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Mapping Nicosia's
urban centre
1960-2020

Literature Review

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Introduction

Nicosia, the capital of Cyprus, has always been at the heart of political and economic developments. Furthermore, it has several characteristics that differentiate it from other Cypriot cities. Apart from its impressive history, Nicosia is the executive, legislative, and administrative centre of the island; it is the only landlocked city on the island; and, most importantly, since 1964 it is divided by a UN patrolled “Green Line”, which effectively cuts the city into two, with its southern part under the control of the Republic of Cyprus and its northern part administered by the Turkish Cypriot community. The case of Nicosia, the last divided capital city in Europe that still experiences the effects of an almost 60-year-old conflict, has preoccupied many researchers and academics in fields such as, but not limited to, history, sociology, anthropology, political science, architecture, conflict resolution, gender studies and peace education. Existing studies have mainly focused on the effects of the 1974 invasion, occupation, and division of the island on several aspects of life, such as urban planning, bi-communal relations, and tourism. Additionally, several studies have been preoccupied with issues of nationalism and identity. However, less attention has been paid to other, more contemporary developments, that have had a great impact on the structure and character of the city.

Effectively, this project aspires to fill in some of the gaps in the contemporary history of Nicosia. It aims to investigate the evolution and transformation of Nicosia’s urban centre from a historical and sociological perspective using several types of data such as written, oral, and visual. It takes the whole of the urban centre of Nicosia as a case study, to examine how its transformation has been affected by key political and social developments that have occurred from 1960 until 2020. Although an examination of the effects of intercommunal conflict will be a major part of this research, the project will not remain limited to the effects of the conflict in Cyprus. It will deal with other contemporary developments too, the impact and repercussions of which are still very apparent and tangible, including: the beginning of the Nicosia Master Plan in 1979; the unilateral proclamation of “TRNC”¹ in the northern part of Cyprus in 1983; the first mass granting of employment permissions to immigrants in the 1990s, by the Republic of Cyprus; the opening of the crossings in 2003; the financial crisis in 2013; and the pandemic measures in 2020. However, the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus, the intercommunal strife of 1963-64, and the 1974 war and the subsequent division of the island would be the first three major events to be investigated as their effect on the urban centre of Nicosia was substantial and is still apparent and tangible. More precisely, the effects of all developments listed above will be investigated in correlation to three thematic areas: business activity; cultural activity; and demographics.

In this project, historical research is combined with geography and data visualisation to enable the development of a multi-temporal and multi-dimensional historical narrative with the following objectives:

Objective 1: *Collecting historical information related to specific aspects of the urban centre: demographics, business activity (types of business), cultural activity*

¹ The official name of the unrecognised state in the northern part of Cyprus is the ‘Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus-TRNC’. The Greek-backed military coup in 1974 had the intention of uniting the island with Greece and prompted a Turkish military operation in Cyprus. This resulted in the geographic division of the island with most Greek Cypriots fleeing to the southern part and most Turkish Cypriots fleeing to the northern part of Cyprus. Turkish Cypriots made a unilateral declaration of independence in 1983, which was only recognised by Turkey. The UN Security Council adopted resolution 541 which deemed this declaration of independence as legally invalid and called on all states not to recognize any Cypriot state other than the Republic of Cyprus. Cited from Bekir Azgin, Christos Christofides, Esra Aygin, Maria Siakalli, *Words That Matter: A Glossary for Journalism in Cyprus*, (Nicosia, 2018), 50

(monument building, museums, cultural organisations, cultural and creative industries), as they were formed following specific political events. By investigating data concerning these categories we would be able to construct narratives that shed light on marginalised stories and aspects of the past that were not studied at all or were not studied in relation to a specific space. A spatial narrative of Nicosia's urban centre will then be created and will help us interpret Nicosia's past and present with multi-perspectivity, based on the existing sources. This information will be translated into academic papers discussing issues that emerge from investigating the correlation between major geopolitical events and the composition and character of a specific space, in this case, the historic urban centre of Nicosia.

Objective 2: Bringing to the surface multi-temporal perspectives of Nicosia that would encourage the emergence and discussion of marginalised or, in some cases, conflicting historical narratives. This would be achieved with the help of technology and the development of an interactive 2D map based on the collected data. The interactive map will provide users with information on the thematic areas outlined above through a collection of significant sites located in the urban space of Nicosia. While these sites will not be studied from an architectural point of view, they will act as points of reference to facilitate the narrative and the projection of information. The map will be accompanied by an animated timeline showing the landmark events which are presumably connected with changes in the urban centre.

Objective 3: Facilitating history education across the divide: The data collected, as well as the interactive map to be created, will be used for the development of lesson plans to promote mutual understanding, and encourage tolerance and integration within around the island and across the divide. The production of new knowledge shown through interactive technological tools could facilitate the discussion of contested history in the schools, especially those that accommodate students with immigration biography while filling in part of the gap in history teaching in general which has limited references to the post-1960 history of Cyprus.

Literature Review:

. The originality and unique contribution of the project lies in the following:

1. Our research extends beyond the immediate effects of the events of 1960 and 1974 and includes more recent political and socio-economic developments that have caused change in the capital's urban centre.
2. This is the first time these three thematic categories are investigated simultaneously, as well as in conjunction with certain political developments that extend until 2020.
3. Hitherto, most studies conducted since 1958 have tended to focus on one or the other part of divided Nicosia. This project will examine Nicosia as a whole, even if it recognizes that financial and socio-political conditions differ significantly in the northern and southern parts of the city and seeks to draw comparisons between them.
4. Additionally, originality lies in the visualisation of historical data for the whole of Nicosia into an interactive deep map which puts this project in the intersection between humanities and technology.

The focus of our examination will be the urban centre of Nicosia, that is the Nicosia within the Venetian walls and their vicinity that forms the part of the city that gathers considerable business and cultural activity. The urban centre of Nicosia, and especially, the area within the walls has received significant attention by academics, especially from within the fields of

anthropology, sociology, architecture, history, and women studies, while, more specifically, emphasis was given thematically to the effects of the events of 1974 and the subsequent division of the island, and spatially to the area within the walls of Nicosia or across the buffer zone. Indeed, scholars have studied the effects of the first turbulent decade of the Republic which culminated with the 1974 events, on several areas, such as on Nicosia's urban planning, architecture, culture, and peacebuilding.

A common theme that emerges from sources dealing with the recent history of Nicosia, especially with regard to the walled city, is memory and how this is expressed by the two communities. Although the notion of memory is outside the scope of this review, it is a recurring topic that will surely enter our discussion, as memory discourses have an effect on the built environment, especially in relation to monument building, as well as to how we perceive or use public or shared spaces.²

Similarly, scholars have tended to argue that, in Cyprus, identity has been a contested issue due to people's attachment to motherlands, i.e. Greece for Greek Cypriots and Turkey for Turkish Cypriots. A distinct Cypriot identity, a *Cypriotism*, although attempted, especially during the colonial times, it was never brought to fruition, while there has never been either a unified Cypriot nationalist movement or a Cypriot nation-state.³ It is for example interesting that the term 'Cypriotness' which was used by Greek Cypriot refugees after the 1974 events, referred to shared cultural and social practices with Turkish Cypriots, indicating, as Trigiorgis's analysis showed, that the designation 'Cypriot' carries various connotations, ideological (in opposition to Greek Junta), cultural, contextual or territorial.⁴ Bryant and Hatay argued that *Kıbrıslılık* (Cypriotness) is rooted in the island's workers' movements whose members came from all Cypriot communities and considered Greek or Turkish nationalism as imperialist. The notion gained considerable support among Greek Cypriots in the middle of the 20th century but was adopted later in the Turkish-Cypriot community, as a cultural resistance to Turkey.⁵ Although the notion of identity is not examined as a distinct thematic area, it will enter our analysis.

