage at different levels and perspectives. Heritage in this case can be employed as a medium for negotiating conflict and strengthening intercommunal interaction between formal (governmental) and informal (NGO) initiatives.

Stakeholders that would benefit from this:

1. Governmental and non-governmental organisations, as a stronger engagement with, and between the different institutions will strengthen the administrative and operational processes for the heritage management of the walled city. This will also balance power relations between the GC and TC Municipalities and NGOs and foster a more inclusive heritage protection through the stabilisation of top-down and bottom-up relationships.

2. Local residents of Nicosia, as well as the wider Cypriot population on both sides of the divide, by providing them the opportunity to engage with governmental and non-governmental institutions respectively. By doing so, stronger public input and awareness of the significance of Nicosia's historic core will add to the heritage management processes and results, thus addressing issues such as selective memory, subjective authenticity and power imbalance between governmental institutions and the rest of Nicosia's stakeholders.

Recommendation 4: Use the lessons learned from the areas examined in this thesis to inform the creation of area, or neighbourhood-specific heritage management frameworks that address their short-term and long-term protection.

The research findings have unveiled several issues influencing the effective protection of several areas within the walls; particularly along the edges and the buffer zone boundary. These include the interruption of vertical (East – West) and horizontal (North – South) spatial patterns, heritage

invisibility, the impact of low income tenants and lack of up-keeping. Subsequently, by taking into account the specific characteristics of problematic areas within the historic core, a more thorough and informed heritage protection will be encouraged.

Stakeholders that would benefit from this:
1. Local residents will benefit by gaining a stronger understanding and appreciation of the specific requirements of their neighbourhoods and through a more informed rehabilitation process by the Nicosia Municipalities and the NMP teams. Moreover, the specific needs and requirements of their neighbourhoods will be more effectively addressed, thus allowing them to engage more actively with their areas.
2. The NMP teams and Nicosia Municipalities on either side of the divide, by establishing a more effective and area-specific heritage protection process. This will encourage the support of short-term initiatives such as the use of façadism through the promotion of public investment and the subsequent continuation of heritage protection by the public in the long-term.

Recommendation 5: Consider adaptive re-use as a conservation strategy in areas that suffer from lack of up-keeping and invisibility. This includes neighbourhoods already addressed by the NMP that have not yet drawn adequate public interest and private investment.

As discussed earlier in this thesis, relevant international recommendations and the current objectives of the NMP consider adaptability as viable approach for ensuring the re-use and continuity of heritage through additional means of interpretation and presentation[189]. This point is supported by the case study and interview findings that have identified the potential of adaptive re-use as a means of increasing interest and investment back to declining areas of heritage value. Even though the proposed conservation strategy needs to be carefully monitored to avoid the loss of heritage authenticity, potential benefits associated with its application have been identified.

Stakeholders that will benefit from this:
1. The GC and TC Nicosia Municipalities and NMP teams, as this will foster a wider diversity of activities throughout the historic core, that will subsequently boost the economic value of

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[189] Similarly, Chapter 2 demonstrates that, international frameworks and guidelines have gradually acknowledged the concept of adaptability as a potentially promising conservation approach (ICOMOS 2008:4). Similarly, in Chapter 4, the second Phase of the NMP (*New Vision for the Core of Nicosia*) (Nicosia Master Plan 2004b: 16) acknowledges the adaptation of damaged buildings to new uses as a possibility for encouraging economic development, private investment and heritage conservation. However, this possibility is only visible in selected areas and could also be promote in neighbourhoods that suffer from lack of up-keeping and investment.

businesses and properties. This is expected to address issues associated to heritage prioritisation and invisibility, the economic imbalance on either side of the divide and the lack of up-keeping that is currently more prominent in the North.

2. Property owners will benefit from the anticipated rise of property values and the subsequent potential of private investment. These will also increase resource availability and encourage the restoration and maintenance of declining structures.

3. Local residents through the improvement of the aesthetic appearance of the walled city, the potential rise of social, commercial and entertainment activities and the consequent increase in employment opportunities.

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter brought together the findings from the literature review and case study analysis, discussing the role and relevance of the conceptual framework vis-à-vis the impact of conflict and division on the heritage of walled Nicosia. A significant contribution of this chapter was the establishment of new insights deriving from the field-work and interview analysis process. This includes the introduction of values associated with the heritage of the walled city in the context of conflict and division. Moreover, the comparative evaluation of the case study findings using UNESCO's (2013) framework for defining heritage management systems, has furthered knowledge on the distinctive requirements of the two Nicosia Municipalities and NMP teams, while strengthening understanding of the specific needs of walled Nicosia's historic core.

An additional contribution of this chapter was the development of the conceptual framework following the empirical findings from the case study analysis. This has allowed for the creation of a more informed framework that incorporates a set of theoretical considerations intended to enhance existing heritage management practices in walled Nicosia. Accordingly, this approach seeks to benefit the heritage of the walled city in the long term, while providing a basis for similar cases dealing with conflict-associated heritage management concerns. For this reason, this chapter discussed the meaning and significance of the research findings to the case study of Nicosia, as well as to the wider field of heritage management in divided cities. Lastly, the contribution to knowledge was outlined by reflecting on the research process, conceptual framework, originality and wider impact of this thesis; followed by a series of informed recommendations that aim to benefit the walled city and its stakeholders.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

This thesis examined the issue of selective heritage management in divided cities; focusing on the main case study of Nicosia's walled city centre in order to establish the impact of conflict and division on its heritage and heritage management. Through this process, both concerns and opportunities relating to the ongoing heritage management approaches applied in Nicosia have been investigated. This has demonstrated how a conceptual understanding of the issues effecting walled Nicosia contribute to a stronger comprehension of practical considerations concerning the city's existing heritage management procedures.

Chapter 7 concludes and summarises the body of work developed during this research. A breakdown of the study's main findings is provided, followed by an overview of the limitations faced during the research process and an outline of potential areas for future research.

7.2 Summary of Thesis and Chapter Breakdown

Chapter 1 presented an overview of the research topic and detailed the aims and objectives of this thesis. The methodological approach was outlined and justification was provided for the different research methods applied, together with their benefits and limitations. The role of the conceptual framework and its significance both to the main case study of this thesis and other relevant international cases was also presented.

Chapter 2 offered a detailed theoretical examination of the topics of heritage and heritage management, outlining their relevance to the scope of this investigation and to the case study of walled Nicosia. This was established through the systematic review of information from a variety of sources, which allowed for the identification and articulation of existing gaps in knowledge on the topic of heritage management in divided cities, and in this case Nicosia. A challenge faced in this chapter was the limited amount of information available on the discipline of heritage management in divided or contested environments both internationally, but also for the case of walled Nicosia. To address this gap, Chapter 2 built on existing theories and research, taking into consideration international conservation guidelines and recommendations, along with historical information and research on the wider Cyprus problem. This allowed for the introduction of selected themes relevant to the case study of walled Nicosia, which were reviewed and interpreted in the subsequent chapter.

Chapter 3 presented a multidisciplinary review of the three key themes of power, memory and authenticity that form the backbone of the conceptual framework, field work data collection and analysis. These three themes were established through a) the examination of existing literature and research, b) site observations, and c) previous and newly developed knowledge on the ethnic

and political differences that dominate the island of Cyprus. A unique contribution of this thesis to the wider literature is the merging of the selected concepts into a framework and the examination of these concepts' impact and relevance to the case of Nicosia in the context of conflict and division. This has allowed for the conceptualisation of existing theories and research, in order to design a relevant framework that would contribute to the field work data collection and analysis; as well as the heritage management of walled Nicosia in the long term. A limitation of this chapter was the lack of breadth of scholarly information on the topics of power, memory and authenticity in the context of Nicosia's heritage and heritage management after conflict. As a result, to demonstrate the impact and significance of the selected concepts to the focus of this research, relevant theories, research and philosophical perspectives were also considered. This approach has resulted in the generation of new knowledge and interpretations of the topics within the built environment discourse; and has enabled the development of a context-specific conceptual framework, which incorporates the themes of heritage, heritage management, conflict, power, memory and authenticity.

Following the literature review and presentation and justification of the conceptual framework, Chapter 4 focused on the main case study of this thesis, Nicosia. This chapter examined the history of the city up until its division, followed by the presentation and analysis of the field work findings. The researcher's interpretation of the empirical data played an important role in this chapter, as these provided unique views on and novel insights into the walled city. Moreover, this chapter investigated the efforts of the NMP in protecting walled Nicosia's heritage, using specific examples to analyse the outcomes of various bi-communal initiatives. The examination of the NMP was useful for two reasons. Firstly, it allowed for a more thorough understanding of the existing heritage management approaches being applied in Nicosia and, secondly, it enabled the researcher's integrated observations and empirical field work findings to be compared and applied to completed NMP projects. Lastly, a comprehensive SWOT analysis on the walled city of Nicosia was introduced, building on the work of Doratli *et al.* (2004). This has enabled the collation of the primary field work data, in order to support knowledge and understanding on the current strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats relevant to the walled city of Nicosia.

Chapter 5 presented the empirical interview data collected from members of the public that live or work in South Nicosia, as well as representatives from the North NMP team, NGOs and other bi-communal groups that work for the benefit of the two communities. Moreover, this chapter illustrated and developed a better understanding of Nicosia's stakeholders' perceptions of the walled city, its heritage and heritage management. The various interview responses provided valuable insights into the ongoing issues that affect the tangible and intangible heritage of Nicosia.

These also aided in understanding the efforts of different governmental and non-governmental organisations in safeguarding the heritage of the city. A limitation of the findings presented in Chapter 5 was the lack of input from the public of North Nicosia, due to language and access restrictions. Nonetheless, the responses received from NGO and North NMP representatives, as well as local residents and shop keepers from the South were significant in unveiling issues that were not established through the literature review and field work studies. These include concerns linked to the impact of conflict and division on collective memory and subjective authenticity; and the social and economic significance of the walled city's functional adaptation to address contemporary demands. In addition, the value of a community-oriented approach in protecting the cultural heritage of Nicosia was highlighted. As a result, a contribution of this chapter was the introduction of new themes that could benefit the heritage and heritage management of walled Nicosia in the long-term.

In Chapter 6 the findings from the literature review and case study of Nicosia were discussed and their impact on the themes presented in the conceptual framework was reviewed. An important contribution of this chapter is the further development of the theories discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, using the case study findings (Chapters 4 and 5) to expand knowledge on walled Nicosia's heritage and management. Part of this process included the elaboration of heritage values specific to the case of Nicosia, as well as the addition of emerging themes to the conceptual framework following the critical analysis of the case study findings. This chapter has brought together the results of this PhD research, theorising and conceptualising their relevance firstly, to the case study of walled Nicosia and secondly, to relevant international cases. As a result, this body of work contributes both to the specific case of walled Nicosia, but also has a universal value by presenting relevant theoretical and methodological strategies that could benefit contested or divided environments dealing with similar heritage management dilemmas.

7.3 Breakdown of Findings

The following section presents a breakdown of the different findings that are derived from the theoretical frameworks presented in Chapters 2 and 3, as well as the conceptual framework and case study examination that followed in Chapters 4, 5 and 6.

7.3.1 Theoretical Framework

The original objective of this research was to examine the role and importance of authenticity on the heritage management of divided cities, using walled Nicosia as its primary case study. However, initial site visits to Nicosia, together with the review of literature on the topics of heritage, heritage management and conflict, indicated the existence of additional themes that influence the historic

built environment of the city from a cultural, political, social and economic perspective. The need for further research on these themes was also highlighted following a historical review of the Cyprus conflict, which illustrated a scarcity of academic contributions to the topic of heritage management and protection of walled Nicosia's historic core after its division.

The theoretical review on the topics of heritage, heritage management, power relations, memory and authenticity has played a central role in the research process by enabling the acquisition of a wide body of knowledge from existing literature and research. This has in turn allowed for existing gaps in knowledge to be exposed. Moreover, the examination of existing theoretical frameworks, along with site observations have supported the creation of a context-specific conceptual framework that brought together the different themes discussed in the literature review. The synthesis of these disparate themes has contributed significantly to the case study analysis, by furthering knowledge on the impact of conflict and division on divided Nicosia's historic core; and on the city's protection on either side of the divide.

7.3.2 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework presented in this thesis has formed the backbone of the case study analysis and discussion of the research findings. In addition, even though this framework aimed to contribute to the heritage management of walled Nicosia, both in the context of conflict and division, but also in the case of reunification; its wider scope is to provide a starting point for comparable cases. More specifically, the conceptual framework that followed the literature review process is broader in nature and could consequently contribute to and benefit the heritage management and protection of relevant international cases.

It must be noted that the conceptual framework developed following the analysis of the field work findings from Nicosia, was intended for the heritage protection of the specific case study. As a result, this PhD thesis demonstrates how the conceptual framework has developed throughout this research, signifying the role of the field work data in this process.

7.3.3 Case Study

The case study of walled Nicosia has contributed significantly to this work, as it has strengthened the direction and validity of this thesis by providing a platform and a testing point for the conceptual framework. In addition, the case study findings have illustrated the various approaches applied to the heritage management and protection of the city, by different stakeholders and organisations. The interviews with the NMP representatives have exposed issues that were not clearly indicated in the available literature (presented in Chapters 2 and 3). These issues include the economic inequality between the North and South, as well as the consequent decline of previously revitalised

areas. Furthermore, the interviews with the NGO and bi-communal group representatives have demonstrated the vital role of a stronger bottom-up approach and community engagement in protecting the intangible heritage of Nicosia. These interviews also highlighted how informal initiatives driven by the public can significantly encourage the protection of the city's cultural inheritance.

The field work findings have uncovered the existence of inconsistencies between the North and South built environments of walled Nicosia, while raising concerns regarding the authentic representation of the buffer zone and the commemoration of conflict. In addition, examination of international frameworks and guidelines in the context of walled Nicosia's heritage management has demonstrated their relevance and applicability to the selected case study, and has encouraged a set of recommendations tailored to the micro-scale of the city and its stakeholders.

Further to the above, the case study findings have contributed to this PhD thesis in several ways; firstly, by encouraging the development of the already established conceptual framework; secondly, by providing original empirical insights from different stakeholders and organisations in Nicosia and; thirdly, by presenting the unique perspective of the researcher, as informed by the theoretical and conceptual frameworks presented earlier in this study.

7.4 Limitations and Areas for Future Research

The following section reflects on the limitations of this body of work and introduces suggestions for further research that have resulted from this study.

7.4.1 Limitations of this Research

One of the main limitations of this PhD research was the lack of breadth of literature available on the heritage and heritage management of walled Nicosia. Similarly, the information on the impact of conflict on the built environment of the city was limited; a concern which complicated the theoretical examination of the historic core. This issue also emphasised the need to fill the existing gap in knowledge after the division of the city.

Moreover, as mentioned previously in this chapter, language restrictions and consequently lack of input from the TC public was a further limitation of this research. In addition, declined and overlooked interview requests by selected organisations and the NMP South restrained the data collection process. Nevertheless, the interview responses from the NMP team North and the NGO and bi-communal group representatives provided an invaluable understanding of the heritage and heritage management of walled Nicosia and contributed to the development of a context-specific conceptual framework that seeks to strengthen existing heritage management processes.

7.4.2 Areas for Future Research

This thesis establishes that conflict influences heritage in a number of different ways. Contextualising the different themes and values associated with heritage in the event of conflict or division is a topic requiring further consideration. This research area has potential to establish some of the reasons for heritage selectiveness and destruction. The implications of these consequences in the event of re-unification could also be assessed.

A further topic for future research is a more detailed examination of the various manifestations of Nicosia's buffer zone, as well as materiality of the boundary, and the way in which this dividing element impacts upon the public's perceptions and engagement with the walled city. More specifically, the wider examination of tangible boundaries in divided or contested urban environments is a topic that could potentially offer a stronger understanding of how communities on each site of the divide perceive conflict, as well as the opposing 'other'[190]. This could subsequently inform heritage management and urban regeneration decisions depending on specific contextual characteristics.

A prominent topic of the field studies was that of façadism (see Chapter 4). Research into the impact of façadism, as well as the role of the façade as a method of concealing declining buildings or sites in war-inflicted or divided urban environments, could strengthen knowledge on the implications of such an approach, both from a social and a from heritage management perspective. Similarly, the idea of restoring façades on the buildings that line walled Nicosia's buffer zone[191] could be examined further, in order to clarify the effect this has on the wider and ongoing development of the city. Lastly, one of the aims of this thesis was to create a set of theoretical ideas and a conceptual model that could contribute to the heritage management of contested or divided cities internationally, and in this case Nicosia. As a result, the potential relevance and applicability of the concepts examined in the first half of this thesis[192] could be researched – or tested – in more detail and developed further using other relevant cases[193].

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[190] The materiality of Nicosia's buffer zone is a relevant example discussed in Chapter 4, that demonstrated how the solid boundary on the TC side is countered by the temporary and easily movable boundary on the GC part of the city.

[191] For example, the case of Dionisou Street, South Nicosia, where only the facades of buildings partly in the buffer zone were restored - or 'beautified' – as opposed to the entire buildings (see Chapter 7, section 7.3).

[192] i.e. power relations, tangible and intangible authenticity and memory.

[193] Relevant cases include Belfast, Beirut, Jerusalem, Mostar, Kosovska Mitrovika and even Berlin.

Glossary

Aesthetic upgrading: the process of visually improving, or enhancing a building or structure (Utaberta *et al.* 2014: 158).

Adaptive re-use: a process that alters a disused building, or item into a new one so it can be used for an alternative purpose. "Sometimes nothing changes but the item's [or building's] use" (Commonwealth Australia 2004: 3). In the evolution of historic cities, this approach "saves energy and maintains a sense of place" (ICOMOS 2016: 18).

Beautification: see *aesthetic upgrading*.

Façadism: the restoration of building facades and/or the approach to redevelopment that involves the preservation of historic facades (Richards 1994: 2). It is perceived as a method of urban conservation, "which enables the retention of familiar historic streetscapes or formal set pieces of urban design" (ibid.).

Structural upgrading: the structural restoration of buildings to ensure an acceptable level of safety and to prevent their collapse (Pilakoutas and Dritsos 2012: 5183). The objective of this approach is to address structural damage and insufficient reinforcement (Russel 2015: 2).

Touristification of heritage: the process of making heritage suitable for tourists, often with the purpose of commodifying the place (Ismail *et al.* 2009: 38; Dahles 2013: 42).

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Appendices

Table of Contents

Appendix I: Nicosia Master Plan Reports

Appendix II includes a significant amount of the Nicosia Master Plan report, obtained from the Nicosia Municipality master plan office. The following information, has not yet been published so extensively neither in English or Greek. Parts of the master plan have been found in Turkish, including a limited amount of drawings, but not the entire documents completed between 1984 and 2004. Moreover, small sections of the Nicosia Master plan can also be found in other publications, but nothing close to the information this PhD thesis has made available.

It is worth mentioning that, even though not a confidential document, but rather a document which should be publicly available and accessible, all the information had to be copied by hand and re-typed over the course of two weeks by the author, as not photocopies or photographs were permitted. Lastly, a signed form of consent to publish all the information which has been obtained by the author from the NMP office has been obtained and is available upon request.

NICOSIA MASTER PLAN – FINAL REPORT
UNDP. UNCHS [Habitat]. Nicosia. Cyprus
July 1984

Nicosia Master Plan (NMP) Team:
Four Greek and Four Turkish Cypriots (planners, civil engineers, architects, geographer and conservator)

pg1:
24th October 1979: 1st meeting between representatives
26th November – 13th December 1979: UNCHS Habitat advisers prepared 1st project (bi-communal Nicosia Master Plan) document in response to the agreement between the two Nicosia mayors.

pg3:
Planning Process and Methodology
The Project is "based on a limited man power input and on the assumption that preference will be given to pragmatic approaches as opposed to data collection and lengthy academic analyses."
The Project has a "purpose for preparing a realistic and implementable plan."
Planning difficulties were faced due to "the local situation". Moreover, "problems relating to the availability of some data and other relevant information, as well as the shortage of time and professional manpower, have proved serious shortcomings in carrying out a variety of studies in greater detail."
"The continuous interaction with the appropriate authorities has been a very important aspect in the planning process." [194]
Working sessions between the two communities (mostly held at Ledra Palace) which are known as "local exchange of views" took place in the preparation of the NMP with three successive stages to follow:
   a) Preparation of the Diagnostic Report on the existing situation (1981)
   b) Preparation of the Preliminary Proposal for the NMP (1982)
   c) Preparation of the Final Proposal for the NMP (1983)

pg4:
Diagnostic Report:
Evaluation and comments, general planning strategy proposed "for the concentration of future development and consolidation of the present urban area that should be adopted as the basis of the preparation of the NMP."

pg5:
Preliminary Report:
-comments and evaluation to the authorities
-reaffirmed the general strategy

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[194] NOTE: Nevertheless, after a recent discussion with Fa couple of Greek Cypriots from the NMP team (May 2014), it was pointed out that meetings with the Turkish Cypriot planners from the NMP are scarce and some of the GC planners have not even been to North Nicosia for a long time (or at all). Each municipality deals with its own projects, individual contractors and different pace towards completion.

-recommendation for the redefinition of smaller areas (Priority Areas) within the envelope

Final Report:
NMP Draft Report completed (May 1983) and submitted in June 1983.

pg6:
1.3.0
The General Principles of the NMP

a) A flexible plan has been prepared, adaptable to changing circumstances, containing policies and proposals capable of addressing the planning problems of Nicosia as a whole as well as problems relating to the existing situation and to different parts of the NMP area under existing circumstances.

b) The Plan is intended as a document initiating a continuous planning process, with provision for revision and updating.

c) Following extensive consultations with the authorities concerned, the Plan has been based on the strategy of containment and limited consolidation of future urban development within the existing urban envelope of Nicosia by focusing on identified Priority Development Areas (PDAs) to accommodate most of the city's expansion.

d) The NMP concerns the further growth of an existing city with people, jobs, houses and physical infrastructure distributed according to a pattern influenced by past and current private activities. Private activities play a major role in the development of Nicosia and the plan envisages that this will continue into the future, with public sector activities providing support in terms of services and various incentives and disincentives.

e) An important aspect of the strategy of consolidation is the need to prohibit any further urban sprawl outside the Development Boundary (DB) and to encourage containment mainly in the PDAs.

Pg. 9&10:
2.0.0
Summary of Major Objectives

The primary objective has been to draw up a general planning framework for orderly future development as a means of improving the living and working conditions of all the inhabitants of Nicosia. To achieve this objective in regard of the future development of Nicosia, the following aims will be pursued:

a) To ensure the orderly development of Nicosia providing for a population of 261 000 by the year 2001.

b) To ensure that future development will be encouraged within the PDAs in order to minimize further uncontrolled scatter.

c) To allocate sufficient and appropriate land, to ensure its effective availability for the development of primary land used and to coordinate the development of infrastructure facilities with new development. Particular attention will be paid to securing a close relationship between homes and jobs.

d) To improve opportunities for low and lower cost housing development and to stimulate favourable conditions for comprehensive housing development.

e) To develop an efficient and flexible transportation system to satisfy the increasing demand for movement and to improve accessibility between the NMP Area and its region and between different parts of the city, with special emphasis on improved pedestrian facilities and public transport.

f) To improve the functional structure of the city and identify, as far as possible, residential districts with a functional and spatial identity served by their local facilities.

g) To facilitate the concentration of new commercial and industrial development in defined location, to encourage existing objectionable manufacturing uses to relocate to appropriate locations, to determine the extent and direction of the Central Business District (CBD) and to relate functionally the local commercial centres to the residential areas.

h) To provide the development of an interlinked network of landscaped areas including the Pedieos river bed, the development of major parks and the establishment of a tree belt around the city within which a variety of leisure facilities will be developed.

i) To pay special attention to the Walled City with a view to halting the deterioration of historic areas and initiating a programme of conservation, rehabilitation and revitalisation.

j) Major emphasis to be placed on the implementation of the Plan in terms of the necessary legislative and administrative machinery, the requisite investments and measures, professional implementation teams, and public accountability and acceptance.

k) In view of the many prevailing uncertainties, the Plan must aim at a high degree of flexibility, be kept under constant review and be frequently updated.

l) To take fully into consideration the prevailing resource constraints, limited funds and, in some instances, skilled manpower, in order to achieve the most cost-effective results.

pg11:

3.0 **Major Constraints**

3.1.0 **Physical Constraints**

3.1.1 Existing empty Building Plots

Empty Building plots represent a large investment of resources in infrastructure and a commitment by local authorities towards the owners which must, at some stage be fulfilled. On the other hand, from a planning point of view, the scattered distribution of this capacity has resulted in urban sprawl rather than orderly and phased urban expansion. In 1981 there were about 24 000 empty building plots distributed throughout the NMP Area. It was estimated that, at a low density of the new housing unit per empty plot, only about 16 000 plots would be built upon the year 2001. The total stock of empty building plots represents capacity for at least 96 000 population.

3.1.2 Land Stock for further Development

In the NMP Area there were also about 3450 ha of land in stock capable of accommodating further development. If only 50% of this land were parcelled in building plots about 15 500 residential plots would be created with minimum capacity (one unit per building plot) for another 62 000 people.

3.1.3 Extending Existing Housing Units

There were in total about 25 000 detached and semi-detached housing units in the NMP Area in 1981, many of which offer possibilities for upward extension. It was estimated that if only 40% of these were extended by one housing unit, by the year 2001, there would be approximately 10 000 units created with total capacity of about 40 000 people.

Summarising the implications for the number of population mentioned above, there is already residential development capacity for about 198 000 additional population, while according to population projections for the NMP Area for the year 2001, the total population increase will be 72 000 bringing the total of the year 2001 to 261 000.

3.1.4 Planning for an Existing City

Existing commitments as regards the distribution of major land uses and infrastructure, such as the alignment of roads, are very difficult to alter, thus affecting the overall planning of the city. Residential development and associated services such as shops and schools have spread following the overall sprawl of the city, rendering functional reorganisation difficult.

3.1.5 <u>Water Supply</u>
- public water available is below desired levels
- problems expected within the 1st decade of the planning period

3.1.6 <u>Nicosia International Airport</u>
The opening of the N.I.A. will necessitate the introduction of restrictions on building heights, residential density and land use in the vicinity.

3.1.7 <u>Climate</u>
- dry Mediterranean climate, meaning there will be need for increased provision of the green NMP areas
- land is very expensive and difficult to secure for green open space in the appropriate locations, size and shape
- availability of water is limited for green areas

pg13:
3.2.0 **Economic and Social Constraints**
3.2.1 <u>Land Values</u>
- within the Nicosia urban area high land values are a very important constraint

3.2.2 <u>Land Tenure System</u>
Prevailing land tenure pattern is characterised by the existence of a multitude of owners with small sized properties which "make development piecemeal rather than comprehensive and consolidated." This also results in conflicts between individual land owners' interests.

3.2.3 <u>Social Values</u>
The aspirations of the people of Nicosia, deriving from their cultural and social background, result in a strong preference for individually-built detached or semi-detached dwellings.

3.2.4 <u>Institutional Problems</u>
The lack of appropriate institutions undertaking land developing projects and provision of housing finance is a further important constraint in parts of the NMP Area.

3.2.5 <u>Pressure Groups</u>
Local pressure group opinion and activities often constrain many planning and implementation initiatives, e.g. difficulties in introducing laws and regulations, taxation measures, as well as financial provisions for plan-implementation projects and public sector land acquisition.

3.2.6 <u>Public Information</u>
Insufficient awareness and understanding by the public of the purpose and the benefits of physical planning and of coordinated physical development[195] tend to make the acceptance and implementation of the plans difficult.

pg14:
3.3.0 **Legal and Administrative Constraints**
3.3.1 <u>Constitutional Matters</u>
The constitutional rights of individuals regarding the possession and enjoyment of property are such that payment of compensation, for certain restrictions or limitations imposed on such

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[195] Note: Physical Development Plans (PDAs) always include two versions of the NMP; one with the buffer zone and one without it

property, may be necessary when material decrease in the property's economic value is demonstrated. This constitutes a serious planning constraint.

3.3.2 Legislative Matters

The lack of a fully operative town and country planning legislation, the inadequacy of the existing Streets and Buildings Regulation Law and the relevant Regulations, the existence of many fragmented authorities dealing with building and development matters and the lack of adequate financial resources for plan-implementation pose serious constraints. However, the recent decisions to put into operation a Town and Country Planning Law provide an opportunity for overcoming some of the above constraints.

3.3.3 Manpower

The limited number of professionals and in some instances, insufficient experience in handling complex issues of planning and implementation, plus the limited finds available for staffing projects are additional constraints.

3.4.0 The Buffer Zone

Special constraints emerge from the present political situation in Cyprus and particularly in planning for a divided city, due to the existence of the "buffer zone" which affects the overall planning development of Nicosia.

pg15:

4.0 **General Planning Strategy**

Introduction

"The general strategy of the NMP aims to guide the development of Nicosia towards a higher degree of urban consolidation, to contain its future growth within the existing envelope of development and to promote, therefore, a rational use of available resources. A major objective in this context is to encourage, over the years, a consolidated pattern of residential development in areas where there is abundant building land already provided with the necessary technical infrastructure. Instrumental to this strategy is the identification of Priority Development Areas (PDAs) to act as the focus of the allocation of the future growth."

pg16:

FDAs[196] – 1 have been differentiated from the ordinary FDAs to serve better a number of objectives closely related to the NMP strategy. FDAs-1 are areas already highly developed and adjacent to the Nicosia Water boundary [...]

The general planning strategy of the NMP, as outlined above and in Fig. 4, incorporates the principle of grading of development areas, corresponding to different degrees of priority given to development, as well as the principle of time over which the development of these areas is encouraged. The PDAs play the key role in the NMP strategy for consolidation and higher priority is given to them for easier development [...].

pg17:

Policy in the PDAs:

   a) Higher residential densities are proposed (relative to the FDAs)
   b) Residential development and land parcellation will be encouraged in order to accommodate most of the future growth
   c) Public investment will be channelled for the provision of services necessary to support the anticipated development

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[196] Future Development Areas

d) The development of employment areas will be encouraged where appropriate, to achieve good relationship between homes

pg20:
Major Components of the Structure Plan:
[...] h) The Walled City:
The historic centre of Nicosia is an outstanding example of international architectural heritage. It is the heart of the city and it is irreplaceable; in short, it constitutes the most precious part of the NMP Area. Without it, Nicosia would lose its identity and become an ordinary city. It is therefore of immense importance, not only to Nicosia but also to the international community, that the Walled City is protected, enhanced and revitalised in order to assure its proper role as an integral part of the city. It is the intention of the NMP to adopt appropriate policies and take all necessary measures to achieve this objective.

5.0 **Physical Development Plan**
pg23:
5.3.3 Primary Routes and the "Buffer Zone"
The "buffer zone" constitutes a physical barrier for the full implementation of the proposed major road network, and in particular, for the development of the three ring roads. It is therefore of paramount importance that the authorities concerned should take all necessary measures to safeguard the proposed routes, so that their full implementation will be effected at such time when circumstances will permit.

pg35:
5.8.0 **Physical Development Plan: Walled City**
5.8.1 Background
The historic, cultural and architectural value of the Walled City of Nicosia justifies the claim that this area, with its surrounding ensemble of the Venetian Walls, the moat and the bastions, should be considered as a rare specimen of international heritage. Within the circular city, there are some exceptional and several important, well preserved religious buildings and old houses. The irregular, narrow streets are defined by characteristic domestic architecture, of mainly late 19th and early 20th century.
As it happens in countries with an important archaeological heritage, attention was focused initially on the old monuments, or antiquities and it was not realised until the early '70s that there was a definite need for urgent action to be taken to protect the more recent architectural heritage, particularly in the urban areas. Meanwhile, new development in the Walled City during the latter half of this century has been accelerating in the process of modification, causing changes in the physical and social-economic structure of the historic area. The widening of streets and the intrusion of cars, the demolishing of old houses and their replacement by taller buildings of higher densities, the reduction of greenery and open space and the establishment of several non-conforming uses, are only few of such changes contributing to the degrading of the quality of life and having an indisputable influence on the environment in general.
The situation is aggravated further with the existence of the "buffer zone". This central strip, which is around 10% of the total area of the Walled City, is completely inaccessible and it is suffering from an accelerated deterioration process.

5.8.2 Planning Approach

In order to tackle effectively the wide range of issues and problems associated with the development of the Walled City in the General Planning context of the NMP, and particularly, into the life of contemporary society. This planning approach is otherwise known as <u>integrated conservation</u>, which is a combination of the following:

a) Land use planning,
b) Traffic and Transportation Planning,
c) Protection, Restoration, Rehabilitation and Revitalisation of the architectural heritage and,
d) Necessary legal, socio-economic, administrative and technical instruments for effective implementation.

<u>pg36:</u>
5.8.3 <u>General Development Framework</u>
a) <u>Land Use:</u>
The Physical Development Plan for the Walled City (Figs 19, 20) shows the distribution of the proposed main land uses and the proposed traffic circulation system. Together with the policies and proposals presented in section 6.12 and in other relevant sections in this Report, it constitutes the envisaged framework for development control and the basis for further detailed studies and area schemes. The Plan provides for an appropriate distribution of land uses, compatible with the scale and character of the historic environment. <u>Residential</u> use will still occupy most land in the future, and although it is not envisaged that there will be any major changes in the present level of population living in the Walled City, it is believed that, with the implementation of rehabilitation and improvement schemes, there will be an increasing demand for accommodation by medium-income families, especially among the younger to medium age groups.

<u>Commercial</u> activities and certain types of <u>workshops</u> are among the traditional uses of the Walled City and are important for its continued vitality, attractiveness and well-being. However, particular attention should be paid so that these uses are confined to the designated locations and are not allowed to infiltrate indiscriminately in the residential areas.

Existing <u>green areas</u> will be protected and preservation orders will be issued for large trees, particularly for the fully-grown palm trees which have a high visual quality, constituting an important feature in the skyline of the Walled City. Open Space provision with the city will be increased while the potential of the <u>moat</u> will be exploited with appropriate development for leisure and recreational opportunities (see par. 6.10.3B).

The <u>cultural areas</u> shown in the Plan are proposed in areas where cultural activity is already taking place. These will be improved and enriched with a variety of facilities so that they become focal points with city-wide appeal and great attractions.

The proposals for the development of the "buffer zone" outlined in par. 6.123C, are essential both for the functional integration of the Walled City and for its revitalisation. As additional survey information becomes available and after further discussion with the authorities, these could be reassessed.

b) <u>Traffic Circulation</u>
The Principles for a comprehensive traffic circulation system are explained in par.6.12.3D. These include the establishment of a system of <u>loops</u> for the movement of vehicular traffic, the creation of <u>pedestrian areas</u>, the adoption of appropriate <u>car parking policy</u> and the introduction of a <u>special public transport service</u>. Proposals for traffic circulation are intented to eliminate through traffic, to canalise vehicular movement on specific routes, and generally, to reduce the impact of cars on the historic environment and to create conditions favouring pedestrian movement.

c) Building and Design Guidelines

A set of building and design guidelines, as outlined in par.6.12.3F, should be incorporated in a manual to be prepared by the Planning Authority in order to assist architects and designers in their work. NMP proposals for building height and plot coverage are given in section 6.13.

pg131:

6.12.0 **Urban Conservation**

The Walled City and the old village cores represent coherent entities clearly identified by their traditional character and architectural value. Moreover, there are isolated buildings and groups of neoclassic and colonial buildings located outside the walls, representing architectural tendencies of specific historic periods. A characteristic example of such architecture is Gladstone Street, in the south part of the city centre. This important architectural heritage must be safeguarded aiming at its conservation, rehabilitation and enhancement.

The high historic, cultural and architectural qualities of the Walled City itself reflecting an intermingling of European and oriental cultures should be considered as an outstanding example of international heritage. The architectural heritage should no longer be regarded as a superfluous embellishment but should be recognised as a cultural and economic asset to be integrated in the overall planning of Nicosia, for the benefit of the community.

6.12.1 Main Issues

a) There is lack of legal, economic, administrative and technical instruments needed for the establishment and implementation of effective and integrated conservation and revitalisation policies.

b) The locational, structural and functional obsolescence of properties, coupled with the lack of suitable instruments and measures addressing the problems of decay, lead to the demolition of buildings with architectural and environmental value and to their development at higher densities. Also, the lack of technical and legal means, together with the limited public awareness of importance of the architectural heritage, result in clumsy modifications and unsuitable renovations of old buildings.

c) There is no policy for the protection of neoclassic and colonial architecture outside the walls.

d) In the Walled City there is a mixture of incompatible land uses resulting in serious detriment effects.

e) The present high densities, resulting from high plot coverage and building height, constantly reduce the existing green and open areas thus creating serious negative effects on the environmental and visual qualities of the historic areas.

pg132:

f) The accelerated process of deterioration of the city walls, historic buildings and old houses and the existence of many buildings in poor structural and hygienic conditions.

g) The low level of rents discourages regular maintenance and repair of buildings by the owners.

h) Uncontrolled traffic and parking of cars create difficulties for the movement of pedestrians and contribute further towards the deterioration of the quality of life.

i) The architectural design of new buildings is mostly incompatible with the characteristic urban fabric of the Walled City and the old village cores.

6.12.12 Major Objectives

a) To identify an appropriate framework of legal, fiscal, financial and administrative instruments in order to tackle the problems emerging, or could emerge, from the development, conservation and revitalisation of the historic areas, parts of them, or single buildings.
b) To integrate the Walled City and old village cores into the life of contemporary society and to improve the living and working conditions of the people in these areas.
c) To ensure a rational distribution of land uses in these areas compatible with the scale and character of the historic quarters.
d) To ensure the preservation of green areas and to provide additional open spaces, especially within the walls.
e) To improve traffic conditions and to facilitate the movement of pedestrians.
f) To identify appropriate and compatible uses of common interest to both communities, for the future development of the "buffer zone" when such development becomes feasible by local circumstances.

6.12.3 Policies and Procedures
The Walled City, the old village cores, the different groups of neoclassic and colonial buildings, as well as isolated buildings and sites of important architectural, historic, archaeological or national value,, should come under spatial planning and building control. Buildings and areas should be classified according to their architectural, historic and environmental merit and suitable action should be taken not only for their protection but also for their rehabilitation, revitalisation and enhancement.

pg133:
In the historic areas, land uses should be compatible with the old surroundings, while renovations, restorations and new buildings should be designed so that they respect their scale and character. Vehicular traffic should be reduced as far as possible and conditions favouring pedestrian movement should be created (figures 19, 20).
Following the second ICP comments and recommendations, further refinements and some new preliminary proposals have been developed on the basis of which the policies put forwards in this section have been formulated. Further, detailed studies and the preparation of area schemes will be undertaken in the second phase of the NMP.

6.12.3A Inventory of Architectural Heritage
A comprehensive record should be compiled and maintained of all sites, monuments, buildings or groups of buildings of architectural or historic interest.

6.12.3B Conservation, Rehabilitation and Improvement
An appropriate framework of legal, administrative and technical instruments should be established to support the implementation of an effective and realistic conservation, rehabilitation and revitalisation programme.

pg134:
6.12.3C Land Use Distribution in the Walled City
The distribution of the different land uses in the Walled City such as residential, commercial, workshops, cultural, educational etc. should be related to the needs of contemporary life and contribute to the improvement of living and working conditions, integrating the policy of conservation with revitalisation, rehabilitation and redevelopment.

The distribution of the land uses in the Walled City is shown in the Physical Development Plan (Figures 19,20).

6.12.3D <u>Traffic Circulation in the Walled City</u>
A comprehensive traffic circulation scheme should be introduced in accordance with the scale and character of the historic area.

6.12.3E <u>Old Village Cores</u>
The character, the scale and the whole composition of the historic areas in the old villages should be protected by appropriate urban design and strict development control.

