

5.5 Contested border urbanism: Learning from the Cyprus dispute

Melehat Nil Güleri¹ and Cecilia Zecca²

Abstract: The narratives of *space*, *place* and *identity* provide a basis to analyse meanings of borders for Cypriots living in the north and south of the island. The historical background of the conflict in Cyprus introduces mixed villages and traces the meaning of walls and borders in the urban fabric in Nicosia, Europe's last divided capital. Narratives of crossing borders when they were opened every day crossing on Ledra Palace/Lokmacı Street in Nicosia after three decades of closure.

Opening this path would transform the dynamics of deep-rooted ethnic divisions and foreground shared cultures that draw on Nancy's concept of inoperative community and Agamben's Coming Community (Nancy ____). Analysis of two examples against the background of Certaus' concepts of everyday life (Certaus ____) informs this urban epistemology: Home for Cooperation and a learning centre/café. These two spaces are neutral in the buffer zone/borderland for unified collectivity and 'Occupy Buffer-zone Movement' activities, occupying a non-place and transforming into a public square through grassroots activism.

Cypriot history is complex and eclectic. It requires anti-essentialist acceptance of its multiple origins to imagine the futures of urban territories in Cyprus. The communities of the temporal civic grassroots are particularly intriguing to challenge the top-down urbanism models and understanding of community and being in common. They produce and re-appropriate public space through collective participation, alter the spatial perception, approach the borders, and redefine urban space.

Keywords: collective memory, contested urbanism, Urban identity, Public sphere, production of space, Cyprus dispute

Introduction

Urbanism provides many encounters between different perspectives to envision a desirable future, often dealing with conflicts. Whether small or big, these conflicts are unavoidable between different parties, and they may evoke new forms of negotiated collaboration.

While prioritising economically and environmentally sustainable development and attractive and safe places, the field of urban design lacks social content due to the presence of top-down approaches and using neo-liberalism and global capitalism instruments (Carmona, 2013). Studying contested cities in the context of borders is helpful to address these criticisms. Moreover, it necessitates understanding challenges stemming from ethnic, racial, and class issues that are significant in revisiting the theories of urbanism, foregrounding participation, representation, access, and identity of grassroots communities over housing and infrastructure issues.

As Relph (1976, p.147) noted in his seminal book, *Place and Placelessness*, quoting:

¹Entrepreneurship Strategy and Innovation, Audencia Business School, Nantes, France

²The Helen Hamlyn Centre for Design, Royal College of Art, London, United Kingdom

“A deep human need exists for associations with significant places. If we choose to ignore that need and follow the forces of placelessness to continue unchallenged, then the future can only hold an environment in which places simply do not matter.”

Similarly, Peck (2015, p.162) states,

“the ongoing work of remaking of urban theory must occur across cases, which means confronting and problematising substantive connectivity, recurrent processes and relational power relations, in addition to documenting difference, in a “contrastive” manner, between cities. It must also occur across scales, positioning the urban scale itself, and working to locate cities not just within lateral grids of difference, in the “planar” dimension, but relational and conjuncture terms as well.”

Studies on contested urban space by Brand (2009), Bollens (2012), Gaffikin, Mceldowney, and Sterrett (2010), Pullan and Baillie (2013) present the core issues of the Cyprus dispute that spurred worldwide attention. However, the characteristic of the Cyprus case with its intellectual strength and complexity deserves further attention.

Historical background of the conflict in Cyprus provides an overview of its mixed villages without borders and the meaning of walls and borders in the urban fabric of Nicosia, Europe's last divided capital. These are best demonstrated by narratives of crossing recently reopened borders on Ledra Palace/Lokmacı Street in Nicosia. Collective memory and architectural identity highlight their role in urban planning and analysis of two civic and grassroots examples provides a basis for urban models and solution trajectories in contested cities.

A Brief History of Cyprus and the Mixed Villages

Cyprus was once a beacon of Christian-Muslim shared cultures, which is perhaps a romanticised view at present. However, Greek and Turkish Cypriots lived together peacefully in shared villages for 400 years (from 1571-Ottoman ruling) before breaking the historical ties. The bi-communal villages of united Cyprus evidenced this communal harmony.

