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of Cyprus**

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHITECTURE

**LIMASSOL AS A SOCIAL ASSEMBLAGE: A
DIACHRONIC ANALYSIS OF ITS URBAN FORM**

ILARIA GEDDES DA FILICAIA

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ILARIA GEDDES DA FILICAIA

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Doctoral Candidate: Ilaria Geddes da Filicaia

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Examination Committee:

Research Supervisor: _____

(Name, position and signature)

Committee Member: _____

(Name, position and signature)

Committee Member: _____

(Name, position and signature)

Committee Member: _____

(Name, position and signature)

Committee Member: _____

(Name, position and signature)

DECLARATION OF DOCTORAL CANDIDATE

The present doctoral dissertation was submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Cyprus. It is a product of original work of my own, unless otherwise mentioned through references, notes, or any other statements.

.....[Full Name of Doctoral Candidate]

.....[Signature]

Abstract (in Greek)

Η παρούσα διατριβή στοχεύει στην ενίσχυση της γνώσης της θεωρίας της αστικής ανάπτυξης, φιλτράροντας τους σύγχρονους τρόπους ανάλυσης της αστικής μορφής διαχρονικά, μέσω μιας εμπειρικής ανάλυσης των τρόπων εξέλιξης της αστικής μορφής της Λεμεσού από το 1883 μέχρι σήμερα. Μέσω μιας βιβλιογραφικής ανασκόπησης τρεχουσών, βασικών ζητημάτων σε σχέση με την αντίληψη για τον χαρακτήρα των πόλεων, καθορίζεται ένα θεωρητικό πλαίσιο που, σε μεγάλο βαθμό, βασίζεται στην εννοιολογική κατανόηση των πόλεων από τον Manuel DeLanda ως κοινωνικές συναρμολογήσεις. Ένα τέτοιο πλαίσιο συνεπάγεται μια σειρά αναλυτικών απαιτήσεων, οι οποίες συνδυάζονται με διάφορα μεθοδολογικά εργαλεία που χρησιμοποιούνται συνήθως από διάφορες αστικές μορφολογικές ή αστικές κοινωνιολογικές προσεγγίσεις. Με βάση τις απαιτήσεις του θεωρητικού πλαισίου, επιλέγονται και συνδυάζονται διάφορα μεθοδολογικά εργαλεία. Η προσέγγιση αυτή αποσκοπεί στην καθιέρωση ενός αποτελεσματικού τρόπου προσδιορισμού των βασικών διεργασιών που οδήγησαν στην εμφάνιση και τον μετασχηματισμό της Λεμεσού.

Μεθοδολογικά, ο στόχος είναι να αναπτυχθεί μια διεπιστημονική προσέγγιση, η οποία θα περιλαμβάνει αναλυτικά στοιχεία τόσο από τις κοινωνικές όσο και από τις χωρικές επιστήμες, εστιάζοντας στις σχέσεις μεταξύ των φυσικών και των κοινωνικών πτύχων της πόλης. Η συγκεκριμένη μελέτη προτείνει μια ευρεία μεθοδολογία ανάλυσης, η οποία περιλαμβάνει διάφορα αναλυτικά εργαλεία που μπορούν να χρησιμοποιηθούν μεμονωμένα για την αξιολόγηση σημερινών ή παλαιότερων αστικών μορφών, καθώς και για προτεινόμενα σχέδια αναδιαμόρφωσης. Σκοπός της είναι η διαμόρφωση μιας μεθόδου που να ενσωματώνει το ιστορικό πλαίσιο ως θεμελιώδες στοιχείο για την ανάπτυξη και την αναδιαμόρφωση των πόλεων, να έχει τη δυνατότητα να παρέχει την γνώση για την κατανόηση των διαφόρων κλιμάκων και παραγόντων που εμπλέκονται στην αναδιαμόρφωση τους καθώς και την αλληλεξάρτηση μεταξύ των εν λόγω παραγόντων.

Η έρευνα επικεντρώνεται στη μελέτη της ανάπτυξης του οδικού δικτύου της Λεμεσού, της δομημένης μορφής και των κοινωνικών χαρακτηριστικών της, μέσω της ανάλυσης ιστορικών και σύγχρονων χαρτών, κοινωνικών δεδομένων και αρχείων απογραφής, και πιο συγκεκριμένα τη χωρική κατανομή κοινωνικών μεταβλητών όπως η υπηκοότητα, η κοινωνική τάξη και η επαγγελματική κατάσταση.

Η ανάλυση επικεντρώνεται στα φυσικά στοιχεία της πόλης και τις ιδιότητές τους

καθώς και στα βασικά κοινωνικά χαρακτηριστικά και τη χωρική τους κατανομή. Η επαγωγική εξέταση των κοινωνικών δεδομένων από τη χωρική σκοπιά και η ενσωμάτωση διαφορετικών προσεγγίσεων από τις κοινωνικές επιστήμες και από την αστική μορφολογία επιτρέπουν την αναγνώριση των προτύπων και παρέχουν νέες οπτικές σε σχέση με τις αλληλεπιδράσεις μεταξύ των φυσικών και ανθρώπινων στοιχείων που οδηγούν στην ανάπτυξη και αναδιαμόρφωση της Λεμεσού.

Οι βασικοί μηχανισμοί που λειτουργούν στην εμφάνιση της Λεμεσού και στον σχηματισμό των σύγχρονων χαρακτηριστικών της Λεμεσού, αναγνωρίζονται.

Παρόλο που τα τελικά ευρήματα είναι συναφή και συγκεκριμένα για την περιπτωσιολογική μελέτη που παρουσιάζεται σε αυτή τη διατριβή, εντούτοις σε σύγκριση με ευρήματα υφιστάμενων μελετών άλλων πόλεων διαπιστώνεται ότι ορισμένα είναι πιο γενικευμένα. Η γενίκευση των αποτελεσμάτων - σε σχέση με τις βασικές διαδικασίες που αναδεικνύουν τα κοινά αλλά και τα συγκεκριμένα αστικά χαρακτηριστικά των πόλεων - μπορεί να αξιολογηθεί περαιτέρω στο μέλλον με τη χρήση της προτεινόμενης μεθοδολογίας.

Abstract (in English)

This thesis aims to enhance the knowledge of urban development theory by refining current ways of analysing the urban form diachronically through an empirical analysis of how the urban form of Limassol evolved between 1883 and today. Through a review of key issues surrounding our understanding of the nature of cities, a theoretical framework largely based on Manuel DeLanda's conceptualisation of cities as social assemblages is set. Such a framework implies a series of analytical requirements, which are matched by various methodological tools commonly used by different urban morphological or urban sociological approaches. The benefits of each of these are also reviewed and, based on the requirements of the theoretical framework a variety of tools are selected and combined. This approach aims to establish an effective way of identifying the key processes that led to the emergence and transformation of Limassol.

Methodologically, the aim is to develop a multidisciplinary approach, which encompasses analytical elements from the social sciences along with those from urban studies; the focus being on the linkages between the physical and social spheres of the city. A key output of this study is a broad methodology for analysis, comprising different analytical tools which can be used individually for assessment of current or past urban forms, as well as proposed plans for redevelopments. It aims at devising a method which embeds the historical context as a core element to cities' growth and change, has the capability of delivering an understanding of different scales and actors involved in the transformation of cities and of the interrelationship between different components.

The research focuses on the development of Limassol's street network, built form and social characteristics by analysing historical and contemporary maps, social data and census records, in particular, the spatial distribution of social variables such as citizenship, social class and occupational status. The analysis is specifically concerned with key physical elements of the city and their properties, and key social characteristics and their spatial distribution. The inductive examination of social data from a spatial perspective, and the integration of different approaches from the social sciences and from urban morphology, enable the recognition of patterns and provide new insights into the interactions between the physical and human elements which lead to the growth and transformation of Limassol. The key mechanisms operating in the emergence of Limassol and the formation of its contemporary characteristics are identified. While the findings are contextual to the case study presented in this thesis, some are found to be generalisable through comparison with existing evidence from previous studies of other cities. It is also expected that generalisation – with regards to the key processes that lead cities to display their common

as well as their specific urban characteristics – can be further assessed in the future through the replication of the methodology proposed here.

ILARIA GEDDES DA FILICAIA

Note to the reader

For the purposes of clarity and conciseness all key terminology used in this thesis is listed and defined in Appendix 1. The first use of each term is highlighted in italics. Details of space syntax terminology and measures are given in Appendix 2.

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The invaluable support, contributions, advice and guidance to start, work through and complete this thesis, while enjoying the experience of undertaking a PhD, has come from far and wide. There are truly so many persons which have helped, both personally and professionally, that I cannot but fail to acknowledge them all here, but I do hold them all in my memory with the greatest appreciation.

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Dedication

The acknowledgement of an inspiration is a dedication. To all those who, before us and to the best of their abilities, strived for knowledge development and social progress; may it be through art or science, or the breakdown of barriers between them.

To Julienne Hanson, who told me that it really wasn't important.

Zaira © Karina Puente Frantzen

"I could tell you of how many steps the stairwell streets are built, of the angle of the arches of the porticoes, of what zinc laminates the roofs are covered; but I already know that it would be like telling you nothing. The city is not made of this, but of the relations of the measures of its space and of the events of its past... A description of Zaira as it is today should contain all of Zaira's past."

(Italo Calvino, *Le Città Invisibili*, 1972)

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1. Introduction: The Problem of the City

1.1 Background to the Problem

Over the centuries cities have fascinated travellers, historians and geographers along with architects and urban scholars; they have also been the subject of innumerable works by artists, writers, musicians and filmographers – may they be real or imaginary cities. They sometimes come to symbolise a concept and end up being the focus of romanticism and exoticism; they often ignite strong feelings of belonging as well as rivalry between them. However, while as citizens, residents or visitors we might love them or hate them, as scholars, once we try to explain them, we are still challenged by their complexity. The array of elements that make up a city, the relations between them, and the causal pathways that give a city the identity or characteristics, with which its citizens and visitors identify it, remain difficult to describe, map and analyse coherently.

One problem is that, despite a century of research, the conceptualisations of cities that have been put forward sometimes lack insight into the complexity of social networks. Sometimes they are driven by *normative* attempts to control these ever-growing and increasingly complex entities. Often, they are influenced by exciting developments in scientific and philosophical fields which may be more or less related to urban studies. One of the key reasons why these conceptualisations are important, deserve attention and improvement is that they are key to knowledge advancement in the field of urban development theory. Another reason is that they set the ground of a scientifically informed practice of urban planning (Bettencourt, 2013a).

This problem is intensified in contemporary cities which may be characterised by new forms of closure and exclusion (Wacquant, 2008), increasing social, economic, political and spatial fragmentation. In particular, the modern city has seen a shift in its physical form and has moved from an urban fabric which was dense and continuous to one that is more diffused, discontinuous, open and atomised (Levy, 1999). Migration flows also have consequences for city life through increasing diversity and changing supply and demand of infrastructure and resources. This socio-economic diversification of cities may also emphasise, intensify or challenge key spatial elements of the urban fabric as well as patterns of coexistence between urban communities (Maloutas & Souliotis, 2015). Southern European cities, and in particular coastal and port cities, are currently more exposed to such rapid physical and social changes and the experience of migratory influxes and ephemeral settlement by transitory groups. Port cities of the Mediterranean are not new to such challenges as they have acted as the focus of cultural and economic exchange,

as well as movement of people between different countries and continents for centuries (Kolluoğlu & Toksöz, 2009a). Furthermore, many coastal and port cities in this area, as well as in Europe more widely, have recently undergone redevelopment of their waterfront and port area which had previously seen decay following the demise or relocation of industrial activities – for example the redevelopment of port areas and warehouses as well as the Ladadika quarter in Thessaloniki or modern development projects in the former port areas of the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus in Istanbul. Many of these types of regeneration projects around port areas and along waterfronts are currently under way, while others are still in the proposal and planning stages. Many waterfront areas have also been subject to a process of gentrification and tourist-oriented development, increasing their market value, and it is certain that many more similar projects will continue in the near future.

This is why the problem is important, because it is vital to our ability to develop tools and skills to ensure a successful, sustainable and equitable future for our urban environment. Our preference for a specific environment or our tendency to appreciate certain descriptions of our cities should not determine our capacity to analyse and understand how the urban environment is put together and how it works. However, it remains that common features, invariants, processes and regularities are persistently found in cities and must therefore be understood and exploited in our attempt to sustain better living environments. A renewed understanding and better re-conceptualisations of the nature of cities are therefore key in developing and advancing appropriate tools and methods of analysis that take into consideration the multiplicity of the physical and social aspects of a city, as well as the elements and actors that play a role in their transformation. Such tools are needed to ensure that contemporary cities are equipped with the ability to understand the possible impacts of changes and developments, and to recover and adapt to rapid and simultaneous changes (Marcus, 2012).

When addressing this problem, first and foremost, we must make a distinction between the *normative impulse* as discussed by Kropf (2016) and what I will term the *normative drive*. The former embeds a negative connotation and is defined by Kropf as “an expression of the fundamentally political nature of creating and changing the built environment and is rooted in our territoriality”. The normative impulse is essentially the human instinct to apply our individual perceptions and preferences of places to our conceptualisations of cities and to our interpretations of what is good or bad in a city. As argued by Kropf, it is necessary to control the normative impulse in order to impartially analyse and fully understand why certain places are successful or not in meeting the demands posed on them by particular circumstances. The latter, on the contrary, is the positive attempt taken by urban scholarship to develop the knowledge and tools necessary to improve our living

environments. It is, as the term implies, the drive that initiates – and should continue to do so – any study to improve and refine our ability to positively intervene in the complex process of urban growth. This distinction is important because it potentially helps us identify the fallacies in certain conceptions of cities and related analyses and interventions. It is also important because, even when successful structures and patterns of cities are identified as outcomes of processes which do not necessarily involve normative actions by planners or urban designers, their characteristics and the modes through which they came into being can be understood and embedded into an informed framework of urban development.

Another key problem in our ability to analyse and understand the complexity of the urban form is the long-standing isolation of the analytical approaches which were developed in different countries and research environments. Such approaches are characterised by specific national trends and have seen the emergence of separate schools of thought. There are essentially four main approaches to the study of the urban form: the *configurational* approach, the *historical geographical* approach, the *process-typological* approach, and the *spatial analytical* approach. Each of these tends to be associated with a main research centre or with individual researchers, and all have traditionally been applied in isolation. However, in recent years a number of studies, initiatives and events, (Kropf, 2009; Oliveira, Pinho, Batista, Patatas, & Monteiro, 2014; Zhang, 2015) have explored bridges between the different approaches in order to assess the viability of a common framework and of a multidisciplinary analytical approach. While a new generation of urban thinkers and analysts is emerging, and starting to produce the needed comparative work on the different schools of thought, there are still limited analyses and elaborations of how the approaches are interlinked and how they can be brought together within a comprehensive framework. Furthermore, the advancement of such comparative and multidisciplinary work is fraught with the difficulty of analysing and understanding urban growth and the human intervention in such growth that has occurred throughout centuries of urbanisations. Attempts to embed the temporal process in theorisations and methodologies for the study of cities' transformations requires an understanding of the structuration of space in time. As we will see such attempts are discussed in theoretical debates and do exist in empirical studies, but remain limited and are still not fully developed and exploited.

1.2 What is a City?

In very general terms it can be said that cities are complex entities, which are constantly changing in terms of their built form, their social and demographic make-up, their street network and public spaces as well as the way in which they are used and lived by their

population. Various conceptualisations and models of the city have been put forward by scholars. Some tend to be descriptive, identifying different types of cities at different times in history and the concept beyond their planning. Others are more interpretive, trying to identify what a city is and how it functions, while others still tend to be normative models, suggesting what a city should be and what functions it should have.

The debate about the nature of cities and their conceptualisations has historically revolved around the dichotomy of self-evolving versus man-made. The contrast between the two is most often exemplified by their descriptions as either organisms or machines, although various other representations have been put forward. At times, these are variations on the same dichotomy: the city as an artefact or an object is still a concept of a man-made entity, though with slightly different connotations than a machine. In other cases, attempts were made to combine the two antithetical ideas on the basis that the urban form is partly man-made and partly self-evolved, and hence the built environment is “quasi-natural” (Kropf, 2013, p. 145).

Perhaps the most quoted, and most open-ended, conceptualisation of the city is Jane Jacobs’ definition of cities as “problems in organised complexity” (Jacobs, 1961, p. 564). While this definition was very much influenced by evolutionary theory and developments in the understanding of complexity in the life sciences, Jacobs persisted in the idea that no single approach can be applied to the analysis of all cities. Her statement – though not simplistic – could be seen as a parallel between cities and biological organisms, and she does in fact state that the variables of the city are “interrelated into an organic whole” (Jacobs, 1961, p. 565). Nevertheless, it has not only formed the basis of renewed interest in what evolutionary theory can bring to contemporary urban thinking, but is also seen as a key milestone in the foundation and development of the application of *complexity science* to the study of the urban form (Batty, 2013; Batty & Marshall, 2009; Bettencourt, 2013a).

Although grounded in decades of research, the most recent development in urban theory is the conceptualisation of cities as complex systems. Other than Jacobs’ initial hint at complexity, the key theoretical attempt at moving forward from the dichotomy of organic versus machines and encompass more widely the variety of elements that affect the successful functioning of cities was set by Kevin Lynch. In his book *Good City Form* he states that “cities are not organisms, any more than they are machines” (Lynch, 1984, p. 95) and rather than attempting a new metaphor, he goes on to set five basic dimensions and two *meta-criteria* against which all cities can be measured. Regardless of the relative value of the criteria he chose, in this way Lynch set the basis for an ‘impartial’, analytical and quantitative approach to understanding urban form.

Complex systems theory in itself is a broad ranging approach to research that focuses on the interconnections between a system's component parts. In order to apply such an approach to the study of cities, these necessarily have to be conceptualised as systems. However, within *complexity science* as applied to the urban analysis, there remains the question of exactly what type of system cities are. There is perhaps a general agreement that cities can be viewed as networks, however, the relative importance given to social interaction or physical structure can change significantly from one researcher to another. Complexity science has produced a high volume of quantitative evidence as to the modes of links, relations and exchanges within cities, as well as to the modes of growth and change that can occur within urban environments. One of the key drivers to the volume of findings and measurability of this approach, is its normative ambition to resolve problems (Batty, 2013). At the same time, as will be discussed further in section 2, it is a framework that remains abstract in its analytical requirements.

1.2.1 The Ontological Status of Cities

Asking what a city is presupposes that the 'city' is an existent entity. The philosophical question of whether such a thing as a city does exist and can be considered an individual, self-contained whole entity does need to be addressed, even if briefly, in the present discourse. If the pure philosophical question may seem beyond the concern of urban theory and the normative needs which drive analytical approaches to the city, it does have implications for the way cities are conceptualised. It also influences the way we approach how cities can be analysed – may this be as wholes or as collections of separate elements, as individual entities or as elements of a larger network of social and physical relations. The ontological question of cities bears on how we identify cities as being such, how we categorise them and how we then set off to identify their elements and characteristics, as well as their interior and exterior relations. This ontological concern is reflected in recent and varied debates in the field of urban studies. These range from relatively mundane comments about the economic and social value of being a city (Bevan, 2014), interpretations of place in relation to certain urban morphological approaches (Seamon, 2015), and broad ranging debates in the field of architectural theory about the definitions and meanings of the variety of terms that identify urban settlements (McGrath & Grahame, 2012).

While certain countries, such as the UK, have had official criteria about what constitutes a city for over a century, most countries do not. Issues of size, scale, density, diversity of land uses, specialisation of businesses and services, socio-economic sophistication, distinct political and physical identity, as well as many other factors have all played a role in the

debate on the ontological status of cities. Again, the variety of elements involved highlights complexity and the challenges posed to the identification of key themes that should be embedded into an analytical approach of *urban morphology*.

It is proposed here that the key ontological issues that need to be considered in relation to cities and in order to set an analytical framework for city development are essentially four: 1) whether the term refers to an existent entity or to a collection of other entities; 2) into what categories should these entities or collections of entities be sorted; 3) how the entities are related to others, and 4) what constitutes the identity of these entities.

Firstly, the basic philosophical issue of whether the term 'city' refers to a whole entity or whether it refers to a collection of entities is expressed in urban studies in the dichotomy of whether cities are analysed as wholes or as systems where the elements and their linkages are measured. What elements constitute the city, in particular whether these elements are human or material or both, and the weight which should be given to either sphere is widely discussed in the literature and must be established as part of an analytical framework. The nature of the relationality of cities, whether the relationality is *analytic* or *synergistic* is also something that drives the existing analytical approaches and which must be established in order to set a methodology for analysis.

Secondly, the issue of categories bears on the conceptual frameworks under which we study cities: whether these are organisms or machines – describing how cities function; whether they are pre-industrial and post-industrial – describing their historical development; or whether they are *eotechnic*, *paleotechnic*, *neotechnic* or *biotechnic* – describing how technological evolution leads the transformation of cities. Moreover, this issue is also intensified by the continued rapid urban growth and change of contemporary cities and begs the question of whether new and further categories are needed in order to correctly and fairly represent the variety of our urban environments as proposed by McGrath and Shane (2012).

Thirdly, how entities are related to others influences how we select what elements and what linkages between elements within cities need to be studied and measured. It also has an impact on the extent to which we must consider factors external to the city itself in its development and hence the issue of scales for analysis: do global issues have a direct impact in the emergence and transformation of cities? Do power relations within and between cities ultimately determine the fate of cities' growth and their physical form? *Critical urban theory* and the application of *world-system theory* to the study of cities have brought new and poignant perspectives into how political and economic changes far and wide might have had profound impact onto the rise and demise of cities (Brenner, 2009; Tabak, 2009).

Finally, the key question of identity relates not just to the discourse of what makes a city a city, but also to the identification of its key properties and hence the characteristics which enable us to identify a wide range of urban settlements that are highly diverse in shape, form, size, density and so on. It also enables us to describe this diversity and analyse it, while attempting to understand what elements and processes – if any – determine a city's identity and, in turn, how the city might determine the properties and identity of its elements.

In conclusion, there are many fundamental ontological questions which are expressed in the scholarship on cities, some examples being: is the city a whole entity? Are there different categories of cities? Does it have generic properties and/or specific differences? How is it related to other entities? What constitutes its identity? When does a city change? And so on. Essential ontological concepts, in particular the dichotomies of *universals* and *particulars*, and of *determinism* and *indeterminism* play a key role in setting a theoretical and analytical framework to address the problem of the city. The universals of urban theories are those elements and processes – the invariants – which are identifiable across all cities, the *morphogenetic* rules which are said to give cities their universal characteristics. The particulars, on the other hand, are those processes and features which are only identifiable and visible in one or a number of cities and which give cities their 'peculiar' individual nature. One aspect of the deterministic debate in urban studies focuses on whether there are and what are the causal pathways that lead to specific features and forms of the cities. The other aspect debates whether and how the elements that constitute a city have an impact on the city as a whole and, in turn, whether the city as a whole has an impact on its constituting elements, in particular its population – a key ontological requirement for an entity to be defined as a 'whole'.

1.2.2 The Social and The Physical

Cities are invariably a collection of material entities – their buildings linked by streets and roads with their urban infrastructure and furnishings – but they are also a system of human activity and interaction. Whether the two are separate dimensions where the material and the spatial, and their organisation, act as a background and a context to human relations, or whether the two are inextricably linked and influence each other is still an open question in the scholarship on cities.

The fact that the organisation of space is a reflection of social relations, a cultural and economic product, is neither new nor a particularly controversial idea which spans the work of social theorists from diverse backgrounds and approaches, such as Simmel (2004), Lefebvre (1991) and Logan and Molotch (2007). What remains controversial and is still

highly debated is whether the organisation of space and the physical form of the city has an impact on society – and, if so, the degree of such impact – either through the production of social behaviours, and the reinforcement or diminishment of social differences and divisions.

The study of the relationship between space and social phenomena arguably started with Charles Booth's analysis of the distribution of different social classes in London (Booth, 1897). Many of the issues identified by Booth in physical elements of the city as separating areas, marking territories and segregating populations, is at the core of the birth of urban sociology developed by the Chicago School in the 1920s and 1930s. The latter produced a major body of works specialising in the analysis of the distribution of various social characteristics within cities. Although the Chicago School was in a sense pioneering as it viewed urban contexts as spatial localities structured in time by habitual social practices, its approaches to the mapping and spatial analysis of social factors fell somewhat out of favour in the latter part of the 20th century due to their unwitting tendency to stereotype social groups. However, such approaches remain the foundation of socio-spatial theorisations of the city and underpin serious attempts at understanding the role of the urban environment in producing and reproducing social differences (Tonkiss, 2005).

When analysing the historical evolution of city forms, urban theorists have tended to focus on physical aspects and actors with certain leverage on planning decisions, while sociologists have highlighted the impact of group formations on the city and the significance of everyday use and routine social activities in shaping the identity of a city. The focus of urban scholars on physical aspects is particularly evident in the various approaches of urban morphology, which persist in setting the physical form (street, buildings, plots, areas, lines, etc.) as the key feature for analysis. Even when the development of a complex systems theory approach has shifted the focus towards the interrelations of the physical and social aspects, the primary concern has remained with the material aspects, with the social 'added on' as somewhat of an afterthought. This is perhaps exemplified in the statement "that our concern is still with the physical structure of the cities in terms of their geometry and morphology... the new paradigm emphasizing interactions still requires us to express our understanding and designs in physical terms, often as networks, but networks built on strong and significant socio-economic relationships" (Batty, 2013, p. 19).

While all the approaches have invariably included, to different extents, socio-economic aspects in their frameworks, analyses and interpretations, the question remains as to whether this is enough to deliver positive and fruitful outputs to embed into a comprehensive theory of the city. A much needed review of the common aspects of the

various analytical approaches of urban morphology (Kropf, 2009) has highlighted how all the approaches can and do embed the interrelations between physical and human features. However, such review eventually concluded that it is the physical form that should be used as a common reference to develop joint working between the different schools of thought and to develop a coherent understanding of urban settlements. Whether this proposition would be able to provide fresh interpretive possibilities of research findings and disentangle the socio-economic forces that impel the transformation of cities remains dubious and is something that will be thoroughly discussed throughout the remainder of this thesis.

1.2.3 Relationality

The ontological question of whether cities are wholes or sets of interconnected parts is addressed by the discourse on the conceptual understanding of place. In this discourse, there are two contrasting views of the nature of the relationships among a city's components. One view takes the relationship as being analytic, meaning that the city is viewed as a collection of parts which are connected by linkages of various strength and quality. In this *analytic relationality* view, the parts and their linkages, with their strength or weakness, give shape and identity to the place. The other view takes the relationship as being synergistic, meaning that the parts of the city and their interconnections do shape the identity of the city and give it its properties, but that in turn the city has properties of its own, which has the ability to influence and shape its parts. This *synergistic relationality* view is closely linked to the concept of *emergence*; this is a process by which larger entities and regular patterns arise from the interaction between smaller entities. The larger entities, however, do not display the same properties as their components, meaning that the larger 'wholes' are not reducible to their parts. At the same time, the dynamics that operate through the linkages of different parts' properties lead to the formation of more complex entities.

This concept has been in use within the field of urban theory since the early 2000s, in particular since the publication of *The Nature of Order* (Alexander, 2002). In this book, the process of urban growth, the structures and patterns that appear in cities are shown to take shape from a multiplicity of decisions by a variety of human actors within the context of physical constraints imposed by material elements. The emergent properties of an entity exponentially grow in complexity with the number of components and interactions that are involved in the emergence. Relations of different components can happen across different scales and hence emergent properties also appear at different scales. The articulation of this process seems to accurately match the continued increasing complexity of cities, as

well as the variety of properties displayed by its different components (such as streets, neighbourhoods, community groups, social relations, etc.). The concept of emergence has therefore played a key role in the development of the complex systems approach to cities, because of its ability to encompass the unpredictability and unexpected features which are found in cities and which are a product of complex patterns of interaction among many entities.

Relationality and emergence are also widely discussed in the social sciences, which are linked to and used in urban form studies. Relational theories, such as Actor-Network Theory (ANT) (Latour, 2005) and assemblage theory as developed by DeLanda (2006), highlight a number of key issues in the knowledge domain of urban development, in particular regarding the mechanisms of emergence and transformation of city forms. Both these relational theories suggest that to develop a research approach which can respond to the challenge of analysing the processes of urban development which shape the city, it is necessary to assess the relationships between the material and human components, and the exercise of these components' capacities. While the implications of these theories for the fields of geography and urban studies in general have been explored (Anderson, Kearnes, McFarlane, & Swanton, 2012; Farias, 2010; Jacobs, 2012; McFarlane, 2011) they have not prominently featured in discourses on urban theory and the analytical approaches used by urban morphologists.

ANT is basically an approach to social research which treats objects as part of social entities; it focuses on the capacity of material components to act and therefore to play a role in emergence. Human and non-human actors in ANT are treated as being both equally relevant and the social as being the product of the associations between components rather than an explanatory factor – the heterogeneous elements whose associations form social entities can be 'detached' and reassembled to form a new, different entity. The social is therefore transitory, but can be identified in the traces left by the associations that have been made between elements.

Assemblage theory, concerned with social ontology and defining social entities as assemblages, "wholes whose properties emerge from the interactions between parts" (DeLanda, 2006, p. 5), poses fundamental questions about the existence and the nature of social entities such as cities. It argues that individual social entities at any given scale have an objective existence and a relative autonomy and are thus legitimate objects of study. Assemblage theory demonstrates how social processes occur at more than just the levels of the micro and the macro, and that different scales are involved in the emergence of social assemblages (wholes) from the interactions among other entities operating at smaller scales. Assemblage theory admittedly follows a realist approach to ontology by which the

autonomy of social entities must be free from the conceptions we have about them – in a similar fashion, we are arguing that urbanists’ analytical approach to cities should be free from the normative impulse.

This introduction has briefly set the context of the problem of the city within the increasing complexity of contemporary urban settlements and the key issues surrounding the problem as comprising:

- how conceptualisation of cities free of the normative impulse can help us better construct analytical frameworks to understand and improve our urban environments;
- the need to establish whether the city should be analysed as a whole or as a set of component parts and therefore how we should view and measure relationality;
- the extent to which human and physical elements should be given weight in urban morphology.

All the concepts touched upon so far, the suitability of various morphological approaches to address the problem, as well as relevant theoretical inputs from the social sciences within the scope of the present study are discussed in detail and critically assessed in section 2.

1.3 Scope and Relevance of the Study

This thesis attempts to identify a conceptualisation of the city that is able to encompass the multifaceted elements and processes that lead to the emergence and transformation of cities. It reviews the main perspectives on the nature of cities and the key trends in urban development theory in order to establish a theoretical framework for analysis. The focus of the thesis remains on the form of the city and therefore the theoretical review is limited to the perspectives put forward by the scholarship of urban studies. It is necessary to acknowledge that urban theory as a whole is widely influenced by and debated within the field of sociology. However, rather than attempting to superficially include all aspects of the sociological debate, only specific elements that significantly bear on the problem of the city and the analysis of its form, in particular the nature and scale of the relationship between space and the social, are discussed within this thesis. Specifically, the theoretical framework and analytical tools of the Chicago school of sociology and the contributions made by critical theory to the understanding of the impact of global socio-economic factors on the form of cities are included here. Various analytical approaches to urban morphology are also described and their relationship to morphogenetic theories discussed in order to assess the relative value of each approach in addressing the problem of understanding city development.

Within the scope of this study is the identification of the need for enhancing the research on the relationship between the physical elements of a city and social changes that occur in the urban environment over time. The extent to which the material and social spheres, and the impact of the one onto the other, should be considered and analysed within the field of urban morphology is discussed as part of the literature review. A theoretical framework is then set and a methodology for analysis developed based on the key elements of the various analytical approaches and previous empirical studies which best fit the theoretical framework. This approach aims to establish an effective way of identifying the key processes that lead cities to display their common as well as their specific urban characteristics. The research question presented below, which will be discussed in detail in section 3.4, is reflective of this aim, and the overall approach, framework and methodology are applied to the case study of Limassol.

Research question: what are the key synthesising mechanism of Limassol's component parts operating to shape its form and identity as a social assemblage?

The city of Limassol was selected because it provides a good example of the problematics displayed by contemporary coastal cities in the European South, as discussed at the beginning of this introduction. Further details on the selection of the case study are described and discussed in section 3 and 4.

While aiming to develop a multidisciplinary approach and to encompass analytical elements from the social sciences, this thesis remains within the scope of urban studies and is therefore primarily concerned with the urban form as an outcome as well as a component part of the processes of emergence. Therefore, the broader aim of the thesis is to enhance the knowledge of urban development theory by refining current ways of analysing the urban form diachronically and providing an understanding of how the urban form of Limassol developed between the end of the 19th century – when accurate cartographic records become available – and today.

The analysis is specifically concerned with key physical elements of the city and their properties, and key social characteristics and their spatial distribution. It focuses on how these factors are related and how they have changed spatially and over time, on analysing such changes diachronically across a time span of over a century. This approach aims to produce new insights into the complex relationship between the spatial and social dimensions of the city and into the processes of change displayed in the settlement patterns of the city through time.

The rationale behind this study is the need for enhancing the relationship between the research on physical aspects of the city and that on social aspects of the city. Diachronic analysis until now has tended to focus on the physical elements of the city, sometimes adding layers of social information to the analysis, such as historical accounts of the nature of different areas, the distribution of land uses or where different social and ethnic classes resided. The argument of this thesis is not simply that the physical city and the social city are inextricably linked, but that the city ultimately is one single social entity, of which both physical and human factors are component elements. Therefore, diachronic analysis that systematically takes into consideration both physical and human elements is the only type of analysis that can provide a holistic understanding of the processes of urban development. It is also key to providing knowledge for the construction of a theoretical model of city development – meant as the mechanism of emergence and transformation of cities and the establishment of their identity as a unique social entity.

It is not within the scope of this thesis to test the validity of any specific conceptual model of what a city is and how it develops. In fact, this study does give preference to one conceptualisation in order to set a theoretical framework for analysis. However, it does so based on a critical view and assessment of the existing literature, relevant empirical studies and latest developments in the debate on the problem of the city. On the other hand, it does aim to provide further evidence as to whether certain rules of development do exist, what key processes play a role in cities' growth and feed into the wider discourse as to whether there is one specific model that most effectively reflects the way cities develop.

Cities are complex entities composed of a large variety of actors. It is expected that the inductive examination of social data from a spatial perspective, and the integration of different approaches from the social sciences and from urban morphology, will enable the recognition of patterns and provide new insights into the interactions between the physical and human elements which lead to the emergence and transformation of cities.

The innovative aspect of this research is that it combines different approaches to historical analysis of the urban form: it provides the historical context, not just as an unproblematic reference framework to the development of Limassol, but as a core element to its growth and change. It is a longitudinal study making use of historical cartography for modelling the past urban form, thus identifying patterns of urban growth and change. It explores the relationship between physical and social data by linking historical records and census data to spatial and physical analyses of the urban form. This layering of multiple analyses – geographical, historical, physical, syntactical, social, statistical and descriptive – aims not only to provide a broad methodology for diachronic analysis, but also create fresh interpretative possibilities of the urban form.

The relevance of this research spans over three areas. Firstly, it has a clear impact on knowledge development within urban studies. However, it does not exclusively aim to achieve further understanding of generative processes of urban development, but also set a broad framework for the development of multidisciplinary approaches to urban morphology. It is therefore of importance for the advancement of methodological approaches to research in urban studies, as well as social sciences more widely. Secondly, it provides an overview of the historical development of Limassol and of its current characteristics, as well as an analysis of its social features. This obviously has the potential to broaden local stakeholders' resources and insights for further research, debate, dissemination and engagement – may this be within the domain of local government, academia or the public more broadly. It is therefore expected that, through longer term propagation of the research's results, there should be an impact in knowledge consumption and in stakeholders' sensitivity to urban issues and their related social aspects. Finally, this research aims to deliver as an output a broad methodology for analysis, comprising different analytical tools which can be used individually for assessment of current or past urban form, as well as proposed plans for redevelopments. In particular, it aims at devising a method which has the capability of delivering an understanding of different scales involved in the transformation of cities and of the interrelationship between different components. It is therefore of specific relevance to planning practice, as it is expected to offer the capability of advancing the ways in which development plans are drawn and assessed – of progressing towards a more holistic and comprehensive way of town planning. It thus also aims to inform contemporary urban design in its attempt to incorporate inherited patterns of the built form, and the built heritage, within the urban landscape, enhancing, as McQuillan (1990) points out, its potential to enable a collective experience of urban space, thus fostering a collective identity and cohesion among urban communities.

1.4 Summary of Chapters

The introduction articulated in section 1 has so far set the background to this study and stated the problem at hand by introducing the basic issues and concepts relating to urban theory. It has briefly mentioned the main conceptualisations of the city and the existing approaches to the study of the urban form while indicating how these fit within the problematics of analysing cities' development. This introduction has also described the aims and set the scope of this thesis while pointing out the innovative aspects of this study and how it is relevant to a variety of research areas and to the field of planning and urban design practice.

Section 2 comprises the literature review, which first details and critically assesses the main conceptualisations of the city and the key trends in urban development theory. This leads into an in-depth discussion of how space and society are related and a further examination of the role of relational theories in balancing the analysis of physical and human elements within the context of urban studies. It then moves on to describe the field of urban morphology and its main analytical approaches to the study of the urban form. How each concept, theory and approach addresses and deals with the issues and the problem of the city raised in the introduction is discussed with a view of assessing the suitability of various frameworks for the development of an effective analytical approach. Relevant theoretical and practical inputs from the social sciences are also discussed to identify an optimal set of analytical tools to construct a broad and effective methodology for analysis. The last part of the literature review presents a number of empirical studies with a particular focus on recent methodological developments in the field of urban morphology and on cases that present similarities to the case study.

The theoretical framework for analysis is set in section 3. Firstly, the case study is introduced and linkages between its observed characteristics and theories discussed in section 2 are identified. Secondly, the framework is presented, which provides the reasoning behind the choice of running a diachronic analysis and explains why – based on the literature review – a specific conceptualisation of the city was selected as a framework. The analytical requirements posed by the framework are presented along with a proposition of how they can be met by a combination of the different approaches presented in the third part of the literature review. Finally, the hypothesis of the thesis and the research question, along with the guiding questions, objectives and expected outputs of the study, are stated.