6.12.3F <u>Streetscape, Environment and Composition</u>
All development in the Walled City, the old village cores and other conservation areas should be in harmony with the character and scale of the surrounding environment.

6.13
Plot Ratio, Residential Density and Building Height
<u>The Walled City</u>
The maximum allowable building height will vary from one to four storeys as shown in the proposed building height zones in Fig. 38. Three and four storeys should be allowed mainly in commercial and mixed use areas. In the residential parts of the Walled City, the prevailing height should not exceed two storeys. Maximum plot coverage should generally be limited to 70%. In elaborating the proposed system of control, due consideration should be given to the redevelopment of small plots and plots with existing back gardens, to streetscape, etc., so that appropriate provisions are made for variations and adjustments, as provided in par.6.13.4C.

COMMENTS PRESENTED BY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE TURKISH CYPRIOT COMMUNITY

APPRECIATION
The Nicosia Master Plan draft report presented to the joint meeting at Ledra Palace in June 1983 is a reflection of high professional quality and an outcome of a comprehensive study. The work carried out by the professionals of both communities and foreign experts under the guidance of the project director Mr. L. Pota and assistance provided by UNDP and HABITAT is highly appreciated
PRESENT NEEDS AND POSSIBLE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT
The report considers the existing realities as well as the possible future development. In this sense it has become possible to cope with the problems regarding the present situation on both sides, as well as, depending on the political achievements, linkage in the transportation pattern and certain common functions are appropriately proposed.
INTERIM DECISIONS (Legislation, Regulation)
At this stage, it is of crucial importance to have the necessary interim decisions (regulations) to give the appropriate authorities the power to prevent the development against the principles envisaged in the report, until comprehensive legislation is enacted. For the northern part of the NMP Area this matter is rather urgent, especially regarding the Development Boundaries and the

Preservation of the architectural heritage within the walls. If these actions are not taken the uncontrolled development may jeopardise the main concepts of the NMP project.

SOCIO – ECONOMIC DIFFERENCES

For certain reasons, socio-economic surveys have not been carried out during the planning exercise. As it was mentioned in our comments on the Second International Panel report (see our letter dated 1st November 1982 addressed to UNDP) it is an obvious fact that socio-economic differences between the two communities living their respective zones in the NMP Area, are considerable. Although lengthy academic surveys were not recommended since the beginning of the project, it is quite clear that this aspect needs specific consideration in planning.

TELECOMMUNICATIONS

The telecommunication authority in the north is not in agreement with the idea in the report that telecommunication provisions do not present any significant difficulties at present and will not in the future. They have informed us that telecommunication provisions will be difficult in some places in the priority areas.

SEWERAGE

Regarding the sewerage, the revision of the 1969 sewerage report is a must. More land around the existing treatment plant has to be secured. The clay area in the northern fringe needs urgent consideration. Considering the present and future development the need of other plant(s) besides the existing one in the north, should be examined; if needed proper land has to be allocated.

In the Draft Report it is mentioned that some areas in Orta Keuy and the Walled City are connected to the system. In order not to create any confusion, the report has to be corrected by specifying that in these areas some buildings – not areas – are connected to the system during phase I. However, it is expected that with phase II, the whole northern part of the Walled City will be connected to the system.

DENSITY RESTRICTIONS

There is an urgent need for the study on residential densities and other uses. A more sensitive approach is needed for the Walled City.

AREA NO. 11

There is a need for reconsideration of Area No.11 whether to treat it as a satellite settlement or rather an integrated part of the town. In this sense the policy of FDA's and PDA's in the area should be re-examined.

NMP DEVELOPMENT FUND

Considering the present realities in Cyprus the most critical phase of the NMP project is implementation. The economic situation in the northern part of the NMP area is one of the most severe constraints regarding implementation. It is the belief of all parties that international funding agencies will be willing to help to achieve the objectives of the plan due to known reasons. Therefore, it is suggested that UNDP takes action for the formation of a NMP Development Fund, supported by international institutions which will finance the projects, prepared in the framework of the NMP on both sides.

PROJECTS IMPLEMENTED

We are pleased to inform you that the direction of the proposals in the report, certain actions have already been taken. In order to encourage and improve public transportation, 10 (ten) municipal buses have been put into service throughout the city; and necessary funds have been provided for the completion of the Bus Terminal which is expected to be completed in 1984.

Report 2

NICOSIA MASTER PLAN: NEW VISION FOR THE CORE OF NICOSIA
Priority Projects (Book 2)
UNDP 2004

<u>pg42</u>:
<u>Conclusions:</u>
The Projects contained in this Portfolio provide the framework for the implementation actions entailed by the Strategy for the Core of Nicosia. As mentioned in the introduction the Projects "show the locations, the activities, the elements and the actors involved in pursuing the objectives of the Strategy for regeneration the Core of Nicosia. Therefore, the Portfolio should be seen as an intervening stage between the Strategy for the Core of Nicosia and the subsequent detailed technical, institutional, financial and legal design work necessary for the actual implementation.

A summary table of the projects with their main corresponding strategic feature(s) is below:

Projects	Main Strategic Feature and Purpose
A. Buffer Zone and the Walled City	Projects in and across the buffer zone acting as 'city gluing' elements
A1. Academic, residential and development area in the Buffer Zone.	Projects focusing in development opportunities for educational and research uses in the heart of Nicosia.
A2. Linking of Municipalities	Project focusing on opportunities for linking the two marker places in the heart of Nicosia.
A3. East Residential Area	Project focusing on opportunities and needs for the residential development on the Eastern part of the heart of Nicosia.
A4. West Residential Areas	Project focusing on opportunities and needs for the residential development on the Western part of the heart of Nicosia.
B. Walls of Nicosia	Projects highlighting the symbolic unity and heritage value of the city walls as a common resource for the future.
B1. Venetian Walls Project	Project on the restoration of the Walls.
B2. Bastions Project	Project on the restoration and uses of the bastions.
B3. Gates Project	Project on the re-design and uses of the areas of the city gates.
B4. Moat Project	Project on the upgrading and uses of the moat area.
B5. Bridges Project	Project on the re-design of the Bridges in and out of the Walled City
C. Outside the Walled City	Projects upgrading the development base of the commercial core of Nicosia to regain its centrality as a viable part of the Core Area.
C1. Central Business Area (North)	Project showing re-development opportunities for the consolidation and management in the north.

C2. Central Business Area (South – Makarios Avenue Area)	Project showing upgrading and management opportunities in the centre of the core commercial area in the south.
C3. Pedieos River and green areas	Project showing opportunities for a continuous river side public green open space.
C4. Linear Park.	Project showing opportunities for a continuous public green open space along the old historic east-west Nicosia Railway line.
C5. Mehmet Akif Avenue	Project showing opportunities for the functional upgrading of a major 'activity spine' in the north.
C6. Federal Centre	Project showing the development of the area of the Federal Centre.

Report 3

NICOSIA MASTER PLAN: NEW VISION FOR THE CORE OF NICOSIA
Final Report (Book 3)
UNDP 2004

2. Project Results

2.1 **Main Findings of Diagnostic Analysis – Main Problems Facing the Core of Nicosia**

The Division of Nicosia:

The continuing division of Nicosia is central to the continuing problems of the city. The division holds development back and imposes diverse problems for planning the city within a common framework. Two planning authorities produce two separate local plans with varying degrees of closeness to the principles and approaches of the NMP.

The continuing division of Nicosia has, among other things, stimulated a process of outward growth away from the Core of Nicosia and increased marginalisation, if not neglect of the Walled City and its cultural heritage. The impacts of public policies have been limited in mitigating this process. The loss of centrality of the Core Area has been associated with a shift of population and private sector investment away from the Core of Nicosia.

Population and employment conditions:

The reduced social and economic vitality of the Core Area in the past 10 years or so is illustrated by the trends concerning population, employment and vacant housing units.

In the Greek Cypriot community all indicators show significant negative change. Population declined by 15%, employment by 13% and vacant houses increased by 23%. In the Walled City population has increased by 8%, employment decreased by 24% and vacant houses increased by 21%. The population increase is attributed to the influx of low-income expatriate population taking advantage of low rents. Outside the Walled City, population declined by 29%, employment dropped by 10%, and vacant housing units increased by 27%.

In the Turkish Cypriot community the indicators show that the Core Area has experienced positive changes contrary to the negative changes in the Walled City. The Walled City population decreased by 4%, employment decreased 12% and vacant houses decreased due to the fact that vacant housing units are increasingly being used as workshops or storage spaces. Outside the Walled City, population increased by 51%, employment increased by 111% and vacant houses decreased by 78%. Although the indicators show that the Core Area has experienced major development, development followed a linear pattern along the 'activity spaces'. There is a pressing need for a concentrated and compact core business area.

Walled City Socio-Economic Survey:

The survey has provided further details concerning the social and economic structure of the Walled City (Walled City Socio-Economic Survey Report, September 2004). The most salient findings include the following:

- Cypriot family population is a low proportion of the population. Well below half of the population in the Walled City (45%in the Greek Cypriot Community and 33% of the Turkish Cypriot Community) are Cypriots.

pg6:

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- The age structure of the Cypriot population in the Walled City shows a large percentage of people over 60 years of age (30% in the Greek Cypriot Community and 23& in the Turkish Cypriot Community), The age group under 18 years of age is very low in the Greek Cypriot Community (18%) but much higher in the Turkish Cypriot Community (32%). In the Greek Cypriot Community in particular, the age composition poses a threat to the capacity of the area to regenerate itself socially or economically to provide a viable source of investor power for housing restoration and business growth.
- In terms of the total population of the Walled City, the age structure seems more balanced in the Turkish Cypriot Community, while in the Greek Cypriot Community the under-18 age groups is only 15% revealing the very low share of young families in the social structure.
- A very low percentage of the properties are owner-occupied (23% in the Greek Cypriot Community and 37% in the Turkish Cypriot Community).
- Business units are small run mostly by the owner/managers, who tend to be over the age of 60.
- There is a widespread lack of confidence in the future of the Walled City, and unwillingness to invest in the future expansion, by the retailers to comprise by far the largest sector in the area. However, they have no plans to move to another area.
- There is growing interest in the Walled City for establishments in the catering and entertainment sector. Businessmen involved in this sector have greater optimism about the future of the Walled City and report willingness to invest in the area.

Restoration of Listed Buildings:
In the Greek Cypriot Community, out of the total number of 867 listed buildings in the Walled City only 84% (10%) have been restored under the financial incentives scheme. By contrast, in the rest of Nicosia Municipal Area, out of the total of 183 listed buildings 164 (90%) have been restored under the same scheme. In the Turkish Cypriot Community, out of 386 listed buildings in the Walled City only 40 buildings have been repaired under the financial incentives scheme. Another 22 applications have not received a positive response so far due to the lack of funds. It is emphasised that the low percentage of restored listed buildings in the Walled City is partly attributed to the fact that about half of them have been recently listed, combined with legal problems of obtaining vacant possession.
Other incentives, operating in the Greek Cypriot community, intended to stimulate development in the Walled City and the Buffer Zone areas, despite their success in providing assistance to young couples for low-cost housing development/restoration and commercial development in the depressed areas near the Buffer Zone, have not as yet mobilised a wider development effort in those areas due to the lack of demand for housing in the Walled City by a larger population group. It should be stressed however that these schemes have recently been introduced (2000) and the short period of their operation has not yet allowed for their full impact to be manifested.
pg7:
Legal-administrative instruments:
There is a lack of effective economic financial and legal administrative instruments for supporting sustained project implementation and bringing about necessary changes. The shift of market demand for housing and business accommodation to the suburbs poses the need for proactive planning and integrated strategies to mobilise private interest and activate productive partnerships between planning and the market.
Private Sector responses:

There is a continuous decline of the vitality of the Core Nicosia Area, with limited impacts of the interventions on rescuing the Walled City from physical decay and loss of socio-economic vitality. The private sector has turned to the suburbs which have become the centres of population and employment growth.

Planning Approach:

Cyprus has a strong private sector and market driven economy. The Local Plans lack the proactive and integrated planning approach necessary to anticipate and entice market forces towards spatial development harmonising private sector involvement with sustainable urban management. The predominantly regulatory approach of both Local Plans is insufficient to act as a catalyst for breathing new life into the Core of Nicosia.

Awareness of the value of urban heritage:

Public awareness of the need to regain the vitality and regenerate the cohesion and unique quality of the Core of Nicosia, and the Walled City in particular, is limited at present. The revitalisation of the Walled City has not become a 'cause' for the general public. The important comparative advantages inherent in the Core of Nicosia, (now minimised by several problems) such as compactness and accessibility, buildings and areas of architectural and heritage value, centrality and diversity of cultural and commercial services, are underrated, ignored and fail to capture the interest of the private sector.

Mechanisms for sustainable finance:

There is lack of mechanisms for utilising sources of sustainable finance for implementation (development/betterment charges, land value increment levies, etc.). Such potential sources of finance are not built into the planning system to support a sustainable implementation process, opening up opportunities for feasible private sector participation and mobilisation of multiple sources of finance. There is an absence of a *Revolving Fund* to act as a framework for mobilising finds for projects. In the past 20 years several urban fringe areas have been included in the urban development areas without any part of the vast increase in land values created by planning decisions accruing back to the authorities. Increase in land values pose affordability problems for low and middle income groups and impose increased financial obligations on the authorities to provide costly social services and infrastructure facilities.

Institutional fragmentation:

The Core of Nicosia is administratively part of the wider area of Nicosia and has no distinct administrative status. Its development involves several authorities, mostly at the central level, comprising an institutional framework with overlapping responsibilities within and beyond the boundaries of the Core Area. This fragmentation of administrative responsibilities for decision making and implementation in the Core Nicosia Area is a serious impediment. For routine small scale infrastructure improvements and enforcement of building regulations coordination does not entail problems. However, for policies and actions that make a difference to the functioning and vitality of the Core Nicosia Area, such as land use and planning policy, broader traffic management, conservation interventions, land acquisition, financing, etc., coordination entails problems often leading to delays. The future operation of the recently introduced *Nicosia Municipality (Public Enterprises) Ltd.* and the *Arabahmet Development Company Ltd.* will contribute to a more effective approach to these problems.

pg8:

Vision for the Future:

There is a lack of a coherent *Vision* for the future and the role that this area will play as the Core of Nicosia, both locally and within Cyprus as a whole. The long standing political problem separating the two communities overshadowed the importance of the need for developing such a

Vision. The absence of a *Vision* means that interventions, despite their local success, do not contribute sufficiently to an overall regeneration outcome.

2.2 Looking to the Future – strategic Alternatives and Strategy for the Future
Need for change

Despite to progress achieved during the past 20 years in the planning system, in the implementation of conservation and traffic management changes and the various financial incentives schemes, their impacts on the social, economic and spatial structure of the Core of Nicosia have been limited relative to the objectives of the NMP and the expectations of the authorities involved.

All major indicators of regeneration, such as population, employment show serious decline. The number of vacant housing units increased and so has the number of buildings in poor condition. Most importantly, the number of listed houses restored under the financial incentives schemes has been very limited in relation to the total number designated. The key issues outlined above point to a poor prospect and risks for the future of this area.

The major risks include the following:

- **Degradation** – Degradation of the landmarks and buildings of cultural and historic value symbolising the common heritage of the population of Nicosia and loss of opportunities for ensuring the utilisation of such cultural resources for future regeneration of the areas surrounding them.
- **Buffer Zone impacts** – Further extension of the negative impacts on the areas in the Walled City adjacent to the Buffer Zone and increased difficulties in rehabilitating and reusing these areas as an important initial step in the reunification of the city following the recovery of the Buffer Zone.
- **Loss of centrality** – Loss of the spatial centrality and economic competitiveness of the Core of Nicosia leading to under-utilisation of existing infrastructure and services and the potential inherent in its geographical accessibility.
- **Loss of opportunities** – Loss of opportunities for social regeneration and housing reuse, necessary to encourage a mixture of resident population groups, giving social diversity and a lively day and night-time environment.

The focus of this Project is to assess the opportunities for addressing these problems and identify ways of initiating changes to the existing trends in the Core of Nicosia. One of the key objectives is therefore to develop an approach which will succeed in setting in motion a process of change. By far the most important factor expected to trigger positive changes in the Core Nicosia Area is the solution of the Cyprus Problem. At the planning level, however, two important forces of change will play a major role:

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- Private sector initiatives. Private sector resources are potentially the main driving force for regeneration of the Core of Nicosia.
- Public sector policy. Public sector policies, when enriched with a strong socioeconomic dimension and a pro-active orientation will play a vital role in guiding sustained private sector interest and activity for the regeneration of the Core of Nicosia.

The combination of these development forces requires the establishment of a framework for public-private partnership, in which the public sector will create the much needed environmental and social infrastructure, with appropriate measures and demonstration expenditure, triggering private sector interest in taking up new market opportunities associated with the unique cultural, environmental and accessibility advantages of the Core of Nicosia.

A strong focus should be places on building upon the NMP bi-communal philosophy for establishing an integrated regeneration strategy. This focus should be <u>as much on places and buildings as on policies, measures and activities that create sustainable demand for places and buildings</u>, to combine sound planning with market forces and to link good ideas with mechanisms for funding them. The Buffer Zone, an open wound of history, will be a shining promise for the future. At present the Buffer Zone is a risk to the integrity and vitality of the Walled City and Core Area, while in the future will be a major planning challenge for its reuse to play a 'gluing' role in the reintegration of the city.

<u>General principles</u>
The general principles guiding the identification and evaluation of strategic alternatives and the formulation of the Strategy for the Future include the following:

- The Core Nicosia Area experiences several social, economic and environmental problems partly due to the division of the city as well as due to other local spatial, institutional and implementation constraints and circumstances.
- Ultimately, a joint Development Plan is necessary to address existing problems and provide the basis for the development of the Core of Nicosia as a unified centre of Nicosia.
- To achieve this, there is first a need for a comprehensive bi-communal Vision for the future of the Core Nicosia Area and a joint strategy as the basis for actions to realise this Vision. <u>This is what the *New Vision Project* aims to build up</u>.
- There is no possibility or intention to re-build or transform the Core Area physically, <u>but to elaborate ideas about its future role and management</u>. The alternative Visions for the Core Area refer to possible changer not to their basic physical structure but to its function, its capacity to serve needs and regenerate itself, and its future role.

<u>Strategic Alternatives</u>
The Visions identified below are presented as separate 'scenarios' even though they share some common features. Their separate presentation is necessary in order to clarify the appropriate *<u>'prime mover'</u>* in the regeneration process , the focus of actions to realise them and their particular consequences.
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One possible 'Non-Vision' is a 'do nothing to minimum future' based on the continuation of the present trends bringing closer the prospects of further loss of centrality of the Core of Nicosia and increased spatial and social-economic marginalisation of the Walled City. This 'Non-Vision' is equivalent to accepting existing realities as irreversible and refusing the need to undertake interventions and policy initiatives to change them.
The decision taken by the implementing authorities and UNOPS to carry out the *Vision for the Core of Nicosia Project*, to follow up the *Nicosia Master Plan* and revisit its philosophy and concerns 20 or so years after its completion, is a clear acknowledgement of the need for a Vision for the Future to guide changes and the type of planning process required to realise them. Therefore, the continuation of the existing trends and the lack of Vision for the Future are contrary to the philosophy of the Nicosia Master Plan. If followed, will accentuate the consequences of the division of Nicosia and strengthen the accumulating risks of Nicosia losing its historic centre to the forces of inertia, to the separation of Nicosia by the buffer zone and to the 'business as usual' planning approach.

<u>'Do Nothing' or Business as Usual´ Scenario</u>

The main characteristic of the 'Do Nothing Scenario' is the dominance of the present development process shaped by the implementation of two Local Plans enforced by separate planning authorities which, under the present circumstances, control and manage the development of the Core of Nicosia as a divided city on the basis if 'patchwork' of regulations. The 'vision statements' included in both Local Plans for the desirability of a unified Nicosia remain marginal to the thrust of investment activities actually shaping the conditions and the role of the Core of Nicosia. Specifically, the main threats entail:

- The Core Area will become 'hollow as population and employment generators move from the inner city to other adjacent or to places further away.
- Walled City housing and commercial units will be converted to workshops and warehouses increasing traffic problems, attracting low-income groups and low value uses unable to maintain their quality, or remain vacant, all leading to ultimate disintegration.
- Loss of Centrality of the Core Area and increased difficulties over time to regenerate a unified Core Area.
- Infrastructure deterioration, higher maintenance costs and loss of symbols common to the heritage of both the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot communities.

Vision for change The Vision Project has evaluated the following scenarios/ Visions for the future:

Vision 1 – Social Regeneration – Focus on Human Resources and Housing:
Main focus on strengthening of the social structure in the Walled City and increasing population in the CBD, with the economy as secondary objective.

Strengths	Weaknesses
-Revitalising the human resources -Reusing available housing capacity and existing infrastructure	-Small market demand for inner area family housing relative to the available housing stock -High cost of housing renovation -Conflicts of housing with workshops and traffic
Opportunities	**Threats**
-Available housing stock -Unique traditional residential environment not found in other locations -Closer bi-communal human contact	-Prolonged implementation of public projects to make residential areas attractive -Uncertain response by owners to invest in housing -Uncertain response by young families to choose to live in the old city -Availability of sustainable public sector finance -Buffer Zone

Vision 2 – Business Regeneration – Focus on Commercial and Office Development:
Main focus on strengthening the economy in all parts of the Core Area with housing and population as secondary objective.

Strengths	Weaknesses
Compact and accessible area on foot Already existing commercial and office development	Traffic and parking problems Already strong business growth in the suburbs and activity spines Lack of public-private partnerships and investments
Opportunities	**Threats**

Potential scope for pedestrian mobility and public transport accessibility	Slow implementation of public projects to improve accessibility and mobility
Large vacant business floor space	Sustainable public sector finance Uncertain private sector response
Improvements in urban quality and historic character	Buffer Zone

Vision 3 – Cultural and Culture-related Regeneration – Focus on the Cultural Assets for Tourism and Education:

Main focus on strengthening the cultural and heritage uses and improving urban environmental quality in the whole area, with commercial and housing development as secondary objective.

Strengths	Weaknesses
Presence of urban heritage landmarks Compact area easily to move around	Poor environmental conditions Parking and traffic problems The existing Walled City social structure Lack of awareness of culture-related development Lack of sufficient financial and legal instruments
Opportunities	**Threats**
Unique environmental quality (if improved) Creating a market for restoration through tourism and education Easy pedestrian mobility	Slow public sector decision making Buffer Zone recovery Slow public sector decision making Impact on housing areas

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Vision 4 – Integrated Regeneration – Focus on Multiple Activity:

Main focus on integrated development.

Strengths	Weaknesses
Synergies between uses	Lack of leading activity to act as focus of actions
Integration of uses in a compact area	'All together development' difficult to implement
Improved network of services	heavier public sector responsibility
Recreating the past	Weaker private sector role
Opportunities	**Threats**
Building on the existing network of social economic and environmental structure	Implementation difficulties and bureaucracy
Immediate appeal due to similarities with how conditions should be now	Widespread planning and implementation priorities to upgrade all sectors
Something for everybody package	Higher possibility of land use conflicts

2.3 The proposed Strategy

The analysis of the alternative Visions ('scenarios') for the revitalisation of the Core of Nicosia has identified as the most promising the *Strategy for Urban Heritage-based Regeneration,* which adopts cultural tourism and education as the 'prime movers' to stimulate future residential and commercial activity (**Fig 2**).

The merits of the Strategy The *Strategy for Urban Heritage-based Regeneration* has the following main merits:

- It focuses on the unique character of the area. The cultural heritage of the Walled City is the most important comparative advantage of the Core Nicosia Area which cannot be replaced or recreated elsewhere.
- It emphasised the importance of central location. The location of the Walled City as the inner core of Nicosia is an additional advantage which will grow when the area regains its centrality and spatial accessibility. As the centre of the city, it will generate spin-off development in the immediately surrounding business Core area. The reverse process is impossible.
- It highlights the common symbolic significance of the area for both communities. The location and the environmental character of the Walled City combine as elements of high symbolic value shared by both communities of Nicosia. This bi-communal identification with places and history, necessary for a joint Vision, becomes less evident outside the Walled City.
- It places cultural assets within a market context. Places of cultural value and heritage are attractors for 'cultural tourism' and culture-based activities like education, conference services and related business units.
- It takes into account income-creation opportunities. Tourism spending and education are sectors that depend on environmental quality, have high growth and revenue potential needed for creating demand for the area, mobilising private sector investments and building up a capital base for building restoration and improvements.

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- It created strong linkages with the housing and commercial sectors. Future regeneration requires attracting new population and business investors (particularly in the Walled City), a prospect which is most likely to happen by relying on tourism and education to be the *'prime mover'* to stimulate housing and commercial demand. The *Socio-Economic Survey* has revealed that the present human resource in the Walled City (residential and business population) has limited capacity to respond on a sufficient scale to lead the regulation process.

The Strategy developed below comprises the basic elements explaining the process of *'getting from here to there'*.

The main elements of the proposed Strategy

The proposed Strategy contains three basic premises:

- It focuses on the potential of the cultural character of the Walled City and its capacity to lead the regeneration process, to become the prime mover in the process.
- It emphasises the potential of environmental quality and the significance of the common historical heritage of the Walled City as market driven development resources.
- It emphasises the centrality of the Walled City as a unifying factor across the existing Buffer Zone and for Nicosia as a whole.

The Strategy – Goals, policy objectives, actions

The key goals, policy objectives and actions of the Strategy include the following:

A. Walled City

Main Goal: The regeneration of the Walled City and the area of the Buffer Zone based on the social and economic potential inherent in the area's cultural heritage and environmental character.

Policy objectives

- Assign priority to the Walled City as the strategic area to lead the Core Nicosia Area regeneration process.
- Focus on the potential of cultural tourism, education and other culture-related activities in the Walled City to create demand for places and buildings in the Walled City (Such activities will include small scale visitor and student accommodation, higher education establishments (University Schools and Colleges), restaurant and mild entertainment facilities, and specialised retail services, mostly, if not totally, in recycled buildings.

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- Promote Nicosia as a centre of the European Learning Cities Network
- Raise awareness of the value of environmental quality and the significance of cultural monuments.
- Promote an integrated approach to the restoration of monuments and buildings of civic importance with a view to achieving cultural and economic benefits.
- Encourage private sector investment in tourism services, educational establishments and related uses.
- Protect the amenities, improve the quality and character of residential areas in the Walled City.
- Improve accessibility and mobility in the Walled City without increasing car traffic and parking needs.
- Explore options for the management of the Walled City.

Actions

- Define the Walled City as a unitary planning area for actions strengthening the centrality of the city and its socio-economic base.
- Prepare a broad strategic land use plan for the Walled City, including the Buffer Zone
  - Identify the most suitable areas in the Walled City for the development of tourism and education facilities
    - Assess the suitability of the Buffer Zone (and its adjacent area) for the location of University Departments, student accommodation and related facilities
    - Identify existing buildings to accommodate tourism-related uses
    - Define zones for housing and local retail services
    - Prepare a relocation strategy for existing workshops
- Create links with the European TELS Project addressing the needs of the visitor and national population
- Prepare public information material and activities and strengthen the role of the bi-communal Information Centres
- Establish a strategy for communication/negotiation with property owners and investors to assess and stimulate their concerns and willingness to invest in the Walled City within the ambit of important planning and social principles and objectives.
- Explore opportunities, and improve the legal framework, for applying economic instruments for collecting revenues from property owners for the appreciation of values due to projects and improvements in public places.

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- Introduce fiscal charges in long term private vacant plots and buildings.
- Define areas (project packages) around important cultural landmarks and prepare outline site plans identifying opportunities joint Public-Private Partnerships.
  - Establish voluntary agreements involving private participation in investment including private expenditure for the cost of non-commercial local improvements.
  - Provide flexible planning controls and possible 'variances' for private development to entice investment and private participation in finding public area improvements.
  - Provide loans for SMS Enterprises
  - Preparation of Municipal Investment Programmes for strategic infrastructure and other improvements utilising donor and local funds.
- Designate residential zones, apply strict land use controls and provide financial incentives for housing restoration.
- Establish the principles and mechanisms for a 'Revolving Fund' for sustainable finance channelled to a rolling implementation programme, including the restoration of listed and other housing units.

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- In the 'project packages' containing private investment opportunities, include selected housing blocks and open spaces for private sector participation in the cost as part of the total investment.
- Implement a rational traffic and parking policy in favour of public transport, bicycle movement and pedestrian circulation.
  - Identify zones for pedestrian movement
  - Design and implement pedestrian schemes
  - Improve facilities for short-term parking
  - Propose short-term and long-term management structure for joint Walled City planning and implementation, following the NMP vision.

B. Business Core Area outside the Walled City

Goal: To strengthen the centrality and socio-economic base of the **Business Core Area** outside the Walled Coty, including the Buffer Zone, to stimulate and accommodate appropriate development.

Policy objectives

- Assign priority to the core business area for administrative, commercial and office activities to reinforce the centrality of the Core Area in Nicosia as a whole.
- Improve accessibility and mobility without increasing car traffic and parking needs.
- Encourage new mixed development in the area.
- Improve the quality of open spaces.
- Promote the implementation of existing improvement schemes.
- Improve spatial linkages within the Walled City.
- Promote planning policies that ensure the vitality of the central Business Core.

Actions

- Revise existing planning policies within the framework of the Strategy, entailing containment, consolidation, accessibility and increased economic and social viability.

- Introduce policies and incentives for attracting office, commercial and housing uses giving first priority to vacant units within the Core Area and avoiding expansion to adjacent areas pending further deeper study.
- Contain the area of the business and commercial core in the T/C (Turkish Cypriot) community, while protecting central residential areas from other uses. Identify areas for further study.
- Prepare a redevelopment plan for the 'CBD site' north of Kyrenia Gate envisaging change of the present public uses to business uses to provide the context for a consolidated and identifiable CBD with a strong and direct link to the Walled City.
- Implement car traffic control measures and public transport policy.
- Establish a comprehensive parking management policy with emphasis on short-term parking.
- Implement car parking schemes at the edge of the Core Area to limit car traffic penetration within the Core Area.
- Increase parking charges for revenue as well as for better parking management.
- Increase plot ratios in main commercial Core Areas (excluding residential conservation areas) in conjunction with public transport policy, and explore opportunities for collecting 'development charges' for the development benefit granted.
- Design a loan scheme for young family housing funded by 'development charges' on the increased plot development ratio for office and commercial uses.

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- Implement special design scheme for the improvement of the Moat Area.
- Establish a timeframe for the implementation of existing schemes.
- Prepare and implement special urban design schemes for all 'bridge entrances' into the Walled City (Eleftheria Sq. already planned).
- Identify locations of civic importance for cultural activities (theatres, gathering places, etc.).
- Develop parts of the Moat for cultural activities.
- Prepare an integrated development scheme for the 'interface zone' area around the Moat in and out of the Walled City.
- Apply effective development control measures in the peripheral areas that gain economic strength at the expense of the Core Area.

The Strategy is based on the overriding Vision for a re-united Nicosia. Therefore its focus is on implementation actions expecting that circumstances will change to allow access, movement and development in and across the buffer zone. In this sense, actions within the remit of the Strategy should command high priority notwithstanding present circumstances because of the strategic importance of joint actions in the Core Area (particularly in the Walled City and in the buffer zone) for the future of Nicosia and the importance attached by the shared Vision to 'gluing' the city on the basis of bi-communal partnership. If change of political circumstances is delayed, the momentum of the bi-communal philosophy and substance of the Strategy should be maintained as a matter of urgent priority informing the authorities about the type of common actions to be undertaken in the Core Area to achieve its regeneration, such as building capacities for joint governance, taking steps for the preparation of a joint Core Area Development Plan, stimulating private sector mobilisation and actions for implementation under the ambit of a Joint Walled City Development Board/Authority.

Institutional Strategy – Options for the future:

Promoting and implementing a comprehensive Strategy for the Core of Nicosia to 'glue', regenerate and manage it as a unified area, requires joint governance. One of the main actions envisaged by the Strategy is to *'Propose short-term and longer-term management structure for joint Walled City planning and implementation, following the NMP vision'*. This action, as part of the overall cluster of actions under the NVP Strategy, has been well received and supported by the 28 September Workshop (See Strategy Report, October 2004). In this connection the NVP proposes the establishment of a ***Joint Walled City Development Board/ Authority***, either through a gradual approach of building on existing arrangements, or setting up a new structure. The principles of these options are outlined below:

- Building on *existing* arrangements. To strengthen the powers of Nicosia Municipal Authorities to assume most of the responsibilities for planning policy, project finance and project implementation in the Walled City.
- Transforming *existing* arrangements. To establish *'Walled City Management Boards'* (in both communities) with powers to act as planning and implementing authorities. These Boards will continue to cooperate under present conditions with a view to becoming merged at a subsequent stage into a unified Walled City Board.

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- Establishing a *new structure*. To designate the Walled City of Nicosia, as a whole, as a *"Special Administration Area"* with its own administrative structure to undertake all decisions and projects within the area. This option envisages joint initiatives to designate the Walled City as an area with an independent administrative status, an Authority with joint participation exercising all planning, financial, implementation, management and other governance functions necessary for the conservation and welfare of the area. This option cuts across the 'bi-communality and duality' of the Walled City. It envisages the creation of a framework for a unified planning approach in the Walled City as a whole.

2.4 Public Participation – Project Workshops

Three workshops have been organised (two in May and one in September) to present Project progress and invite comments from a wide spectrum of public and private sector personalities and representatives of organisations from both communities. The May workshops *(17 and 18 May)* were mainly targeted at the groups directly involved in the Project, such as the Mayors, the members of the Steering Committee and other planning professionals – about 50 participants in total – whereas the September Workshops *(28 September)* targeted at a much wider groups of participants representing organisations active in the investment, policy and daily life environment of Nicosia – about 90 participants in total.

All three workshops have been successful in both attendance and results. **The most important outcome of the September Workshop was the gathering together of participants from both communities, including a large number of senior private sector representatives, and the broad agreement expressed concerning the *Strategy for Urban Heritage-based Regeneration*.**

The September workshop was the culmination of a process of reaching out to the citizens of Nicosia, effected through a series of interviews by the Senior National Consultants with a wide group of personalities and representatives of organisations (over 150 in number), to provide information and exchange views on the scope and objectives of the Project. In summary, the main issues raised and the conclusions merging from the September Workshop included the following:

- The problems facing the Core of Nicosia and the urgency for taking action to address them;
- The importance of bi-communal co-operation in forming a shared approach to tackling the future planning and implementation actions for the area;

- The symbolic, social and economic significance of the Core of Nicosia, and the Walled City in particular, as the heart of Nicosia and an area of common heritage valued by both communities;
- The methodology of developing alternatives for the future and the main components of the proposed Strategy;
- The clarification of the policies and instruments which will support the implementation process, including those referring to property ownership, values and current tenancy;
- The views and expectations of the property owners now living in other parts of Nicosia;
- The institutional framework ensuring joint planning and implementation activities;

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- The importance of appropriate forms of Public-Private-Partnerships and Urban Regeneration Companies;
- The need for continuation of the Project to lead to the preparation of a joint 'Development Plan' for the Core of Nicosia and address the 'how to' questions arising from the proposed Strategy (public information, participation and awareness, sustainable finance, institutional framework, social implications of rejuvenating the population structure of the Walled City, etc.).

A more detailed exposition of the results of the Workshop is included in the end-of-mission Report of Mr Krishno Dey, UNOPS International Workshop Facilitator, and in the annotated record of the Workshop proceedings prepared by the Project Team (Strategy Report, October 2004).

2.5 Portfolio of Projects – From Strategy to Project Actions

Under the NVP, a Portfolio of Priority Project actions has been prepared (*See Portfolio of Projects. October 2004*). The Projects contained in this Portfolio provide the framework for the implementation actions entailed by the Strategy for the Core of Nicosia. The Projects show the locations, the activities, the elements and the actors involved in pursuing the objectives of the Strategy for regenerating the Core of Nicosia. Therefore, the Portfolio should be seen as an intervening stage between the Strategy for the Core of Nicosia and the subsequent detailed technical, institutional, financial and legal design work necessary for the actual implementation. A summary table of the projects with their main corresponding strategic feature(s) is shown below:

Projects	Main Strategic Feature and Purpose
A. Buffer Zone and the Walled City	**Projects in and across the buffer zone acting as 'city gluing' elements**
A1. Academic, residential and development area in the Buffer Zone.	Projects focusing in development opportunities for educational and research uses in the heart of Nicosia.
A2. Linking of Municipalities	Project focusing on opportunities for linking the two marker places in the heart of Nicosia.
A3. East Residential Area	Project focusing on opportunities for linking the two market places in the heart of Nicosia.
A4. West Residential Areas	Project focusing on opportunities and needs for the residential development on the West part of Nicosia.
A5. Commercial Corridors Project (KyreniaAvenue, Ledra – Onassagorpu Streets)	Project focusing on opportunities for linking the north-south commercial core corridor in the heart of Nicosia (Kyrenia Avenue – Ledra/Onassagorou Streets)

B. Walls of Nicosia	Projects highlighting the symbolic unity and heritage value of the city walls as a common resource for the future.
B1. Venetian Walls Project	Project on the restoration of the Walls.
B2. Bastions Project	Project on the restoration and uses of the bastions.
B3. Gates Project	Project on the re-design and uses of the areas of the city gates.
B4. Moat Project	Project on the upgrading and uses of the moat area.
B5. Bridges Project	Project on the re-design of the Bridges in and out of the Walled City
C. Outside the Walled City	Projects upgrading the development base of the commercial core of Nicosia to regain its centrality as a viable part of the Core Area.
C1. Central Business Area (North)	Project showing re-development opportunities for the consolidation and management in the north.
C2. Central Business Area (South – Makarios Avenue Area)	Project showing upgrading and management opportunities in the centre of the core commercial area in the south.
C3. Pedieos River and green areas	Project showing opportunities for a continuous river side public green open space.
C4. Linear Park.	Project showing opportunities for a continuous public green open space along the old historic east-west Nicosia Railway line.
C5. Mehmet Akif Avenue	Project showing opportunities for the functional upgrading of a major 'activity spine' in the north.
C6. Federal Centre	Project showing the development of the area of the Federal Centre.

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Although this Portfolio is conceived as a combination of interlinked Projects within a common framework and strategic purpose, the Buffer Zone Projects are most important due to their strategic location and potential contribution to the re-unification of the city and its inhabitants. Despite the fact that their wider significance will be achieved in relation to the rest of the Projects, they have the capacity to produce visible results in the most degraded area where changes are most urgently needed (in and around the buffer zone in the Walled City). In particular Projects A.1 and A.2 target the heart of this area reviving the buffer zone through viable and vibrant activities with strong cultural/heritage character linked to market-driven development opportunities. Evidently, these two Projects command the highest priority and should be tackled first.

The other Project categories also target areas directly or indirectly affected by the present state of the Core Area. **The Walls** and its component elements have an important role to play in projecting the physical sites and spaces revealing the cultural and heritage elements of the city, thus strengthening their capacity to give spatial and architectural support to the policies and measures envisaged by the Strategy. Therefore, their contribution in very important too. The Projects **outside the Walled City** target problems intended to revive commercial and business activity in the commercial core to enable it to complete with other areas and regain its centrality. Their contribution is significant in increasing the central function in the commercial and business core

and the scope for complementary activities in the overall area of the Core of Nicosia, in and around the Walled City.