The British took over the island in 1878, and according to their census data, in 1891, 43 % (346 villages) of Cyprus villages were mixed (Lyatra & Psaltis, 2012). However, this coexistence began to deteriorate around 1821 with the rise of Greek nationalism and the Greek revolution against the Ottoman Empire in Turkey. Locals supported the change when the Ottoman administration executed the island's Orthodox Church leaders, wrongly suspected of supporting the Greek revolution (ibid).

The idea of a *Greater Greece* resulted from the enosis³ and led to more significant conflicts between Greece and Turkey. WWI coincided with a fall in the percentage of mixed villages to 36% (252) by 1931 (ibid). With the rise of the increasingly violent enosis movement for unification with Greece, inter-communal violence claimed many British, Turkish and Greek Cypriots lives. Along with a campaign for a separatist area of Turkish Cyprus, mixed villages fell to 18% in 1960. For another decade, Cypriots lived in a nightmare--a tense state of emergency--violence, regular murders and mysterious disappearances were rampant on the island. The minority population of Turkish Cypriots became frightened refugees in their land, guarded by the United Nations (Hugh-Wilson, 2011). The United Nations established a Buffer Zone between the two political entities during the 1963 hostilities as a cease-fire zone known as the Green Line.

³ Enosis is the movement of various Greek communities that live outside Greece for incorporation of the regions that they inhabit into the Greek state.

By 1970, mixed villages had fallen to 10% (Lyras & Psaltis, 2012). The military invasion of Turkey in 1974 took place after a coup organised by the military junta government in Greece against the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Makarios. Turkey occupied a third of the island, from northern shores up to the Green Line, dividing the walled city of Nicosia into two.

For about 18 months, around 185,000 Greek Cypriots had to move in the southern two-thirds of the island, and some 45,000 Turkish Cypriots moved north and settled in the Greek houses (Webster & Timothy, 2006). In 1983, the Turkish Cyprus President, Rauf Dentaş, self-declared this territory as a sovereign republic, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, only officially recognised by Turkey (Kliot & Mansfeld, 1997). The border was sealed for both ethnic groups for three decades until 2003.

Pyla is now the only mixed village on the island. Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot coffee shops can coexist on either side of the main square. It is possible to hear both languages spoken in the streets and enjoy the city skyline with an impressive church and the nearby minaret village mosque. The communal harmony in Pyla keeps the hope of united Cyprus alive, yet it is relatively weak. Table 1 demonstrates the number of mixed villages in Cyprus between 1891 and 1970.

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

Table 1: Mixed Villages in Cyprus (Lyatras & Psaltis, 2012)

Border

The city does not exist; what exists are different and distinct forms of urban lives. Massimo Cacciari, Italian philosopher (cited in Cacciari, 2004).

For more than four decades, Nicosia had been a divided city representing the capital of the Republic of Cyprus and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. The medieval Venetian city walls as the first borders of Nicosia serve as a standard historical reference. Along with the buffer zone, they are the two main spatial entities forming the urban fabric in Nicosia. On the map, the buffer zone stretches for 185 km from west to east with a width that ranges from 7.4 km in some rural areas to only 3.3 meters in the centre of Nicosia's Walled City. In reality, it is hard to sense where the buffer zone ends due to the space's visual, spatial and functional discontinuity. Moreover, it is now restricted to any human activity and subject to UN control, emptying the urban fabric at the city centre.

This political void creates different architecture and urban layout scales and diverse functions and rhythms in each urban subset in the south and north. Commercial and residential activities have been pushed away from the borderline. The city has been growing in the opposite direction away from each other, keeping borders as a symbol of the dire political

instrument. The expanded city outside the borders in south Nicosia acts as a contemporary city with its wide pavements, multinational shops, multi-floor office buildings, car traffic, and circulation. In contrast, close to the borders, the old part has single or two-story buildings with a handful of shops and narrow old streets.