Next on is section 4, which sets the methodology for analysis by firstly providing an explanation and an overview of how and why the chosen case study, methods and tools were selected. Secondly, the cartographic and social data available for analysis are reviewed, the methodological implications of the nature of the data are described along with how these were manipulated for analysis.

Thirdly, a description of the methodology used for each analysis is given and followed by an explanation of how social and physical data were linked and their relationship measured. Fourthly, the methods from social sciences used to integrate the more classic urban morphological analyses are presented. This is followed by an explanation of why the city-wide analysis was also integrated with an analysis of three neighbourhoods within the city and what methods were used for researching these three case studies. Finally, the limitations of the study relating to each analysis, as well as to the combination of methods,

are presented and discussed with a view to identify not only the possible shortcomings of the analysis, but also avenues of further methodological development.

Section 5 comprises the findings of the analysis. This includes a comprehensive narrative of the historical development of Limassol through primary and secondary sources, and through qualitative research materials, within the wider context of Mediterranean port cities. The findings of each quantitative analysis of the whole city are presented individually and discussed in view of findings from qualitative analytical methods. Finally, the analysis of each case study is presented with a view of understanding the relationship between different components and between the scale of each neighbourhood and the whole city – as well as among the different actors that play a role in emergence at different scales.

Themes arising from the findings are discussed in section 6 with a focus on identifying the key processes driving the city's development, the chapter is organised around such themes based on converging and cross-validated results from the different types of analyses.

Section 7 concludes with a summary of the findings and a list of the synthesising mechanisms which shape the city, an evaluation of the benefits and shortcomings of the analysis, as well as a statement on the needs for further research.

2. Literature Review: Describing the City

The research context is that of urban development through time, how cities grow, change and take their shape; it is diachronic by its very nature and requires not just to be set within urban theory of development, but also to draw from previous experiences of diachronic analyses of the urban form. When looking at studies that deal with the urban fabric, it is clear that they aim at identifying permanent elements and rules of change, often trying to assess whether generative laws that dictate the development of an urban structure exist. Many such studies have tended to focus on historical urban fabrics and only relatively recently researchers have started developing diachronic methods of analysis “to explain the mechanisms of evolution or creation and transformation of urban forms” (Levy, 1999, p. 81).

Another key aspect of this study is how space relates to society, whether there is and what is the nature of such relationship, how the urban form – the network of open spaces that constitutes the public realm, the building typologies, the urban infrastructure and so on – influences society and vice versa. This raises the issue of how the physical, material form can relate to the social process, which is inextricably linked to the dual nature of cities, to the fact that they are invariably a collection of material entities – their buildings linked by streets and roads with their urban infrastructure and furnishings – but they are also a system of human activity and interaction.

Finally, the main objective, and output, of this research is the development of an analytical framework which embeds the variety of elements and actors that play a role in urban development and which is able to identify key processes that lead to emergence and transformation of the urban form. This literature review is therefore divided into three themes which are closely interlinked: theories of the city, the relationship between space and society, and the analytical approaches used in urban morphology. A final section is dedicated to empirical diachronic and multidisciplinary studies of the urban form, with a particular focus on port cities. This section is expected to shed light on the benefits and capabilities of specific approaches in identifying developmental processes and is meant to inform the selection of analytical tools to be used for analysis.

Within the theoretical framework that will be established and described in section 3, a narrative of how the city developed through history and its current state are viewed both as an analytical tool and as a research output. The literature and the research on Limassol’s urban form and social characteristics, as well as the primary sources and the qualitative research findings that provide us with material for a description of Limassol are therefore presented in the analysis chapter.

2.1 Theories of the City

Urban planning as a mere practical tool of organising public infrastructure and controlling informal building has existed since antiquity. It has also existed as a symbolic expression of power and ideologies. However, it is only since the advent of industrialisation, the urbanisation that came with it, and its related production and use of new technologies and transportation, that planning took on a more formal and pervasive role in the design and management of urban settlements. It is at this time, the end of the 19th century, that the normative drive flourishes and that scholars begin to advance theories of the city along two main lines of reasoning. One line viewed cities in evolutionary terms, as entities which change slowly and adapt continuously, whose growth can be guided but not determined. The other line saw them as functional objects susceptible to optimisation and potentially efficient end products of human design.

A clear summary of these theories was put forward by Lynch (1984), who classified three types of what he called “normative models”: 1) the *cosmic* city which is a reflection of interpretations of nature and power structures, either religious or secular – Renaissance ideal plans are an example of this type; 2) the *practical* city, viewing the city as a functional system serving specific objective needs like a machine would – certain colonial towns, speculative planned cities and Le Corbusier’s Radiant City all fall into this category; and 3) the *organic* city, perhaps one of the most debated models, that views the city as a living organism which has birth, growth, maturity and with organs serving different purposes, but with a definite size and with its parts indivisible in order to maintain it ‘alive’ and ‘healthy’. Here we are first and foremost concerned with the two main normative strands of modern times: the evolutionary view of the city as an organism and the practical, functional view of the city as a machine. As it will be seen, the more recent development of the complex systems conceptualisation builds upon the precedent traditions.

However, we are also concerned with the extent to which wider social, political and economic factors can determine the nature of cities. This concern is closely linked to the dialectical relationship between theory and normative orientations. Urban theories developed through social analysis thus need to be considered in order to assess the normative value of the various conceptualisations and analytical approaches.

2.1.1 The Evolutionary View

The earliest conceptualisation of the city as an organism was originally drawn by Patrick Geddes. This metaphor is related to the contemporary development of biology and evolutionary theory. Although Patrick Geddes laid the foundations for a theory that responded to the problematics of the recent urban growth and could provide insight into

the modes of cities' evolution, his contribution was quickly and superficially channelled to the imposition of a top-down approach to planning (Batty & Marshall, 2009). Early descriptions of the city as an organism remained until recently little more than figures of speech along the lines of identifying streets as the 'veins' where the life blood of the city moves through, taking oxygen from its 'lungs' (the parks) and so on. The organic analogy has remained popular, but often implicit, throughout the development of urban theory. It was much loved by Lewis Mumford who stated: "no single definition will apply to all its [the city's] manifestations and no single description will cover all its transformations, from the embryonic social nucleus to the complex forms of its maturity and the corporeal disintegration of its old age" (Mumford, 1961, p. 3). In Mumford's view town planning has a duty to respond to the anticipated negative effects of technological developments: the city should be organised in a manner similar to that of living organisms and 'livability' should hence be the leading design principle.

Although Jane Jacobs did not directly state whether she supported a specific conceptualisation of the city, she did dedicate the final chapter of her *Death and Life of Great American Cities* (Jacobs, 1961) to the problem of the city. Here she clearly takes the latest developments in the life sciences as a framework for the inductive analysis of cities and, in doing so, she necessarily leans towards conceptualising the city as a complex living organism: "cities happen to be problems in organised complexity, like the life sciences... the variables are many but they are not helter skelter; they are interrelated into an organic whole" (Jacobs, 1961, pp. 564–565). By taking this view she is probably first in taking a step beyond the simplistic view of the planning of her times that the relationship between elements of the city are linear and can be easily measured. She was in fact critical not just of modernist planning, but also of the Garden Cities movement for its simplistic, albeit ecologically sensitive, approach to designing.

Without reverting to the purely functional view of the city, Lynch is perhaps the earliest and most passionate critic of the organic analogy, stating that "cities are not organisms... they do not grow or change of themselves, or reproduce or repair themselves" (Lynch, 1984, p. 95). The fallacy of the analogy is seen in the fact that it can lead to interventions which limit the potential of the city or may result in social injustices. Without a full understanding of how urban forms serve different purposes and may provide a variety of benefits, and without a consciousness of what the normative drive is trying to achieve, the analogy might lead to actions which may or may not be justified, except for the sole reason of reproducing the organic 'ideal'. Despite this criticism, Lynch retains that some of the organic concepts remain useful for the establishment of a normative theory. In particular, issues of hierarchy, scale, and stability, and even more so the acknowledgement of the existence and

inevitability of fuzzy boundaries, and changing scales and relations, must be embedded within a theoretical framework. Ultimately, it is the holistic view and the ecological sensibility of the organic analogy that resonates the most with Lynch. The idea of the city as “a whole of many functions, whose diverse elements... are in constant and supportive interchange” (Lynch, 1984, p. 98) is what makes the organic analogy still relevant to the urban discourse and to choices we make for pursuing an analytical understanding of the city.

The more insightful and more contemporary scholars such as Jane Jacobs and Peter Hall provided some refined theoretical explanations of urban evolution, as well as practical directions for planning with the use of the organic evolution idea (Bettencourt, 2013a). Despite the fact that even the foremost critics of the concept, such as Lynch, still highlight the values that the analogy carries, there remains a tension in the use of this concept. This has recently reappeared in the growth of the New Urbanist movement, which has revisited and ‘revamped’ some of the organic design concepts, mainly focusing on Mumford’s humanistic view of planning and design (liveable streets, walkability, human-scale public realm, etc.). Along with it, criticism of New Urbanism has come in many forms. This has essentially focused either on the lack of measurable and quantitative evidence to support its claims, or on its tendency towards the application of superficially broad guidelines without insight into local conditions or the complexity of cities’ characteristics and their interrelations.

2.1.2 The Functional View

As hinted in the introduction of section 2.1, the idea of a practical city and planning as a purely functional act precedes that of the city as an organism. In this sense, it was sparked by an extremely basic normative drive of organising spaces and providing a level of structure and infrastructure to urban settlements. This drive has been apparent throughout history whenever temporary settlements had to be built or new settlements with limited and clear purposes needed to be set up – the most common cases being Roman military camps and early colonial settlements. These early types of fully-planned, practical cities took the form of a grid. However, such grids have remained in use throughout modern times as a simple, fast and efficient tool of land allocation so often identifiable in the grid towns of North America. They also continue to be applied to the design of many contemporary speculative developments.

The modern idea of the city as a machine is, however, more complex and rooted in the engineering and technological developments of the early 20th century. The analogy does not simply imply that the city is man-made and can be planned to meet specific and measurable

functional needs, it is also a broader view of how the city is composed of separate mechanical parts which are linked together to give the city its properties. Like its organic counterpart, this conceptualisation is primarily driven by the necessity of intervening into development in order to ameliorate contemporary problems. Technology however, is here viewed as an example of efficiency and an ideal output rather than as a potential threat. The most exemplary design influenced by this concept is Le Corbusier's Ville Radieuse. Although Le Corbusier never defined the city as a 'machine for living', his design ideas and planning directives to construct 'a contemporary city' (LeCorbusier, 1929) suggest that he did view the city as serving a purpose for a community in a way similar to that he viewed the house, which he did define as 'a machine for living'. His stern directives on density, traffic and pedestrian systems, amounts of public space, and so on paint the picture of the city as a machine serving the needs of humans. Le Corbusier was highly concerned with human health and many of his urban design ideas are based on protecting the health and safety of a city's residents. However, he never went beyond a simplistic assessment of what human needs are and what needs a city should meet, hence restricting the development of his concepts to meet purely functional requirements based on the idea that all humans have the same needs. Perhaps the most poignant critique to Le Corbusier's theory was the postmodernist concept that humans all have different wants – does and/or should then a city develop to meet not just functional needs, but also a diversity of socio-cultural wants? Lynch expresses again a somewhat diplomatic criticism toward this conceptualisation (Lynch, 1984). On the one hand, he sees its normative drive as a laudable rational attempt at intervention and as laying practical foundations for solving planning problems. On the other hand, he classifies it as an oversimplification of the needs that a city is supposed to meet even in its basic functional terms.

Kostof, another – along with Lynch – of the more impartial commentators on the dichotomy of city theory, takes a view that there is no such thing as an organic city in the sense of a fully spontaneous, unplanned settlement and states that "it is human purpose and human willfulness that drives the making of cities" (Kostof, 1999, p. 53). Although in some cases the urban form might appear haphazard and unplanned there is always an underlining cause to the way cities are structured, even if simply as a response to topological features, if not as a reflection of belief and social structures or a functional, whether top-down or bottom-up, system. He does concede that spontaneous elements exist in cities, in particular in historic towns. Nevertheless, he defines the city as an artefact (Kostof, 1999), but shies away from elaborating the concept as a metaphor and engaging in debating its implications. Instead, he focuses on a series of fundamental characteristics which are encountered in cities across time and space.

The concept of an artefact is not far from that later developed by Hillier (2002) of the city as an object. Both concepts ultimately imply the man-made nature of cities, something which is more or less consciously formed and shaped by human need, will and intention. Hillier also avoids delving into the wider implications of the analogy, but clearly returns to the ontological issue of universals and particulars. Through the identification of invariants and variations across cities he highlights the factors and processes which structure the urban form. Because of the existence of the ontological dichotomy and because the city is invariably, recognisably structured in certain ways, he is necessarily driven to define it as an existent entity (object) with its own properties.

In a way, there is little difference between defining the city as a machine, object or artefact. They are all man-made and they all serve some functional needs. However, there are subtle differences in the connotation of each word. We associate the machine with pure functionality and technological development; the object with a more generalised state of affairs dependant on both needs and wants, but also available resources; and the artefact with human ingenuity and with the fact that despite having a functionality, it serves a greater purpose of meeting non-functional human needs. This latter point is the only one about which Kostof hints at the wider implications of its definition: "urban design is of course an art, and like all design it does have to consider, or at least pay lip service to, human behaviour" (Kostof, 1999, p. 9). In doing so, he puts a new slant on the normative drive: intervention is not only about functionality or human needs or liveability, but it is somehow raised to the greater purpose of eliciting a response in the users of the urban form and of awaking human consciousness.

2.1.3 The Complex Systems View

Aside Jane Jacobs' hint at complexity, a first attempt at developing a model representative of the complexity the city was made by Alexander, who described the city as a semi-lattice (1966). Rather than a conceptualisation, this is an analysis of what structure best represents the complexity of what he terms 'natural' cities as opposed to 'artificial' cities. He demonstrates that cities which were not artificially planned are organised like a semi-lattice, an open structure in which different elements of the system are linked to each other by different orders of relationships: elements at a smaller scale may directly interact with elements at a larger scale without being subject to a hierarchical system. This means that natural city systems facilitate multiple connections between their parts and different levels of relationships between parts at different scales. Alexander's theory was developed in the context of planning regimes which used a tree-structure diagram to represent relationships between different elements of the city – a simplistic, easy to visualise, linear hierarchy.

Contrary to this, Alexander proposes that parts at different scales belong to different groups which relate directly to the whole, while other parts are individually related to each other according to a hierarchical, pyramidal system. Alexander's analysis of cities as semi-lattices remains a valid one and is of relevance not just to the understanding of how cities function and the relationship between the parts and the whole, but also of how elements added and removed from the system over time are related to and may change the functioning of the city as a whole. The issue of scale and part-to-whole relationship is something which has recently returned to the foreground of social theory and will be discussed further in section 2.2.

While the conceptualisation of cities as complex systems has its roots in transportation analysis of the 1950s and 1960s (Batty, 2016), it has only recently come to the forefront thanks to the potential afforded by information technology to the analysis of large and complex data sets. However, its theoretical development has relied heavily upon a revival and reinterpretation of the organic analogy. Scholars started focusing on the complexity aspect of evolutionary conceptions of change and highlighted the fact that, if anything, the analogy was never developed far enough to be truly useful (Batty & Marshall, 2009; Kropf, 2001, 2013).

Scholars proposing a complex systems approach to urban analysis have not shied away from acknowledging their debt to evolutionary approaches and pertain that, once taken beyond a simplistic and pragmatic approach to intervention, evolutionary ideas can form the basis of a scientific approach to cities. They can therefore shed light on emergent patterns and on the interaction between individual and aggregated changes across the components of cities. The analogy has thus moved forward from Jacob's 'problem in organised complexity' and, through advances in the modelling and analysis of the urban form, has developed into an analogy with systems of flows and networks (Batty, 2013). Sometimes, this analogy has leaned toward a stronger social focus, and cities have been defined as "integrated social networks" (Bettencourt, 2013a). In both cases the evolutionary heritage is retained in the descriptions of how cities evolve, for example in the statements that "a useful analogy for complexity is thus based on systems that grow organically" (Batty, 2013, p. 27) and "cities are natural systems that evolve spontaneously... in this sense they are as natural as beehives or coral reefs..." (Bettencourt, 2013a).

It is not only those who considered complexity as the most useful contribution made by the evolutionary view that have proposed a new conceptualisation of cities as systems of some kind or another. Some scholars who originally defined the city in functional terms have moved on to revisit their definitions to include new insights yielded by complex systems' analyses of the city. One key example of this is Hillier, who has proposed a definition of the

city as a 'socio-technical system' (Hillier, 2012). By doing this he has attempted to retain the pragmatic approach of viewing the city as a physical entity, but one which is shaped by and intertwined with human subjects. However, he claims that both the human and the physical can be dealt with quantitatively, as well as qualitatively, and that the paradigm split of the two spheres is only hindering the understanding of their relations.

It is interesting to note that there seems to be a convergence of the original dichotomies of organism and machine towards the common ground of 'systems'. Again, it is the extent to which each sphere is taken into consideration and the modes of analysis that are still at stake. Within the context of this convergence, one must wonder how and in what ways the nature of human actions and behaviours is articulated and reflected in the form of the city. Research led by Al-Sayed, Turner, and Hanna (2012) focusing on the identification of generative rules of development has suggested that cities seem to have a mind of their own. Though at first startling, this idea may not be so surprising when linked back to the conceptualisations that have reiterated themselves over time: most organisms have a form of intelligence and artificial intelligence can be applied to machines and systems. The research raises the question of – whether this 'city-intelligence', if it does indeed exist, – is natural and emerges as an unexpected outcome of the evolutionary process of the city, or artificial and instilled in the city through the collective will of its creators. While to a certain extent leading the circle back to the original concepts of natural organism and man-made artefact, Al-Sayed et al.'s study also hints at the possibility of a collective intelligence being displayed in the emergence of cities.

The issue of the extent to which different actors are able to and do shape the characteristics of cities opens up the question of how political, civic and economic powers impact on cities' growth and transformations. This leads to briefly consider the insights brought to the city debate by critical urban theory.

2.1.4 The Critical View

Urban theory within the field of sociology is a broad subject, which can be said to comprise three major approaches: urban sociology, urban geography and urban policy (Steinø, 2003). The difference between the three traditions is the extent to which they view space as deterministic of social relations or as an outcome determined by political and economic systems. The issue of space-society determinism is reviewed further in section 2.2; here it suffices to mention two key contributions of critical theory: the emphasis on urban space as politically and ideologically mediated and hence fundamentally conditioned by economic systems and the historical specificity of power relations, and the related conceptualisation of the city as a growth machine (Molotch, 1976). This concept, developed within the sub-

field of Neo-Marxist urban theory proposed that the shape of cities, the distribution of land uses and their social make up was determined by human actors interacting and competing. In this view, local governments and real estate markets are not a reflection of socio-economic interactions of the actors involved in the emergence of cities. Instead, Molotch argued that the shape of cities and the distribution of their peoples was dictated not by interpersonal markets or geographic necessities, but by social actions undertaken by a relatively small elite of actors with vested interests in growth.

Essentially Molotch identified the urban settlement as a political economy where initial expansion is compounded by a labour force, commerce and intensified development. He argued that “cities were created and sustained largely through this process” (1976, p. 312) and that such a process remains critical in how developmental issues are dealt with at the local level through the allocation of resources and the prioritisation of local agendas, thus suggesting that normative orientations should take into account macro-economic policies. Such politics of vested interests ultimately define how land uses, and hence how services, are distributed within the urban environment and within society. In this view the potential developmental value of urban land is the key variable in distributive politics – which communities get what infrastructure, where and how.

Molotch’s concept is significant not simply from a sociological and normative point of view, but also because it is explanatory of how cities grow and how growth is distributed within them, which follows a process of expansion and densification in relation to economic factors. Similar kind of processes are identified and described by the different urban morphological approaches, which will be discussed in section 2.3. In particular, the economic elements identified by space syntax analysis and by the Conzenian school of urban morphology as playing an active role in the processes of expansion and change of the urban form resonate the economic concerns of critical urban theory.

Furthermore, Molotch’s conceptualisation was possibly the first to link the impact of city growth and the characteristics of growth to the spatial distribution of social factors, not just in the sense that certain economic and cultural needs impact on the process of growth and shape of city, but also that in turn the politics of growth impact on the spatial distribution of social factors and hence on society as a whole. This idea opens the door to the discussion about what actors are involved in the shaping of cities, how groups and vested interests form and how physical, human and expressive elements are connected to deploy the social life of the city. But before moving on to the discussion on these relationship, let us briefly summarise the key issues identified by this initial part of the literature review.

2.1.5 Summary

The two concepts of organism and machine have important implications when assessing results of analyses of city development as one concept implies that cities grow according to a process similar to that of biological growth, meaning that city elements may either grow in size or be split into smaller elements and that these tend to reproduce themselves, ie. similar elements of similar size repeatedly appear in the system. The other concept instead implies that cities develop according to a man-made process of refinement, meaning that elements are put in place to serve specific needs and as knowledge and technology improves while social, cultural and economic needs grow and change, then newer elements are put into place and older ones adapted, while some may become fully redundant and disappear.

Lynch accepts the value of concepts of the organic analogy and even the most famous exponent of Modernism failed to avoid the comparison between the city and biological functions, defining its open spaces as lungs, stating that housing should be built on the 'cellular' principles and that the modern street is a new type of organism. In a way, there seems to be a tension in Le Corbusier's writings between the man-made machine and the functional biological organism evolved to best fit survival needs. With regards to this issue, Kostof takes an intermediary view that the two types of cities are not mutually exclusive: "the two primary versions of urban arrangement, the planned and the "organic", often exist side by side... most historic towns, and virtually all those of metropolitan size, are puzzles of premeditated and spontaneous segments, variously interlocked or juxtaposed" (Kostof, 1999, pp. 46-47).

Here, we support Kostof's and Lynch's view that the city is neither an organism nor a machine. While these conceptualisations may be (or may have been) useful when it comes to identify problematics within different geographical and historical contexts, conceptual models tend to be strict and exclusive of each other. Theoretically, the city cannot be both a living organism and a machine, it has to be either one or the other. As with other abstract concepts, models also need to apply throughout a whole category: there cannot be some cities which are machines and others which are living organisms. Interestingly, however, in practice these theoretical models have been applied to the design of cities and parts of cities. In this sense, this has led to the contradictory fact that, although models are supposed to be exclusive of each other, some cities or parts of cities were designed based on one model and others on a different model - examples of this are innumerable from the inextricable mix of linear boulevards and irregular neighbourhoods of Paris to Medieval and Herculean Ferrara to Old and New Delhi. This has led to the phenomenon identified by

Kostof that, in practice, the two types coexist and that neither is necessarily better or more successful in meeting the contemporary needs of the city.

The tension between the normative impulse and the normative drive is explanatory of this phenomenon. Both concepts are, ultimately, more of an unconscious and biased impulse to design the city in a way which is seen as optimal by its theorists – following influences from various sources and based on analyses of specific cities which are viewed as ideal and may be successful within their context. Hence both concepts support a drive to improve the city, but in essence the implication of the city as a machine, with its parts that can be worked on and their problems ‘fixed’, does not differ much from that of the city as an organism, which can be operated on for its health to be improved.

Complex systems theory is in a way an attempt at regulating the normative impulse and basing the normative drive on a scientific and impartial understanding of cities. However, given the proliferation of conceptualisations of cities as systems and networks of various kinds, one issue must be raised here: are such conceptualisations really the product of scientific and analytical findings or are they merely a product of the great development and influence of information technology and network systems in recent years? Is our increased awareness and familiarity with the internet, networking and information flows leading us to conceptualise our living environment as such a system? These questions do not need an answer here, but they do need to be given consideration as a matter of awareness: we must, as researchers, be aware of the impact the development of other disciplines is having on the way we do research, conceptualise cities and develop theories in the same way as we are now fully aware of the impact that biology had on Patrick Geddes’ original conceptualisation of the city as an organism and that engineering had on LeCorbusier’s conceptualisation of the city as a machine.

Critical theory, while having its roots in urban sociology and being influenced by the Chicago school, differs from its urban counterparts because of the emphasis it puts on the structural, political and economic aspects of development. In this sense, it differs from the Chicago school because it refutes space and the urban form as a key determinant of social behaviour or interactions, instead, it views determinism the other way round (i.e. social behaviours and politics determining the urban form). While reminding us of the importance of structural elements and the specificity of historical contexts in the shaping of the urban form – these are often overlooked by scholars who focus on the physical structure of the city – critical theory falls short of providing the means to analyse the relation between culture, group behaviour, individual behaviour, and space.

Whatever the extent of various conceptualisations’ application in design, all these concepts bear great relevance for the analysis of city development since they can act as a framework

and form the basis for the selection of methods and tools. They can also provide interpretive routes for the findings of such analyses and it is therefore vital to make their influences, historical development and implications clear. Figure 2.1 briefly summarises the concepts and their contexts.

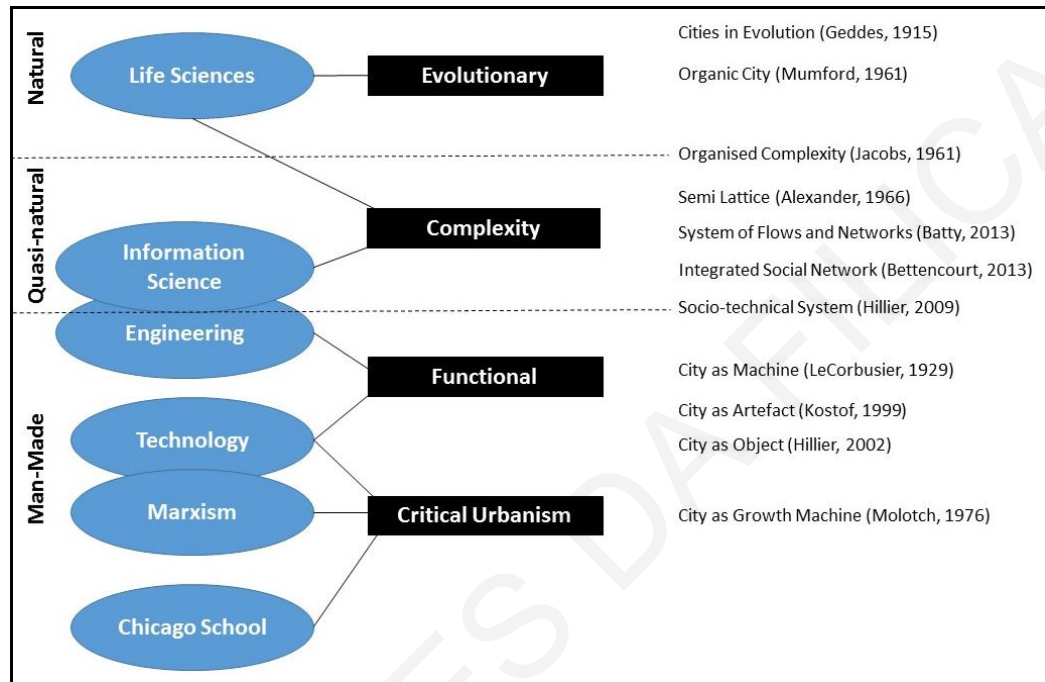


Figure 2.1. Diagram summarising conceptualisation of cities within their broader field and influences.

Despite this wealth of conceptualisations, a fully-fledged theory of the city which accounts for its emergence and transformation and which is not reductive to a single aspect of its nature remains somewhat of an elusive goal. As Netto points out “a theory of the city should be capable of explaining what the city is and its forms of transformation. This would require a mode of theorization and a methodology able to include temporal and spatial processes of transformation, and the tangle of socio-economic forces that impel them” (2016, p. 27).

Despite a number of powerful approaches to describing the nature of cities, fully understanding and elucidating the complexity of the city remains possibly the most challenging task for urban researchers worldwide. This thesis is only a tiny contribution to the further development of such approaches and theories.

2.2 Space and Society

As discussed in the introduction a key issue in developing an analytical approach to study city development is the extent to which space relates to society and the nature of such relationship. Within this discourse there is another opposition of views. One places high importance on the structure of space in relation to social phenomena and hence asserts that

space is a determinant of human behaviour and interaction. The other view purports that space and the physical environment have little or no relevance to the workings of society, but rather that it is the social, political and economic structures that determine the physical form of the city, as well as the quality of the physical environment and the distribution of functions and uses within the city. Some social scientists, however, tend to take a dialectical approach and see the relation between space and society as a dual relation, by which space is a reflection of the social, but can, in turn, have an impact on human interaction.

The study of the relationship between space and society arguably started with Charles Booth's analysis of the distribution of different social classes in London (Booth, 1897). As a social scientist he set out to map the socio-economic status of London's residents. Although theories about the relationship between space and poverty and social investigation into the poor had already taken place (for example by Jeremy Bentham and Henry Mayhew), the detail of Charles Booth's enquiry into the distribution of wealth and poverty along each street of a great part of London has a finesse that can compare to modern standards of data collection and analysis. Booth's maps clearly show that the more wealthy tended to live on main thoroughfares, on the most accessible streets in London, while the poorer tended to be in the most physically segregated areas. Often he describes how the distribution of the poor relates to physical aspects of the city, one example being "the poor were located in the pockets of streets lying between railway and canal in districts cut off from the mainstream of urban life" (Booth, 1897).

The issue of borders identified by Booth in physical elements of the city separating areas, marking territories and segregating populations is at the core of the birth of urban sociology developed by the Chicago School of sociology in the 1920s and 1930s. The Chicago School produced the first major body of works specialising in the analysis of the distribution of various social characteristics within cities, focusing on issues of ethnicity, criminality and poverty. Although Chicago School approaches to the mapping and spatial analysis of social factors fell somewhat out of favour in the latter part of the 20th century due to their unwitting tendency to stereotype social groups by falling into the ecological fallacy, they remain the foundation of socio-spatial theorisations of the city and underpin serious attempts at understanding the role of the urban environment in producing and reproducing social differences (Tonkiss, 2005).

The fact that the organisation of space is a reflection of social relations, a cultural and economic product, and an ordering system is neither a new nor a particularly controversial idea which spans the work of social theorists from diverse backgrounds and approaches, for example Simmel (Simmel, 2004), Logan and Molotch (2007), and Lefebvre (1991).

What is more controversial is whether the organisation of space has an impact on society

either through the production of social behaviours, the reinforcement or diminishment of social differences and divisions. This issue was key to Jacob's argument in her critique of contemporary planning practice (Jacobs, 1961), where she stressed the facts that borders in space not only identify divisions, but also help creating them as well as creating areas that have an in-between nature, 'vacuums' whose meaning is unintelligible to residents and visitors and whose use is unclear.

The key argument of the Chicago School was that contemporary urbanisation was shaping and influencing how social control is articulated and how activities are coordinated in space. Generally, they saw urbanisation as a fragmentation of societal norms and as producing differentiation between areas and therefore social exclusion. Within this view the urban form is seen as the central factor in determining the social, with politics, economics and power relations being relegated as merely reinforcing the effects of the urban environment. Neo-Marxist urban theory was essentially based on a critique of urban sociology's reductionism of structural factors. While broadly agreeing with the basic ideas that class divisions, exclusion and power relations are articulated and expressed within the urban environment, neo-Marxist scholars argued that the urban form should be analysed as a specification of the characteristics of society and of the transformations of power structures. According to this theory, invariants across cities and variations within cities are spatial and physical products of a broad sweeping contemporary capitalist system. Within this view the city is seen as a system controlled either by politics or economics – or a tool (a machine as defined by Molotch) for economic growth.

The line of argument which stated that space is an intrinsic and determining component of human behaviour ignited much research in the field of environmental criminology. Such research focused on the impact of space and design on behaviour, vandalism and crime, leading to the development of the concept of 'defensible space' (Newman, 1966) and the 'broken windows theory' (Kelling & Coles, 1996). Despite critics arguing that a causal relationship between space and society does not exist, often pointing to evidence that practical applications of the broken windows theory proved unsuccessful and that other factors are implicated in the apparent relationship between the two (Harcourt & Ludwig, 2006; Levitt & Dubner, 2011; Lott, 2013), the application of design as an enabler of social outcomes has now become standard practice in many planning environments.

Space syntax methodology has often been applied to aid the understanding of the relationship between space and society as the theory behind space syntax methods argues that space has a logic of its own by forming patterns, which are the means through which social meanings of human action in space are given expression. Certain specific socio-economic phenomena, such as patterns of movement, social interaction, land use, land

value and societal differentiation are related to patterns of spatial layout. Comparative space syntax research has highlighted invariants across cities in the form of a *deformed wheel* pattern. It has also highlighted that variations exist between and within cities: such variations are most evident in residential areas. It has been suggested that the invariants are the product of economic requirements for movement and co-presence, while the variations are representative of socio-cultural differences. Both of these are spatially expressed in and reinforced by the form of the city: different kinds of urban activities and their different requirements give rise to the spatial form of the city (Hillier, 2002).

A number of studies on the relationship between space and society in the London context identified a link between urban form and social outcomes. An innovative work on this issue (Hanson, 2000) demonstrated that the changes that occurred in areas of London in the 19th century affected the relationship between residential building and the public realm, changing in turn the dynamics through which space enables co-presence of different classes, ages and genders in the public realm. The changes to residential areas were due to the development of design and social ideologies which led to a shift from traditional streets to the building of estates. Such changes caused local residents to lose their control over the interface between their private residences and the public life in the surrounding streets. The design ideas influenced by various theories of the time (of social reform, of neighbourhood unit and of territoriality) had in common the belief that an effect of space on the behaviour of particular groups existed, and in effect imply not only that there is an impact of space on society, but also that, consequently, normative actions aimed at controlling and shaping the urban form also have a powerful impact on the social. Hanson (2000) also demonstrated that the impact of normative actions was not necessarily the expected one and the fact that she was able to link design changes and their effect to particular theories highlighted the fact that “each period adheres to its own notions of the relationship between space and society through values that were immanent in particular social and institutional forms” (Psarra, 2012, p. 13). Such a finding reiterates the need to develop analytical tools and theorisation that are free of the normative impulse.

Other studies suggest a role of spatial features in fostering different social outcomes. For example, Vaughan’s analysis of the distribution of migrants in 19th century London (Vaughan, 2005) suggests that there is a strong relationship between physical segregation of poverty areas from the wider economic life of the city and the lack of potential for their economically marginalised residents to better their conditions and integrate into the host society. Her analysis further suggested that in specific cases, such as that of Soho in London – a poor area located within a wealthy one – there is the potential for sub-cultures to develop.

When looking at the whole-city level, there are a number of studies which have analysed the geographical distribution of various social factors, starting from the Chicago School which influenced later works mapping the segregation of residential areas on the basis of class or ethnicity. Spatial distributions of social factors have been explained through various viewpoints focusing on housing markets and economics, labour operations, a combination of material and cultural factors and so on. However, analyses of persistence and change in such distributions across a whole city are rare, one example being Orford, Dorling, Shaw, and Smith (2002)'s study of poverty in London. They compared Booth's data to modern census data. This showed not only a gradual disparity in London's wealth from west to east, and a sharp one between north and south, marked by the river, but also the fact that the social hierarchy of areas in London had not changed between Victorian times and 1991. Despite a general knowledge that the distribution of poverty and wealth across cities can often be related to particular physical features, different levels of infrastructure and area accessibility, there are no studies which systematically link the two at the whole-city level and across time. This is because such research is fraught with difficulties in data availability and comparability – issues which will be discussed in section 4.

Much of the research work on the relationship between space and society was undertaken in the context of large American and British cities, where issues of racial segregation and concentrations of poverty have a long history of being 'spatialised' and urban sociological approaches have been used to address urban social problems within policy and planning. On the contrary, historically, Cyprus – where this case study is located – is a country where socio-economic inequalities are said to be low and social classes well integrated (Kritioti, 1988). Furthermore, since 1974 until recently, the population has been highly heterogeneous, though prior to this the Greek and Turkish population mostly lived separately and were segregated by physical boundary elements in the cities. How would then such a research approach, which links social and physical elements, bring benefits to the understanding city development through the analysis of the relationship between space and society in the case study of Limassol?

Whether there is such a relationship in the Cypriot context will be tested in this research, while the fact that immigration has been particularly pronounced over the last two decades (with the split between local and foreign population changing from around 90%-10% to 80%-20% between 2001 and 2011) makes Limassol an interesting case study to see whether there is a spatial process involved in the residential distribution of different social groups. Furthermore, there are indications that spatial divisions between affluent and less-affluent groups are increasing, with a proliferation of gated-community developments – despite low levels of crime in the country – which were initially relegated to luxury holiday

developments outside the cities and have now made their appearance within the city, not just in tourist areas, but also in more central ones. Other forms of such divisions, though not necessarily through formal borders but through physical elements of the city, may be taking shape as Limassol – like many other coastal Mediterranean cities – develops further, its demographics change and economic conditions worsen for some members of the population. It is then vital to initiate an urban social analysis in this context, which is fast changing and where an understanding of how such changes are taking a spatial form will be needed for policy and planning as the city develops and changes further in the future. It is now clear that the formation of groups and the reinforcement of their identity within the urban environment is not something that is exclusively relegated to spatial distinctions of classes, ethnicities and other ‘dissident groups’ in large Anglo-American cities, but it is something that has and is occurring in the Cypriot context as well. Space use within cities and the ‘appropriation’ of space by certain groups, such as migrants, criminals, sex workers, the youth and sexual dissidents is something that has been thoroughly analysed by social scientists in various contexts (see Valentine (2005)). The struggle to have safe spaces for congregation, the right to have a visibility in public space and the reaction of established mainstream groups to others’ appropriation of space has shaped cities in various forms by creating areas dedicated to specific groups, reinforcing the homogeneity of other areas, establishing alternative industries and leading to gentrification of certain neighbourhoods. The literature review so far has highlighted a number of key issues in the knowledge domain of urban development, in particular regarding the mechanisms of emergence and transformation of city forms. While urban theorists have tended to focus on physical aspects and actors with a certain leverage on planning decisions, sociologists have highlighted the impact of group formations on the city, the significance of everyday use and routine social activities, as well the influence of structural factors in the shaping of the identity of a city.