Access to the buffer zone can be a constraint to the implementation of several of the Projects included in this Portfolio, particularly he highest priority buffer zone projects A1 and A2. Despite the hard reality of the presence of the buffer zone, the extend of its impact on implementation has to be seen in context of the Vision and Strategy for re-uniting the Core of Nicosia. As the Strategy is based on the overriding Vision for a re-united Nicosia, its focus is on the implementation of actions **expecting** that circumstances will change to allow access, movement and development in and across the buffer zone. In this sense, the priority of the Walled City buffer zone Projects is equally high notwithstanding present accessibility constraint, because of the strategic importance of the buffer zone in 'gluing' the city, and the importance attached by the shared Vision to 'gluing' the city. In this perspective then, if the buffer zone becomes accessible in the very near, or near, future, implementation will start immediately after full project preparation. If, however, the area remains inaccessible for some more time, these Projects serve an equally important purpose: to stress the need for cooperation and to inform the authorities about the type of common actions to be undertaken urgently on either side of the buffer zone according to these Projects, including preparatory actions for implementation in the buffer zone under the ambit of a Joint Walled City Development Board/ Authority.

2.6 The substance of Project results

The most important results of the Project are grouped under 5 categories as follows:

A. Development of a Shared Vision for the Core of Nicosia

- Identification, analysis and codification of the <u>main problems</u> facing the Core of Nicosia through an appraisal of the achievements and implementation process during the past 20 years;
- Formulation of <u>Vision and Strategy</u> for the Core of Nicosia, sufficiently developed to serve as the framework for the preparation of a common Development Plan for the area; The *Strategy for Urban Heritage-based Regeneration* was put forward focused in cultural tourism and education as the '*prime movers*' to stimulate future residential and commercial activity.
- An annotated <u>Portfolio of Projects</u> based on the thrust of the Vision/ Strategy, outlining the future actions, policy changes, approaches and techniques proposed for the implementation of the core changes and improvements in the direction of this common shared Strategy;
- Identification of future development opportunities in the area of the <u>buffer zone</u>.

B. Sustaining and strengthening bi-communal co-operation

- Creation of a basis for the continuation and strengthening of <u>bi-communal cooperation</u> for the regeneration of the Core of Nicosia, ensured by the continuation of Nicosia Master Plan activities and offices in both communities.

C. Instruments for local governance

- <u>Raising public awareness</u> of the objectives of this Project and the need for a common Vision through face-to-face interviews with a large group of organisations and personalities active in the policy, investment and daily-life environment of the area;

- Establishment of a dialogue with <u>private sector organisations</u> (banks, property owners and investment companies, educational institutions, tourism professionals, etc.) creating a basis for moving towards market-driven approaches in Public Private Partnerships. In other words, 'putting the market back into the area';
- Exploration of opportunities for a common <u>institutional framework</u> for effective implementation of development strategies;
- Exploration of instruments for <u>sustainable finance and urban management</u> (revolving fund, development charges, etc.);
- Development of proposals for possible mechanisms at the level of Priority Projects as inputs to the development of a 'how grown' version of <u>Public Private Partnerships/ Urban Regeneration Company</u>.

D. Creation of a basis for an integrated approach to urban regeneration
- Identification, development and elaboration of the <u>linkages</u> of physical, socio-economic, legal and institutional parameters in addressing development and implementation activities cutting across public policy and private investment;
- Implementation of a <u>Walled City social-economic survey</u> generating an integrated information base for policy and implementation actions.

E. Deeper awareness of missing information
- Cleaner understanding of information currently missing in the preparation of a <u>bi-communal 'Development Plan'</u> (including detailed development control policies), such as traffic and transportation information for the whole Core Area, and use and socio-economic information outside and in parts of the Project's study area.

2.4 The significance of the results

The most salient results of this Project comprise an integrated framework of elements (Evaluation – Vision – Strategy – Outline Projects) for taking informed decisions about how to move forward to achieve significant changes in the economic, social and physical structure of the Core Area of Nicosia. <u>This has been the principal objective set for this Project.</u>

The 'product' of this Project is not (and was not meant to be) a complete Plan or a fully developed set of Projects ready for implementation, but rather a <u>framework containing the most crucial and essential strategic components concerning the focus, direction and contents of the changes required to respond to the challenge of taking actions to ensure a hopeful future for the Core of Nicosia.</u> Underlying this framework is the importance attached by this Project to the mobilisation of public concern and resources through the creation of a forum for constructive dialogue among the leading public and private sector actors of Nicosia on the steps and measures that need to be taken for moving towards the goals of the proposed Strategy, the implications of which are adequately informed by the results of this Project. That is, creating conditions for private sector involvement and partnerships, introducing agreed policy, institutional, legal and financial changes, proceeding to pre-feasibility studies for the implementation of first-priority projects in and across the buffer zone, etc.

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Therefore despite the intrinsic value of the results as 'building blocks' for policy review and implementation actions, they fall short of providing a full-fledged operational plan ready to be legally implemented by the authorities of Nicosia. This has in any case been clearly understood and agreed upon by all parties involved in this Project.

3. Recommendations for follow up

<u>Justification for Project continuation</u>

A recurrent theme in the September Workshop was the need to elaborate on the 'how to' implement the Strategy broadly approved by the Workshop. **Without addressing the substance of the implementation process, without maintaining and stepping up the active dialogue with the main organisations and personalities established before and during the Workshop, and without continuation of bi-communal cooperation, the achievements of this Project will be weakened, if not dissipated, by the lack of focused and sustained actions.**

The actual contributions of this Project to the revitalisation of the Core of Nicosia will only be made through follow up activities focused primarily on building capacities for local governance entailing private sector mobilisation, public-private dialogue and actual project implementation in and across the buffer zone, demonstrating the possibilities, requirements and constraints of moving the Strategy forward.

Both implementing authorities strongly feel the need for benefiting, expanding and building upon the results of this Project. The continuation of this Project should aim to go beyond merely providing development control policies and urban design projects to provide the necessary institutional and legal framework together with a package of financial, legal, planning and socio-economic measures, policies and instruments. It will provide the necessary powers and legal status to implement the proposed Strategy and bring about the long-awaited change and successfully revitalise the Core of Nicosia.

<u>Proposed focus of activities</u>

The following broad activity areas are identified as central to the fulfilment of the Strategy:

A. Bi-communality – continuation and strengthening of <u>bi-communal cooperation</u> as a necessary methodological prerequisite for the adoption of a joint approach to planning and implementation actions expressed through a joint Development Plan.

B. Public consultation – awareness and networking of private sector stakeholders for <u>broadening the investment and consultative mechanism</u> needed for articulating private and implementation actions expressed through a joint Development Plan.

C. Sustainable Finance – exploring and elaborating mechanisms for finance (Revolving Fund, Urban Regeneration Company, etc.) as a crucial element to <u>support a sustained resource base for on-going implementation process</u>.

D. Joint governance – promoting and detailing the <u>common institutional base for Walled City and CBD planning and implementation</u> to provide the necessary 'organisational infrastructure' with capacity to promote, lead and follow on-going actions.

<u>Pg. 23</u>

E. Demonstration scheme – development and 'packaging' of an implementation project in a strategic location in and across the buffer zone to act as the <u>focus for the application of bi-communal effort, the consultation process and the governance and financial mechanisms</u>.

<u>Overall objective</u>: To consolidate and activate the results of the *New Vision for Core of Nicosia Project* achieved so far in the direction of strengthening (a) the role of the private sector as an effective partner to the public sector of Nicosia and (b) the national institutions on 'bringing the market back' into the Core of Nicosia, primarily in the Walled City. Furthermore, to make the development problems and opportunities of the area known to the main stakeholders and make possible the creation of a network of related organisations to constitute an active market-driven forum for policy and implementation actions.

The stakeholders of the NVP expect the development of a new policy framework (Plan) for stimulating and managing / controlling development in the Core Area under the remit of the Strategy. While the development and approval of the 'Plan' is under way, and to ensure that the momentum is maintained, concrete project actions must be undertaken to intervene in the most strategic locations in the buffer zone and bring about early results.

Proposed Actions
The following Actions are proposed:
A. Bi-communality
<u>Action A.1</u> Maintaining the framework of this Project with sufficient manpower and financial resources to lead Project activities
<u>Action A. 2</u> Building an NMP Strategy Web-site
<u>Action A. 3</u> Expanding the activities of the NMP Information Centres.

B. Public consultation
<u>Action B. 1</u> Continuation of meetings with key stakeholders who participated in the September Workshop (Municipal Councils, Chambers of Commerce, Scientific Technical Chambers, Associations of Shopkeepers, Development Banks, Major Property Owners, etc.)
<u>Action B. 2</u> Series of Workshops/ Seminars targeted for the presentation of the above groups, and other counterpart groups
<u>Action B. 3</u> Utilisation of the results of these Workshops for the presentation of the possible forms of Public Private Partnerships and the requirements for establishing an Urban Regeneration Company.
C. Sustainable finance
<u>Action C. 1</u> Dialogue with responsible authorities concerning opportunities and actions for increasing public revenues and operating a Nicosia Investment Revolving Fund
<u>Action C. 2</u> Contacting and utilising the resources of international personalities attached to 'centres of excellence' from the US and Europe (Universities, Resource Centres/ Institutes) to advice and build on national/ local experience on urban regeneration and relevant instruments.
<u>Action C. 3</u> Organising Workshops on the above

<u>Pg. 24</u>
D. Joint governance
<u>Action D.1</u> Dialogue with the responsible local authorities for actively promoting the establishment of a Joint Walled City Development Board/ Nicosia Regeneration Corporation
<u>Action D. 2</u> Engaging in in-depth meetings with the Leaders of Nicosia for joint activities and continuous co-operation on institutional, implementation and broader bi-communal actions
<u>Action D. 3</u> Providing technical and community-based support to this Leader-focused initiatives (private sector networking, mass media, etc.)

E. Demonstration (pre-feasibility) scheme
<u>Action E. 1</u> Selecting a scheme from among those presented in the Portfolio of Projects (in a central location in and across the buffer zone) to function as a priority implementation scheme <u>and</u> to operate as a vehicle and focus for demonstrating how the institutional, financial, legal and governance elements referred to above (A,B, C and D) will work or adjustment to work better.
<u>Action E. 2</u> Study tour to the US or Europe to build up international knowledge and experience about similar projects.

Wider use and linkage of the results of the proposed Project – The wider planning process of Nicosia

The present phase and the proposed follow up phase of the *New Vision Project* are essentially parts of a wider planning activity for Nicosia. The combined results of this Project will b linked, fed into and provide added support to this wider planning effort.

A. Preparation of a joint Nicosia Core Area Development Plan

A Joint Development Plan for Nicosia is presently missing. Its preparation and legal enforcement are urgent priorities in order to guide, support and stimulate the development of the Core Area as a unified planning unit. This activity will entail a much wider range of technical inputs and broader coordination initially by the authorities of Nicosia and later on under a joint management board/ authority. It will build upon the strategic elements already provided by the New Vision Project and the governance mechanisms to be developed by the proposed 'New Vision II' Project.

B. Preparation and implementation of other Core Area Projects

The implementation of actions on the ground is perceived as an on-going process to which the proposed Project will make a significant contribution. The project design and implementation programme will continue beyond the 'pilot priority project' referred to above to include the remaining projects, including important interventions in the CBD area (Makarios Avenue, CBD North, and others) whose realisation will draw upon the institutional framework and governance mechanisms elaborated in the context of Action D *'Demonstration/ pre-feasibility scheme'*.

BUFFER ZONE AND THE WALLED CITY
3.1.1 Project Area A: Buffer Zone Project

(a) Area Description
The Buffer Zone cuts across the heart of the Walled City forming a lifeless corridor, disrupting the city's cohesion and continuity. Within the Walled City, the buffer zone runs approximately 1.5 km in length and passes through several neighbourhoods, such as Paphos Gate (Porta Domenico), Arabahmet, Karamanzade, Ayios Andreas, Phaneromeni, Selimiye (Ayia Sophia), Arasta (Lokmaci point), Omeriye, Chrysaliniotissa and Ayios Kassianos. The area is shown in **Figure 2.**

(b) The Strategic Context
This central strip of the Walled City used to be the focal point of social activity and trade, thus concentrating mush of the city's rich architectural heritage. Since 1974, it has formed part of the buffer zone and has been completely inaccessible. The effects of the division have been devastating. In this highly restricted area within the City Walls, beautiful medieval churches, elegant neoclassical buildings, traditional houses, schools, shops and workshops, are crumbling from neglect.
The buildings stand on approximately 10% of the total area of the Walled City. Their state of deterioration is having a devastating impact on the old city's historic urban fabric and the architectural heritage contained within it. Furthermore, its existence aggravates the conditions which contribute to the degrading of the environment and living conditions of the historic centre.

(c) Justification
The Buffer Zone is identified as the most important 'gluing' area in the functional integration of the city. A large percentage of the building stock included in the area is of high architectural value, but 38 years of abandonment had a devastating impact on its environmental quality. Therefore, its development should aim to utilise the opportunities for re-establishing the local and city-wide heritage significance of this area and enhancing its role as the vital core of the city by creating an overall environment to attract and accommodate activities suitable for its historic character and future socio-economic function, to make a major contribution to bi-communal cooperation and regeneration of the Core of Nicosia Area and the city as a whole. (See Diagram 1)

Appendix II: Analysis of Interview Data

The following section presents the first stage of interview analysis (i.e. meta-analysis), which examined the different interview responses, comments and develops themes/ codes. This information informed *Chapter 5: Presentation of Interview Findings from the Case Study of Walled Nicosia* and *Chapter 6: Discussion.*

Group 1: Interviews with local residents an shop-keepers

Person Interviewed: A.M. (Nicosia resident and works with one of the contractors employed by the Nicosia Master Plan team)
Age group: 30-35

1. **The two municipalities are collaborating for the regeneration of Old Nicosia. How much do you know about that? Have you noticed any changes in the appearance of the city?**

I know about the regeneration of Nicosia, and about the bi-communal Nicosia Masterplan, as well as the NMP's approach to the walled part of Nicosia due to my work involvement. I am a planning, transport and environmental consultant for a contractor working with the South Nicosia Municipality and, even though I am familiar with the project, I know there is not a lot of public consultation. I have noticed the overall regeneration of the city, even the projects undertaken by other teams because regeneration is very obvious over the last few years.

2. **One of the approaches of the bi-communal Nicosia Master Plan was the façade restoration of privately owned residences (instead of the entire buildings). What is your opinion about that approach? Can you trace any positive or negative outcomes related to the overall representation/appearance/image of the walled City?**

Regenerating the entire buildings is the best choice, but I think restoring the façade is better than nothing and I was aware about it due to my work involvement. One of the things that I have noticed is that the contractor I work with has stayed truthful to the traditional materials of the projects we undertake, but this is not the case everywhere as there are inconsistencies both between the old and the new, as well as between contractors.

3. **Do you think there are any issues related to the bi-communal master plan the two municipalities are not dealing with (e.g. buffer zone inside, skin of buffer zone, particular buildings/streets)?**

I am not sure whether there are any issues in the north as I have only been once – the south is a lot more developed. I am aware that the buildings in the north are in their original state, but they are also in bad condition, unlike the south that demolished and rebuilt some areas. → more radical approach on the South?

4. **Have you ever been to the North/South of Walled Nicosia? Have you noticed any difference between the boundaries placed in the North of the Buffer Zone in comparison to the ones on the South?**

I have only been once to the North and not close to the boundaries, so I cannot really answer that. On the south I have noticed that there were many derelict sites which have been regenerated over the last year. I have seen how

Line numbers: 1-24 (left margin)

Handwritten margin notes:
→ Even though not asked, he mentions lack of public consultation. (Regeneration is indeed obvious, but his direct involvement with the NMP could also be a reason of knowing/observing).

→ authenticity is, therefore not a priority (when not required by regulation). A.M. appears to disapprove of the "inconsistencies" observed throughout the urban fabric of walled Nicosia.

→ working in the south for the NMP, but only been to the north once (as a visitor). Lack of collaboration at an intermediate level? (i.e neither at the top or bottom / NMP or public)

25 some areas close to the buffer zone have been regenerated and I am not sure I agree with it as I do not want to
26 forget that the boundary still exists. The south now does not look as old, since this generation (meaning the
27 children of people who have experienced the war) is less intimidated and more used to this situation. It seems that
28 there is a more commercial atmosphere as well. → city adapting to contemporary needs

29 5. Show images of the boundaries and ask to recognise. Regardless of successful or unsuccessful recognition,
30 ask to identify the difference between the two photos and possibly where do they *think* each boundary is
31 located and why.

32 I can recognise two images from the south because I am familiar with the area, but even if I did not know, the flag
33 and colours make it clear which site is which. I cannot recognise the north, but I am assuming the images with the
34 wall, which are also more badly maintained are from that site; also because they are unfamiliar images. If they
35 were from the south I would have probably known.
36 The differences I see between the two photos are the lack of maintenance in the north and the fact that there is a
37 wall instead of oil barrels like we have in the south.

38 6. Did you know that there were museums of National Struggle on both sides? How much do you know about
39 that?

40 I did not know about that, but it does not surprise me – it makes sense. selective knowledge.

41 7. What other identical buildings/ facilities can you identify between the North and South parts of Walled
42 Nicosia?

43 I am not familiar with any functions/ facilities in the north, but I believe there could be more co-ordination between
44 the two municipalities in order to make the city more functional and possibly avoid the duplication of services. I
45 think if the municipalities consider this more carefully, it would improve the functionality of the city in the case of
46 future reunification.

47 8. Which areas would you consider as being mostly tourist oriented? How?

48 I think Ledra's Street (south) is a very tourist oriented point within the walls, but I am not sure about the north.
49 From what I remember the area after the checkpoints was quite tourist focused.
50 I think these areas are more commercialised than the rest because of the crossing, which I think is also used as a
51 means to sell products as well as national ideas and political messages.

→ unwilling to forget the conflict and amplies the significance of the boundary in establishing this objective

↓ the the Role of/tangible built environment on the protection of (intangible) memories is highlighted here.

→ no memories from the north, but assumed that badly maintained areas must belong to the TC side. Aware of the different approaches to the boundary, as well as of the promotion of national symbols in the south.

→ mentions functionality as part of the issues emerging as a result of the division of the city.

S2— **9. Which areas would you consider as being authentic within Nicosia? Why is that?**

S3— *I am not certain about the north, but from what I can tell from the Shakolas tower (the tallest building in the heart*

S4— *of south Nicosia, which overlooks the entire walled city) it all looks older on that site and, therefore, more*

S5— *authentic. It is probably due to the lack of development, but this is what I think. In the south part of the city I would*

S6— *say the residential area of Takt-el-Kale. Because regeneration has pushed the city to commercialisation and*

S7— *entertainment – oriented activities, I consider some buildings authentic in appearance, but not in use. I think the*

S8— *south should have kept some of the authentic functions of those buildings.*

→ again, he considers the 'untouched' and the original as the more authentic.

→ different layers of authenticity mentioned in the south, some (i.e. the B2) also relevant to the conflict/ division either directly or indirectly.

<u>Note:</u>

A.M. at the end of the short interview he expressed his disapproval of the ongoing regeneration of Eleftheria square by Zaha Hadid architects and insisted that this approach does not represent the authentic identity of the city. He wanted me to write it in my notes, in case it become relevant to my research.

Person Interviewed: V.M. (Nicosia Resident)
Age group: 60-65

[handwritten annotation: more familiar with the area around the crossing]

1. The two municipalities are collaborating for the regeneration of Old Nicosia. How much do you know about that? Have you noticed any changes in the appearance of the city?

[handwritten annotation: familiar with most visited areas / popular areas of walled Nicosia, but not the 'edges' or the rest of the walled city. Selective knowledge.]

I have noticed some 'curtains' placed at some point to cover the buffer zone where the crossing between the north and south is – they have now been removed because they regenerated the buildings around there instead.

2. One of the approaches of the bi-communal Nicosia Master Plan was the façade restoration of privately owned residences (instead of the entire buildings). What is your opinion about that approach? Can you trace any positive or negative outcomes related to the overall representation/appearance/image of the walled City?

[handwritten annotation: Brief answer without adequate justification.]

I think the approach looks OK for now as it makes the areas more appealing, but it would make more sense if they fixed them in the long term.

3. Do you think there are any issues related to the bi-communal master plan the two municipalities are not dealing with (e.g. buffer zone inside, skin of buffer zone, particular buildings/streets)?

[handwritten annotation: lack of familiarity with the NMP]

I cannot think of any at the moment.

4. Have you ever been to the North/South of Walled Nicosia? Have you noticed any difference between the boundaries placed in the North of the Buffer Zone in comparison to the ones on the South?

[handwritten annotation: moving away/ disregarding the boundaries, even though they are meters away from the main commercial streets and the walled city edges in general. → ignoring/disregarding any memories of conflict.]

Yes, I have been to both sites and I could see that the south is more developed and better taken care of than the north. I am not sure I remember anything about the boundaries on both sites. I did not really approach them besides the one at the crossing.

5. Show images of the boundaries and ask to recognise. Regardless of successful or unsuccessful recognition, ask to identify the difference between the two photos and possibly where do they *think* each boundary is located and why.

22   *I can recognise two from the south site* (pointed at two images from south)*, because of the flags and the colours of*
23   *the barrels as well as the fact that the surrounding buildings are newer. I can also recognise the ones in the north*
24   *simply because they are different, plus I can see the Turkish words on the walls, but I am unsure.*
25   *The images from the south show the buildings to be cleaner and better maintained, but I did not think about the*
26   *difference in the materials of the boundaries* (meaning the temporary boundaries in the south vs the permanent in
27   the north).

→ assuming which areas are from the south, even-though she is not familiar with the appearance of the boundaries within the walls → (re)constructed memories due to existing opinion/knowledge/expectations on how each site looks/should look.

28   **6. Did you know that there were museums of National Struggle on both sides? How much do you know about**
29   **that?**

30   *I knew about the one in the south, but had no idea there was also one in the north.* → selective knowledge

31   **7. What other identical buildings/ facilities can you identify between the North and South parts of Walled**
32   **Nicosia?**

33   *I know that both sides have restored hamams (meaning Turkish baths), but I am unfamiliar with anything else.*

→ familiar with more recreational facilities (tourist oriented).

34   **8. Which areas would you consider as being mostly tourist oriented? How?**

→ suggests a lack of development, but also one Cyprus

35   *I think the central north part of walled Nicosia, because you can see Cyprus how it was, whereas the south part is*
36   *more contemporary. The most tourist oriented areas in the south are Palia Gitonia (Old Neighbourhood – an area*
37   *at the beginning of Ledras, close to Eleftheria square) as they try to make it look old in order to attract tourists.*

38   **9. Which areas would you consider as being authentic within Nicosia? Why is that?**

39   *Palia Gitonia (Old Neighbourhood), even though tourist oriented I think it also has some authentic qualities, but not*
40   *Ledra's Street due to over-commercialisation. The alleyways and streets parallel to Ledra's, such as Onesagorou*
41   *(east of Ledra Street) are probably more authentic. Takt-el-Kale neighbourhood is also an area which I consider*
42   *authentic, as well as Pafos and Famagusta gates, because they all look as they were many years ago. In the north, I*
43   *do not remember the name of the street, but it is the one right after the cross point on your left (meaning the street*
44   *which leads to Gyrne Avenue). I find both sides attractive as I like the transition between old and new buildings*
45   *from one site to the other.*

→ "as they were" = authentic

some of the areas considered as authentic, are also the ones perceived as tourist-oriented. Reference to the "old" as being the more authentic + untouched areas (away from memories of conflict primarily mentioned).

Person Interviewed:
S.S. (Policeman working at the checkpoints within walled Nicosia)
Age group: 45-50

1. **The two municipalities are collaborating for the regeneration of Old Nicosia. How much do you know about that? Have you noticed any changes in the appearance of the city?**

I am aware of the Nicosia Master Plan project between the Geek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot municipalities, as well as some plans to refurbish monuments around Nicosia, religious and other listed buildings and have noticed some of these changes, as well as the improvement of pavements and streets. I also know that at one point they were working within the buffer zone to improve some buildings (meaning the ones the public sees when crossing from one side to the other).

2. **One of the approaches of the bi-communal Nicosia Master Plan was the façade restoration of privately owned residences (instead of the entire buildings). What is your opinion about that approach? Can you trace any positive or negative outcomes related to the overall representation/appearance/image of the walled City?**

The fact that the regeneration of buildings is skin-deep is a very superficial approach in my opinion, but it does make sense as they would have to spend too much money to restore the entire buildings. This is what they have done with the Olympic Hotel as well (meaning the hotel next to the Ledra's checkpoint), to make the area more attractive for people who are trying to cross. I find the approach superficial.

3. **Do you think there are any issues related to the bi-communal master plan the two municipalities are not dealing with (e.g. buffer zone inside, skin of buffer zone, particular buildings/streets)?**

I met a Turkish Cypriot architect once, working for the Nicosia Master Plan, who told me that they have been guided towards addressing certain projects in urgent need, but I have not really noticed any changes. I think that the TC builders could be more supervised. The only one very visible is the improvement of the crossing between the north and south (meaning the Olympic hotel's restored facade).

4. **Have you ever been to the North/South of Walled Nicosia? Have you noticed any difference between the boundaries placed in the North of the Buffer Zone in comparison to the ones on the South?**

I have never been to the north so I cannot really answer your question.

[Handwritten annotations:]
→ mainly refers to the south part of Nicosia. Selective knowledge.

→ Olympic hotel

→ disapproves of facadism and its "superficial" nature.

→ biased?

→ not the case. At the time of the interview many areas (such as Arabahmet, chrysaliniotissa, Takt-el-kale, etc.) were almost fully restored/regenerated (skin deep on some cases, but still visible.
↳ selective knowledge.

5. **Show images of the boundaries and ask to recognise. Regardless of successful or unsuccessful recognition, ask to identify the difference between the two photos and possibly where do they *think* each boundary is located and why.**

I am assuming that this is the TC part because it is very dirty *(indeed guessed which pictures belonged to the TC part of Nicosia). I can also recognise the GC part because of the restored buildings, but if you had not told me, I would not have noticed that the boundaries in the north are more permanent as opposed to the south. I think there are walled boundaries in the south too...* → not as familiar with the areas closer to the buffer zone (besides the crossing).

6. **Did you know that there were museums of National Struggle on both sides? How much do you know about that?**

→ no actual memories from the north, but makes assumptions based on general knowledge from south.

No – never been and I refuse to go. I just work as a policeman on the south. → A policeman ON the Ledra checkpoint

7. **What other identical buildings/ facilities can you identify between the North and South parts of Walled Nicosia?**

There is a very vivid underdevelopment between the north and the south (meaning that the south is more developed, even though he has never been*), from what I can see from the top of Shakolas tower. In 2007 when I was sent here (meaning the checkpoint) I could see women in the north, opposite Ledra's washing their clothes in the harjin (χαρτζίν – meaning a large bowl used many years ago in Cyprus to wash clothes by hand). They were Turkish immigrants and not Turkish Cypriot. I think the reason the north part is so underdeveloped is because of the fact that so many poor Turkish immigrants came here after the war (meaning 1974).* → differentiates between TCs and Turkish migrants from mainland Turkey

8. **Which areas would you consider as being mostly tourist oriented? How?**

In the south, Ledras and Onasagorou (east of and parallel to Ledra Street) are tourist oriented because they focus on commercial and retail activities. Even though I have never been to the north I know that the Saray area as well as the area close to the Mosque (meaning Selimiye Mosque), as well as the area around the casino (meaning Girne Avenue) are tourist oriented.

9. **Which areas would you consider as being authentic within Nicosia? Why is that?**

→ (assumes) which areas belong to the north due to their neglected state → artificial memories / knowledge of the north has allowed S.S. to make assumptions about the other (unvisited by him) side.

→ Rejection of the TC community, which further enhances the intangible boundary between the north and south.

→ distinguishes between TCs and Turkish immigrants and recognises that they contribute to the underdevelopment of the north

Line numbers in left margin: 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48

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49 —
50 —
51 —
52 —

Laiki Gitonia (meaning traditional neighbourhood -also known and mentioned earlier as Palia Gitonia, meaning old neighbourhood) is quite authentic as well as the alleyways leading to and from Ledra's because they are less commercial and more in their original state. There is also an area behind the archbishop's palace (meaning the Takt-el-Kale and Chrysaliniotissa neighbourhoods) because it has not been commercialised or overly changed.

↳ commercialisation (even though acknowledged by some interviewees as a way of making areas more popular to visitors), it is also not considered to be an authentic representation of the walled city. This is possibly due to the fact that Hermes street (now in the b.z.) used to be the main commercial part of old Nicosia.

→ no areas close to the BZ mentioned as authentic, even though they are the most 'untouched' or original since the 1974 conflict. Areas bringing the memory of division back are generally neglected/ignored by people who share the same views as S.So.

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Person Interviewed:
G.P. (Nicosia resident and working in the walled part of the city – librarian at the municipal library next to Eleftheria Square)
Age group: 30-35

1   1. The two municipalities are collaborating for the regeneration of Old Nicosia. How much do you know about
2   that? Have you noticed any changes in the appearance of the city?

3   *I had no idea that the two municipalities were collaborating. I have seen some changes, but I am not sure if they*
4   *are part of the Nicosia Master Plan.*

5   2. One of the approaches of the bi-communal Nicosia Master Plan was the façade restoration of privately
6   owned residences (instead of the entire buildings). What is your opinion about that approach? Can you trace
7   any positive or negative outcomes related to the overall representation/appearance/image of the walled
8   City?

9   *I was not aware about the façade restoration, but I think I would rather use a bit more money for the entire*
10 *restoration of buildings rather than just give them a 'face-lift'. I have no more comments to make for the overall*
11 *outcome of this approach.*

12 3. Do you think there are any issues related to the bi-communal master plan the two municipalities are not
13   dealing with (e.g. buffer zone inside, skin of buffer zone, particular buildings/streets)?

14 *I am not sure which problems belong to the Nicosia Master Plan so I cannot really comment on any issues, but I do*
15 *not like the way they have chosen to regenerate Eleftheria Square and Zaha Hadid's proposal.*

16 4. Have you ever been to the North/South of Walled Nicosia? Have you noticed any difference between the
17   boundaries placed in the North of the Buffer Zone in comparison to the ones on the South?

18 *I have not really noticed any changes between the two sides, even though the last time I have been across*
19 *(meaning the north) was three years ago.*

20 5. Show images of the boundaries and ask to recognise. Regardless of successful or unsuccessful recognition,
21   ask to identify the difference between the two photos and possibly where do they *think* each boundary is
22   located and why.

[Handwritten margin notes:]

→ lack of public awareness and consequently participation (the gvt and consequently the municipalities seem to hold power / decision making exclusively, and indirectly contribute to the increasing top-down approach dominating the NMP initiative.
↳ Had there been no conflict, would the approach be different?

→ mentioned that she disapproves of the proposal as it does not match the character of the walls. In-authentic?

[Handwritten note on line 19:] → limited / selective knowledge & memories about the north.

→ working 300metres from the crossing, yet not visiting the other side as frequently.

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23 — *I can assume which images belong to the north part of the city because they are very dirty. The north is generally*
24 — *not well maintained. I did notice that they (meaning the TC's) have built a solid wall, but it was not very obvious*
25 — *when I went there three years ago.*

26 — **6. Did you know that there were museums of National Struggle on both sides? How much do you know about**
27 — **that?**

28 — *I was not aware that both sides had a museum of national struggle – I only knew about our museum, but it makes*
29 — *sense for them (meaning the TC's) to have something equivalent.* → selective knowledge

30 — **7. What other identical buildings/ facilities can you identify between the North and South parts of Walled**
31 — **Nicosia?**

→ different impression about the north ('otherness')

32 — *I am not sure about identical facilities, but I can tell you that, even though the north seems to be gradually*
33 — *developing, it is clearly not as developed as the south. The impression I have is not the same – it (meaning the*
34 — *north) looks less European. As far as I know, they have money but they do not spend it on the maintenance of their*
35 — *buildings, unlike the south which overspends. I think the south generally has a mentality of overspending in*
36 — *comparison to the north.*

→ false knowledge + assumptions based on biased perception of the 'other'

37 — **8. Which areas would you consider as being mostly tourist oriented? How?**

38 — *Ledra Street, Onasagorou (east of and parallel to Ledra's) are quite tourist oriented because of their character*
39 — *(meaning their functional character of commercial, entertainment and retail activities).*

40 — **9. Which areas would you consider as being authentic within Nicosia? Why is that?**

41 — *In the north, the street next to Hermes street (meaning the commercial part on the other side of the street linked to*
42 — *Hermes street, i.e. Arasta Street.*
43 — *In the south, Onasagorou street as well as the Faneromeni area because the buildings have not really changed or*
44 — *overly commercialised like Ledra Street. In Onasagorou the older buildings have just been restored, but not*
45 — *replaced.*

Handwritten margin notes:

→ has noticed the neglected state of the north and, even, though not familiar with the images shown to her, her 'imagined' memories allow her to make assumptions

→ implies cultural differences on the mentality of spending + possibly a naive, yet interesting, opinion knowing the economically deprived state of the North.

→ considers the old/original, 'untouched' and unchanged as the authentic, but no reference to the 'untouched' and original areas next to the BZ was made. Again, a possible indication of ignoring any memories of war/division.

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Person Interviewed:
Y.Ch. (Shop owner in walled Nicosia – Onasagorou Street, east of Ledra Street)
Age group: 60-65

1 —
2 —
1. The two municipalities are collaborating for the regeneration of Old Nicosia. How much do you know about that? Have you noticed any changes in the appearance of the city?

→ Familiar with the very early stages of the NMP.

3 — *I have heard of it, but I have not seen anything yet, except from the time they were incorporating the sewage.*

4 —
5 —
6 —
7 —
2. One of the approaches of the bi-communal Nicosia Master Plan was the façade restoration of privately owned residences (instead of the entire buildings). What is your opinion about that approach? Can you trace any positive or negative outcomes related to the overall representation/appearance/image of the walled City?

8 —
9 —
I have only noticed some changes in Ledra's, but nothing in the other areas. I do not disagree with the façade restoration, as long as the buildings are habitable – if not they should do more to ensure their full restoration.

Even though a shop owner close to the BZ, he has never visited the north ↳Rejection→ SELECTIVE knowledge.

10 —
11 —
3. Do you think there are any issues related to the bi-communal master plan the two municipalities are not dealing with (e.g. buffer zone inside, skin of buffer zone, particular buildings/streets)?

→aware of the current/ ongoing delays of the NMP, even though he is not really aware of what is going on in the north (TC) part of Nicosia.

12 —
13 —
I have never been to the north part, but I know that the ongoing political differences between the two sides have caused a lot of delays in the implementation of the Nicosia Master Plan.

14 —
15 —
4. Have you ever been to the North/South of Walled Nicosia? Have you noticed any difference between the boundaries placed in the North of the Buffer Zone in comparison to the ones on the South?

16 — *I cannot really answer this question because I have never been to the north.*

→Even though his shop is only a few metres from the crossing.

17 —
18 —
19 —
5. Show images of the boundaries and ask to recognise. Regardless of successful or unsuccessful recognition, ask to identify the difference between the two photos and possibly where do they *think* each boundary is located and why.

↓ knows details about the façade restoration. this selective knowledge has

20 —
21 —
I can recognise the boundaries on the south part of the city because I can see the regenerated facades - it is a project going on for years. These three (meaning the images showing the north boundaries) must be in the north,

22 — because I cannot recognise the areas and they look very dirty and underdeveloped. Some of these areas also look
23 — deserted. → assumptions based on knowledge he has from the north.

also allowed him to make assumptions about the boundaries in the North.

24 — **6. Did you know that there were museums of National Struggle on both sides? How much do you know about**
25 — **that?**

26 — I knew about the one in the south, but not about the north. SELECTIVE KNOWLEDGE.

27 — **7. What other identical buildings/ facilities can you identify between the North and South parts of Walled**
28 — **Nicosia?**

29 — I cannot answer this question because I have never been to the north.

30 — **8. Which areas would you consider as being mostly tourist oriented? How?**

31 — I think Ledra Street and Onasagorou Street (where his shop is located) are the more tourist oriented because of
32 — their function (meaning commercial – retail).

33 — **9. Which areas would you consider as being authentic within Nicosia? Why is that?**

34 — I think the most authentic areas are the residential neighbourhoods of Takt-el-Kale and Chrysaliniotissa, because
35 — they have changed less than the rest of the city. Hermes street (meaning the street largely in the buffer zone today)
36 — used to be a very authentic area as well.

→ also considers the un-changed to be the most authentic.
(Takt-el-kale + chrysaliniotissa have both been regenerated as part of the NMP with new commercial facilities beginning to occupy the areas).

→ Possibly due to his age and long-established store within the walls he knows the city before its division and is the only person to address an area within the BZ as authentic. He, nevertheless refers to Hermess street BEFORE the conflict and consequently rejects the current state of the BZ as bearing any traces of authenticity.

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Person Interviewed:
K.M. (an archaeologist working part time at an optician in Ledra Street)
Age group: 20-25

1   **1.**   **The two municipalities are collaborating for the regeneration of Old Nicosia. How much do you know about**
2   **that? Have you noticed any changes in the appearance of the city?**

3   *I was not aware about the bi-communal Nicosia Master Plan. I noticed many Turkish Cypriots coming to the south*
4   *over the past few years, but in terms of architectural changes I have not really noticed anything significant.*

5   **2.**   **One of the approaches of the bi-communal Nicosia Master Plan was the façade restoration of privately**
6   **owned residences (instead of the entire buildings). What is your opinion about that approach? Can you trace**
7   **any positive or negative outcomes related to the overall representation/appearance/image of the walled**
8   **City?**

9   *I think restoring just the facades has its merits in terms of making the appearance of the building better, but it is*
10   *very superficial and makes me think that the two municipalities are trying to show they are restoring the buildings,*
11   *when in reality their work is skin-deep.*

12   **3.**   **Do you think there are any issues related to the bi-communal master plan the two municipalities are not**
13   **dealing with (e.g. buffer zone inside, skin of buffer zone, particular buildings/streets)?**

14   *I do not know much about the Nicosia Master Plan, but I think there is a general lack of trust between the Greek*
15   *Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots that influenced their relationship. Religious differences might be an issue and the*
16   *existence of the buffer zone might be a problem.*

17   **4.**   **Have you ever been to the North/South of Walled Nicosia? Have you noticed any difference between the**
18   **boundaries placed in the North of the Buffer Zone in comparison to the ones on the South?**

19   *I have not really noticed any significant differences, but the last time I visited was five years ago, so I do not really*
20   *remember much.*

21   **5.**   **Show images of the boundaries and ask to recognise. Regardless of successful or unsuccessful recognition,**
22   **ask to identify the difference between the two photos and possibly where do they *think* each boundary is**
23   **located and why.**

Handwritten annotations (right margin):
→ limited memories of the changes taking place within the city

Even though she acknowledges its merits, she → also believes facadism is a superficial approach.

→ Implies the existence of both tangible and intangible boundaries due to conflict. Trust is also an issue raised here → possibly due to the instability of political relations between the 2 communities over the years/centuries.

Handwritten annotation (bottom):
↳ Even though the shop she works for is metres away from the crossing...

24 — *I can recognise the images which are ours, not only because I know them but also because of the blue and white*
25 — *colours. I can see there is a significant contrast between the north and south, as the north seems to be in worse*
26 — *condition.* → assumptions based on personal knowledge/opinion about the north.

27
28 — **6. Did you know that there were museums of National Struggle on both sides? How much do you know about that?**

29 — *I had no idea, but I think I should have known because I am an archaeologist.*

30
31 — **7. What other identical buildings/ facilities can you identify between the North and South parts of Walled Nicosia?**

32 — *I cannot really answer this question as I do not remember, but I do remember that the buildings in the north looked*
33 — *older. I also remember that I felt as if I was not in Nicosia – the area was unfamiliar.*

34 — **8. Which areas would you consider as being mostly tourist oriented? How?**

35 — *Ledra and Onasagorou Streets because of the shops and cafes, which has resulted in Makariou Avenue (a modern*
36 — *avenue outside the walls which includes retail, commercial and entertainment facilities) in being more deserted. I*
37 — *do not remember which areas are most tourist oriented in the north.*

└ return of walled Nicosia's growth has influenced the commercial area(s) outside the walls

38 — **9. Which areas would you consider as being authentic within Nicosia? Why is that?**

39 — *In the south, I think most alleyways away from the commercial area of Ledra Street and Onasagorou Street are*
40 — *more authentic because they have not changed that much – buildings and streets are as they were in those areas.*

→ Also recognises the south boundaries due to the selected memories she had from the GC part. Interestingly, she could remember national symbols, but not the restored projects of the NMP (south) which took place next to them.