The void of separation, the green line, is an inconsequential wall made of fences, piled barrels, gates and filled sandbags. The green line is a variegated fracture that generated a multi-clustered city and a fragmented city centre idea. Even if traditional materiality is not always constructed in Nicosia, it is still possible to call the entire line a “wall” to describe the concept of political division better.

Wall as a symbol of conflict is the material manifestation of political boundaries and state power. Walls have multiple meanings, fear, division and separation, and security, protection and order. The wall means protection, security, and peace for the northern side, whereas, for the southern side, the wall is a temporal division, unacceptable and illegitimate (Iliopoulou & Karathanasis, 2014, Dikomitis, 2005). The physical appearance of the wall from each side of the buffer zone illustrates different assertions. While Turkish Cypriot border walls appear more permanent and lasting, the Greek Cypriot ones seem more temporal, ready to be removed (See figure 1 and 2 for comparison).



Figure 1 Wall from the Turkish Cyprus side | source: wikimedia.org



Figure 2 Wall from the Greek Cyprus side | source: wikimedia.org

The rejection of the border is expressed in different ways and contradictory manners. Dikimotis (2005) laid out two revealing narratives of border crossing after the sealed borders were opened again in 2003. The first position is refusal: some Greek Cypriots refuse to cross the border based on illegitimacy. According to them, crossing the border recognises the self-declared country in northern Cyprus. However, refusing to cross acknowledges the very existence of the border and strengthens it.

On the other hand, the border shoppers cross the border almost every day to run their errands and shop at the opposite position. They recognise the border yet act as if it does not exist. They almost deny the existence of the border by ignoring it (ibid). Jones (2012) talks about “spaces of refusal”. To him, at times, people may accept the existence of state borders, “at other times they continue to think and live in alternative configurations that maintain connections across, through, and around sovereign state territoriality” (p.697).

The buffer zone/walls introduced as a quick solution to reduce conflicts perpetuate the dispute of Greek/Turkish Cypriots communal life, which otherwise exists only in the memory of its people. Halbwachs (1950) suggests that “every collective memory unfolds within a spatial framework”.

Collective memory and urban architectural identity

As memory slowly turns to history, what is temporary has never changed. Therefore, neither Greek nor Turkish, developing a unified collective identity is central to a sustainable future and community.

The subjective and distorted interpretation of past events and heterogeneous memories constructed each side's self-validated national narratives. As a result, they accept their own as victims and the *other* as guilty/enemy. Cyprus traumatic memories include communal killings, violence, hatred, confusion, and dispute. Halbwachs (1950) indicates that individual memory or consciousness is inseparable from collective memory. The younger generations in Cyprus that did not experience each other's historical conflict in their daily lives are raised to tolerate

each other due to the education system, media and political agenda. This culture is different from Israelis and Palestinians, who also lived side by side. Almost half a century ago, history froze the two communities' perception and preconceptions.

In Cyprus, two opposing narratives construct identities for both sides (Karahasan 2008). The official Greek Cypriot narrative focuses on 1955-1960 and 1974, while the official Turkish Cypriot narrative focuses on 1963-1967. Karahasan suggests that even though these narratives appear opposing and different, they are similar methods and definitions. They are "the two sides of the same coin". This is also visible in the 'Museum of National Struggle', built at both the Northern and Southern sides of the wall to illustrate the struggle and remembrance of the harmonious relationship in history. They are the material and symbolic architectures of division and exclusion. The Turkish Cypriot Museum, located in the walled city, was dedicated between 1963 and 1983. It demonstrates the struggle against the Greek Cypriots and the violence in the 1960s, which ended up with invasion by Turkey in 1974 as well as the independence of Northern Cyprus in 1983 (see Figure 3 *Unutmayacağız*, We will not forget. The image demonstrates the list of people who have died during the struggle).

The Greek Cypriot Museum of National Struggle, also built within the walled city, focuses on the 1955–1960 period. It illustrates that Greek Cyprus fought the British for independence. In addition, it highlights the activities of paramilitary EOKA (National Organisation of Cypriot Struggle) and movement for enosis or unification with Greece (See Figure 4).