The balance between economic factors and socio-cultural factors, and the relationship between human actions and activities, and the spatial structure of cities is clearly what gives cities their form and identity. This is what Hillier and Vaughan (2007) term the physical city and the social city, arguing that ultimately the city is one entity as “the physical and social cities act conjointly to produce significant outcomes” (Hillier & Vaughan, 2007, p. 205). The key question that remains to be answered is what are the elements that must be taken into account, and, perhaps more importantly, what are the processes through which these relations and the tensions between them conjure up to give cities their specific form? In order to take forward a theory that truly encompasses both the social and physical nature of cities and to develop a research approach which can respond to the challenge of

analysing the processes of urban development which shape the city, some of the key issues need further elucidation. This calls for a focus on the concepts and theories that provide a ground for such an operation: the concept of emergence, the issue of group formation, identity and interests, the significance of the relationship between physical and human elements, the role of historical processes, the construction of scales and the distinction between parts and the whole. Relational theories present us with an opportunity to step away from the normative impulse that has too often driven urban scholars, as well as providing a setting for balancing the social and the physical. In particular, *assemblage* theory as developed by DeLanda (2006) and some of the concepts of the somewhat similar approach of Actor-Network Theory (ANT) as developed by Latour (2005), may fill the gaps in the theoretical frameworks presented so far.

Actor-Network Theory (ANT)

ANT asserts that the 'social' does not exist per se, but it is a product of the association between different elements, may these be human or material. In this sense, it has commonality with the Chicago School's idea that there is no ultimate understanding of what the social is, but it is rather an ever-evolving process and an outcome of how things are connected and related together. There are five theoretical 'axioms' in ANT which form the basis of its approach to the analysis of the social world, these are defined as *uncertainties* and describe the nature of key elements in the social world, they are:

1. The nature of groups. There are many ways for actors to acquire an identity. All groups need people defining who they are, what they should be and what they have been to justify the group's existence. It is always by comparison with others that a group's identity is defined and intensified – this process is continuous and it involves 'spokespersons' who define the group, including social scientists themselves who play a key role in setting a long-lasting definition of groups.
2. The nature of actions. The complexity, diversity and heterogeneity of actions require a multiplicity of agencies which must be identified and not conflated into generalisations, such as 'society', 'culture', etc. Agencies are those that are capable of having an impact and make a difference to a certain state of affairs. Therefore, their actions must be accounted for if a social process is to be identified.
3. The nature of objects. The type of agencies taking part in interactions is wide open and includes material objects. Objects can be actors in processes because their existence and their properties can modify a state of affairs. Any action relies not only

on the interaction between humans or between objects, but also on human-to-object connections.

4. The nature of facts. The link between the natural sciences and society is disputed, therefore, while scientific facts exist, social facts must be explained by the connections of entities with other entities, hence the network of linkages that explains the social must be described – or ‘traced’ in ANT terminology.
5. The nature of social science. It remains unclear and disputed in what sense social sciences can be empirical. Therefore, in order to discuss what the social is made of, not only the network must be traced, but a full description of a state of affairs must be given through a narrative, account or proposition which comprises the variety of actors involved.

ANT defines the social as either a trace left by the energy, movement and specificity of the actions in which different actors are involved and as an assembly of all such actions and actors. Social entities are therefore composite entities or assemblages, including cities, which exist “in multiple, overlapping ways” (Farías & Blok, 2014) and are composed of a multiplicity of other social assemblages which are articulated and deployed across urban settlements.

The analytical proposition offered by ANT is that the analysis of the social should extend the number and variety of actors, their connectors should be identified and their mediating role in translating a cause into an effect should be assessed. In this view scale is irrelevant as what matters is the nature of the connections between different elements. Only once this is done, it will be possible to identify the social processes which are at play in the continuous shaping of cities.

Assemblage Theory

Assemblage theory focuses on the objective process of assembly and on the specific historical processes that construct social assemblages. While criticising attempts at micro- and macro-reductionism, assemblage theory encourages the integration of different approaches to the social sciences operating at different spatial and temporal scales. The historical process and the temporal aspect in relation to change in social assemblages are seen as fundamental to how social entities emerge, are constructed and transform. These basic characteristics of assemblage theory make it particularly relevant to the study of the urban form in relation to social aspects. While it has commonality with critical theory in its emphasis on the specificity of the historical context, it differs from all the various strands of urban sociology in that, as a philosophical approach, it seeks a holistic understanding of the

city. However, contrary to what Lefevre argued with regards to philosophy (Steinø, 2003) and to ANT's view of the nature of facts, it also seeks to build on empirical evidence to establish the nature of cities as assemblages.

It asserts that the properties of a whole are not reducible to its parts and thus attempts to account for the unique properties of individual social assemblages formed at different scales. The main tenet of assemblage theory is that the parts of an assemblage do not form a whole, but it is the interactions between such parts that determine the properties of the assemblage, as in the case of cities which are "composed of entire populations of persons, networks and organisations", as well as a variety of infrastructural components, "buildings, streets and various conduits for the circulation of matter and energy, defined in part by their spatial relations to one another" (DeLanda, 2006, p. 94).

Assemblages are characterised by relations of exteriority, meaning that a component of an assemblage may be detached and plugged into another, different assemblage; while retaining its component characteristics, its interactions would be different. This is at the heart of assemblage theory, the fact that it is not the aggregation of the components' properties that define the properties of the whole, but the exercise of their capacities, which are dependent on the properties of other interacting components. Therefore, assemblages are defined by the variable role of their components (from *material* to *expressive role*) and by the variable processes the components are involved in (defined as *territorialisation* and *detrterritorialisation*), where a component may be playing a role in both processes by exercising different capacities.

Territorialisation acts to stabilise the identity of an assemblage by defining and reinforcing both spatial and non-spatial properties, thus increasing the internal homogeneity of an assemblage. Deterritorialisation acts to change the assemblage through destabilising processes such as increased geographical mobility or the effect of land rents on the land use of specific areas. Assemblages exhibit a part-to-whole relation where territorialisation provides the articulation of the components and coding (performed by expressive media) consolidates it. The process of assembly is recurrent: assemblages interact with one another while retaining properties of their own, and larger assemblages with their own capacities may emerge through *synthetic processes*. The identity of assemblages is thus seen as precarious since it is the product of a process and other processes can destabilise it. Assemblages, however, are seen as differently-scaled unique, singular entities (*individual singularities*) associated to a set of *universal singularities* (invariants shared by many different systems). These universal singularities structure the space of possibilities afforded to the assemblage, thus any assemblage, in addition to the roles and processes of

its components, is also characterised by a diagram describing the set of universal singularities associated with it.

In assemblage theory analysis must look at causal interventions and observe the effect of such interventions on the whole's behaviour, but since the causal interactions among the parts of an assemblage operate at different spatial scales, the correct scale of the mechanisms of interaction must be identified so as to show how the properties of the whole emerge from the interaction between parts. The whole, in turn, affects its parts by providing constraints and resources, limiting and enabling change. This is the reason why social assemblages have an ontological status in their own right: they are able to affect their component parts, including, for example, the people inhabiting a city.

2.2.1 Cities as Social Assemblages

According to assemblage theory, cities are social entities made up of people, organisations and networks, but cannot be conceptualised without their built form and infrastructure; both of these spheres are partly defined by their spatial relations to one another. Urban forms tend to change slowly and it is human routine activities that shape it, however, acceleration in change tend to be caused by breaks with tradition and forceful impositions, such as deliberate political, economic and design choices.

The components which play a material role in the definition of cities are the built form and connectivity of various locales. Whereas locales are the places where daily human activities converge (the local squares, churches, shops, etc.), *connectivity* (the streets, transportation and other infrastructure) is the component that enables the circulation of people and other entities between locales. Changes in connectivity therefore affect in various ways the social activities that occur in a given place. The exterior of buildings (their architecture, form, decoration, etc.) defines the character of a given locale and hence plays an expressive role in defining the nature of an assemblage.

In cities, tradition has historically been a stabilising process as changes in building techniques and planning occurred at a very slow pace. Fashion and the desire to mark social-class territories associated with increased social mobility was a powerful destabilising factor which also points to the fact that forms propagate over time through entire populations. The processes that define the boundaries of a given area and determine its internal homogeneity include *congregation* (the tendency to come together in a relatively homogeneous composition) and *segregation* (the grouping of similar populations or skills induced by external forces). Increased geographical mobility interacts with the effect of land rents as a process of deterritorialisation which produces changes in the identity of neighbourhoods. Authorities also play a role in allocative decisions and hence,

depending on their policies, can play either a territorialising or destabilising role. The processes that stabilise a city's identity relate to the definition of its borders and to the routine daily activities taking place within it, in particular residential practices.

Historically, a multiplication of centres within cities took place in many countries following WWII as increased car use coupled with suburbanisation prompted the development of retail activities in outer locations and the variety of land uses in suburban areas multiplied. The historical identity of cities characterised by mono-centricity was affected and the changes in connectivity brought about by suburban growth and new transport means acted as a deterritorialising force, thus creating many of the characteristics common to contemporary cities described by Levy (1999) as a poly-nuclear, open and fragmented peri-urban fabric.

Assemblage theory views each city as unique, but as a valid ontological entity with certain universal characteristics. Cities' identity is shaped by successive processes that take place within it. While the geographical and historical context, and the situation of a given city provides it with a range of opportunities and risks, it is the interaction between social and physical entities, which determine their exploitation or avoidance.

2.2.2 Relevance of assemblage theory and ANT to the analysis of urban development

Assemblage theory and ANT are characterised by a number of themes which are particularly relevant to the study of the urban form and its evolution. Moreover, they link the process of emergence to agencies, which take place at different scales within the urban environment, as well as between cities. The themes that are key to the process of formation and transformation of cities over time imply that an analysis of urban development should focus on a number of key issues and apply a methodology which is able to reveal the nature and features of cities' components as well as the processes that determine the identity of cities and the changes that occur within them.

ANT treats human and material actors as being both equally relevant in the emergence of the social; the social being the product of the associations between components rather than an explanatory factor of certain phenomena. It views group formation as a continuous process by which groups are constantly formed, defined and redistributed. The social side of assemblage is therefore seen as transitory, but can be identified in the traces left by the association that have been made between elements.

Below are what we consider the key contributions and opportunities offered by the use of the city as a social assemblage as an overarching framework for the analysis of urban development.

The Built Form and the Social

The city, defined as a large social assemblage, is characterised by material components and synthesising processes. An understanding of the city as an assemblage should therefore focus on both the physical components that make it up and the processes that shape it: squares, communal buildings, the location of retail facilities should be analysed along with the routine activities that take place in them. In assemblage theory, connectivity between places is deemed to be of particular importance in determining the distribution of physical elements as well as activities, therefore the street network as well as transportation patterns must be assessed. Similarly, ANT affirms that anything that modifies a state of affairs by making a difference is an actor, thus material elements must be considered in accounts that explain social entities. Action will rarely consist of human-to-human or object-to-object interactions, and will most likely move from one to the other: it is the connections between entities, human and material, that leads to the emergence of new entities, and it is thus those connections that constitute the social – in order for an entity to continue acting connections have to be maintained. Therefore, analysis must detect the connectors that enable the transportation of agencies and understand how they stabilise the social.

Emergence

According to assemblage theory, cities emerge from the interaction between their component parts, or smaller assemblages, such as neighbourhoods. Emergence in assemblage theory is not viewed exclusively as the process which creates and produces the identity of a city, but also as the process which maintains its identity in the face of destabilising processes. An analysis of cities as assemblages should therefore comprise an analysis of smaller assemblages which produce the city, its residential areas, the historical city centre, the commercial or industrial districts and so on. The understanding of the mechanisms of emergence of cities has consequences not just for urban development theory, but also for social theory since it enlightens how synthesising processes affect the city and how the city affects its components, as well as the linkages between different scales. Again here, ANT underlines that it is the connection between elements that is key in the constitution of social entities; their stabilisation occurs through the processes of group formation, segregation and congregation as well as expressive means, may these be groups' spokesperson, political talk, architectural styles or the display of symbolic items such as flags.

Scale and the Part-to-Whole Relationship

The relationship between the whole and its parts is key to understanding cities since these not only emerge from the interaction among their parts, but the whole can affect those parts in both a limiting and enabling way – a key feature of social assemblages. Here the two theories differ slightly. According to assemblage theory, analysis of urban development should therefore focus not only on the micro-macro mechanisms behind the emergence of the city, but also on the macro-micro mechanisms through which the city provides its components with both constraints and possibilities. However, since the social processes which shape the city occur not only at these two levels, but at a range of different scales, a method of analysis which accounts for these various scales is needed in order to understand how the properties of the whole emerge from the interaction between the parts and how the whole in turn affects the populations, interpersonal networks and organisations which compose it. In contrast, ANT sustains that scale, in terms of size, is irrelevant and that sites of different sizes should be placed on the same level. This is because scale is defined by the actors and by connectedness. Moreover, scale can suddenly change from what is commonly understood as micro, to what is commonly understood as macro, hence any scale could be as relevant as any other in emergence.

Causal Interactions

Assemblage theory states that analysis must include an exploration of causal interactions among the parts of an assemblage and that such interactions must be carefully disentangled since they are complex non-linear interactions which involve a mixture of causes, reasons and motives. Therefore, in order to understand the synthetic processes which shape the development of cities we must understand the distribution of the variation in its components – “the proper object of study should be how this variation is distributed in a given population” (DeLanda, 2006, p. 25). The social, according to ANT being a type of connector between human and material elements, is detectable only in the traces that it leaves when new associations are produced, thus accounts of interactions must retrace the movements from one association to the next.

Historical Processes and the Temporal Aspect

Social entities are constructed through very specific historical processes; the Chicago School viewed urban contexts as spatial localities structured in time by habitual social practices. While assemblage theory retains this definition, it adds to it in the form of the existence of expressive elements which reinforce the identity of locales, and in the detail afforded to the temporal aspect, which is acknowledged as variable since change enabled

by routine social activities is deemed to be slow, while change enabled by forceful social activities is deemed to be faster. The temporal aspect therefore plays a role in the development of cities because of the relative duration of events capable of changing assemblages: slower changes brought about by customary social practices and faster changes resulting from deliberate planning. The temporal issue also relates to spatial scale in two ways: firstly, the greater the scale, the more intense the effort to change has to be since implementing change at a large scale such as that of a city, region or nation requires greater consensus and effort from the actors involved than at a smaller scale such as that of a building or street. Secondly, the relative endurance of social assemblages may or may not correlate with scale; although on average larger assemblages tend to outlive smaller ones, it is also the case that smaller assemblages such as tightly-knit groups of neighbours or populations, or religious organisations may outlive empires and nation states.

2.2.3 Summary

Assemblage theory is a philosophy and as such it offers a holistic understanding of the city which is able to overcome the traditional divisions of specialisation of the various fields which deal with urbanity. The summary and assessment of its features shows that it offers a sound theoretical basis to respond to the problem of the city and its key three components discussed in the introduction: the ontological status of the city, the relationship between the physical and the social, and the nature of the relationality of city components.

It was not a chance occurrence that assemblage theory achieved to have such characteristics. A detailed analysis of DeLanda's work would reveal how the theory, in particular its ontological approach, is built upon evolutionary concepts. His description of the nature of assemblages comprises mechanical, technological and functional characteristics. The complexity of social assemblages is dealt with through an understanding of relationality which resonates with the work of many urbanists. Structural elements so important to critical theory are embedded within the understanding of emergence, but they exist along with the influence of habitual social routines and practices. Many of these features are shared by ANT. How both these theories can be viewed as a development and improvement building upon previous normative theories and urban sociological approaches is depicted in figure 2.2.

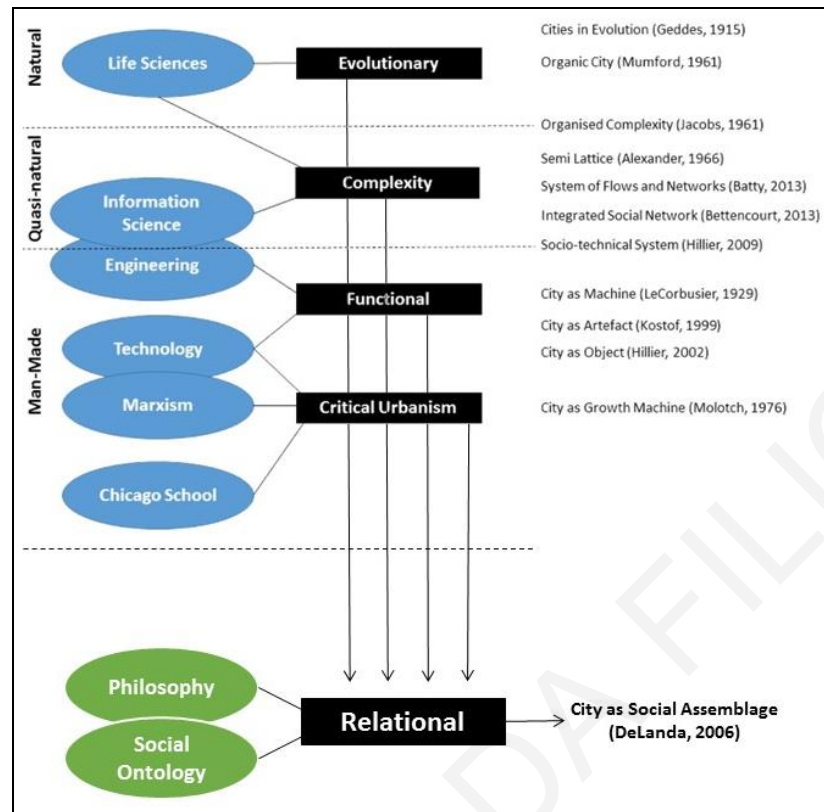


Figure 2.2. Diagram describing how relational theories and the conceptualisation of cities as social assemblages builds upon previous urban sociological theories and conceptualisations of the city.

Despite the fact that both ANT and assemblage theory bring useful insights into the characteristics of cities when viewed as assemblages, we believe that ANT remains more relevant to pure social analysis rather than urban analysis – although it has been widely used in urban studies (Farías & Blok, 2014). This is because of its tendency to retain highly fussy boundaries with regards to its objects of study and because, unlike assemblage theory, it does not enable us to consider structural social factors as a component in the processes of cities’ emergence and transformation.

Moreover, while assemblage theory provides an indication of the physical and human components that interact to create the city as a social entity, ANT – though stating that the actors to be considered for analysis should be as extensive as possible – remains ambiguous as to what should be included in analysis and the extent to which networks need to be traced for an analysis to be sufficiently comprehensive. At the same time, ANT refutes the validity of empirical findings in explaining social outcomes, while, on the contrary, assemblage theory proposes that integrating a variety of approaches addressing different spatio-temporal scales is the course to take in understanding emergence.

However, the fact remains that both theories are highly generic in proposing analytical approaches: exactly what elements, scales and interactions should be taken into account for analysis remains open for debate. This is not necessarily a shortcoming, but something that

should perhaps be viewed positively as enabling those with specific information and skills to develop analytical approaches best suited to the study of the urban form and to specific case studies – a view which is shared by the scholars of complexity science (Batty, 2013; Bettencourt, 2013a). In order to develop the analytical approach, make it relevant to our case study, and establish the key questions to be answered in relation to the problem of the city, it is now necessary to review the specific approaches that have so far been used for the study of the urban form.

2.3 Urban Morphology: Understanding City Development

The development of cities is influenced by many factors, the time of their foundation, their early development as centres of religious institutions, government administration, locations for trade and cultural exchange. Their geographical location often has an impact on their role within a specific region and their topography also plays a part in the way they develop. Historical events impact on their expansion or contraction and on their development or redevelopment: destructions caused by wars, fires or floods, drastic changes in demographics due to epidemics, wars, migration and economic cycles often mark significant changes in a city's urban structure. Formal planning by government authorities following industrialisation naturally plays a leading role along with market demands and pressure from the real estate industry. However, regulations, formal planning by local authorities and real estate developments are themselves mostly the results of changing demographics, social structures and economic cycles.

Cities have a history and their history is written into their urban form and built fabric; different historical periods manifest themselves in street patterns, architectural styles and the functional distribution of uses throughout the city. As a period follows another so the cityscape changes and the contemporary city ultimately is an accumulated historical record of all the factors that have shaped and influenced its development, however "it is an incomplete and confused record since the features created in one period are subjected to change in another in varying degree" (M. R. G. Conzen, 1960, p. 6). In most cases the existing fabric of cities tends to be adapted rather than replaced during successive courses of redevelopment. It is only in extreme cases following natural or man-made disasters or through specific urban interventions such as slum clearances that substantial replacement of the existing fabric is likely to occur, and this is likely to occur only in large cities. For this reason, as M.R.G Conzen (1960) points out, the most changeable element of cities is land use, which tends to respond quickly even to small or specific changes such as the introduction of a new street or the implementation of a transport link. On the other hand, the street is the most resistant element of cities as new roads in existing areas or significant

changes affecting the street network are limited. For all these reasons “any new period is likely to be exclusively represented by its own new building only in those outer parts that are its contemporary accretions. In the centre the introduction of new forms is usually incomplete and tardy” (M. R. G. Conzen, 1960, p. 7).

Perhaps the best known and most comprehensive overview of how cities develop and the elements they are made up of was drawn by Kostof (1992, 1999), who takes a cyclical view of the urban process, though underlining that cycles in urban development are irregular and uneven both geographically and across time. In this sense, urbanism over time faces periods of fast development and evolution, as well as long declines which vary across the world. Cities are constantly changing and, although their form may remain static for periods of time, their population and uses, the social, rather than the physical side of the cities, continues to change, develop or evolve. This view is supported by Kostof who highlights that even in the case of planned cities, the urban form is “never complete, never at rest” (Kostof, 1999, p. 13).

In the case of historic cities the contemporary urban form emerges as a serial growth of planned elements sawn onto an original historical core. The social, economic and cultural conditions that generated the form are most often revealed in “the ways in which these additions are meshed with, or purposely discriminated from, the older fabric” (Kostof, 1999, p. 36). The relationship between cultural factors and the ways in which cities develop and new elements in the fabric are added onto the historical core is so important to Kostof that he states that we can only “read form correctly... to the extent that we are familiar with the precise cultural conditions that generated it” (Kostof, 1999, p. 10).

Other than Kostof’s general take of what constitutes as city and how the urban process (the physical change through time) unfolds, there are elements of his historical analysis which are particularly relevant to this thesis. First is the fact that planned cities tend to be ‘disrupted’ through a bottom-up process by which changes are made to adapt the form to some functional or cultural need. An example of this is the post-Roman city: since humans are not inclined to make right angle turns, but rather to minimise angle changes when selecting routes through a system, and also due to the fact that the most effective layout for suppliers and traders in Medieval times was the wheel (as in streets radiating out from a central market to city gates), very quickly short-cuts were carved into the rigid Roman grid imposed by centralised power¹. The issue of the effectiveness of the layout for serving

¹ Kostof uses the term ‘natural movement’ to refer to our tendency to minimise angles turns. This is a concept that was empirically proven and formalised by space syntax theory (Hillier, Penn, Hanson, Grajewsky, & Xu, 1993). With regards to the wheel being the most functional layout for trading in Medieval times, this may be correct in the pre-motor age and in the cases where cities were walled with only a small number of entry-exit points in fortifications approximating a circle. It needs however to be

trading purposes is relevant not only to market towns, but also to port cities where the layout needed to serve the purpose of meeting import-export requirements, especially in the cases where ports functioned as getaways to the agricultural inland producing export goods.

Second is the difference between the Roman and the Islamic urban form which Kostof describes respectively as outer-related and involuted. In the case of Roman towns the structure of housing units related to individual families, while in Islamic towns the population grouped itself according to kinship. Therefore, the Roman grid provided the public space where individual families would meet, while the Islamic block tended to be merged together within an inward communication system made up mostly of cul-de-sacs serving one specific group within the city. This difference has been retained between western (influenced by the Roman tradition) and eastern (influenced by the Islamic tradition) cities, where different cultural norms relating to family and kinship as well interaction between different groups in society such as between different classes or between men and women are viewed differently. This is particularly relevant to the case of Cyprus where the two different traditions have coexisted for centuries and both had an impact on the urban form and architecture of Cypriot cities.

The study of cities' evolution, which we refer to here as diachronic analysis, requires the capability to link all these different elements, historical and geographical, and relate them to each other in a meaningful way, so as to draw inferences as to the nature of changes in each element and how these interact spatially and over time.

Diachronic analysis of cities aims to study the human form of settlements and the process of their formation and transformation. In order to fully understand contemporary city form and aid planning in its interventions into the existing fabric, as well as in setting effective policies for growth, it is vital to establish what characteristics of the city should be studied and what approaches are commonly used for such research. Diachronic analysis remains a challenging area for scholars in different fields, including urban history, spatial analysis and historical geography, as the complexity of cities makes them particularly hard to analyse, especially across time. In order to address this problem a theoretical framework of what a city is and how it evolves needs to be set for an effective analytical approach to be put in place.

Furthermore, assessing how cities have developed requires both accurate cartographic records as well as historical and current sources of information on their demographics, their history and their land uses. Many historical records and data, even within a short time

noted that the *superstructure* of modern cities approximates a deformed wheel, rather than a wheel, and that this type of layout relates to trading functions (Hillier, 2002).

span, are not easily comparable to current ones and tend to require either processing or summarisation for comparison. At the same time differences in the quality of cartographic records and the points of interest and land uses they report means that analytical tools able to capture specific properties of cities regardless of the detail of information available, are needed in order to assess changes in the built form, identify what processes enable such changes and relate these to the ways in which cities function.

Despite these barriers to the analysis of city development, the scholarship in the field of urban morphology is vast and has produced a number of categories of urban typologies and identified certain processes according to which cities evolve. The identification of such processes has in turn led to new and refined conceptualisations of the city and theories about potential 'rules' of development applicable to all cities, as well as universal and individual characteristics which define the ontological nature of cities.

Different methodologies have been developed and used to approach the analysis of the evolution of cities, but have often been applied in isolation and are characterised by specific national trends which have led to the emergence of separate schools of thought. Some of these methodologies are embedded within the tradition of various theories of the city which were discussed in section 2.1. The main approaches and their related schools of thought are: 1) the historical-geographical approach of the British school of town plan analysis initiated by M. R. G. Conzen in the 1960s; 2) the process typological approach of the Italian school based on the work of S. Muratori in the 1940s; 3) the configurational approach developed by the space syntax community, which is embedded within space syntax theory (see Appendix 2) and has led to Hillier's theorisation of the city as an object and as a socio-technical system (Hillier, 2002, 2012); and 4) the spatial analytical approach which is applied through a variety of methods by different scholars within the wider theory of cities as complex systems, but is mostly associated with the work of the Centre for Advanced Spatial Analysis (CASA).

Extensive methodological knowledge for the analysis of urbanisation processes was also developed at the Versailles school of architecture, which places emphasis on how the built form sustains social practices and views the relationship between the built environment and society as dialectical. This approach is best exemplified by the work of Noizet (2009) and the related concept of *fabrique urbaine*. It has been refuted, however, that a single coherent French school of urban morphology exists, as the field of knowledge is very fragmented, not uniform, and developed by various architectural schools with varied methodologies throughout France (Darin, 1998). While the work of Noizet and her approach can inform the selection of analytical tools, they are primarily based on a small number of empirical studies and are therefore reviewed in section 2.4.

2.3.1 The Historical-Geographical Approach

The school of M.R.G Conzen focuses on five aspects of urban settlements: site, function, townscape, social and economic context, and development. The townscape is said to comprise three groups of forms: the town plan, the pattern of land use, and the building fabric. The form of the town plan is further subdivided into three elements, which make up the key physical components of the urban form: the streets and their arrangement, the plots and their aggregation into blocks and the buildings. One aspect that is given specific attention by the Conzenian approach is the relationship between blocks and the block plans of buildings. There are essentially three concepts of urban development on which the historical-geographical approach is based: the burgage cycle, the morphological region and the fringe belt.

The analytical focus on the relationship between the blocks and the block plans of buildings is what led to the identification of the burgage cycle – the transformation of a single object such as a plot or a building, which repeats itself through the progressive filling-in of the backland of burgages with buildings.

This process ultimately ends with clearance during times of inactivity and prior to a phase of redevelopment. It is, essentially, a specific type of repletion often associated with new functional requirements (Whitehand, 2007a).

The second concept of the morphological region refers to an area that has a certain consistency in its form, a unity, which distinguishes it and makes it identifiable as different from its surroundings. Ultimately for M.R.G. Conzen, the analysis of the various urban elements and the ways in which they are related has the aim of categorising areas into morphological regions, which have common features and characteristics with respect to their form and are so distinguished from their surrounding areas (Whitehand, 2001), hence identifying various morphological periods. These morphological regions produce larger composite urban entities which are defined as having 'ganzheit' (wholeness, unity, entirety) character forming town centres, neighbourhoods, quarters and fringe belts (M. R. G. Conzen, 2004).

Finally, fringe belts emerge due to the cyclical process of expansion, whose progress is uneven, can be slow and defined by pauses (Oliveira, 2016). This process involves the establishment of certain land uses at the urban fringe during periods when the built-up area is stable or only growing at a slow pace. Initially, fringe belts include large open areas, public utilities and open land attached to institutions (Whitehand, 2007b). Following this occurs a filling-in of gaps during periods of high-density development, followed by further expansion; it is the connections and merging of different morphological regions which cause the formation of a single, but more complex object such as a neighbourhood of

settlements. These dynamics give rise to urban structures in which higher-density residential areas alternate with fringe belts – this has been shown to be the case in a variety of case studies across northern Europe, but also in other areas of the world (M. P. Conzen, 2009).

The concept of urban fringe belts was originally formulated by Herbert Louis in the 1930s (Louis, 1936), but was later developed by M. R. G. Conzen in the 1960s because of the identification of the process described above. It has since been used in various urban morphological analyses of European cities as well as in the Americas and, to a lesser extent, other continents. M. R. G. Conzen holds that urbanisation initially leads to an increase in population density in the historic core, followed by an expansion along the main routes of approach to the town; once this network of major roads is filled up, the subsequent development occurs by filling in the gaps between the major routes, thus constructing a new zone around the old core. In most European cases fringe belts tend to develop either as radial corridors along major transport routes or as concentric belts. Different morphological periods and the continued expansion of cities, along with the formation of new fringe belts, are also associated with developments in transport technology and infrastructure.

The process of fringe-belt development is characterised by a series of subsequent phases: a fixation phase of initial establishment of the fringe belt, during which a few dispersed units are constructed in the open land at the edge of the built-up zone and give the area its first identity as a fringe belt. This is followed by an expansion phase during which further units are added to the area, thus densifying the belts, and finally there is a consolidation phase which sees the filling in of empty plots within the belt, although some open areas may remain in the long term, while some plots may be taken over by residential accretions rather than fringe-belt uses (M. R. G. Conzen, 1960).

Fringe belts are subject to a number of transformations, which take place over time as the city grows, its street network expands and as functional requirements change with population growth, socio-economic and technological developments. The main transformations that occur to fringe belts are: 1) reduction, meaning the loss of component plots, which can occur through either 2) absorption (or alienation), which is the replacement of a unit by a functionally different component or 3) translation, which is the 'moving' of a unit to a newer fringe belt, without a change of site. The latter occurs because of the development of a new fringe belt in an area adjacent to the older one and sometimes involves the insertion of a fixation line, such as a road or a railway line between the translated unit and the older belt.

The idea of urban fringe belts has enabled the description of urban growth over time as a response to technological development and economic cycles. It was Whitehand (1977) who first analysed the relationship between building construction cycles and fringe belts; his findings showed a link between the urban economy and the various phases of fringe belt formation and residential growth. According to these findings and later research it is during economic slumps that institutional development and private development which require large spaces accumulate at the urban fringe, while during economic booms residential building extends into the new urban periphery (Whitehand, 2001). Pre-requisites for the emergence of fringe belts are a sequence of economic cycles and an established urban core around which fringe-belt expansion can occur. How the process of fringe belt formation and densification by residential development occurs is exemplified in figure 2.3. The first part of this image is adapted from Whitehand (1994) and has been generalised to remove the specific British context within which the model was developed. In order to simplify the visual representation of fringe belts, Conzen's model was always depicted as concentric belts. However, as mentioned above, fringe belts can also develop as radial corridors, therefore the second part of the image was produced to provide a more comprehensive model of how fringe belts are formed within the actual structure of cities. The two models are not exclusive of each other and in real-life cases they can overlap.

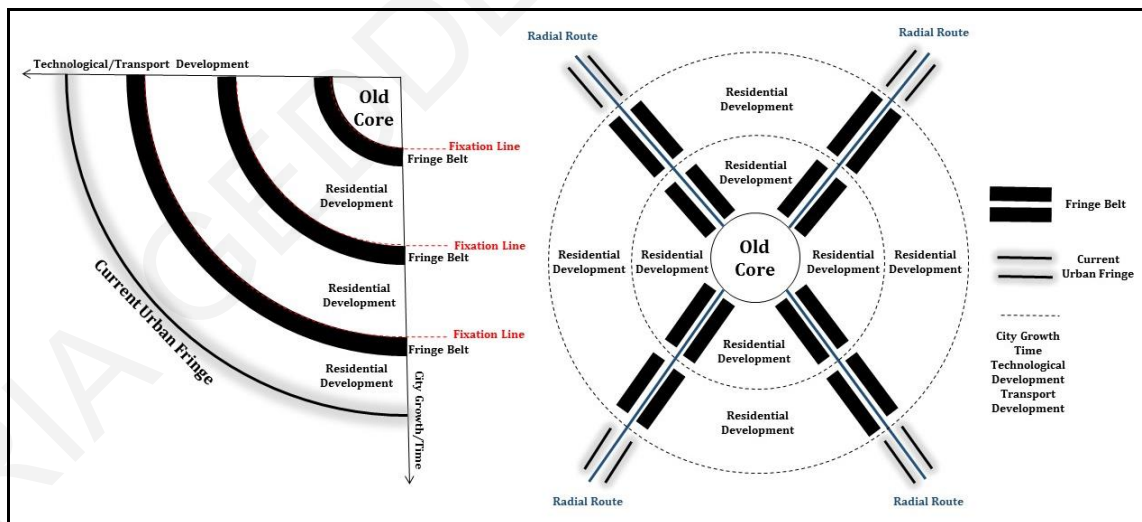


Figure 2.3. Conzen's fringe belt model as concentric belts (left, adapted from Whitehand, 1994) and as radial belts (right).

M. P. Conzen (2009) carried out a comparative analysis of available studies of urban fringe-belts; his findings show that older cities often have more fringe belts than younger ones and that their inner fringe-belts (IFBs) tend to be complex because of longer development times and exposure to redevelopment pressures. However, the number, nature and complexity of

fringe belts depends on the size and growth history of the city as well as on its topology, for example the proximity of mountain slopes. Certain morphological elements of cities, such as urban fortifications or railway lines – often referred to as ‘fixation lines’ – can have great significance in the location and the development of fringe-belts, in particular IFBs, but planning developments such as large open spaces or major routes of the road network can also have an influence.

Within the Conzenian tradition, the socio-economic context of development is taken to be the mixture of land uses and functions (residential or commercial) and their interaction across the whole city. In this sense, while the socio-economic context is seen as being defined by the interaction between human activities and the built form, it is limited to the scale of the city itself and does not consider wider structural issues. However, Whitehand’s research has shown that the process of fringe belt formation is closely associated with housebuilding cycles. While these can, to a certain extent, be influenced by local and regional economic and demographic contexts, they are also deeply affected by macro-economics and by the impact of global trends on local demographics.

Furthermore, a significant amount of historical-geographical research has looked into the impact of agents who directly and indirectly shape the urban form, as well as the interactions between them: landowners, developers, architects, builders, financiers, planners, local policy-makers, builders, etc. (Whitehand & Morton, 2004, 2006).

The research on these ‘agents of change’ and their role in the processes of urban transformations was summarised by Oliveira (2016) based on the work of Whitehand (1992; 1984). According to this work, developers are the most heterogeneous group as they might include individuals, who can coincide with the builders, as owner-occupiers or speculative developers, private and public enterprises whose nature changes from time to time in history and might vary from secular to religious to industrial institutions. Economic and fashion cycles might affect the timing and character of developments, while time lapses can occur due to changes in financial circumstance or to the intervention of planning authorities. Developers also play a key role in determining building types and density which are also influenced by land values. Architects often act as mediators between developers and authorities, while also influencing the selection of builders and the character of developments. The role of architects has changed over time and the impact of their actions on cities has entered public awareness, especially in the case of larger developments, while at the same time many architects have taken on a broader and more socially-engaged role. In many cases, however, there are tensions between the objectives of the developers, the regulations imposed by planners and the views of the architects; the resulting urban landscape is a product of the interactions between these agents, where the

element of time influences decision-making through changing views, policies and priorities, and is often different from what was initially envisaged (Whitehand, 1989).

Planning authorities have also become more prominent agents in the process of development as legislation and regulation has increased over time across most geographical areas. Their role involves development control, which has an indirect impact through reaction and response to proposals, often creating conflict with developers, as well as proactive activities of plan development and design of proposal, especially in relation to the street network, which have a more direct impact on the urban form (Oliveira, 2016). Thanks to the findings relating to socioeconomic cycles, as well as the analysis of the various agents who have an impact on the urban form or mediate the actions of other agents, the historical-geographical approach still holds great potential for the understanding of the causal pathways which see structural and local socio-economic factors shaping the form of the city.

It is held here that the most valuable contribution brought by the historical-geographical approach is not so much the ability to identify different morphological periods within a city, as argued by M.R.G. Conzen, but its capacity to describe a process of emergence – that of fringe belt formation – which has been found across a wide variety of cities. It also provides evidence as to the causal factors and pathways through which these are mediated and deployed in the urban form. As such, it has the potential of offering the tools to understand how the linkages between global and local physical and social elements are synthesised into the urban form.

2.3.2 The Process Typological Approach

The work of the Italian School is based on the idea of a 'typological process', a cumulative effect of the changing relationship between the building type and the urban fabric. It stems from the work of Muratori, who attempted to develop 'operational histories' of cities to provide the basis for the integration of new developments into the existing urban fabric. In order to do this he attempted to develop an analytical system to interpret the process of civilisation through architecture (Oliveira, 2016). The original aim of this approach was to inform architectural and urban design in its attempt to incorporate the built heritage within the design process and to achieve a sense of continuity between the existing fabric and new developments. In order to do this, the understanding of the processes of urban transformation was seen as vital to inform design choices which would unite existing historical forms with contemporary designs.