→ the tangible gap between the north and south has reinforced the gap between individuals and their knowledge of what constitutes part of walled Nicosia. Selective memories → selective authenticities.

→ She also refers to the 'untouched' and unchanged as the authentic, but also neglects to mention the historic neighbourhoods within the walls. She also neglects to mention the north as possessing authentic qualities, even though it is the most unaltered of the 2 parts.

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Person Interviewed:
C.Th. (Nicosia resident and owns a café outside the walls of Nicosia)
Age group: 30-35

1 2

1. The two municipalities are collaborating for the regeneration of Old Nicosia. How much do you know about that? Have you noticed any changes in the appearance of the city?

→ lack of awareness/ knowledge about the NMP → lack of public participation.

3 4

I have noticed some changes around the city, but I was unaware about the collaboration between the two municipalities. No one really informed us.

5 6 7 8

2. One of the approaches of the bi-communal Nicosia Master Plan was the façade restoration of privately owned residences (instead of the entire buildings). What is your opinion about that approach? Can you trace any positive or negative outcomes related to the overall representation/appearance/image of the walled City?

→ Also finds facadism as a superficial approach, even though he can see the merits of such a method. He appears to feel detached from the heritage of the city, as he considers heritage management to be more tourist oriented, rather than belonging to the locals → consequently inauthentic?

9 10 11 12

I think the mere restoration of facades is a bit hypocritical because it seems like the municipality is doing it for the appearance and maybe for the tourists to see instead of the locals who actually live in those buildings. This is superficial because only the tourists and shop owners win in this case because the areas look tidy, but in the long term this will not be the case I think. This approach has both positives and negatives.

⌐→ long term concerns

13 14

3. Do you think there are any issues related to the bi-communal master plan the two municipalities are not dealing with (e.g. buffer zone inside, skin of buffer zone, particular buildings/streets)?

15 16

I am not sure about any other issues related to the Nicosia Master Plan. I was unaware of its existence before this interview.

17 18

4. Have you ever been to the North/South of Walled Nicosia? Have you noticed any difference between the boundaries placed in the North of the Buffer Zone in comparison to the ones on the South?

19

It has been many years since I visited the north so I cannot answer this question. → limited/selective knowledge + memories from the north

20 21 22

5. Show images of the boundaries and ask to recognise. Regardless of successful or unsuccessful recognition, ask to identify the difference between the two photos and possibly where do they *think* each boundary is located and why.

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23 — I can recognise the boundaries in the south easily because of the blue and white, plus I already knew some of the → could recognise the
24 — areas, but I would not have been able to recognise the boundaries in the north has you not told me.

6. Did you know that there were museums of National Struggle on both sides? How much do you know about
   that?

27 — I knew that we (meaning Greek Cypriots) have a museum of national struggle, but I was not aware there was one
28 — in the north. limited/selective knowledge.

29 — 7. What other identical buildings/ facilities can you identify between the North and South parts of Walled
30 — Nicosia?

31 — It has been a long time since I have been to the north, so I cannot think of any identical facilities

32 — 8. Which areas would you consider as being mostly tourist oriented? How?

33 — I think the streets connecting through the checkpoints (meaning Ledra and Arasta Streets) are quite tourist
34 — oriented, because of their retail and commercial activities, but I am not really aware of any other tourist oriented
35 — areas.

36 — 9. Which areas would you consider as being authentic within Nicosia? Why is that?

37 — In the south, I think the most authentic areas are Takt-el-Kale, because even though the facades have been restored
38 — at some points, it retains a lot of its original features and character. The same applies for the houses in
39 — Chrysaliniotissa.

could recognise the
national symbols/colours
on the boundaries,
but could not remember
of any restored areas
when asked earlier,
even though these are
close or next to some
of the boundaries (south)
shown in the pictures.
└→ SELECTIVE memories.

→ Also considers
areas retaining
their original
features as
authentic, but does
not refer to the
north or to the
'untouched' BZ.

└→ K. Th. did not mention
the restored facades
when asked earlier which
demonstrates how
unaware he is of which
projects belong to the NMP +
which are privately funded.

Person Interviewed:
L.K. (Nicosia resident)
Age group: 25-30

1. The two municipalities are collaborating for the regeneration of Old Nicosia. How much do you know about that? Have you noticed any changes in the appearance of the city?

I had no idea about the collaboration between the two municipalities and I have not really noticed any changes that would make me think they are working together or that there is a common master plan. I have noticed some regeneration, but I thought they were private projects rather than municipally funded.

→ *low of public knowledge about the NMP.*

2. One of the approaches of the bi-communal Nicosia Master Plan was the façade restoration of privately owned residences (instead of the entire buildings). What is your opinion about that approach? Can you trace any positive or negative outcomes related to the overall representation/appearance/image of the walled City?

It is a good think to at least regenerate the façade – better than nothing, but I disagree with partial restoration because it seems a bit superficial.

→ *acknowledges the merits of such approach, but the word "superficial" is also mentioned.*

3. Do you think there are any issues related to the bi-communal master plan the two municipalities are not dealing with (e.g. buffer zone inside, skin of buffer zone, particular buildings/streets)?

Parking is a major issue and traffic in general, possibly because of the buffer zone. I think they should introduce more parking spaces, but besides this, there are no other issues I can think of. → *infrastructural issues due to division?*

→ *does not really refer to any heritage management issues, but is aware of the infrastructural issues caused due to the division of the historic core.*

4. Have you ever been to the North/South of Walled Nicosia? Have you noticed any difference between the boundaries placed in the North of the Buffer Zone in comparison to the ones on the South?

I have never been to the north so I am not able to answer this question. → *limited/selective knowledge about the TC side.*

5. Show images of the boundaries and ask to recognise. Regardless of successful or unsuccessful recognition, ask to identify the difference between the two photos and possibly where do they *think* each boundary is located and why.

22
23
24
I can recognise the images from the south, but not from the north, both because they are familiar areas, but also because of the blue and white colours on the boundaries. I can assume which images are from the north because the areas are dirty and neglected.

25
26
6. Did you know that there were museums of National Struggle on both sides? How much do you know about that?

27
I knew that there was a museum of national struggle in the south, but had no idea about the north.

28
29
7. What other identical buildings/ facilities can you identify between the North and South parts of Walled Nicosia?

30
I cannot answer this question because I have never been to the north.

31
8. Which areas would you consider as being mostly tourist oriented? How?

32
33
34
Ledra Street, Onasagorou Street, Faneromeni area and the newly restored Soutsou street are quite tourist oriented I think because of their functional character (meaning commercial, retail, entertainment). I have never been to the north so I cannot tell you about that side.

35
9. Which areas would you consider as being authentic within Nicosia? Why is that?

36
37
Faneromeni area has retained some of its original buildings and materials, as well as its early 20th century primary school which is reminiscent of a more historic Cyprus. I am not sure about the north.

Handwritten annotations:

→ assumptions about which images belong to the north due to existing perception/knowledge about the way the TC part of Nicosia looks
→ artificial memories

→ limited knowledge & no memories from the north

→ pre-division?

→ like the other interviewees he refers to the materia- lity/appearance. A.M. talks (explicitly) about un-original functions in some of the areas most consider commercial activities in some areas as in-authentic.

→ considers the original as the authentic and, even though familiar with the walled city's regeneration, he does not mention any other areas closer to the boundary or the edges.

Person Interviewed: K.A. (Nicosia resident)
Age group: 25-30

1
2 **1.** The two municipalities are collaborating for the regeneration of Old Nicosia. How much do you know about that? Have you noticed any changes in the appearance of the city?

3 *I had previously heard of attempts to bring the GC and TC communities together, mainly through the US Full-bright*
4 *Programme, but I was not aware of the bi-communal master plan. I have noticed that there are improvements*
5 *taking place around the city, especially the historic centre, but I did not know they were part of this master plan.*

→ selective knowledge which also demonstrates lack of public awareness about the NMP.

6 **2.** One of the approaches of the bi-communal Nicosia Master Plan was the façade restoration of privately
7 owned residences (instead of the entire buildings). What is your opinion about that approach? Can you trace
8 any positive or negative outcomes related to the overall representation/appearance/image of the walled
9 City?

10 *I guess it is better than nothing because some areas were really run down and needed a face lift, but I think if they*
11 *made the entire buildings more appealing through more improvements the younger generations would also be*
12 *attracted to them…I think.*

— younger generations as the potential target for walled Nicosia.

→ Indication that she might feel detached from the walls due to its derelict state on some areas (more residential?)

13 **3.** Do you think there are any issues related to the bi-communal master plan the two municipalities are not
14 dealing with (e.g. buffer zone inside, skin of buffer zone, particular buildings/streets)?

15 *I did not know there was a bi-communal master plan, but the buffer zone must be a big issue for both sides. Many*
16 *of the buildings around the area are in bad condition or neglected. I know there are some entertainment facilities*
17 *happening around the market area in the south (meaning a recently renovated restaurant and a brewery/pub) but I*
18 *am not sure about the north.* → limited/selective knowledge about the north.

→ acknowledges the boundary (and division) as an issue on the neglect of the walled city

19 **4.** Have you ever been to the North/South of Walled Nicosia? Have you noticed any difference between the
20 boundaries placed in the North of the Buffer Zone in comparison to the ones on the South?

21 *I have been to the north a few times but never close to the buffer zone. I mainly walked around the street leading*
22 *from Ledra's to Buyuk Khan and the Mosque (meaning Selimiye mosque), but I did not come across any boundaries*
23 *except from the crossing point and the ones I already know in the south.*

→ lack of familiarity with the North, even though she has visited → close to go to the more 'tourist oriented'

↳ followed a natural route which leads to Selimiye → issue further highlighting areas.
the gap (interrupted spatial patterns between areas such as Arabahmed (the edges).

5. **Show images of the boundaries and ask to recognise. Regardless of successful or unsuccessful recognition, ask to identify the difference between the two photos and possibly where do they *think* each boundary is located and why.**

I can identify the ones in the south because I know the areas, but not the ones in the north, even though I can assume which ones belong to the north because the area is generally more neglected. I would not have thought that the boundaries in the north seem more permanent, but now that you have mentioned it, I am not surprised.   → biased perception about the 'other' is visible.

→ knowledge/familiarity with some of the boundaries in the south.
Prejudiced knowledge about the north once more observed.

6. **Did you know that there were museums of National Struggle on both sides? How much do you know about that?**

I knew about the south – we went there with school a couple of times. About the north, I had heard about it, but I do not know the details. I am not surprised though – maybe because I knew.

→ Brings up school education (as a contributor of selective national memories and authenticities.)

7. **What other identical buildings/ facilities can you identify between the North and South parts of Walled Nicosia?**

I know there are two main markets and the Turkish baths, but I am not sure about the rest. I have not walked around the north a lot, just close to the shops around the mosque area (meaning Selimye).

→ limited knowledge about the area, but also aware of some common facilities

8. **Which areas would you consider as being mostly tourist oriented? How?**

In the south I would say Ledra's and Laiki Gitonia (also mentioned earlier as Palia Gitonia – at the beginning of Ledra Street), because they also sell souvenirs and are more commercial – retail oriented, but I am not sure about the north. I think in the north the street with the small shops after the crossing, leading to Buyuk Han (the Great Inn) and the Mosque (meaning Arasta street) are quite touristy because of the things they sell and the types of shops there, but I do not know much about the rest of the area.

9. **Which areas would you consider as being authentic within Nicosia? Why is that?**

→ ottoman heritage.

That area close to the Turkish baths in the south (meaning the Omerye baths and neighbourhood) because there are many buildings which remind of an older past and Chrysaliniotissa because the buildings look original. I am not certain about the north, but around the mosque there were some traditional buildings which seemed authentic and the shops opposite the mosque looked quite old and not really well maintained.

→ also considers the pre-1974 older past as more authentic and perceives 'untouched' structures and monuments to be authentic too, but detaches authenticity from conflict.

└ originality → authenticity

399

Person Interviewed: K.J. (Nicosia resident)
Age group: 25-30

1 — **1. The two municipalities are collaborating for the regeneration of Old Nicosia. How much do you know about**
2 — **that? Have you noticed any changes in the appearance of the city?**

3 — *No, I had no idea. There are buildings being fixed here and there, but I thought they were private projects, done by*
4 — *the locals.*

5 — **2. One of the approaches of the bi-communal Nicosia Master Plan was the façade restoration of privately**
6 — **owned residences (instead of the entire buildings). What is your opinion about that approach? Can you trace**
7 — **any positive or negative outcomes related to the overall representation/appearance/image of the walled**
8 — **City?**

9 — *I guess restoring the facades is better than nothing, but there must be buildings in need of more work than just their*
10 — *exterior. It seems a bit superficial to me, but if they are taking care of the safety of the buildings I am OK with it. If*
11 — *the approach is more of a short term solution then I think the municipality needs to invest money in a better way.*

12 — **3. Do you think there are any issues related to the bi-communal master plan the two municipalities are not**
13 — **dealing with (e.g. buffer zone inside, skin of buffer zone, particular buildings/streets)?**

14 — *I have no idea, but surely the political differences between the two sides must contribute to some issues – or maybe*
15 — *not. I think the fact that people are not familiar with this master plan is an issue in itself. The buffer zone is an issue,*
16 — *but we cannot just remove it.*

17 — **4. Have you ever been to the North/South of Walled Nicosia? Have you noticed any difference between the**
18 — **boundaries placed in the North of the Buffer Zone in comparison to the ones on the South?**

19 — *I have been to the north a couple of years ago, but did not pay attention to the boundaries. I knew some of the*
20 — *streets which lead to the buffer zone in the north – you could see the boundary after the workshops – but I did not*
21 — *approach because I was alone with my sister and we were a bit scared. Even though I am familiar with the*
22 — *boundaries in the south, I did not think of comparing them, but our side is better maintained – not everywhere, but*
23 — *in some areas.*

Handwritten annotations:

→ also thinks that (residential) regeneration initiatives are privately addressed rather than by the NMP.

→ like other interviewees she recognises the merits of this approach in the short term.

→ "Superficial" mentioned again to describe facadism.

→ acknowledges lack of public participation and the existence of the BZ as a key contributor to the bad state of the city.

→ rare visits to the north = limited knowledge/memories/familiarity.

→ selective memories and prejudice about the north ("scared")
→ distinguishes the gap between the two communities in terms of heritage up-keeping.

→ even though she rarely visits the north, this is the impression she has...

→ the 'other' + the buffer zone as intimidating?

400

5. Show images of the boundaries and ask to recognise. Regardless of successful or unsuccessful recognition, ask to identify the difference between the two photos and possibly where do they *think* each boundary is located and why.

[handwritten: assumptions]

I am certain about two which belong to the south and I am guessing which one might be the third. I am not sure about the north, but I think the ones in worse condition are from there. There is one I am not sure about (meaning the one in the north where there is a wall, but the area is generally better maintained – more centrally located).

[handwritten right margin: → Selective knowledge/ memories about the North allow her to guess which image belongs where.]

6. Did you know that there were museums of National Struggle on both sides? How much do you know about that?

[handwritten: → limited/selective knowledge about the 'other']

I had no idea there was one in the north, but I knew about the one in the south – I have been there before.

7. What other identical buildings/ facilities can you identify between the North and South parts of Walled Nicosia?

[handwritten right margin: → limited knowledge about the north.]

I do not know, but the municipal markets might be one.

8. Which areas would you consider as being mostly tourist oriented? How?

[handwritten: → commercialised area]

Ledra's street because of the crossing and the shops and Onasagorou Street has started to develop a bit more towards that direction. I am not sure about the north, but I guess the area where the casino is (meaning Girne Avenue) and the place around the large mosque are quite tourist focused.

[handwritten right margin: like other interviewees, she → cannot name areas and relies on specific monuments/ buildings to refer to the north.]

9. Which areas would you consider as being authentic within Nicosia? Why is that?

The alleyways away from Ledra's and the residential areas in the east of the walls (meaning Takt-el-Kale, Chrysaliniotissa and Omerye). In the north I would say the area around the mosque because it looks traditional but there might be other areas I am not familiar with.

[handwritten: → familiar only with selected parts of the south as well]

[handwritten right margin: → also believes that traditional areas (detached from conflict) are the most authentic, but is also taking into consideration less commercial areas]

[handwritten bottom: (Takt-el-kale + Omerye = Ottoman heritage is very prominent)]

Group 2: Interviews with the NMP team representatives

Interview (semi-structured) with Ali Guralp (NMP Team Leader):
North Nicosia Master Plan Office & Municipality

1 — CP: Can you tell me about some of the ongoing NMP projects (taking place in the North)?
2 — AG: The two Nicosia municipalities are examining the possibility of opening more crossings between the north
3 — and south. The three proposed openings involving the walled part of the city will be:
4 — West, in the Arabahmet area (next to the Paphos Gate)
5 — Centrally, in the Municipal Market area(s)
6 — East, just outside the walls to also allow for vehicular access (as there is already vehicular access to the west of
7 — the walls)
8 — This suggestion was introduced to both mayors late last year (end of 2015), but since their agenda did not include
9 — this approach, they did not proceed with the opening of the checkpoints. The opening of the Lefke and Derynia
10 — checkpoints were considered more urgent. Nevertheless, the possibility of opening the Nicosia checkpoints has
11 — not been ruled out and the two NMP offices are working together to prepare the selected areas for more crossings.
12 — The two municipalities are also getting ready to go ahead with the specific projects even in the case of a solution
13 — (considering the current negotiations between the GC and TC governments for a solution of the Cyprus problem).
14 — Repair works have also taken place in the Buffer Zone mainly by the South NMP office due to access to EU funding.
15 — If urgent works are not accessible by the GC Nicosia Municipality, projects are addressed by the TC Nicosia
16 — Municipality/ NMP office. [1] → including the buffer zone area.   → Short term solution
17 — There are many cases of surface works to prevent the collapse of buildings. They are not in depth, but they are
18 — primarily done to protect soldiers from collapsing buildings. Most works also try to protect buildings from falling,
19 — especially buildings and monuments of architectural value, but the lives of the soldiers are a priority when

Handwritten margin notes: Ali's response shows that, even though the two NMP offices have plans for joining the city, the political agendas of the two mayors do not align with their plans at the moment. Funding issues (and limited contribution by the North NMP due to funding) for repair works in the BZ has also been mentioned (without me asking). → concern? awareness of current obstacles?

[1] This has also been confirmed by one of the senior architects of the south NMP office (Mr Simos Drousiotis) in May 2014, who has confirmed that the primary reason the south NMP team is more frequently approached by the UN for repair works in the Buffer Zone is the access and availability of funds by the EU.

20 — repairing buildings in the Buffer Zone. Then, if money is available more, in depth works can be done to protect the
21 — buildings themselves.
22 — The initial cost estimate of the Buffer Zone has already been prepared and presented to Europa Nostra, who even
23 — though they cannot directly fund any projects, they help make the NMP cause known to funding organisations.
24 — **CP: Could you expand a bit on one of the repaired areas within the walls?**
25 — *AG:* The Arabahmet quarter has had significant restoration works done. More specifically, 20 buildings have been
26 — completely restored, with the rest having their roofs and/or facades repaired to improve the aesthetic appearance
27 — and functionality of the area. The north NMP office initially started with façade restoration, as well as fixing the
28 — roofs to make sure the buildings are watertight.
29 — One of the (four) Arabahmet streets has only had façade restoration at first, but then we addressed the roofs of
30 — the specific buildings in order to avoid building collapse from rotten by water joists.
31 — The aim was to partly restore the buildings in the area in order for future tenants to come and restore them
32 — completely.
33 — **CP: Who owns the buildings in the Arabahmet quarter?**
34 — *AG:* Some of the buildings are owned by the North Nicosia Municipality. All GC and Armenian Properties are
35 — owned by the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, which allocates the usage of the specific buildings by
36 — parliamentary decree and then informs the North Nicosia Municipality of their decision. These buildings are
37 — usually given or rented to people. (ADC)
38 — The Arabahmet Development Company is the main organisation which manages the development of the area.
39 — This is a regeneration company owned by the north Nicosia Municipality (larger share) and private people (smaller
40 — share). The Arabahmet Development Company controls and rents to people, collecting money to maintain and
41 — repair the area as much as possible.
42 — **CP: Can you point out any issues with any of the areas addressed by the NMP team?**
43 — *AG:* The Arabahmet area rehabilitation has been facing some issues, primarily with ownership. Due to past
44 — political interruptions, the houses were not rented to the preferred people. Past mayors were populist in their
45 — approach, renting the buildings to lower income residents who were not suitable to maintain them. This approach
46 — has significantly contributed to the lack of up-keeping of the Arabahment area.
47 — The idea was that the buildings would be rented (many of them partly restored) and the tenants would start
48 — protecting them, but since most of them are low income they do not, and cannot, protect the buildings.

Handwritten annotation (right margin, top):
The Arabahmet area is the one primarily discussed by Ali (+ Cemal) during the interview, making its significance to the walled part of the city more vivid.

Handwritten annotation (right margin, middle):
The significance of Arabahmet is further reinforced by the creation of the ADC, which shares power and ownership with the people in order to manage the area.
↳ shared responsibility + enhanced care for the protection of the area.
exclusively
↳ not a top-down approach anymore.

Handwritten annotation (right margin, bottom):
Ali points out that an exclusively bottom-up approach has not been very effective in the management of Arabahmet due to the inability of its current residents to maintain + protect the area.

Handwritten annotation (inline line 31-32):
↳ Expecting new / other tenants

Handwritten annotation (inline line 37):
→ NMP = not a priority say on tenants (top down decision)

Handwritten annotation (bottom):
↳ Expectations of Arab Ahmet's future after rehabilitation not fulfilled due to lower income residents + lack of upkeeping ⇒ role of stakeholders enhanced.

49 → The Arabahmet Development Company is not strong enough to maintain the area all the time, but they are trying
50 → to encourage wealthier population to occupy the buildings.
51 → CP: Can you elaborate further on how the Arabahmet Development Company is trying to encourage a different,
52 → and wealthier, type of population to occupy the area?
53 → AG: They recently started renting buildings to the American Kyrenia University. They have also moved the dean
54 → (faculty) facilities in the south part of Arabahmet. → Adaptive re-use of buildings
55 → CP: Arabahmet is considered to be the Armenian quarter within the walls. Is their heritage equally considered
56 → and repaired?
57 → AG: There are no Armenians left in the area. They left in 1963, but we still maintain all heritage. We do not
58 → discriminate.
59 → All building facades have been upgraded, including the ones owned by Armenians. No funding has been available
60 → for a long time now, so all money collected by the Arabahmet Development Company is the primary source for
61 → repair works in the area.
62 → CP: How well do the two NMP offices (north and south) work together?
63 → AG: Following the initiation of the NMP, the result should have been no cooperation, with the two municipalities
64 → functioning individually. The NMP was initially meant to be two projects, one in the north and one in the south.
65 → The south has more access to funds and is now part of the EU, whereas the north not only is not part of the EU,
66 → but is not internationally recognised and consequently has access to limited funding. Nevertheless, the people
67 → with the rightful thoughts keep things going (meaning the NMP architects as well as the people working to
68 → promote the NMP initiative).
69 → Since 2006, due to lack of funds, as well as the succession of the south part of Cyprus in the EU there has been no
70 → bi-communal collaboration. The north has no funding. Nevertheless, the people of the NMP still want to keep the
71 → togetherness, even with lack of funding. The aim of the two NMP teams is the culmination of the common city
72 → and a joined final outcome.
73 → We are working perfectly with our counterparts, but they cannot do anything about our lack of funding. We need
74 → more bi-communal projects to make people come together, otherwise the south will just continue to develop and
75 → the north will remain behind. The priorities of the two municipalities have also changed, both in the management
76 → of heritage, as well as city management. The south has progressed from merely repairing the city to managing

Handwritten margin notes (right):
→ issue observed when visited the area myself, as most streets had buildings in a very bad condition.

→ Ali points out that the primary residents of Arabahmet are Turkish/TC, reinforcing that they do not discriminate between different types of heritage.

→ Lack of funding is pointed out again
⤷ North NMP feels powerless without funding.

→ Individuals within organisations are trying to make things work (but not necessarily the organisations then?)
↓
governments vs. individuals?

Handwritten note (bottom):
⤷ Different priorities between the north and south, both in the management of heritage, as well as in the management of the city, demonstrating an increasing gap between the two municipalities.

The B2 as a common, equal, neutral ground in addition to creating difference · separation between the two sides.

77 — what has been fixed, whereas the north is still trying to catch up with the south by at least keeping buildings
78 — upright.
79 — If we want to keep the bi-communal project together, we must be at an equal level, but this is not the case and
80 — the south cannot be blamed.
81 — **CP: Has the EU contributed in the collaborative approach between the north and south NMP teams?**
82 — *AG:* The EU has actually been very unsuccessful in managing and funding relationships between the north and
83 — south Nicosia Municipalities and NMP teams.
84 — **CP: Do you not work together at all now?**
85 — *AG:* We still work together in the Buffer Zone, because it is considered bi-communal in nature, but if you go outside
86 — the Buffer Zone the needs are significantly different. The Buffer Zone is, nevertheless, considered to be a common
87 — ground between the two NMP teams and municipalities.
88 — The south tries to include the north when funding is available, but it is not their priority because we are essentially
89 — two different governments. They do not have to do it, and we are not a priority. We have different priorities at
90 — the moment; the north is trying to keep up with restorations and remove any dirty businesses and workshops
91 — (meaning businesses and workshops that do not contribute to the economic development and/or traditional
92 — character of the city); the south continues to develop, with plans for new tramlines and improved infrastructure.
93 — They are way ahead.
94 — **CP: How are you trying to preserve the authentic heritage of the city?**
95 — *AG:* We are trying to keep traditional craftsmen and remove modern technology equivalents from the walled city.
96 — This will also encourage tourists to visit the city raising interest in the tradition and intangible heritage of walled
97 — Nicosia. → Short answer. Also talks about the traditional as being the authentic.
98 — **CP: Does Turkey provide any funding for projects in Nicosia?**
99 — *AG:* Turkey provides funding, but not specifically for walled Nicosia. Funding is for general north Cyprus projects.
100 — Funding has been recently approved for the pedestrianisation of Arasta street, next to the Besesten (central part
101 — of walled Nicosia), as well as for the upgrading of sites and the moving of cables underground.
102 — The NMP and north Nicosia Municipality see such funding as an opportunity for the development of the walled
103 — city, as Turkey is more likely to provide funding because of the existence of the NMP. Turkey has similar visions
104 — for Nicosia.

→ acknowledging the heritage value of Nicosia, because of the NMP.

→ The North is struggling to catch up.
↳ change in priorities between the N+S, which amplifies the gap between the two offices/municipalities.

→ Both a dividing line and a neutral ground/bridge
↓
shared responsibility and power?

no mention of the south + did not expand further with specific examples → VAGUE response.
→ tangible and intangible heritage appear to be a consideration → But whose heritage?
→ no specific funding for Nicosia North, like the south has from the EU. (Economically powerless)

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105	It is worth mentioning that, to <u>ensure the quality</u> of projects in the north, the <u>tendering process</u> has recently
106	changed. The cheapest construction company does not always win projects, but also the most <u>capable</u>.
107	**CP: Is the public aware of the bi-communal NMP initiative and the projects taking place within the walls? Have**
108	**you tried to make the NMP known to the locals?**
109	*AG: People do not consider it as a <u>NMP initiative</u>, but as a Nicosia Municipality job instead. It does not really make*
110	*a difference to them. We have <u>not really tried to promote</u> or make the <u>NMP publically available yet</u>, because we*
111	*do not have many projects yet that involve privately owned companies. Most of the projects are owned or*
112	*addressed by the Municipality.* ⌐→ possible reason for the low of public participation.
113	**CP: Which of the areas addressed by the north NMP would you consider as a success?**
114	*AG: The <mark>Arabahmet would be a good example despite the issues it is facing at the moment</mark>. It might not seem*
115	*successful now, but all aspects necessary for being successful are there, so if the right environment is brought, it*
116	*can function very easily because it <mark>addresses construction, economic and social aspects</mark> which can help the*
117	*livelihood of the area. It is not just a restored site, but can be <u>socially appropriate</u> as well, encouraging economic*
118	*activity.* ⌐→ potential values : Social, economic, architectural, heritage.
119	*There are also <u>restaurants and a culture centre</u> to attract money and people. Students are also encouraged to live*
120	*there and eventually use the shops and activities in the area, which aim to gradually contribute to the overall*
121	*Arabahmet project.* ⌐→ Trying to promote community/public engagement through additional functions + activities...
122	*Also, if the Arabahmet – Paphos Gate is opened, the area can potentially develop like Ledra and Arasta Streets*
123	*have since the opening of the checkpoints.* → economic value
124	*Back when the checkpoints opened, the area around <u>Arasta</u> street was in bad condition, but there has been an*
125	*economic boom, with everyone becoming more interested. This is why we want to do the same in <u>Arabahmet</u>.*
126	*The area is now <u>ready</u> to germinate.*
127	*This can also be a good example for other neighbourhoods within the walls and a second <u>testing point</u> to see how*
128	*it will work for other sites. The carparks and pedestrianisation of the area are already there, as well as new*
129	*lighting. The area just <u>needs a last push</u> to encourage more activities to take place there.*
130	*The <mark>political will is also necessary to help things happen</mark>. The right people need to be given the buildings rather*
131	<mark>*than being publicist like the previous mayors have been, who just gave the buildings to anyone, including low*</mark>
132	<mark>*income families and poor migrants from mainland Turkey.*</mark>

→ no real efforts to make the NMP publically known.

→ limited public knowledge could therefore be one of the reasons for limited public contribution in some areas?

→ area not quite there yet though (based on site visits), but points mentioned by Ali are clearly visible in some of its streets.

→ different part of the demographic also considered (more inclusive due to current issues/weaknesses).

NOTE:
Even though Ali has presented relations between the N + S offices as being good, political obstacles appear to be quite prominent on current NMP decisions.
There was also hardly any reference to south projects, besides the ongoing reference to funding and being ahead due to more EU support (which is true.).

Note: Ali has mentioned the Aga Khan award for Architecture at the end of the interview, in order to demonstrate the bi-communal achievements of the NMP when collaboration becomes possible (between the north and south).

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Interview Impressions:

→ Ali's interview answers were generally very immediate and straight to the point. He did not appear to hesitate providing any answers, even though he sometimes, both directly and indirectly expressed his concerns for the future of the walled city, especially in the North due to lack of funding.

Once contact was achieved, he was very willing to meet with me. The fact that both Ali and Cemal thought I was Italian (due to my surname) made me wonder whether they would have been as open and as willing to meet with me with such a short notice, had they known I am GC

Ali did confirm that collaboration was taking place (even small scale in the form of discussions) between the GC and TC NMP offices, but when ~~~~~~~~~ talking about their GC counterparts, he only referred to Agni Petridou as a contact and not the rest of the NMP South team. This reminded me of my discussion with Nicos Droushiotis (architect for the NMP south) who revealed to me that he rarely visited the North for work purposes and when photos of completed sites in the North were shown to him, he admitted he had not visited some of those places and was disappointed about the lack of upkeeping, especially in the Samanbache neighbourhood (above Arabahmed)

Ali made clear the gap created between the north & south after the South's ~~~~~ ~~~~ entry in the EU. He ~~~~~~ also focused on achievements before that event, such as the Aga Khan award and the collaborative regeneration of the 'twin' neighbourhoods of Arabahmed & Chrysaliniotissa.

Interview (semi-structured) with Cemal Bensel (NMP Architect):
North Nicosia Master Plan Office & Municipality

1 CP: I am focusing on the areas addressed by the NMP. Have you noticed any problems in these areas since they
2 have been restored? Are there any successes?
3 CB: The problem with Arabahmet is the economy of the area. It is at the end of the city and the property prices are
4 not going up. That is why the owners of the buildings are not looking after their buildings and they are collapsing,
5 but nowadays the university is coming into the area and it is already creating a good effect on the buildings,
6 because they are maintaining them. They get the buildings at a very low price and they see the advantage of the
7 area as an investment for the university.
8 CP: How well do you work between the two NMP offices?
9 CB: When the south part of Nicosia got into the EU the connection became less regarding work, but conversation-
10 wise we are getting very well with the NMP south. They are using the structural fund of the EU and now do not
11 need any UN fund. The UN is also our countries agent, making contact between the north and south, but they now
12 have direct access to EU funding so there is less need of the UN to mediate any collaboration. They do not need our
13 collaboration, but if there is something to help get funding they will collaborate with us as a bi-communal project
14 and apply to the fund as a bi-communal project, but then they can do whatever they want as later they are not
15 forced to continue their collaboration between the NMP north.
16 CP: So they do not have to work with you?
17 CB: No, when they got into the EU, the collaboration of the built-up projects stopped.
18 CP: Do you work with other organisations/ departments in the North? Who deals with heritage conservation?
19 CB: Because of our registration, you must apply to the Town Planning Department when you do something. When
20 you work within the walls, you also need to get the permission of the Department of Antiquities. It is a must, but
21 the way it works, the Antiquities Department has to collaborate with the (north) Nicosia Municipality and the
22 Planning Department. All of them are creating NMP. The NMP north is created by these three different
23 organisations, but in the south, there is only one NMP office which manages everything. It is easier for them to

Handwritten annotations:

collaboration
contact
bi-communal

complexity
within
own
manage-
ment
procedures

EU = Economic benefit for the south
EU = Collaborative loss for north & south

→ funding uncertainty

→ Arabahmet again appears to be a primary area of focus.

→ low income tenants (mainly from mainland Turkey) appear to be the main issue, as well as owners which do not maintain their properties due to their low value.

→ division appears to have widened after the South joined the EU; not at an individual level, but at a municipal and governmental level. Is funding also mentioned as an issue for the North.
  ↳ power of the UN also decreased due to EU in South.
  ↳ less bi-communal as a result?

↳ The North has to go through a more complicated and longer process to get projects going than the South → less efficiency.
↳ Different structure between the North & South NMPs

24 adapt, but in our case, it takes longer. Before they got into the EU it was easy for us to adapt too even with three
25 different organisations.
26 For example, for the Selimiye area project, we had to apply through the Department of Town Planning, but the
27 restoration of some of the buildings happened through the Antiquities Department. Arabahmet was addressed and
28 restored by the Turkish Nicosia Municipality, because many of the properties belong to the Turkish municipality.
29 **CP: Are these GC and Armenian properties?**
30 CB: Yes, many of them are GC and Armenian properties, but the creation of Arabahmet initially comes from the
31 Ottomans. When the church was given to the Armenians from the Ottomans and when the Armenians from Turkey
32 moved to Cyprus they bought in the area around the church. This is why people think it is the Armenian quarter,
33 but if it is Armenian, why is it called Arabahmet? All the street names derive from the Pasha's name and what I
34 know is that the two blocks of the Arabahmet buildings belong to the TC, but because the Armenian church is more
35 dominant, everyone things it is only the Armenian quarter.
36 The north Nicosia Municipality is fixing the Arabahmet area, because all that property from the GC and the
37 Armenians is given to the Municipality by the Government, but– this is the tricky part –funders say if buildings
38 belong to private owners, they will not fund it.
39 What is going on is that the only properties funded are the ones belonging to the Turkish Municipality, but they are
40 not actually the original owners. The original owners are private people – GC and Armenians. So, the buildings
41 managed by the Turkish Nicosia Municipality will get funding, but if I was born in the Arabahmet area or, if I am
42 the original owner of the building and I am a poor person from the north I will not get any funding to restore my
43 property. All the ruined buildings you see mainly belong to the TC because they are not prioritised over the
44 properties managed by the Municipality and they do not have the money to improve their buildings.
45 **CP: Is this why you find a completely destroyed building next to newly restored ones?**
46 CB: Yes. Mainly because of this ownership arrangement, but there are also buildings which only have their facades
47 and roofs restored because of this lack of funding. But when façade and sometimes roof restorations happen, the
48 owner does not really matter because the roads the buildings belong to the government and they try to maintain
49 the roads in order to create a momentum for people to invest and restore the whole houses, but unfortunately
50 restoration does not continue.
51 **CP: Ali mentioned that one of the reasons the current tenants do not restore is due to low income residents,**
52 **mainly from mainland Turkey. Is this the case?**

[Margin annotations:]

Administrative powers in the north make heritage management very complicated.

[*] A very different response from Ali, which goes back to the "who was here first?" question that also dominates the GC & TC conflict in terms of ownership, belonging and political power & rights.

→ Economic/funding issues as a key contributor to the decline of privately owned (T + TC) properties, as opposed to refugee properties.

→ Facadism in this case as the only solution.

CB: Yes, and many of the building owners have moved out of the area as well. But, the American Kerynia University moved into the area and the money for restoring the buildings to accommodate the University's facilities have been provided by a wealthy banker, who is the brother in law of one of the TC owners, who has provided the funds to fix and rent the buildings to the University. So in this case a private TC owner has found funding for restoration works and investment, because there is no money by the TC government.

The owner of the property has found funding through a relative, but other owners have no chance to restore because there is no collaboration with the government to give low or zero rent tenancies to allow for the appropriate people to occupy and maintain the buildings.

CP: So, the problem is that you restore the buildings, you are doing the job, but there is no one to properly take care of them?

CB: Yes, but in some parts of the south the areas are going up. The people there understand how the buildings are important to the city. There is also that rule Agni Petridou told us about, where if someone is building a block of flats outside the walls and buy and restore a single or double storey building within the walls, they are given planning permission for the equivalent number of floors they own within the walled city (i.e. one or two they own within the walls) to add to the block of flats they are building outside the walls. This way, big investors who can afford buildings within the walls and want additional floor levels for their flats, will also invest in the old city and keep its economy going. This way, investment will not only continue outside the walled city, but also inside.

So, for example, if there is a regulation outside the walled city which only allows a three-storey building, you buy a single storey building inside the walls and you are at the same time given permission to build a fourth floor in addition to the three floors you are allowed. This approach is bringing money for the old city of Nicosia and promotes further investment.

CP: Is the North planning to do the same?

CB: No, we have not gotten there yet and there is no suggestion of creating something like that.

CP: Are you interested in something like this?

CB: It is a good idea because people come to invest in the walled city, but on our site, properties are cheaper than the south anyway. Properties are not expensive, so if someone was really interested it would be easier to buy, but they are not interested. So price is not a problem, it is just getting people being interested. (*)

CP: I have observed some public investment around Ledra's – Arasta street which seems to be managed by private owners. Do you think the public knows about the NMP? How does the public accept this initiative? Do

Handwritten margin notes (left): more incentives provided in the south

Handwritten margin notes (right):
- owners moving out from the walls
  - division between the historic core & the new part of the city (like it has happened in the south)
- Cemal argues/points out a gap in public and municipal perception and appreciation for heritage between the North and South.
- awareness of approaches implemented by the South NMP.
- incentives needed

82 you think that besides that area, where the opening is, the public cares or understands the significance of the

83 walled city?

84 CB: That is why the investment went to that area. When the checkpoint opened, all the government authorities

85 came together to stop uncontrolled development and they decided to speed the overall regeneration procedure.

86 This is because when people apply to the Planning Department it takes around two months to reach a decision and

87 the owners of the area suggested that this was a long time to wait for regeneration after the opening of the

88 crossings. For this reason, the Planning Department, the Antiquities Department and the North Nicosia Municipality

89 got together and created a collaboration office in the walled city funded by Turkey for people to restore their stores'

90 facades without having to pay back that money to Turkey. That office controlled that funding at the time and it

91 closed after the specific project finished and the area started developing. Those people know about the NMP, but

92 not as a NMP or Nicosia Municipality initiative. They knew it as a UNOPS project. They thought all funding came

93 from UNOPS and the EU. They also think UNOPS restores all the buildings in the area.

