

Urban Form and Social Phenomena in Public Space

Addressing Urban Segregation in the Divided City of Nicosia

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Keywords: urban segregation, urban conflicts, urban form and social phenomena.

Abstract: The management of ethnic diversity in facilitating interethnic understanding as a socio-spatial tactic continues to be highly relevant in Nicosia up to the present days. Ethnic diversity in contemporary cities is often discussed in relation to the phenomenon of urban segregation, especially in public spaces of a city where the life of the different and diverse groups unfolds. Urban segregation is admittedly a multidimensional and complex issue, since it has social, political, economics and spatial dimensions. This paper aims to address the spatial and temporal dimensions of urban socio-spatial inequalities in the city of divided Nicosia, within the walls after the checkpoints opened, to further facilitate an understanding of the ways in which urban form influences social phenomena and vice versa. It explores the role that public space plays for triggering and fostering segregation, as well as for posing challenges to people's everyday life and identity, through both a quantitative analysis of urban form and a qualitative analysis focusing on observations of movements and uses on urban space. It is argued that the understanding of such processes is often limited due to underestimating the function of the physical environment and the way places are shaped and connected to each other. The potential for interaction and meetings between people from different areas, ages and social backgrounds is a crucial prerequisite for creating an integrated society and encouraging tolerance and a feeling of belonging.

1. Introduction

The main research question for this paper could be the use of public space by different and diverse groups in the city of Nicosia, Cyprus, following the opening of the “checkpoints” on the Green Line dividing the city in north and south. More specifically, it sets out to explore the role of urban form in social phenomena.

Researchers have approached the analysis of the transformation of the urban form from a multitude of viewpoints, bringing social context to the foreground, focusing on historical factors and political ideologies, on social and economic dimensions with less attention given to space formations. Without seeking to undermine such approaches of primary socio-historic and political intention, the session proposed intends to transpose its point of view. It will face urban phenomena such as urban conflict and segregation, in their “genetic” spatial correlation, as correlated or even more generated by the “physical” city evolution. It will focus on discourses

concerning implications embedded in or generated from spatial patterns. It will explore the relationship between urban form and society, through time as key to understand patterns of socio-spatial phenomena observable in contemporary cities and the mechanisms through which such phenomena unfold.

1.1. *Public Space as an “undeniable” need*

There is no doubt that public space plays a significant role in the societies. As Madanipour A. (2010)¹ pointed out there is an “undeniable” need for a public space, not only as a space but also the process of the design of a public space, the way that users take part in society, including all the uses they are used to spend in public spaces.

[...] that the nature of this role, and therefore the nature of public space, in modern cities has radically changed; and that the development and uses of these spaces mirror the way a society is organized, shaped by unequal distribution of power and resources, which creates tension and conflict as well as collaboration and compromise [...] (Madanipour A. (2010), “Whose Public Space?”, pp. 4, Taylor and Francis, UK).

[...] As the range of actors and interests in urban development varies widely, and place have different dimensions and functions, creating public spaces becomes a complex and multidimensional process (Madanipour A. (2010), “Whose Public Space?”, pp. 12, Taylor and Francis, UK).

[...] Public spaces play a significant role in the life of cities everywhere, and that for cities to work, there is an undeniable need for public space [...] (Madanipour A. (2010), “Whose Public Space?”, pp. 4, Taylor and Francis, UK).

For this paper, it will be analyzed the case of old walled city of Nicosia in Cyprus, and the specific study area will be the two squares of the old city, Faneromeni’s and Eleftheria’s but also the two main roads (Ledras and Onasogorou), which people can walk through to go from one place to another, in order to explore the complex relationship between the spatial and social dimensions and the coexistence of different groups of people.

Public space is suggested to be an important and necessary platform for immigrant’s socialization through social and economic exchanges, building of group identity (Castells 1996) and negotiations of relations among the immigrants themselves and between them and the host society (Noussia and Lyons, 2009).² The first step to coexistence acceptance of differential is that immigrants must to participate in public realm. The patterning “of ordinary streets” in the old city of Nicosia for this case, enables a comfortable mixing and co-existence of the immigrants and the locals. (Hillier 1988). This “traditional street grid”, creates the opportunity for the creation of a strong self-supporting immigrant community which can communicate with local people³. In a similar way, functions also the traditional paths of the old Nicosia (Ledras-Onasagorou).