Another theme that comes across research and analysis of divided places or societies, is that of barriers or borders, their role, significance, and impact. Borders in general, and especially borders in areas affected by conflict, such as Cyprus, are spaces that attract interpretations and are full of symbolism, hence the object of many studies.⁶ In the case of Nicosia the border that crosses through the capital is also a buffer zone, a strip of land patrolled by the United Nations, and cannot be used by either of the two communities. On each side of the buffer zone there are guards – in some cases the Turkish Cypriot guard is merely a few metres from the Greek Cypriot guard. In the aftermath of the division of the island, the crossing points were used for protests, especially by the Greek Cypriot community. Relatives of missing people, students and other groups used to march there, on the anniversary of the 1983 unilateral

² Discourses on Memory and the Cyprus issue can be found in: Zinovia Foka, "Shared Space in Conflict Areas: Exploring the Case of Nicosia's Buffer Zone", *Athens Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 1, no.1 (2015): 45-60; Anita Bakshi, "Urban Form and Memory Discourses: Spatial Practices in Contested Cities", *Journal of Urban Design* 19, no.2, (2014):189-210; Yiannis Papadakis, Nicosia Peristianis and Gisela Welz, eds., *Modernity, History, and Conflict in Divided Cyprus* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006); Yiannis Papadakis, "The Politics of Memory and Forgetting in Cyprus", *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 3, no. 1 (1993):139-154; Anita Bakshi, "A shell of memory: The Cyprus conflict and Nicosia's walled city", *Memory Studies* 5, no.4 (2012):479-496; Holger Briel, "The uses of oral history in Cyprus: ethics, memory and identity", *Language and Intercultural Communication* 13, no.1,(2013): 27-43; Anita Bakshi, *Topographies of Memories: A new Poetics of Commemoration* (Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017),185

³ Maria Hadjipavlou, "Inter-ethnic Stereotypes, neighbourliness, separation: Paradox and challenge in Cyprus", *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 13, no.2 (2003):288

⁴ Hadjipavlou, "Stereotypes", 290

⁵ Mete Hatay and Rebecca Bryant, "The Jasmine Scent of Nicosia: Of Returns, Revolutions, and the Longing for Forbidden Pasts", *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 26, no.2 (October 2008): 431

⁶ Studies on borders include David Newman, "The lines that continue to separate us: borders in our borderless world", *Progress in Human Geography* 30, 2 (2006):143-161; Emily Bereskin, "Infrastructures of Partition, Infrastructures of Juncture: Separation Barriers and Intercommunal Contact in Belfast and Nicosia", *New Diversities* Vol 17. No.2 (2015): 35-58; Christiana Themistocleous, "Conflict and unification in the multilingual landscape of a divided city: the case of Nicosia's border", *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, (May 2018). See extended bibliography for more related sources.

proclamation (November 15th) which, combined with the anniversary of the overthrow of the Greek Junta (November 17th), triggered anti-fascist, anti-imperial, and anti-Turkish protests. However, as Emily Bereskin argues, through her study of the cases of Belfast and Nicosia, the “barrier is a critical infrastructure element whose management and symbolic interpretation can motivate intercommunal cooperation – just as it can incite conflict”, and she provides tangible examples where borders played a vital role in reconnecting communities or became more permeable and led to confidence building.”⁷

Indeed, particular places in the buffer zone functioned as a fertile space for dialogue and cooperation both before and after the opening of the crossings and they were instrumental, as Bereskin put it, “in stimulating intergroup interaction and ultimately building positive peace”.⁸ The impressive number of meetings⁹ at the Ledra Palace hotel from 1974 until recently and the establishment of the Home for Cooperation in 2004 are prominent examples of the use of a place that provided safety and convenience in a nonetheless contested environment. In a more rebellious use of the crossing, in 2011, in the echo of the *Occupy Movement*, a group of activists physically reclaimed the buffer zone asking for change in Cyprus. The *Occupy the Buffer zone* movement started with weekly meetings but when started taking a more permanent form was raided by the Greek Cypriot police in April 2012.¹⁰

Key events

This project will examine the interrelation between the three thematic areas (demographics, business activity, and cultural activity) with the following political events that have shaped the island’s history and social and economic development. The events were chosen because of the significant impact they and their aftermath had on both communities:

The establishment of the Republic of Cyprus, 1960

Cyprus became an independent state in August 1960, after 82 years of British colonial rule. The island’s independence was agreed first in Zurich in February 1959, between Great Britain, Greece, and Turkey. The Zürich Agreements were ratified a few days later in London by the representatives of the two communities, Archbishop Makarios on behalf of the Greek Cypriots and Dr Fazıl Küçük on behalf of the Turkish Cypriots. The Constitution of the new Republic was accompanied by the Treaty of Guarantor powers which provided that Great Britain, Greece, and Turkey would guarantee the independence of Cyprus.¹¹

Intercommunal strife, 1963-74

President Makarios’ attempts, in 1963, to amend certain provisions of the Constitution were rejected by Turkish Cypriots. This became the first of many disputed events in the early years of the Republic. While some, saw Makarios’ move as an attempt to prevent deadlock in decision making bodies, others perceived it as a deliberate effort to weaken the position of Turkish Cypriots in the government and to remove them from decision-making bodies. In December 1963, the killing of a Turkish Cypriot by a Greek Cypriot policeman in the walled

⁷ Bereskin, “Infrastructure”, 35

⁸ Bereskin, “Infrastructures”, 36. Also see Alev Adil, et al. ed., *Nicosia Beyond Barriers: Voices from a Divided City* (London: Saqi Books, 2019)

⁹ For example, Clerides–Denktash (12 March 1976), bi-communal journalists meeting (7 November 1980), bi-communal athletes’ meeting (29 June 1989); meeting of Turkish-Cypriots and Greek-Cypriots for the establishment of a platform for an independent and federal Cyprus (23-24 September 1989); Multicultural painters’ meeting (2 March 1990); bi-communal party organised by the UN (22 October 1995). For the history of the negotiations on the Cyprus Problem see the trilingual publication of the Cyprus Dialogue Forum: <https://libguides.cydialogue.org/political> Accessed: 2 August 2022

¹⁰ Murat Erdal Ilıcan, The Occupy the Buffer Zone Movement, *The Cyprus Review* 25, no 1 (2013)

¹¹ A copy of all the documents can be found in Murat Hakkı. *The Cyprus Issue: A documentary history 1878-2007*. London and (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007)

city of Nicosia ignited violent intercommunal clashes that dragged into the first months of 1964. Although the conflict spread to other towns, Nicosia suffered the biggest casualty toll, with 49 Turkish Cypriots and 20 Greek Cypriots being killed and more than 30 people missing.¹²

In the aftermath of these events, Turkish Cypriots retreated into a series of enclaves, a move that was counteracted with an economic embargo so severe that the United Nations reacted with protestations against the ROC Government.¹³ Additionally, with the intervention of the United Nations, Nicosia was divided into a Greek and Turkish sector (the dividing line came to be known as “the Green Line”).¹⁴ Eventually, alternative administrative bodies were formed by the Turkish Cypriot leadership to tend to the needs of the community living in enclaves around in the island.