This approach was later developed by Caniggia, whose work is embedded within the normative theory of the city as an organism, who further focused the analytical method on

the interpretation of urban transformations in order to inform architectural designs (Cataldi, 2003). According to Caniggia, the evolution of form resulted from a dynamic process of typological transformations – the reshaping of a particular social logic expressed in the built form through various political and economic forces.

This approach initially focused on investigating the areas where new developments met the older urban fabric in order to understand the progressive stratification of the built form in the city, as well as the accretions and redevelopments of the original core of settlements. Muratori then developed a theoretical view of cities as both living organisms and works of art while proposing an approach to architectural practice and urban planning which should be based on continuity with the local culture.

Process typological studies take as their basis the distinction between spatial and temporal relations, which are termed as *copresence* and *derivation*. The analysis of copresence uses a set of components, which are found to aggregate together to form another component within a hierarchical structure. In the case of cities, buildings are the basic individual elements, which are associated together and structured to form an *urban tissue* or *aggregate*; the combination of tissues forms a system, which is a neighbourhood or district; the connecting together of such districts forms the organism of the city. Different scales and how these exercise capacities which lead to the formation of larger aggregation is the fundamental structure of the typological process: the smallest scale of the building ‘works up’ through a process of aggregation to form a neighbourhood, which then again ‘works up’ to form a settlement. The approach also advocates that consideration should be given to the territorial scale and how settlements are connected together. The process of formation of urban tissues from the aggregation of buildings is depicted in figure 2.4.

Figure 2.4. The formation of urban tissues from the aggregation of buildings in generalised examples; reproduced from Caniggia and Maffei (2001, p. 130)

The identification of the process of aggregation of the various components of the urban form through various kinds of transformations is set within the framework of a typological process leading to cycles of change. The forms found at different levels of the hierarchy are categorised as types, which are seen as cultural expressions specific to the local historical context. Within this approach the form of buildings is considered to be dictated by a shared historical consensus and is modified through the experience of previous buildings, technological development and socio-cultural changes. Over time the process of aggregation leads to growth and to the diversification of forms according to local contexts. Therefore, derivation takes place through the cyclical reproduction and modification of forms, which involves the relationship between a population's shared cultural concept and the act of construction.

The use of the process typological approach has shown the ability to identify not only changes which are repeated, hence moving from one historical period to another, but also the sequence of longer-term transformations and modifications which reflect change from one era to another. The benefit of this approach is that it identifies a process of derivation which is an invariant in the way cities develop, but it also accounts from the variety of distinct forms between cities through the impact of local contexts. Such a methodology is

useful in identifying different typological periods and eras, shedding light on how new additions to the urban fabric are meshed with or discriminated from the older fabric. In fact, one key contribution of this approach is the development of a method which has the ability to identify different phases in a city's history by highlighting the process of typological change. However, it remains somewhat unclear as to how the local context and the wider cultural factors which produce diversification are assessed and analysed. Across process typological studies, this is commonly done through historical analysis of various socio-cultural conditions and thus through specific local knowledge of the context – this is often systematically achieved through archival research related to the case studies and the historical periods addressed by the analyses (Corsani, 2013).

Another vital contribution of the process typological approach to the study of urban development is the shift from a focus on individual elements of the urban form to one on the social, economic and cultural conditions that generated the modification of one urban form to another. However, while the approach is specific in term of analysis of the physical aspect of cities through the identification and categorisation building typologies and urban tissues, it remains generic with regards to the methods to be used to identify the conditions which generate the transformations. Moreover, it is a highly intensive methodology which requires accurate records of planning developments, extensive field surveys, and the availability of substantial archival information related to local contexts. As such, it is an approach which is difficult to apply to individual research focusing on the city-wide scale. It is also best suited to cities with long development histories, where different typological eras can be identified, and where historical and planning records are sufficient for the identification of cultural shifts articulated through the built heritage. Many of these features are lacking in the case study addressed by this research. However, certain analytical guidelines provided by this approach, such as the need for archival research, and its focus on the wider factors which contribute to the transformation of forms remain vital elements to be embedded in an analytical approach.

2.3.3 The Configurational Approach

The configurational approach to urban morphology seeks to describe the structure of cities in terms of the relations between each space and all other spaces within a system. It proposes that space can be described independently of other factors, such architectural styles or land use distributions, and can therefore be given consideration as to how it relates to society. Space syntax theory and methodology (described in detail in Appendix 2) represent this approach: as a theoretical model it views the structure of space as being correlated with social outcomes, in particular with the function of movement, which is seen

as a product of the spatial layout; as a set of analytical techniques, it attempts to assess the nature and extent of the relationship between urban space and socio-functional outcomes (Hillier, 2014).

The configurational approach is distinct from other approaches because of its emphasis on space and the structure of spaces which produces the configuration of the city as a whole. Space syntax models the spatial structure as it is perceived and viewed by humans, as such it “implicitly includes the relation between humans and physical form” (Kropf, 2009, p. 111). Space syntax tools have now long been used for the analysis of whole city structures and to identify the impact of changes in the urban form on the functioning of the city, as well as relating these to socio-economic factors. Being devoid of the influence of architectural styles, geographical differences and historical periods, space syntax has proven particularly useful in identifying similarities and differences in the urban structure of cities across the world.

What is clear from space syntax research is that cities share similar global structures in the shape of a deformed wheel, but highly different localised spaces, in particular residential areas, which reveal different forms from city to city, country to country and even more so, from culture to culture. Hillier (2002) has theorised that these similarities and differences are driven by two kinds of social forces, the micro-economic and the socio-cultural forces respectively. This is because micro-economic activity will, by necessity, seek to be inclusive and culturally non-specific in order to attract trade and it is in these spaces that people of different cultural backgrounds tend to mix. On the other hand, local areas reflect socio-cultural differences expressed spatially because the relationship between space and culture is largely mediated by movement and co-presence of people in space, hence regulating social encounters. This is why the essential similar superstructure of settlements, their global, small number of long lines in the shape of a deformed wheel are generated by the micro-economic process trying to minimise distance. At the same time, a different background structure of settlements, their high number of short lines forming residential areas, is generated by the cultural process. This was effectively shown by the space syntax analysis of Nicosia (Hillier & Vaughan, 2007) where two different cultures coexisted. Here local areas settled by Turkish residents and those settled by Greek residents show a very different pattern: the Turkish quarter comprises shorter lines which do not often pass through each other and tend to form separate local clusters – a feature typical of Islamic cities and also highlighted by Kostof (1999). At the other end of the spectrum, the Greek quarter tends to have longer lines crossing each other and is much more integrated into the wider system. The Turkish area is also less intelligible than the Greek one and has less synergy between the global and local scales (lower correspondence of lines of high local

and global integration). However, the global structure of the city still displays the deformed wheel pattern, which “overrides the cultural differences in the residential fabric of space, and creates the global system of spaces where cultures come together” (Hillier & Vaughan, 2007).

Aside the identification of invariants and differences across cities, space syntax research has identified two key processes in the development of cities: *centrality* and *compactness*. The process of centrality happens because people’s movement in cities has both a global and a local aspect, the one reflecting circulation in and out of the system, the other within the system. As cities grow, so do their centres; however, their spatial configuration also changes and has an impact on people’s movement and the location of land uses (Hillier, 1999). Because of this, centres also tend to shift and diversify – it is the “tension between the internal and external movement economies of the settlement [that] is the fundamental reason why centrality tends to shift toward the edges of the settlement” (Hillier, 2002, p. 25).

Hillier (2002) demonstrated that centrality has a powerful impact on the generative process of cities, to the extent that he defined it as a generative law, which states that “an object placed centrally in a space will increase universal distance² more than one placed peripherally” (Hillier, 2002, p. 17). This has implications for the way cities change when built elements are added to an urban system as an object placed close to one object and far from another will minimise the increase in universal distance. The opposite is also true: an object placed at equal distance from two other objects will maximise the increase in universal distance. Doing the former will tend to create long and short lines, while doing the latter will tend to create lines of similar length. If creating longer lines, even if this causes the creation of a short line, is beneficial to minimising distance, then it follows that conserving longer lines at the expense of shorter lines when a system changes will also minimise the gain in distance and hence will preserve interaccessibility as a settlement grows. The counterpart to the law of centrality is the law of compactness, which states that “the more compact an object or group of objects... then the less the increase in universal distance in the surrounding space” (Hillier, 2002, p. 18); this means that a compact object will also minimise gain in universal distance compared to an elongated object of equal area. Hillier then argues that local interaccessibility operates through the compactness law which is driven by the residential process and socio-cultural factors, while global interaccessibility operates through the centrality law which is driven by settlement growth, the public space process and micro-economic factors. It is the combination of these two processes over time

² Universal distance is defined as the average distance of each segment from any other segment in a system, see Hillier (1996, chapter 3) for further details.

that make “the locally highly differentiated and globally highly structured pattern of urban space come into being” (Hillier, 2002, p. 23). A generalised model of how the two processes operate over time is shown in figure 2.5.

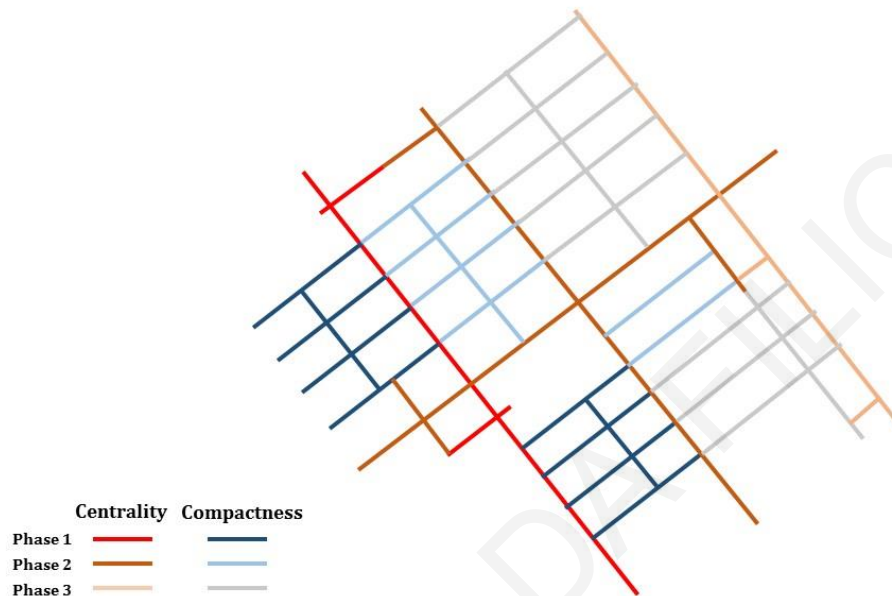


Figure 2.5. Generalised model of the processes of centrality and compactness

Further space syntax research has revealed that at certain transformative stages of a city a large gain in accessibility values of a locality is followed by subdivisions in the same areas. This indicates that centrality drives the generative process and precedes the emergence of densification through compactness, articulated in the development of grids in areas surrounding long routes, as well further subdivision of existing grids (Al-Sayed et al., 2012). These findings suggest that there might be a relationship between the processes of fringe belt formation and densification, and those of centrality and compactness. Such a relationship might be closer than previously thought with regards to both the physical components involved in these processes and socio-economic elements which were shown to relate to these processes. The key linkage between the two is the fact that fringe belts tend to develop aside long radial or concentric routes, with large uses placed in the periphery (hence attempting to minimise the increase in distance) and comprise uses which are found to relate to the spatial properties of these routes. Moreover, the formation of fringe belts and the process of centrality are both said to relate to economic forces as the former takes advantage of low land prices in peripheral areas while the other attempts to sustain the movement economy through the provision of spatial properties. Densification

and the process of compactness are both temporally subsequent to fringe belt formation and centrality.

The potential of the configurational approach lies in its ability to measure and value the interrelationship between spaces of the city, and its capability to identify processes of growth which give cities both their common invariant features, as well as the diversity of their background structure. It also has the capacity of relating spatial properties to distributions of uses and functions, as well as certain social and cultural factors. Space syntax, however, sees the structure of cities as arising from local processes, rather than being influenced by wider structural issues. As such it has so far not focused on assessing whether wider socio-economic or political factors might also relate to the processes of city development, although it does hint at the fact that the morphogenetic process of cities is a response to changing circumstances and that it takes place in order to address change as well as to stabilise the urban form in response to change (Hillier, 2014).

2.3.4 The Spatial Analytical Approach

The spatial analytical approach is embedded within complex systems theory and sees the emergence of cities as developing from local processes. This approach uses a range of methods and models derived from mathematics and informatics in order to improve and perfect the ways to describe the complexity of cities. It focuses on how interactions between components give rise to certain patterns and the processes through which such patterns evolve to form complex systems.

This approach is broader and more heterogeneous than the other three discussed in the sections above. Spatial analysis is, in fact, a highly generic term, which refers to any quantitative and statistical analysis of locational data; there are, however, three spatial analytical tools which are widely and specifically used for researching the urban form and the processes of its formation and transformation: cellular automata (CA), agent-based models (ABM) and fractal geometry.

The scale of the models produced by this approach are dependent on the phenomenon they aim to model and vary from the scale of neighbourhoods to that of the city or a wider region. The data displayed and analysed in any model might represent different elements within the city – physical or human – often these are summarised at the scale of the plot, census area or other administrative division depending on the data source. The way the data are aggregated depends on the source of the data and on the phenomenon studied, but they tend to represent generic development and only rarely include routes.

Much of the spatial analytical approach attempts to model changes, for example in land use distributions or resident populations. Rather than trying to provide descriptions of actual

situations or attempting a predictive model, the approach is trying to identify basic mechanisms at work in the growth and transformation of cities by focusing on specific and essential aspects (Batty, 2007). In doing so, it is intentionally ambiguous about the difference between physical form and use in order to assess whether certain factors and processes give rise to structures which are comparable to the urban form. This has been found to be the case as the models produced “clearly resemble the spatial distribution of urbanised areas within a sub-region” (Kropf, 2009, p. 110) as shown in figure 2.6.

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Figure 2.6. Graphic output from an agent-based computer model of a sub-regional urban system; reproduced from Batty (2007, p. 253)

The purpose of the models is to understand the socio-spatial structure and dynamics through which the global structure of cities emerges from the interaction between small-scale social and physical elements via local processes.

Cellular automata models tend to focus on physical land development, although they do sometimes include social and economic interactions, and larger scale areas, while agent-based models tend to assess finer scales of the urban form, including pedestrian movement and local areas. One of the benefits of CA models is that they are formulated in clear and simple terms, but they have the ability of capturing the complexity of spatial phenomena. In these models cells are discrete spatial elements which are defined by a certain

characteristic or where a phenomenon occurs; each cell therefore can be deemed as having a certain status. The status of neighbouring cells defines the relationship between the cells, while a set of rules changes the state of the cells as time unfolds. Such models therefore offer the opportunity to model the urban form and simulate urban dynamics through the temporal process.

ABMs are aimed at measuring outcomes of the actions of a variety of different agents. They simulate such actions through an 'automaton' – a mechanism whose procedure changes depending on certain features, rules and inputs from surrounding elements; the agents providing the inputs could be any element of the urban form, physical or human. The agents are spatial in the sense that they are associated with a particular space in the system, which can change with time, thus reflecting movement. Agents are also assigned a specific and purposeful behaviour, which provides the input into the automaton, and can simulate specific agents in the real-life world.

The idea beyond fractal geometry is that it has the ability to represent complex, irregular and fragmented patterns, which Euclidean geometry is unable to depict. While it was originally devised to depict natural patterns it quickly became used to represent urban forms as *fractals* were found to be representative of the characteristics of urban patterns at different scales (Batty & Longley, 1994). The main characteristics of fractals is that they are irregular, having a broken or fragmented appearance, but their irregularities are statistical, and can be subdivided into parts which resemble the whole. Batty & Longley (1994) argue that the form of cities is fractal and that much urban theory actually describes the city by using the same terminology which describes the characteristics of fractals; one example could be that a neighbourhood is a part of the city, which resembles the whole city at a smaller scale in both its form and function.

The cumulative body of work produced by scholars of the spatial analytical approach has yielded a number of findings which were observed across cities from all over the world (Bettencourt, 2013b). These key findings mostly relate to scaling and can be summarised as following: 1) the larger the city, the denser – and more sustainable – it is (within a regional or national network); 2) the larger the city, the smaller the volume of infrastructure per capita (measured as the length of roads, pipes and cables); and 3) the larger the city, the more likely it is to be wealthier, more expensive, more productive and more creative (measured through GDP per capita, the number of creative enterprises and the number of patents filed). These findings suggest that there is a process in place by which the flow of goods, information and ideas, as well as interacting social networks, structure the city, its growth and evolution to maximise cultural and functional efficiency. While these findings are useful and may provide the basis for a new theoretical model (Bettencourt, 2013a),

complexity science has not yet reached the stage of building a comprehensive model and continues to adopt different approaches to understand different aspects of the problem of the city.

The attempt to develop a science of cities started from the objective of understanding form and retains a normative drive of providing the basis for interventions. However, its models quickly shifted to be dominated by function in the attempt to understand how different elements of the city are related and what the dynamics of growth and transformation are – in doing so it started focusing more on processes as these have also become of greater concern to planning (Batty, 2013). In this sense, this approach is taking the view that functions are an outcome of the linkages between material and human components, and as such should be the focus of analysis to identify the processes of emergence. While the attempt to combine approaches and to trace and measure linkages is certainly vital in understanding city development, the limited scope given to physical form is a shortcoming. The spatial analytical approach, as the term suggests, takes an analytical relationality view of cities and, while it provides great insight into the functioning of cities as networks and as such it can form the basis for planning infrastructures, it has limited potential for understanding and planning the urban form of cities unless the physical components are re-embedded in its models.

2.3.5 Summary

As we have seen all approaches offer certain analytical benefits, but also have shortcomings, mostly relating to their ability to account for wider structural factors in their analysis of form. This is perhaps understandable as all the approaches which specifically deal with form tend to originate from the field of urban studies – more concerned with local processes – than from the field of sociology – more concerned with global processes. However, all also seem to be open to the possibility that inferences can be made with regards to wider factors influencing the evolution of form. In particular, whenever these approaches have identified processes of change, wider, more global structural issues have entered the discourse on the causality of such processes. If we look at the findings of the analytical approaches in light of the theoretical framework proposed by assemblage theory, we may view the transformative processes not so much as ‘laws’ or ‘rules of development’, but rather as synthesising mechanisms of various components at local and global scales exercising their capacities. As such, the processes are neither stabilising nor destabilising the form of the city, but might be doing either or both depending on the specific historical circumstances.

All the methodologies reviewed above can be applied 'statically' to analyse the urban form at one specific point in time, but their basis can be used as the foundation for diachronic analysis which tends to follow one of two approaches: either an analysis of the role of persistent elements in the urban fabric, or of the changing relationships between existing elements which explain the transformation of the urban fabric, although some models also look at the superimposition of one fabric over another (Levy, 1999). More recently, attention has also been paid not only to the effects of the imposition of a new fabric on an existing one but also to the disappearance of elements from the urban fabric (see for example Al-Sayed et al. (2012)). With regards to the capacity of each approach to be deployed within a diachronic analysis of an empirical study, it seems that the spatial analytical approach ought to be excluded from this research project because of its need to employ accurate data which can be modelled mathematically and such data are not available historically in the case study of Limassol. Moreover, this approach focuses on generalised models rather than empirical analyses. While we wish to retain a quantitative analysis and a focus on the linkages between the components found in the case study, we retain the assemblage theory view that it should be empirical analysis that informs the understanding of the emergence of cities. Therefore, while it is possible to apply basic forms of spatial analysis, such as thematic mapping and correlations of contemporary spatial data, developing a generalised model is beyond the scope of this research. At the same time, while the process typological approach seems to hold great potential for assessing the existence of certain mechanisms, it may need to be excluded due the intensity of its methodology. As this study must retain a focus on the whole city as an ontological entity, the process typological approach is not viable for use at the whole-city scale within the scope of PhD research.

With regards to combining the approaches within a wider theoretical framework, further details will be given in section 3, but we need to assess here if and on what common grounds the approaches could be combined. Kropf (2001) highlights that the Italian and British schools share the common notion that different kinds of change go through a formative or transformative process. However, while the British school has to a certain extent neglected the analysis of the process which leads from one morphological period to another, the Italian school has focused on the process of adaptation of one typology into another, leaving "scope for exploring links between the Conzenian morphological period and the Caniggian typological process" (Whitehand, 2001, p. 107). At the same time, we have seen the potential relationship between the processes identified by the historical-geographical and the configurational approaches. As such, combining a Conzenian approach with a space syntax one might prove particularly useful in developing the understanding of

the process of development and what factors are synthesised by such processes. To gain a better overview of the commonalities and differences of the approaches, the key physical and social elements and the way they view relationality is summarised in table 2.1.

Approach	Physical Features	Social Features	Spatial Relations	Human-Physical Relations	Temporal Relations
Historical-Geographical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Site • Town plan (Street, Plot, Building) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Function • Land Use Pattern 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Street Pattern • Plot Pattern • Building Pattern 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social and Economic Context 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cyclical change
Process Typological	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Building • Urban Tissue • District • City 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural Context • Historical Context 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aggregation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intention • Construction 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Derivation (Cyclical Reproduction, Modification of Form)
Configurational	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Street • Open Space 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use • Occupation • Movement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Network Structure • Interconnectivity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perception • Movement Economy • Cultural context 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cyclical Growth • Diversification
Spatial Analytical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Plot • Parcel • Census Tract • Built-up Area • Route 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Network Structure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Flows 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Feedback (Continuous Readjustment)

Table 2.1. Components of the urban form and their relationality identified by the different urban morphological approaches.

Clearly, there is no single aspect of either physical form or social feature which is common to all the different approaches, although different components and relations tend to recur through two or more approaches. As Kropf points out all physical aspects can be seen as “co-dependent facets of the same phenomenon” (2009, p. 117). As such, spatial relations are the actual physical form of the whole, just viewed in different ways by the different approaches depending on their focus and analytical requirements. Function and use are clearly the social aspects that are consistently adopted for analysis. Although these do not explicitly feature in process typological analysis, they are implicit in its concept of building type, which is specific to meeting certain functional and cultural requirements within a historical context.

Different scales and degrees of determinism are clear in the variety of views of the human-physical relationality offered by each approach. Here it seems that the lack of an overarching theoretical framework which establishes the extent to which local and global processes, and bottom-up and top-down interventions, should be given consideration in analytical attempts, triggers disparate views of the relevance and direction of the linkages between human and physical components. Contrary to this, temporal relations seem to be the most consistent across the approaches (though using somewhat different semantics):

cyclical/continuous processes and change, modification, diversification or readjustment are compatible descriptions of emergence and transformation.

An easy proposition for combining the approaches would be to focus on a set of defined physical aspects or one physical entity that provides the setting for applying the various approaches, so as to investigate in depth the relationships between different aspects and the role they play in emergence. The former proposition has already been suggested by Kropf (2009), but the author disagrees with it on the basis that, even if focusing on form, it is not reflective of the ontological nature of cities as comprising social components, which are relatively consistent across all approaches. The second proposition was suggested by Oliveira et al. (2015) and while this could provide the basis for a diachronic analysis and the embedding of social components, it still does not enable a broader view of the scale of the city and of the relations between its parts and the whole.

Moreover, it is clearly not the spatial relations among the physical elements that are descriptive of the processes of transformation, but rather the temporal relations. Therefore, we must propose a broader framework under which the approaches can be combined to include both types of components, to refine the ways in which both structural and local factors are linked, and to make the most of the temporal processes already identified by previous analyses. Before setting such a framework, a final step in the review process must be taken: that of evaluating how a variety of empirical studies can inform the framework and consequently the analytical approach to be built within it.

2.4 Empirical Studies

A non-systematic review of diachronic studies using diverse methodologies was carried out in order to identify relevant research in this field through which to assess the strengths and weaknesses of various analytical approaches. The review also focused on research which provides findings that are relevant to the case study of Limassol, and as such can support analytical choices which are contextually significant. The studies reported here are only a small proportion of those reviewed and were selected on the basis that they provide: 1) relevant theoretical or analytical frameworks for developing a combined approach to diachronic analysis of city development; 2) contextually comparative evidence against which to assess findings on Limassol's development because of similarity of the geographical, historical or cultural context; and 3) comparative evidence against which to assess the generalisability of findings about the processes of Limassol's development. Particular attention is given to studies which combine space syntax and Conzenian approaches since it has previously been shown how the two are potentially complementary (Larkham, 2006) and how processes identified through their application may be more

similar than previously thought (Geddes, 2014). Although the configurational approach tends to focus on the relationship between street networks and space use rather than identifying morphological periods, like the historical-geographical approach, it supports a view by which the temporal relations are articulated through a cyclical process which addresses the relationship between the urban form and socio-economic factors. As Griffiths, Jones, Vaughan, and Haklay (2010, p. 87) point out, “this key area of theoretical-methodological congruence provides a solid basis for future collaboration between Conzenian and space syntax researchers”.

2.4.1 Relevant theoretical and analytical frameworks

Using an empirical analysis of two case studies (Marseilles and Tours), Noizet (2009) developed the theoretical concept of *fabrique urbaine* to account for the way social factors in the widest sense manifest themselves in space. This emphasises the inter-relationship between space and society: how the spatial structure of the city has been influenced by the social practices of its residents and how in turn this has influenced society. The view taken by Noizet is that the relationship between social practice and the way the city manifests itself is fundamentally dialectical and that diachronic analyses of the development of cities require not just the study of the spatial dimension, but also recreating the historical processes which have determined the urban forms of towns through social, demographic, economic and political change. She argues that in many cities, especially in historical times, the programmed planning of urban space is rare comparatively to unplanned growth. The concept of *fabrique urbaine* captures the series of unplanned events that lead to specific effects in the urban form and relates them to social developments that had a physical impact on the built form (for this reason it is not translated into its English counterpart ‘urban fabric’ which normally denotes the physical or spatial aspect of the city). Some examples that Noizet gives of such events are the social needs of the Bourgeoisie in Western Europe, who required urban economic activity, autonomy and social recognition which lead to a specific organisation of space; the mendicant friars who moved to peripheral areas of town in order to aid the poor, thus extending the urban areas; and in Tours, the pressure of wealthier inhabitants wanting to occupy residences along the busier thoroughfares, leading to a linear development of the city.

The main critique of this concept is that it fails to acknowledge that such social events are, to a certain extent, already spatial in nature, such as the poor locating themselves at the fringes of towns. In the author’s own words in the case of Tours “urbanisation was enabled because there was already a road network. For the inhabitants, who needed to be well positioned and move around freely, the most desirable residences were those that were

near the busier thoroughfares" (Noizet, 2009, p. 63). This seems to imply a strong spatial element in its linear development, relating to positioning and easy access to places rather than the economic uses of the main roads. Furthermore, many would argue that the uses of the busier roads and their nature as desirable locations for residence were determined by spatial properties (Hillier, 1999; Vaughan & Geddes, 2009).

Other than its ability to capture certain social aspects which lead to unplanned events in the built form, there are other aspects of this concept, which can aid the analysis of the urban form as it integrates the investigation of the street network with that of plot patterns and of buildings. Although this approach acknowledges the importance of a spatial analysis in topographical terms, it argues that it is not enough for an in-depth analysis of urban space to describe the city in terms of nodes and lines and that emphasis should also be placed on the pattern of plots, which are able to provide the surface dimension of urban blocks. This approach is corroborated by research on the effect of urban block sizes on pedestrian movement and space use, for example Forsyth, Hearst, Oakes, and Schmitz (2008).

Furthermore, *fabrique urbaine* is a particularly useful tool when considering the relationship between social factors and the urban form at times for which accurate and detailed social data and cartographic records are not available as it enables the linking of social practices to occurrences of urban growth and change. Such links must be made in order to gain a full diachronic understanding of change not just of the urban form itself, but as of how this relates to social factors over time.

A study of Nicosia's urban development and social characteristics (N. Charalambous & Geddes, 2015a) proposed the use of a broad relational theoretical framework to analyse the distribution of social factors and their relationship to the changing urban form of the city across time. The authors took the view that specific concepts developed within assemblage theory and ANT could provide explanatory pathways for the way the historical transformation of the city enabled the contemporary distribution of social characteristics. Their methodological choices were informed by inferences made about the key analytical elements required by assemblage theory and ANT's concept of group formation, in particular: 1) the fact that assemblages exist at different scales and as such a variety of scales, as well as the whole-city level should be studied; 2) the fact that both physical and social components must be analysed and therefore urban morphological approaches should be combined with more traditional social analyses; and 3) the fact that assemblages are constructed through specific historical processes, and therefore diachronic analysis is required to understand emergence. The research findings highlighted the fact that contemporary patterns of the urban and social form of the city could only be revealed through a combined approach and could only be explained if wider structural factors were

taken into consideration along with local processes of development. The study also showed that traditional deterministic interpretations of space-society were not nuanced enough to fully articulate the causal pathways by which socio-spatial phenomena emerge, and that the assemblage concepts of congregation/segregation and group formation could provide the theoretical basis to make causal inferences about the phenomena identified through a combined urban morphological and social analysis. This study is particularly relevant because it provides a potential basis for the establishment of a theoretical framework which offers the capability not only to effectively combine social and urban morphological approaches, but also to account for both local and structural influences on the development of form.

Griffiths (2009) combined space syntax and fractal geometry (typical of the spatial analytical approach) to analyse how the spatial configuration of Sheffield's rural hinterland influenced its urban transformation between 1770 and 1905. The findings show that the urbanisation process was characterised by continuity in terms of persistence of pre-urban road networks and that changes could be identified in spatial elements at different scales in relation to social practices and innovations in public transportation. Griffith's methodology included regression analysis of axial line length with connectivity and radius-3 integration, distribution analysis of high radius-n axial lines and high radius-3 lines, and level of intelligibility. Griffiths also plotted synergy values onto a simplified model of urban development in which all linear elements are the same length (i). He then deformed the model to generate greater configurational differentiation (ii), and then added 'griddy' lines to the model (iii), which gradually gave way to a stronger correlation between local and global integration as was the case for the development of Sheffield. The fact that the development could be simulated in a simple model where almost all lines are of the same length is indicative of the fact that the actual lived environment is constituted by each element's persistence as a distinctive entity at different modalities of scale over time. This study is particularly relevant to the case of Limassol because previous analyses have shown that here the pre-urban road network also persists and that specific elements of the urban form show continuity of their spatial properties over time at certain scales (N.

Charalambous & Geddes, 2015b). Although there are indications that in Limassol spatial changes at certain scales are related to the spread of car use (Geddes, 2014), how the elements of persistence relate to social practices and other socio-economic factors remains to be seen. This study also reiterates the fact that diachronic analysis and embedding different scales within an analytical approach are necessary elements for understanding how real physical environments are constituted.

Pinho and Oliveira (2009) combined different approaches to the analysis of the urban system of the city of Porto through the 19th and 20th centuries. The combination of approaches was carried out to test whether they could complement each other in the development of a broader theory and in the production of analytical findings for use in planning practice. Using the Conzenian approach they developed a computer-made representation of Porto by selecting all relevant layers of a recent map of the city and then generating the previous maps by subtracting all the elements that were not built in the period between two consecutive maps. The analysis identified three clear morphological periods: a monarchic period (1813-1865), a late-monarchic and dictatorial period (1892-1960), and a democratic period (1978-2005), as well as identifying specific urban elements that had a significant role in the evolution of the city. The authors then used a space syntax approach by looking at the measures of global and local integration, connectivity, global and local intelligibility and synergy to check if the configurational analysis would yield similar results to the Conzenian approach. They concluded that the space syntax analysis reinforced the main conclusions of the previous study and that there was a clear link between the morphological periods identified by the first approach and the integration measures. However, the space syntax approach highlighted the importance of other axes of the city that had not been revealed by the first analysis. The authors suggested that an analytical theory of the development of the urban form should be based on three fundamental themes: accessibility (measured through space syntax), density (measured through geographical analysis) and diversity, since the urban plot at the basis of the Conzenian approach was found to have strong correlation with measures of diversity such the presence of different age groups or different land uses. Furthermore, it was noticed that for many space syntax measures across the two centuries, Porto's urban form and its development was closer to that of UK rather than European cities³. This finding may be particularly relevant to the analysis of cities in Cyprus, which, as part of a former British colony may prove to have morphological characteristics comparable with British urban forms, and may reveal specific features of port cities of southern Europe which were significantly influenced by British planning and development.

Griffiths et al. (2010) also combined Conzenian and space syntax approaches, and applied these to the study of London's suburban centres. This was done in order to complement the analysis of Conzenian's elements of the city with an assessment of the properties of the street networks on the one hand, while adding detail of the complex historical processes leading to changes and persistence of elements in the urban form provided by the

³ This comparison was made with the average of 15 European cities and 13 UK cities from Hillier (2002).

Conzenian approach to the space syntax analysis. In this case, the contemporary space syntax analysis was overlaid with the historical road network, the building plots which were developed at specific times and historical land uses, showing how the orientation of major historical routes relates to the location of built plots and that in the cases where such routes persist into modern times, there is an association with areas of socio-economic activity. These findings give further support to the idea that the processes of fringe belt formation and of centrality may be two aspects of a single synthesising mechanism shaping the urban form. Furthermore, the study was able to connect the significance of the local road network extending to the regional level with the characteristics of the local built forms, which would not have been possible if the two methods had not been combined. This research highlighted how the combination of the two approaches provided for a more nuanced understanding of the historical specificity of the urban form, as well as for a better appreciation of the involvement of different scales in urban processes.

2.4.2 Comparative evidence

A study of 23 Mediterranean coastal cities by Shpuza (2009) found that their growth is inversely proportional to size, meaning that smaller cities tend to grow faster than larger ones. Similarly to Limassol, most cities in Shpuza's sample have grown relatively recently and their growth has been fast. Although the geographical region is different, Shpuza's sample provides a useful resource for comparative analysis with Limassol as the cities have similar characteristics: they are coastal towns of the Mediterranean, most are port cities, they were under Venetian rule and influenced by the Ottoman dominance in the region until the early 20th century and most, especially the smaller cities, grew fast following the end of World War II. Shpuza's study concluded that, despite a small number of exceptions of a particular nature (cities built on islands such as Venice and Augusta), there was a consistent trend of evolution, with cities becoming less connected, less integrated and more differentiated. The main shift followed the war and modern planning strategies favouring distributory systems to overcome distances and connect remote parts of the city, thus increasing the bias of connectivity towards one area. However, peripheral neighbourhoods encompassed by the expanding cities also created local structures that work in isolation. Street patterns in these cities were influenced by unplanned growth, planning regulations, land ownership patterns, as well as the natural terrain posing limitations such as the water edge and surrounding hills. Shpuza classified street patterns according to their form, metric and syntactic properties, as well topographical characteristics, based on their different form or combination of forms in different periods. Table 2.2 summarises the different pattern types.

Table 2.2. Different street patterns and their definitions (Shpuza, 2009)

Perdikogianni (2003) carried out a diachronic analysis of the two main port cities in Crete, Iraklion and Chania, which have a history and culture comparable to that of Limassol and are also located on large-sized island of the Mediterranean. Her study comprises the spatial analysis of historical maps of the two cities coupled with the analysis of the distribution of specific land uses (retail – split as boutiques and tourist shops, food markets, administration and banks). Her findings show that despite the similar history and geographical location of the two cities, they evolved in different ways leading to Iraklion retaining its historical core as the contemporary town centre, while in Chania the town centre shifted towards the edge of the historical core and further out into the newly built town. Perdikogianni suggests that the case of Iraklion is a peculiar one: the containment of the city by the Venetian walls and a series of planning decisions tending to focus on the redevelopment and intensification of the historical core (which is larger than that of Chania's) have led to the city retaining its historical core as the modern town centre. This is reflected in the fact that tourist and non-tourist land uses are found together within the area enclosed by the walls. On the other hand, Chania has followed a more 'common' path of historical European cities, whereas the town centre has shifted outwards, partly through the removal of sections of the old walls and partly through planning decision focusing on

developing the historical core as a tourist attraction. This is also reflected in the location of land uses, with the tourist shops concentrating in the historical town centre and the other retail, bank and administrative uses serving the local population having shifted outwards. In Chania the historic core has retained its significance as a local centre accessible to tourists through a small number of strong lines leading from the edge of the city towards the coast and the old port: it is these north-south axes that connect the old town with the contemporary town centre and the residential areas in the outer parts of the city. Another relevant study is that of the city of Mersin on the south-eastern coast of Turkey (Ünlü, 2013). This research focuses on the process of fringe belt formation in a city, which is relatively young, as it was founded at the beginning of the 19th century, and which lacks a city wall to provide for a fixation line in the development of its inner fringe belt. Both these features are shared by Limassol, which, though older in its foundation, remained a village until the beginning of the 19th century and also lacks a city wall. The study found that a first, inner fringe belt started to form in the late 19th century to accompany economic and population growth with the creation of new public spaces and institutional uses in peripheral areas. A housebuilding boom densified the areas surrounding the IFB in the 1910s and 1920s, following which the city remained stable until the middle of the 20th century, at which point migration flows from rural to urban areas led to the development of transportation facilities, reclamation of land along the coastline, the construction of a new port and associated warehouses which merged with the IFB. At this time a ring road was also constructed and started acting as a fixation line for the formation of a second, middle fringe belt (MFB), which integrated existing large uses and extended westward to the river, which began to act as a further fixation line along with the railway to the east and the former coastline to the south. Densification around this belt initially occurred through the development of illegal housing which was later improved, converted and officialised through urban plans. Over the past two decades further peripheral development has taken place. This is in the form of old fringe belt uses moving to the edges of the city and new uses being developed, along with dispersed residential areas in the form of high rise buildings. The formation and modification process of this outer fringe belt is still ongoing. The fringe belts of Mersin in relation to its built-up area are shown in figure 2.7.