1. Madanipour A. (2010), *Whose Public Space?*, p. 4, Taylor and Francis, UK.

2. Charalambous N. & Hadjichristos C. (2010), *Overcoming Division in Nicosia’s Public Space*, Nicosia, Cyprus.

3. Charalambous N. & Hadjichristos C. (2010), *Overcoming Division in Nicosia’s Public Space*, Nicosia, Cyprus.

1.2. Street network as “spatial structure”

Jacobs refers to urban centers and supports that “without a strong and inclusive central heart, a city tends to become a collection of interests isolated from another” (1991)⁴. She strongly believes that urban centers should not have only mixed primary uses but also higher encounter rates, something that has to do with the street network, which constitute the spatial structure of society⁵. Hillier also suggest that “the configuration of the urban grid itself is the main generator of the patterns of movement⁶. Retail and land uses are then located to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the passing trade and may well act as multipliers on the basic pattern of “natural movement” generated by the grid configuration” (1992)⁷.

Figure 1 (left) highlights how the street network of Nicosia developed and it is proving that it always follows the socio-economic facts of the city, while the at the right diagram shows that the Nicosia’s city center (old town) was the most developed with time (1932), things change and the development start to expand outside the walled city (2000). By this way, the historic center starts to “underdeveloped” while all the Greek-Cypriots (locals) who used to live there starts to move out from there.

The space is always relative with the social impacts but on the other hand it is also relevant in the context of its study⁸, and this will be analyzed in this paper. As Legeby A. (2005), supported the spatial dimension can never be fully understood or successfully managed without a powerful theory of a space as a social entity⁹. So, the basic urban relation which must to be understood is that the configuration of the urban street network, which is the largest spatial pattern in the city, and it is for itself a key determinant of movement flows and hence copresence in space¹⁰. It is also important to realized that the space belongs to people who design and create a space but also to those people who use it (designers & users). For this reason, all the activities and the uses which are used to be in a space have to analyzed in order to fine the relation between the social issues which are hidden behind. The importance of configurations shows that the relations between the elements and the parts can affect the whole which is society.¹¹ For this relation part – whole and the configuration in urban form, A.Giddens with his “structuration theory”¹² also write about structure and agency of people which he find that is two concept that

4. Jacobs J. (1991), *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Random House, 1961.

5. Kypris K. (1994), *Nicosia. Spatial and Functional transformations*, Msc Advances Architectural Studies, Bartlett Graduate School of Architecture and Planning, University College of London, 23 September 1994.

6. Hillier B. & Hanson J., *The Social Logic of Space*, Cambridge University Press.

7. Hillier B. & Hanson J., *The Social Logic of Space*, Cambridge University Press

8. «Ο ρόλος του σχεδιασμού σε διφιλονικούμενα αστικά περιβάλλοντα: Η περίπτωση της Αμμοχώστου.» *Conflict-Διαφιλονικούμενες πόλεις*, Κυπριακό, Νεκτάριος Χριστοδούλου, Πολεοδόμος, Διδακτορικός Φοιτητής Πανεπιστήμιο Κύπρου (2014)

9. Legeby A.N.N. (2010), *Urban Segregation And Urban Form: From residential segregation to segregation in public space*, Licentiate Thesis in Architecture Stockholm, Sweden.

10. Vaughan L. & Arbaci S. (2007), *The Challenges of Understanding Urban Segregation*, pp. 1-10.

11. The importance of configurations for Space Syntax, shows that what are important in space are the relations between the elements than the attributes of the elements themselves. The elements, the parts, affect the whole and the whole emerges from the parts in their distinctive configurational position, and the whole is highly sensitive to the part. Configuration also solves the problem of relations which seem to be abstract while configurations seem more hard-edged things. Lefebvre H. & Syntax S. (2003), *An Investigation of the Relation of Space to Society*, Mavridou Magda MSc Thesis Acknowledgements, (September 2003).

12. “Structuration theory is the actions ‘brought off’ by individual actors, which according to Giddens constitute the set of reproduced practices of social life”. Lefebvre H. & Syntax S. (2003), *An Investigation of the Relation of Space to Society*, Mavridou Magda MSc Thesis Acknowledgements. , (September 2003).