94 CP: But do the people know about the NMP?

95 CB: I asked Agni and Ali about this and why they do not do any PR to make the NMP known to the area. The people

96 believe that the fact that the NMP is a collaboration office, actually initiated after the 1968 sewage system, but if

97 they find out that the two municipalities are working underground to achieve more than the sewage system they

98 might be scared or get negative reactions due to the current political situation. It's not good for the NMP. That's

99 why the collaboration is going on underneath (meaning discretely).

100 CP: Is this why you have not published the NMP?

101 CB: Why? Because they do not want to be seen around collaborating between the two sides. They are scared that

102 the people might get scared and on our side, right wing groups might question and oppose this collaboration, like

103 it might happen in the south. But when you are doing research from the outside, especially after the south's

104 succession to the EU, the NMP becomes very dominant as a bi-communal master plan managed by the two Nicosia

105 Municipalities. It looks like that, but the south part does not recognise the north planning department. Even if the

106 two mayors get along well between them, the south still does not recognise the political situation. That is why they

107 (municipalities) do not announce that the NMP is bi-communal.

108 But, what is also going on is that the Aga Khan has given Nicosia an award because they can see that a united

109 Nicosia is coming soon. The municipalities are also pushing publicity through the awards to increase the external

110 funding. Since receiving that award the interest on the BZ has also increased.

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[Handwritten annotations, left margin:]
lack of recognition within / bi-communal impression of NMP internationally

[Handwritten annotations, right margin:]
→ collaboration is an ongoing intention affected by other (political, governmental, economic) factors.

→ lack of public knowledge.

→ Uncertainty about local/public reaction also demonstrates an existing gap in public knowledge and participation.

→ collaboration also perceived as a threat.

→ NMP "looks like" an exclusively bi-communal initiative to outsiders, but lack of recognition and bi-communal initiatives since 2006 demonstrate the opposite.

[Bottom handwritten annotation:]
→ significance of external (neutral) contribution + recognition to increase funding (and collaboration) as now there is not much going on between the 2 NMP offices. → highlights the role of a neutral party for balance

opportunity

111 There is also a Jewish person visiting to research Nicosia. They find it interesting because it is divided, but it is also

112 united. How can you succeed this? Lellos and Akinci (Nicosia Mayors north and south during the initiation of the

113 NMP) were the ones to succeed with the NMP. They talked with Denktash (the president of the Republic of Northern

114 Cyprus during the initiation of the NMP) and convinced him to support this project. Initially Denktash even wanted

115 to close the sewage system between the north and south, but then he was convinced to offer his support. The

116 presidents did not reject the NMP.

117 No one said at the time, let's clean that water and use it. The Americans liked the idea of cleaning the water, but

118 they did not do anything to support cleaning the water, they just offered a few funds to maintain the project only

119 four years ago, they put down the facilities to clean the water and even use it as tap water. We are not living in the

120 '80s though. This should have been done then and not left until after 2000.

121 CP: Which area do you think was particularly difficult to address? Did any of the areas, such as Arabahmet and

122 Selimiye have any specific issues? → *in the North*

123 CB: The Arabahmet and Selimiye areas were the best ones. Kafesti (north-east within the walls) is the one that

124 needs some touches with the Turkish hammams (pointed the area on a map).

125 CP: Are you planning to address this area? → *"thinning" the BZ*

126 CB: Not yet, but they have suggested opening a passage through that area. If it opens, it might create movement

127 in the area.

128 (Cemal brought some information booklets and leaflets at this point)

129 CB: Have you seen this before? It is without a map. The map created conflict because it shows the entire walled

130 city. The Americans funded this project and they said "lets show the NMP to the public" and they opened and

131 information centre next to the Ledra Palace Hotel opposite the House of Cooperation. They built that building,

132 published these booklets and they decided to make a map to show the tourists.

133 CP: So having the walled city as a whole was such a problem?

134 CB: Yes. This is also the first map published not showing the BZ. And this was published in 2004. There are no

135 openings yet, except from the Ledra area where the info. centre was. The problem with this map was the map

136 names in the north. If you see, the authorities changed the names to Turkish. We suggested to our colleagues in

137 the south to create a map with both names on our side (i.e. old names before the division and new names, after

138 the division) to help people visiting the city. The south NMP office asked their authorities if this was ok for the north

now closed (← annotation pointing to line 132)

Right margin handwritten notes:
→ why then not take advantage of conflict & division more, rather than conceal them? (See Berlin).
→ Cemal (like AL) also points out that some initiatives in the north are quite behind.
→ lack of recognition of the north is an ongoing issue at the governmental level, even if the NMP offices try to find collaborative / bi-communal solutions to promote walled Nicosia's heritage.

Bottom handwritten note:
↓ top down decision-making.

413

139 NMP to do, but the south authorities did not approve, because they do not recognise the north after 1974. We
140 ended up not publishing this map of united Nicosia, but we published some information with a half map.
141 And, on all the buildings there is a flexi glass sign which links to the map on the leaflet we published. In the north,
142 we also have a walking route, marked on the streets and linking to this map. In the south, there are steel plates
143 and an illuminated tour. We do not have this in the north, because it is too expensive to illuminate the route. We
144 have instead marked out walking routes with a blue line you can see in the streets and we ended up using finding
145 from our municipality when the common map was not approved.
146 When the project with the common map did not continue, we ended up publishing two different maps, as a bi-
147 communal initiative and each municipality had its own map for the information centre. In the north, even during
148 our fascist regime, a buffer zone was not indicated and they did not like that, but the mayor said we should publish
149 this one (meaning the map without the BZ) and put it as our own map on the checkpoint after you cross from the
150 south.
151 There used to be two ladies in the information centre, one from the south part and one from the north part. The
152 information centre is now closed.
153 Agni and Ali (the two NMP leaders) suggested to open this information office again and there is an office given by
154 the Archibishop of Kykkos to Agni, but it has not opened yet because there was no staff given by the south part to
155 run the building. Mehmet (north Nicosia Mayor) gave some staff, but Yorgatzis (south Nicosia Mayor) did not follow
156 with this idea.
157 People came to the information centre getting this book (showing a book which indicated Nicosia as divided and
158 with a BZ) and when they passed to the North, they received this (map without BZ) map. This is why the NMP is not
159 going further. Because our authority likes this one (showing the map only given in the north), but the south
160 authorities like this one (showing the map of divided Nicosia). But, we are still trying to work for a united Cyprus.
161 CP: What are the main ethnicities within the walls? Do you have any Armenians?
162 CB: There might be one or two Armenians, but there are none left. In the north part, a few are TC, but most of them
163 are Turks from Turkey.
164 CP: Are people from Turkey a problem?
165 CB: Yes, they are lower income and they are using the walled city as a trampoline to live because it is cheap and
166 they can go to better spaces. They do not like to live in that area. That is why they do not maintain it, but nowadays,
167 Turkey is funding its people to buy buildings.

Handwritten annotations:

2 maps but still bi-communal?

differed ways of heritage management + promotion due to funding gap

→ 1st common map after 1974 = rejected

* → when it comes to marking territories and names, there is an obvious gap between the two municipalities (theory vs practice).

→ governmental rejection of the north by the south.

*

→ no attachment or element of care (i.e. not their heritage to protect either?)

↳ lack of attachment = lack of care = lack of maintenance

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CP: Is this the reason you find derelict or badly maintained buildings next to newly restored or well-maintained ones?

CB: It is also because some TC do not get money from those buildings. This is because the type of people that rent them are creating more of a problem for the TC owners so they prefer to leave their buildings empty if they do not really need them.

CP: Do you meet with the south NMP office?

CB: Yes, we meet. Last week we met at Ledra Palace, with the head of the UN. There is now a project, a master plan about the BZ. This project will happen if the BZ is still closed. They did not announce it to the public because of the politics, but the main thing examined at the moment is a master plan for the BZ.

We are also face-lifting that area to make it safe for UN soldiers. When we are in the BZ we are working together, but when it concerns each municipality, we are working separately. In our part, there is another BZ. It is a military zone right next to the UN BZ. You can see it when you cross from Ledra's. This is a Turkish military zone. The UN buffer zone is only accessed by the UN and that is also the petrol road for the UN soldiers. The other one is only accessed by the Turkish military. This is because of the army organisation between the north and south.[2] The TC army is not in contact with the civilians, whereas the GC army is amongst the civilians.

When the Ledra's crossing opened, that gate divided that military line into two and our military did not like that outcome. The military rejected the opening of Ledra street. Before, they used that zone to cross from one place to the other, whereas now they go through the inside of the city to reach their destinations. The system of the army has changed. Before, people did not see this military zone at all, but since the opening of Ledra's, because it goes through that point, the people can see it. We suggested that they open it.

There is a second BZ and no one is working in that area. It is not seen as a BZ, but as a military zone. We wanted the EU to at least fund us to make a measurement of the buildings in that area because they are collapsing. The military said, OK, come and do it, but they do not approve of any foreigner to get into that military zone. We said, OK, we still have many professionals who can do it, but we still need the funding. In this area there are many important building s, like Kitchener's house (the man that created the first accurate maps of Nicosia). It is inside

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[2] Cemal then drew a diagram to show the difference in army organisation between the GC and TC armies, explaining the reason the TC army has its own BZ. The GC army is based and dispersed in many local buildings, or points, next to the BZ, whereas the TC army has a main point in the BZ they have created and they have smaller posts around also in that BZ.

415

[Handwritten left margin:] → When creating openings in the buffer zone, one TC military buffer zone is also interrupted, something that makes the process more difficult.

[Handwritten right margin:] → gap between public knowledge and NMP initiatives due to fear pointed out once more.

→ BZ = shared power + equal responsibility outside the BZ = no building projects / tangible heritage collaboration any more

* Gap further reinforced by the existence of the Turkish military zone, which also involves notable architectural heritage (BUT → inaccessible even by the UN).

→ UN is powerless in this case, even as a 3rd neutral party.

[Handwritten annotation near lines 181-182:] → walls vs oil barrels on each site)

Invisible heritage in the Turkish Military Zone.

193 — that military zone and no one is recognising the importance of such buildings. The NMP must move to undertake
194 — this job. We need this one (pointing to the UN BZ), but we also need this one (pointing to the TC military zone).
195 — **CP: Have you discussed this issue with the UN or your Municipality?**
196 — CB: They do not want to talk or contact the military because they were not happy when buildings from their military
197 — zone were demolished for the creation of the crossing. But, this needs to be done to protect the history of that
198 — place.
199 — Even when the Ledra's crossing was preparing to open, the UN told the Turkish military that they were doing some
200 — mining work in the Turkish military zone in order to get access permission to the area and do some face-lifting to
201 — support and prepare the buildings for when the crossings opened.
202 — When Ledra's was ready, we opened the gates at night and when I went to cross to the south part, a GC policeman
203 — stopped me at the end of the road and the GC police closed the road. I said, I worked for three weeks to open the
204 — gates, and you won't let me cross? They let GC people who were with me pass and when I showed my TC id they
205 — would not let me pass. They I showed my GC id and asked: will you not let me pass now either? They said not,
206 — because I lived in the north. I got very angry and a policeman tried to calm me down. I got very depressed because
207 — I believe in a united Cyprus, not a divided Cyprus. I told them that if they want to stop someone, they should stop
208 — people who want Cyprus divided, not me. This is what the governments are doing and this is the Cyprus dilemma.

→ TC military zone further complicating heritage management issues for the NMP, especially in the north

→ uncontrolled heritage loss

→ Facadism

→ gap between the governmental level, the municipal level and the individual level.

(*) Different factors influencing decision making for each NMP, spanning from the governmental, to the municipal, to the individual bodies managing the built environment of Nicosia / walled Nicosia.

Interview Impressions:

Cemal was a lot more specific in his answers and gave details about the issues and sites concerned. Like Ali, he dwelled on the rehabilitation of the Arabahmet Area, but also expressed his concerns about areas in bad condition.

Funding and the South's entry in the EU was also mentioned. Cemal seemed to know a lot about the South (more than the GC counterparts I spoke with in 2014 knew) and he was also obtained a GC identity card to make his access to the South easier.

He showed no hesitation in expressing his disapproval of the South government not recognising the North half of Nicosia and, therefore not allowing it to be presented on the GC maps.

He also questioned my nationality (again due to my surname), but this did not seem to concern him.

After the interview we went for a drive, where he pointed out the areas he was mostly concerned with, as well as some of the achievements of the NMP north.

Authenticity was something that concerned me, as his response regarding the identity of Arabahmet was inconsistent with the knowledge I had about the area, or the response I got by Ali.

Both interviewees gave me the impression that the north NMP had a
[text cut off at bottom of page] their heritage something they indirectly pointed out

Group 3: Interviews with the NGO representatives

Interview (semi-structured) with Marina Neophytou (Home for Cooperation Director, Nicosia):

1   **CP: Can you tell me a few words about the Home for Cooperation (H4C)?**

2   *MN: It started by the Association of Historical Dialogue and Research (AHDR) which is a bi-communal organisation*

3   *working on the history of education, educational material for primary schools. If I remember well, they (AHDR)*

4   *started in 2003 and they used to meet in this area, usually at Ledra Palace. When the borders opened, they decided*

5   *to find a middle ground to create an educational research centre. After many difficulties, either from the UN or*

6   *local authorities, they managed to buy and restore this building using Norwegian and EEA grants. The biggest*

7   *portion of grands actually came from the EEA and Norway grants, which include the contribution of Liechtenstein,*

8   *Iceland and Norway. There also were external sponsors at the time, but these were the most important at the time.*

9   *So, after funding was received and after many political and administrative difficulties due to its location, this space*

10   *(meaning the H4C) was created in 2011. The fact that the policies concerning this place are so particular, confuses*

11   *the local authorities on how to process different topics concerning the BZ. As I mentioned, it started as an*

12   *educational research centre which also house other organisations that were concerned with bi-communal or*

13   *associated research and peace building activities. Various conferences and seminars were housed at the time, but*

14   *now since this initiative is more community led, it started becoming more of a shared space which can*

15   *accommodate various formal and informal activities, including high level meetings, language classes, language*

16   *exchange.*

17   *The H4C has become the space for whoever wants to come into contact with the community across the divide. This*

18   *is due to access and community ownership reasons. Most people who visit the H4C feel very comfortable to express*

19   *themselves and to create. And this was also embraced by various artists who based their projects here aiming to*

20   *attract people. This is a space which accommodates many activities and initiatives, but also a space which has*

21   *started to form its own identity and its own initiatives like the Buffer Fringe Festival. This November was the third*

22   *time this festival took place and we use it as a means of using the city for performing arts and experimental ways*

23   *for bringing people together.*

Handwritten margin notes:
- addressing biased education
- External funding rather than governmental
- Aimed as a completely neutral place also confuses the two municipalities – who does it belong to? Both or no-one?
- Buffer zone location, Even though neutral, it is also associated with conflict & division.
- Enhanced public/ community contribution and participation for this reason.
- Shared power and a neutral ground which exemplifies
- a bottom up approach.

'a bridge for expression"

24 — We are creating a bridge for expression as well as other activities which have to do with music and other
25 — workshops, a-political in nature, but they still bring people together through their interests. You can also find out
26 — about our activities and the work of AHDR through our website, as well as the work they do on the role of education.
27 — More specifically, the AHDR focus on the more formal educational part, whereas the H4C focuses on the arts,
28 — culture and the more informal education. The AHDR has more publications on, for example, how to teach gender
29 — as well as other topics which are available on the website and can be used as educational material and as a
30 — guidance for teachers and educators in general.
31 — Whereas, the H4C will undertake workshops and will address more informal education. For example, language
32 — classes, tai chi classes and similar activities to bring people together.
33 — CP: How popular is this place? Has it become more popular since it opened?
34 — MN: It is a very busy space and it has become even busier since it opened. Even the presidents of the GC and TC
35 — Republics – who we refer to as 'leaders' to avoid any misunderstandings - meet in this space. There was a funny
36 — occasion when they would be having lunch in the conference room, the place was full of police and police dogs and,
37 — at the same time in the café we had an NGO (non-governmental organisation) teaching natural ways to address
38 — child birth, with kids walking around the café and women breastfeeding. (Smiling) It was a very surreal situation,
39 — but it demonstrates that this is a space that at any time it can be used by many different people, activities and
40 — stakeholders. For example, people might bring their laptops here and work, while at the same time meeting other
41 — people. They might be activists, artists or anything else, and the H4C is considered to be a very important point of
42 — reference. → A space that attracts locators for a diverse demographic

'social benefit"

43 — The limitations of this space include the fact that it is only located in Nicosia, and for this reason the other cities are
44 — not as familiar with its existence. We are now trying to arrange activities in order to make the place more known
45 — by approaching organisations that work towards the social benefit in order to bring people together.
46 — I only found about this place when I returned from England, where I was studying, and wanted to study this space
47 — as a community centre in order to understand how it works. This was four years ago and the place was fully booked
48 — at the time. We have different rooms here which get rented either for meetings or for other uses. Even then, when
49 — the place was not as busy, it was fully booked throughout the year.
50 — We are now at a point of not having enough room and facilities to accommodate all the activities that want to take
51 — place here. The building across the street used to be the NMP information point and due to the fact that it was

Handwritten margin notes:
→ a platform for the protection of shared intangible heritage
→ both formal + informal education initiatives
→ The idea of having a common, neutral ground (like the rest of the B2) but publically accessible is presented by Manna as the main reason for the H4C's success, implying that the shared ownership of place contributes to this outcome.
↳ balance of social/community power and establishment of common initiatives + intangible heritage associated activities...

52 — shut a couple of years ago, the two mayors decided to hand it over to us for administration purposes. We might

53 — use it for artists to work together, or other similar purposes. It will be the first bi-communal gallery.

54 — Btw, I refer to the H4C as bi-communal but it can also be considered as inter-communal, because now, the space is

55 — not just for GC and TC, but also for so many other communities that cannot, or do not want, to cross the border.

56 — We initially focused on the GC and TC communities, but there are so many others in Cyprus. Our goal is to bring

57 — together all communities, including migrants and other minorities and this is very important, because there are so

58 — many other groups in Cyprus that are left out from either cultural activities or from even letting them create on

59 — their own. Our goal is to also empower those people and communities, in order to become more active and peaceful

60 — civilians, while achieving a more sustainable social impact and interaction.

61 — **CP: What kind of problems does a space such as the H4C face? Do you have problems by the local communities**

62 — **or is it just the authorities involved?**

63 — *MN:* First of all, the activities that we have here, however creative and a-political they are, are here to supports

64 — peoples' rights. For example, one of the organisations upstairs has to do with freedom of religious faith, which for

65 — many this might be considered as threats; like many other things we do here.

66 — **CP: Threat for who?**

67 — *MN:* For the people but also for many organisations, including government organisations. Even if what we are

68 — doing is clearly cultural and a-political, we will not receive any financial support from the government. We usually

69 — have external funders. This is hard for us, because we know that any application we submit will be rejected due to

70 — the social uncertainty. They will not try to understand the type of job we are doing.

71 — The other limitation associates with the location of the H4C. Where we are now, we are registered under the

72 — Republic of Cyprus and we have to pay bills and taxes and register everything like it is done in the rest of Cyprus,

73 — but... things here do not work like they do in the rest of Cyprus. For example, we had issues with electricity cables

74 — and the electricians did not want to enter the BZ. People are confused about what it going on here and how to

75 — administratively address this place. So whatever happens here, has to deal with a lot more bureaucracy than in any

76 — other place in Cyprus. We have to report to local authorities, to the UN and many others. This makes our job harder.

77 — We have many obstacles we have to overcome.

78 — We are trying to learn, resolve, built. And then we see the outcomes and impact of our job and the types of activities

79 — we are undertaking as well as the success of what we are doing which is very rewarding for the people who work

421

Handwritten left margin:
Socially oriented ↓ Bottom-up approach

Handwritten right margin:
→ unlike the more official UNP, which seems 'distant' from the general public, the informal nature of the H4C activities appears to be truly bi-communal both in nature and in practice.

▶ Goal = to empower communities
↳ again a bottom up approach is implied for the benefit of communities.

▶ government funding also an issue here, which further outlines the difficulties for the H4C to achieve bi-communal initiatives.

here, the people who built this place and I believe for the international sponsors who have funded and are funding

81 the H4C.

82 It is worth mentioning that, even if it is hard for a governmental organisation to support us, the individuals are still

83 visiting this place for meetings. The mayors from both sites might also utilise this space as well for meetings as well

84 as many technical committees which work on the Cyprus problem. This is a neutral space which appeals to a wide

85 spectrum of backgrounds and projects.

86 CP: Do you appeal to all age groups?

87 MN: A difficult target group to address is the youth, but there is a lot of active youth involved with the H4C and the

88 activities taking place here. This is the first place they will come to organise music and dance events together. And

89 we are trying to bring them together too. We even asked them to design the furniture of this place. We are trying

90 to engage participation and involve them from the beginning and I think this is why the youth is also inclined to use

91 and consider this space as theirs. The people who work here are also young. There is a dynamic evolution that can

92 be observed once you spend some time in here.

93 As an organisation, we are also trying to find ways, not to normalise this situation, but to make the people familiar

94 with it. This is because in many cases, we live and accept the stories learned at school, instead of trying to learn by

95 human contact. And I think this attitude has to do with the knowledge and education you receive and we see people

96 here that represent many success stories of changing their perspective and trying to learn and accept new things.

97 With events like the Buffer Fringe Festival we decided to move away from the BZ in order to make use of alternative

98 spaces and urge the municipalities to engage and support us more. Bi-Communalism is a lot more

99 CP: What do you know about the NMP and how involved are you with it? vivid in the H4C.

100 MN: I was not aware that the NMP was still going on. I do not have insight information about its progress either

101 but I am familiar with the people that work in the project and I have seen them here before IN meetings. They

102 definitely do acknowledge this space, but I am not familiar with what they are discussing.

103 CP: Are you familiar with the possibility of opening more crossings?

104 MN: They did mention it before, and they also mentioned the possibility of opening the road next to Ledra Palace

105 to allow both for vehicular and pedestrian access. Also, if you notice around the area, the some of the UN signs

106 have been replaced with Municipality of Nicosia signs, which means that they are gradually trying to undertake

107 some works here, but this has not been officially communicated, to us at least. gradual interventions

108 CP: Do the technical committees meet here often then?

Margin notes (left):

direct vs indirect support

challenging existing knowledge & 'artificial' memories

Margin notes (right):

→ Marina further highlights the gap between individual and governmental powers.

knowledge + awareness

→ Unlike the NMP which is trying to conceal collaboration between the north and south municipalities (see interview with Cemal Bensel.)

→ no link between the H4C & the NMP initiatives.
↳ Could their collaboration promote a more effective approach & link between Nicosia's tangible & intangible heritage?)

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109 **MN:** Yes, many of them will meet here, including the ones for education, culture, heritage, Chambers of Commerce.
110 Even organisations which have not officially established a collaboration between the north and south also meet
111 here. This might include organisations in charge of cleaning the beaches for example. They are trying to find their
112 counterparts from the other side of the divide, for the benefit of the island. All these people and organisations use
113 this space and its facilities.

114 **CP: Future Plans?**

115 **MN:** I have many future plans. I am now preparing a proposal, where in addition to all the sociocultural tools we
116 are using, I would like to engage more professional services support across the island to also help other cities.
117 For example, bringing here more organisations FROM ACROSS THE DIVIDE TOGETHER and help them meet AND
118 COLLABORATE. There are many people who might also need help concerning proposals, development, capacity
119 building or even language. This is something new I am working on, which needs further examination, but I need to
120 examine it in further detail.
121 We are looking to help start-ups and organisations that match or vision and not just any business. Other plans? I
122 am not sure at the moment, but we always try to be ready and adaptable to what might come.
123 Also, our goal is to help, regardless of the solution that might come between the two communities, through
124 transitional support both at a personal and a wider level. We might achieve this through panels, discussions, videos
125 explaining through simple words what is happening. This is an important role we have to undertake and we need
126 to, as the same time, be prepared for any outcome the two sides might agree on.

127 **CP: How do you promote the intangible heritage through the H4C?**

128 **MN:** We are trying to find several elements to appeal to people. These might include food, music, art, as well as
129 other tools that might be promoted here, or they might take place here by external activities. We organise our own
130 activities, but we support activities deriving from the communities and other organisations. As a result, in 2014 we
131 received the Europa Nostra Award for Cultural Heritage.
132 We might organise events, but we also allow people who are interested in art, food, languages, culture to organise
133 activities here. For this reason, some people might not be sure whether we are the ones organising the events or if
134 they are just organised externally. There is a lot of exchange between the communities.

Note: All capitalised text has been added later on and capitalised by the interviewee during the transcript approval process.

Handwritten margin notes:

→ Marina once more reinforces the neutral and a-political nature of the H4C.

→ encouraging a more inclusive approach concerning different layers of the social spectrum.

→ adaptability to match needs

→ also considering solutions with or without division.

→ more specific on how (intangible) heritage is addressed and in this case heritage is used as a common tool to bring people together, rather than as a means for cultural legitimisation and power assertion

Interview Impressions: (H4C)

Marina's interview responses were different than Cemal's and Ali's as she focused alot on the role of the community and on public engagement; something not as highly reinforced by the NMP (north) officials.

She was hesitant to criticise governmental organisations or individuals, but at various occasions she seemed to address her disapproval of the 'formal' lack of support provided for the H4C, either in the form of funding or in the form of resolving administrative issues and obtaining permission for various initiatives.

Marina stressed that the organisation empowers the public, while allowing communities to interpred and protect and transmit their intangible heritage.

Even though there were various occasions where Marina asked me to refrain from including specific stories or names discussed in my interview, I could still see that she wanted to indirectly raise awareness about various boundaries/obstacles the H4C continues to face.

What struck me the most is the fact that the H4C has a similar objective to the NMP (i.e. protecting Nicosia's heritage and bridging, or finding ways to bridge the divide), but no relationship has been established between the NMP & the H4C.

Interview 4: 06/03/16

Interview (email) with Eleni Philippou (Urban Gorillas):

South Nicosia NGO

what

1 — CP: Do you do to encourage public participation and collaboration from both sites of the divide? Is it working?
2 — Please explain.

3 — EP: Urban Gorillas work on numerous projects with a variety of thematics yet tend to hold a focus on urban
4 — innovation and social inclusion. → *socially oriented (bottom-up approach)*

5 — Our largest project to date, the Green Urban Lab, that was funded by EEA Grants for Non-Governmental
6 — Associations, while it was at the beginning intended to take place in the G/C side, as the project was evolving we
7 — more and more understood the necessity to extend the project to the T/C community. Facing enormous obstacles,
8 — both bureaucratic and procedural, we had to carry out persistent negotiations in order to make possible a 2-day
9 — event in St. Nicholas church, now named Bedestan next to Ayia Sophia. The event presented a series of socio-
10 — cultural activities that were organised in collaboration with Greek and Turkish Cypriots. During the course of the
11 — Green Urban Lab events, we have launched an open call that invited participants from both sides of the island to
12 — propose their activities for the large-scale public festival we were organising. The result was a successful event
13 — where people across the divide energetically came together and presented projects in public space. Yet, important
14 — to note, that the Green Urban Lab was open to all people and not focusing only to groups across the divide but
15 — also to other disadvantaged and under-represented groups.

16 — In another project inside the Buffer Zone, on an empty lot next to H4C, we have organised in collaboration with
17 — ARTOS an open-air workshop where we have upcycled discarded material to transform them into a public living
18 — room. During this project again we had a multi-cultural team that joined us including Turkish-Cypriots.

19 — The citizens' collaborations across the divide have been very successful and both communities embraces open-
20 — heartedly working with one another.

→ *Reference to the pre-Ottoman name of the church.*

→ *External/international funding support rather than governmental*

like the H4C, initiatives expand beyond a selected demographic and, consequently, beyond conflict & division.

→ *The interactive (and informal) nature of activities seems to have attracted a lot of interest & public participation.*

→ *collaborative initiatives → bi-communalism*
↳ *national value*
↳ *bi-communal value.*
↳ *community value*

425

How we view collaboration and participation in general:

21 — Similarly, another project which encouraged public participation was the 'Urban Dinner' – under the Urban
22 — Spectacle series which various artists work on – during the month of December, 2016. It was a theatrical stage of
23 — the act of dining where food became an art form and the act of eating an engaging and participatory experience.
24 — Through this installation performance the team investigated how food can create connections with people that
25 — overcome social, cultural and ethnic divisions. Participation for this event was uncertain but we received a
26 — fantastic turnout with a large number of spectators as well.
27 — Since most projects are completed in collaboration with different artists, intercultural horizons keep broadening
28 — with each partnership. Our work encourages public interaction as we seek to re-introduce the use of public urban
29 — space and wish that the general public participates. Our projects do not target a specific audience. On the
30 — contrary, they are open to everyone, Cypriots, non-Cypriots, old and young. Therefore, the response we receive
31 — each time is from a varied group of people which of course depends on many factors; the location and
32 — environment, the focus of the project, the presentation etc.

33 — It has been noticed that usually foreigners and younger crowds are more willing to participate yet that is not
34 — definite. As far as projects along the divide are concerned, we aim to collaborate with all creative individuals
35 — without concentrating on cultural, political or religious identities. Of our current goals is to craft projects that map
36 — the whole city of Nicosia without focusing on one side. The latest 'Baffle Zone' project, in collaboration with street
37 — artist Twenty Three, provides a mural painted on two walls along the green line that once pieced together create
38 — one image. This hopes to encourage traffic within the checkpoints and act as an excuse for people to explore their
39 — city – north, south, east and west. You can find more info on this project on our FB page and website.

40 — CP: Can you tell me about some of the latest initiatives which have promoted collaboration between the Greek
41 — Cypriot (GC) and Turkish Cypriot (TC) communities?

42 — EP: As mentioned above, the latest 'Baffle Zone' projects looks to inspire people from both Cypriot communities-
43 — to move across the checkpoints, explore Nicosia and interact with the other community in search of the other half
44 — of the mural. Urban Gorillas does not wish to take a political stance yet propose questions and offer reflections of
45 — current socio-political connotations.

46 — At the moment, we are hoping to work on a new project in collaboration with GC and TC street artists. The first
47 — part of the project seeks to explore and document independent street art and graffiti/tagging/messaging that

Handwritten margin notes (left):
using the fragmented nature of Nicosia to create/illustrate a whole through art.

Handwritten note (bottom left):
↳ merging tangible and intangible heritage.

Handwritten note (center bottom):
↳ also a-political in nature.

Handwritten note (bottom right):
↳ urban-oriented approach through art.

Handwritten margin notes (right):
→ line with intangible heritage + finding ways for creating (intangible) connections, and encourage public interaction.

NOTE:
Public participation + interaction seems to be a lot stronger and a more prominent concern than it is by the NMP offices (based on their reference to public interaction in their answers).

↳ Informal, smaller interventions that give power back to the public to develop the city/space as they want.

48 currently appears in public spaces in Nicosia. Through this research we hope to gain critical insights about
49 important issues in our present-day society that should not be disregarded, but rather observed and understood.
50 Identifying these common issues could not only celebrate a culture shared by all, but could also promote
51 understanding and help to educate groups on how such issues can be approached. Studying the kind of messages
52 expressed through street art, we attempt to understand what matters concern each community of Nicosia, find
53 similarities and differences and observe the presentation methods. This helps one to better comprehend the space
54 in which they live in and understand the issues of both sides.

55 Currently, we have performed the mapping of the city and are working on interviewing the artists through which
56 we hope to gain an insight into how this art function in the island, under which connotations and enter further
57 into bicommunal action taken. The interviews will be presented through the short video we aim to create,
58 mapping our research journey through the whole of Nicosia and the street art we come across. Research results
59 will be presented in a variety of ways. Details are yet to be confirmed.

60 CP: What are the main difficulties you are facing (or have faced) as an organisation? This includes social,
61 political, economic, governmental etc. obstacles that might have opposed your wider cause.

62 EP: As our NGO works in the city, and in particular in public spaces we often have to struggle with permission
63 rights to put forward an activity in a public space (which of course makes you think about the notion of public
64 space in the first place). As scales of projects tend to vary, here in Cyprus we are lacking a set of guidelines and
65 rules of what one is allowed to do in a public space, in other words to what extent one can appropriate the usage
66 of public space These negotiations often take place with the municipality and as UG continues to take actions in
67 the city the access to public spaces becomes easier.

tangible + intangible heritage.

68 In Green Urban Lab we chose to carry out our public art festival in monuments, and in particular in the castles of
69 Larnaca, Limassol, and Pafos. Working with the archaeological department was a challenge as much as to present
70 and convince about our project conceptually but as well as the whole process of the developing it and
71 implementing it within their confined perspectives. The fact that the same project was presented in Northern
72 Nicosia in another monument, definitely did not make our collaboration smoother. ☺ ✳

73 One challenge most NGOs face is certainly receiving funding and further economic support. Thankfully, with
74 determined research the EU offers various grants for creative purposes which are available, yet these projects are

Margin annotations (right):
→ Reference to culture, common issues, interaction, present-day society, bi-communal action.

→ Research and results aim to be publically known/available (unlike the NMP).

→ understanding of role of public space, as well as an ongoing issue when dealing with more formal organisations/the municipality/gvt.

→ Gap/issue/ obstacle.

→ Reinforces ongoing power struggle + competitiveness at the administrative/ formal level.

Margin annotations (left):
questioning the notion of public space in cyprus

governmental obstacles

Bottom annotations:
↳ using grants in the south to benefit both communities.

→ Heritage (mainly tangible) is not always the focus, but the initiatives undertaken provide knowledge and awareness that suggests the benefit/protection of heritage in the long-term.

427

not 100% funded, which means that the NGO must find other ways to ensure the remaining budget to complete the project.

As our up to day work focuses in public spaces, another challenge we face is actually to get people engage, and rather to change the perception of people that public space is a site of open access, and that it belongs to citizens. This was evident through an experiment we made, outside the framework of an event where three mobile sitting structures were placed in Faneromeni Square, in the open space between the church, the school, Three Lanterns coffee shop and the Arablar Mosque /Stavros tou Misirikou.

During this time, we observed hundreds of people passing by, taking photos of the structures, or just observing, but no adult would actually use them. Once again, children were the ones who would run around and interact with the structures, but yet only for a short time as they were advised from their parents that they shouldn't touch 'that thing', apparently out of caution not to use something that requires special permission or belonged to someone else. This was particularly interesting so we started to have informal discussions with passers-by to understand this behaviour. We have understood that people were feeling that if they interact with the structures they would interfere, or that they would do something that they were not allowed/supposed to be doing. People were hurriedly taking photos of each other sitting on the structures and running off as though they were doing something that was prohibited.

Our conclusion is that people in Cyprus are a little reserved and do not yet fully understand the ideology behind a public offering. However when the action or installation is explained, then the response is positive and we observed people becoming more at ease, and going on to explore and interact more comfortably with the structures.

Furthermore, many projects may be happening and circulating within the circle of NGOs and creative individuals yet at times it seems difficult to break away from that environment and expand to the wider community. Exposure in the media and involvement with larger groups would share research results and projects to the general public.

CP: Is it easier to work with other NGO's (if you do) rather than government bodies? Please explain.

EP: Generally, it seems to be more feasible to collaborate with other NGOs and independent artists. NGO's are usually run by motivated individuals that are driven by the need to change the society for a specific cause. Having this as a common ground, of promoting positive changes, it is usually easier to find a common ground of

(Handwritten margin notes:)
- getting people to engage with the (tangible) public space
- People observing, but not interacting
- The people feel powerless within their (own) public space → "prohibited"
- reluctant to engage with the space
- Experiments to understand public engagement with their urban environment.
- Sense of interference by public if they interacted with structures in walled Nicosia.
- open to share results as a means of encouraging engagement.

102 collaboration with NGO's For us, it is fascinating to work with other NGO's as we find very interesting to promote
103 their positive causes across cities spaces through our creative means The government bodies we tend to work
104 with belong to the small niche in Cyprus that wish to elaborate on the cultural scene.

105 **CP: Are there any specific areas within walled Nicosia that you use for events/gatherings? Which areas and**
106 **why those areas?**

107 EP: As we study and work on public urban city spaces, we like to use a variety of location for our projects and
108 events without committing to a specific area, so as to expand our reach and encourage the public to further
109 interact with their surroundings. In general we try to identify locations that their value as public space is
110 underestimated, and where a planned intervention can assist in energising the place, transforming into a platform
111 that social encounters can take place. In our latest research project we are mapping street messaging inside the
112 old walls of Nicosia across the two sides of the divide. So the whole city becomes a ground of exploration for
113 identifying grassroots concerns.

114 Usually areas themselves raise the question of which kind of intervention we will undertake. Our work is primarily
115 site-specific. According to the sites and the framework of each intervention different approaches are pursuit and
116 distinctive situations a regenerated. At times, interventions are an artistic artifact placed in the city to reinvent
117 abandoned spaces, at other times they aim at the reinterpretation of identity of well-known places in the city
118 (Inflating the public I). In other cases, the intervention is an opportunity to create a platform for youth
119 participation in public policy making (ONEK- Youth Festival), or to revive a traditional neighborhood in Nicosia,
120 (Pame Kaimakli). Finally, the interventions at the Fouskopolis and Inside-Outisde the Bubble were directly
121 determined to question the identity of the public spaces, raise awareness and to provide space for the citizens to
122 get involved in this island wide program of events and activities.

123 In the past we have been active in the Municipal Gardens, public squares in Kaimakli, monuments, parking lots,
124 parks and most recently the buffer zone. Nonetheless, Urban Gorillas do not constrain to one type of location.

[Margin notes, left:] context- specific interven- tions

[Margin notes, right:]
→ significance of culture repeatedly addressed.

→ Public/private value the

→ vital role of public space & social interaction is once again mentioned

→ area- specific approaches.

→ raising awareness instead of working 'underground'.

→ informal activities as platforms for contributing in public policy-making. and reviving/ protecting heritage/ traditional neighbourhoods.

125 **CP: How do you think you are contributing to the tangible and intangible heritage of Nicosia (and Cyprus)**
126 **through your organisation?**

127 EP: Our work has until now focused in enforcing intangible heritage throughout Cyprus. As a young organization,
128 our projects to date are of temporary nature but we are currently developing a new department within our team
129 that will look into urban solutions for permanent physical interventions and proposals in the cities.

130 Our up to date spatial and artistic interventions are temporary in nature and have the effect of momentary
131 changing the perceptions of a given location. By the implementation of such instant actions we attempt to create
132 new layers of memories and associations with the given site. Throughout these temporary actions we address
133 issues like political connotations, symbolism, creation of new memories and reinvention of social relations.

134 For the Green Urban Lab project we chose to work with the castles of Larnaca, Limassol and Pafos. The chosen
135 sites were not taken as mere landmarks but were rather thought as a continuation of the city's flows as another
136 urban artery, which is freely and invitingly accessed by people. By using historical landmarks that are present in
137 the collective memories of the citizens, the intervention challenges its everyday use or rather its non-use in the
138 middle of the city. The injection of the inflatables with their the almost immaterial behavior, their malleable
139 'liquid' spaces and the accompanied rich series of events into the historical sites managed to efface the historical
140 gravity of the sites, converting them into more enticing and accessible spaces for all people. In all the locations
141 the actions and interventions explored different ways of claiming the public space from each existing situation.

142 **CP: Can you tell me about some of your projects/ activities that have encouraged embracing a common**
143 **heritage/ identity with our TC counterparts (these do not have to be in Nicosia)?**

144 EP: As mentioned previously the 'Baffle Zone' project presented a mural painted on two separate walls along the
145 buffer zone. The art of using two walls near the green line (one near an old and tiny church) re-introduces the use
146 and the meaning of that space and sets a common ground between Nicosia's two parts. After the completion of
147 the project, the GC and the TC space share the same art which in response has to be unified to gain access to the
148 whole wall mural.