Figure 2.7. Fringe belts of Mersin in relation to the growth of the built-up area; reproduced from Ünlü (2013, p. 13)

What was found to be peculiar about the process of fringe belt development in Mersin is the fact that distinct functional sections emerged and that the inner fringe belt lost its existence as a unified entity through the merging with the middle fringe. This phenomenon was assigned to the absence of a fixation line as contributory factor in blurring the boundaries of the IFB and the existence of fixation lines in stabilising and strengthening the identity of the MFB. This study's findings are particularly important not only because of their contextual nature, but also because they highlight the impact of the capacities exercised by physical components in the processes of formation and stabilisation of the urban form. Two further studies deserve attention here as they are both diachronic analyses of Limassol itself. The first is a configurational analysis of Limassol's urban growth focusing on the relationship between the historical town centre and later additions to the urban system (Kritioti, 1988). The second is a study of two commercial streets of the city and how their development and persistence relates to changing spatial properties of the centre and peripheral areas (N. Charalambous & Geddes, 2015b). Kritioti's study questioned whether the specificity of the modes of Limassol's urban growth led to a problematic urban form which does not perform well in terms of function and use. Her hypothesis was that the superstructure of Limassol's major roads exercises such a

dominance on the whole system that the relations between local areas and the whole city are unbalanced and skewed towards a global system at the expense of local neighbourhoods. By analysing different areas of the city and the overlap between their integration core with that of the whole city, Kritiotti showed that the superstructure of the city works independently of the spatial structure of local areas. She infers that such a structure is the outcome of the transpatial nature of Cypriot society. According to this view, human interaction between different social classes is intrinsic and generally based on exchange of ideas rather than trade; as such it does not require the development of spatial properties to support interaction. Furthermore, kinship relations are of an urban-rural nature, and this is why the global structure dominates the city – to favour movement in and out of the city (to connect urban dwellers with their rural kin and vice versa) rather than enabling movement between different parts of the city. The author, however, highlights that this kind of structure is likely to be transitional while urbanisation intensifies and stabilises. Another key finding of this study is the role of the inner ring road in ‘competing’ with the historical town centre by appropriating spatial properties which were once distinctive of the town centre. This phenomenon is identified as leading the subsequent development of the city’s structure as being dominated by a global system.

Kritiotti’s findings regarding the inner road are corroborated by Charalambous and Geddes’ study, which is also a configurational study, but embeds a land use analysis within its methodology. This showed that, following the construction of the inner ring road, the historical high street continuously loses its nature as a key global connector in the city and also as an enabler of movement within its local environment. During the same time up to the late 1980s – the time of Kritiotti’s research – the inner ring road gains such properties. However, when looking at a variety of scales between the whole city and a very local level, the two streets do not seem to be competing: small shifts occur in their properties as movement enablers at middle scales, but there is no pattern by which either seems to gain at the expense of the other. During the 1990s the spatial properties of the two streets seem to have stabilised and are not affected by the extensive development and the construction of a further ring road during this decade. In recent years, however, the historical high street regains some of its role as a global connector in the city while losing again its importance within the very local environment. The authors suggest that this phenomenon is likely to be due to new developments occurring along the coastline at the southern edge of the city. The study of the two high streets is embedded within a historical analysis of the whole city, which also corroborated findings from other empirical studies: a general decrease in the connectedness of the whole city (as found by Shpuza) and a shift in the centrality of the city from the historical centre to new peripheral areas as found by Perdikogianni in the case of

Chania. However, the most significant outcome of this study is the fact that the authors identified a process of emergence and transformation of high streets. Such a process involves the exercise of a street's capacity as an enabler of through-movement at the whole-city scale, followed by an adjustment of its spatial properties through the intensification of the surrounding area coupled with the retention and adaptation of historical land uses, which leads to the stabilisation of the street as a local destination.

2.4.3 Summary

The review of empirical studies has shown that individual approaches can yield compelling contextual findings, as well as identify generalizable principles of development when applied to cumulative case studies. However, analytical frameworks which combine approaches are those that offer more potential for identifying the linkages between physical and social elements – as in the case of Pinho and Oliveira (2009), and for validating the existence of processes of emergence and transformation of form (N. Charalambous & Geddes, 2015b; Griffiths, 2009; Griffiths et al., 2010).

The limitation to all these studies is their ability to make inferences about causal pathways beyond a very limited scope of the immediate socio-spatial relations or in contexts where either social or physical elements are not easily quantifiable due to the scarcity of historical data. These limitations, however, were effectively addressed by those studies which elaborated a broader theoretical framework in order to make inference about wider structural influences (N. Charalambous & Geddes, 2015a) and to capture the historical specificity of urban transformations during periods for which quantifiable data are not available (Noizet, 2009).

On this basis, we suggest that a theoretical framework should be set along similar lines, but expanded and refined to account not just for the limitations incurred in by specific empirical studies, but also for the broader problematics discussed in the sections about theory, space and society, and urban morphology. Such a framework should provide the ability to address all the uncertainties about the city and also to systematically embed and combine relevant elements of the various analytical approaches. This is the objective of the next section.

3. Framing the City and Framing the Study

3.1 The case study: Limassol

Limassol occupies the southernmost point of the island, stretching from east to west while expanding on the low hills on the north as well – although like other Cypriot cities density is low and sprawl is evident, it is somewhat more ‘compact’ than other cities on the island as its development is constrained by U.K. sovereign territory to its west and the mountains to its north. Much of Limassol’s development in recent years has thus occurred on the hills to the north and along the coastline to the east, the latter geared towards the tourist industry. The location of Limassol in its national context is shown in figure 3.1.



Figure 3.1. Cyprus. Source: CIA World Factbook 1999 – Country Maps.

A highway running east-west and surrounding the city a few kilometres to the north of the coastline, connects the city with Paphos on the one side and Larnaca and Nicosia on the other, while it separates the city from the suburban villages to its north (Polemídia, Agia Fyla, and Agios Athanassios) which have come to be part of the urban conurbation of Limassol along with other former villages nearer to the coast and now south of the motorway (Mesa Geitonia and Germasogeia). The key areas and features of the city are highlighted in the diagram in figure 3.2.

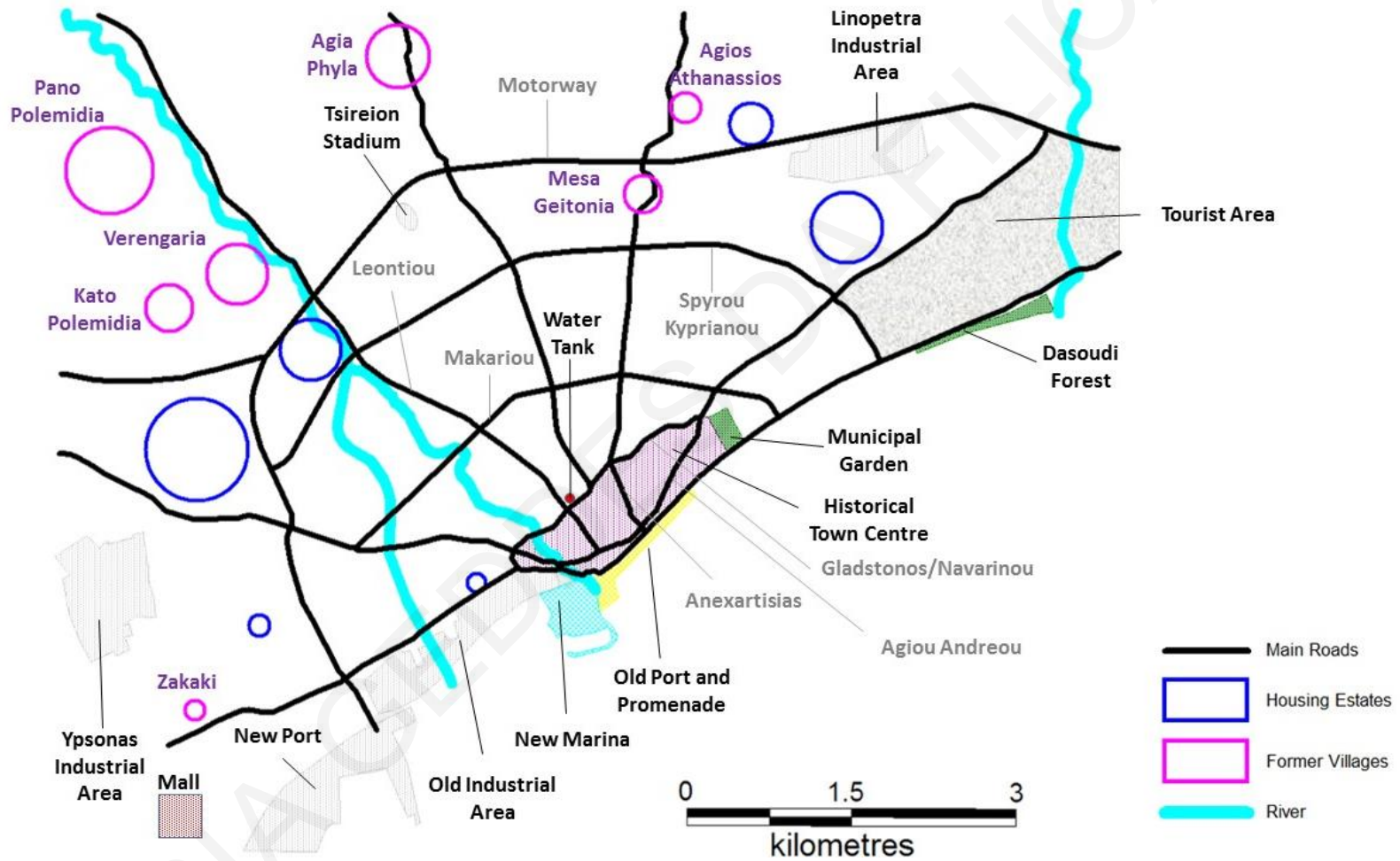


Figure 3.2. Diagram of Limassol's main roads and areas.

The highway is mirrored by another two ring roads functioning as the main east-west circulation routes of the city; the inner ring road, Makariou was built just after WWII as a by-pass surrounding the old city, while the second ring road post-dates the construction of the motorway, the former built in the early 1980s and the latter in the 1990s by connecting existing stretches of road. The historical industrial area still exists to the west of the old port, though this is currently being considered for redevelopment, while newer industrial areas were established further west, at the edge with the U.K. sovereign territory, and in Linopetra, just south of the motorway between Mesa Geitonia and Germasogeia. Some other uses requiring large land areas like the stadium, the mall, the bus station, schools and so on tend to be located along major vehicular routes, either the motorway or the ring roads, or, in the case of the mall, the Vertical Port Road which connects to the outer ring road. The old city centre and its southernmost limit, the coastline, are connected to the ring roads and highway in the north by several radial streets running north-south, which often match former rural paths leading to surrounding villages – figure 3.3 features a 2011 map of Limassol.

Figure 3.2. Limassol (SELAS, 2011).

ILARIA CENTESDA FILICAIA
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Limassol has clearly changed dramatically over the past 200 years. It now has a population of around 183,000 people and is home to the 3rd largest merchant navy in Europe. It is also a highly diverse city – as of 2011 3.6% of Limassol's population were Romanian, 3.3% British, 3.1% Greek, 2.3% Russian and 2.3% Bulgarian, to name just the top five minorities. However the distribution of the population between the urban and the metropolitan areas has changed drastically towards lower densities from 70% of the population based in the urban area in 1982 to only 52% nowadays (Gerasimou & Georgoudis, 2011) due to suburban sprawl and the proliferation of private parking space. Employment, services and commercial activities as well as tourist services concentrate in the historic town centre and the coastal area. A major redevelopment of the coastal area was completed in 2009 and comprised the creation of a pedestrianised green ribbon between the main coastal road and the shore connecting the old port to the municipal gardens. Further redevelopments have recently taken place and to some extent are still currently under way, including the regeneration of the old port and the creation of a luxury marina just to its west.

The circumstances leading towards Limassol's growth are responsible for the rather fragmented character the city has. The undulating coastline with a sharp bend just to the West of the old port makes a direct connection between the east and the west of the city difficult to implement. Furthermore, the main roads connecting the city centre and the coastline with the rest of the city lying on the North, do not reach straight down but seem to be discontinued and broken down into smaller streets when they reach the old city. Town planning is still based on zone planning, focusing on different areas of the city being dedicated mainly to specific uses, except for the historical town centre, which organically grew as a mixed-use area comprising residential, commercial, retail and tourist activities. Development plans, including the recent regeneration of the old port and promenade and the new marina, have been designed with provisions for car use in mind, partly by designing major vehicular routes linking ring roads to the town centre, partly by supplying many car parks serving as access points to the old town centre and the few pedestrianised areas of the University of Technology (TEPAK), right in the middle of the historical town centre, and the old port and promenade.

Several smaller, but nevertheless important conservation and regeneration projects have taken place in the city. Firstly, the regeneration of Iroon Square, a central square of architectural importance which had decayed during the 1970s and 1980s. Secondly, the redevelopment of the municipal markets, which have become a popular night time destination with their cafes and restaurants. Thirdly, the pedestrianisation of many central areas, including those around the new university buildings, in front of the municipal market, and across the square around the castle. Squares and parks were listed by the municipality and amount to more than 300 (Limassol Municipality, n.d.) and efforts have

been made to improve these, including a programme of park 'adoption' by organisations, clubs and individuals. In the early 2000s some funding was put in place to upgrade the Turkish Cypriot neighbourhood, which will be further discussed in section 5.

3.1.1 Links between theories and Limassol's development

Preliminary observations of Limassol's development and its current characteristics based on the available cartography, historical records and literature give us some further details to gain an overview of the current city and point to some links with various theories discussed in the literature review.

Firstly, Lynch's basic elements (Lynch, 1960) through which people construct mental maps of their surroundings are certainly useful in describing the urban form of Limassol and how it is perceived by its residents and visitors. The two main rivers, Garyllis in the west and Vathias in the east act as boundary between the town centre and the area of the new port in the case of the former, and between the town centre and the eastern-most part of the tourist area in the case of the latter. These natural features tend to be constant elements which remain unchanged over time (or at least would take a significant length of time for change through natural re-landscaping). When the city was smaller during the Ottoman period a branch of the Garyllis river which also runs roughly north to south but further east at the edge of the historical town centre, acted as a boundary between the Turkish residential area, west of the river, and the Greek area to the east. The other clear edges defining Limassol are its shoreline to the south and the motorway to the north, but the ring roads could also be considered intermediate edges defining different sections of the city. Naturally, like Lynch highlights, all these major roads could also be classified as paths, especially for car users. While the city's architecture is generally low-rise, a typical example of Lynch's landmark in Limassol is the water tank tower near the junction between Gladstonos and Leontiou, taller than most buildings in town and visible from various areas of the city.

Secondly, the concept of fringe-belts can also be a useful tool in the analysis of Limassol's growth and certainly helps identify some features of its development, for example its characteristic mixture of radial structure and concentric belts. Purely from observation of its structure, Limassol could be described as having an IFB located between the route along Navarinou/Gladstonos and Makariou, a middle fringe-belt (MFB) between Makariou and the A1 motorway, and an outer fringe-belt (OFB) along the outer edge of the motorway. Some lower density land uses characteristic of fringe belts in the early stages of development remain embedded in the urban fabric, for example the old hospital and police headquarters along Leontiou (the former Commissioner Depot) and the municipal garden at the edge of the historical core. Further out in the MFB, the Tsireion stadium and the

Linopetra industrial area as well as the Government Housing Estates for Refugees, all built during a period of economic slump due to the 1974 war again remain in place, although grid intensification through residential development later took place during the years of economic recovery. The OFB of Limassol, though not yet as dense as the more inner ones remains one associated with residential development in good economic times, which may also relate to topology as here the city reaches the beginning of the slopes of the Troodos mountains and is thus unable to provide large flat areas to accommodate low-density land uses. Moreover, as M. P. Conzen (2009) points out, OFBs relating to one urban centre amalgamate with and incorporate those of others, thus including former villages, such as Kato Polemidia, Agia Fyla, and, further out, Agios Tychonas, within the conurbation of the primary city cluster. Although Limassol shows to have followed processes similar to those of fringe belt formation and densification through expansion along main routes and subsequent development filling in the gaps, it was also noted that Limassol's growth up to the late 1980s differed somewhat from such a process due to uncontrolled urban development which lead to uneven expansion of the city leaving many 'gaps' in the urban fabric (Kritioti, 1988). Whether such fringe belts do exist, their boundaries and characteristics, as well as the processes of their formation beyond a preliminary observation will be tested through land use and block size analysis.

Thirdly, it is clear that in Limassol many of the rural pathways connecting the old town to near-by villages were embedded in the later street network, for example that connecting Victoria Street (now Irini Street) to the Commissioner's Depot and out towards Polemidia. The embedding of these rural paths seems to be the initial formation of Limassol's radial structure from the edge of the historical town centre outwards, 'cutting' across the concentric bands formed by the subsequent ring roads. An initial review of Limassol's cartography shows that the establishment of long routes, including the radial axes as well as ring roads aimed at minimising long-distance travel, is followed by a period of construction of shorter routes of similar length making up the residential infill between the established and the new routes, and along the radial roads. This seems to indicate that the processes of centrality and compactness also play a part in the development of the city.

Fourthly, there are various ways in which the concept of *fabrique urbaine* could be applied to the case of Limassol by relating historical events to specific effects on the urban form. For example, the shift identified in the location of the main commercial area of the city by previous research (N. Charalambous & Geddes, 2015b) could be linked to the political changes in the ruling classes from the Ottoman administration to the British one. Another example may be found in the unplanned influx of refugees following the 1974 war for whom housing estates were quickly built at the fringes of town where land was easily and readily available. Given the lack of detailed historical social data the concept of *fabrique*

urbaine is used in this study to analyse the relationship between historical events, demographic and political changes, and spatial changes in the structure of the city, as well as differentiation in the identity of areas and of the city as a whole prior to contemporary times.

All the links made so far between the theories and Limassol's development are, at this stage, empirical inferences based on initial observations. Whether fringe belts developed and do exist must be assessed empirically as does the possible role played by the processes of centrality and compactness. While *fabrique urbaine* remains a more flexible concept to assess associations for a time when an experimental research method would not be possible, assemblage theory and ANT provide the theoretical framework within which the methodological approach proposed here not only offers further analytical layers and fresh interpretive possibilities, but also the opportunity to corroborate the experimental findings with non-experimental research designs in order to ensure validity and to produce a description that fully depicts a state of affairs as required by ANT (Latour, 2005) and because "a statistical snapshot...while it acts as a powerful representation – never quite captures its object" (Tonkiss, 2005, p. 81).

3.2 Setting a Framework

The first step in setting a framework for analysis involves moving beyond those conceptualisations of the city which are imbued with the normative impulse and were so greatly influenced by contemporary developments in specific scientific fields. This would seem to lead towards constructing a framework based on urban sociology. However, this is also problematic as the sociological approaches were shown to be unable – or unwilling – to deal with the multiple scales which may be involved in the relationship between space and society. They either exclusively focus on the structural, global scale of society-to-space determinism or the everyday, contextual, local scale of space-to-society determinism. At this stage of debate on the problem of the city, we are in need of a theoretical framework which is willing to accept the possibility that either or both may be at play.

We are necessarily left to look at the philosophical approach as potentially the only field which strives to achieve a holistic understanding of the city. Such an approach was initiated by Lefebvre (1991) through a view of urbanity as a social reality which is inseparable from the urban form. Lefebvre's approach retains a normative drive which seeks planning for a transient city defined by a combined effort of science, philosophy and art through the participation of ordinary citizens. However, such a philosophical approach does not build on scientific and empirical facts and has therefore been taken on by planning in a selective and ideological manner (Steinø, 2003). Such shortcomings have now been remedied by assemblage theory, which not only provides a philosophical view of cities based on social

ontology, but also relies on scientific and empirical facts to demonstrate the nature of cities and social assemblages.

The fact that assemblage theory is a generic, non-specific approach, should be viewed as a strength rather than a weakness. This genericity has been shown to be extremely valuable in making inferences about the causal pathways that lead to the physical and social form of cities (N. Charalambous & Geddes, 2015a); it is also a characteristic which is advocated as beneficial when making analytical choices and providing normative guidelines (Batty, 2013; Bettencourt, 2013a). Non-specificity allows us to build an analytical framework which embeds a combination of tools from different approaches, so long as they match the requirements of the theoretical grounds. This is advocated by the theory itself, which proposes that a combination of different approaches should be used in empirical studies to provide evidence for the description of social assemblages.

Assemblage theory also provides us with the theoretical basis to address the various elements of the problem of the city. Firstly, it states that both physical and social components must be included in analyses, which we also established through the review of the literature on the relationship between space and society, as well as the assessment of the commonalities between different urban morphological approaches. Secondly, it sets the ontological basis for considering the city as a whole from a view of synergistic relationality, while not excluding the benefit of embedding analytical relationality approaches within empirical studies in order to measure and assess the relations between different parts of the whole. Finally, it requires giving consideration to different scales, as well as the temporal, historical processes of emergence and transformation; the latter being not only advocated by urban sociologists, but also by those striving to disentangle what truly constitutes a fully-fledged theory of the city – for example Netto (2016).

Assemblage theory, with its concept of cities as social assemblages, provides the theoretical framework for the analysis of cities' emergence, development and process of change through time. The interrelations between human and physical features are therefore the reference key, hence the analytical approaches should be brought together under the umbrella of cities as social assemblages.

3.2.1 Developing a Relational Research Approach

Within an assemblage theory framework we can include elements of the somewhat similar concept of ANT, as we have seen in section 2.2.2 that these have in common important features that are relevant to the understanding of city development. These features are reiterated and expanded on here, so that it is then possible to link analytical tools to the theoretical requirements:

1. The social or social entities are basically constituted by the connections or associations between different elements. What is fundamental to the development of cities therefore is both *what* they are composed of and *how* these elements are connected.
2. Both physical as well as non-physical entities are either component parts or actors in the constitutions of the social, thus both must be taken into account in analyses.
3. There are processes of stabilisation of the social carried out by the actors involved in its emergence – destabilisation can also occur. These processes of stabilisation and destabilisations – of assembling and reassembling the social – must be understood in order to understand persistence, continuity and change in cities.
4. Expressive means as produced and articulated by the processes of group formation and stabilisation of groups' identities are key in determining how the social is expressed in the physical form.
5. Multiple scales are involved in the emergence of cities, while historical processes play out in their formation and transformation.

The fact that both theories focus on heterogeneity, transitory conditions and the complexity of interactions between components enables a deeper understanding of the variety of actors involved in the shaping of cities. ANT proposes that analysis should extend the number and variety of actors, their connectors should be identified and their mediating role in translating a cause into an effect should be assessed; only then the social processes shaping the city, whether they apply to the physical form or to the human networks can be understood.

Assemblage theory provides a theoretical framework for urban morphology and the social processes that are involved in the shaping of the urban form. It sustains the argument that the physical and human aspects of a city are inextricably linked and should therefore be analysed together as they jointly define the identity of a city. It also makes clear that an analysis that is devoid of historical processes or of the distribution of variations across a population cannot fully explain the emergence of cities and the processes of persistence and change.

Being concerned with ontology, assemblage theory provides the benefit of addressing the issue of pre-assumptions about the social world and instead of dealing with a range of presupposed social entities, it suggests a different approach to the social world characterised by the attention given to heterogeneity, transitory conditions and the complexity of the interactions between components and processes. Although both theories are suggestive of themes for research on urban development and links to various methodological techniques could be drawn, they tend to be indeterminate due to the

complexity of the theorisation of cities as assemblages and of the social as an actor-network, where the components, actors and agencies could be innumerate and hence emergence can hardly follow any specific rules.

DeLanda makes the concept of assemblage and the functioning of assemblages relatively clear; however, it remains an analytically-unspecific concept which does not provide a strategy for analysing social assemblages and explain the properties of the whole since there is a high level of contingency in the interaction between the parts and potentially infinite scales (or no scales for ANT) at which synthetic processes can occur. While ANT suggests that a good social analysis is determined by a narrative description that comprises all the actors and fully depict a state of affairs (hence making an explanation superfluous), in practical terms the scope of analysis remains unclear.

If assemblage theory and ANT are to be useful to urban morphological analysis and social theory, then some tough analytical decisions have to be made for cities to remain amenable objects of study while trying to retain the complexity of large social assemblages within the analysis. The basic elements proposed by these theories, especially in relation to cities, can be implemented analytically: both the physical and the social must be studied, as many actors as viable must be included in the descriptions, the interaction between the different components of a city must be analysed, connectivity must be assessed, different scales must be looked at – or rather considered of potentially equal importance in the emergence of assemblages, the distribution of different variables must be measured, the historical processes involved must be considered, and so on.

Which physical and human elements, how to identify interactions, how to measure connectivity, what scales, variables and historical processes should be considered all have to be informed by the various morphological and social approaches, as well as the results of previous empirical studies, which DeLanda himself suggest should be integrated together. The theoretical framework which we suggest, its analytical requirements and how these can be matched by the various approaches is depicted in figure 3.4.

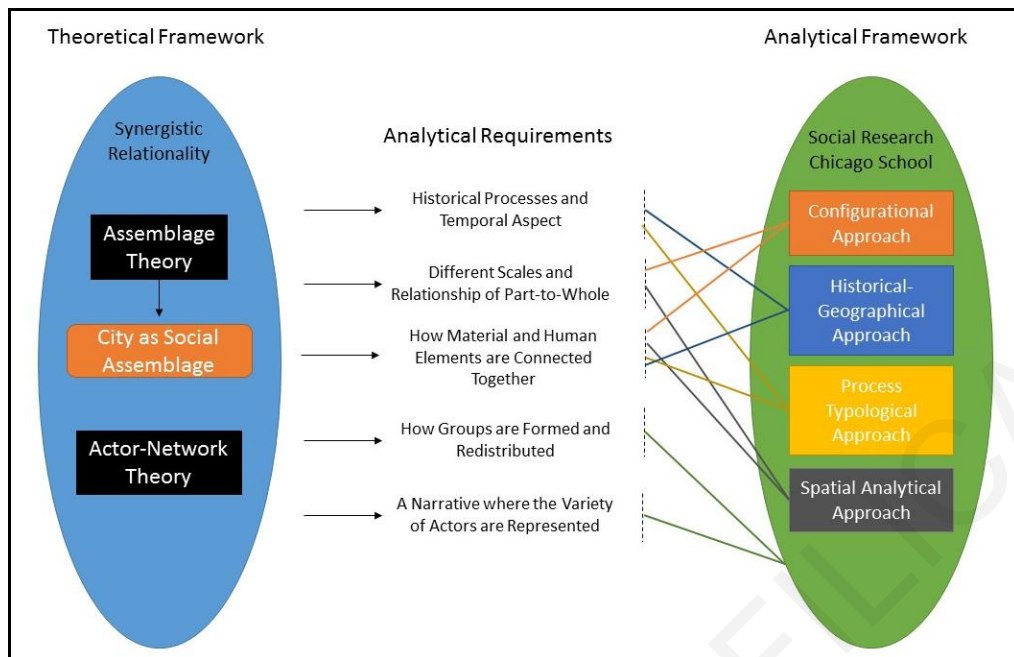


Figure 3.4. Theoretical framework, analytical requirements and linkages to analytical approaches.

Naturally all the approaches comprise a variety of tools, some of which are better suited to match the analytical requirements of the theoretical framework and the contextual needs of the case study. The choice of specific methods and tools will also be dictated by the hypothesis to be tested, the research question and the consequent methodological framework. Further details of these tools in relation to the analytical requirements will be presented and discussed in section 4. It is now necessary to discuss exactly how this thesis can contribute to the understanding of city development by setting a question which can shed light on the gaps in our knowledge and validate existing principles. However, prior to doing this, we wish to discuss in more detail the decision to undertake a diachronic analysis of a city, not just because this is a key analytical requirement, but because the process of diachronic analysis itself is a vital component of knowledge development.

3.3 Why Diachronic Analysis?

The study of cities' evolution requires the capability to link a variety of different historical and geographical elements, and relate them to each other in a meaningful way, so as to draw inferences about the nature of changes in each element and how these interact spatially and over time. Having established that historical processes and the temporal aspect must be accounted for within the theoretical framework, it is necessary to explore why a diachronic analysis is the most effective way to articulate the effects of time on the urban form. The relationship between history and geography has often been researched through the analysis of places in terms of their historical context, an approach defined by Baker (2003) as *place histories*, which focuses on a synthesis of historical factors as they are

discernible within the contemporary characteristics of a place; this approach is “fundamentally concerned with place synthesis, not with spatial analysis” (A. R. H. Baker, 2003, p. 219). Such an approach is typical in the field of urban history and is concerned with the understanding of places within their contextual historical specificity. Two further approaches to the study of past societies within a geographical context are discussed by Baker. The first is *histories of spaces*, concerned with understanding the social construction of spaces and their use by examining how ideologies have shaped the built environment. As we have seen, urban sociologists favour this approach in their attempt to discern the imprint of ideologies in the built form. The second is *spatial histories*, concerned directly with the relationship between spatial and locational factors at specific times in the past. All the morphological approaches reviewed in section 3.3 would fall within this category. While the distinctions proposed by Baker may be useful to set a blueprint for a specific approach, it has been pointed out that they pose the risk of impeding the development of multidisciplinary research and the establishment a holistic analytical framework to address the historical aspect of geography (Griffiths, 2012). The author is, in fact, concerned with all of Baker’s categories and believes that different approaches are not mutually exclusive if they are brought together under the umbrella of assemblage theory. It is, however, the last category which takes priority within the analytical framework set in section 3.2.1. This is because the ultimate concern remains with form and the urban morphological approaches fall within this category. The aim is to move beyond a view of history as a simple contextual factor or a view of ideology as being the only or the lead determinant of form. It is therefore this approach of analysing the relationship between spatial and locational factors (meant as the distribution of uses, functions and social characteristics) at a variety of different points in time that is referred to as diachronic analysis.

Like all other analyses, the aim of diachronic analysis is producing empirical findings; specifically, these are meant to describe past characteristics of the urban form, their changes and the change in the relations between different elements. By providing such a description across time, it attempts to identify the processes and causal pathways which lead to the formation of different morphological periods and different urban typologies. These may be persistent across time, retaining their original functions of providing certain services to the city, such as housing, public space, road networks, etc. Such persistence might also be expressive by ‘imbuing’ the city with specific social meanings through, for example, monumental architecture or spatial arrangements highlighting specific areas or separating certain groups of society from others. All these morphological types might also have become obsolete, hence losing their functionality or their effectiveness within a changing urban society.

The ability of diachronic analysis to highlight persistence and change offers the potential to answer normative questions. Are the areas of persistence or those that have become obsolete an asset for the city or are they in need of redevelopment according to new principles? Does their past function give an indication as to how places can be made the most of within the contemporary city? Diachronic analysis attempts an interpretative narrative as to what has caused such changes and hence aims at assessing how the contemporary urban fabric is a reflection of past and present social, economic and cultural factors. When looking at individual case studies, it may provide the evidence base for interventions in the urban fabric or for retention of specific areas, informing how resilience can develop in different areas. It may also provide us with fresh views and interpretation of social, economic and cultural history as represented in the city.

As diachronic analysis becomes applied to a greater number and greater range of cities, it can begin to identify patterns in their development, some are common to places as far from each other as they can be – as reviewed by M. P. Conzen (2009); others are common to places which share a similar geographical, historical or cultural context – as showed in the study by Shpuza (2009). In many cases subtle differences between cities are also identified, giving them a specific identity and character, as was shown by Ünlü (2013) for the city of Mersin, where the process of fringe belt formation and adaptation proved to differ from that found by M. P. Conzen across various cities. The development of a spatial model layering physical and social data and relating the spatial measures and locational factors at different points in time does not necessarily aim at the discovery of general principles. As Goodchild et al. (2000) point out, it is unlikely that principles could be drawn given the complexity of such systems; this is especially true when such an analysis is applied to a single case study. However, “such systems provide norms for comparison with real behaviour, and differences between model and reality provide the basis for improvement in our understanding of the general principles” (Goodchild et al., 2000, p. 142)

The evidence base assembled through the corpus of diachronic analyses constitutes the basis for the development of theories as to what a city actually is and hence how it functions, how it grows and how it develops. These theories are vital, not just because they provide us with a framework for better understanding our urban environments, but also because they provide us with a model of how cities develop. Such models offer the potential to identify why specific cities or specific areas display problems in their functioning, in meeting the demands posed on them socially and functionally; therefore, they provide a basis for planning interventions. The theories do get applied through interventions in the existing urban fabric and planning of new developments, which turn out to be more or less successful and are then themselves the subject of analysis leading to further findings, augmentation of the evidence base, refinement of old theories and development of new

ones. The diagram in figure 3.5 exemplifies the process that leads from diachronic analysis to the development of such theories and to the basis for planning interventions.

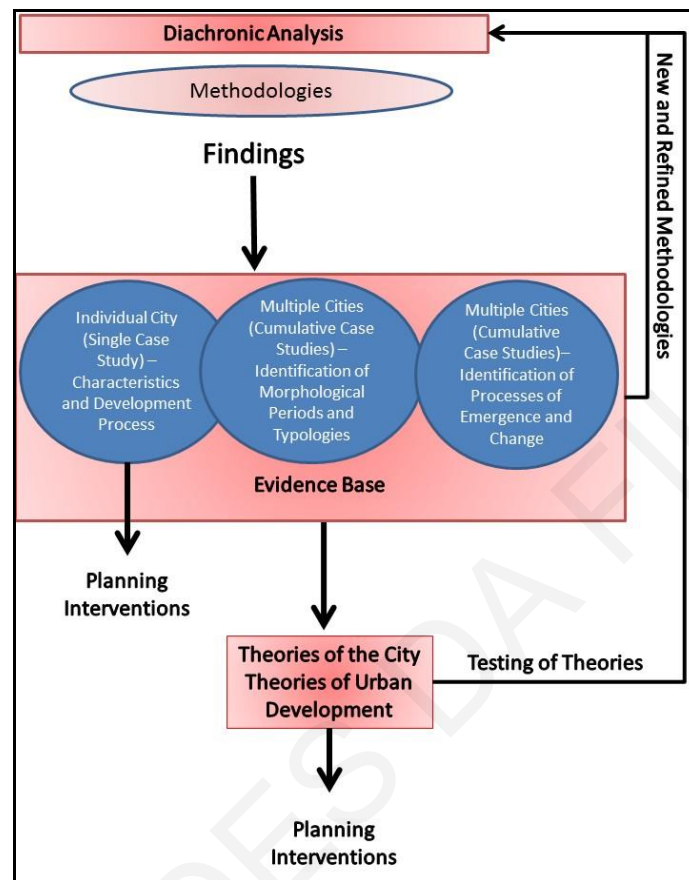


Figure 3.5. Diagram of the process and outputs of diachronic analysis

As can be noticed through the diagram, the process leading from diachronic analysis to findings and theories is a cyclical one. Here we have set a theoretical framework under which diachronic analysis is performed using a variety of tools which will be discussed in section 4. The resulting findings will enrich the evidence base to provide the grounds for normative guidelines and, potentially, for refining the theoretical framework. This study is not aimed at testing the concept of the city as a social assemblage, but rather at identifying and validating existing principles of development; testing of the theory based on the finding is something that could potentially be performed at a later stage.

To a certain extent diachronic analysis has now been carried out by urban theorists for a substantial amount of time using the methodologies typical of historical research as in the case of Mumford (1961) and Kostof (1992, 1999), and those of social geography research as described by Valentine (2005), as well as coupling the two in order to get a more holistic picture. Methodologies, however, continue to evolve as do the technology and the data available: with the advent of GIS technology and software for spatial modelling, and with the output of corpuses of data, such as land uses and census data, analyses have become

more detailed and have greater capabilities to produce more accurate results. This leads to a continued reassessment of past analyses and to the development of new ones focusing on more recent times for which more accurate data have become available. This study aims to exploit the benefits and possibilities afforded by such technologies and data in the methodological design.

3.4 Hypothesis and Research Question

In assemblage theory, and more specifically in the conceptualisation of cities as social assemblages, emergence is enabled by the interaction between component parts and the exercise of their capacities at different scales. Emergence therefore leads to the establishment of small social assemblages, such as streets and neighbourhoods, which in turn interact to produce the larger assemblage of the city. The processes which define the boundaries and homogeneity of each assemblage are generally termed as congregation and segregation – processes of stabilisation and destabilisation occur, which produce changes or intensification of the nature of assemblages. It is the combination of these successive processes which take place within the city that establish its ontological status as a city with certain invariants, as well as its unique identity afforded by the geographical and historical context.

Assemblage theory gives us a general indication of what these processes involve: the definition of borders, routine daily activities, changes in transport and technology, the formation of groups, etc. However, it does not tell us about the specific synthesising mechanisms through which form emerges. This is the main research question: we must identify these processes if we are to understand the emergence of form, both in terms of invariant principles as well as contextual variations in cities' identity.

The literature review highlighted how the identification of processes has become a prominent concern in the field of urban studies. It also identified certain processes which seem to be synthesising mechanisms of a variety of socio-economic and cultural factors, which, through the interaction with the material elements of the city, become articulated into specific spatial structures and morphological areas. In particular, the process of fringe belt formation and that of centrality and compactness seem to be converging into one single mechanism. At the basis of empirical research, however, is the observation of phenomena and it has been noted that in the case of Limassol the appropriation of spatial properties coupled with the exercise of land use capacities leads to change and stabilisation of areas (N. Charalambous & Geddes, 2015b). Moreover, preliminary research and observation of the development of Limassol through its historical and contemporary cartography suggests that in this case the two processes not only coexist, but may be closely interrelated if not different aspects of the same mechanism (Geddes, 2014).

The components said to be involved in these processes, as described in section 2.3, are different: on the one hand are the plots and the buildings, on the other their streets and their connections. It is time that the two sets of components should be brought together to account for the variety of material elements present in cities as advocated not just by assemblage theory, but also by recent theoretical research, which invokes the mutual dependence and concurrence of decisions and processes in the production of street systems and buildings (Netto, 2016). This thesis therefore explores the common ground of socioeconomics, cultural factors and material elements as equally valuable components involved in synthesising mechanisms. It does so by analysing the urban form diachronically and relating the phases of development to economic cycles, demographic make-up, and cultural elements.

The literature review and previous research does to a certain extent provide us with knowledge to set a hypothesis that Limassol developed according to certain processes already identified by previous studies in relatively similar geographical and historical contexts. Specifically, both the processes of fringe belt formation and of centrality and compactness, can be identified as the mechanisms that synthesise the multiplicity of physical components and of demographic, economic and cultural factors unique to the case of Limassol, thus defining the identity of the city.

Even though the above hypothesis is reasonable given the existing research, the complexity of the mechanisms involved in emergence does not allow for enough certainty to confirm a predictive hypothesis with set variables. In fact, the multiplicity of components and the multifaceted aspects of the city discussed in the previous sections indicate that taking an exploratory approach which can include both quantitative and qualitative tools is better suited to address the complexity of cities. It is therefore retained that the research question should be broad enough to allow for different scales and a variety of components to be considered in the analysis, so as to enable the identification of synthesising mechanisms. These might comprise the processes of fringe belt formation, and of centrality and compactness, but might also include others of which we have no indication at this stage.