The formation of enclaves, created a gradual division of the island, visibly segregating larger areas, and demarcating armed zones where Turkish Cypriots took refuge.¹⁵ While the embargoes and restrictions to movement were lifted in 1968, Nicosia did not recover from the partition of the city. On the contrary, the partition of Nicosia was consolidated in 1974 and expanded throughout the island.

The 1974 war and the division of the island

Relations between the two communities never really improved, while the dictatorship in Greece and Turkey’s expansionist aspirations resulted in a war that divided the island - a division that is still in force today. The coup to overthrow Makarios in July 1974, led by the Greek Junta, gave Turkey the pretext to invade the island based on the Article VI of The Treaty of Guarantee (1960) as justification to protect Turkish Cypriots who were under threat. Within a few days Cyprus was counting a heavy toll: hundreds of people died, or went missing, and thousands lost their houses and became refugees. The geographical division was soon followed by a demographic one; the green line was extended to the whole island, while a large Turkish military regiment was established in the northern part of Cyprus. In 1975, the voluntary regrouping of populations was agreed at the Vienna intercommunal talks, where the Turkish Cypriot population in the south moved to the north and vice-versa, creating two homogeneous zones divided by the UN controlled buffer zone.¹⁶

The Nicosia Master Plan, 1979

The Nicosia Master Plan, a collaborative initiative of Lellos Demetriades and Mustafa Akıncı¹⁷ with the aim to solve tangible and quotidian problems caused by unplanned development following the 1974 war and the division of the island, “stands out as the most significant

¹² Richard A. Patrick. *Political Geography and the Cyprus Conflict: 1963-1971*, edited by James H. Bater and Richard Preston, University of Waterloo, 1976, p. 50. This thesis provides a detailed report of the movement of population that occurred because of the ongoing intercommunal strife.

¹³ Nicos Moudouros, *State of Exception in the Mediterranean: Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot Community*, (Switzerland: Palgrave Mcmillan-Springer, 2021), 40

¹⁴ According to Reddaway (1986), the “Mason-Dixon Line”, a barricade of barbed wires splitting the historic Walled City into two, was erected in 1958 by the British colonial authorities to keep the warring Greeks and Turks of Cyprus apart. John Reddaway, *Burdened with Cyprus: the British Connection* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1986); Alpar Atun, Resmiye and Doratlı, Naciye, “Walls in Cities: A Conceptual Approach to the Walls of Nicosia”, *Geopolitics* 14, no. (2009):121

¹⁵ An analysis on the situation of the enclaves is given in Niyazi Kızılyürek, *Bir Hınç ve Şiddet Tarihi: Kıbrıs'ta Statü Kavgası ve Etnik Çatışma* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversite Yayınları, 2016)

¹⁶ Zaim M. Necatigil, *The Cyprus Question and the Turkish Position in International Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 155. Also see Kızılyürek, *Bir Hınç ve Şiddet Tarihi*, 584; Rebecca Bryant and Mete Hatay, *Askıdaki Egemenlik: Kuzey Kıbrıs'ta De Facto Devletin İnşası* [Sovereignty Suspended: Building the So-Called State] (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2021), 77, 153

¹⁷ Both Dimitriades and Akıncı were mayors of Nicosia at the time. However, to get over the issue of recognition of the state in the north, they agreed to strip of their titles and participated in these meetings as representatives of their communities. See: Lellos Demetriades, “The Nicosia Master Plan”, *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 8, no. 2 (1998): 170

transboundary linkage to develop since 1974”.¹⁸ The project started in 1977 when the leaders of the two communities of Nicosia agreed on the need for a common sewerage system, and it gradually evolved into the Nicosia master Plan. In 1979, under the umbrella of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the leaders of the two communities of Nicosia, Lellos Demetriades and Mustafa Akıncı agreed to work, together with their technical teams, on the improvement of the existing and future habitat and human settlement conditions of the citizens of Nicosia. A bicomunal multidisciplinary team of national and international experts such as town planners, architects, civil engineers, sociologists, economists, etc. was formed in 1981 to prepare a joint Master Plan. The Nicosia Master Plan remains in force until today.¹⁹

The unilateral proclamation of 1983

After the intercommunal conflict of 1963-64 and the retreat of Turkish Cypriots into the enclaves, the Turkish Cypriot leadership explored new forms of governance. An administrative body was formed and operated under different titles reflecting the aftermath of the conflict, the intercommunal negotiation process of 1968-1974 and the political expectations of the community. These were the ‘General Committee’ (21 December 1963), the ‘Provisional Turkish Cypriot Administration’ (29 December 1967), the ‘Turkish Administration of Cyprus’ (21 April 1971), the ‘Autonomous Turkish Cypriot Administration’ (1 October 1974), and the ‘Turkish Federated State of Cyprus’ (13 February 1975).

The effects of the war and the traces of the new formed governing bodies were becoming visible in the changing characteristics of the cityscape, including the Turkification of street and neighbourhood names and the transformation of space and architecture.²⁰ In 1983 the Turkish Cypriot leadership unilaterally declared the establishment of the ‘Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus’ (15 November) which is until today only recognised by Turkey which continues to station approximately 35,000 troops in the island.²¹ While parts of the community identified the formation of this so-called state as a form of liberation, others perceived this as the colonization of the northern part of Cyprus by Turkey.²² Likewise, the influx of Turkish migrants polarised the community; on the one hand, some groups welcomed skilled workers from Turkey, and many Turkish Cypriot legislators considered “planting people” to be the first and most important duty of the new “state”²³. Parts of the local and international communities, however, identified this as population engineering. After 1974, many Turkish Cypriots are said to have left their homes and workplaces in the centre of Nicosia while immigrants from Turkey, who have different socio-cultural backgrounds and generally lower income levels, settled (were placed) in the vacant places.²⁴ With the growing number of migrants from Turkey and increasing involvement in local government, “Cypriotism” movements and the smothering of “motherlands” emerged in the 1990s²⁵, leading to views that Turkish presence eroded the Cypriot character of the island.²⁶

¹⁸ Peter Hocknell, “Cooperation, Coexistence Or Conflict? Rethinking Transboundary Resource Management in Nicosia”, *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 8, no.2 (1998): 235. More details about the Nicosia Master Plan meetings can be found here; Demetriades, “Nicosia Master Plan”, 169-176; Agni Petridou, “Nicosia: Perspectives for Urban Rehabilitation”, *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 8, no.2 (1998): 350-364; Caitlyn M. Ewers; *The Nicosia Master Plan: Historic Preservation As Urban Regeneration*, 2018, Unpublished MSc Thesis, University of Oregon; Derya Oktay, “An Analysis and Review of the Divided City of Nicosia, Cyprus, and New Perspectives”, *Geography* 92, no.3 (Autumn 2007): 231-247

¹⁹ UNDP, UNCHS (HABITAT), *Nicosia Master Plan: Final report*, Nicosia: 1984

²⁰ Papadakis, Yiannis, Nicos Peristianis and Gisela Welz, eds. *Modernity, History, and Conflict in Divided Cyprus*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006.