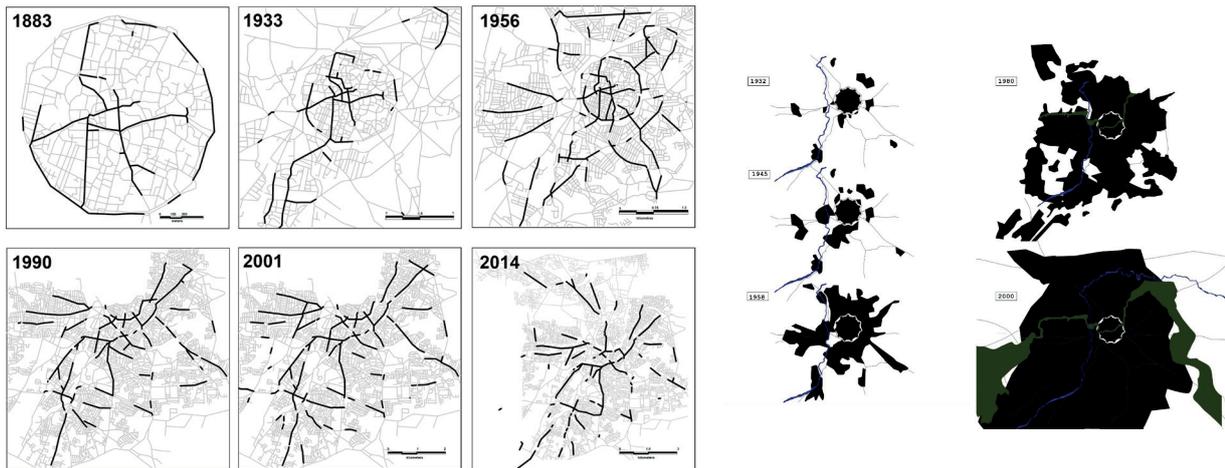


Figure 1. Street network of Nicosia according to time | Development of city since 20th century. Source: Department of Town Planning and Housing, Nicosia, Cyprus.

are interdependent¹³. He supports that the encounters of a place are produce, create, develop and reproduce the social structures and so on the social phenomena¹⁴.

1.3. Historical review

The cities can be “spatial orderings”¹⁵ that differ from other entities because of their density, heterogeneity and its physical structure with spatial dimensions such as built, planned, place and grown. For these reasons, the main problem to examine the space and society issues, is about how a number of micro scale interventions influence the everyday lives of peoples and how it can be related to macro-scale and abstract concepts that nowadays can be called as society¹⁶. This paper will be analyzed how these micro-scale interventions change the urban form in old city of Nicosia and how the open of “checkpoints” since 2003 and the redesign of Eleftheria’s square by a star Architect as Zaha Hadid was it, change the configuration of urban space, the uses and the everyday lives of people in the area.

The historic city center of Nicosia is currently characterized by a diversity of users, uses and activities. Historically, in 1567 the Venetians built defensive walls around the city thus

13. “[...]structure derives from these recursive social practices, it is an element inherent in the free action of individuals. In this sense structures are more ‘internal’ to individuals, as they exist as memory traces and as instantiated in social practices”. Lefebvre H. & Syntax S. (2003), An Investigation of the Relation of Space to Society, Mavridou Magda MSc Thesis Acknowledgements, (September 2003).

14. “The definition that Giddens gives for system is “reproduced relations between actors or collectivities, organized as regular social practices [...]structure is a ‘virtual order’ of transformative relations means that social systems, as reproduced social practices, do not have ‘structures’ but rather exhibit ‘structural properties’ and that structure exists, as time-space presence, only in its instantiations in such practices and as memory traces orienting the conduct of knowledgeable human agents”. Lefebvre H. & Syntax S. (2003), An Investigation of the Relation of Space to Society, Mavridou Magda MSc Thesis Acknowledgements, (September 2003).

15. Charalambous N., Understanding segregation: the relationship between urban form and social exclusion.

16. “the problem is that society is an abstract and macro entity while space is usually a notion we think of locally and so it is difficult to grasp how they may be related. The same problem appears in social theory as well, in order to explain how the everyday life, the social which seems spatial and local is related to the global and abstract society. So it seems likely that the problem of the society-space relation depends on finding a way to handle the way the small scale, everyday life which is spatial is related to the large scale, abstract entity called society”. Lefebvre H. & Syntax S. (2003), An Investigation of the Relation of Space to Society, Mavridou Magda MSc Thesis Acknowledgements, (September 2003).

creating the circular form of today's walled city and a boundary which today separates the old part of the city from new developments.¹⁷ This situation remains until 1878, while means an important evolution of Cypriot society as it introduced a number of fundamental changes, which had both ethnic and spatial consequences. The walled city started to be inhabited by two main ethnic groups, Greek Cypriot majority and Turkish Cypriot minority. At the same time, British administrations start to place their offices and their residences south and southwest of the walled city to separate themselves from the natives. By the 1930s Greek Cypriots starts to follow the example of British, so started to separate by this way in society the rich and poor people. After the post-World War II, the development starts to expand out of the walled city,¹⁸ and many of the wealthy and middle-class families moved to new areas of Nicosia, leaving from the poorer families. As a result, inside the walled city of Nicosia, used to live immigrants and other foreign nationals as unskilled manual workers, housemaids and students in local colleges. By take in consideration all the socio – political and economic facts, after the 1974 and the formation of buffer zone, which cuts the Nicosia in two parts, the walled city became an “urban ghetto”.¹⁹ This division line in Nicosia seems to be what K.Lynch (1960) calls “fragmentary space” who defines it as “in the abstract continuous but only visualized at discrete points”. As Lynch supported²⁰, edges may gain strength if they are visible from some distance and clearly join to bounded regions, or if not, may have “disruptive power”, which is very negative like as it was in Nicosia before 2003 when “checkpoints” starts to open and be accessible.²¹

By taking all these political and economic issues into consideration, the walled city has acquired a new importance as cultural centers or as parts of the city's heritage.²² In addition to that, the fact that Archiepiskopou Makariou Street which was one of the most visited and famous destination for Nicosia starts to end. All the shops and cafeterias start to close, and people starts to go away for this area. This brought out the fact that, the old houses in walled city have renovated for commercial reasons, restaurants, pubs, galleries and so on, trying in some way to return of culture and traditions in the old city. Since 2003, when checkpoints of buffer zone started to open, the movements and the accessibility of old city started to change and influence the urban form of the area.