⤷ (re-) Creating a common heritage/identity.

149 Our street art project aims to tackle social issues within the Old City of Nicosia, an area of 1.459 squared
150 kilometers surrounded by Venetian walls, currently divided into a northern and southern part since 1974 with the
151 present-day buffer zone spanning from east to west. Due to the division, the old city was neglected up until

[Handwritten margin notes, right side:]
→ using intangible heritage as a mediator for the protection of tangible heritage in the future.
→ perceptions due to conflict?
→ taking into consideration the role of memory in their attempts to regenerate and 're-invent' existing sites. Current political connotations are also a key consideration. (memory – politics – place) heritage
→ also providing the tools, rather than just a solution for claiming/protecting space/place/heritage.

152 recently, something which has given the opportunity for street art to thrive in the area whilst the lifestyle of the
153 inhabitants, especially in the northern part, is deemed to be disadvantaged compared to other areas of the city.
154 Although the Old City is one of the most multicultural areas in Cyprus, with Greek Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots and
155 third country immigrants living practically next to each other, there is minimum or even non existent interaction
156 between those groups.

[handwritten right margin: → aware of the current weaknesses dominating the historic core, especially selected areas in the north part of the walls.]

157 Street art in Cyprus is a recent phenomenon, moving away from the stereotypes of vandalism to a way of
158 expressing cultural, political and social topics. We wish to add to the knowledge and data available on the street
159 art scene in Cyprus by looking at the scene as a whole, not only in terms of capturing the work of artists at work
160 on the street, but also on the use of this form of expression by society to actively express itself at this moment in
161 the history of the island, its division, and all the other socio-economic challenges faced at this time.

[handwritten right margin: → understanding the ongoing division and allowing for people to accept/ acknowledge & express through ⟨...⟩ art.]

162 **CP: How do you approach/ perceive/ respond to the boundary (buffer zone of Nicosia/ Cyprus) as an**
163 **organisation?**

[handwritten: → But division is also a current fact]

164 EP: Urban Gorillas work on the connotation of the urban city and public space. For this the organization studies
165 Nicosia as a whole and not as a division. As we are based in the southern part of the capital, most activities are
166 based in, but are not limited to, the Greek Cypriot side. This is merely a question of more accessibility to these
167 spaces and communities.

[handwritten left margin: But, Nicosia IS divided...]

168 In general, in our perception the boundary is beyond physical, it's almost mental, and this is why changing
169 perceptions of people is a priority.

[handwritten right margin: → The intangible/mental/ social meaning of the boundary as a key consideration, before the tangible.]

170 Beginning with the Baffle Zone and the Street Art project which introduce an interactive buffer zone, we aim to
171 produce more projects involving both communities of Nicosia. *[handwritten: → just Nicosia?]*

172 **CP: Do you (or have you ever been asked to) collaborate or offer your contribution/opinion about any of the**
173 **Nicosia Master Plan projects? Are you familiar with the overall initiative?**

[handwritten: → no collaboration offered by the NMP]

174 EP: We have not been officially asked to collaborate , but we pursuit such collaborations. We have come across
175 representatives of the Nicosia Master Plan projects from our own initiative in an attempt to present some larger
176 scale project that envision more permanent change in cities spaces.

[handwritten: → but no visible actions...?]

[handwritten right margin: → no collaboration with formal organisations such as the NMP, even though willing.]

177 178	CP: Lastly, do you use memory (both tangible and intangible) as a tool for protecting Turkish Cypriot heritage as well as for bridging the divide between the GC and TC communities? Any examples?
179	EP: (Refer to Q.6)

NMP ⇒ formal management of primarily tangible heritage

NGOs ⇒ informal management of primarily intangible heritage

Eleni's overall response focuses on the role of communities, social interaction, public space and intangible heritage. It is clear that they pursue a bottom-up approach, with power handed over to the communities involved.

The answer about their collaboration with the NMP was not extensive enough to show any significant connection between the specific NGO & the NMP. Informal interventions have also been mentioned, as well as their popularity with the public/ communities involved.

Interview (semi-structured) with Esra Can Akbil: (TC Architect, educator and active member of the bi-communal NGO *Contested* Fronts, the *Hands of Famagusta* project and co-founder of the bi-communal *Archis Interventions Cyprus* project).

1 CP: You are a collaborator in the bi-communal Contested Fronts project that explores ways of addressing post-
2 conflict reconstruction in Famagusta. Could you tell me a few words about this collaboration and how you think
3 this contributes to either tangible and/or intangible heritage protection in Cyprus?

4 EC: I think the most important contribution of contested fronts into the case of Cyprus is the issue of 'commonings'.
5 We are a bi-communal group of architects and urban designers and artists discussing ways of using some participatory
6 urban tools that will turn the inaccessible decision-making processes about the urban future of Cyprus into a more
7 porous one. So, we are trying to create some tools that people will use to learn more about the existing condition in
8 Cyprus and also use them to make their voices heard by the decision-makers. We built, for example, a website on
9 Famagusta which is a website that you can get in and find a lot of information about existing conditions in Famagusta
10 and also get in face with several questions about the future of the city; and, through these questions you find yourself
11 in a position that you have to make yourself some decisions about the future of the city as well. That was very
12 challenging for our group because we created such a system that a website actually analyses your questions and
13 eventually the website tells you if the decisions are towards a unified Famagusta or towards a divided Famagusta.

14 That was very interesting for us, because we had to come up with the criteria to measure how your decisions are
15 contributing towards a unified Famagusta, or a divided Famagusta; and for that we needed to define certain
16 'commons' for the city. That's 'commoning'. And, heritage, architectural heritage or cultural heritage is part of our
17 commons. So, this is how we are arguing that, for example that the old city centre of Famagusta, the walled part of
18 Famagusta is not Turkish. It is at the same time Greek and it is actually part of our common heritage, but the
19 perception of that heritage was not accepted by many people we met. For example, we did a lot of offline meetings
20 and we met with many GC in the South and with TC in the North and we also brought them to each other's side as
21 well. We brought some TC in the South and some GC in the North. That was very interesting.

'commonings'
↓
finding a common ground between the GC+TC communities

strong
→ bottom-up approach, public engagement, education & participation

→ use of cultural heritage as a common ground for urban regeneration.

433

22 CP: How did you choose those GC and TC?

23 EC: We collaborated with some civil societies, so we were not the ones choosing, but we were going to the civil society
24 organisations and inviting them. So, they were attending our events and we were discussing certain issues with them
25 and we realised that when GC were talking about Famagusta they were mentioning the Varosha area, which is the
26 closed part of the city and TC when talking about Famagusta, they were talking about the region which is the walled
27 city towards Karpas, which is the newly developed area of Famagusta. So, in their mindsets Famagusta is already
28 divided. That was very scary for us. So, we started doing such readings of the city that would provide 'commons' rather
29 than divisive ideas. For example, heritage is one of them. Thinking about the heritage in Varosha together with the
30 walled city and together with Salamis for example and defining all these as part of our common heritage was one of
31 the issues. Or, for example thinking about the waterfront and how do they perceive the waterfront as united, as one.
32 So, if you start from the very beginning of Varosha, from Paralimni to Salamis, that's actually one common aspect. Or
33 thinking about the ecological factors. There are many riverbeds, delta area, forests in Famagusta that can actually be
34 a unifying issue as well. So basically, we tried to use such unifying issues to come up with arguments that will help
35 resolve existing conflicts in the city. Because when you start talking about the 'commons' that's beyond your ethnic
36 identity, because when we talk about heritage in Famagusta, it doesn't matter if you are TC or GC. Everyone identified
37 themselves with that common heritage and that it needs to be protected. So, we brought that argument and we built
38 our project on this.

39 CP: I used to perceive Famagusta as Varosha. It is because if the way we grow up and the education we receive and
40 we are made to believe certain things from an early age. This is where living here (i.e. in the UK) against living there
41 (i.e. Cyprus) makes a difference.

42 EC: One of my colleagues in the South told me that when he was a soldier, before studying architecture in Italy, he
43 thought that in the North were no people. That it was only soldiers.

44 CP: We also wouldn't distinguish between Turkish and TC's. I did not know there was a distinction, because at school
45 we were educated to distinguish between Greeks and Turks and not about the Cypriots. In the South, from an early
46 stage, even on our exercise books we have images from the past.

(Handwritten margin notes:)

Unintentionally Perceived division
↓
→ Existing perceptions about the city are different. Different memories & perceptions about what consists to be part of their authentic past / heritage.

→ bi-communal initiatives educating about the 'other'

EC: I know. I saw them. I was terrified. They are trying to change this in the South but I am not sure if it will be easy. I know that in true education our division is a bit stronger. So, this is how I think we contributed to heritage protection.

CP: It makes sense. Especially public participation. It is a weakness of the NMP, but all the NGOs are addressing it better.

EC: Actually, it is not only the NMP. Any kind of urban policy produced both in the North and South is not transparent. They do not really share information openly with people and participation processes are just made up. For example, I do not know exactly how it works in the South, but my colleague said that it is a similar thing. In the North, they just announce the master plans and hang them in a room that no one visits but the municipality, but they do not actually create meetings or have people from the civil society in their planning team that can contribute effectively in the development of those plans.

CP: What is the role of collective memory and tangible/intangible authenticity in this case? Which of the two would be a priority and why?

EC: As I already said the mindsets of people were very interesting for us. When we created this bi-communal group (on Famagusta) it was also transformative for us because we are trying to get to know each other and see how our perception is about our cities and about our culture and everything and see how we can somehow develop a common language. Because when you are a team, you have to speak in such a way so it reflects on all of your actions and projects. And when we started discussing about Famagusta, we started talking about the Salamis area as well and a GC colleague asked me if I see it as part of my own heritage and I said, of course. Why shouldn't I? It is Salamis. This is where we always go with family in the weekends since my childhood. I know by hard exactly what kind of cultural heritage there is in every part of Salamis. And, he was very surprised, because he things that Salamis is known to be a Greek antique city and part of Greek heritage.

And I said, I see it as my own heritage and at that moment it does not matter if I am GC or TC. I am someone living in this country and whatever past the island has, is part of my past as well. And that was really important, because at that moment we started learning about caring about each other's heritage and how to develop such a language that

[Handwritten margin notes:]
→ history educator
→ Selective, top-down governmental approach.
→ vivid issues with urban policy transparency + public participation/ knowledge
→ interest in the mindsets of people / public stakeholders.
→ common heritage

71   it is not divisive. Accepting everything as our common heritage, because at certain points it can be hard, because as a
72   TC for me it is sometimes hard to accept that all these churches that I think GC are building everywhere is part of our
73   cultural heritage. So, for me it was hard to understand why this is part of our cultural heritage too, but when I met
74   with people and I understood that GC are very religious and they do really care about those buildings I learned to
75   respect them.

76   CP: Yes, religion is a big part of the GC culture. But it is not just about religion. It is also about the community.

77   EC: It is the culture, isn't it? Because religion is somehow a big part of the culture in the South. It is not like that in the
78   North, although recently Erdogan is doing his best to reverse this process.

79   CP: Are you familiar with any bi-communal and/or other relevant (informal) initiatives that seek to safeguard the
80   tangible and intangible heritage of Cyprus/Nicosia on either side of the divide? Could you discuss a specific initiative
81   undertaken bi-communally in Nicosia and its importance to the cultural heritage of the city (and the island as a
82   whole)?

83   EC: Yes, there are several initiatives. There is Nicosia Old Town initiative. It is a recent one actually. It is not an
84   architectural initiative. It is the civil society, some planning officers, sports clubs etc. All these people who involved
85   with the North part of Nicosia came together. EVKAF is also involved. It was something very positive that this
86   happened, although I am a bit sceptical because of the involvement of EVKAF and the planning officers.

87   CP: Why? Because it would become too formal?

88   EC: Yes, this is what I am scared of. When EVKAF is involved it can be tricky as they may want to use the civil society
89   to accept their own decisions. It is still very early and this has not happened yet and my friends who are involved said
90   this has not happened, and that what they are doing is they are just sharing some ideas. They did not develop any
91   projects yet, but I am expecting that they will come up with some new projects for the old town from Nicosia. This is
92   what I hope for.

Margin notes:

cultural heritage as a key component in the success of their bi-communal initiatives.
↓
Education + knowledge as tools for heritage protection

→ imbalanced (indirectly) power relations between formal & informal actors
↓
concerns over the possibility of a stronger top-down approach.

93 Other than that, I am one of the architects of the H4C and I am familiar with AHDR. They do not focus only on the old
94 town. There are also some in Famagusta, for example the Famagusta Old Town Association who works in putting
95 Famagusta in the World Heritage List. They are working towards the protection of the cultural heritage of Famagusta,
96 especially the walled city of Famagusta. This is a local association and there are many locals involved in this association
97 and have very good connections with civil society organisations in the South. So, those are the people who organised
98 an event that was in the news. A religious event that was in the old town of Famagusta, where the key of an old church
99 was submitted to ...the father (Archbishop). It became a sensational event in Cyprus. So, they do care about tangible
100 and intangible heritage and they recently published a small booklet about Famagusta as well. It is a small brochure. It
101 is a very interesting local initiative.

102 There is the Kyrenia Initiative. There are actually two Kyrenia initiatives and one of them is the Bi-communal Kyrenia
103 Initiative that started after the Famagusta initiative and took the model of Famagusta initiative and they are trying to
104 repeat the same bi-communal activities. It was not as successful so far. The part of the initiative which is TC people
105 call themselves Kyrenia Initiative and they are doing a lot of activities to protect the industrial heritage of the city.
106 Because, there are recently many hotels built along the coast of Kyrenia and the initiative started when one of these
107 hotels was built on the site of a very old factory and they started doing demonstrations for the protection of industrial
108 buildings too. I think the Kyrenia and Famagusta Initiatives are strong and they do produce a lot of ideas related with
109 the city, but we do not have a Nicosia Initiative. That is missing and this is why I said that I am a bit sceptic about the
110 current initiative that is being formed by the planning officers and EVKAF and the civil society because they are trying
111 to fill the gap of local initiatives so there will be no reaction against their actions. This is how I feel. I do not want to
112 speak early, but I do not trust them at this point.

113 CP: Public participation is also one of my issues.

114 EC: I think it is very important. Should I talk about the H4C and my involvement in that too?

115 CP: Yes!

→ strengthening connections with the South.

(like in the south)
→ several bi-communal initiatives in the North that demonstrate an increasing appreciation for Cyprus' cultural heritage.

→ gap of publically driven initiatives in the city of Nicosia.
↓
lack of public engagement & participation without the impact/ influence of governmental organisations/ decisions.

116 EC: It was an *interesting process to work for the H4C*. It is a very interesting project because I believe it is *based on the*

117 *personal capacities of people as well*. I do not know if you met Chara Makriyanni, but she was the head of AHDR at the

118 time they were applying for the H4C. *Before the H4C we were meeting at the Ledra Palace Hotel* and all the meetings

119 for the H4C project happened in that hotel too. It was very interesting because the H4C was in barbed wires and was

120 forbitten to take any photos and do anything with the buildings and we were meeting opposite to discuss the plans

121 and meet with engineers. Of course, in time we started knowing each other and trusting each other. This project for

122 me is very *unique* because it was the first time I worked with GC colleagues. Before that I had not experience.

123 So, when we were working on the H4C plans and documents there were many *issues related with legitimisation and*

124 who is dealing with the buildings in the buffer zone. The *names of the streets are different between the ones we have*

125 in the documents *in the North* and between *the ones in the South*. In the South, it is called Markos Drakos Avenue and

126 in the North, it is Selim Paşa Sokak. So, *even the address of the building is different in the documents of the two sides.*

127 It was really a *challenge* to know which planning office to go to and how to deal with it. When we went to our *funding*

128 *buddies, because of the recognition issues* they *wanted this building to go through the planning processes and*

129 *municipality in the South*. That is why our GC architect-partner had to go and apply to the GC municipality with the

130 documents, the *municipality didn't know what to do because they never dealt with any projects in the buffer zone*

131 before, so they had no idea about what to do or how to proceed. So, we had to prepare documents to *put the building*

132 into the *cultural heritage list first* because the building was not in the cultural heritage list, although it is a cultural

133 heritage building and it was given a *grade II protected building*. At that stage, we did not know that *none of the*

134 *buildings in the buffer zone are not listed, because they are not evaluated*. So we had to apply and they came and they

135 evaluated the building and it was registered, and after it was registered we could go for the renovation and prepare

136 the plans and apply for validity and then the construction works could start.

137 *During the construction works* we tried to make its in such a way so that *not everything was only bought from the*

138 *South*. Some things came from the North as well. The floor tiles are from the North, for example and the curtains as

139 well, but some other things and the main contracting firm is from the South. *At every stage of construction and*

140 *renovation we were trying to bring in things from both sides*, so that we would not be perceived as just a GC or just a

141 TC building, even during the construction. It was very hard, because everyone was watching. Everyone came to see

→ Ledra Palace (and the buffer zone) as a neutral, common ground.

→ Street name differences + legitimisation concerns.

→ lack of international recognition for the North as an obstacle.

→ lack of knowledge about the complete heritage of the buffer-zone ↓ no monitoring.

142 — what would happen to the H4C. Of course, the name was not H4C yet, but everyone was watching to see what would
143 — be this building and who is working for it. To keep it neutral, we had to act very carefully so they could not label it with
144 — something. And it was so interesting that it became a political issue to see in which order the names would be written,
145 — because we thought the English name (for the H4C) would be in the centre, the Greek name would be on the Turkish
146 — side and the Turkish would be on the Greek side. So when you walk from the Greek side you would first see the Turkish
147 — name and then the English name and then the Greek name. And when you walk from the Turkish side you would see
148 — the Greek name first and then the English name and then the Turkish name, so you would see each other's letters and
149 — language and perceiving the building in a natural way at the same time. But this became a political issue.

150 — CP: When I spoke with the director of the H4C (i.e. Marina Neofytou) she said that they also had issues as well with
151 — who administers the area. She also said that it is easier for them to get finding from international organisations than
152 — from the local governments.

153 — EC: This is true. Norway was the main supporter and they are still supporting. They have a lot of EU grands as well.

154 — After it (H4C) and after it started being part of life we had some criticism from people and I had my own criticism as
155 — well. For example, when we were planning it as architects we were thinking of a space which is not as hygienic as it is
156 — right now. I mean, everything is very clean and for example there is no graffiti on the wall. We wanted it to be more
157 — like a community centre and more accessible and easier to spend time so that young people would just come and hang
158 — around. But, because of all the legal issues and because there are soldiers around and because of the certain
159 — requirements from the funding buddies about security it became, somehow more clean and hygienic, but it still works.
160 — Another criticism we got is that some people for example they do not prefer to meet in the H4C, but they prefer to
161 — cross the gate and meet on each other's side and the argument behind this is that we shouldn't romanticise the existing
162 — buffer zone, because they believe that when you meet in the buffer zone it becomes an acceptance of the buffer zone
163 — as well. But, when you cross it, you experience each other's living environment as well, so it is actually a better way of
164 — thinking about the future of Cyprus, rather than an existing buffer zone.

165 — CP: This interests me, because if there is any sort of solution, the buffer zone it there. Whatever happens the truth is
166 — that it is there. Whatever we do with it, even if we demolish it there will always be something in the middle. I do not

→ political issues as obstacles to Even minor concerns/decisions such as the positioning of names.

→ international funding easier to obtain than local, governmental funds/support.

→ administrative + legal considerations, as well as the location of the H4C as an obstacle.

167 think we should reject the buffer zone completely. It is just the way we perceive it as a boundary rather than a meeting
168 space that is wrong. I know what you are saying.

169 **EC:** *I understand this argument as well, because it is an argument that says that the buffer zone should not be there*
170 *all the time. Right now, it is part of our lives.*

171 **CP:** Our memory. Like in Berlin there is still something.

172 **EC:** *Yes, and in Berlin they are still keeping parts of the wall to remember that. But the difference is that in Berlin they*
173 *went through this process of reconciliation. In Cyprus they did not do that. That's is why the buffer zone for us is still a*
174 *zone that we need to negotiate. Until now, we didn't negotiate what would happen to the buffer zone. We have no*
175 *idea what would happen to the border line dividing Cyprus in two. And it is very dramatic, especially in Nicosia and*
176 *Famagusta. Very dramatic and we do not know what to do with it.*

177 **CP:** For my generation, and for my siblings it is part of our memory and part of our lives. Your generation as well grew
178 up and it was always there.

179 **EC:** *I grew up right next to Varosha.*

180 **CP:** So, in your mind it has always been there. The only memories I have from the North are not my own memories,
181 they are my parents' and my grandparents'. I have come to imagine about things happening in the North, but I have
182 never experienced them. I have been to the North, but all memories I have from it are mainly borrowed.

183 **EC:** *It is interesting because what memories you are missing about Varosha I have them now. Because I was living*
184 *right next to it, so for me Varosha is a very sad place. When I was small I was scared of it because, imagine living next*
185 *to the barbed wires and there you see that there are houses, churches, hotels and they are empty. Where are those*
186 *people? Nobody can explain of what happened to those people. It's a ghost town. It is so scary. It is a feeling that it is*
187 *very hard to explain. You feel like you have a gap in your town and you do not explain it.*

188 **CP:** It is very interesting that people used to live there and one day they just left. They thought they would go back
189 but they hadn't My grandparents built a house there but did not manage to live in it. It was just when they moved

[margin notes:]
the buffer zone → as part of people's lives + consequently memories.

→ uncertainty about the future of the buffer zone
↓
uncertainty about the future of the buffer zone's heritage

→ Transferred memories.
↓
filling the gaps of the 'other'

190   their furniture, but they never spoke about Varosha, because they are originally from Karpasia so they only speak
191   about that.

192   **EC:** *Which village in Karpas?*

193   **CP:** My father is from Koma tou Yialou (KumYali) and my grandmother from Yialousa and my grandfather from
194   Leonarisso.

195   **EC:** *You would be surprised now, because my father's village was Kokkina in the South. There is Turkish army there*
196   *now, but it is still in the south part. So they had to leave the village and now they are living in Yialousa. And my*
197   *grandmother was so sad that she had to leave her house in Kokkina and the nature there was very different because*
198   *she had the soil which was very productive and whatever she grew was growing very easily, but in Yialousa it was a*
199   *different environment and she did not know how to work with the soil. When she came to Yialousa they gave her an*
200   *old house, we do not know whose house it is on top of a hill right next to a small church. So, she was living there and*
201   *she took care of the church as well, because she thought that most probably, the people living there were taking care*
202   *of the church and when the GCs left everything was stolen from the church and when she arrived all the houses and*
203   *churches were empty. There was nothing left so she came to the old house right next to the small church and she saw*
204   *that the church was in a bad condition and she decided to take care of the church. She was cleaning it, she was burning*
205   *candles in it on the Christian days. So when I was young and saw her doing it, I asked my mum, if my grandmother was*
206   *Christian and she said that she wasn't. And I asked, why is she cleaning the church and burning candles? And my mum*
207   *said that my grandmother felt that she needed to take care of the building. That was very interesting for me. Then I*
208   *understood that my grandmother was not a Christian, but she was doing both Christian and Muslim things, so I thought*
209   *we must be somewhere in between! (laughing) I was burning candles with her and I was helping her. I did not know*
210   *why, but then I saw that GC are also bringing olive oil to the church as well, but I only saw this after 2004. I did not*
211   *know it before. Sometimes she was bringing olive tree leaves.*

212   *It is a very interesting memory that I have and I think it is also related with how Cypriots perceive each other's heritage*
213   *as well.*

(Handwritten margin notes:)

→ caring for the heritage of the other until it becomes/has become their common heritage (both tangible + intangible).
↳ 'borrowed rituals'

→ memory as a means of establishing a common ground + as a way of protecting intangible heritage.

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214 CP: Do you think you would have been familiar with these if you were not an educator/architect involved with the
215 specific topic? How so?

216 EC: Yes, because as a Famagustian, being part of the Famagusta initiative is not because I am an architect. I am part
217 as a citizen of Famagusta. And I know that this initiative has people from different professions. Doctors, educators,
218 businessmen, politicians…there are many different people in the Famagusta initiative so I would assume that through
219 Famagusta initiative I would still be involved because of my political views. It is not my profession but my political
220 views that is influencing me into getting into the bi-communal initiatives. I know many architects that are not involved
221 because of their political views.

222 CP: Both as a TC and as an educator, what is your opinion on the way history/historical narratives are represented
223 on either side of the divide? (primary/secondary education)

224 EC: The education I received as a young Cypriot was that we were basically learning about two kinds of histories; one
225 about the history of Turkey and one about the TC history and the TC history was definitely biased and was talking
226 about how the GC massacred the TC and how they are killers. So, it was a very selected history. In 2005 when the first
227 left wing political party was elected in the North, one of the very first things they did was changing the history books.
228 Then they partially changed it again because some people said that there were a lot of missing things, so they revised
229 it as well, so the books we have are not the originals we had in 2005. The minister of education who did this is my
230 husband's father. He was attacked by many TC politicians at the time and was threatened at the time. I believe he was
231 a very brave man for doing this and he formed a group of researchers and archaeologists and historians for the new
232 history books. They were designed according to the age groups of students too and I would say it was much more child
233 friendly than when you compare them with our history books. Our books would give you a nightmare. We have this
234 very famous of a bathroom full of dead children. That one, for example was in our history books. It was very scary. As
235 a child, I was scared of the GCs.

236 The change of history books was a very dramatic change. He completely erased that divisive history, this 'enemy'
237 history and he came up with a new version that starts with the world and then comes to Cyprus. It was a series of very
238 interesting books that actually talk about the ancient history of Cyprus as well, because this was missing from our

→ political
influences on
public engagement
+ the establish-
ment of bi-
communal initiatives

→ Biased education
in the North is
more effectively
dealt with than
in the south
↓
impact on
subjective
authenticity +
'artificial'
memories.

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239 history books. Our history books were starting with the conflict in Cyprus. We did not have ancient Greek history. They
240 mentioned the British rule, Ottoman rule, Venetian, Lusignian, Greek, Byzantine and so on, but not the ancient Greek
241 settlements for example, because this was something that gave a Greek identity to the island. Those parts were
242 excluded, but in the new books you could see them. Before he published those books, in a meeting he saw the GC
243 minister of education and proposed to change the history books together, and asked him to create a team in the South
244 like the one created in the North to change the history books parallel on both sides. But the Greek minister said that
245 his population was not ready for this and that this could not be done. He most probably had a point, but I do not know.

246 Even in the North, when the history books changed there was a lot of reaction from mainly nationalist groups and
247 religious people. Especially the Turkish population (i.e. from mainland Turkey), because we have this growing
248 population in the North that is causing a problem and we are becoming a minority. That is why those books changed
249 a bit now. They worked on them and they changed them but still, they are not the books that I was educated, but they
250 are not as neutral as the ones published in 2005-2006.

251 In the South, I was very much surprised to see that primary school children have at the back cover of their books
252 pictures of the places in the North and it says, 'we will go back'. I was shocked and asked my friends why do they still
253 keep them? And they said that they did not even have the chance to criticise it. I think now this is changing. Now after
254 the Annan plan rejection period and after the EU pushed, I believe that Anastasiadis was pushed to think about this
255 issue. Also because of those attacks to the TCs. Things are happening to TCs in the South. For example, if you are
256 driving in the South and you are passing by APOEL sports club suddenly people run out and start kicking your car. They
257 also attacked people as well. This couple went to Larnaca airport to send their children to the UK and on their way
258 back at 3am in the morning they were followed, forced into a village and kicked up. So these attacks on the TC have
259 led the EU to specifically ask the South to rethink about its education system and how nationalism is encouraged
260 through history as well. This is why the AHDR is very important right now. They are doing a lot of event related with
261 the changes that could help history on the South as well. Charis Psaltis is doing some work about this right now.

262 CP: One of the themes present in my conceptual framework is the impact of power relations on the GC and TC
263 communities, criticising the fact that the funding imbalance against the North contributes to wider issues such as
264 lack of up-keeping and heritage prioritisation; which subsequently leads to selectiveness. Selectiveness, as a result

Handwritten margin notes:

→ Top-down approach to the non-biased interpretation of history in the North, but not in the South.

→ nationalism + religion as obstacles
↓
close link between religion + the nation in the South
↓
impact on heritage + perception of truth (authenticity)

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265 does not merely derive from conflict and division itself, but from its consequences. Do you think there are other
266 ways of power struggle that impact the GC – TC relationship and, consequently perception and protection of
267 heritage?

268 EC: I can speak for the North and I will say that there are two major issues. One of them is funding because all the
269 responsible people, such as the Department of Antiquities that is in charge of the protection of heritage has no funds
270 at all. So they are very much afraid of taking care of our heritage sites. They do not know how to manage them,
271 because they do not have enough people working for them to protect those heritage buildings. Funding is a major
272 issue. The other major issue of know-how. They do not have educated people to take care of heritage as well.

273 CP: Is it because of the embargoes and not having international support working in the North? UNESCO for example?

274 EC: UNESCO does not work with the North because of the embargoes, but these actually feed into each other. We
275 don't have international contacts to work with us and our children are not in turn educated to become archaeologists,
276 conservationists either. We do not have the experience of working with international experts in the protection of
277 cultural heritage. These are major issues and I think the embargo is affecting the protection of cultural heritage too.

278 So, know-how and economic factors.

279 I had a meeting before I came here with the manager of the Dept. of Antiquities in Famagusta. It was related with the
280 paintings in the churches, because recently there were some projects through the technical heritage committee that
281 was trying to take care of those paintings in the churches. I wanted to go and see them, but found out that all the
282 churches are locked. When I asked why they are locked and who are we doing it for? How are people going to have
283 access to those buildings? And he said he was very afraid to keep the churches open because he does not have people
284 to guarantee the security of them, because of the paintings are restored by the technical teams that arrived in the
285 North who are also working on them right now. He said that is he keeps the churches open, he does not have enough
286 men and not enough funding to provide security to those churches if young people go there and start drawing on them
287 even as a joke. They are not going to be protected, there is no education either so people do not really know the value
288 of those buildings.

Handwritten margin notes:
→ funding + know-how (Education) as the two major issues preventing the protection of heritage.
↓
powerlessness of the North due to embargoes + consequent lack of international support.

→ funding concerns + lack of know-how/Education.

289 That meeting was very interesting for me, because on that day he had received a phone-call that they had found a
290 historical cave in the Karpas peninsula. You know what he said on the phone? Close it. Don't ever open it. And I said,
291 why are you doing this? This is something that you should take care of. And he explained that he did not have
292 archaeologists to go there and dig and find out what is in that cave and take it into a museum. He did not have people
293 to know how to do it or the money to handle an excavation or the technicians to record what would come out from
294 that cave. So ,what they did was to close it, but in other cases they might just put some metal protection over it.

295 CP: You have already answered this...What do you think is the impact of international embargoes on the heritage
296 conservation in the North? (i.e. from organisations such as UNESCO, ICOMOS and ICCROM).

297 EC: Yes, I think the embargoes can be on other things, but not on the protection of heritage. That is unacceptable,
298 because it is not just out heritage. It is the heritage for humanity.

299 CP: How familiar are you with the NMP? Please explain.

300 EC: The NMP is handled in a very strange way in the North. It stayed as a project, which is not really detailed in human
301 scale and I believe right now it has many negative implications in the way Nicosia develops as well, because it is
302 handled in a different way between the South and the North. In the South, the NMP has developed, but in the North,
303 it became something that has not developed and the way it defined the city is not valid anymore. The dynamics of the
304 city have changes and the NMP is not enough to provide a vision for future development and that is why it is becoming
305 a problem than help. It worked in some ways. It worked to protect the old town by contributing to the renovation of
306 certain areas such as Arab Ahmet and Samanbache for example, but not to the new development areas. For example,
307 because it defines a central business district in a certain part of the city that part of the city has no green parks and it
308 developed in a terrible, very unbalanced way. It is developed in such a way that when you have a three-storey building
309 you can suddenly also have a twelve-storey building. It is not developed. That is the problem. Also, the planning
310 processes in the North are not connected to the Municipalities but to the central government. And, there lies a
311 problem. The planning officers, in my opinion should be connected to the municipalities, but it is not like that.

Handwritten margin notes:
→ funding + know-how/ education.

→ finding a balance between national + international recognition + Embargoes.

→ issues with NMP processes.

→ difference between the development of the North + South NMP initiatives

→ planning processes in the North as an obstacle.

→ lack of Resources + co-ordination

312 — Because it is connected to the central government rather than local authorities, the central government gives political
313 — decisions rather than decisions that would be beneficial for the local authorities. That is why the NMP did not work for
314 — the North's new development areas. There is fails, but I believe it was very important for a wholistic development of
315 — the walled city. There are some efforts from the North Nicosia Municipality to create some collectives of the local
316 — people and shopkeepers and work with those collectives. This is also because of funding issues. They have no funding
317 — at all, so they are trying to create some local dynamic for the protection and renovation of the old town.

318 — CP: I was told that the American Kyrenia University is also moving in the walls.

319 — EC: Yes, they have occupied some building and set up a new Nicosia University in the old town. My feeling for it...I do
320 — not like when suddenly a University comes and occupies a local texture. If they will take care of it to a certain extent it
321 — is good, but whatever they have, it means that it is closed to the public and this is something that I do not like. I would
322 — rather like those buildings to be open to the public as well.   └> concerns over ownership

323 — CP: How familiar are you with the South, particularly the south part of Nicosia?

324 — EC: When I was in Cyprus I was regularly visiting the South. When I go on foot I definitely visit Phaneromeni district a
325 — lot. I love it. I love Eleftheria Square and I am always very curious on what is going on architecturally around there. I
326 — always go shopping on Ledra Street and we used to walk up to Makarios Avenue and we would eat there and do some
327 — shopping. After we started looking on the Contested Fronts and Hands on Famagusta projects it was also very nice for
328 — me because our colleagues' office is in Nicosia's walled city, so at least two-three times a week I was going to work
329 — there and I also like visiting the department of Architecture on Ledra. I attended juries and exhibitions. I love looking
330 — at their exhibitions too. By car, we visit a lot of places in the South. We went to a lot of cities, but in Nicosia at least
331 — twice a month I would cross with my car and would go to places to eat and shop.   ↓
                                                                                        familiar with the central
                                                                                south
332 — CP: What do you know about the Turkish military zone and its contents?   part of the /walled city +
                                                                                has not mentioned the 'edges'.

333 — EC: I am familiar with it because it is one of the dead ends in the old town and they are settled in a very strange way
334 — on top of the walls as well. So, they occupy a certain part of the old town and they also extend out. It is inaccessible

[Right margin handwritten notes:]
→ national impact/ decision-making about local heritage in the North
↓
top-down approach.

→ acknowledging the need for a stronger bottom-up approach.
↓
local contribution as a means of addressing the lack of funding to maintain + renovate the walled city.
↓
local dynamic/ownership. as part of the heritage management process.

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335 *for us and we are faced with the Turkish soldiers. It is interesting that some of that military area is actually TC land.*
336 *So, for example my friend's grandmother's house is there, but she cannot go because there are Turkish soldiers only*
337 *there. We can's access. They are very strict.*

338 **CP: Lastly, have you ever faced (or, do you face) any challenges (social, administrative, economic, political etc.) due**
339 **to the bi-communal nature of your work? For example, governmental funding is harder for the H4C to obtain that**
340 **non-governmental, both due to its location and due to the ongoing political situation.**

341 *EC: It differs and it is changing over time as well. When we first started working on bi-communal projects we had more*
342 *difficulties. For example, when we were asking for an appointment with the mayor, he wouldn't give us an*
343 *appointment. Or, when we were working on a bi-communal project, that was not really something that was welcomed*
344 *by the dean of our faculty. This is changing right now. There are different perceptions on bi-communal work, but it still*
345 *depends on the context of work as well. For example, I am co-founder of Archis interventions Cyprus and we were*
346 *working on Rizokarpaso village on the daily lives of locals in the village. When it was known by the local people that*
347 *we are a bi-communal team producing some projects I started to be followed by the police. This was in 2011. The*
348 *minute I was entering the Karpas peninsula I suddenly had a car behind me. Whatever I was doing, whichever café I*
349 *was stopping. I knew them because my father is a retired policeman and I know how they look. I would go and say*
350 *hello and they would also say hello and be curious on what I was doing and the places I was visiting. So... I had*
351 *difficulties. I was followed in Rizokarpaso, because it is a very contested space. This space is where there are nationalist*
352 *Turkish people living together with GCs and it is a very interesting village because there are no TCs living in there at*
353 *all. It is only the GC living together with Turkish migrants. So, when I go to the village, I am a foreigner for both*
354 *communities.*

355 **CP:** So, do you differentiate between the Turks and the TC?

356 *EC: I would definitely differentiate because our habits are different, our culture is different, power relationship in family*
357 *and society is different. The Turkish culture and the TC culture are different from each other. There are more common*
358 *things that I can find with a GC than I would find with a Turkish person.*

[Handwritten margin notes:]

Official recognition & contribution is still an issue, but
→ more acceptance for bi-communal projects over time.
↓
diverse perceptions over bi-communal initiatives & the 'other'
↓
'otherness' between the TC & the Turkish as well.

→ common ground.

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Appendix III: Meta-Analysis of Interview Data

The following section presents the second stage of interview analysis (i.e. meta-analysis), which separates the information in categories and broad initial themes. This information informed *Chapter 5: Presentation of Interview Findings from the Case Study of Walled Nicosia* and *Chapter 6: Discussion.*

Interviews with the public

Interview with A.M.

Development of initial themes from descriptive codes	
Early descriptive codes/ categories	**Broad initial themes**
• Lack of public consultation • Knowledge about the NMP (due to work involvement) • Issues with material authenticity and functionality • South regeneration is more vivid and radical • Inconsistencies observed between the north and south • Limited knowledge and memories about the north • Unwilling to forget the conflict (biased?) • Traditional and non-commercialised perceived as authentic (no mention of the buffer zone area) • Commercial areas as tourist-oriented • Disapproved of the Eleftheria Square project • Assumptions about the north	Informed about the NMP and its bi-communal nature. Aware of the impact of conflict and division on the walled city and its heritage.

Interview with V.M.

Development of initial themes from descriptive codes	
Early descriptive codes/ categories	**Broad initial themes**
• No knowledge about the NMP • Observed changes within walled Nicosia • Passive responses • Familiarity with 'popular' parts of north walled Nicosia • Façadism is a short-term approach • Unfamiliar with the boundaries/ buffer zone/ edges • Assumptions about the north • Commercial areas as tourist-oriented • Traditional and old-looking perceived as authentic (no mention of the buffer zone area)	Limited knowledge about the NMP and its bi-communal nature. Limited awareness of the impact of conflict and division on the walled city and its heritage.

Interview with S.S.

Development of initial themes from descriptive codes	
Early descriptive codes/ categories	**Broad initial themes**
• Knowledge about the NMP (due to work)	Knowledge about the NMP.

• Mainly refers to south changes (selective knowledge) • Refuses to visit the north • Façadism is superficial • Unfamiliar with the north boundaries/ buffer zone/ edges • Assumptions about the north (implied bias) • Distinguishes between the TC and Turkish migrants • Commercial areas as tourist-oriented • Traditional and original perceived as authentic (no mention of the buffer zone area)

Some awareness of the impact of conflict and division on the walled city and its heritage.

Interview with G.P.

Development of initial themes from descriptive codes	
Early descriptive codes/ categories	**Broad initial themes**
• No knowledge about the NMP • Observed changes, but passive towards them • Façadism is superficial (a "face-lift") • Disapproves of Eleftheria Square • Limited knowledge (and memories) about the north • Unfamiliar with the boundary areas on both sides • Assumptions about the north (implied bias) • Commercial areas as tourist-oriented • Older and unchanged as authentic (no mention of the buffer zone area)	No knowledge about the NMP. Some awareness of the impact of conflict and division on the walled city and its heritage.