²¹ UN resolutions No. 541 and 550

²² Mehmet Hasgüler, “Annan Planı’ndaki ve Sonrasındaki Kıbrıs’a Bakmak” in *Kıbrıs’ta Kimlik ve Değişim*, ed. Mehmet Hasgüler and Murat Özkaleli (İstanbul: Alfa Yayınları, 2012), 9-10

²³ Bryant, Hatay, *Sovereignty Suspended*, 48 & 87

²⁴ Derya Oktay, “Domestic Politics in Cyprus: Grounds for Migrant Voices.” *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 17, no. 2 (2007): 355-382. Devrim Yücel Besim, Elif Songür Dağ. “Koruma Alındaki Lekoşa Sarayönü Meydanı ve Görsel İleişim Sorunları” [Visual Communication Problems in a Conservation Area], 2015: 99

²⁵ Şevki Kıralp, “AKEL ve Kıbrıslılık” in *Kıbrıs’ta Kimlik ve Değişim*, 339

²⁶ Bryant and Hatay, “The Jasmine Scent”, 425. Also see Mehmet Hasgüler, ed. *Kıbrıslılık*, Agorakitaplığı, 2008.

The granting of work permits to third country nationals, 1990s

Due to lack of workers, the Republic of Cyprus became in the beginning of 1990s, from a country of immigrants, a host country for thousands of third country nationals, when approval was given for granting work permits.²⁷ Immigration to Cyprus increased in the second half of the 2000's, with the influx of European citizens, following Cyprus' accession to the European Union in 2004.²⁸

The opening of the crossings in 2003

On 23 April 2003 travel restrictions were eased and people were allowed to cross the dividing line for the first time since 1974.²⁹ This change prompted urban rehabilitation aided by UN and EU programmes and encouraged business activity within the old city. This was followed by the referendum on the reunification of the island based on the proposed United National Plan-known as the Annan Plan- a year later at which the majority of the Greek Cypriot community voted against and the majority of the Turkish Cypriots in favour. During this time the island witnessed severe polarisation within the two communities, as well as massive rallies being organised on behalf of Turkish Cypriots asking for reunification and for joining the European Union. One of the largest rallies took place at the Kyrenia Gate (İnönü Square)³⁰, and it has since transformed the İnönü Square as a place representing peace and has been identified as the action space of the left movements.³¹ The opening of crossings were, in fact, a landmark event and as an extension of this, the opening of the Ledra Street crossing on 3 April 2008 which as Evripidou wrote, "has led to a win-win situation with more Cypriots crossing to the other side and more business for shopkeepers on both sides."³² Currently, there are eight open crossing points.

Cyprus's accession to the European Union, 2004

Despite the Cyprus problem, on May 1, 2004, Cyprus became a full EU Member State, along with the other nine acceding countries. The accession of Cyprus into the Union inevitably had a significant impact on the economic development of the island, its demographic composition due to the influx of European citizens, and the government and administration of the country which had to adapt to EU laws and regulations. This event however, also created a further chasm across the divide, demographically, culturally, and financially, as the EU *acquis* is suspended in the northern part of the island.

The economic crisis in 2013

The events of March 2013 made Cyprus a headline on the news around the world, when the Eurogroup and the recently inaugurated President of the Republic of Cyprus, Nicos Anastasiades, agreed to a rescue deal that would include the bail-in of uninsured and insured

²⁷ Απόφαση Υπουργικού Συμβουλίου αρ 33.210, ημερ. 15 Μαρτίου 1990.

²⁸ Nicos Trmikliotiis, *Free Movement of Workers in Cyprus and the EU* (Nicosia, PRIO Cyprus Centre, 2010).

²⁹ An indicative press report of that day is this: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/2969089.stm>, Accessed 24.6.22

³⁰ Nezire Özgece, "Kent Meydanlarının Sosyo-Politik Dönüşümü: İnönü Meydanı." *Poli* (Havadis Gazetesi), no. 257 (2015): 12–13. Also see: Hasgüler and Özkaleli, ed. *Kıbrısta Kimlik ve Değişim*

³¹ Özgece, Nezire. "Kent Meydanlarının Sosyo-Politik Dönüşümü: İnönü Meydanı", 13

³² David Jacobson, Bernard Musyck, Stelios Orphanides and Craig Webster, *The Opening of Ledra Street/Loçmaci Crossing in April 2008: Reactions from Citizens and Shopkeepers* (Nicosia:PRIO Cyprus Centre, 2009), 20. For the effects of the opening of the Ledra Street Crossing, see also: Vedat Yorucu, Ozay Mehmet, Resmiye Alpar & Pinar Ulucay, "Cross-Border Trade Liberalization: The Case of Lokmaci/Ledra Gate in Divided Nicosia, Cyprus", *European Planning Studies* 18, no.10 (2010):1749-1764

depositors in all Cypriot financial institutions³³. The consequences were both direct and enduring. The haircut of deposits in the country's two largest banks was unprecedented in conception and scale and dealt a huge blow to the Cypriot economy.³⁴

The Covid-19 pandemic 2020

A few days after the meeting of the two leaders and the Technical Committee of Health to discuss how to deal with this unexpected eruption of the pandemic, Health Minister Constantinos Ioannou announced the closing of four of the crossings.³⁵ They remained closed for 15 months.

Thematic areas

Undoubtedly, the events mentioned above have had a great effect on all areas of the island's life and society. The repercussions of these events became very visible and tangible in Nicosia. The divided city however, hosts the majority of bicomunal activities and meetings. In this study we analyse three areas which we believe have been affected significantly by these key events: The demographic composition of the city, business activity and cultural activity with an emphasis on monument and memorial building. Our research will be mainly based on numerical data collected from public or private repositories. It is however expected that the analysis of these data will be seen in juxtaposition with more historical or anthropological and sociological interpretation and not through statistical analysis. This is mainly a humanities project which combines quantitative and qualitative research.

Demographics

Demographic fluctuations in Cyprus during this 60-year period can be found in census reports across the divide. In addition to the census, research was conducted for matters of demographics, by other organisations, mainly PRIO Cyprus, or individual researchers. Demography is an aspect that is usually affected significantly by political or economic developments, and this has been evident in Cyprus especially in the 1960s and 1970s as an immediate consequence of the intercommunal strife of 1963-64. The ethnic segregation that followed and the establishment of the green line in March 1964 were catalytic in the change in the demographic composition of Nicosia. In fact, internal immigration and the formation of the enclaves showed that the separation of the two communities that was so clearly reflected in the constitution, also took a decisive geographical aspect.³⁶ The most important enclaves were in Nicosia, where most of the 12,500 internally displaced persons were crowded in the Turkish quarter of the city, with many people originally living in southern neighbourhoods such as Strovolos, Omorfita and Trachonas, moved there.³⁷ Additionally, the *en masse* exodus of the Cypriot population for reasons related the political uncertainty and high unemployment³⁸,

³³ Alexander Apostolides, "Beware of German gifts near elections: how Cyprus got here and why it is currently more out than in the Eurozone", *Capital Markets Law Journal* 8, no.3 (2013): 300-318

³⁴ Sofronis Clerides, "The Collapse of the Cypriot Banking System: A Bird's Eye View", *Cyprus Economic Policy Review* 8, no. 2 (2014): 3-35

³⁵ <https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-china-health-cyprus-checkpoints-idUKKCN20M2AI>, Accessed: 24 June 2022

³⁶ Olga Demetriou, *Displacement in Cyprus: Consequences of Civil and Military Strife- Report 1 Life Stories: Greek Cypriot community* (Nicosia: PRIO Cyprus Centre, 2012), 5; Kurtuluş, & Purkis, (2009). Kuzey Kıbrıs'a Türk Göçünün Niteliği ve Göçmenlerin Ekonomik Sosyo-Mekânsal Bütünleşme Sorunları, Proje No: 106K330, Ankara, 2

³⁷ Nurit Kliot, Yoel Mansfeld, *Resettling Displaced People in North and South Cyprus: A Comparison*, 1994, p. 334; Kliot, N., Mansfield, Y. (1999). Case studies of conflict and territorial organization in divided cities. *Progress in Planning*, 52, 167-225; Gürdallı, H., & Koldaş, U. (2017). Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti'nden Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti'nin İnşasına Giden Süreçte Lefkoşa'da Mekânın ve Mimarının Siyasi Dönüşümü: 1963-1983. *Journal of History Culture and Art Research*, 6(4), 748-772.