Maloutas pointed out that a redesign of a square can change the movements of users and the uses of space as the space is always relative with the context of study and the social phenomena. Today, in a similar way the Eleftheria's square is redesigned and is almost ready the new design by Zaha Hadid (architectural competition 1st prize 2005) and the result was that all the movements changed and the perception of place by all the encounters and stakeholders²³ starts to be different than before.

“[...] lead someone to pose the question of the relation between space and those who create space on one hand, and, on the other hand, those who use space and can tell if it is successful, not in an aesthetic sense but mostly in its function, or not”. Lefebvre H. & Syntax S. (2003), *An Investigation of the Relation of Space to Society*, Mavridou Magda MSc Thesis Acknowledgements, (September 2003).

17. Charalambous N. & Hadjichristos C. (2010), *Overcoming Division in Nicosia's Public Space*, Nicosia, Cyprus.

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20. Lynch K. (1960), *The Image of the City*, The MIT Press, USA, 1960

21. Kypris K. (1994), *Nicosia. Spatial and Functional transformations*, Msc Advances Architectural Studies, Bartlett Graduate School of Architecture and Planning, University College of London, 23 September 1994

22. Charalambous N. & Hadjichristos C. (2010), *Overcoming Division in Nicosia's Public Space*, Nicosia, Cyprus

23. “[...] society and space as a main characteristic for elucidating the design process”. Lefebvre H. & Syntax S. (2003), *An Investigation of the Relation of Space to Society*, Mavridou Magda MSc Thesis Acknowledgements, (September 2003).

1.4. Urban Segregation

The conception of segregation as an urban problem can be dated back to the 1920s Chicago School of Sociology, where Robert Park (1926) conceived of three stages of immigrant settlement, starting with living in an inner-city 'ghetto', with upward mobility towards the ultimate goal of dispersal. This conception has been criticized for its oversimplification of the migration and settlement process (Vaughan L. & Arbaci S. (2007), *The Challenges of Understanding Urban Segregation*, pp. 1–10).

There is increasing socioeconomic diversity in urban space following the subdivision of former broader social and functional divisions between Centre/Periphery, East/West or North/South, which does not necessarily lead to increased segregation.

Maloutas T. and Fujita K. (2012), *Residential segregation in comparative perspective*, Published Ashgate (2012), *Residential segregation in comparative perspective*, Published Ashgate

A number of recent studies also challenge the focus on segregation in the city as purely residential phenomenon and shifts focus on the "public realm", as the street, the community center, work, park and other public spaces, which are more meaningful sites of ethnic segregation for people's everyday lives (Philips 2007)²⁴. Urban segregation is a multidimensional and complex issue with economic, social, political and spatial dimensions, but spatial segregation is historically an undeniable reality such as cities by their nature bring together disparate people and activities²⁵. As Vaughan and Arbacci also point out "although segregation is traditionally seen to be a residentially places problem of poverty and ethnic exclusion, it should also be broadened to encompass the broader ranges of inequalities in the urban realm.(2011). They continue by supporting that we have come understand the basic relation between space and society, that the configuration of the urban street network, which is the largest spatial pattern in the city, is in and of itself a key determinant of movement flows and hence copresence in space"²⁶.

2. Methodology

The case of Nicosia as a study area, has to explore the interesting morphology of the old city with the new, contemporary city out of the historic core. The sudden growth and expansion of the city after the Post War II, the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974 and the recent economic crisis of 2008 made a socio – spatial system for Nicosia with dramatic changes which are affected to urban form. These will be the main question that this paper will try to answer by a comparison of two public spaces in the walled city as it was before 2003 when the "checkpoints" open and how they influence the urban form and spatial dimensions after that. The square of Faneromeni's will be the first one and Eleftheria's square which is recent redesigned, will be the second, but also the two main roads that connect them, Ledras and Onasagorou street.

In order to understand the social and economical profile of the area, will be presented the latest census data from 2011 were summarized and processed in order to calculate the proportion of housing characteristics of the walled city (usual residence, locals/immigrants, ownership or rental), social factors as employment, age, social class.