Research Question: what are the key synthesising mechanisms of Limassol's component parts operating to shape its form and identity as a social assemblage?

The answer to the question above should be informed by findings delivered through the achievement of certain research objectives which address the following guiding questions:

1. What are the main changes in political, demographic, economic and cultural aspects of Limassol between the end of the 19th century and today?

2. What are the main physical characteristics of Limassol's growth and change between the end of the 19th century and today?
3. Is there a relationship between the physical development of the city and the changing political, demographic, economic and cultural factors between the end of the 19th century and today? What is the nature of such relationship?
4. Is there a significant relationship between the physical aspects of the city and the distribution of socio-economic variables in contemporary Limassol? What is the nature of such relationship?
5. Are the processes of fringe belt formation and of centrality and compactness the main synthesising mechanisms of Limassol's component parts operating to shape its form and identity as a social entity?
6. What other processes, if any, can be identified as synthesising mechanisms shaping the urban form of Limassol?

Having now discussed the details of what we are trying to achieve and having set the research question as well as a number of sub-questions to address, it is time to move on to the details of how we are going to provide answers. The objectives of the research, the outputs that it will deliver and the methodological framework and specific tools used in the analysis are presented and described in the next section.

4. Methodology

4.1 A case study strategy

As this thesis aims to input into the knowledge base on city development, focusing on the processes of growth and transformation, it needs to identify explanatory pathways of development. The decision to use a case study strategy was driven by two factors: 1) the need to present and describe extensive information about developmental processes, which is best done by limiting the geographical scope, and 2) the fact that it allows the combination of several quantitative and qualitative methods as well as multiple sources of evidence as required by the theoretical framework. The choice of a single case study was dictated by the complexity of the problem of the city: it was decided that, given the multiplicity of factors involved in city development, focusing on a single site offered greater opportunity to explore and disentangle different variables involved in the mechanisms of growth and transformation. Such a strategy has the potential to uncover multiple, complex and overlapping factors and therefore provide the capacity to explain the contextual causal links in the growth and transformation of the city, leading to the emergence of Limassol with its contemporary characteristics. While findings and conclusions will necessarily be specific to the context, it is expected that some – if not all – of these will be generalizable through comparison with the existing literature reviewed in section 2.4. Furthermore, the methodology set out here is designed so that it can be replicated in other cities regardless of their size or context.

Broadly speaking, the methodology proposed here aims at developing two parallel accounts of Limassol's development. On the one hand is a narrative which describes, through historical and archival research of primary and secondary sources, how the city has grown and changed. It does so briefly between ancient times and the 19th century, and more extensively since the 19th century, when records become more substantial until contemporary times. The narrative is enriched by a description of the available historical social data from past censuses. At the same time, accounts of the actors involved in decision-making for particular sites, the reasoning and forces behind certain planning developments are reported and discussed through conversations with a variety of stakeholders. Finally, three illustrative case studies are presented and analysed to reflect the multiplicity of socio-economic and physical features of the contemporary city. On the other hand, is a spatial history of the city, which focuses on systematically analysing the development of the city's street network and its built form at specific points in time. This spatial history attempts to build a timeline of the city's development to identify how the sequence of physical events in the growth of the city affects its spatial and physical

properties. The exposition of this history culminates in a spatial analysis of contemporary social data, which illustrates in some detail how contemporary spatial and physical features relate to the social characteristics of the city. The methodological framework is summarised in figure 4.1.

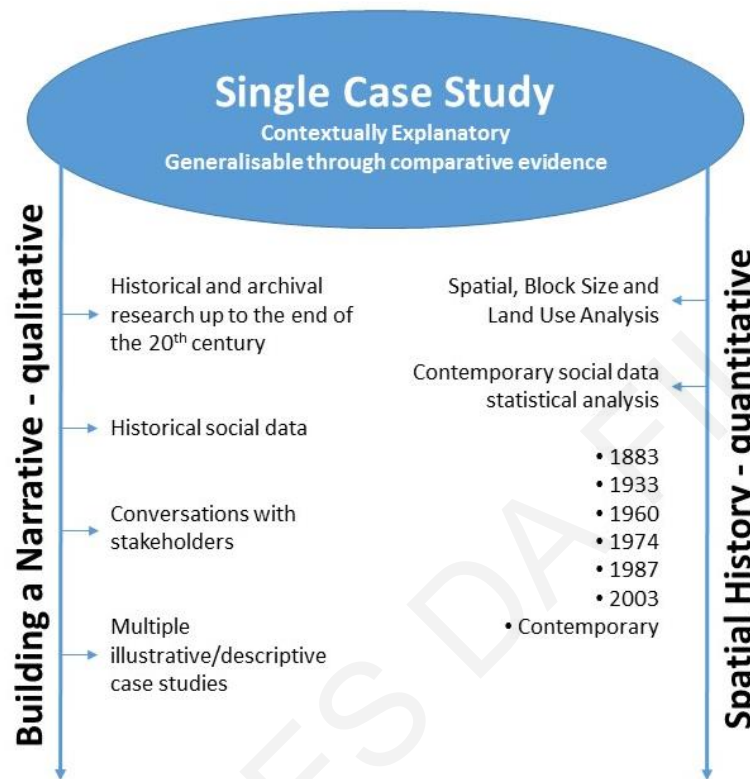


Figure 4.1. Methodological Framework

As we are trying to build up a timeline and a narrative of Limassol's development, we also aim at linking and interweaving the physical and social aspects of the city. The specific tools used to analyse each sphere and how the two spheres will be linked together is further discussed in section 4.1.3.

The objectives of this thesis are embedded within the methodological framework and can be described as:

1. Developing a narrative of the historical development of Limassol.
2. Performing a historical analysis of the social characteristics of the city of Limassol between 1881 and contemporary times.
3. Carrying out a number of conversations with relevant stakeholders and scholars in order to gain insight into the planning regimes and agencies at play in the development of the city.
4. Presenting an in-depth description and analysis of 3 case studies within the city, in order to trace the connections between various events, actors and physical elements playing a role in the emergence of the urban form.

5. Performing a spatial analysis of the street network of the city of Limassol at various historically important points in time between 1883 and today.
6. Performing a land use analysis of the built form of the city at the same historical point.
7. Performing a spatial and statistical analysis of the social characteristics of the city of Limassol in 2011, based on census data.
8. Analytically linking historical social data and accounts to specific developmental events of the city.
9. Performing statistical correlation analyses of census data and physical characteristics of Limassol by linking the census data to several measures produced by the spatial and physical analyses.

The selection of Limassol as a case study was prompted by a growing body of research on port cities as the places of flow and exchange of knowledge, capital, commodities, people and information. This was especially true prior to the advent of commercial air travel, and even more so in the era of modern capitalism, partly because these cities acted as nodes of 'globalisation' under the British Empire of which Cyprus was a protectorate and then a colony from 1878 to 1960. The nature of port cities as gateways to the hinterland, places of economic exchange and location of temporary residence as well as influx of migrants gives them a special status in terms of their socio-economic make up, coupled with particular physical characteristics, such as the presence of the significant natural boundary of the sea as well as land uses and infrastructure related to port activities. The research focus on port cities in the Mediterranean arises from the fact that in the 19th century naval commerce overshadowed its land counterpart and the Mediterranean stood out as the only body of water in the world representing connectedness and unity between the three different continents of Europe, Africa and Asia. Analysis of port cities in different areas of the Mediterranean has recently been drawn together by Kolluoğlu and Toksöz (2009a) aiming to review the spatial, historical and socio-political contours of the Mediterranean as well as by Shpuza (2009) analysing common patterns of urban growth in port cities of the Adriatic and Ionian coasts. In this context, Limassol, the largest port in Government-controlled Cyprus and the furthest East in the European Union has remained under-studied despite its commercial and tourist value as well as its strategic location in the Eastern Mediterranean; this thesis aims to start filling this gap in the scholarship of Mediterranean port cities. The value of Limassol as a case study is related to wider contemporary urban development issues around fast growth and concurrent multiple developments, in particular in port cities of the Eastern Mediterranean area; for example, the

redevelopment of port areas and warehouses as well as the Ladadika quarter in Thessaloniki, the Solidere Project in Beirut and modern development projects in the former port areas of the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus in Istanbul, to name just a few. Many of these types of regeneration projects around port areas and along waterfronts are currently under way, while others are still in the proposal and planning stages. Many waterfront areas in Eastern Mediterranean cities as well as in Europe more widely, have also been subject to a process of gentrification and tourist-oriented development, increasing their market value, and it is certain that many more similar projects will pop up in the near future.

4.1.3 Selection of analytical tools

The theoretical conceptualisation of the city as a social assemblage directly informs the methods selected for analysis. Its ontological proposition that social assemblages are ultimately wholes composed of both physical and human elements also dictates the need for developing linkages between these two spheres. The basic methodological choices to be built upon in order to identify the mechanisms involved in shaping the form and identity of the city are: a) the choice of scale of the whole city, b) the analysis of the social entity, understood as comprising both physical and human elements, and c) the inclusion of the temporal aspect. Both assemblage theory and ANT view the connections between components as the key to emergence of the social, therefore, another basic requirement was that there should be an analysis of the links within and between the physical sphere and the social sphere.

On the one hand, the narrative serves the purpose not only of addressing complexity and providing a means of representing the variety of actors and agents, as well as analytically linking the social and physical spheres, it also enables an account of the historical processes that influence the development of the city. Assemblage theory affirms that social entities are constructed through very specific historical processes, which indicates the need for diachronic analysis to understand the emergence and the endurance of cities.

The need for a diachronic analysis is met not just by contextualising history within the narrative, but by building a systematic spatial history of the city. Such a diachronic analysis does not stem from a purely historical interest, but from the intrinsic nature of the temporal aspect in development. A spatial history was therefore developed because it is relevant to the understanding of the contemporary city. This is suggested not only by assemblage theory, but also by other scholars, such as Kostof (1999), who states that in order to read the contemporary urban form correctly, there is a need to be familiar with the

precise conditions which generated it and that such conditions are reflected in the ways in which additions are meshed with or discriminated from the older urban fabric.

The basic choices were informed by the inferences made on what analytical elements are required in the context of assemblage theory – some particular aspects of this deserve further discussion here.

Firstly, the proposition that social assemblages exist at different scales and hence each scale is a legitimate object of study supports the choice of the whole-city scale. However, it is the relationship between the parts and the whole that constitutes the ontological nature of social assemblages. Therefore, different elements of the city must be studied individually and how these relate to the whole must be assessed. It is proposed here that this will be done through two separate analyses: on the qualitative side, three illustrative case studies will be presented in order to give an overview of the social and physical variety of the city. These will also be assessed in terms of how they compare to and are embedded within the rest of the city. On the quantitative side, space syntax will be used to carry out the spatial analysis of the city. By its very nature, this method accounts for how each spatial element in the city is related to all other elements, either at the city-wide scale or at various radii.

Secondly, it has previously been pointed out that the relevance of space syntax methodology as a potential analytical tool of relational theories has been little explored (N. Charalambous & Geddes, 2015a). In fact, space syntax, which addresses the relationality of space and its association to social phenomena has great potential for making relational theories analytically specific in the context of urban studies. Certain details of the concept of cities as social assemblages are particularly relevant to space syntax methodology and could be viewed as theoretical facets of space syntax measures. In particular, DeLanda states that one key component playing a material role in cities is the connectivity between locales, which enables the movement of people as well as other material entities. He adds that “changes in connectivity... impinge in a variety of ways on the social activities performed in a given locale” (DeLanda, 2006, p. 96). Space syntax offers a variety of measures which describe different properties of space. Such measures are based on how locales are connected, as well as how they are positioned in relation to each other.

Thirdly, the other key material component in cities, the built form or, to put it more plainly, the buildings, hold a variety of characteristics which define the exercise of their capacities. Their function, their technology, their height and size, as well as their location all impinge on how their surrounding area and the city more widely are used. Their size and shape affect the permeability and the urban form of the city; their function and use contribute to defining the character of an area. There are a wide variety of factors which define buildings' characteristics and capacities. Assemblage theory points out that “buildings exist in collectivities of similar assemblages... we are concerned with how new forms propagate

over time through an entire population” (DeLanda, 2006, p. 99). In a way, there is a level of specificity about the material aspects of the city which must be taken into account for analysis: the physical spaces which enable human interaction, including public spaces and private enterprises, as well as the streets that supply the connectivity among them. On the other hand, what particular aspects of the buildings, other than function and use, should be analysed remains unstated within the theory.

Finally, the processes that, according to assemblage theory, define the homogeneity and diversity of areas or cities are congregation and segregation. Part of the processes is the grouping of similar populations or the mixing of diverse populations; sometimes space is appropriated by certain groups. ANT tells us that the formation of groups relies on many factors: they are defined by other people, but their identity can also be established or intensified by ‘spokespersons’ within the group. The stabilisation of a city’s identity normally occurs through habitual human practices and routine activities, in particular residential practices. This is something highlighted not just by assemblage theory, but also by previous scholars of urban sociology, including the Chicago School and Lefebvre (1991). Further to the aspects directly highlighted by assemblage theory and ANT, the specific analytical tools used for the analysis of the physical elements of the city in their material role, and of the human elements, were selected based on certain empirical, as well as practical requirements criteria:

- a) The tools should be able to measure and assess preliminary observations of Limassol’s development.
- b) They should be applicable to the whole-city scale with the time and resource constraints of PhD research.
- c) They should be applicable diachronically, so that a spatial history of the city can be constructed within a reasonable time scale.
- d) They should yield results which can be assessed statistically and linked to social data.
- e) Their results should provide answers to the guiding questions stated in section 3.3 and should therefore inform the identification of key synthesising mechanisms involved in the emergence of Limassol.

Three types of analyses were therefore selected to describe and analyse the evolution of the urban form of Limassol: space syntax analysis, block size analysis and land use analysis. Space syntax methodology was selected because of its ability to highlight the main structure of the city and hence its changes over time since it is a reliable method for comparing systems of different size. Furthermore, it has the ability to analyse the city at different scales, to assess the relationship between different parts of the city and the whole, and to measure connectivity between different areas, which are all fundamental within the

framework of assemblage theory, which states that cities emerge from the interaction between their component part, that a range of different scales should be analysed, and that connectivity is key to the variety of ways in which social activities are performed in a given locale. Space syntax also gives an evaluation of the inter-accessibility of different areas within the city and is therefore capable of providing an indication of whether the processes of centrality and compactness are taking place at different stages of the city's development. Block size analysis was selected because it provides a proxy for the Conzenian approach by assessing changes at the street block level and hence has the ability to capture and describe quantitatively the process of formation of fringe belts and densification through residential processes as described by Whitehand (2001) and M. P. Conzen (2009). However, as land use is key in the definition of fringe belts and we are also interested in assessing whether there is a relationship between the development of specific road infrastructure and certain land uses and large block sizes, a land use analysis was also performed. This analysis coupled information from the historical cartography, primary and secondary sources, the block size analysis as well as the configurational analysis; this will be further discussed in section 4.3.

All analyses could be performed at the city scale and applied to a substantial number of contemporary and historical maps. Their selection was also based on preliminary observations that Limassol grew 'in stages' with the development of a small number of long circular and radial routes along with the placement of specific large land uses along these routes. This seems to have been followed by the development of many shorter routes along with residential densification. Space syntax and block size analyses shall also provide quantitative results which can be linked to contemporary social data from the census. All analyses also provide a form of descriptive accounts of different parts of the city and how these interact with the whole, thus providing an analytical framework for the assessment of social factors in historical times for which census data are not available.

The tools chosen are highly relevant to the case at hand: space syntax because it allows for comparison of systems of different size and is thus a reliable hard measure for comparing a city diachronically when this has grown significantly, as is the case here. Block size analysis provides a 'proxy' – if only very limited – for fringe belt formation by assessing changes at street block level. A broad land use analysis is meant to provide details to visualise a timeline of development and to corroborate the findings of the block size analysis. As a spatial history is developed, the layering of the analyses attempts to extrapolate the key factors in the development of the city and its chronological sequence. In the case of Limassol, where the initial assessment of its form and development suggests the existence of an inner, middle and outer fringe belt, it is necessary to engage such a methodology and

assess the fringe belts individually along with the spatial analysis of the expanding structure of the street network.

Regarding the human actors in the city, an analysis of historical records in primary and secondary literature is performed. For the years prior to 2011 an analysis of census data and their distribution across the city was carried out using basic statistical summaries as the data does not provide enough detail to be statistically related to physical quantitative measures. More extensive statistical and geographical analysis were undertaken for the 2011 census. Using GIS, the social data was mapped to assess the distribution of different social groups across the city and provide a quantitative analysis of the concentration of different groups in specific areas.

As required by the theoretical framework, these separate analyses of the physical sphere and the social sphere then needed to be related to each other. This was done by using the dialectical approach described by Noizet as *fabrique urbaine* (2009) for historical times. Using this approach, we attempted to link historical events, records and reports about socio-economic changes to the physical events occurring in the city. As for contemporary times, the two spheres were related using experimental research by linking the census data to the quantitative results from the spatial analyses and then performing statistical correlations of the two. The framework used for linking the different analyses is depicted in figure 4.2.

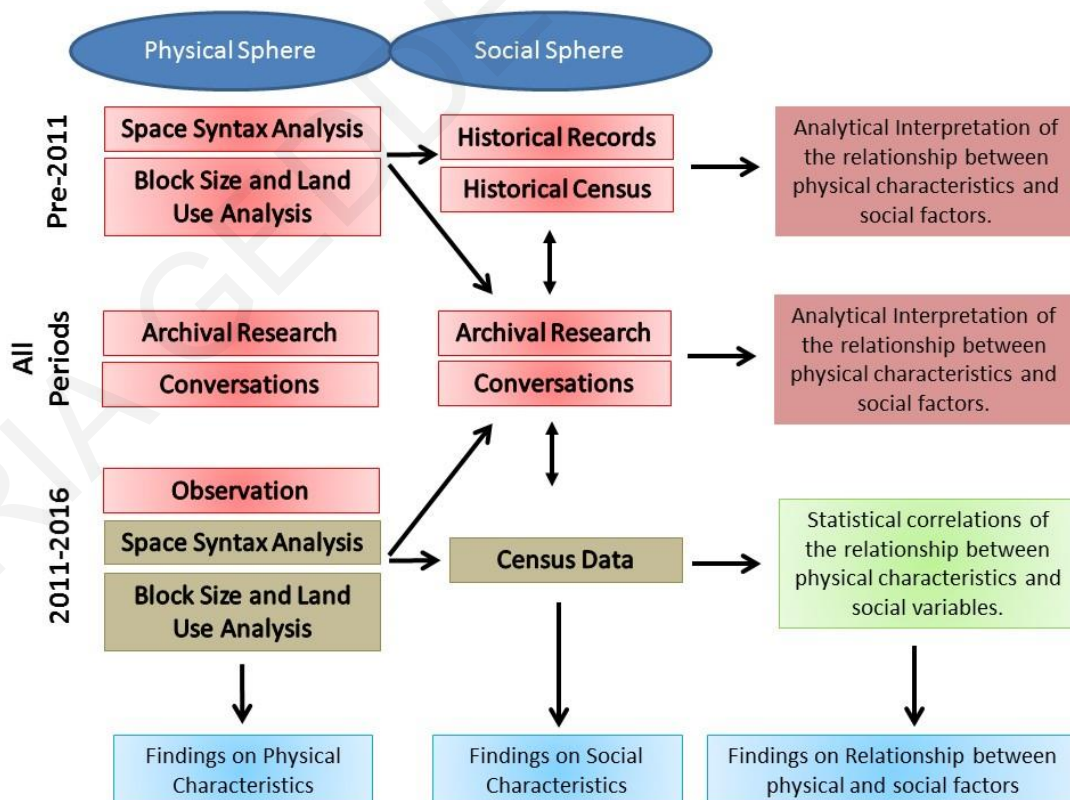


Figure 4.2. Framework for linking the analyses of the social and physical spheres.

All the human and physical components of the city play an expressive role as well as a material one. The exterior of buildings, the architecture of different eras, the design of public spaces and so on also define the characteristics of a neighbourhood and the city as whole. In doing so, they play a part in defining the internal homogeneity of an area and hence in the processes of segregation and congregation. The same holds true for the human elements in their process of group formation, by which people external or internal to the groups define them and categorise. Areas are then defined by their human 'nature' as belonging to a particular group: lower classes, higher classes, refugees, migrants, etc., etc. The expressive capacity is exercised in the media, in policy-making, in day-to-day anecdotal accounts, as well as in civil action for and against the interest of certain groups that are active in the developmental process. These expressive capacities are as relevant to the emergence of the city and its character as the physical element that make it up.

Within the scope of this thesis and following the criteria set above, it remains impossible to account for all the expressive factors at the city-wide level and diachronically. It was therefore decided that in order to embed these in the analysis, a broad review of the primary and secondary sources relating to the social history of the city should be carried out within the narrative. It would be impossible to record and review, for example, the architectural details of the whole city across time or the details of the planning decisions and the actors involved in them for every element or every area of the city. It is, however, possible to 'zoom in' to certain areas and assess their characteristics in details as well as review the primary sources relating to their development and the actors involved in it. This is why the qualitative aspect of the methodology is so vital, because it is needed not just to fill in the gaps in historical information, but also to capture the variety of actors involved in the emergence of the city and the expressive capacities influencing the development process.

The decision was therefore taken to carry out in-depth illustrative case studies, not only to validate the quantitative findings, but also to meet the challenges posed by developing a description which accounts for all the actors at play and for the nature of the social. Given the complexity of cities, a statistical snapshot of the whole city, though informative, cannot, as Tonkiss (2005, p. 81) points out, fully "capture its object" of study. It is the connections between the elements that are key to the identity of social entities, so much that ANT defines the social as a trace. Although the statistical analysis provides an assessment of such connections, the trace left by the social must be described for an entity to be defined as social. Thus, if we are to follow the theory that the city is a social assemblage, case studies are the only means that give the opportunity to fully develop a description that traces the social by assessing in detail the associations produced between elements and the processes of group formation within each area. Moreover, the part-to-whole relationship is not just

about physical scales or even the physical connections between the parts and the whole, which space syntax is able to capture, but it is a complex system of actors, agencies and synthesising processes. Case studies give not only the opportunity to depict all these factors, but also to describe how the whole impacts on the areas selected as case studies and vice versa.

How each tool selected for analysis relates to the analytical requirements set by the theoretical framework must be summarised here clearly. Such summary is shown in table 4.1.

Analytical Requirement	Qualitative Tools	Quantitative Tools
Historical Processes and Temporal Aspect	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Historical Narrative Review of Secondary Sources on Development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Spatial History Space Syntax Analysis Block Size Analysis Land-use Analysis
Different Scales and Relationship of Part-to-Whole	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Illustrative Case Studies – How They Relate to the Whole City 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Space Syntax Analysis Assessment of Fringe Belt Formation
How Material and Human Elements are Connected Together	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fabrique Urbaine Analytical Linkages between Historical Sources and Physical Development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Statistical Correlations between Physical and Social Factors
How Groups are Formed and Redistributed	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Historical Analysis of Events that lead to Group Formation Analysis of Groups' Expressive Characteristics within Case Studies Analysis of Primary Sources in Relation to Case Studies' Developments 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Basic Statistical Analysis of Historical Social Factors Details Statistical and Geographical Analysis of Groups' Distributions
A Narrative where the Variety of Actors is Represented	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Conversations with Stakeholders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Quantitative Information Relating to the Nature of Groups in Different Areas

Table 4.1. Summary of methodological tools used for each analytical requirement.

It is expected that applying the tools described above to the analysis of the city will deliver the objectives listed in section 4.1. The results yielded by the analyses will provide answers to the guiding questions. They will also provide the basis to make inferences about the nature of the relationship between the physical and human aspects of the city, the influence of wider economic and structural factors on its development, and, ultimately, will identify the key synthesising mechanisms shaping the urban form of Limassol.

4.2 Building a narrative

The decision to develop a narrative of Limassol's development was taken because this method is appropriate to the description of 'real life problems'. This is especially true in cases where the complex nature of the subject of study, and the fragmented nature of the data related to it, requires the aggregation of different sources bearing on each other.

In the context of this study's framework, the meaning of 'narrative' as a research method is taken from ANT, which requires to provide a description where all the actors involved in

the process of emergence are accounted for and their actions are outlined. The aim of the narrative is to fully depict the state of affairs of an assemblage by being specific and accurate while capturing the broad-ranging connections and capacities exercised by different agencies and components. The key features of a narrative, for it to be successful, are that it must be well-written and that it must challenge what the social nature of an assemblage is. The narrative is developed and written by the researchers themselves. However, here, we are not using ANT methodology to construct a narrative, which would involve the tracing of a network. Instead, we are using a combined approach where the narrative is only one of the many analytical elements required by the theoretical framework. For this reason, we are using instead a combination of tools, typical of more 'classic' social research using narrative as a qualitative method. The narrative itself is still developed by the researcher, but through the collation, description, interpretation and communication of existing knowledge of the city. This is collected through researching primary and secondary sources, including photographic and cartographic material, and press archives, through holding conversations with expert stakeholders and through observing and performing a photographic survey of case studies. The methods used for each of these actions are described in detail in the following sections.

The narrative provides a baseline for reading, interpreting, validating and making inferences about the findings from quantitative analyses. The benefit of developing the narrative is that it describes the wider context within which the case study is set. It also gives an historical overview of Limassol's development from a variety of viewpoints. The various tools used to build a narrative provide information where more objective data gathering is not possible or viable. However, it is in itself a useful tool because, through a review of media sources and through conversations, it reveals different perceptions of the city and different interpretations of its development. This is key in understanding the social identity of the city and in informing the identification of issues, potentials and priorities which can aid planning.

During the interpretation of data, which is applicable to all the methods described below (sections 4.2.1-4.2.3), the researcher must look for patterns, themes and regularities (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996); the researcher also draws upon the knowledge and interpretation of the interviewees, while at the same time constructing their own meaning of the narrative (Riessman, 1993). The interpretation of data, in this case, takes place through positivists and constructivists paradigms: the internal and external validity of data, the trustworthiness and credibility of the experts and their narratives, and the transferability and confirmability of the statements. Regardless of the objectivity of individual narratives, their aggregation, interpretation and corroboration provides the

means to fully depict all the components, actors and agencies involved in the emergence of the city.

4.2.1 Historical context, archival research and secondary sources

The historical context within which Limassol developed, in terms of the local situation within the island, as well as the wider Eastern Mediterranean region, was investigated through a literature review of secondary sources. Although important to have an overview of the city's past, we are not particularly concerned with the historical context prior to the time when Limassol started developing from a town into a city during the second half of the 19th century. During this time, much of the wider region was under Ottoman rule and the scholarship on the nature and characteristics of Eastern Mediterranean port cities at this time is extensive.

With regards to Limassol itself, substantial research on its urban history also does exist and has been compiled by Serghides (2012) in a book which focuses both on the growth of the city and the development of specific areas and architectural landmarks, but in particular the industrial development of the city. The book takes a historical approach to the description of the city's development rather than an analytical one. When it comes to researching historical information specific to the development of the street network, the nature of city's urban form, and the distribution of different social groups, we must look elsewhere. Here, primary sources which describe the city were essentially found in two forms: a small number of historical tourist guides produced between the beginning of the 20th century and 1974, and a number of historical travellers' diaries from which the information regarding Limassol was collated by Severis (2006). Some other records regarding the city, such as police reports and newspaper articles were also found in other secondary sources.

One final primary source was available for research: the newspaper archives of the Cyprus Press and Information Office (PIO). At present this archive provides a searchable database of 38 Greek and English language newspapers dating from 1880 to 2006. However, this database is far from complete and only includes around 20% of the full collection, with fairly extensive coverage of the major newspapers and more restricted coverage of other newspapers, mostly relating to years of significant historical events, such the two World Wars, the years around the establishment of the Cyprus Republic and those around the 1974 war.

The PIO's resource was used for two purposes: to research information about the illustrative case studies, and to gain further details about Limassol's development timeline, in particular major infrastructure works and large developments. The first part of the research required relatively simple search criteria as it was restricted to specific areas; for this the name of the area in Greek and English was entered in the search criteria and all

results were checked manually to discern relevant articles. Further information about what the search yielded is given in section 4.2.3. The second part of the research was more problematic in terms of selection of search criteria and considering that only major or disputed developments would be likely to feature in the press. As it was not viable to search and review every single development or neighbourhood in Limassol (as this would yield large amounts of classified ads), it was decided that, following a review of the historical cartography and of the land use analysis, only the major developments should be searched for. The search terms used in both English and Greek were:

- Bye-Pass/Makariou Avenue (restricted to Limassol)
- Spirou Kyprianou Avenue (restricted to Limassol)
- Motorway (restricted to Limassol)
- Port (restricted to Limassol)
- New Road (restricted to Limassol)
- Ypsonas Industrial Area
- Linopetra Industrial Area
- Tsireion Stadium
- KEO Factory
- KEAN Factory
- Gypsum Factory
- Municipal Gardens
- Lanition School
- Workers' Housing

The search above yielded 15 articles of relevance dated between 1953 and 2000. One further search was made through the online archive of the Cyprus Mail – the only newspaper which provides a searchable online archive of its articles from 1997 to 2011, although it is unclear how much of the collection is available. This search produced one further article regarding recent development in the town centre.

Information about other major developments, such as the Commissioner's Depot, the cemeteries, the hospital, etc. were available from secondary sources. Information which could not be found in written sources and further detail about the reasons behind each development was discussed in conversations with selected expert stakeholders – further details about these are given in the following section. Consideration was given to the possibility of retrieving information from documents held by the Town Planning and Housing Department (TPH) in order to retrieve information about the planning regimes

and reasoning behind certain developments, as well as further detail about developments' milestones and criteria used for their planning. Such course of action, however, was deemed not viable as planning documentation is not filed systematically and even locating the documentation with the relevant officers would require an amount of staff time, which the department was unable to provide (Achniotis, 2015).

4.2.2 Conversations with expert stakeholders

Conversations with expert stakeholders had the dual purpose of retrieving information which is lacking in the available documentation, and of collating a variety of different viewpoints on the reasoning behind development and on the actors involved in the planning processes. The conversations, firstly, aimed at clarifying some of the mechanisms of the city's development and to retrieve the dates of planning and construction of major routes and building projects requiring large land areas. Secondly, they attempted to gauge expert opinions on the value of various projects, especially the most recent ones and the current local plans, as well as the systems in place to elaborate needs assessments, encourage effective public participation, and establish criteria on which to assess the potential value and impact of planning proposals.

Local plans in Cyprus are developed centrally, though in consultation with local authorities, based on a strategic level long-term development policy drafted jointly by the Planning Bureau within the Ministry of Finance and the TPH. Local authorities, on the other hand, are in charge of granting planning permissions, regulating land use distribution and enforcing planning regulations. Given the structure of planning and divisions of planning powers in Cyprus, as well as the fact that we were interested in the historical aspect of planning, a list of 'essential' interviewees was drawn. This list took into account the fact that the analysis required to include the social sphere and the distribution of different groups across the city; it also required historical knowledge of infrastructure development prior to the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus and of formal planning regulations. Table 4.2 lists the types of professionals required to cover the various aspects discussed above.

Professional Type	Aspects Covered
<p>1. Two former municipal planning officers who had spent significant time in the municipality and had been involved in the implementation of local plans. (Conversation 1a and 1b)</p> <p>Conversation 1a total time: 3h13' Conversation 1b total time: 56'</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Historical development of Limassol prior to the establishment of formal planning. • Historical development of Limassol following the establishment of formal planning. • Criteria and reasoning behind the drafting of former local plans. • Criteria and reasoning for assessing proposed planning developments. • Views on current and future development of Limassol.
<p>2. One current municipal planning officer involved in the assessment of planning development and liaising with central government and private stakeholders. (Conversation 2)</p> <p>Conversation 2 total time: 28'</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Historical development of Limassol following the establishment of formal planning. • Criteria and reasoning behind the drafting of former local plans. • Criteria and reasoning for assessing proposed planning developments. • Official and personal views on current and future development of Limassol.
<p>3. One historian specialised on the history of Limassol. (Conversation 3)</p> <p>Conversation 3 total time: 1h14'</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Historical development of Limassol prior to the establishment of formal planning. • Historical development of Limassol following the establishment of formal planning. • Personal views on criteria and reasoning behind historical and current planning regimes. • Personal views on current and future development of Limassol.
<p>4. One current TPH officer specialised on public consultations. (Conversation 4)</p> <p>Conversation 4 total time: 42'</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Variety of actors involved in drafting of local plans and in proposal and assessment of specific planning developments. • How the viewpoints of different stakeholders and central-to-local powers are managed within the system. • Official and personal views on reforming the public consultation system. • Personal views on current and future development of Limassol.
<p>5. One current TPH officer involved in the drafting of the current local plan. (Conversation 5)</p> <p>Conversation 5 total time: 43'</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Historical development of Limassol following the establishment of formal planning. • Personal views on criteria and reasoning behind historical and current planning regimes. • Criteria and reasoning behind the drafting of former local plans. • Personal views on current and future development of Limassol. • Group formation and distribution within the city. • Reasoning behind the classification of areas for housing development. • Policies behind the assignation of public housing.

Table 4.2. List of essential interviewees required for holding conversations surrounding all themes addressed by the analysis.

A total of six in-depth conversations were held with the experts; these conversations took the form of semi-structured interviews, by which a set of questions was prepared in

advance of each interview. The questions covered the aspects listed in table 4.2 and the researcher prepared a set of prompts for each question which requested non-factual information. Several questions were repeated in each interview if the expertise of the interviewee was similar – these questions related to the dates of planning and construction of historical developments and to the reasoning for the decision behind their planning and their location (Conversations 1a, 1b, 2 and 3). Probes and additional questions were brought up during the conversation as a result of what the interviewee said as and when the researcher estimated it to be relevant. The remainder of questions related to the themes relevant to each expert, in some cases the questions, even when the same, were posed in slightly different ways to the different interviewees in order to highlight the relevance to their expertise. All interviewees were also asked to suggest at least three priorities for the future development of Limassol; this was the more open session, also requesting the expert's personal opinion on the current planning system, recent developments in Limassol's, the city's current situation and its needs for the future. Most, though not all the experts were also residents or had in the past resided in Limassol. All conversations were held in Greek and recorded, yielding a total of just over 7 hours of material (the length of each is reported in table 4.2), which was later transcribed by a native speaker.

In order for the interviewees to feel confident in expressing their opinions, they were informed that their identity would be kept confidential within this thesis. They were also made aware that identities would only be disclosed by the author – if requested and following a review of the request by the author and the expert involved – exclusively for the assessment of the selection of experts and their qualifications, to evaluate the validity of the research findings presented in this thesis. The letter requesting the interview, with a brief description of the research, the formulation used to reassure the experts of their anonymity, as well as the transcripts of the conversations can be found in appendix 3; translations can be provided by the author upon request.

The interviewees were forwarded a summary of the research topic and of the themes to be covered by the research through the conversations; not all themes could be discussed with all interviewees as their expertise was significantly different and they were free to avoid answering a question if they felt it did not relate to their expertise. As a consequence, a small number of questions were dropped by the researcher during the interview once it became clear that the interviewee felt they were not in a position to provide accurate or reliable information. The interview questions were therefore adapted, added or removed for each interview according to the expertise of the interviewees, who were left free to address in more detail whichever topic they felt they could address in depth and not necessarily address others they did not feel confident discussing.

The conversations covered the following themes – the number in brackets refers to the experts the themes were discussed with as detailed in table 4:

- Historical dates and reasoning of planning and construction (1,2,3): whether the specific dates of planning and construction of the major developments in the city are known or can be retrieved from other sources. What the reasoning behind the planning and construction of each major development was.
- Planning regimes (1,2,3) and criteria for planning assessment: whether specific theories were used in the planning of the city at different times, if there was a specific planning or political trend behind the drafting of local plans, what was the rationale or the criteria of different administration with regards to planning, what were the criteria for assessing planning proposals, what tools were available for assessing planning proposals.
- The current local plan, recent developments and future prospects (All): what is behind the concerted redevelopment of activity in the town centre and the coastal area, the criteria behind the drafting of the current local plan, existing methods of needs assessment and criteria for the evaluation of planning proposals. Opinions about the value of recent developments, existing problems and assets of Limassol, as well as priorities for its future.
- Economic cycles (1,2,4,5): the extent to which economic conditions play a role in planning decisions and how development is prioritised depending on financial resources.
- Planning consultations and the involvement of different actors (4): what is the system in place for planning consultations and the evaluation of planning applications, how different stakeholders are involved in the planning processes.
- Distribution of social groups and other factors (All): whether planning and public services take into account the formation of different groups and their housing and infrastructure requirements within the city, with regards to historical or more recent migrants, may they be temporary or permanent. Whether there are specific areas which display concentrations of wealth and poverty or specific environmental issues.
- Housing supply and demand (5): what is the current housing policy specific to Limassol, how are areas for residential development designated, what is the supply, demand and state of maintenance of social housing.
- Information specific to the illustrative case studies (1,3): when were these areas urbanised, was there any controversy or diversity of opinions about their development, what are their current characteristics and prospects.

The material produced by the conversations was rich and varied, despite covering the same or similar themes. All transcripts were read individually by the researcher and relevant themes, cross-validating as well as contradictory statements were identified using the positivist and constructivist methods described in section 4.2.

The information drawn from the conversation is embedded in the narrative and also used to aid the identification of the mechanisms of the city's development and inferences about the relationship between the physical and the social spheres. Whenever possible, information on the dates of planning and construction of specific developments is matched to data on GDP growth, which is available in detail from 1974 to the present day. Prior to this date, the relationship between planning decisions and economic circumstances is assessed analytically based on the historical context. This is done in order to gain an overview of how processes of development identified by previous studies relate to their common economic element. The actors involved in change and the impact of the change on the city as a whole are assessed through the analysis of the conversations, which enrich the wealth of information included in the development timeline created as part of the analysis.

4.2.3 Illustrative case studies

Three case studies were analysed in order to provide material for a full description of how a variety of actors and the connections between physical and human factors lead to the emergence of cities. The case studies also provide another layer of information with regards to how parts of the city relate to the whole and vice versa.