³⁸ Stavros T. Constantinou, "Economic Factors and Political Upheavals as determinants of International Migration: The case of Cyprus", *Πρακτικά του πρώτου Διεθνούς Συμποσίου Κυπριακής Μετανάστευσης: Ιστορική και Κοινωνιολογική Θεώρηση*, Κέντρο

the Immigrant Settlement Project of 1966 and the 1975 relocation agreement can be considered major factors in the changes to demographic composition in Nicosia.

As mentioned above, the enclaves were operating autonomously, and although they faced economic embargoes and restrictions to movement, they were able to maintain an administration that operated as a 'state', with a legislature, police, social services and a post office, and an army.³⁹ This started changing in 1968, with the easing of economic sanctions, although only a small number of those who fled their houses, returned on a permanent basis to their villages.⁴⁰ Relocations are also noted following the events of 1974 when the division of Nicosia had become an established fact, with the extension of the Green Line all over Cyprus.

Geographical separation of the two communities had begun long before 1974. A considerable number of people had already migrated as early as the 1950s due to the conflict, with records showing that "16,515 Turkish Cypriots emigrated between 1955 and 1973, but particularly in the 1960s—the major years of intercommunal conflict."⁴¹ A report prepared by Gürel and Özersay, shows that, by 1974, 142 thousand Greek Cypriots from the northern part of the island migrated to the southern part (30 per cent of the total Greek Cypriot population at the time), and an additional 45 thousand on top of the already displaced Turkish Cypriots from the southern part of the island migrated to the north (40 per cent of total Turkish Cypriot population at the time).⁴² These numbers show that by the time of the signing of the Vienna Treaty in 1975, 30 per cent of the total population of the Island had already been displaced between the southern and the northern parts.⁴³ The population exchange agreed by the Vienna Treaty became the final step in segregating the island into two ethnically homogeneous parts, totalling the displacement of around 150 thousand Greek Cypriots and 115 thousand Turkish Cypriots across the divide.⁴⁴ It must be noted that these numbers do not include the number of people who went missing in this period.

Changing demographics in the 1960s and 1970s relate to business activity as well, since the construction industry expanded because of the influx of immigrants. Hakkı Atun notes that from 1968 onwards, after the blockade was lifted, Tukey's financial help led to the building of three thousand more houses of various types on the entire island under the name of Immigrants Settlement Project'.⁴⁵ The gross domestic income of the Turkish Cypriot community which consisted 5.1% in 1964 showed an increase in 1968 to 11.1% with the financial packages sent from Turkey (estimated as 2.4 billion TL).⁴⁶

The significance of demography in Cyprus changed after 1974 not only because of this ethnic homogenization of the two communities, but also because of an influx of immigrants from Turkey. Facilitated migration ended by the late 1970's, while as a result of international pressure and internal opposition to this policy led to the amendment of the law that eliminated property privileges for the other immigrants who arrived after 1982.⁴⁷ Mete Hatay's report for PRIO Cyprus, titled *Beyond Numbers*, is an inquiry into the political integration of Turkish 'settlers' in northern Cyprus up until 2005, and shows that the years after the 1974 invasion

Επιστημονικών Ερευνών 29-31 Αυγούστου 1986 (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1990)145. "It is important to note that 16,515 Turkish Cypriots emigrated between 1955 and 1973, but particularly in the 1960s—the major years of intercommunal conflict." Ioannides 1991:20-28 quoted in Kliot, Mansfeld, 1994, 335.

³⁹ Rebecca Bryant, *Displacement in Cyprus: Consequences of Civil and Military Strife, Report 2- Life Stories: Turkish Cypriot community* (Nicosia: PRIO Cyprus Centre, 2012), 9

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ioannides 1991, 20-28 quoted in Nurit Kliot and Yoel Mansfeld, "Resettling Displaced People in North and South Cyprus: A Comparison", *Journal of Refugee Studies* 7, no. 4 (1994), 335

⁴² Ayla Gürel and Kudret Özersay, "Cyprus and the Politics of Property", *Mediterranean Politics* 11 (2006):3

⁴³ Purkis and Kurtuluş, "Spatially Segregated", 2

⁴⁴ Bryant and Hatay, *Sovereignty Suspended*, 75

⁴⁵ Hakkı Atun in *Mucahitler Anlatıyor*, eds. Gokturk, B, Gokturk, S., 2020, 114-115

⁴⁶ Plümer, *Kıbrıs Ekonomi Tarihi*, 20-22

⁴⁷ Mete Hatay, *Is the Turkish Cypriot population shrinking? An overview of the Ethno-demography of Cyprus in the Light of the Preliminary Results of the 2006 Turkish-Cypriot census*. (Nicosia: PRIO Cyprus centre, 2007)

were marked by an increased number of citizenships granted. In 1976 (the first year that Hatay gives data for Turkish national grants) 3243 citizenships were granted, 3106 in 1977, 4396 in 1978, 4605 in 1979 and 3695 in 1980. The following years the number of citizenships granted ranged between 400 to 1200, with some exceptions: 40 in 1986 (the lowest) and 2287 in 1990 (the highest).⁴⁸ According to the 2006 census, 11,925 “TRNC” citizens of Turkish origin declared that they arrived in Cyprus before 1979.⁴⁹

Studies such as Purkis and Kurtuluş’s 2013 paper have analysed the migration flows from Turkey to the northern part of Cyprus since 1974 identifying different significances in different periods. Purkis and Kurtuluş identify three distinct migration waves from Turkey that are significant for different reasons.⁵⁰ The first wave is observed to have started after the events of 1974 and is said to have ended at the beginning of the 1980s together with the incentives of agricultural land and houses. The second is observed to have been triggered by the special economic and professional income opportunities in northern part of Cyprus and radical economic changes in Turkey as well. The third and final migration wave from Turkey [from the East and the Southeast Regions of Anatolia to nearby cities like Adana, Antalya, and Mersin] to the northern part of Cyprus is observed towards the end of the 1990s and accelerated by the 2000s when neo liberal policies were well underway in Turkey.⁵¹ The workforce deficit has also been identified as a direct result of the division of the island, since, jobs that were hitherto performed by Greek Cypriots, remained vacant when Greek Cypriots migrated to the northern part of the island.⁵² Furthermore, scholars have noted that the Turkish immigrants who arrived to Cyprus after 1974 were not able to become integrated into the Turkish Cypriot community due to differences in education levels and socio-economic and cultural backgrounds.⁵³ In particular, the vast majority of third wave immigrants continue to live in the walled town of Nicosia which, as Purkis and Kurtuluş have argued, “ was transformed into an urban transition zone after 1974”. The authors also point out that the walled town is a segregated space that divides this group from the Turkish Cypriot population as well as the former migrants from the first two waves: “This spatial segregation has been formed through class-based cultural symbolical barriers instead of physical barriers and it plays a significant role in social exclusion of the migrants from this wave.”⁵⁴

However, as Deniz Sert points out, population of the island is often treated, in the literature, as two homogenous communities of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, without much consideration for the migrants or minorities.⁵⁵ In a well-documented paper, Sert exposes the trends and developments in migration across the divide and how political parties touch the issue of migration. The paper provides a guideline for the research that will be conducted in the context of this project to which we will attempt to add the spatial element, as well as the connection between demographics and political developments that extent beyond 2005. Following its accession to the European Union in 2004, Cyprus witnessed a steady rise in the number of EU citizens taking up the right of movement of workers to work on the island in accordance with the new law.⁵⁶ In the last couple of decades, non-European immigrants also arrived in Cyprus and usually found cheap accommodation in the walled city of Nicosia, across the divide.⁵⁷

⁴⁸ Mete Hatay, *Beyond Numbers: An Inquiry into the Political Integration of the Turkish ‘Settlers’ in Northern Cyprus* (Nicosia: PRIO Cyprus centre, 2005), appendix 1.