Figure 3 *Unutmayacağız* (We won't forget), The Museum of National Struggle, Northern Cyprus source: <https://cyprusscene.com/2018/07/18/north-cyprus-museum-of-national-struggle-and-tmt/>



Figure 4 The Museum of National Struggle, Southern Cyprus | source: Wikimedia commons

The conflict is fuelled by politicians, the complicated education system, and the media on both sides (Papadakis, 2008; Makriyianni & Psaltis, 2007; Makriyianni, 2006). Antagonistic ideas of place and territory, selective memories, created fears, choosing certain aspects of the past to perpetuate the division and serve as a political propaganda instrument. “The communal conflict between Greeks and Turks on Cyprus has proved intractable for centuries,” stated Henry Kissinger, former US secretary of state (Mallinson, 2016, p xxvii)

Tassos Sotiriou, 76 years old, pointed to the light blue banner flying over a UN observation post. "Why do they have to guarantee anything? We do not need them to be at peace,[...] I feel like a prisoner in the very place where I was born.[...]Back in the day, Cyprus was a paradise; you could not tell who was Muslim, Orthodox, Greek or Turkish" (Tassos Sotiriou Interview, 2018).

Cypriots have continuously been reminded that they are two very different nations with different languages, ethnicity and religions and traditions. While trying to strengthen their identity, the division has transformed the characteristics of Cypriot identity. According to Harry Tzimitras from the Peace Research Institute Oslo Cyprus Centre, “the common shared Cypriot identity is being watered down [...] since the Greek Cypriots became more Hellenic while Turkish Cypriots became more ‘Turkified.’” Naturally, Turkish Cypriots react against Turkification. Goker (2007) suggests that Turkish Cypriots, regardless of their political ideologies, distinguish themselves from the Turkish settlers of Cyprus and find themselves modern, open and European in comparison to Turkish settlers.

The architectural context is eclectic and another factor that forms identities in Cyprus. Although mass tourism has been destroying the remains of former common Cypriot elements, the historical memory is still significant and serves to identify Cyprus’ multi-layered history. Specific stylistic traits belong to Cyprus's specific races, ethnic groups, or nations. For example, the domes are Byzantine, pointed arches as Frankish, broad eaves as Ottoman, and wide verandas as British colonial.

The complexity of these layers and their role in forming Cyprus architectural identity are more complex than they appear. For example, in the village of Peristerona, there is an 18th century abandoned mosque. The mosque was converted from a Gothic/Lusignan church. It is one of many examples of the conversion of Catholic churches into other functions.

After the Ottoman occupation of Nicosia in 1570, Ayia Sophia was turned into a mosque and continued as essential Cathedral-mosques of the city. Ottoman policy left Orthodox churches for the Greek Cypriots to worship in but converted the Catholic churches of their Latin predecessors into mosques. This gave rise to a distinctive Ottoman Gothic style that characterised major Ottoman city mosques like Ayia Sophia or Aya Sofya (renamed Selimiye Cami in 1954); Haidar Pasha Camisi (St. Catherine's Church, 14th century).

Being in Common

Nothing is more instructive than the way Spinoza conceives of the common. All bodies, he says, have it in common to express the divine attributes of extension and yet what is common cannot in any case constitute the essence of the single case. Decisive here is the idea of an inessential commonality, a solidarity that in no way concerns an essence. Taking-place, the communication of singularities in the attribute of extension, does not unite them in essence, but scatters them in existence.

Giorgio Agamben, The Coming Community, 1993, pp.18-19.

The establishment of nation-states has created an official history with a narrative that fails to envisage pluralism. The notion of community as a unified, continuous, and enclosed collective deserves to be questioned. This perhaps appears as a romanticised view of the community, seeking to appeal to shared understanding as the foundation for values idealises modern society as a harmonious, non-conflictual community.