24. Phillips D., Davis C. & Ratcliffe P. (2007), British Asian narratives of urban space.

25. Kypris K. (1994), Nicosia. Spatial and Functional transformations, Msc Advances Architectural Studies, Bartlett Graduate School of Architecture and Planning, University College of London, 23 September 1994.

26. Vaughan L. & Arbaci S. (2007), *The Challenges of Understanding Urban Segregation*, pp. 1-10

In spatial analysis of urban configuration using the techniques, methods and theoretical concepts of “space syntax” which is developed by Unit of Architectural Studies in the Bartlett Graduate School of Architecture and Planning, University College of London.^F As a second method will be a collection of data about pedestrian movements, vehicular movements and land uses. This will be real observable life about nowadays life of the city, and finally all the analysis will be compared with the paper of “Overcoming Division in Nicosia’s Public Space” by N. Charalambous & C. Hajchristos which is written in 2010 in a similar context, in order to find the ways that urban form and spatial relations change according to physical and mental space, and can connect with other.

3. Analysis/Results

In figure 2, can see the distribution of minorities which became at 80% of immigrants who are living in the old city (figure 2-left), and with a combination of a distribution of social profiles, these people most of them are lower or lower-middle class (figure 2-right). By taking these data into consideration, the area of walled city started to concentrate a large number of immigrants, unemployment and unskilled people, while at the same time the rest of the city was growing up.

The commercial activities in old city were growing up, while at the same time most of the citizens of area was immigrants, Greek-Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot, the area between the triangle of Eleftheria’s square – Ledras Street – Faneromeni’s Square – Onasagorou Street, started to growing up rapidly and collecting different ethnicities and cultures. In 2003, when checkpoints open in the area, the movements have changed greatly (figure 3).

In addition to these, in table 1, they are collected data from 2011 for the study area Eleftheria’s square – Ledras Street – Faneromeni’s Square – Onasagorou Street which will be compared with data for the whole city of Nicosia, because these aspects always follow the social and economic issues of the city. The percentage about Non-EU citizens who living in study area was

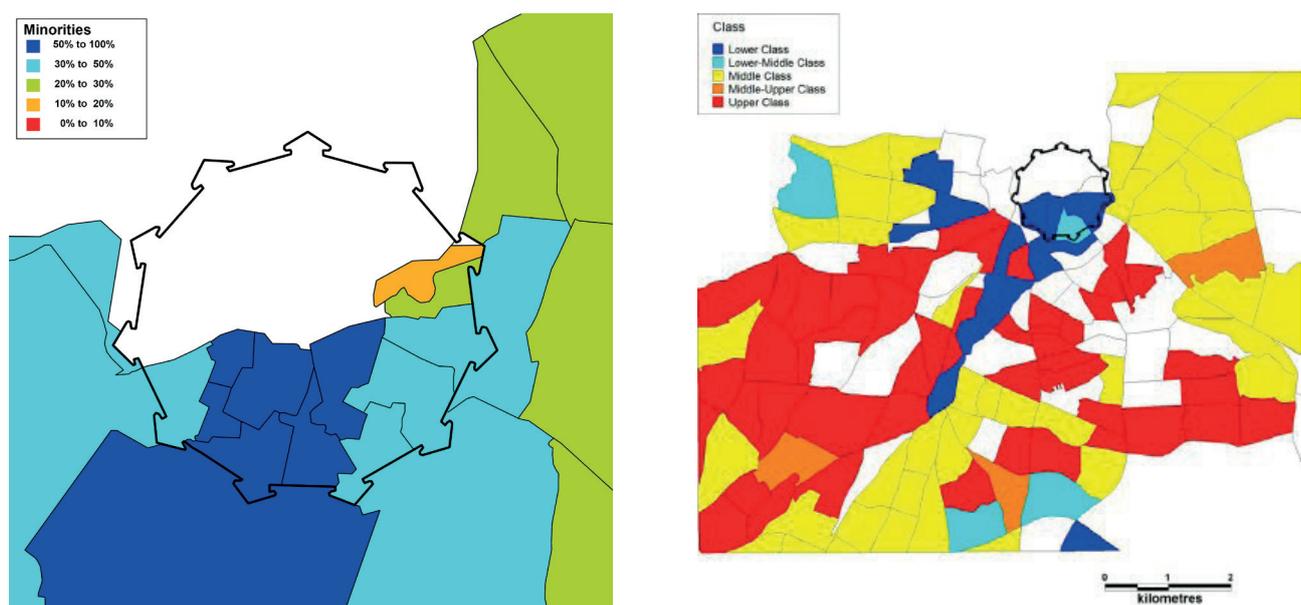


Figure 2. Distribution of minorities groups (left) and concentration of social classes by postcode, 2011. Source: Statistical Service (2012).