The selection of the study areas was informed by the conversation with planning and municipality officials. It was also based on the analysis of the distribution of social variables, so that areas with different social make ups would be analysed (one with significantly high concentration of high class residents and foreign nationals, one of middle class residents and an average mix of nationalities, and one of lower class residents with a significantly high proportion of Cypriot nationals). A decision was also made that the case study areas should relate to different historical periods, in order to highlight the historical processes involved in their emergence.

A variety of methods was used for the analysis, so that a multiplicity of actors and processes could be reflected in their descriptions; data from the quantitative analyses are also used in the description and assessment of these areas. Table 5 summarises the case studies with the relevant methodology, while figure 4.3 shows the location of the case studies in relation to the whole city and to each other.

Case study	Social rationale, period and information from conversations	Methodology
Turkish Cypriot Area of Arnaout	The area is part of the historical core of the city and exists since the Ottoman period. It is the designated Turkish Cypriot neighbourhood and as such it is currently mostly lived in by Greek Cypriot refugees to whom the Turkish Cypriot properties were assigned following the 1974 war. It also hosts a number of Turkish Cypriots who have resettled here, as well as gypsies who are Cypriot nationals. It is anecdotally known to have poor housing.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Researcher's observation and photographic survey. • Conversations with stakeholders. • Review of newspaper articles related to this area.
Agios Nikolaos	The area under study is part of the quarter of Agios Nikolaos, comprising the postcode areas 3096 and 4005. A large cemetery in this area was founded in 1865, its residential development occurred in the 1950s and 1960s and it is also the location of some of the earliest workers' housing in Limassol.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Researcher's observation and photographic survey. • Conversations with stakeholders. • Review of newspaper articles related to this area.
Dasoudi	This area is part of the quarter of Potamos Germasogeia, comprising the postcode areas 4047 and 4041. Tourist development in this area was being discussed in the late 1960s and early 1970s, however the area started developing significantly following the 1974 war and development has been ongoing since.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Researcher's observation and photographic survey. • Conversations with stakeholders. • Review of newspaper articles related to this area.

Table 4.3. Summary of case studies and related methodology.

All areas were visited and observed by the researcher on a Saturday, when certain activities in public areas were, such as leisure activities, were likely to be at their peak and shops, as well as many services, were functioning. In all cases the weather was sunny and warm. Figure 4.3 shows the location of the case studies in relation to the whole city and to each other.



Figure 4.3. Location of case study areas.

The researcher walked along every street in the area and the photographic survey involved taking a photograph of all streets in the study areas by standing at each street junction and taking a photograph in each direction from the junction. Further to this, photographs of public green spaces and examples of typical housing types in the area were taken along with other characteristics which were considered relevant by the researcher based on preliminary observation of the areas and on data from the quantitative analyses, as well as information from the conversations. With regards to the archival press research, the details of how it was undertaken were discussed in section 4.2.2. The material yielded with regards to the case studies comprised 8 articles in the Greek language relating to Arnaout (dated between 1990 and 2003) and 9 articles in the Greek language relating to Dasoudi (dated between 1970 and 1995). A further search of the Cyprus Mail's online archive yielded a further 2 articles relating to Arnaout and 9 articles relating to Dasoudi. No relevant articles were found in either archive in relation to the area of Agios Nikolaos. The reasons behind the different levels of press coverage for these areas is discussed in the analysis.

4.3 Developing a spatial history

By developing a spatial history, the aim is to reconstruct the key features of the city's growth at specific times in the past, while assessing the relationship between spatial and locational factors and how this evolves. By this, we mean how the properties of the street network relate to the location of specific features and land uses within the city. A spatial history is essential a quantitative approach, which will aid the identification of mechanisms through which the urban form takes its shape, may this be through the establishment of

certain functional areas or through the construction of specific routes within and through the city. Such an approach is also helpful in establishing whether there may be a relationship between developmental processes identified by previous studies, such as those of fringe belt formation and of centrality and compactness.

The spatial history is composed of three layers of information relating to the material components of the city: an analysis of the spatial properties of the street network, an analysis of a physical property of the built form (block size) and an analysis of a socio-economic property of the built form (land use). The first analysis is carried out through a configurational, space syntax approach, while the second two analyses are carried out through a historical-geographical approach focusing on the timeline and distribution of specific land uses of a large size. One further layer of information relates to the social components of the city: an analysis of distribution of social groups across the city, carried out through a geographical approach typical of the Chicago school, whereby census data are summarised and mapped according to administrative areas. Descriptive statistics of the distribution are also summarised and visually displayed within the analysis.

All the above analyses are necessarily based on two forms of data: cartographic data for the analysis of the material components and social data for the analysis of the human components. With regards to the social data, an actual spatial history could only be constructed for contemporary times as the historical data do not provide enough detail for mapping and quantitative analyses. Although the social aspect of the spatial history is limited to a single point in time, this is one layer of information which can be added to a section of the history. Furthermore, the mapping of these data serves as the starting point to develop the social layer of a development timeline once further data become available through future censuses. Naturally, a level of information is also provided by previous censuses, but the smallest area available is at the municipality-level, which are significantly large areas. These data are therefore used to provide a broad description of the distribution of the population across what has become the contemporary urban area. Further details are given the sections below.

4.3.1 Cartographic and social data

Cartographic data for Limassol were searched for both in Cyprus and abroad from the following sources: the Historical Archive of Limassol, the U.K. National Archives, the Cyprus Department of Land and Surveys, the British Library, the U.S. Library of Congress and other primary sources such as historical guidebooks and cartographers. Small scale or incomplete maps of good quality, and maps of uncertain accuracy, were used to inform the historical description of the city's development. All available high quality maps of Limassol since the first triangulated map of 1883 were collated for analysis in GIS. The maps vary in scale and

cover only the urban area of Limassol which poses some methodological shortcomings. All maps were digitised from paper into high-quality raster format either by the relevant copyright holder or by the author. These were then geo-referenced in GIS by assigning ten control points and inputting the geographical coordinates manually as measure by the GIS for the relevant reference points. Whenever possible the same control points were used to ensure locational accuracy, and therefore comparative accuracy of related spatial attributes across time. The need for retaining the same control points had to be balanced with the need to place them across the whole extent of the urban area – again to achieve accuracy – as the city expanded through time. Two control points in the same location at the opposite edges of the historical town centre were retained through the cartographic series: the north-east corner of the medieval castle and the south-east corner of the commissioner’s house. This is with the exception of the 2011 map, which does not provide the block shape of significant buildings; however, the contemporary spatial models were derived from digital sources and are therefore geographically accurate. The maps used for analysis and their related methodological issues are listed in table 6.

Date	Description	Author	Methodological Issues
1883	1:2,500m covering contemporary urban area.	Lord H. H. Kitchener for the UK Foreign Office	Although the map covers only the urban area, this does not pose methodological issues in terms of edge effect as the contemporary surrounding area would have been highly rural and thus have no particular impact on the results of spatial analyses.
1933	8inches:1mile covering contemporary urban area and surrounding villages.	Cyprus Department of Land Registrations and Surveys (under UK administration)	As the map covers the urban area and surrounding villages it does not pose methodological issues in terms of edge effect. However, the paper map was collated together from six sheets onto a single canvas; there is a gap of about 0.5cm between each sheet which means that geo-referencing cannot be accurate. This has a small impact on the analysis which uses a metric radius – hence in this case the radius is slightly different, most likely larger, in some areas potentially by up to 25m.

1960 (1958 revised 1960 from aerial photographs)	1:10,000 covering contemporary urban area and surrounding villages.	UK Department of Survey, War Office and Air Ministry	There are no particular methodological issues regarding this map, either in terms of its accuracy or edge effect on the urban area, except for the reliability of the update based on aerial photographs, which is hard to establish, but is likely to be minimal given the small time gap between the original map and the update.
1974 (air photography dated 1970, additional information from various sources dated 1967-1973)	1:10,000	Fairy Surveys Ltd under the direction of the UK Director of Military Survey, Ministry of Defence	The map covers the urban area and surrounding villages it does not pose methodological issues in terms of edge effect.
1987	1:7,500	Cyprus Department of Land and Surveys	The map only covers the contemporary urban area and excludes the Eastern beach. This poses methodological problems as it causes an edge effect in all spatial analyses.
2003	1:7,500	Cyprus Department of Land and Surveys	The map only covers the contemporary urban area and excludes the Eastern beach. This poses methodological problems as it causes an edge effect in all spatial analyses.
2014 (2011 revised based on current Bing maps, Google maps and OpenStreetMap road centre line map, downloaded in January 2014)	2011 map scale: 1:10,500. Bing and Google maps: variable scales. OSM road centre line map: vector format.	2011 map: Centre of Studies, Research and Publications SELAS Ltd.	The 2011 map only covers the contemporary urban area and was somewhat outdated to match surveys run in 2014. As this posed methodological problems causing an edge effect in the spatial analyses and missing newly-constructed street segments, the map was updated using the Open Street Map road centre line which was then adjusted manually to meet space syntax modelling needs and check visually against the Bing and Google maps.

Table 4.4. List of maps used for analysis.

Historical information on the distribution of social factors in Limassol was drawn from primary and secondary sources. The primary sources had already been reviewed and collated by other researchers (Katziaounis, 1996; Pilavakis, 1977; Severis, 2006), who also described the past society of Limassol based on historical records and data from wider sources. Only specific extracts from both the primary and the secondary sources were used for the historical analysis: a) extracts that specifically described the urban form of Limassol

– the shape, size, maintenance of the streets or public and semi-public areas, the location of different uses or monuments, and b) where different population groups either resided or performed social functions – in particular the areas where the Greek, Turkish and British populations resided or congregated, how different social phenomena, political and economic changes related to the distribution of land uses. Historical guidebooks from the 1940s to the 1980s were also analysed to draw further information about the nature of the city and its population, however, except for a few maps, these sources provided little detail that would shed light on the distribution of social factors within the city.

This information was complemented by data on population growth and proportion of different faiths or ethnicities in the various municipalities now comprised within the urban area of Limassol. The categories recorded in the censuses from 1891 to 1960 and then in 2001 and 2011 change and are thus more or less comparable. A micro-census was undertaken in 1973, however this does not report data with subdivisions within the city. The 1992 census does not provide a summarisation of data even by municipality; other sources of data were not found and therefore social analysis for these periods was not carried out. Occupational categories were only recorded in the 2011 census, while employment status, age and educational level were recorded in 2001 and 2011. With regards to faith, ethnicity or citizenship the categories recorded were as following:

- 1891, 1901, 1911 and 1921: Muslim and non-Muslim
- 1931: Muslim and Christian
- 1946: Greek Orthodox, Turkish Muslim and Other Religions
- 1960: Greeks, Maronites, Armenians, Turks, British, Gypsies, Other
- 2001: Cypriot, EU, Non-EU
- 2011: Cypriot, EU, Non-EU

The 2011 census also reports divisions by postcode for the above factors as well as for occupational group (types of occupation which identifies a mixture of industry and occupational level), which allows for a much more detailed analysis of the differentiation between different areas of the city. Such data are used for a more accurate analysis of the relationship between physical characteristics of the area of residence and socio-economic make-up of the resident population.

4.3.2 Configurational analysis

Seven spatial models of Limassol were constructed using space syntax methodology⁴. Space syntax quantitatively describes patterns of spatial layout; once the model is built, it can be analysed to provide various measures reflecting different properties of the urban configuration and of specific elements of the street network, such as a street segment. The most important measures of space syntax are *integration*, representing 'to-movement' or the accessibility of a specific element within the system, and *choice*, representing 'through-movement' or 'betweenness' (the number of times a segment falls on the shortest route between all pairs of segments within a specified radius). Measures can be calculated at the city-wide scale or at any given radius, the city-wide, 'global' measures taking into account all elements in the system and the 'local' measures taking into account all elements within the given radius. City-wide measures tend to be representative of the whole-city structure and often correlate with vehicular movement; local measures tend to be representative of local neighbourhood structures within a city and often correlate with pedestrian movement.

The specific analysis used in this study is angular segment analysis, which takes into account least angular deviation of each segment from all other segments (hence it takes into account the relative straightness of a route). The measures used are *normalised angular choice* (referred to here as NACH or 'choice') and *normalised angular integration* (referred to here as NAIN or 'integration'). The normalised measures allow for comparison between systems of different size – this is very important when comparing the spatial properties of a city which has grown significantly through the period under study. Furthermore, because of the mathematical way the measure of choice is normalised, it takes into account the depth of elements within the system (a proxy for integration) and hence it combines a representation of to- and through-movement (Hillier, Yang, & Turner, 2012); however, integration is a more accurate measure of to-movement and the depth of a sub-system within the street network, as such, it is better at highlighting areas which are highly segregated. Furthermore, normalised integration has the ability to highlight specific forms of the city, in particular the extent to which the city or a subsystem resembles a regular grid. On the other hand, normalised choice is a particularly powerful single measure, summarising and balancing two key properties of the street network and thus allowing a calibrated look at overall differences across the city between one period and

⁴ Further details of space syntax theory and methodology are given in Appendix 2. More detailed information on all aspects of space syntax can be found through www.spacesyntax.org and in key space syntax publication including Hillier and Hanson (1984) and Hillier (1996), Hillier and Iida (2005) for details of angular analysis, Hillier, Young, and Turner (Hillier et al., 2012) for details of the normalised choice measure, and Versluis (2013) for details of multi-scale analysis.

another. However, both measures are used to provide a more accurate and nuanced picture of the spatial properties of the city.

NACH values range between 0 and 2, where values above 1.3 are considered to be in the top range of accessibility, and values of 1.5 or above being extremely high. NAIN values also tend to range between 0 and 2, but can reach much higher values at the local level (usually up to 3). All the segments in the system with values of 1.3 or above are considered here to be part of the core structure of the city – the global structure when considering the whole system or the local neighbourhoods' structure when considering a specific local radius.

These two cores can be matched to identify the *multi-scale* core of the city – all the segments which have both the highest global and local values, constituting areas which are likely to have the highest levels of both vehicular and pedestrian movement, as well as the greatest mix of users who are familiar with the area and those who are not.

Another property of these measures is that maximum values tend to be representative of what is known as the foreground structure of the city – the network of linked centres at all scales, while mean values tend to be representative of the background structure – the network of residential spaces; for further details on both see Hillier (2002; 2012)

The contemporary spatial model was constructed first by downloading the road centre line from OpenStreetMap. This was checked and adjusted manually against current map and satellite data provided within GIS (Google and Bing data). The resulting model was then layered onto the historical maps and elements removed, added and adjusted manually to construct the historical models with a methodology similar to that of Pinho and Oliveira (2009).

The choice measures were calculated using the DephtMap Process tool in the Space Syntax extension for MapInfo developed and licensed by Space Syntax Ltd. NACH and NAIN were then calculated automatically in GIS using the formulas provided in Al-Sayed et al. (2014), mean values and area values were also calculated through simple selection and statistical tools available in MapInfo version 8.5.

4.3.3 Historical-geographical analysis

Block size analysis

Block size maps were automatically constructed from the spatial model using the blocks size tool in the Space Syntax extension for MapInfo mentioned above. Average block sizes were calculated for the whole city, the historical core and different sections of the city using simple query tools in GIS. Block size gives us an indication of the city's and different areas' permeability levels. By performing this analysis diachronically, block size measures also give us an indication of the extent to which and at what rate newer peripheral areas of the

city densify, as well as how the intensification of the street network affects the characteristics of each area. Block size analysis can be combined with land use analysis to inform the identification of different fringe belts in the city in cases where maps of plots are not available, and to assess how these relate to the evolution of the street network and to the density of their surrounding areas. Block size per se cannot be used as a tool to identify fringe belts as these are essentially defined the plot sizes, their boundaries and their aggregation as well as by their land uses. However, it can give an initial indication of the formation of peripheral zones with large blocks in the city – in a way, a very limited ‘proxy’ for the Conzenian approach. Further details of the limitations with regards to using a combination of block size and land use analysis to identify fringe belts are given in section 4.4.1. The decision of retaining the assessment of fringe belts, despite the lack of ideal data, by using a limited proxy was taken by the author because of the importance of the concept to the understanding of city development, generally and in Limassol. This decision was made consciously also to assess the suitability of such proxy for application in other similar cases.

The benefit of using an automated system for constructing the blocks is, firstly that it is time efficient and can therefore be performed across several models, thus enabling a diachronic analysis. Secondly, it ensures consistency in the way the blocks are constructed, thus ensuring accuracy and comparability across the different time periods. Constructing the blocks automatically using a road centre line model also means that the blocks represented in the maps and measured in the analysis are not exclusively built blocks, but also comprise open areas – which may be more or less accessible to cars and pedestrians. This effect is neither necessarily positive nor negative, but simply something which must be made clear when reading the block size maps and their related measures. In practice, these do not represent the built surface, but they are accurate representations of the intensity of the street network; in most cases, they also give a more accurate indication of the circulation system as the blocks comprise inaccessible open areas.

Initial observation of Limassol and its historical cartography were used to define the separate areas for block size analysis. The extent of the built form and the major roads existing in different time periods provided the basic criteria for defining the areas as natural boundaries in Limassol are scarce and no other man-made boundaries, such as fortifications or railway lines exist. The ring roads structure of Limassol creates a series of concentric strips, each of which is crossed by radial routes – given the definition of fringe belts, such areas offered the potential to aid the identification and definition of fringe belts. The areas for analysis were set as following:

1. **Historical Core (up to the 1930s)**: this comprises all of the built area present in the 1883 map, from the coast line to the route along Yildiz/Navarinou/Gladstonos, including the historical Turkish Cypriot area to the west of the river, and up to the public gardens on the east side of the town centre.
2. **Area 1 (1940s-1970s)**: the area comprised between the route along Yildiz/Navarinou/Gladstonos and the inner ring road (Makariou) to the north and the east, up to the road of Misiaouli and Kavazoglou to the West.
3. **Area 2 (1960s-1990s)**: the area comprised between Makariou and the A1 motorway up to road of Pafou to the west and the Germasogeia River to the east. This is analysed for the years 1960, 1974 and 1987. During the 1990s this area was 'split' into two by the insertion of the new ring road of Spirou Kyprianou. The area is therefore divided into two for analysis of the 2000s and contemporary times. **Area 2a** is comprised between Makariou and the outer ring road up to the road of Pafou to the west and the street of Griva Digeni to the east. **Area 2b** is comprised between Spirou Kyprianou and the A1 motorway to the north and west, up to the Germasogeia River to the east.
4. **Western Area (1930s-present)**: this area was analysed separately as it is somewhat peculiar in its evolution and boundaries, having first developed as an early industrial area serving port activities along the coastline and only much later having seen residential development. It comprises the area to the west of the historical Turkish Cypriot area, bounded by the coastline to the south and by the route along Misiaouli and Kavazoglou/Pafou/A1 Motorway to the north, up to the edge of the city and the UK Sovereign Territory to the west.
5. **Outer Area (historical villages and 1990s-present)**: all of the area to the north of the A1 motorway comprising the old villages surrounding the city and also including the easternmost stretch of the tourist area to the east of the Germasogeia River.

The areas were defined somewhat arbitrarily, although this was done on a combination of historical, chronological and physical criteria. However, they provide a reasonable and useful breakdown of the city, which provides an overview of its development and enables us to measure difference, similarities and changes in the physical characteristics of different areas across time.

Land use analysis and timeline

The land use analysis, coupled with the block size analysis, primarily aimed at establishing whether fringe belts processes had occurred in the development of Limassol. A secondary aim was to assess the relationship between the location of large blocks of specific uses and the evolution of the street network. Historical land use data are scarce and the analysis had to be based on the information reported on historical and contemporary maps. In order to visualise the establishment of specific land uses in peripheral areas, schematic maps of the city were created for each time period. The maps report in simplified form the extent of the built fabric of the city and highlight the individual large blocks whose use is identified in the maps or can be identified through a later map. The large land uses are coloured thematically according to their time period. In some cases, the time of construction is known and the block assigned to its time period, in most cases it is not and it is therefore assumed that the block was constructed during the time period between the map where it first appears and the previous one.

Such analysis provides us with the information to identify any potential fringe belts and, once layered onto the block size analysis, to assess whether these relate to any of the area defined for the block size analysis or any of the routes relating to these areas. This was done to establish whether the formation of peripheral areas was due simply to growth needs or whether they also followed other principles of fringe belt formation.

The material developed through this analysis is then coupled with other analyses in order to develop a visual timeline, which combines the historical social data with the quantitative analysis through mapping techniques juxtaposed with textual information as well as census, economic and historical data. In order to do this, the major routes identified through the space syntax analysis were layered over the land use maps. At the same time, a linear chronological rule following the sequence of maps reports relevant dates and events, as well as textual extracts from primary sources. This timeline aids the identification of possible synthesising mechanisms relating to locational factors and distribution of functions and uses. It also aids the assessment of the inter-relationship between fringe belt and configurational processes, thus shedding light on whether either one is at play in the emergence of Limassol's urban form or whether they are both taking place.

4.3.4 Social analysis

Historical and qualitative social data have already been discussed in sections 4.2.1 and 4.3.1. In this section, some detail must be added with regards to the analysis of historical quantitative data. Such data relate exclusively to population and either ethnicity or faith. Data from between 1891 and 1960 could be compared at the municipality level, meaning that the proportion of different ethnicities in Limassol and the surrounding villages, now

comprised within the urban area, could be summarised. The categories used by the census differ slightly in certain decades, however we consider them to be comparable, although just in very broad terms of a majority and a minority group rather than any specific ethnic or religious characteristic. Data from 2001 and 2011 can also be compared between them at the municipality level. In these cases, the categories are completely different from those up to 1960s as they relate to citizenship and not to either ethnicity or faith, however, if one wishes to look exclusively at a broad-brush measure of majority vs. minority groups, then the comparison can be made across all time periods. More details on the limitations posed by the social data and their interpretation is discussed in section 4.4.

Ethno-religious and citizenship categories for all time periods and other social variables for 2001 and 2011 for each municipality in Limassol were summarised by deriving the proportion of each variable for each area's population and comparing it with the average for the whole city. The municipalities considered in the analysis were: Limassol, Zakaki (up to 1960, later comprised within Limassol), Mesa Geitonia, Agios Athanassios, Germasogeia, Kato Polemidia and Pano Polemidia. The data were then mapped in GIS in order to produce a visual account of the most significant differences between the areas and between time periods. The variables considered in the analysis are summarised in table 4.5.

Variable	Description	Significance
Employment Status (2001-2011)	Summarised as the proportion of employed/unemployed.	This is an indicator of socio-economic status and highlights whether there is a spatial distribution in those affected by unemployment, for example by choosing to reside in areas of lower land values or housing costs being determined by certain characteristics which make the area less desirable.
Employment Type (2011 only)	Summarised as the proportion of employment types according to the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO-08) categories (armed forces; managers; professionals; technicians and associate professionals; clerical support workers; services and sales workers; skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers; crafts and related trades workers; plant and machine operators and assemblers; elementary occupations).	This is another socio-economic indicator and highlights whether those in positions associated with lower incomes tend to congregate in specific areas of the city, and vice versa for those in positions associated with higher incomes. Moreover, these data can shed light on processes of congregation which are associated with the development of areas requiring specific skills such as the service industry, the shipping and agricultural industries, and wider industrial uses.
Class (2011 only)	This is a classification based on the employment type, by which the areas where	This in practice is the same socio-economic indicator as above and serves the purpose of summarising

	<p>classified as high class, middle-high class, middle class, low-middle class, or low class if the proportion of residents from one or two particular classes was significantly higher than the average for the whole city. The area was not classified and considered 'mixed' if there was no significant difference from the average or if two non-adjacent classes were higher than the average. Classes were summarised from the employment type as follows: high= managers; professionals; middle= technicians and associate professionals; clerical support workers; services and sales workers; skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers; crafts and related trades workers; low= plant and machine operators and assemblers; elementary occupations; armed forces.</p>	<p>the data above into a single value in order to more easily identify deviation from the average, visualise the congregation of specific social classes, and correlate the distribution of social classes with mean spatial values of each area.</p>
<p>Ethnicity or Religion (1891-1960); Citizenship (2001-2011)</p>	<p>Summarised as the proportion of ethno-religious groups, and Cypriot and non-Cypriot (further divided into EU and non-EU).</p>	<p>This is an indicator of the processes of congregation and segregation, and sheds light on whether majority and minority groups tend to concentrate in specific areas, whether this is through reasons of cultural familiarity, within-group social support, availability of labour opportunities and housing, or discrimination.</p>
<p>Educational Attainment (2011 only)</p>	<p>Summarised as the proportion of secondary and upper secondary degrees, post-secondary degrees, and university and above degrees.</p>	<p>This is another socio-economic indicator which often correlates with employment status and type. Again, it can also shed light on whether there are spatial processes of congregation related to educational attainment.</p>
<p>Age (2001-2011)</p>	<p>Summarised as the proportion of 0-19 year-olds, 20-64 year-olds, and 65 and above year-olds.</p>	<p>This variable gives an indication of whether certain age groups tend to congregate in specific areas. In particular, whether there is a specific distribution to older people and pensioners. With regards to children, a high proportion is often associated with higher levels of social and environmental problems in Anglo-American contexts – whether this may be the case in Cyprus is explored based on the results on the analysis. However, a high proportion of minors can also be associated to a tendency by families to select specific areas of the city for residence, either</p>

		because they are considered safer or more 'family-friendly' through the provision of children and school services.
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Table 4.5. Social variables used for the spatial analysis.

All the above variables were then also mapped at the postcode level for 2011. This gives a much more detailed view of the distribution of such variables and highlights differences within municipalities. The significance of the difference between the areas was determined by Chi-square testing with a 95% CI. Descriptive statistics of various areas of the city were layered onto thematic maps visualising the data in order to provide a thorough understanding of the distributions.

4.3.5 Relating physical, spatial and social data

As described in section 4.1.3 linkages between the physical and the social spheres prior to contemporary times are drawn analytically. This is partially done in the narrative of Limassol's development, but it is formalised in the visual timeline described in section 4.3.3. Here the key spatial and physical attributes identified by the quantitative analyses are related to historical descriptive social statistics according to their chronology in order to aid the identification of causal pathways in the emergence of the urban form.

Once we get to contemporary times, such an approach is no longer needed because enough detail is available to perform statistical correlations between the various data. These were carried out at the postal code level by using linear regressions between the social variables and the physical measures produced through the spatial analysis to test whether there was a relationship between any of them. The physical measures used for correlations were the mean block size of the area and the mean NACH at the whole-city scale and at various radii (400m, 800m, 1200m). In order to assess the significance of the correlations between the social (dependent) variables and the physical (explanatory) variable, we needed also to assess whether there was a relationship between the social variables and other physical factors which might easily influence distribution. These factors were selected based on common features which might influence land values, residential choices, or distribution of population groups. The choice was also influenced by the viability of producing quantitative data for statistical use within the time and scope of this research (for example proximity to the seafront was used as it is likely to influence land values and housing prices; but an estimate of actual land values and housing prices was not possible). The additional variables tested were:

- total depth as this is a more specific indicator of areas' segregation within the system than NACH or NAI_n,
- number of street segments as an indicator of the intensity of the street network,

- population density as a potential explanatory variable by itself, but also as an indicator of land coverage,
- proximity to the seafront as a preferential factor in residential choices,
- proximity to the motorway as either a preferential factor due vehicular accessibility or a non-preferential factor due to noise and air pollution.

All the physical measures that were found to significantly correlate with the social variables were then built into a multivariate model in order to understand which of the explanatory variables is best representative of the distribution of the dependent variable – essentially to see which physical aspects of the city plays a more important role in explaining the residential distribution of different groups. Therefore, in the multivariate model the social variables act as dependent variables, while the spatial characteristics function as predictors and get tested to understand their significance in the distribution of social variables – all of these are described in table 4.6.

Variable	Type	Description
Postal Code	Reference	Administrative area of various sizes ranging from 0.13Km ² -1.44Km ² .
Citizenship	Dependent	Proportion of Cypriot/non-Cypriot population.
Occupational status	Dependent	Proportion of employed/unemployed.
Class	Dependent	Significantly low, low-middle, middle, middle-high or high class.
Educational level	Dependent	Proportion of population holding tertiary education qualifications.
Age	Dependent	Proportion of 19-year-olds and under/65-year-olds and above.
Choice	Predictor	Different scales are used, the area mean as measured through space syntax analysis.
Integration	Predictor	Different scales are used, the area mean as measured through space syntax analysis.
Total Depth	Predictor	The area mean as measured through space syntax analysis.
Node Count	Predictor	The total for the area divided by size of the area.
Block Size	Predictor	The area mean.
Density	Predictor	Population density – the area's population divided by the area's size.
Proximity to Sea Front	Predictor	Measured in GIS as the network distance of the area from any segment on the coast. The areas were given a value according to the following: 5= includes segments within 400m of the coastline; 4=includes segments within 800m of the coastline; 3= includes segments within 1200m of the coastline; 2= includes segments within 1600m of the coastline; 1= includes segments within 2000m of the coastline; 0=areas further away than 2000m.
Proximity to Motorway	Predictor	Measured in GIS as the network distance of the area from any segment on the coast. The areas were given a value according to the following: 5= includes segments within 400m of the motorway; 4=includes segments within 800m

		of the motorway; 3= includes segments within 1200m of the motorway; 2= includes segments within 1600m of the motorway; 1= includes segments within 2000m of the motorway; 0=areas further away than 2000m.
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Table 4.6. Variables used for correlations and multivariate analysis.

4.4 Limitations

The case study selected for the application of the theoretical framework and the methodology poses a number of challenges. Firstly, the historical social data lack spatial detail, meaning that they are only available at the municipality level and therefore the distribution of different groups across the city cannot be assessed diachronically. Secondly, the way ethno-religious groups are categorised changes over time, which means that a diachronic comparison of such groups can only be done in extremely broad terms. Even with regards to contemporary data of citizenship, the categorisation as Cypriot and non-Cypriot is highly broad brushed as it is not possible to extract details as to the length of residency in the country of members of each group. Finally, the cartographic records, both historical and contemporary also lack detail, which mean that no digital maps of plot boundaries and/or building exist; the very large scale of cadastral maps make them unsuitable for digitisation for the whole-city. While a digital parcel map dating to 2003 does exist, this has been shown to have inaccuracies by observation and field surveys of the contemporary situation (N. Charalambous & Geddes, 2015b). Furthermore, land uses recorded on the available cartography are unlikely to be exhaustive even when relating exclusively to specific large land use types, which are highlighted as buildings of interests within the maps. Again, within the scope of PhD research it was not possible to identify all land uses in the city, especially given the lack of detailed accurate cartography, and naturally this cannot be done for past times.

These limitations are not peculiar to the case study of Limassol; in fact, most cities in the world, with a few exceptions, offer neither perfect cartographic data, nor social data, especially historical data. One of the aims of the analytical framework is actually to develop a methodology which can address these common limitations and can therefore be applicable to a wide variety of case studies across the world. This is why a combination of qualitative and quantitative tools was put in place: to supply information and cross-validate analyses when data was scarce. It also why Limassol is a suitable case study for this research, because it provides an appropriate 'average' case on which the performance of the theoretical framework, and the validity and transferability of the methodology can be assessed. One further issue that should be considered when reading and making inferences from the various analyses is that the scale of the city is relatively small population-wise. Although the area is large given its

population, due to low density, it remains that distances within the city are restrained and vehicular journeys across the city can take a short time; levels of spatial integration and segregation of the different case studies are therefore relative and easy to overcome for those with access to private transport. The limitations are further discussed in the following sections.

4.4.1 Configurational, block size and land use analysis

All maps used for the spatial analysis were geo-referenced manually by using 10 control points. This means that there was some scope for error, which does show when the maps are overlaid. This is particularly true for maps from different sources and for those of slightly lower quality; for example, the maps of 1987 and 2003 having both been produced by the same agency match quite accurately, this is not so between other maps. In particular, the map of 1933, having gaps between the different sheets composing the map, is likely to have produced greater error in the analysis. This error was minimised by using the contemporary spatial model derived from digital data to construct past models. However, it remains possible that a few differences exist between the same elements in the models (e.g. the same road having more or fewer segments, or smaller/greater angle changes from segment to segment for the same urban form), which would cause areas that are exactly the same at different times to have slightly different measures. This is also true for the block size analysis, which was automatically derived from the spatial model.

The lack of digital maps for both historical and more recent times means that it was not possible to create a buffer zone around the spatial model to avoid edge effect in the spatial analysis. While this does not apply to the block size measures, the space syntax measures, especially at the larger radii would be affected. This means that areas at the edge of the map might have lower values than would be expected if they were connected to areas outside the available maps. In most cases this is not a problem, as detailed in table 6, because the maps include surrounding villages at times when the extent of the urban area was more compact. However, the effect certainly exists in the cases of the 1987 and 2003 maps, which must be taken into account when assessing the significance of the spatial measures.

As mentioned in section 4.3.3, the way the blocks are constructed means that they comprise open areas, which may or may not be accessible. In practice, these are representations of the intensity of the street network; in most cases, they also give a good indication of how the circulation system works in practice as the blocks comprise inaccessible open areas. However, it must be borne in mind that in some cases such blocks might comprise spaces accessible to cars and, even more so, pedestrians, even though such access is not through official or planned pathways. There is no way to get around this problem if one is to use an automated system, so one should consider that some areas might be more permeable than the

block size maps appear to show. There is one further issue relating to the automated construction of blocks: areas at the edges of the model which are not bounded by roads within the base maps used to create the spatial model and accessed through a dead end are not represented in these maps. This should not be considered particularly problematic, partly because the instances are very few, but also because in these cases surrounding roads are extremely far and in fact these areas are so peripheral that their nature is turning from suburban to rural. If one were to construct these blocks they would be extremely large and possibly skew the analysis, while, in practice, they should not be considered part of the urban environment.

Regarding the land use analysis, this is based on the key land uses reported within the available cartography. The criteria by which buildings of interest and their related land uses are reported in the maps are not known and must vary between the different agencies that produced the maps. It is possible that not all significant large land uses are reported in maps; this is particularly true for the older maps where smaller factories and private farms and/or enterprises in peripheral areas of the city might not be identified. Although this is not of relevance when developing a timeline and visualisation of development of the whole city, it is possible that the exact extent and nature of potential fringe belts identified through the analysis is not as accurate as it could be. However, all historical cartography used for the land use analysis was produced by or under the supervision of governmental agencies and it is therefore expected that meet a high level of accuracy and consistency in the reporting of significant infrastructure. It must be stressed here that a block size analysis is by no means comparable to an analysis of plot and plot boundaries and this can only function as rough proxy for the identification of fringe belts when coupled with the land use analysis, which is also not ideal for the requirements posed by the historical-geographical approach for the identification of fringe belt. However, as will be show in the analysis in section 5.2.2 these can give a good indication of the fact that fringe belts do exist in Limassol as well as of their characteristics.

4.4.2 Social analysis

There are a few key issues with the historical social data. Firstly, the categories used differ across censuses. Religion is, of course, not the same as ethnicity and even less so as citizenship. Broadly speaking, however, the data give an indication of the distribution of majority and minority groups at different points in time. Furthermore, such data is comparable in two ways: up to 1946, the great majority of the Christian population would have belonged to the Greek Cypriot Orthodox community and the great majority of the Muslim population to the Turkish Cypriot community. Vice versa, the ethnicities recorded in the 1960 census can, to a great extent, be assigned to either Christian or Muslim religious

groups. In the present day, comparison is more problematic as it relates to citizenship, which can no longer be identified with a main ethnicity or faith. It remains the case, however, that the data do give an indication of the distribution of a population majority (Christian in the past, Cypriot in present times) as opposed to a population minority (Muslim in the past, non-Cypriot in the present). Furthermore, proportions of EU and non-EU residents can hardly be compared between 2001 and 2011 since twelve of the current 28 EU member states were not part of the European Union in 2001, including Romania and Bulgaria – two of the largest minorities currently residing in Limassol. For comparative purposes, the summary breakdown of Cypriot and non-Cypriot was therefore retained. However, even this distinction is somewhat problematic as it is not possible to establish the extent to which members of the two groups are actually familiar with the environment, whether they are socially integrated within the local culture, or the length of their residency in the country. Unfortunately, even the most recent census does not provide a breakdown of ethnicity, religious belief or country of citizenship either by postcode or municipality. This means that foreign populations are grouped together, while they have different characteristics, often in terms of wealth and educational levels. Therefore, it cannot be established whether populations from specific backgrounds concentrate in certain areas or if, within an area of significant disadvantage or significant wealth, it is a specific population which carries the dominant characteristic of the area. The lack of availability of such data means that the analysis might lack insight into important processes of congregation and segregation in the city. Country of origin and religious belief are, however, recorded in the census, but are not summarised or released for research purposes as they are considered sensitive data. It is hoped that in the future the possibility of accessing such data will arise and that thus further data mining could be performed to clarify details of the distribution of social variables.

Regarding the mapping and spatial analysis of the 2011 census data, an edge effect also applies the distribution of social variables. If a certain variable concentrates in an area that goes over the border of two postcode areas, then the phenomenon might not be visible in the analysis. This is because the measure of concentration would be spread across two areas and thus 'diluted' by the presence of other populations decreasing the mean of a certain factor. Such an effect is again due to the nature of administrative boundaries and the fact that postcode areas might not necessarily be related to real-life neighbourhoods. This issue is further discussed below and within the relevant analysis section, but, as will be seen, the analysis remains valid and is still reflective of observed characteristics of various areas.

4.4.3 Statistical analysis

Although the statistical analysis of the municipality areas does reveal some general trends, these areas are very large and few (only 6 for a population of over 180,000) for comparative analysis either between each other or across time. Although proportions are used for the analysis, the variety of factors that could affect such large areas in terms of change across time cannot be fully take into account, making it more difficult to draw inferences about the relationship between the physical elements and the social variables. In fact, the number of areas is so low that it does not make sense to run linear regressions and even less so a multivariate model as there would not be enough variety between the predictors for the model to produce valid results.