Even if it excludes the unfavourable conditions of Cyprus and other contested cities, the role of complex relations and networks of power should be recognised as an inevitable factor in constituting the notion of community. Grounded upon the thinking of the philosopher Jean-Luc Nancy, in his book, *The Inoperative Community* (1991), emphasises the importance of not defining the essence of community in the sense of a model. It is a matter of thinking about community rather than modelling or remodelling the community. Perhaps this is one problem in Cyprus that the community has been engineered and re-engineered.

Nancy alludes that community is our human condition, i.e., not a thing to be constructed (1991, p.22). He explores an alternative path between myth and nihilism and traditional unitary communities and community absence. His idea of "community without community" (1991, p. 71) suggests that community is a concept that does not have a guarantee of meaning, identity, belonging; a concept that does not have an essence - that of a unified collectivity. His thinking implies different ethical attitudes in addressing/exposing, and establishing ties with communities. *Anti-totalitarianism*, the 'multiplicity of voices' and the 'recognition of the other found' in Nancy's thinking could inform the basis of our approach while looking at divided communities situated on either side of the green line about urban epistemology. According to Hou and colleagues (2015, p3), the urban context results from a complex interaction between 'cultural structures, social values, individual and collective actions and observations of the material arrangements'.

Two examples of unified collectivity in the buffer zone are analysed. The first is the Home for Cooperation building, an intercommunal education centre and cafe. The second one is Occupy Buffer-zone Movement and how it transformed a non-place into a common public place. Home for Cooperation (HC4), a landmark building of peace, is a neutral space yet not trapped in-betweenness. It was constructed in the early 1950s for residential and commercial purposes. However, after being caught in the crossfire in 1974, it was unused for three decades until the Association for Historical Dialogue and Research decided to use the building as an inter-communal educational centre in the buffer zone. In 2009, European Economic Area

Grants and Norway Grants provided funds to support building renovation. It was completed in May 2011 and received the Europa Nostra 'Conservation' award. The place allows several people from the south and north to come together in a safe, neutral place for exchange, providing an alternative "third space".

Occupy Buffer-zone Movement (OBM) occupied the buffer zone's linear gap and transformed into a public place, a 'square', where people met, sang, drank, ate, slept, discussed, played, argued, and demonstrated. The activities and events organised by OBM in the public sphere allow people to perform their identities. However, they also create communities of collective action in which people who participate do not necessarily share the same values or even social or ethnic identities (Liopoulou & Karathanasis, 2014).

These temporal communities are fascinating to challenge our top-down urbanism models. They produce and re-appropriate public space through collective participation, alter our spatial perception, and define urban spaces. Moreover, the claimed new common spaces enable people from both south and north to make connections and foster greater empathy to diminish the intensity and scale of the conflict.

The strength of these civic communities draws on the simplicity of everyday practices of playing, eating, speaking and physical presence to resolve conflicts. These practices unfold the process of transforming and deepening our understanding of communities and ourselves. De Certeau sees that the practice of everyday life is the terrain of silent and tactical power production and consumption, highlighting the political dimensions of everyday life. To de Certeau,

Many everyday practices (talking, reading, moving about, shopping, cooking, etc.) are tactical in character. And so are, more generally, many "ways of operating": victories of the "weak" over the "strong" (whether the strength be that of powerful people or the violence of things or of an imposed order, etc.), clever tricks, knowing how to get away with things, "hunter's cunning," manoeuvres, polymorphic simulations, joyful discoveries, poetic as well as warlike. [...] From the depths of the ocean to the streets of modern megalopolises, there is a continuity and permanence in these tactics. In our societies, as local stabilities break down, it is as if, no longer fixed by a circumscribed community, tactics wander out of orbit, making consumers into immigrants in a system too vast to be their own, too tightly woven for them to escape from it. But these tactics introduce a Brownian movement into the system. They also show the extent to which intelligence is inseparable from the everyday struggles and pleasures that it articulates. Strategies, in contrast, conceal beneath objective calculations their connection with the power that sustains them from within the stronghold of its own "proper" place or institution. (de Certeau, 1984, p. xix-xx)

By drawing on the *practice of everyday life*, urban designers can imagine the physical presence in the context of the border moving between participation and observation, the guest and host, and to set up the conditions of hidden narratives. This would emerge between participants to challenge the ideas around weak and strong political contexts of urban development.