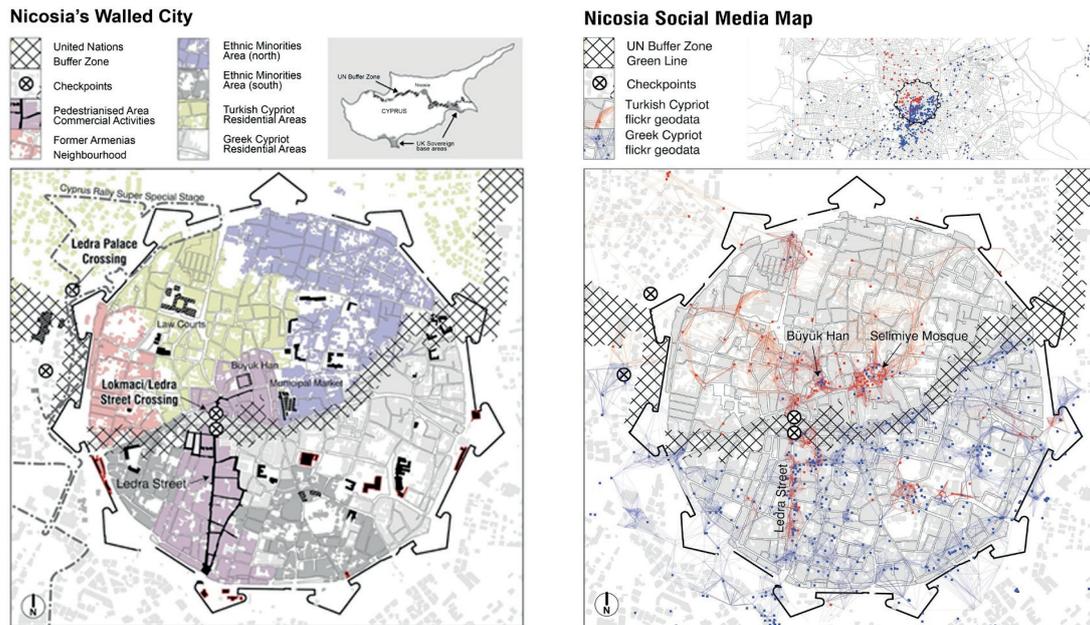


Figure 3. Distribution of inhabitants of old walled city of Nicosia after the checkpoints opened and (right) shows a social media activity in Nicosia, while the walled city is the most active area overall with Ledra street in the south and Buyuk Han & Selimiye in the North having a mixed crowd. Data up to the 20th of October 2015 sourced from Flickr, Panoramio and Foursquare. Source: Andreas Papallas, (2016), "Terra Nullius", Design Thesis in partial completion of the requirements for an MPhil in Architecture and Urban Design 2016, University of Cambridge.

much higher than the corresponding percentage of the city. The higher percentage of Nicosia's citizens are locals. Continually, the factors of age and work there are not so much differences. Despite of these, the social profile of people who lived in Nicosia is the upper and middle-upper class, in the old town where the highest percentage is the lower class of people, which means the poorest. In 2003, when checkpoints opened, things start to change in a better way. The roads of Ledras Street and Kostaki Pantelidi Street (the road that touch the Eleftheria's square), started to be again of the main axes of the city, which are integrated the old city to the whole.

Continually, will presented a series of axial maps (figure 4) shows the spatial accessibility according to social and political issues such as formation of buffer zone, the fact when Eleftheria's square closed etc. These are show clearly which parts where "integrated" in the whole city and in which degree of spatial accessibility. It is obvious that, before the creation of buffer zone the old city center was totally connected with the whole city, (Figure 4) while after the formation of buffer zone the old city started to disconnect from the whole city, and the area become a fragmented space. This fragmentation brought the high percentages of immigrants, unemployment and poor people in the city center. The stereotypes and taboos of Cypriot society began to assimilate into the whole. As a result, to these, the old city center became one of the most underestimated areas, by making this area into an "urban ghetto".

Nowadays, the redesign of Eleftheria's square raise up all the commercial and recreational activities in the old center, the old town integrated locally in the everyday life of citizens of Nicosia. Eleftheria's square, through a unique design by star architect, Zaha Hadid in 2005, the public space become an important landmark for the city, marking by a contemporary design, the entrance to old walled city, the in between space of old and new city. If we think

Table 1. Social characteristics of study area, 2011.
Source: Statal Service (2012)

Citizenship				
	Total Population	Cypriots	EU	Non-EU
Ledras-Onasagorou Street	382	11%	7%	82%
Nicosia	212,512	79%	12%	9%
Age				
	Total	0-19yrs	20-64yrs	65+ yrs
Ledras-Onasagorou Street	382	18%	62%	20%
Nicosia	214,268	20%	66%	14%
Employment				
	Total	Employed	Unemployed	
Ledras-Onasagorou Street	237	85%	15%	
Nicosia	111,866	91%	9%	
Social class				
	Total	High class	Middle Class	Lower class
Ledras-Onasagorou Street	237	12%	22%	66%
Nicosia	102,494	30%	52%	18%