Interview with Y.Ch.

Development of initial themes from descriptive codes	
Early descriptive codes/ categories	**Broad initial themes**
• Some knowledge about the NMP (shop owner within the walls) • Observed limited changes • Agrees with the principle of façadism, as long as buildings are habitable • Not been to the north since the division • limited knowledge (and memories) about the north • Unfamiliar with the boundary areas on both sides • Assumptions about the north • Commercial areas as tourist-oriented • Unchanged as authentic (no mention of the buffer zone area)	No knowledge about the NMP. Passive about the impact of conflict and division on the walled city and its heritage.

Interview with K.M.

Development of initial themes from descriptive codes	
Early descriptive codes/ categories	**Broad initial themes**
- No knowledge about the NMP - No significant changes observed - Façadism is superficial - Lack of trust between the GC and TC communities - Rare visits to the north - Limited knowledge and memories of the north - Unfamiliar with the boundary areas on both sides - Assumptions about the north and south boundaries - Commercial areas as tourist-oriented - Unchanged as authentic (no mention of the buffer zone area) - Return of walled Nicosia's growth influenced negatively the areas outside the walls	No knowledge about the NMP. Very limited awareness of the impact of conflict and division on the walled city and its heritage.

Interview C.Th.

Development of initial themes from descriptive codes	
Early descriptive codes/ categories	**Broad initial themes**
- No knowledge about the NMP - Some changes observed within the walls - Façadism is superficial, short term and hypocritical - Hardly any knowledge and memories of the north - Familiar with some south boundaries - Unfamiliar with the north boundaries - Assumptions about the north (selective knowledge) - Commercial areas as tourist-oriented - Original features and character as authentic (no mention of the buffer zone area)	No knowledge about the NMP. Some awareness of the impact of conflict and division on the walled city and its heritage.

Interview L.K.

Development of initial themes from descriptive codes	
Early descriptive codes/ categories	**Broad initial themes**
• No knowledge about the NMP • No changes observed • Façadism is superficial, but better than nothing • Infrastructural issues due to division • Refuses to go to the north • No knowledge or memories of the north • Familiar with some south boundaries • Assumptions about the north boundaries (selective knowledge and implied bias) • Commercial areas as tourist-oriented • Original buildings and materials as authentic (no mention of the buffer zone area)	No knowledge about the NMP. Some awareness of the impact of conflict and division on the walled city and its heritage.

Interview K.A.

Development of initial themes from descriptive codes	
Early descriptive codes/ categories	**Broad initial themes**
• Some knowledge about bi-communal initiatives, but not the NMP itself • Some changes observed • Façadism is better than nothing, but complete restoration is preferred • The buffer zone as a problem for both sides • Familiar with some south boundaries • Unfamiliar with the north boundaries (no memories) • Some familiarity with the 'popular' areas in the north • Assumptions about the north boundaries (selective knowledge and implied bias) • Commercial areas as tourist-oriented • Older past and traditional as authentic (no mention of the buffer zone area)	No knowledge about the NMP. Some awareness of the impact of conflict and division on the walled city and its heritage.

Interview K.J.

Development of initial themes from descriptive codes	
Early descriptive codes/ categories	**Broad initial themes**
- No idea about the NMP - Some changes observed - Façadism is superficial, but better than nothing - The buffer zone as an issue - Rare visits to the north (limited memories) - Familiar with most of the south boundaries - Unfamiliar with the north boundaries (selective knowledge) - Assumptions about the north boundaries (selective knowledge and implied bias) - Commercial areas as tourist-oriented - Traditional as authentic (no mention of the buffer zone area)	No knowledge about the NMP. Limited awareness of the impact of conflict and division on the walled city and its heritage.

Interview with Ali Guralp

Development of initial themes from descriptive codes	
Early descriptive codes/ categories	**Broad initial themes**
- No bi-communal (tangible) initiatives since the entry of south Cyprus in the EU - Mayors' agendas sometimes cause delays or issues for the NMP team - Collaborative spirit between the north and south continues to exist - The north suffers from lack of funding - The north tries to catch up with the south - Different stages of heritage and city management between the north and south - Different priorities between the north and south - Low income residents contributing to the city's decline - Arab Ahmet Development Company as a way to a bottom up approach - Façadism as the only solution when funding is not available - Ownership issues - Political interruptions - Lack of up-keeping - Togetherness is important for the NMP team - Traditional craftsmanship as authentic - Traying to raise interest about the tangible and intangible heritage of Nicosia - Lack of private funding - Efforts for creating more openings - Arab Ahmet as an area of re-ignited interest for the NMP - Adaptive-reuse of Arab Ahmet to cater for a wider demographic/ facilities - External contribution and recognition is important - Lack of public awareness about the NMP - The buffer zone as a common, neutral ground "We do not discriminate"	Gap between the north and south exists due to political and economic differences, in addition to the ongoing division. The spirit of collaboration is still there, even if in practice no recent projects and bi-communal regenerations have been achieved.

Development of initial themes from descriptive codes	
Early descriptive codes/ categories	**Broad initial themes**
 • Funding issues as a major obstacle for the north NMP team • Bi-communalism valued by the NMP team • Since the south entered the EU, the collaboration with the north stopped • Complex process of managing heritage in the north, as opposed to the south • Arab Ahmet is originally an Ottoman quarter (selective history) • Arab Ahmet as an area of re-ignited interest for the NMP • Adaptation of Arab Ahmet to cater for a wider demographic • Each municipality manages the properties of the 'other' • Properties of the 'other' prioritised • Lack of private funding • An additional buffer zone (i.e. Turkish military zone) divides the historic core which includes invisible and inaccessible heritage • Façadism as the only solution when funding is not available Low income residents as a drawback for the maintenance of the historic core • South provides more incentives to invest within the walls • Ownership issues due to division • Adaptive re-use to accommodate for a wider demographic and additional facilities • Government and municipalities as obstacles due to different priorities • External contribution and recognition is important • Intentional lack of public knowledge due to fear of reactions • After the checkpoint opening, municipalities came together to stop uncontrolled development • Locally: Lack of recognition of north from south vs. Internationally: bi-communal NMP initiative • Reference to the Aga Khan Award made • 'thinning' the buffer zone • Two separate maps to promote common heritage	Lack of recognition of the north as a key factor in the economic and heritage management gap between the GC and TC municipalities of Nicosia. The spirit of collaboration is still there, even if in practice no recent projects and bi-communal regenerations have been achieved. Public knowledge, and participation is limited due to fear of opposition both by the north and south.

Interview with Marina Neophytou (House for Cooperation (H4C))

Development of initial themes from descriptive codes	
Early descriptive codes/ categories	**Broad initial themes**
- H4C as a neutral, common, middle ground for the communities of Nicosia - External funding rather than governmental - Peace-building, social inclusion and bi-communalism guiding their approach - Socially oriented: vivid and justified bottom-up approach - Addressing biased education - ADHR= concerned with formal school education; H4C= concerned with informal education and intangible heritage - Bridge for expression - A-political - Concerned with people, activities and stakeholders - A space that attracts/ caters for a diverse demographic - Bi-communal and Inter-communal - Empowering people and communities - Location of the H4C contributes to administrative issues and other difficulties and confusion - Direct (formal) vs. indirect (informal) support from different governmental bodies - Engaging participation and non-biased knowledge - Unfamiliar to other cities in Cyprus due to location - Intangible heritage promoted through art, food, languages, culture - Youth as a difficult target group - Adaptability to match needs - Conflict and division continue to influence people's and organisations' perception about the H4C – confusing - There is a lot of exchange between communities - Was not aware that the bi-communal NMP was still taking place – not informed.	Helping preserve the intangible heritage of the island. Collaborative spirit and bi-communalism more actively present than in the NMP. Bottom-up approach is very vivid: socially and community oriented. Governmental rejection overcome by ongoing external/ international support. The H4C as a space for bridging communities across the divide. No collaboration with the NMP

Interview with Eleni Philippou (Urban Gorillas)

Development of initial themes from descriptive codes	
Early descriptive codes/ categories	**Broad initial theme**
- Socially oriented: (bottom-up) approach - External funding rather than governmental - Facing bureaucratic and procedural obstacles - Collaborative spirit: bringing together GC and TC communities - Concerned with public space - Focusing on public participation - Across the divide - Multi-cultural team - Bi-communalism is vivid - Engaging in participatory experiences - Efforts to protect intangible heritage by connecting people through different activities (including food and art) "intercultural" - Foreigners and younger crowds are more willing to participate with their informal activities - Merging tangible and intangible heritage through art in the buffer zone - A-political in nature - Using tangible heritage to promote the intangible - Governmental obstacles, especially when working with the north - Funding as a challenge - Easier to work with other NGOs – common ground - Public reluctance to engage with space in walled Nicosia – felt they were doing something wrong - Sense of interference of public with public space in walled Nicosia - Creative means of promoting positive causes - Promotion of culture (intangible heritage) - Public space value - Planned interventions that can "assist in energising the place" - Promoting the exploration of walled Nicosia by both communities: public engagement and knowledge with heritage and place - Context specific approaches "reinvent[ing] abandoned spaces" in Nicosia	Use of public space and informal interventions to engage the public in bi-communal activities Bottom-up approach is very vivid: socially and community oriented. Governmental rejection overcome by ongoing external/ international support. No collaboration with the NMP.

• "intervention is an opportunity to create" • Identity of public spaces • Do not constrain their activities to one specific location • Focused on enforcing intangible heritage throughout Cyprus • Outlook for "urban solutions for permanent physical interventions" • Currently interventions are temporary, but contribute to changing perceptions • Creating "new layers of memories and associations" with given sites • Creating new memories • Reinventing social relations • Addressing political connotations • Historical landmarks as present in the collective memories of citizens • "Effac[ing] the historical gravity" of sites • Re-introducing the "use and meaning" of spaces such as the buffer zone, through artistic interventions • GC and TC sharing the same art: common ground • Tackling social issues within the old city of Nicosia • Fully aware of the issues brought to Nicosia after its division • Divided Nicosia as an opportunity • Trying to tackle the "minimum or even non-existent interaction" of different groups in walled Nicosia • Looking to Cyprus as a whole • Perception of the buffer zone boundary is beyond physical • No collaboration with the NMP	The role of memory and heritage/ public space is visible. Freedom of artistic expression as a means of bridging the divide/ bringing communities together. Focus on intangible heritage.

Interview with Esra Can Akbil (Contested Fronts, Hands on Famagusta, Archis Interventios Cyprus, H4C architect)

Development of initial themes from descriptive codes	
Early descriptive codes/ categories	**Broad initial themes**
- Lack of public consultation and transparency by governmental organisations (including the NMP). - Familiarity about the NMP due to involvement with bi-communal initiatives, as well as personal interest as an architect and Nicosia resident. - Lack of funding - Lack of know-how/ education due to international embargoes - UNESCO's non-involvement with the North due to embargoes is having serious consequences on the protection of tangible and intangible heritage - Memory (creation of common memories) as a means of bridging the divide is visible through the different bi-communal initiatives. - South regeneration is more vivid - Inconsistencies observed between the North and South - Interested in the Eleftheria Square project and on what is happening in South Nicosia throughout - Need for a stronger bottom up approach by government authorities recognised - Funding as a primary concern for the lack of professional expertise - Use of cultural heritage as a common ground between the two communities - Educating the GC and TC communities to address the issue of 'otherness' - Public stakeholders as key to existing heritage management approaches - New approach/framework needed to address the heritage protection and urban development of Nicosia, especially outside the walls - Sceptical about governmental involvement in public participation processes due to potential influence of decisions –> indirect imbalance of power between formal and informal actors - Strengthening connections with the South	Focus on intangible heritage. Imbalance of power (finding and professional expertise) between the North and South. Informed about the NMP and its bi-communal nature. Aware of the impact of conflict and division on the walled city and its heritage. Public participation and consultation as a concern.

• No Nicosia initiative purely based on public (independent) decisions -> gap	Memory as a means of protecting heritage.
• Ledra Palace area and the buffer zone as a neutral, common ground and a meeting point for the two communities	
• Street name differences as an obstacle in bi-communal projects and planning processes	
• Legitimisation obstacles for the North	Heritage as a way of creating a common ground between the GC and TC communities.
• Heritage in the buffer zone not adequately evaluated	
• Lack of knowledge about the complete heritage of the buffer zone	
• International funding has been easier to obtain than local/ governmental funds and support	
• Administrative and legal considerations, as well as the location of the H4C in the buffer zone as an obstacle	
• The buffer zone as part of people's lives -> memories	
• Uncertainty about the future of the buffer zone	
• Transferred ('borrowed') memories and rituals: filling the gap of the 'other' -> protection of intangible heritage	Subjective authenticity as a concern due to biased education and existence of nationalism.
• Biased education, primarily in the South -> impact of subjective authenticity and creation of 'artificial' memories	
• Nationalism and religion (South) as an obstacle to bi-communal initiatives and cultural heritage protection	
• Funding imbalance between the North and South -> difference between the development of the two sides	
• Planning processes in the North as an obstacle: central government rather than municipal decisions -> top down	
• Local contribution as a means of addressing the lack of funding -> public stakeholders as part of the heritage management process	Improvements still needed in the planning processed of the North.
• Local dynamic and ownership needed	
• 'otherness' between the TC and Turkish population as well	

Appendix IV: Images used during the interview process

The following images were used for the interviews with the public, where they were asked to identify which parts of the buffer zone boundary belong to the TC North or to the GC South. The images were taken selected locations within the walled city of Nicosia, with two out of the six images representing the same street on both sides of the divide (Group 1), two images representing areas in close proximity to each other (Group 2) and two representing a random choice of streets on each side (Group 3). The first photograph in each group has been taken from the south part of walled Nicosia, whereas the second has been taken from the north part.

Appendix V: Drawing Catalogue

The following appendix includes all the drawings created by the researcher during the course of this study. These form part of this thesis' originality and contribution to knowledge.
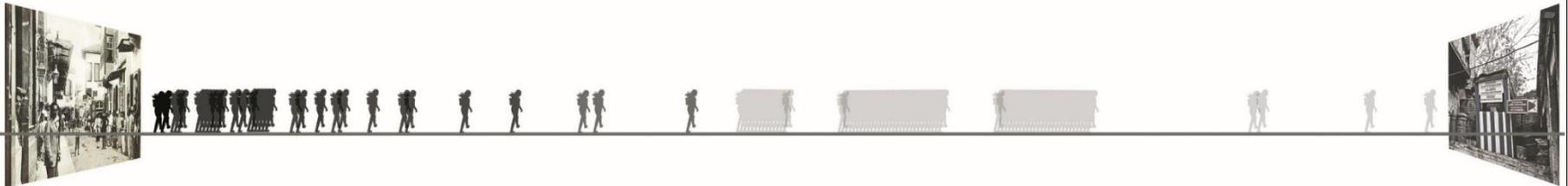
1
Figure 1
Conceptual representation of the walled city of Nicosia based on the initial impressions of the researcher about the impact of conflict and division on the built environment of the city. The study of doors represents the gradual decline of the historic core as one progresses towards the heart of the walls, where the buffer zone is located (Author 2012).
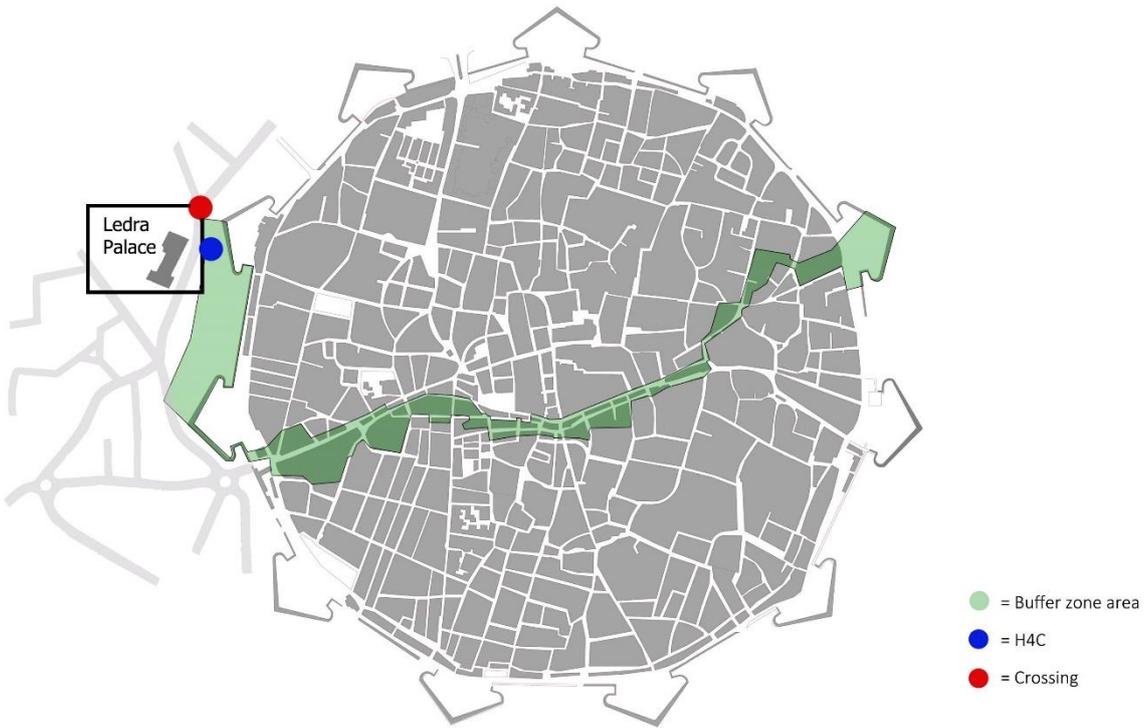
Figure 7

Map illustrating the location of the H4C, Ledra Palace Hotel and Crossing between the North and South Parts of Nicosia (outside the walls) (Author 2017).
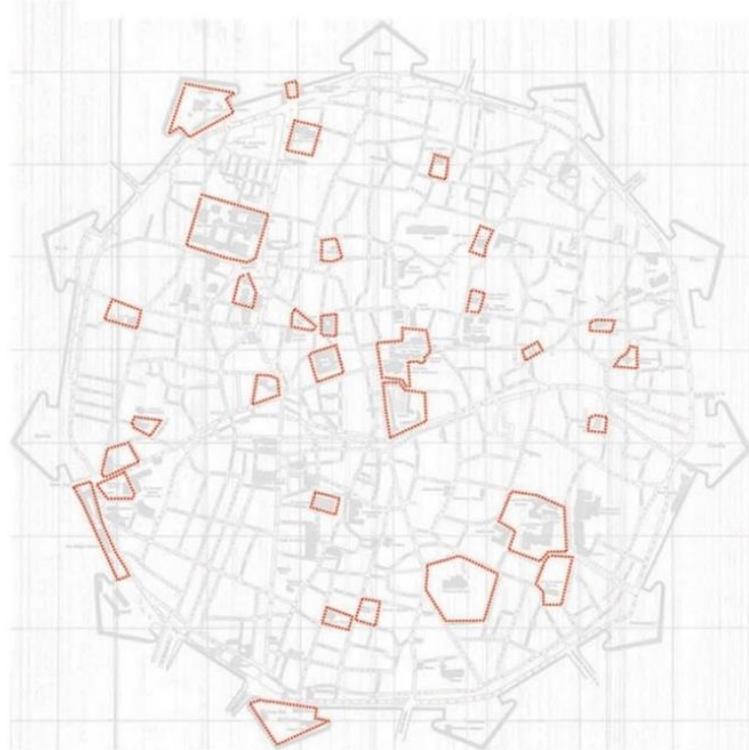
3. Historically significant areas within the walls
Figure 56
Diagram illustrating the increasing mirroring of facilities, especially after the division of walled Nicosia (Author 2015). The green colour in the centre of the wall city represents the location of walled Nicosia's buffer zone.

4. Markets and areas of public interest
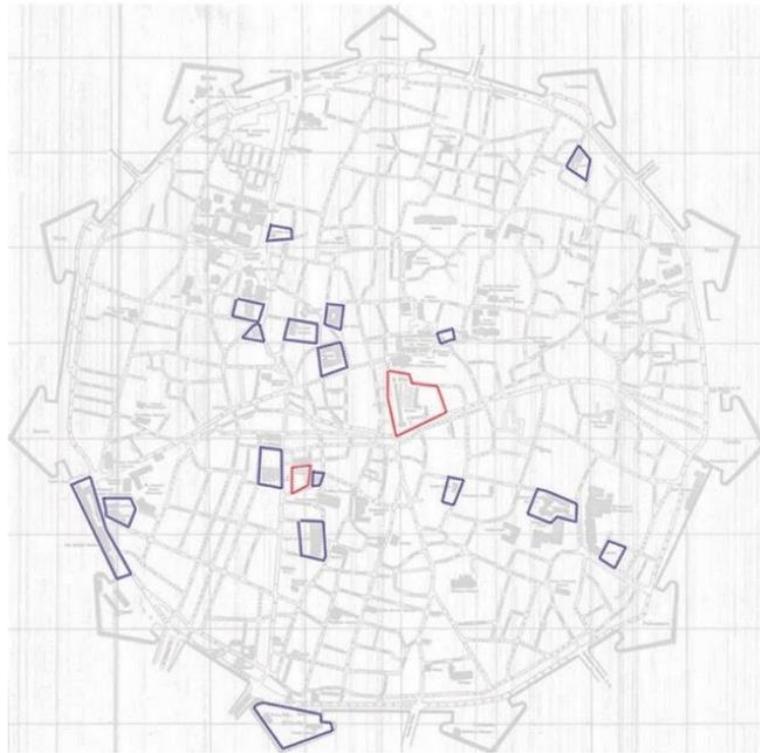
Figure 56

Diagram illustrating the increasing mirroring of facilities, especially after the division of walled Nicosia (Author 2015). The green colour in the centre of the wall city represents the location of walled Nicosia's buffer zone.

5. Religious buildings and sites

Figure 56

Diagram illustrating the increasing mirroring of facilities, especially after the division of walled Nicosia (Author 2015). The green colour in the centre of the wall city represents the location of walled Nicosia's buffer zone.
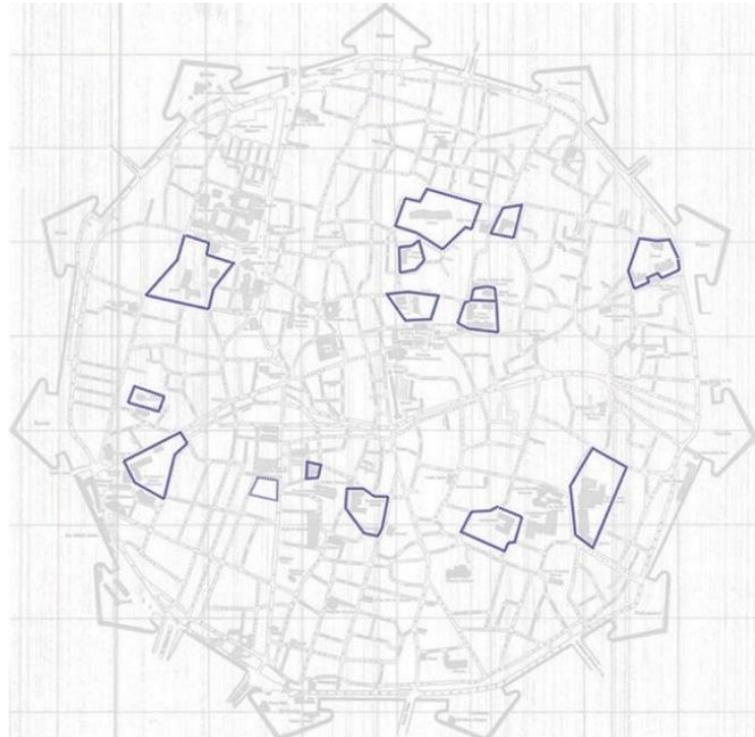
6. Educational buildings (including schools and museums)
Figure 56
Diagram illustrating the increasing mirroring of facilities, especially after the division of walled Nicosia (Author 2015). The green colour in the centre of the wall city represents the location of walled Nicosia's buffer zone.
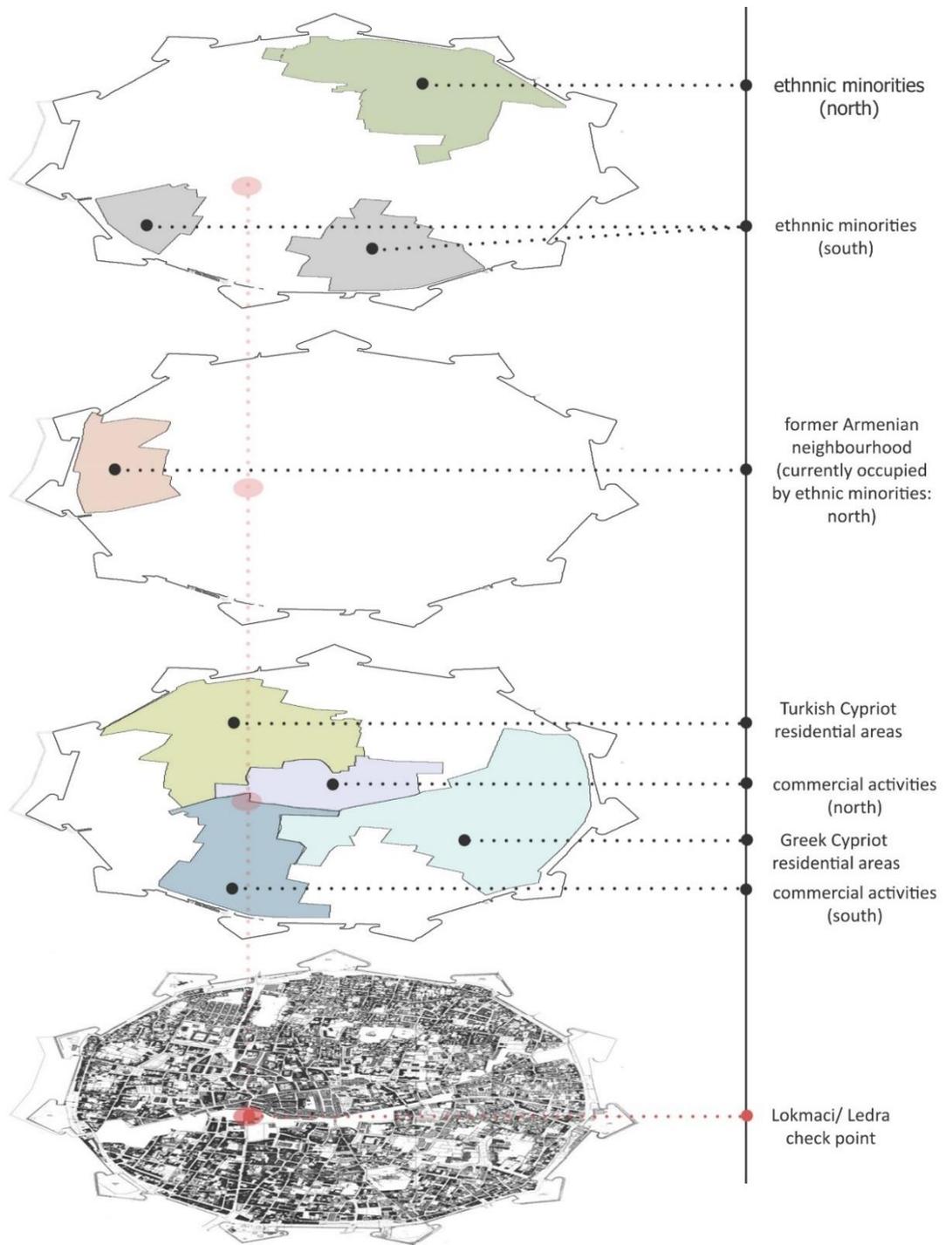
Figure 58

Study of the different area types of walled Nicosia (Author 2017).

Figure 59

Diagram illustrating the location of Karamanzade and Arab Ahmet (Author 2017). As specified on the drawing, the red square signifies the Ledra-Lokmaci Street Crossing between the North and South and demonstrates the proximity of the areas examined with the only crossing established within the walled part of the city.

Asklipiou Street

Figure 64

Diagram illustrating the location of Asklipiou Street, located in the south-central part of the walled city and right next to the buffer zone (Author 2017).

North - South Interruption
The Buffer Zone

Figure 70

Diagram illustrating the North - South interruption of walled Nicosia's urban fabric due to the buffer zone (Author 2017). In the context of walled Nicosia, East - West interruptions refer to the vertical fragmentation of the walled city through the creation of disused, or liminal spaces that weaken the link between the different districts of walled Nicosia. Whereas North - South interruption refers to the horizontal division of the city by the buffer zone.

Figure 71

Diagram illustrating the location of the Kafesli/ Yeni Jiam and Selimiye areas (Author 2017).

= Ledra Street - Girne Avenue route and crossing

= Old Pedieos River, previously passing through the walled city

= Buffer Zone Boundary

= Approximate location of Turkish military zone as specified by Bensel (2016)

= Buildings along the commercial Hermes Street (outside the buffer zone)

= Buildings along Hermes Street (within the buffer zone)

Figure 79

Drawing illustrating the buffer zone of walled Nicosia, along with adjacent building blocks, the location of the Turkish military zone within the vicinity and the river that previously ran through the walled city (Author 2017). The Turkish military zone currently runs along the existing buffer zone and splits the area between the UN soldiers (south part of the buffer zone) and the Turkish military (north part of the buffer zone).
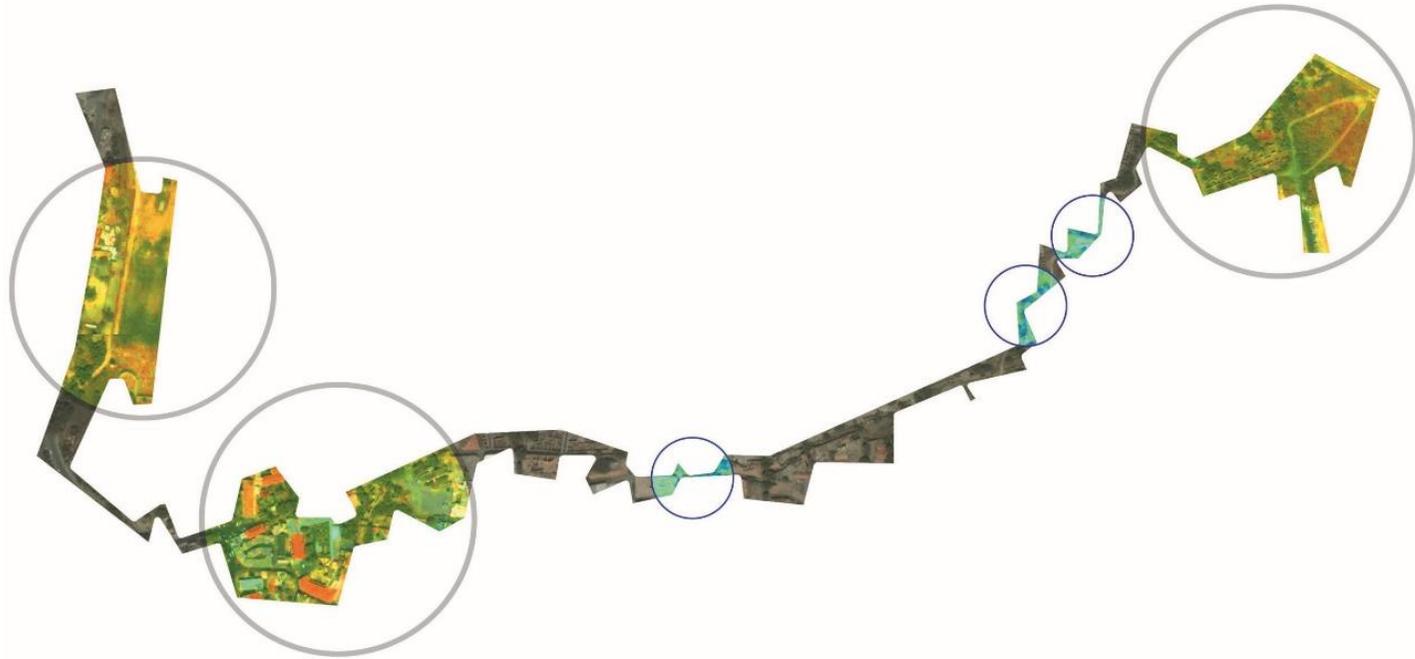
Figure 80

Study of the different densities of walled Nicosia's buffer zone (Author 2016).
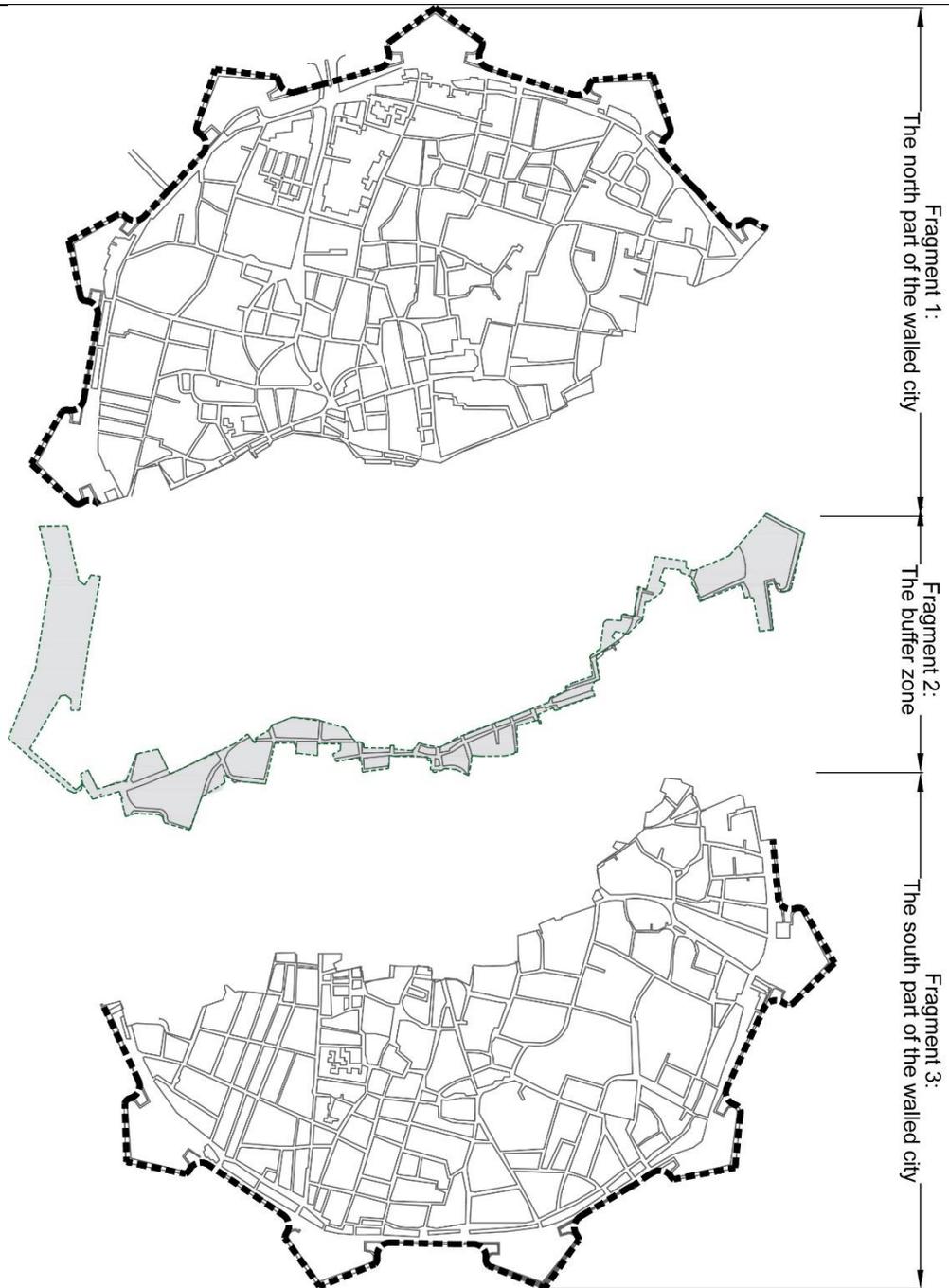
Figure 81

Figure illustrating the identified fragments of the walled city of Nicosia (Author 2017).

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Figure 87

Map illustrating the location of the Holy Cross Catholic Church within walled Nicosia (Author 2017).
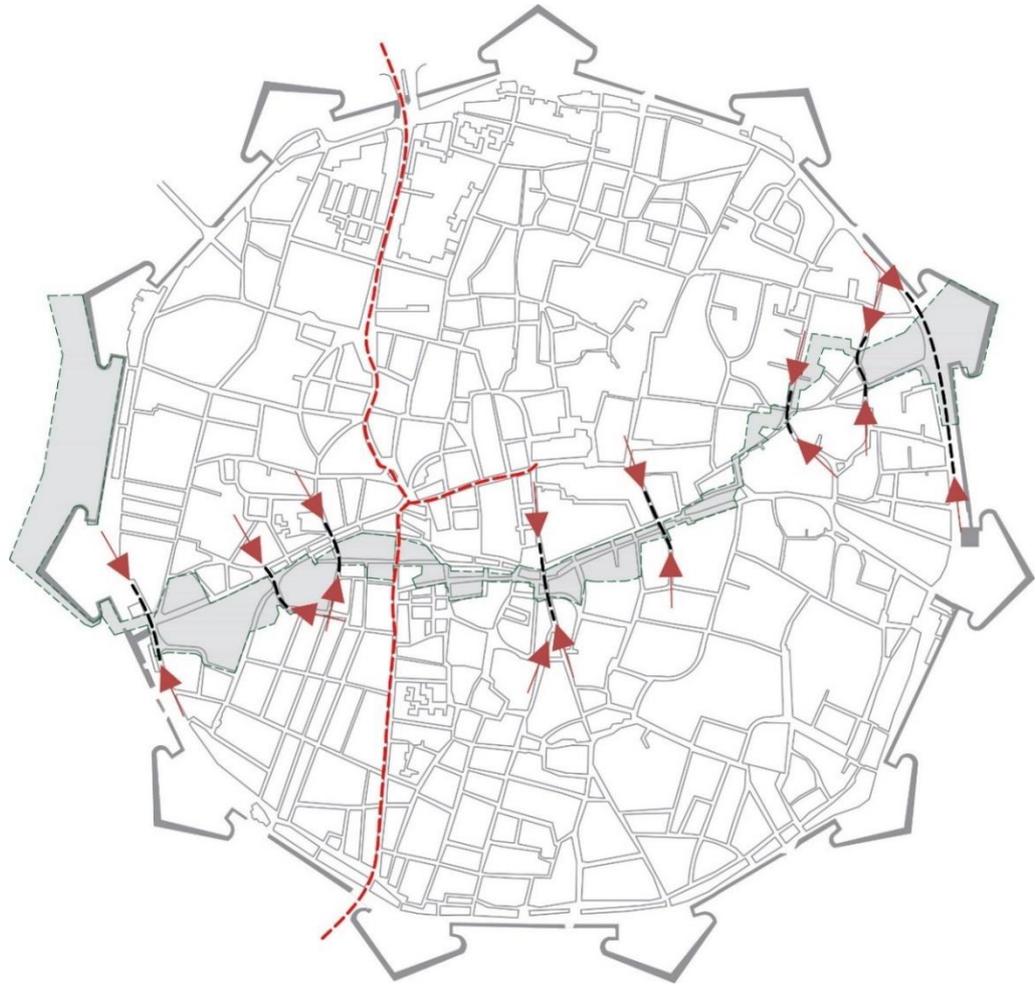
Figure 90

Diagrams illustrating the (directly) interrupted street patterns linking the North and South and the possibilities for further openings (Author 2017).