The OBZ movement, in a way, raised the urban epistemology question of who is included in the community. What are the ethical boundaries of inclusion and exclusion of a community and contributed to the theory of urban space production and urbanism models? The grassroots movements are indispensable as they force the city to be continuously reassembled and transformed. They are vital as long as they evoke ambitions and hopes and are inhabited and perceived. These constitute urban structural forces co-shaping the city.

As reflected by Peck (2005),

Shaking up old explanatory hierarchies and pushing aside stale concepts [...] making space for a much richer plurality of voices, in a way that some have likened to a democratisation of urban theory. In the critical literature, special places have been reserved for insurgent, rogue, subaltern and alt-urbanisms, as a premium has been newly attached to the disputation of generalised theory claims through disruptive or exceptional case studies.

In 1963, the United Nations (UN) and the power elites imposed the buffer zone upon the political landscape. Still today, those groups determine the trajectory of the Cyprus conflict. However, top-down approaches and solutions seem to fail to unite Cyprus. In 2004, a referendum was held on the island for a UN agreement plan (Annan Plan) a week before the accession of the Cyprus Republic to the EU. While 65% of Turkish Cypriots said yes, 76% of the Greek Cypriots said no. Since then, neither 2014 renewed talks and the joint declaration nor 2017 Geneva meetings reunified the island. It appears that the solution will not come with another referendum or UN solutions. Certainly, any transition will not be a quick fix; instead, it will be gradual. Nevertheless, an impatient hope is there—Mr Mytides, from Pyla, the only mixed village on the island.

I'd bet on Cyprus being reunited before 10 years are up. We just won't wait 10 years, we need a solution earlier. That is what we are looking for. (Judith Soteriou, English-born married to a Greek Cypriot, 2004)

Urban planning could adopt a gradual and participatory approach. This resonates in Daniel Libeskind writing about the transformation of Alexanderplatz in post-unification.

I believe that the idea of the totality, the finality of the master plan, is misguided. One should advocate a gradual transformation of public space, a metamorphic process, without relying on a hypothetical time in the future when everything will be perfect. (Libeskind, 1995).

Conclusion

Borders create difference and otherness. In contrast, the border maintains individual identity on each side. This is experienced as an in-between state or a space of ambiguity. The separate identities that are created ensure the border's existence and maintenance and, in turn, strengthen the dispute. It is a vicious circle. Differences between groups, such as the Greeks in the east, the Turks in the west, and Christianity and Islam, are emphasised. However, similarities of lifestyle and shared history in mixed villages are often ignored. Unless the antagonistic nature of pluralism is considered, the potential to reconcile all points of view in Cyprus' conflict is unapproachable.

Looking over the history for what it has been, recognising the real facts and the contemporary without pre-constituted definitions is challenging for a divided bi-communal country. The misconception that comes from war generates fear and shadow even more insuperable of a wall.

The polarity of thoughts and differences can be connected by narrations of Nancy, Agamben and several urban theorists. The Cyprus dispute highlighted identity politics, collective memory, and education to homogenise and nationalise the communities and construct models in urban planning. Despite the significance of urban planning as a mechanism to address the conflict, urbanism is a “complex practice that is simultaneous, local, regional

and global [...] grounded in the imperfect, messy reality of the everyday” (Hou et al., 2015, p. 7).

Nicosia's complexity of urban conditions evidenced the impossibility of a city's unitary vision, form, definition, design, and image. Nicosia could serve as a theoretical object to better comprehend urban processes and forms of contemporary urbanism and move beyond single definitions of a unified city and community. It pushes the focus of urban theory beyond 'ordinary' urban development challenges, such as inner-city redevelopment and the provision of affordable housing. Urbanism should follow a gradual and participatory path without constructing a community.