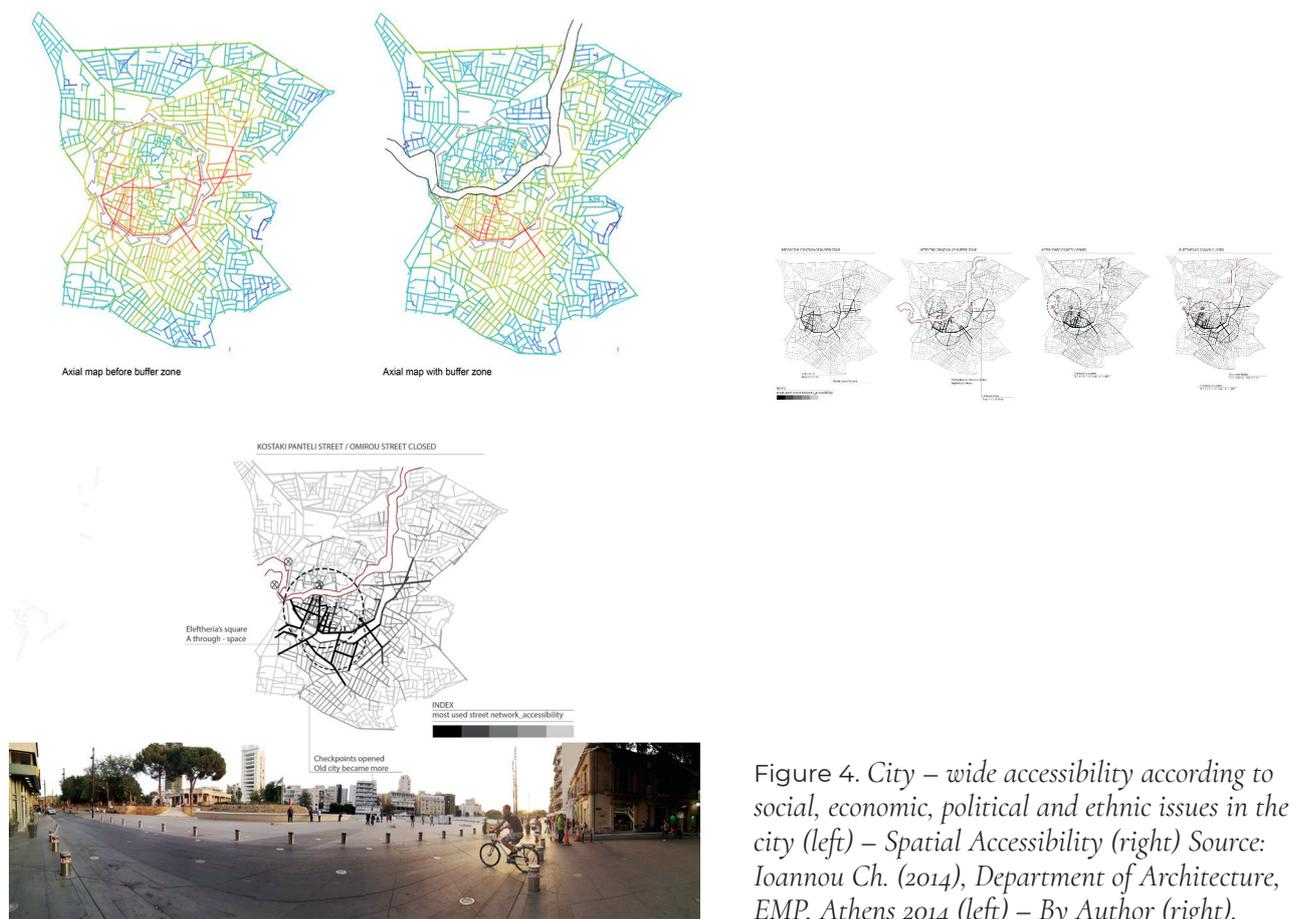


Figure 4. City – wide accessibility according to social, economic, political and ethnic issues in the city (left) – Spatial Accessibility (right) Source: Ioannou Ch. (2014), Department of Architecture, EMP, Athens 2014 (left) – By Author (right).

about this public space, ten years before²⁷, we realized that it was also a “through space” square, but it was attracted only people middle-age, who most of them were immigrants²⁸. Today, the old town become a destination of leisure not only for immigrants but also for locals, especially on weekends while all the movements are much more than every day. It is clear that, the “urban ghetto” which created on 1974 by the formation of buffer zone, nowadays started to weakened. (Figure 5).