17

Figure 101

Diagrammatic representation of the current responses to the buffer zone, both from a public and a development perspective (Author 2016).

482
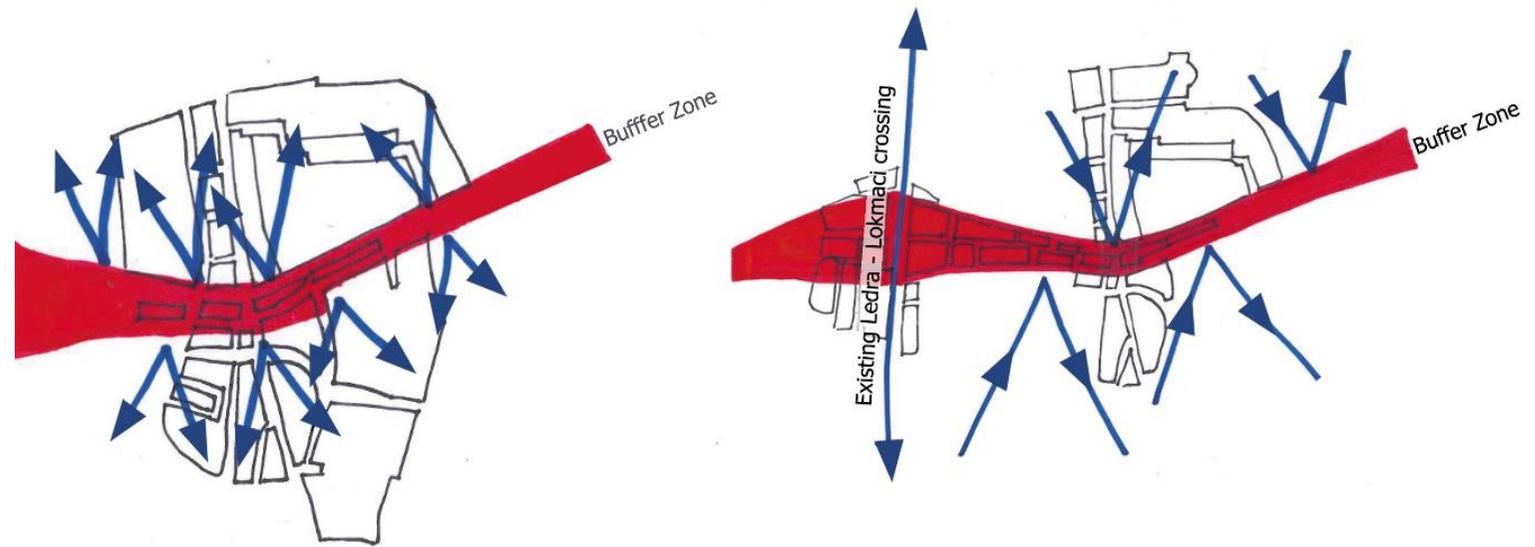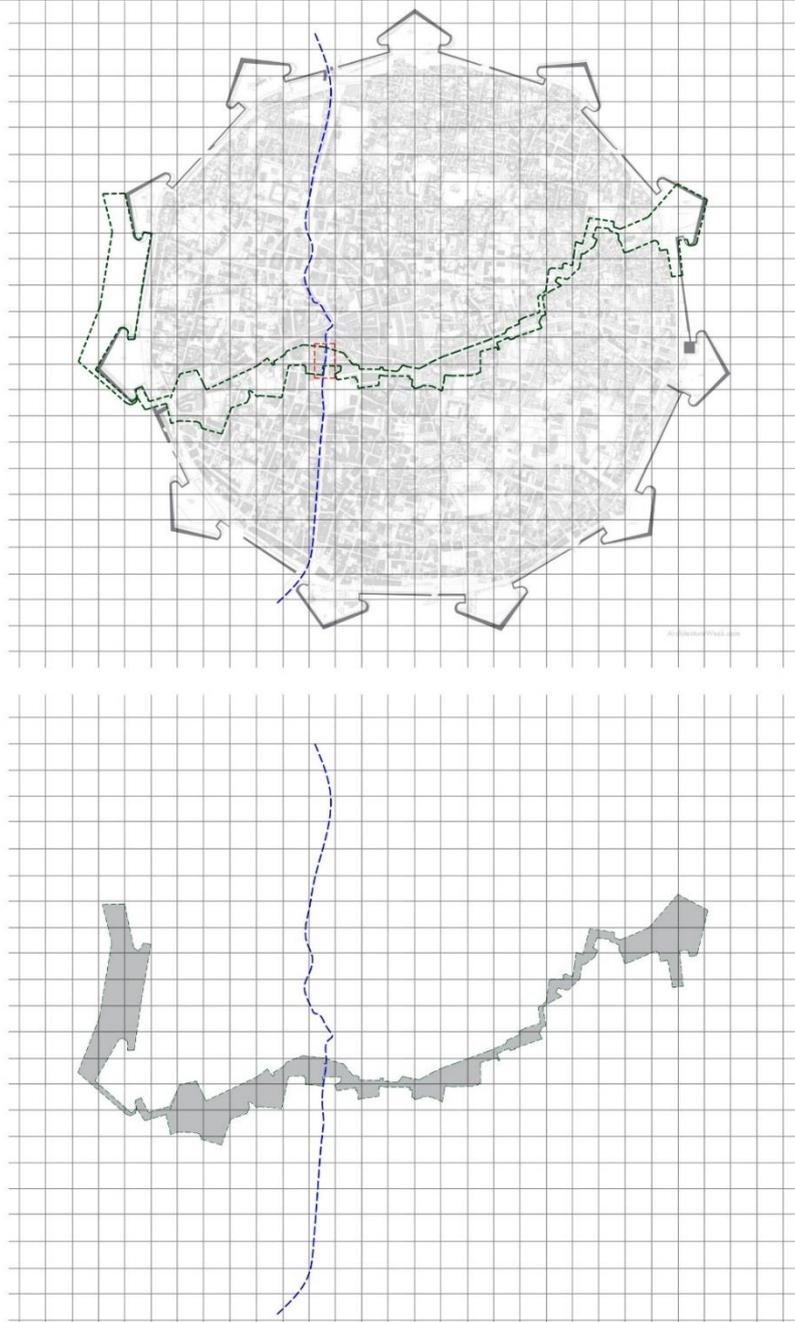
Figure 102

Diagrams demonstrating the location of Ledra Street in relation to the UN Buffer Zone, as well as the rest of the walled city (Author 2017).

Figure 108

Drawing illustrating the name changes between street(s) within walled Nicosia (Author 2017). The example shown addresses a street in the central part of the walled city, where its name differs on each side of the divide. More specifically, the street is known as Trikoupi Street in the South and Kuyumcular Sokak in the North.

National and
religious symbolism
(Greek and Cypriot
flags and Christian
crucifix)

GC (South) Boundary

Facade restoration in progress

National colours of Greece

Boundary temporary (movable) in appearance
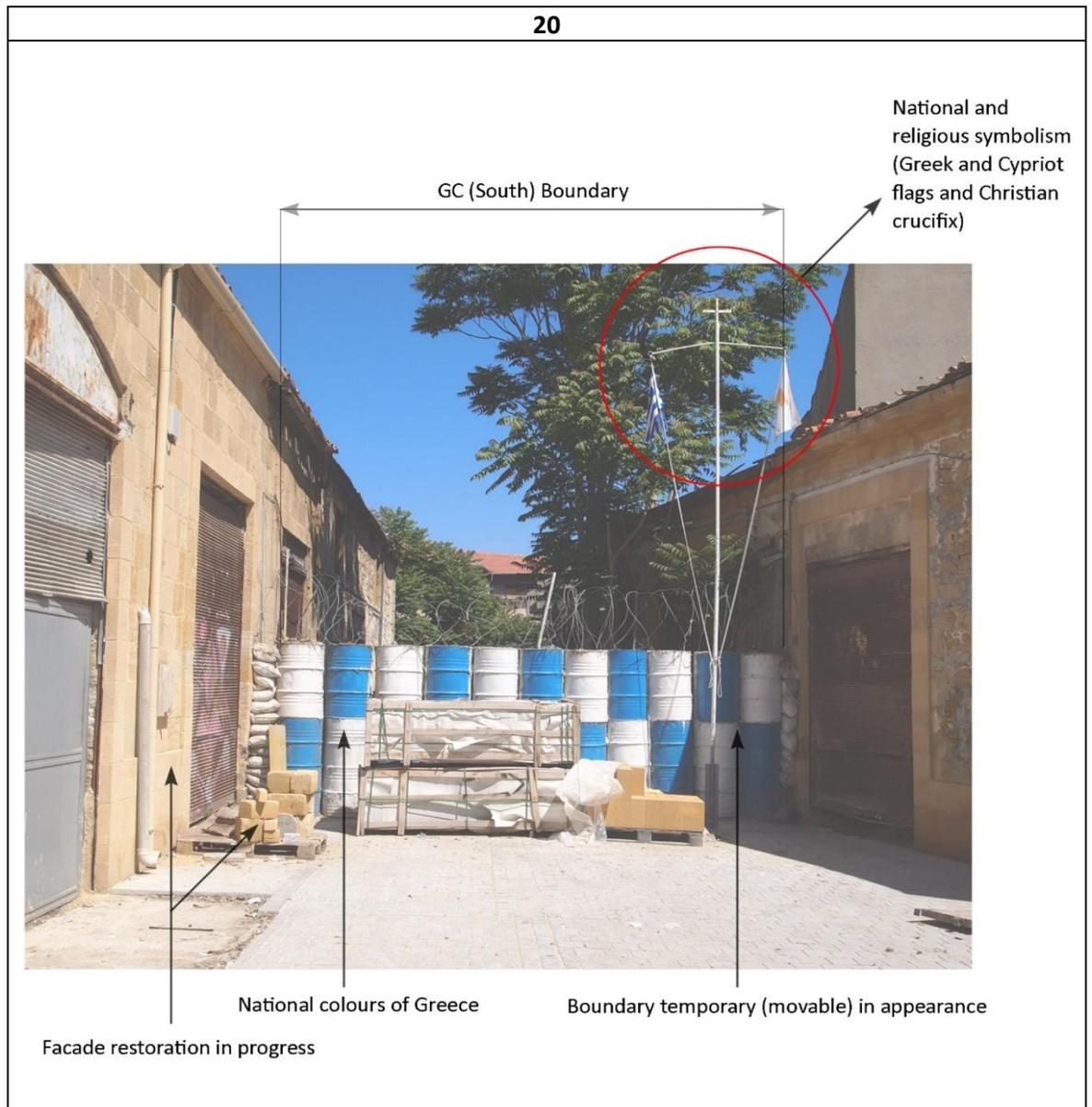
Figure 109

Analysis of GC (South) buffer zone boundary (Author 2017). In this image the Greek national colours (white and blue), the Greek and Cypriot flag (top right) and the Crucifix associated with these nations can be observed.
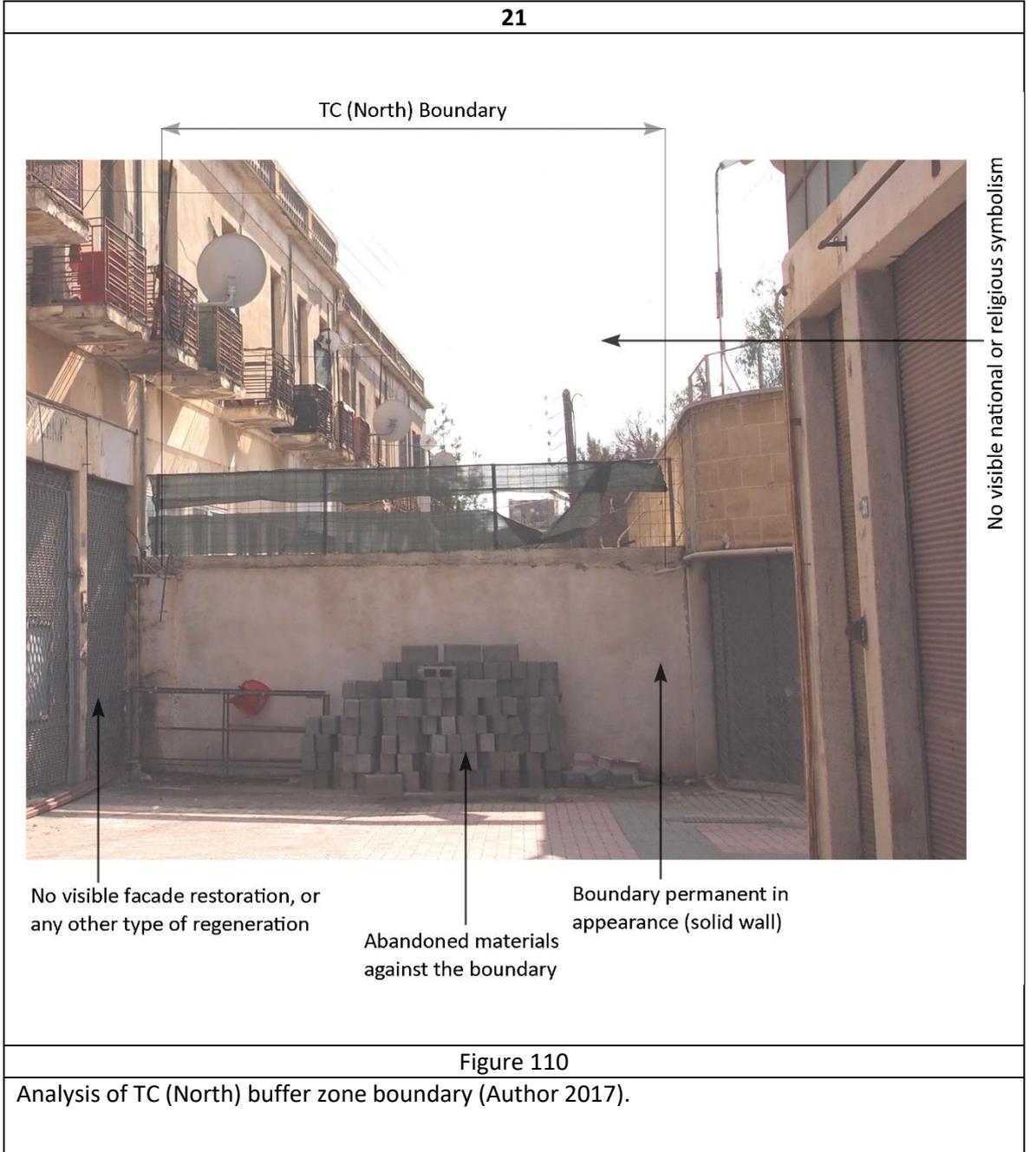
Figure 110

Analysis of TC (North) buffer zone boundary (Author 2017).
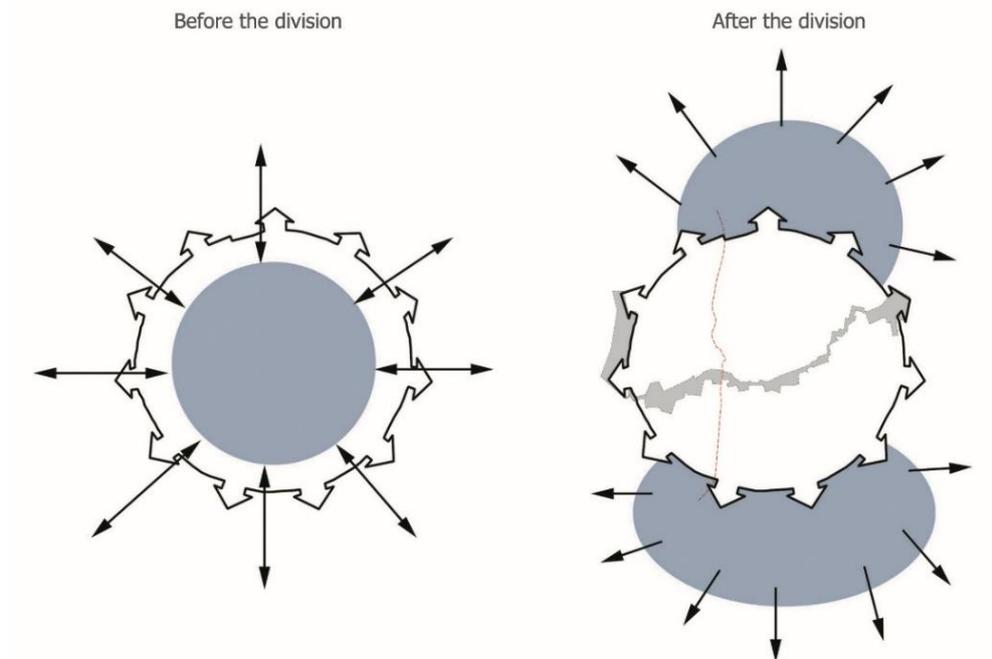
Figure 116

Diagrammatic representation of the outward growth of Nicosia as influenced by the ongoing division of the city (Author 2016).
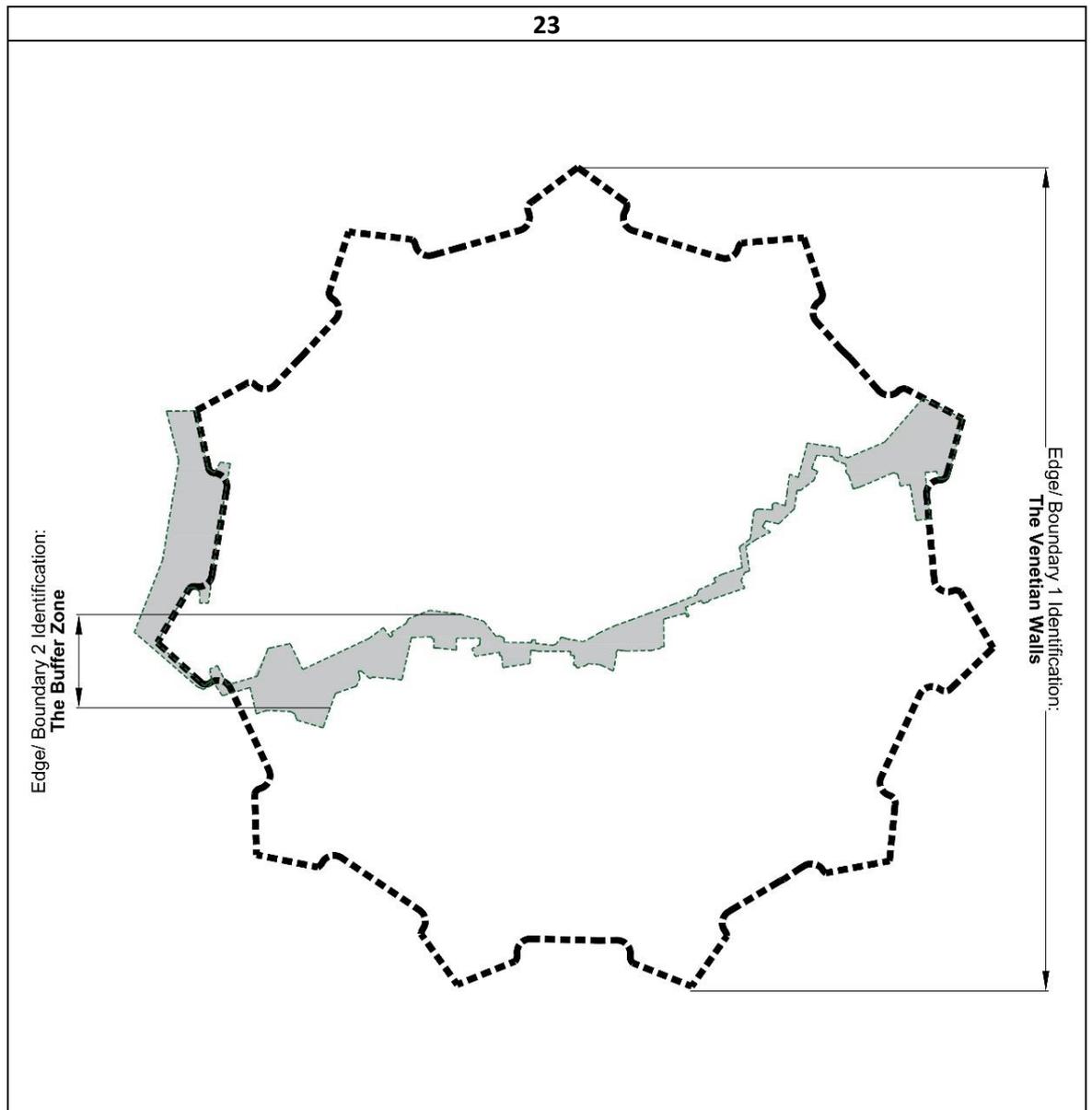
Figure 117

Identification of walled Nicosia's boundaries (Author 2017). The image identifies two main tangible boundaries that make-up the fabric of walled Nicosia; the first boundary refers to the Venetian walls of the city and the second boundary refers to the buffer zone.
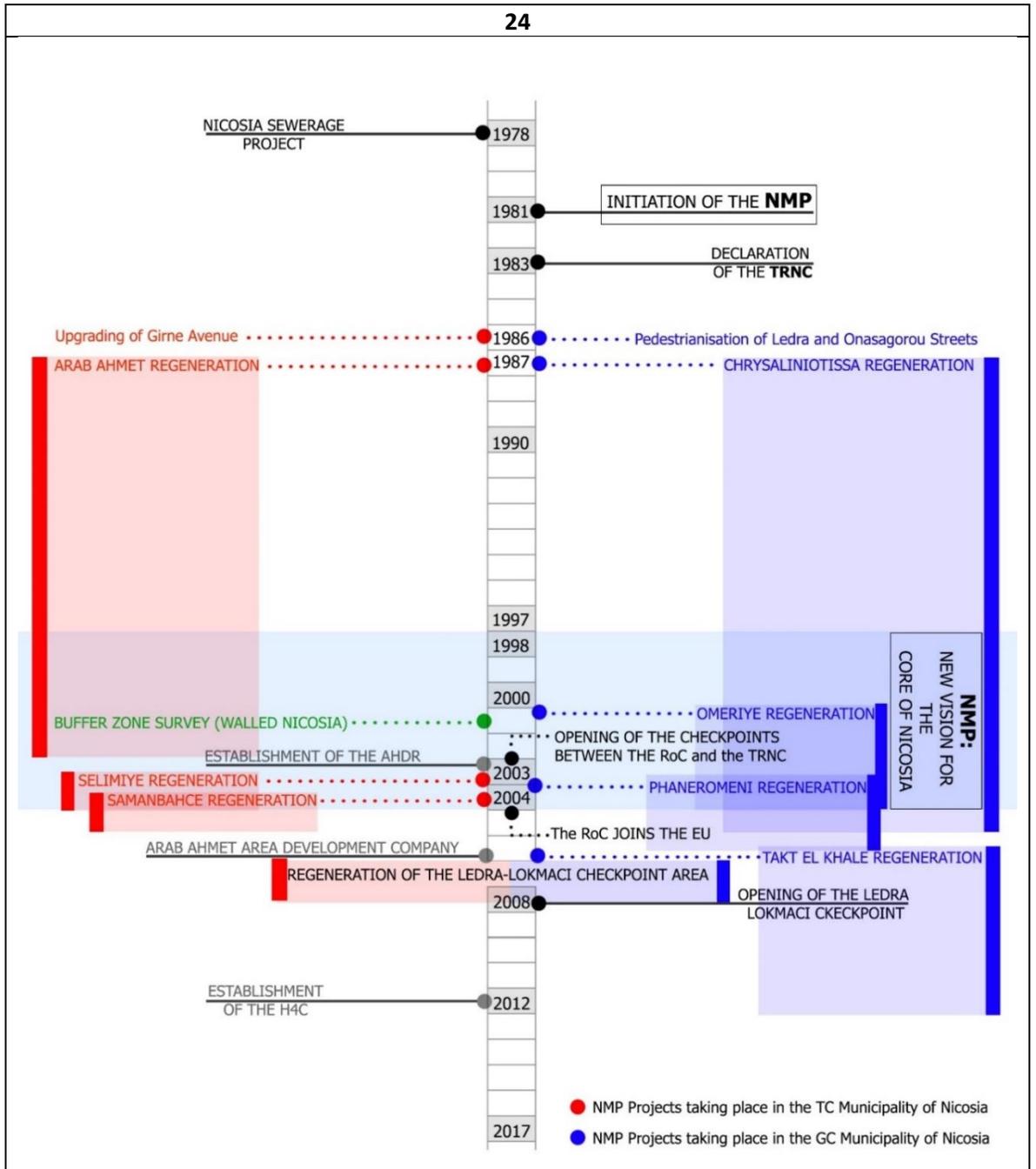
Figure 122

Timeline of the key NMP projects within walled Nicosia, excluding individual building interventions (Author 2017).
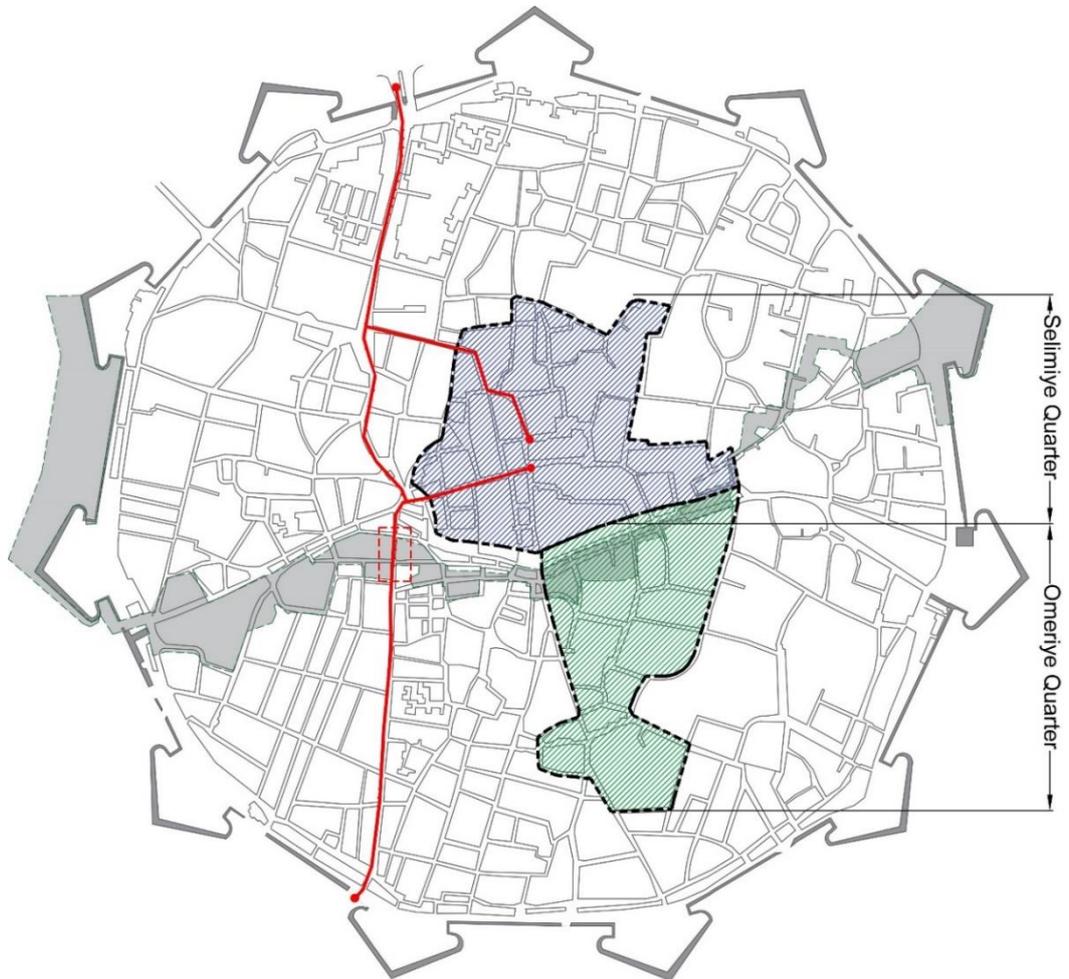
Figure 123

Map illustrating the Selimiye and Omeriye areas (Author 2017).
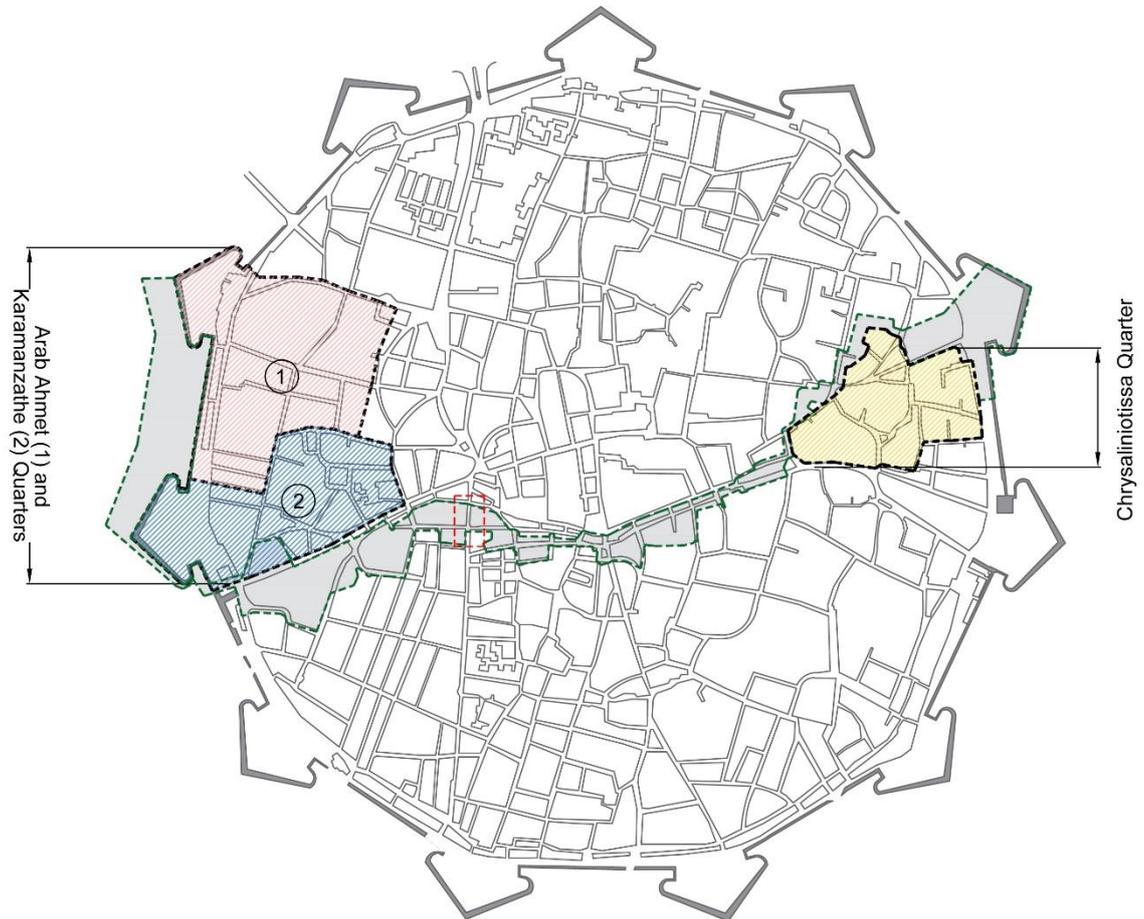
Figure 135

Diagram of the Arabahmet (left) and Chrysaliniotissa (right) neighbourhoods (Author 2017).
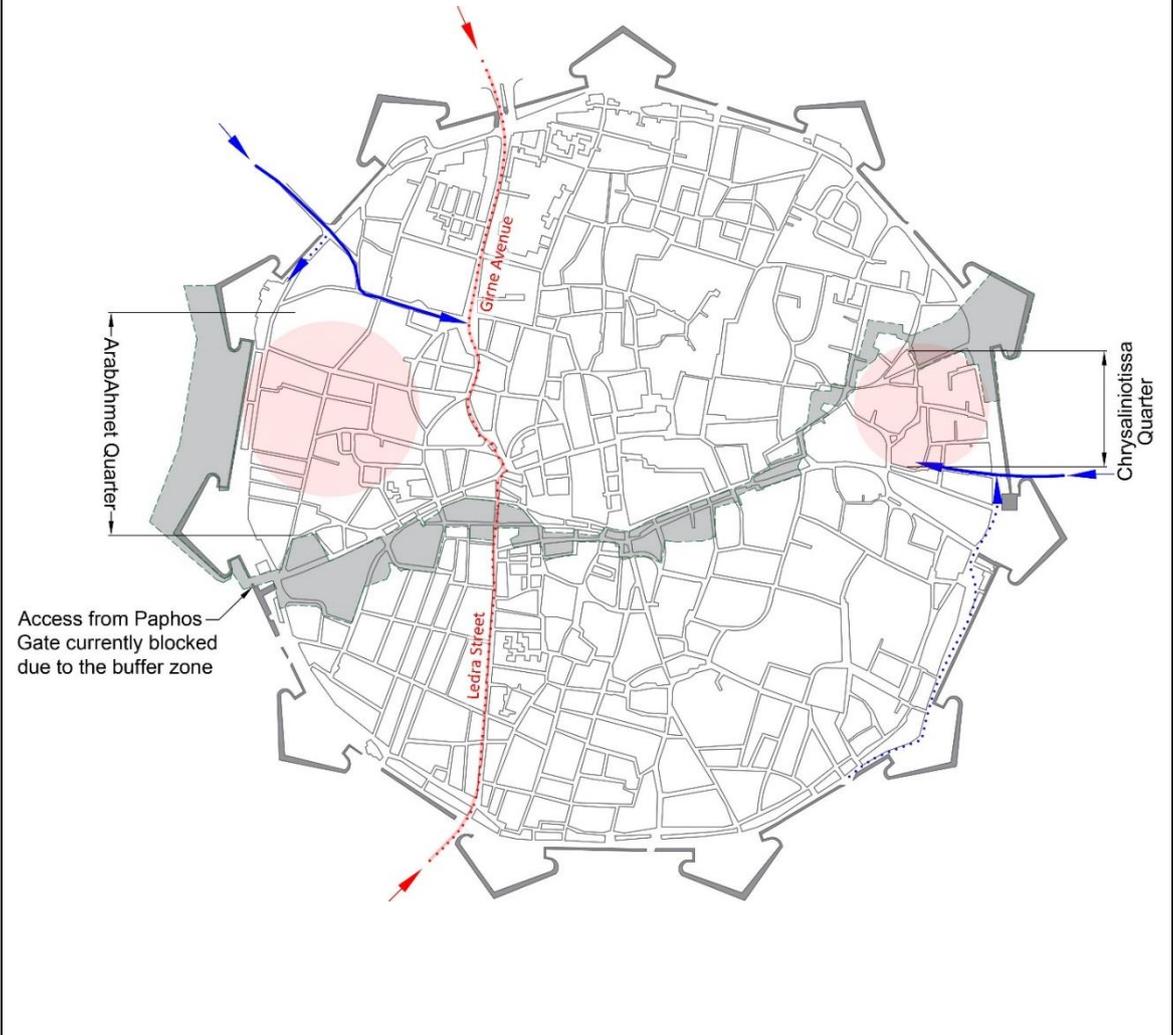
Figure 148

Analysis and visual comparison of Arab Ahmet and Chrysaliniotissa (Author 2017).
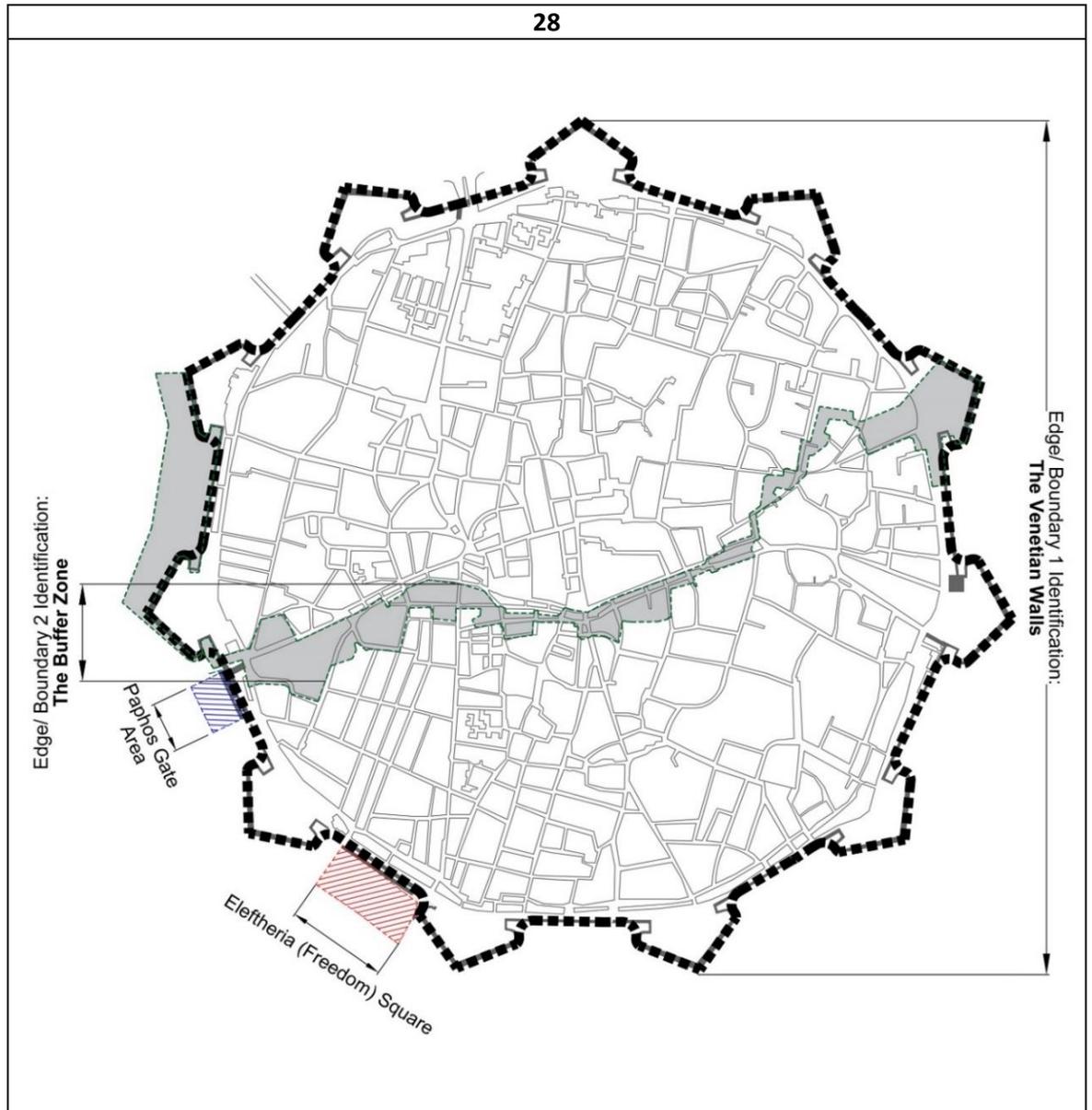
Figure 157

Edge identification diagram illustrating the location of Paphos Gate, Eleftheria Square and the different boundaries making up the physical fabric of walled Nicosia (Author 2017). The image shows the close proximity between the identified boundaries, despite their diverse treatment at different locations, particularly in the South part of the walled city.

Figure 160

Map of the Paphos Gate area, illustrating the location of the newly restored facades, as well as the preserved traces of conflict (Author 2017).

Figure 163

Figure illustrating the use of façadism throughout the walled city of Nicosia (Author 2017). As can be observed, funding availability for the South Nicosia Municipality - and NMP team - has encouraged the increased implementation of this approach at different locations within the walls, including areas close to the buffer zone.

Figure 164
Visual representation of Nicosia, based on the different layers and types of division influencing the city (Author 2017).