References

- Agamben, G. (1993). *The Coming Community*. University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis.
- Brand, R. (2009). "Written and Unwritten Building Conventions in a Contested City: The Case of Belfast." *Urban Studies* 46 (12): 2669–2689. doi: 10.1177/0042098009345538
- Bollens, SA (2012). *City and Soul in Divided Societies*. London: Routledge.
- Cacciari, M. (2004). *La città*. Villa Verrucchio: Pazzini Editore.
- Carmona (2014). *The Place-shaping Continuum: A Theory of Urban Design Process*. *Journal of Urban Design*, 19 (1), pp 2- 36.
- De Certeau, M. D. (1984). *The practice of everyday life*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press
- Dikomitis, L. (2005). Three readings of a border, *Anthropology Today*, 21 (5), p7-12.
- Goker, A. A. (2007). *Being 'Cypriot' in North London: strategies, experiences and contestations*, PhD Thesis, University College London, Department of Anthropology.
- Gaffikin, F., M. Mceldowney, and K. Sterrett. (2010). *Creating Shared Public Space in the Contested City: The Role of Urban Design*. *Journal of Urban Design* 15 (4): 493–513. doi: 10.1080/13574809.2010.502338
- Halbwachs, M. (1950). *The collective memory*, New York, Harper & Row Colophon Books. <http://web.mit.edu/allanmc/www/hawlbachsspace.pdf>
- Hou, J., Spencer, B., Way, T., Yocom, K. (2015). *Now Urbanisms. The future city is here*. Routledge: London.
- Hughes-Wilson, J. (2011). *The Forgotten War A Brief History of the Battle for Cyprus 1974*, *The RUSI Journal*, 156(5), 84-93. 84-93
- Iliopoulou, E., & Karathanasis, P. (2014). *Towards a Radical Politics: Grassroots Urban Activism in the Walled City of Nicosia*. *The Cyprus Review*, 26(1), 169.
- Jones, R. (2012). *Spaces of refusal: rethinking sovereign power and resistance at the border*. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 102, 685-699
- Karahasan, H. (2005). *Different narratives, different stories: the language of narrative and interpretation*. *Journal of Cyprus Studies*, 11 (28-29), p. 115+. Academic OneFile, Accessed 6 Feb. 2018.
- Kliot, NandMansfeld, Y(1997). *The political landscape of partition: The case of Cyprus*, *Political Geography*, 16,(6), 495-521.
- Libeskind, D. (1995). *Berlin Alexanderplatz: Ideologies of Design and Planning and the Fate of Public Space*. *The Journal of the International Institute*, 3(1). Retrieved on August 1, 18 from <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.4750978.0003.101>
- Lytras, E., & Psaltis, C. (2011). *Formerly mixed villages in Cyprus: Representations of the past, present and future*. Nicosia: AHDR
- Mallinson, W. (2016). *Kissinger and the Invasion of Cyprus: Diplomacy in the Eastern Mediterranean*. Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

- Nancy, J.-L. (1991). *Inoperative Community*, Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press
- Peck, J. (2015). "Cities Beyond Compare?" *Regional Studies: The Journal of the Regional Studies Association* 49 (1–2): 160–182. doi: 10.1080/00343404.2014.980801
- Pullan, W., and B. Baillie, eds. (2013). *Locating Urban Conflicts - Ethnicity, Nationalism and the Everyday*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Pullan W. (2011). Frontier urbanism: the periphery at the centre of contested cities, *The Journal of Architecture*, 16 (1), 15-35
- Soteriou Judith interview (2004). *Mixed Villages Bets on United Future* Retrieved on August 21, 18 from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/3658353.stm>
- Sotiriou, Tassos interview, (2018). *Mixed village in Cyprus buffer zone looks to offer hope* retrieved on August 1, 18 from <https://www.thepeninsulaqatar.com/article/23/01/2018/Mixed-village-in-Cyprus-buffer-zone-looks-to-offer-hope>
- Webster, C. & Timothy, D. (2006). Travelling to the 'Other Side': the Occupied Zone and Greek Cypriot Views of Crossing the Green Line, *Tourism Geographies*, 8 (2), 162-181