⁴⁹ Hatay, *Is the Turkish Cypriot population shrinking*, 47

⁵⁰ Semra Purkis and Hatice Kurtuluş, “Spatially Segregated and Socially Excluded Turkish Migrants in Northern Cyprus: an Alternative Perspective”. *Istanbul Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi* 0, no. 48, (2013), 1-22

⁵¹ Purkis and Kurtuluş, “Spatially Segregated”, 7

⁵² Purkis, Kurtuluş, “Spatially Segregated”, 3

⁵³ Gürdallı, Koldaş, “Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti’nden Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti’nin İnşasına Giden Süreçte Lefkoşa’da Mekânın ve Mimarinin Siyasi Dönüşümü: 1963-1983”, 762

⁵⁴ Purkis and Kurtuluş, “Spatially Segregated”, 19-20

⁵⁵ Deniz Sert, “Domestic Politics in Cyprus: Grounds for Migrant Voices”, *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 17, no.2 (2007):2.

⁵⁶ Trimikliniotis, *Free Movement of Workers*, 3

⁵⁷ Trmikliniotis, *Free movement*, 2010; Keçeci and Dolunay, “Göçmenlerin Kent Dokusuna Etkisi: KKTC Surlarıçi Örneği”, *Journal of History Culture and Art Research* 6, no.3 (2017): 546; Tamçelik, 2012, 211

Census reports and data from the Migration Department will shed light on the demographic change that has occurred in Nicosia since 1960. It is however evident, for the research cited above, that within this 60-year period political events resulted in internal or external migration the results of which became evident in the centre of Nicosia.

Business Activity/Entrepreneurship

Cyprus's economic development and modernisation in its first years as an independent state, as well as in the aftermath of the 1974 war when the economy reached quickly its pre-war levels was so rapid and intense that it has often been described as an economic miracle.⁵⁸ Is this reflected in the urban centre of Nicosia? To what extent has business activity in the urban centre of Nicosia reacted to political developments within this 60-year period? Are there any fluctuations in the volume and type of business activity? These are some of the questions DeepNic will attempt to answer and fill in some of the gaps. The existing sources on business activities vary greatly; on the one hand, there are book-length publications on the economic history of the island that discuss the commercial activities, with detailed statistical information and analyses, although none of these are exclusively dedicated to the urban centre of Nicosia. On the other hand, there are social history books that read as memoirs and which offer more anecdotal portrayals of business activities focused on the urban centre of Nicosia. There is also an increasing number of researchers engaging with certain aspects of commercial activities and business within the walled city.⁵⁹

An essential parameter to bear in mind in the analysis of the business activity in Nicosia is, inevitably, the fact that Nicosia has been divided in two since 1964. The existence of a buffer zone for so long might have played a significant role in the volume and type of business activity in the city's centre because it implies, firstly, that a considerable piece of land in the middle of the city remained abandoned and unused. Secondly, loss of communication and interaction between the northern and southern parts of Nicosia increased mistrust and ignorance; the city was not developing as one area, but in two different paces depending on each parts human capital and resources. A representative example of this situation is the markets. For example, while Nicosia once was the most urbanized and multicultural place in the island, reflected in the presence of vendors and customers in the municipal markets, or in Ermou street, the existence of the buffer zone relocated commercial activity elsewhere.

The urban centre of Nicosia went through many changes with regards to its business scenery. The first two decades after the 1974 invasion and until the 1990s, many buildings in the old city remained vacant or used for cheap storage, due to rent freeze imposed by the Republic of Cyprus, a policy that pushed residents and production to the suburbs. Lack of investment made the area unattractive to both residents and tourists. Things started changing in the 1990s and by the beginning of the noughties (2000s) people started to return to the centre for business or leisure, although the lion's share of business activity moved outside the walled city.⁶⁰ The opening of the crossings in 2003, and especially the Ledra Street crossing in 2008, in conjunction with heavy investments made by the EU, USAID and UNDP revitalisation projects to restore historic and heritage sites in the area, gave a great boost to business activity

⁵⁸ Caesar V. Mavratsas, "Greek Cypriot Economic and Political Culture: The Effects of 1974." In *Cyprus and Its people: Nation, Identity, and Experience in an Unimaginable Community*, edited by Vangelis Kalotychos (Colorado: Qwstview Pressm, 1998); Oktay, "Domestic Politics", 355-382

⁵⁹ See annex for full bibliography including refereed journal articles, research articles and postgraduate dissertations. For historical accounts on specific areas of business see Plumer, Aytug, *Kıbrıs Ekonomi Tarihi: Sarsintili bir devrin anatomisi (1960-1974)*, 2008; for business activities in relation to press media see Keser, Ulvi, *Kıbrıs'ta Göç Hareketleri ve 1974 Sonrasında Yaşananlar*, 2006; *Kıbrıs Türklerinin 1955-1974 Tarihleri Arasında Posta Faaliyetleri*, 2009); and different areas of occupation encountered in the urban centre of Nicosia see Hikmetağalar, Hizber, *Eski Lefkoşa'da Semtler ve Anılar*, 2005; Gürkan, Haşmet Muzaffer, *Dünkü ve Bugünkü Lefkoşa*, 2006. Anita Bakshi, *Topographies of Memories: A new Poetics of Commemoration* (Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 185

⁶⁰ Bakshi, *Topographies*, 185

in the old city.⁶¹ Indeed, with regards in the northern part of Nicosia, Yorucu et al's survey in 2010 revealed that after the opening of the Ledra street crossing, 57.1% of the shopkeepers reported moderate (10% to 20%) increase in the number of tourist arrivals from Ledra Street in the southern part, while a further 27.5% reported significant (30% to 40%) increase. According to the same study, 6.6% reported better than 50% and another 8.8% reported more than 100% increase.⁶² As Can and Atakara have noted, the streets of the walled city are no longer only crowded with crowds rushing to get somewhere, but also with those who want to spend time here.⁶³

Cultural Activity/Monument building

In his account of the significance and effects of the monuments in Istanbul, Orhan Pamuk, claims that relics of a glorious past civilisation are visible everywhere in the city, inciting painful emotions over everything that has been lost.⁶⁴ Nicosia is no different than Istanbul. Monuments, statues, memorial sites and even street names, incite painful emotions of a lost past, as well as emotions of bitterness, hostility, injustice, and at the same time, feelings of pride, identity, and justice, depending on one's vantage point. Memorials make a political statement and reflect a nation's aims, honour the past and contribute to the preservation of memory. In her research on and documentation of commemorative sculpture in the southern part of Cyprus, Karaïskou shows that there are characteristic cases of memorials that "prove that commemoration in the Republic of Cyprus is inextricably linked to location which is either associated with an actual event of death or draws power from its relation to culturally symbolic institutional buildings."⁶⁵ A similar documentation of monumental building was made for the northern part of Nicosia by Devrim Yücel Besim and Ayer Kaşif who examine fourteen selected monuments all constructed between 1963 and 2012 and present these in chronological order according to their year of construction. Several of these are found in the urban center of Nicosia.⁶⁶