Eleftheria’s square was always a space with visual accessibility and connectivity because physical position, as it is adjacent to main axes of city of Nicosia. Today, after the redesign of the public space, the area started to function again as a “through space”, by concentrating multiply ethnicities, cultures and people from different political, economical and social background. The triangle between Ledras and Onasagorou Street which constitutes a journey as a public space at all, before ten years the immigrants were much more than locals, and the area was “undeveloped”. Faneromeni’s square which are connect the two pedestrian roads (Ledras & Onasagorou), until recent time was a dead – end destination. The fact that the buffer zone is too closed to the square creates the feeling of fear and crime. Moreover, the physical position of Faneromeni’s square makes it again isolated from the whole city in a comparison with the physical position of Eleftheria’s square. However, today the existence of buffer zone stops to be so important, such as Faneromeni’s area is full of life, still when some activities disable on night, such as the church, school etc., some other cafeterias, restaurants etc. are enable.

4. Conclusions

A conclusion that can be extracted from the paper is that the functional pattern of the town has followed the spatial transformations in all phases of the contemporary history of Nicosia²⁹. The pattern of commercial activities was predicted not from the whole Nicosia but from the old city itself. The focus of commercial activities inside the historic center seems to work as an autonomous and independent system in the whole.

To sum up, is very important to realize that the core of Nicosia became the focus of commercial and business activities for last years. The correlations of pedestrian movement with spatial parameters of the contemporary town indicated relation to the global and somehow to the local. The correlations of vehicular and total movement indicated relation to local parameters. It seems that the new core area today is working in both levels, globally and locally.

In addition to this, the impose of borders in the heart of the old city was an accelerator to this process. Both, the new grid and the division are responsible for the running down process of the old city and especially the north part. It is a double problem of which the bigger part is the division. The new grid around the historic structure of Nicosia absorbed the global integration of the old. This is a general problem in many cities where less deformed grids can “domain” over more deformed grids. The case of Nicosia shows that historic structures are very “sensitive” to contemporary structures. The old part reduces the ability to be integrated and shallow from all the other new parts of the town, a pure spatial problem.

Finally, it is a fact that small interventions in the old city manage to change the function and the urban form for the whole Nicosia. The phenomenon of urban segregation was sen-

27. Charalambous N. & Hadjichristos C. (2010), *Overcoming Division in Nicosia’s Public Space*, Nicosia, Cyprus.

28. Charalambous N. & Hadjichristos C. (2010), *Overcoming Division in Nicosia’s Public Space*, Nicosia, Cyprus.

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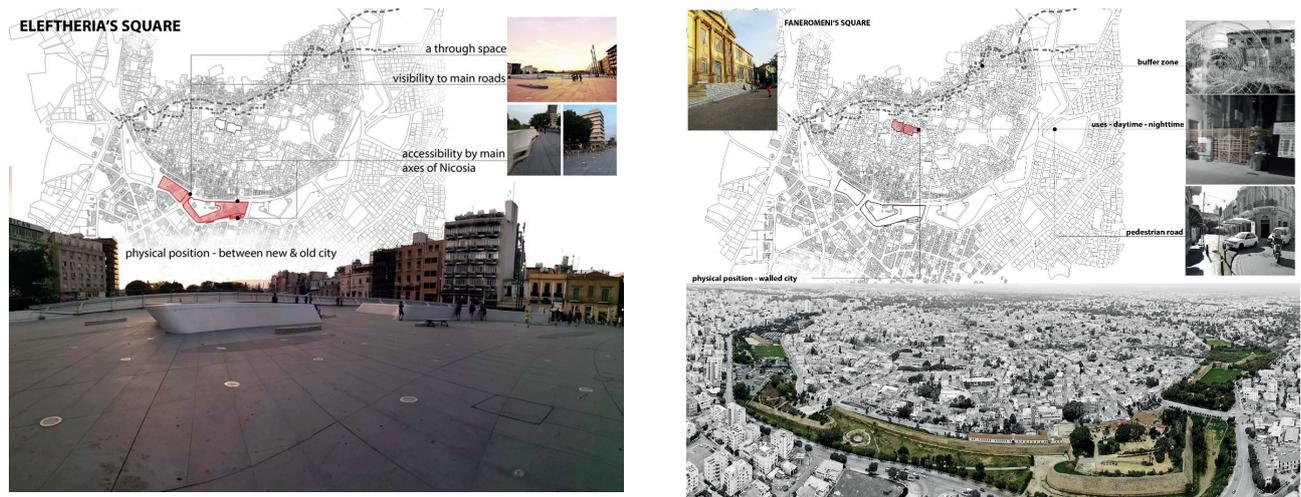


Figure 5. *Eleftheria's square (left) – Faneromeni's square (right)*. Source: By author.

sible in old town in some specific neighborhoods but now the heterogeneity, the mixed uses and the tolerance and acceptance of the differentiation become a part of the whole old public city's spaces.

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