Atakara's article outlines the transformation of what he calls the 'urban memory' of the city over time as a result of immigration to Cyprus after 1974 and the division of the island.⁶⁷ The study focuses on the major street connecting Sarayönü Square and the Great Inn as significant examples of public spaces and places with cultural value division of the island. In relation to this we will also attempt to show that the emergence of commemorative buildings or statues is also related to political events and are determined by political motives and agendas. For example, Karaïskou connects monument building to a community's effort to "keep the collective trauma alive, perpetuating the 'wound culture'"⁶⁸ while Papallas considers it as part of a physical manifestation of belonging to a community.⁶⁹ Although Papallas explores the impact of the urban and built environment on the formation of identity and maintains that, in certain cases, the buildings become anthropomorphic and strengthen the

⁶¹ See Yorucu et al, "Cross-Border Trade Liberalization", 1749-1764; Mete Hatay, Fional Mullen and Julia Kalimeris, *Intra-island trade in Cyprus: Obstacles, oppositions and psychological barriers* (Nicosia: PRIO Cyprus Centre, 2008)

⁶² *ibid*

⁶³ Abdullah Can and Cemil Atakara, "Tarihi Kentlerde Üniversite Yerleşkelerinin Değerlendirilmesi: Lefkoşa Surlarıçi Örneği [Evaluation Of The University Campuses In Walled Cities: Nicosia Case]." *Aurum Mühendislik Sistemleri ve Mimarlık Dergisi-Aurum Journal Of Engineering Systems and Architecture* 5, no. 2 (Winter 2021):285

⁶⁴ Bakshi, "Shell of memory", 485

⁶⁵ Vicky Karaïskou, *Commemorative Sculpture and Ceremonial Behaviors in the Public Sphere: Cyprus as a Case Study*, *Sociology Study*, December 2013, Volume 3, Number 12, 920-9322013. Vicky Karaïskou recorded all public art within the Republic of Cyprus. The results of the project are available through the project's website (<http://publicart.ouc.ac.cy/>) and the Open University of Cyprus official database, the "Kypseli" (Hive).

⁶⁶ Yücel Besim, D.; Kaşif, A., "Kuzey Kıbrıs'ın Başkenti Lefkoşa'daki Anıtlara Genel Bir Bakış", *Journal of Cyprus Studies*, Volume 19, No. 43, 2017, emupress, Famagusta. 67-81

⁶⁷ Can and Atakara, "Tarihi Kentlerde Üniversite Yerleşkelerinin Değerlendirilmesi". 281

⁶⁸ Karaïskou, 2013, 921. Another project on monuments in Cyprus is *Iconoclastic Controversies: A visual sociology of statues and commemoration sites in the southern regions of Cyprus*, by Nico Carpentier. <http://nicocarpentier.net/iconoclastic/> Accessed: 27 June 2022. The project was recently extended to the northern part of Cyprus and presented at an exhibition at the Home for Cooperation in April 2022, under the title, *The Mirror of Conflict Iconoclastic Controversies 2*.

⁶⁹ Andreas Papallas, *Nationalism, Cultural Identities and Urban Conflicts as Shaped within the Contested Space of Nicosia*, in *Identity, Belonging and Human Rights: A Multi-Disciplinary Perspective* (2016):48

hatred towards the other, the same could probably be said for commemorative monuments, or memorials.⁷⁰ A prominent role in Nicosia's built heritage is definitely held by the Venetian walls which Anita Bakshi in her *Topographies of Memory* has described as a "shell of memory", or as "a screen onto which certain national, historical constructs can be projected".⁷¹ While "Topographies of Memory" focus on the relationship between current memory discourses and urban design and planning purposes, this project will explore the construction of memory through the cultural activity and monumental building. The space within the Venetian walls, the walled city, across the divide holds a prominent place in this analysis as it can become the object for comparison between the present and the past, for the past is seen and remembered differently by the two communities. After 1960, several monuments were built on each side of the Green Line commemorate events to symbolise national struggles or state each community's affiliation to their mother country.⁷² Museums in Nicosia cannot be overlooked by this project, for in a country like Cyprus, with such a turbulent modern history, the political events that occurred after 1960 are inevitably reflected in the island's museums.⁷³ In the case of Nicosia, two museums have a very political character. These are the Struggle Museum - 1961 (southern Nicosia) and the National Struggle Museum - 1966 (northern Nicosia). In their book, Stylianou-Lambert and Bounia discuss the history of theory creation, the use of objects, their depiction of the "Other" and the commemorative styles and prove the point that museums can be influential in periods of conflict and help construct collective memories and ethno-national identities.⁷⁴

Hitherto, researchers have naturally given more emphasis to the great monuments erected during the Medieval and Ottoman periods. An impressive analysis and depiction of these was made through the *Exploring Nicosia's Monuments. Medieval & Ottoman Period* platform. It is a joint project of the Leventis Municipal Museum of Nicosia and the Cyprus Institute and the STARC team, which resulted in the creation of digital representations and visualisation applications related to the historic architectural heritage of Nicosia. This cooperation aimed to create novel digital material that would facilitate the study, promotion, exhibition, dissemination, and preservation of the city's historic building legacy. The platform included 14 medieval monuments, such as St Sophia Cathedral, the Panagia Chrysaliniotissa church, Famagusta Gate, Kyrenia Gate, Paphos Gate and others and 20 Ottoman monuments such as Bayraktar, Buyuk Khan, The Phaneromeni School and others. Visitors had the opportunity to interact with virtual 3D models of the monuments and learn more about them by reading information and viewing related photographic material.

As to the more contemporary memorial building, information is available to us because of the study of Vicky Karaïskou which recorded all public art in the southern part of Cyprus. The results of the project are available through the project's website (<http://publicart.ouc.ac.cy/>) and the Open University of Cyprus official database, the "Kypseli" (Hive). Karaïskou's work which deals with commemorative sculpture and ceremonial behaviours in the public sphere using Cyprus as a case study[vi] will surely be taken into consideration, while this project will attempt to extend this documentation of commemorative sculpture beyond the southern part of Nicosia.

Surely, cultural activity is surely not limited to monument building or museums as it includes different forms of art as well. Indeed, art practices and cultural activity have been multiplied over the years and a correlation between the art and cultural activity in Nicosia and political developments can surely be drawn. For example. Evi Tselika's PRIO report on *Conflict Transformation Art*, considers how art practices in Cyprus have been used in the context of

⁷⁰ Papallas, *Nationalism*, 51

⁷¹ Bakshi, *Topographies*, 197

⁷² See Mehmet Adil, "Thinking about Monuments," *EMAA Art Journal* (March 11 2009): 129-145

⁷³ Theopisti Stylianou-Lambert and Alexandra Bounia, *The Political Museum: Power, Conflict, and Identity in Cyprus* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 16. The book's main argument is that politics directly influences identity, and it reveals how policies are interwoven in all facets of museums.

⁷⁴ Stylianou Lambert & Bounia, *The Political Museum*, 119 and 17.

conflict transformation and investigates the role arts can play to help people from both communities' experience coexistence in their daily lives.⁷⁵ Tselika explored the work of arts and creative organizations in Nicosia that use the arts for the purposes of relationship building and dialogue across the divide.

Building on the work mentioned in this section, DeepNic is going to examine the volume of monuments, museums and cultural centres across the divide from 1960 and 2020 and to what extent this can be related to or affected by the key events we use as points of reference.

Deep Mapping

*“Cartography is another name for stories told by winners.
For stories told by those who have lost, there isn’t one”.*⁷⁶

*A deep map is simultaneously a platform, a process, and a product. It is an environment embedded with tools to bring data into an explicit and direct relationship with space and time.*⁷⁷

While much of the information that will fit into our analysis has already been presented by previous works, DeepNic not only will attempt to fill in the gaps, but to also combine all this information and present it in an interactive fashion. Indeed, an integral part of this project is the visualization of the collected data through an interactive deep map aiming to contribute to more holistic interpretations of time and allow space for a simultaneous presentation of different narratives.

In contrast to traditional, analogue maps, interactive deep maps organize multimedia, multitemporal perspectives of a place—for example, photos, videos, texts, audio—into cognitively compelling and accessible spatial narratives that collectively begin to communicate the social and ecological complexities of that place.⁷⁸ A deep map could help us comprehend space, place and time in concert, they are not confined to the tangible or material, but include the discursive and ideological dimensions of place the dreams, hopes and fears of residents.⁷⁹ As Bakshi aptly puts it, the spatial experience of encountering an unwritten testimony of the city, its places and structures differs greatly from the linearity of consulting written testimony in the confines of the archive.⁸⁰ Like the places they seek to represent, interactive deep maps and spatial narratives are open and ever-evolving.⁸¹ They “understand space and place as the product of interrelationships, coexistence, and process, always changing and always in the state of becoming”⁸² and give their users ‘infinite possible paths through the map and the possibility of exploring innumerable questions’.⁸³ This is what the proposed interactive map of this project aspires to do: to show the transformation of an urban centre on various levels and from different angles to promote mutual understanding, social cooperation and sustainable development within the city of Nicosia.

⁷⁵ Yücel Besim, Kaşif, “Kuzey Kıbrıs’ın Başkenti Lefkoşa’daki Anıtlara Genel Bir Bakış”, , 81; *Evanthia Tselika, Conflict Transformation Art: Cultivating coexistence through the use of socially engaged artistic practices*, (Nicosia: PRIO Cyprus centre, 2019)

⁷⁶ Elif Shafak, *The Island of Missing Trees*, (UK: Penguin Books, 2021), 1

⁷⁷ David J. Bodenhamer, John Corrigan and Trevor M. Harris, *Deep Maps and Spatial Narratives* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015), 3

⁷⁸ Francis R. Eanes, Janet M. Silbernagel, Patrick Robinson, David A. Hart, “Interactive Deep Maps and Spatial Narratives for Landscape Conservation and Public Engagement.” *Landscape Journal* 38, no. 1-2 (2019): 7-24 https://scarab.bates.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1203&context=faculty_publications

⁷⁹ Bodenhamer, Corrigan and Harris, *Deep Maps and Spatial Narratives*, 3

⁸⁰ Bakshi, “Urban Form and Memory”, 192

⁸¹ Kitchin & Dodge, 2007 cited in Eanes, Silbernagel, Robinson, Hart, “Interactive Deep Maps, 12

⁸² David J. Bodenhamer, “Narrating Space and Place,” In Bodenhamer et al, *Deep Maps and Spatial Narratives*, 22

⁸³ Mia Ridge, Donald Lafreniere, D. and Sisira Sarma, “Creating deep maps and spatial narratives through design”, *International Journal of Humanities and Arts Computing* 7, no.1-2 (2013): 178

Although various urban geographers and spatial humanists have previously worked with deep literary maps and nondigital spatial narratives, recent digital revolution has dramatically advanced these tools' capabilities and applications and broadened the sorts of users and contributors who might fruitfully build and benefit from them.⁸⁴ The inspiration for this project came as a spin-off to an existing project, *The Ledra Palace Museum project*, which aimed to record the history of the emblematic Ledra Palace Hotel while showcasing the difficult history of a whole island in a non-authoritative and inclusive way.⁸⁵ The idea of studying difficult history, of exploring marginalised stories and of exposing un-discovered angles of history instigated our curiosity to take the Ledra Palace project a step forward. The study of a building, its history and the themes surrounding it leads us to the study of a larger space, the urban centre of Nicosia. Therefore, difficult history, marginalised stories of underrepresented groups, memorial building, gender, and race issues will be studied in connection with a specific space and the context of several significant geopolitical developments.

There are today several examples of some form of deep mapping will all be taken into consideration, such as:

Nicosia: The story of a shared and contested city. In 2016 the Association for Historical Dialogue and Research published the results of a research project that aimed at unveiling the historical memory of Nicosia through a series of graphically powerful and user-friendly online maps, which visually narrate the city's transformation during the late 19th and 20th centuries. The final outcome resulted in an interactive website (www.nicosiaproject.eu) whose main objective was to showcase Nicosia's common heritage by challenging one-dimensional representations of the past and offering an elaborate multi-perspective visual narrative of Nicosia's urban and social life before and after the city's division.

Virtual Shanghai is a research platform on the history of Shanghai from the mid-19th century to the present (<http://www.virtualshanghai.net/>). This platform not only integrates different types of documents such as essays, maps, photographs, original documents, quantitative data, and so on but also develops a powerful cartographic tool for spatial analysis and real-time mapping.

<https://www.sciencedirect.com/topics/earth-and-planetary-sciences/urban-history>

Salonica Lost City: It is a website that communicates the results of projects dealing with issues related to the old city to shed light on Thessaloniki's lost past through the publication of research, as well as with the location and recognition of photographs.

<https://umap.openstreetmap.fr/ja/map/thessaloniki-lost-city-663542#16/40.6330/22.9465>

Deep Ocean Observing Strategy: Online Inventory And Interactive Map which specifically seeks to assess the status of deep-ocean observing with respect to geographic coverage, water depths, platforms, sensors, variables measured, and temporal and spatial coverage.

<https://dsbsoc.org/indeep/deep-ocean-observing-strategy-online-inventory-and-interactive-map/>

Layers of London: Layers of London is a free online resource that uses maps and user generated content to blend history, geography, and digital technology.

<https://www.layersoflondon.org/map/records/trundleys-road>

⁸⁴ Eanes, Silbernagel, Robinson, Hart, "Interactive Deep Maps", 8

⁸⁵ Theopisti Stylianou-Lambert, Loukia Loizou-Hadjigavriel and Antigone Heraclidou, *Ledra Palace: Dancing on the Line* (Nicosia, A.G. Leventis Foundation, 2021)

Conclusion:

What we have attempted here was to present existing research works related to the DeepNic project. It is evident that significant and interdisciplinary research has been hitherto made for Nicosia for the last three decades. The divided city has gathered much attention from academics and researchers around the world. Being aware of the existing literature, we will be able to build on previous works and fill in the gaps and bring in some innovations. This is a multidimensional project that aspires to step into the field of Digital Humanities, for it combines archival research with technology and interactive data visualization. It is also a project that taps into history and peace education across the divide and could also be used as a tool in the hands of decision makers in the areas of urban planning, cultural tourism and integration policies.

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ANNEX – Library

A significant number of secondary sources was consulted during the literature review. Many of the sources were cited in this document. However, there remain many sources that deal with more specific issues or related notions and analyses, while they were viewed, they will be cited in future publications, within the scope provided by the project. We have decided to include all the sources we consulted in this document, to create an available referencing catalogue- which will be updated regularly- for our future publications:

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