The quantitative analysis of the contemporary situation is based on postcode areas of different size ($n=101$; varying between 0.13Km^2 and 1.44Km^2). For comparative purposes, proportions are used in the analysis and the sample size allows for a reliable correlation analysis. However, such areas do not always represent 'real' neighbourhoods as would be defined by physical edges and boundaries, such as the city walls, the river and major roads. It must therefore be allowed that the analysis of the relationship between the spatial structure and the social make-up of areas might be somewhat skewed by the arbitrary nature of such areas. This is one of the main reasons why space syntax analysts and, more generally statisticians looking at physical variables, have perhaps tended to be reluctant to link such measures to other area-level measures. Furthermore, such an analysis only provides an indication of the relationship between the various factors; as for all correlation analyses, it by no mean implicates causation and should therefore not be seen as providing the basis to make inference about physical or spatial factors determining socio-spatial distributions. Correlations involving fairly large data sets and multiple social variables tend to be weak even when statistically significant and as such inferences on the nature of the relationship between different factors should be made and taken with caution; the predictor variables should not be seen or used as factors in a potential predictive model of distribution when correlation are weak. These issues are addressed again in the analysis. Nevertheless, it will be argued here – as has been demonstrated before (N. Charalambous & Geddes, 2015a) – that, despite the limitations, it is still vital to test the link between the two spheres if we are to gain further insights into the relationship between spatial structures and population groups at the whole-city level.

While postcode areas are small enough to provide a good sample for the correlations, the issue of the edge effect mentioned above still persists. This is particularly true because of the nature of administrative boundaries. While there might be a relationship between physical aspects and social factors, these might not be picked up by the analysis, or the

correlation may not be strong. This is due to the fact that postcode boundaries do not reflect true physical boundaries in the city, such as major roads, rivers, large blocks, etc. which impede movement and thus determine what residents commonly identify as true boundaries between an area and another.

Finally, the years to which the spatial model relates and the years of the censuses do not perfectly match. This means that the physical form represented in the maps is not necessarily that which would be associated with the distribution of the social variables. The effect of this is not particularly significant if one considers that the built form tends to change slowly. Moreover, statistical correlations were only run for the latest dataset and there is therefore no concern regarding quantitative measures for 1992 or 2001. However, a certain level of difference between the physical form and the social data set does exist, particularly true for the first set (1987 map and 1992 census), which also happens to be at a time of particularly fast development. Difference is likely not to be so great for the other two sets (2003 map and 2001 census; and 2011 map revised on 2014 map and 2011 census), especially for the last set relating to a time when construction stalled during the 2013 economic crisis.

4.4.4 Qualitative research

The qualitative research performed for this thesis aimed at accessing a variety of sources and therefore offering a range of material, diversity of views and assortment of evidence. The objective was to build up a contextual and explanatory narrative while validating the findings of the quantitative analysis. The search of primary sources is therefore somewhat limited by the scope of this study as well as the availability and accessibility of such sources. For example, research relating to historical travellers' reports was limited to what was already compiled by previous studies. Although such studies are thoroughly comprehensive and of high quality, it is possible that information specifically related to the subject matter of the urban form and distribution of social groups is not reported within these sources. As already mentioned, the archival press material is only limited to around 20% of the whole collection. It is therefore also possible that much more material relating to various developments in the city or to the explorative case studies does exist within the newspaper collection. It is, however, impossible to locate this unless developments can be related to very specific dates which are likely to be reported in the press. Nevertheless, as will be shown in the analysis, the material collated through the archival research does enrich the description of development, and helps identify stakeholders and tensions around developments, while enlivening and amplifying the mechanisms of growth and change. The conversations are limited to expert stakeholders since they were partly aimed at retrieving information and accurate details on the modes of development. As such, while

they do provide a range of views, we make no claim that these are representative of all stakeholders, actors and agencies involved in the life of the city. They are also not formal interviews trying to assess whether certain views may be more common than others through achieving a minimum sample size or comparability between the questions and answers. Again, these conversations were aimed at enriching the narrative, filling gaps in knowledge and enlivening the description of the developmental process. While a more formal approach with a higher number and wider range of interviewees would have certainly proven useful and interesting, it would not have allowed for the same depth of discussion produced by longer and more informal conversation. Future research could benefit from such an approach, but it is considered here beyond the scope of the study. One final limitation to the conversations is that we were unable to identify an expert on housing and the distribution of different social groups within the city. Various agencies were approached in order to identify such a person, but none was able to provide a relevant contact. Many of the questions regarding housing and the social make up of Limassol were put to most of the other experts interviewed, who provided valuable information. However, when assessing the information provided regarding these issues, it must be considered that none of the experts interviewed had directly worked or researched such issues.

5. Analysis

5.1 A narrative of the city

In this section, the narrative of the city developed by the researcher as described in section 4.2 is presented as a research output. It starts with a description of the wider context of Limassol by using mostly secondary sources. It then moves on to Limassol itself where a combination of primary sources, mostly historical travellers' reports of the city and material from the press, as well as photos and maps are presented along with secondary sources and material from the conversations. Finally, a depiction of the planning system leading to a narration of the current issues and future prospects of the city is told mostly through the analysis of the conversations.

5.1.1 Contextual narrative: Mediterranean port cities

Politics often accompanied the making of port cities facilitating their transformation as nodes of political restructuring in the Eastern Mediterranean (Keyder, 2009). Kolluoğlu and Toksöz (2009a) argue that port cities present themselves as spaces of multiplicity, both in terms of form and population, with urban structures that tend to be more heterogeneous, though often more segregated than their inland counterparts. Such a statement provides an interesting basis for the debate around cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism in port cities. They term such places 'cities of commerce' because they are not simply characterised by a pier or a port or the merchants dealing there, but are also the subjects of a ripple effect of their status as nodes of exchange: they are characterised by specific spatial elements that reproduce socio-economic features dominated by the 'spaces of commerce'. These spaces include the shipping agencies, the commercial houses, the customs, the insurance companies, the inns providing temporary accommodation to travellers and merchants and so on. Such cities in the 19th and 20th century were also distinguished for developing "spaces of leisure and public social relations: theatres, beer gardens, dance halls, coffee houses and promenades reflected multiple levels of belonging" (Kolluoğlu & Toksöz, 2009b, p. 7). While consuls from various different countries resided in these cities "monumental religious buildings did not dominate the cityscape; neither did the architectural signature of one particular confession prevail" and "the spatial matrices of these architectural structures and infrastructures can be understood through the concept of cosmopolitanism" which they define as "a spatial phenomenon that mediates between the local and the global" (Kolluoğlu & Toksöz, 2009b, p. 7).

In the past, politics facilitated the transformation of Mediterranean port-cities as nodes of a global economy during the years of liberal capitalism (Keyder, 2009). The theoretical

debate around contemporary globalization would benefit from an analysis of how these cities became a model for international commerce and could articulate the benefits and shortcomings of the new global condition. While multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism were inherent features of these cities, these characteristics declined following waves of nationalism and ethnic tensions in the early decades of the 20th century. In the case of Limassol such decline occurred at a later stage and was drastically implemented through the creation of the buffer zone and population exchange between the northern and southern areas of Cyprus, suddenly leading to an almost 100% ethnically homogeneous population. The past multicultural nature of port cities and their former success in housing different ethnic and confessional communities can feed into the modern debate around multiculturalism, as well as improving the understanding of the current revival of nationalist movements in many Mediterranean countries.

Many areas in the Mediterranean have recently seen a revival of multiculturalism along with a 'renaissance' of their port areas, which begs an understanding of whether this re-emergent trend of cultural pluralism in the area is linked to a revival of 'cosmopolitics' of the Mediterranean area. There is a need for understanding how the multiculturalism of the past in these cities relates to that of the present and how the changing relationship between port and city affects the collective identity of coastal towns within their nation and within the wider world.

Contemporary research on port cities is dispersed and often focuses on specific topics and concerns, such as migration, class and social structures, trading patterns and political changes, only rarely exploring how these impact on the urban fabric of the cities. Much of this research focuses on the concept of cosmopolitanism and has as its subjects the great trading cities of the Ottoman Empire: Istanbul, Salonica, Alexandria, İzmir and, to a lesser extent Athens/Pireas and Trieste in the Habsburg Empire. Within this field, the smaller ports of Cyprus have been to a certain extent neglected, although some research exists on social exchanges between different population groups in terms of urbanity and territoriality, for example by Aymes (2009). However, certain parallels between Limassol, both past and present, and better-researched port cities in the region are easy to identify. Like other port cities of the Ottoman Empire, Limassol functioned as a gateway to its agricultural hinterland connecting the products of small local landholders to an international maritime network. This was a particular feature of port cities in dynastic empires, which ensured their strength and commercial independence during the *belle époque*, but also, as world-system theorists point out, their final demise as the rise of intensive farming in the New World colonies of the British Empire diminished grain prices to the detriment of producers in the Ottoman region (Tabak, 2009). As port cities developed and new networks were established, these "also presaged new relations and a

social structure, visible foremost in the formation of urban societies. Within these societies, the glamour of the western lifestyle, its freedom and glitter, as well as its consumption patterns became attractions" (Keyder, 2009, p. 16). Limassol did expand and new networks were established; the formation of new social structures and the influence of a western lifestyle became and to this day remain visible in what is known as the "city that never sleeps" (Marić, 2009, p. 89).

Most port cities in the Eastern Mediterranean developed and enjoyed both economic and urban growth during the 19th century, in particular, during the second half of the century. They emerged as urban forms connecting the world economy to the inland agrarian producers, they were spaces of trade and commerce, whose formations became "increasingly heterogeneous and, in most cases, segregated populations" (Kolluoğlu & Toksöz, 2009b, p. 4); in this sense Mediterranean port cities are often seen as the theatre of a first wave of globalisation during the years of liberal capitalism. As much as modern globalisation, this first wave led to uneven urban development and intensified social inequalities, which is highlighted by Pilavakis (1977):

"Though towns were roughly divided into Turkish and Greek sectors, by the end of Ottoman rule social distinctions were also beginning to be accentuated by geographical concentration into quarters. This evolution was more obvious in the coastal towns of Larnaca and Limassol, the commercial and consular centres of the island. In Limassol, a poorer area was expanding around the medieval castle and the port, besides the upper class quarter of two storey houses known as Maratheftoghitonia, by the church of Katholiki."

Kritioti (1988) argued that a similar form of uneven development happened again in Limassol in recent decades as large sites within developed areas were left undeveloped while construction continued beyond them, thus creating a kind of 'suburban sprawl' due to two factors: developers waiting for land prices to increase in order to maximise profits followed by the inadequate financial resources of migrants to meet such price increases in the post-1974 period, while they constituted the largest chunk of the population demanding an increase in urbanisation.

Further to such social issues, Gekas (2009) points out that port cities economically developed in a peculiar way as their role of exporters of agricultural products from the hinterland hindered their industrial growth, while the presence of a non-Muslim population – which was particularly pronounced in Cyprus with an Orthodox Christian majority – led to investment by foreign companies and the rise and concentration of capital in the commercial, banking and financial services. However, local entrepreneurs often became actively involved in the management and development of this sector; this was shown to be the case for Izmir's banking sector in the 19th and 20th century (Fuhrmann & Kechriotis, 2009). Although in a different way and under different circumstances, Cyprus has

developed as a financial hub in the past few decades, setting up the lowest corporation tax in the EU and having signed over 40 treaties on double taxation, thus drawing investment from both Western and Eastern countries; the former seeing Cyprus as a way through to investment in the East and the latter seeing it as a point of entry into investment in the Eurozone. As port cities of the Ottoman Empire were granted various forms of independence from the central state and foreign subjects were given extraterritorial rights in order for them to function as trading hubs, until recently modern Cyprus has given itself a special status as a tax haven, where non-resident subjects are given special banking and tax rights. This trend of the past decade has certainly led to investment by foreign subjects, in particular Russians, which has led to the formation of a large Russian community based mostly in Limassol.

There are other economic factors that were inherited by Cyprus from its past as a colonial port of call: first, the fact that agriculture remains in the hands of small landholders and provides a great proportion of Cypriot exports, including wine from region of Limassol, transported to other countries through shipping. Secondly, the industry sector never fully developed as much as the service industry, as it makes up 16% of GDP and it is mostly light industry – although this actually concentrates in Limassol while the base of the financial sector is in Nicosia. Finally, it developed as a shipping hub, with its centre in Limassol, with the 9th largest merchant navy in the world (Econometrica Inc., 2009) and the 3rd in Europe (Financial Mirror, 2007).

Traditional port areas in the Mediterranean have recently been the object of urban renewal programmes restructuring the urban space and often resulting in the gentrification of waterfront areas, for example the redevelopment of port areas and warehouses, as well as the Ladadika quarter in Thessaloniki, or the modern development projects in the former port areas of the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus in Istanbul. Limassol has not been immune to this phenomenon and its old port and waterfront area have just been redeveloped, while a new marina comprising a public commercial and retail area, and a gated luxury residential development has opened just to the west of the old port, with sections still under construction. As this bustle of activity has taken place, Limassol has also seen an increase in the diversity of its population, which will be discussed in the next section. The issue of this multicultural and coastal areas revival raises some questions for Mediterranean port cities, which are still little explored partly because changes are ongoing and their effects not yet clear enough to measure. For example, whether increased heterogeneity is visible in the urban form or whether new spaces of commerce and segregated populations are appearing in these cities. One other, more structural issue, as Driessen (2005, p. 139) points out is “whether the renaissance of port cities and the recent

re-emergence of cultural pluralism in parts of the Mediterranean area also implies a revival of cosmopolitics under changed political, economic and technological conditions”.

5.1.2 Interpretive narrative: Limassol's development

Archaeological findings show that in ancient times there was a small settlement where modern Limassol is located. This remained a relatively insignificant hamlet until the time of the Crusades, acting as an en route stop from the ancient city of Amathus to its East and the cultural and religious centre of Kourion to its West and it was referred to as Nemessos (literally ‘in-between’) during the 10th century AD⁵. Following Richard the Lionheart’s destruction of the city of Amathus, its residents moved to the nearby settlement of Limassol, most of which was probably built following the destruction of Amathus (Gerasimou & Georgoudis, 2011). It was reported that when the city was built by the first Lusignan king, it included many Greek and Latin churches and monasteries (Severis, 2006). The city prospered during the Lusignan rule from the 12th to the 15th century, acting as a port and place of exchange where many merchants temporarily resided, one of the earliest descriptions of the city was given in 1211 by Count Wilbrand of Oldenburg: “This is a city but slightly fortified, lying by the sea with a much frequented harbour” (Severis, 2006, p. 77). However, Limassol declined again during the Venetian rule from 1489 to 1570 and during the following centuries of Ottoman rule, during which the architectural and urban development of the town was slow. However, it was reported as fairly large and populous in 1625, with a “a great mosque and a broad street running along the shore full of carobs” (Severis, 2006, p. 82) and its products and exports were often praised. One description of the city and its residents following the conquest by the Ottomans is given by Giovanni Zuallart in 1586 (Severis, 2006, p. 81):

“There also still remain some vestiges of a fortress... It is therefore now nothing else but a town, or a big borough... The entrances of modern houses especially for the richest, are for the greatest parts with degrees or steps, and have a stone in front of the doors... There reside the agents of Venetian and French merchants, and some Christians, remnants of the ancient Cypriots and even Turks and Moors who mix themselves in the traffics... The resident Christians have recently built a vaulted church. The Turks, too, have one mosque and baths.”

Papadopoulos (1965) reports historical data on population during the Ottoman period, most of these data is based on taxpayers’ records, while some is based on traveller’s observation records. The records specifically related to Limassol date back to 1815, when the traveller William Turner states that Limassol “is a miserable town consisting of 150 mud houses of which 100 are Greek and 50 Turks” (Turner, 1820, p. 568), which is fairly

⁵ The toponymy of the city is debated and may derive from ‘Nea-polis’ indicating the new town built after earthquakes at Amathus and Arab raids at Curium, or from the Latin word Nemus, referring to a forest previously occupying the site, see Severis (2006, pp. 76–77).

consistent with the number of taxpayers recorded in 1825 as being 90 (Papadopoulos, 1965, p. 136). Lady Jane Franklin gives an extended description of the city in her journal notes in 1832 (Severis, 2006, pp. 86–87):

“The masts of some vessels in the harbour, and the minarets of the mosque, pointed out the site of Limassol. After we passed two hills descending upon the beach, we came upon a large mass of wall projecting into the sea on the ledge of rock, which is called “Old Limassol”... The number of inhabitants in Limassol is not less than 1000 of whom about two thirds are Greek and one third Turks... Close to his house in the chief street is a well-built stone church belonging to the Greeks... the Greeks occupy the lower, the Turks the upper part of the town. On this upper part is a pretty mosque, with a tall minaret, standing beside a river, now dry, which is crossed by an old Venetian bridge of two pointed arches. Several enclosed gardens border the channel of the river... Below the mosque is an oblong compact looking castle of hewn stone... There is another castle or fort of similar dimensions on the beach of the marina, or lower part of the town, and near to this is the house of the Commandante della piazza. It must be the lower castle which is alluded to in the sailing book, where it says that Limassol may be known by the old castle that stands on the shore... In the lower part of the marina bordering the sea, are many wine-magazines, and the casks and wine skins in the street, show some signs of the nature of the trade carried on here.”

Limassol during the first half of the 19th century was accurately represented in an admiralty chart of 1849 by Lieut. Lord John T. Browne shown in figure 5.1. It is the small town described by travellers, and, although it is unclear whether the map covers the whole of the built area, specific elements of city, such as mosques, churches, the landing, the well and the French consulate are marked. The map in figure 5.1, however, was updated in 1878 and it is known that elements present in the map, such as the factory, the water tower, the pier and customs house did not exist at the time of the original survey. The urban form of the historical town centre, however, is recognisable in the area around the fort and the street of Agiou Andreou, parallel to the shoreline and heading out west over the river until the fork.

Figure 5.1. Admiralty chart of Limassol, 1849, drawn by Lieut. Lord John T. Browne (survey by Capt T. Graves. Admiralty Chart 2074. 3.5 sea miles to one inch, London, National Archives).

An earlier testimony of 1778 by C.S. Sonnini also describes the city as miserable, though the potential of its port is acknowledged as an *entrepot* of the vine region (Papadopoulos, 1965, p. 80). There is testimony to a census of 1571 following the Ottoman conquest of the island, which showed 85,000 taxable names (Papadopoulos, 1965, p. 17), however a second census by district, including Limassol was not carried out until 1841 and then again in 1847 and 1876. Though it is unclear whether the early census is based on population or taxpayers, it reports 2000 Turks and 6500 Greeks (Papadopoulos, 1965, p. 62); the second census reports 1700 Muslims and 6800 Christians (Papadopoulos, 1965, p. 68), however the district figures are certainly approximated and comprise all villages within the district. In 1876 only the whole population is recorded as 15,300 (Papadopoulos, 1965, p. 75) and in 1879 it was prophesied that the port of Limassol would eventually become the commercial centre of Cyprus (S. Baker, 1879).

It was during the second half of the 19th century that Limassol began to grow and expand substantially. This was reflected in the construction of the earliest functional space outside the edge of the city: the Greek cemetery of Agios Nikolaos which was placed to the east on the road towards the village of Germasogeia. A Muslim cemetery at the western edge of the city is also visible in the 1883 map, but much nearer to the urban area. It is unclear when this was built, but the greater vicinity and smaller size of the cemetery is probably due to

the much smaller Muslim population. These larger peripheral land uses were followed by the construction of the Commissioner's house in 1875 in the east of the city and then the Commissioner's depot in the north on the road to Polemidia.

By the end of the Ottoman period the geographical divisions related to ethnicity had become more and more spatially defined along with other social factors, such as social class: Pilavakis (1977), quoted in section 5.1.1, describes how these divisions were becoming more accentuated and more clearly defined to specific areas of the city.

In 1880, the wife of the District Commissioner of Kyrenia also noted both the urban infrastructure as well as the ethnic division (Scott-Stevenson, 1880):

"The town is built of mud and stone, mostly the former. At the first glance it seems more a big village than an important city. The streets are wide and tolerably clean but the population, after Larnaca and Nicosia, seemed very limited and the streets and shops looked bare and empty. The Turkish part is separated from the Christian by the dry bed of a river, a rather unusual distinction in Cypriot towns."

Somewhat contradictory descriptions are given by John Thomson and A.R. Savill in 1878. The former reports that ground floor offices and shops were large and expensive foreign products could be seen; the latter, that there were fairly rich businessmen and that the poor lived in better housing than in other parts of the island, which suggests that a middle class has not yet formed (Serghides, 2012). In terms of the description of the streets, in 1903 Limassol is reported as "quite a small town of about 8000 population. Its streets narrow and zigzagging, only allowing but one cart to pass at a time" (Carter, 1903).

With the end of the Ottoman period, Limassol developed as a city of proto-industrialisation, as the economy benefited from the stationing of British troops in the district, with consequent development of establishments and retail facilities in the town, partly meeting increased and changed demands due to social and historical changes, partly living up to its ancient reputation, like many port cities where troops are stationed, as a centre of the sex industry. Katziaounis (1996) reports:

"In 1883 Alex Gordon, Chief Commandant of Military Police, noted that the town needed nearly as many policemen though having less than half of Nicosia's population. Upon the Chief Secretary's comment on this apparent disparity Gordon replied that in Limassol the number of wine shops, cafes and brothels was far larger in proportion to those in Nicosia and Larnaca (SA1:7749, Alex Gordon, Chief Commandant of Military Policy, to Falk Warren, Chief Secretary, August 13, 1883)".

"A Cypriot who had left the island at the time of Ottoman rule noted the changes of his bourgeois compatriots in Limassol in 1889: Along the Marina I passed a number of stores, each well-stocked with goods quite foreign to Cyprus, and also many well arranged cafes and restaurants (The Owl, "The Return of the Cypriot", October 13, 1889)"

During the early times of British rule, the pier was constructed and inaugurated in 1881 along with the customs house, following which new businesses, shops and storage houses started filling up the surrounding area. The port authority and the municipality were

constituted, while initial infrastructure works included the international postal service on the street of Agiou Andreou and the telegraph office on the coastal road. The 1881 census reports the population as 6,131 residents. At this time, a hospital and pharmacy started functioning on the coastline, while the castle functioned as a prison and continued to do so until the middle of the 20th century. The British also decided to build a marketplace, which eventually found its location to the east of the church of Katholiki. During Ottoman times the bazaar and the main commercial street were in the western side of the town and along the street of Angyras (Severis, 2006) and on the coastal road near the customs house (Serghides, 2012), but as the British settled in, over time the commercial centre started shifting towards the east and along the street of Agiou Andreou. The reasoning – if any – behind the location of these various components of the city remains unknown and an official masterplan of any kind to refer to for the development of infrastructure was not drawn by the British (Conversation 1a). A new, larger church – that of Agia Napa – was built over the old one in the town centre, likely because the local Greek population was becoming wealthier and wanted to show it through a larger church (Conversation 1a). New industries and other businesses which developed at the time were located in what was then the periphery. Serghides suggests that this was a western model of development based on separation and ranking of uses (2012, p. 42), therefore not necessarily dictated by space requirements.

As shown in figure 5.2, during this time houses were present along the coastline, forming a kind of ‘wall’ along the sea and looking inward towards the road and the rest of the city, with only a small number of openings between them leading out onto the sea.

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Figure 5.2. Map of Limassol by Lord H. H Kitchener, 1883.

The city of Limassol was prone to and remains in danger of floods, which, in the past, occurred regularly. The largest recorded flood took place in 1894 from the Garyllis river. In the years previous to this, works aimed at preventing floods from the river Vathias took place along with road repairs. Following the floods the first building regulations with a focus on street planning were drafted by the municipality.

Although much infrastructure was built and the city started expanding once British administration began, up until the 20th century development still moved slowly. In 1900, H. Rider Haggard points out that, although the city had developed since his previous visit, its appearance as he was approaching from the sea was essentially the same (Serghides, 2012, p. 49). From the beginning of the 20th century, however, physical and social change in the city sped up with the Government providing financial assistance to the municipality in order to support certain public works, especially those relating to improvements for the shipping industry. Adjustments to street plans were made in order to widen roads, although the first car was seen in Limassol only in 1907 and for some time to come the main modes of transportation would remain mules, donkeys and camels. Works on the municipal gardens along the coastline and adjacent to the Commissioner's house started at the beginning of the century and were completed by 1909. The land over which they were built was used by the local athletic club, who moved to the field next door where a proper

athletic ground was constructed. This land was initially purchased by the Government and later donated to the municipality. The area is shown in figure 5.3.

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Figure 5.3. Athletic grounds and public gardens in the map of 1933.

Another public space also made its appearance at this time: the purchase of properties in the area of Kesogloudia was initiated for the construction of what will become possibly the only public square in the city, Iroon square, shown in figure 5.4, to the east of Anexartisias street. Again, the reasoning behind the choice of location is not known; it should be noted however that this was the only area in the east of the city inhabited by a small Turkish Cypriot community (Akif & Akif, 2008).

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Figure 5.4. Iroon square in the map of 1933.

Kilns and workshops, which until then were to be found in the central area of the town expanded and moved to peripheral areas, mostly just west of the port, or towards the east and north. Around 1910 a slaughterhouse away from the built-up area was also constructed just west of the river. This concentration of industrial land uses along the coastline to the west of the old port is a somewhat separate industrial area, which is formed during these years, and which is located very near the Turkish Cypriot community, as well as the mixed community in the area of Agios Antonios, shown in figure 5.5.

Figure 5.5. Slaughter house and industrial uses along the western coastline in the map of 1933.

At the same time, with the financial support of the Government, the first promenade along the coastline was constructed. The houses along the seafront that formed a 'wall' against the sea were removed – this is the time when Limassol first 'opened up' to the sea. Naturally, the purpose of this was to support shipping, with loading and unloading being the main activity taking place along the promenade. However, this area was quickly turned into a social and recreational space during quiet times for the industry and during holidays, as shown in figure 5.6.

Figure 5.6. The promenade during working times (left) and during recreational times (right). Source: collection of Stelios Theofilou.

Serghides (2012) suggests that the development of shipping, mostly due to Limassol's wine and carob industries, coupled with increasing urbanisation, led to a fast 'Europeanisation' of the city and the population. He suggests that the Public Regulations of the city, first set at this time, were developed to promote new, more western, social codes.

During the colonial period and in the years following independence up to the 1974 war Limassol's urban population grew ten-fold, about the same population growth rate as Nicosia; only Famagusta grew faster than the capital, while, though all towns experienced growth during these years, its magnitude was not as great. Although there was a steady population increase in the whole island following British infrastructure works in all towns, including water supply, drainage system and refuse disposal system, the relative

distribution of population between town and country did not change drastically until the 1920s. This was a period of depression in agricultural prices, which saw migration into towns leading to an increase in the urban population at twice the rate of the rural population between 1921 and 1946 (Kritioti, 1988).

The effects of Limassol's economic development, 'Europeanisation', infrastructure improvements and population growth on its urban form are reflected in travellers' reports, along with descriptions of how different ethnic groups occupied different areas of the town. It is interesting to notice how the British seem to have congregated next to their national 'landmarks', such as the Commissioner's house by the public gardens and the Commissioner's Depot on the road to Polemydia, along which is also the Anglican church and the race course:

"The street of St. Andrew is parallel to the sea-front and this is where most of the shops are to be found. At the one end of it is the Turkish bazaar, where the minarets of the mosque rise above the little crowded streets... The British community live either in a group of houses in the eastern end of the town, near the public gardens or in a little row of bungalows that are opposite the church on the road to Polymedia... With some exceptions, the Greeks prefer to live in the town itself. In Limassol is an imposing British hospital with a much cherished garden in front of it... There is a golf course... There is a tennis court in the public gardens... You can go to the picture theatre... There is also a hall used for dances and for theatrical performances... There is quite an amusing outdoor café and two hotels at which English people can stay." (Peto, 1927)

Severis (2006, p. 101) gives a variegated view of Limassol's cosmopolitanism in the first decades of the 20th century in a somewhat airy description of the city as a centre of sophistication with the *Quartier Latin*, progressive women setting up schools, cars and movie theatres propping up in the city and intellectuals and 'belles' in the latest fashions strolling the streets as would have the contemporary *flaneurs* of Paris. However, Yiannis Lefkis reminds us of the other side of the cosmopolitan coin in 1927 (Severis, 2006, p. 97):

"Limassol was constantly receiving poverty-stricken people and beggars, not only from its own district but also from Paphos. Being a port it was visited by numerous sailors from British warships who searched for the quick pleasure of a one night's stand. So, all the prostitutes of the island would gather in Limassol to oblige!"

This is the 'ugly' face of Limassol's cosmopolitan past, that has perhaps persisted into the modern city which "has several reputations... another is 'sex town' due to the many 'cabarets' (basically brothels)" where many women are known to be working under duress (Marić, 2009), although these have recently been curbed down by the authorities.

The variegated social life described in the extracts above is matched by wider, more structural socio-economic changes, as well as physical, material changes to the city that took place between the two World Wars. Initially, during the First World War, economic conditions worsened with a reduction in import-export and an increase in the cost of living, which affected mainly the employed and the working classes. However, during the war a

number of public institutions were founded, partly to counter socio-economic problems, including the poor asylum on the coastline (figure 5.3), the municipal market and the public baths. Moreover, further effort was put into the improvement and widening of roads; at this time, the street of Eleftherias, which functioned as the entrance route from the wine-producing villages into the city, was paved.

The economic downturn and the fall in agricultural prices in the 1920s saw the urban population increasing at much greater speed than before through the migration of young men from the countryside to the city in search of work in the developing industrial sectors. Some of the increase in population was also due to an influx of Armenian and Greek refugees from Asia Minor. The oversupply of cheap manual labour available at this time also led to exploitation of these classes with the consequent formation of workers' unions as well as the Cypriot Communist Party.

In 1923 a new hospital is constructed on Anexartisias street (figure 5.4), which will later become the offices of the Municipality. In 1924 the funicular and pier of the Asbestos Company started functioning on the eastern stretch of the coastline. During 1926-1927, the first layers of asphalt were laid on some of the streets in order to sustain the increased number of motor vehicles now circulating in the city and steadily replacing older means of transport. In the following years much more money was spent on such enterprise and funding secured for the construction of the water tank which will be completed in 1930 and will remain a key landmark in the skyline of Limassol. Further industrial establishments continued to be built in the early 1930s and sometimes moved fairly quickly to peripheral areas due to expansion. These mostly congregated in the western coastal area and began to build their own loading docks – at this point the central promenade on the sea quickly becomes exclusively used for recreational purposes. The increase in population, coupled with industrial development also led to the establishment of other uses and facilities, including sports, educational and recreational facilities. In fact, Pilavakis (1977) reports that between 1916 and 1929, nine public schools of different levels started functioning, plus four private schools and four Turkish schools. While some of these were built fairly central, others were located in the periphery.

As mentioned, a number of problems also appeared due to urbanisation. These included exploitation of lower working classes, unemployment and underemployment, but also environmental issues, including pollution, especially in areas where industries had set up, as well as traffic congestion because of the increase in motor vehicles while in many areas streets and roads remained narrow. It was around 1930 that Giorgos Frangoudis, an editor, political scientist and founder of one of the schools, initiated a petition for the municipal administration to produce an urban plan for the city of Limassol. Although it will be decades before a formal plan would be produced, this was the first instance of civil action

and activism in urban issues. Frangoudis put forward his ideas that new avenues should be introduced and stressed that there was a need to construct public toilets and baths, squares and parks. He also argued that commercial uses should be available in all neighbourhoods and not exclusively in the city centre.

By 1930 the economy had somewhat recovered, especially in terms of exports and at this time the street of Eleftherias develops further to support the passing trade of agricultural producers coming into town by providing coffee shops, food outlets and accommodation for traders and their animals. During the 1920s and 1930s a variety of buildings of architectural interest were constructed in the city, in styles of recent and contemporary currents, including neo-classicism, art deco, eclecticism and modernism.

In 1933 the town council invited a German engineer to propose plans for the arrangement of the city. Serghides (2012) sustains that socio-economic changes and building activities were putting pressure on local authorities to produce a comprehensive plan. Between 1930 and 1943 efforts were put into the protection of public parks, paving, maintenance and fixing of roads, building of new roads as well as widening of existing ones. It is at this time that the bye-pass (figure 5.7) was planned and then constructed at the beginning of World War II. This is a key piece of road infrastructure which will permanently influence the form and further development of Limassol's street network. The reasoning behind the development of the road is, however, unclear. It has been stated to the author that the road was planned for military purposes during war times (Conversation 1a) or simply as a ring road to avoid traffic in central Limassol due to its expansion (Conversation 2), or rather that it was built with the intention of avoiding having to circulate British military vehicles through the city thus causing increased congestion, but ultimately quickly became used for common traffic purposes (Conversation 3). Expansion of the promenade also took place at this time, while a renewed focus was put into the construction of new public facilities, including public baths and second municipal market, public toilets, municipal slaughter houses, and a home for public subsidies.

Limassol was bombed in 1941 and its industries were hit, possibly to distress the local economy but also because butane storage facilities supplying the military were located in the area. The end of the war brought with it renewed poverty and large numbers of young men finding themselves unemployed on their return from service, high and regressive taxation, and increased living costs. However, development sped up again partly due to renewed technological development, partly to socio-economic changes, which Serghides (2012) suggests were a reflection of wider changes taking place across Europe and the Soviet Union, especially the development of a welfare system to counter the poverty that followed the war.

The local administration focused on addressing the most pressing needs, in particular relating to expanding and maintaining infrastructure for the increasing population. Construction and improvement of public facilities also took place at this time. The municipal programme included a provision to develop a plan for the general improvement of the city focusing on funding requirements from Central Government, which also included the need for building workers' housing.

In 1947 Sir Patrick Abercrombie took part in a planning event where he gave his opinions about the current state of the city, as well as its present and future needs. Amongst other issues, he stressed the need to carry out a study of the city and to build up the empty areas within it; he suggested that construction should be remodelled in order to set a commercial centre for the city, which should be pedestrianised. Furthermore, he stated that the road network should be reorganised with long-term views. The contemporary local newspaper *Observer* supported his statements, further highlighting that a plan of action is needed, while Serghides (2012) points out that similar problems remain evident to the present day. In fact, it is not until 2014 that pedestrianisation of the centre is implemented, while empty areas within the urban environment remain common across Cypriot cities. Moreover, there is still no long-term masterplan with regards to the road network, a problem which is partly generated by the fact that many municipalities lie within the urban area. This is a long-standing issue in terms of the viability of a masterplan, as shown by old records referring to it:

"The steering committee of Limassol submitted to the Cypriot president... a long and comprehensive memorandum, which lists the city's problems and seeks to solve them... The demands... are... For the Limassol boundaries to be expanded in order to include the areas of Polemidia, Mesa Geitonia, Agios Athanasios and Germasogeia. Under a single municipal authority the comprehensive development of the city will become easier. This issue must be resolved as soon as possible..." ("Epilysi ton provlimaton tis polis zita i Syntonistiki Epitropi Lemesou," 1979)

The earliest commercial maps of Limassol aiming at the general public featured in tourist guidebooks of the colonial period following the war. These maps are clearly accurate, though they lack detail due to the nature and size of guide books. However, they are revealing in terms of how the city changed over time as they give a brief snapshot of how it is presented to visitors and what are the key buildings of interest chosen to be captured. Figure 5.7 shows the key features of the city in the mid-1940s with the newly constructed bye-pass.

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Figure 5.7. Tourist map of Limassol during the colonial period (Mangoian & Mangoian, 1947).

By the 1950s the economy started recovering and was doing very well by the middle of the decade with consequent increase in housing demand, as reported in the Cyprus Mail:

“Steady expansion of the Island’s economy continued during the year, with increased capital investment in buildings and machinery, and conditions approaching full employment... Main factors which contributed to the general high level of employment were Government and private building and constructional programmes, the increase in the size of the Police Force, increased work in the ports, and the extent of military building and constructional projects... but shortage of accommodation for middle, lower-middle and lower income groups in the larger towns continued... In Limassol an acute shortage of better-class houses existed...” (“Island’s Economy Expanded,” 1956)

During this decade, the character of the western industrial area was further reinforced through new establishments, and a plan had been drawn for its further development.

However, tensions between subsequent local administration, as well as between local and central Government were reported in the press:

“The Council considers doubtful the success of the scheme of the previous Municipal Commission... The Council has decided to ask the Government either to guarantee the success of the scheme within the next ten years, or to undertake at its own expense the execution of the scheme” (“Limassol Workers’ Homes,” 1953)

At this point the expansion of the city continues radially, while the British military base of Akrotiri establishes itself on the peninsula west of the city; much of the staff from the base and their families settle and use services in Limassol. In 1953, a Programme of Improvements of Limassol is drafted (figure 5.8). This included some proposals which

would be implemented, such as widening roads, further expansion of the promenade, the construction of pavements, and so on. Other, more ambitious and controversial plans, however, were never put into practice, such as the establishment of a green belt around the city and the construction of a large stadium and athletic centre along the river Garyllis to the north of the built-up area.

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Figure 5.8. Map of the “Programme of Improvements of Limassol” of 1953, showing the location of the proposed green belt and athletic centre.

It is during this decade that a clear distinction between the denser, older areas of the city and the newer, separate lower density housing areas in new neighbourhoods is defined. Construction of workers’ housing also commenced in the areas just to the west of the Turkish Cypriot neighbourhood and in Agios Nikolaos in 1955 – shown in figure 5.9 – following a previous pilot project of 60 homes built in 1948/1949.

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Figure 5.9. Municipal working class housing units built in the second half of the 1950s in the western side of the city (left) and in the eastern side (right); map of 1960.

In the 1950s there were further large developments taking place in the city, the most important of which were the police headquarters, the new general hospital (making the old one on Anexartisias redundant) and the technical school, all of which, together, replace the Commissioner’s Depot, thus retaining the existing large block in its location, but changing its use. A further development is the Lanitio High School, which was built and is still to be

found, with later extensions, along the by-pass – a then still very peripheral area as shown by figure 5.10.

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Figure 5.10. The Lanitio high school shown in an old post-card (Serghides, 2012, p. 100).

Other public buildings and services were built in peripheral areas during this decade, especially in the western part of town along the road of Franklin Roosevelt, but also in the east, such as the new courts of law constructed between the Commissioner's house and the by-pass. Further east a new large building, which remains a landmark on the coastline, made its appearance in the landscape of Limassol: the new KEAN factory. This enterprise had greatly expanded since its inception in 1950 and its new building and working conditions were considered a model of more effective and fairer industrial practices and are also, perhaps, exemplary of social change occurring at the time in Cyprus:

“It took the firm not too long to outgrow the old gypsum factory and embark on a building programme of its own. On the outskirts of Limassol a new factory went up, with glass along the entire frontage revealing the shining new machinery within – and, when a garden is planted, allowing the workers a refreshing glimpse of colour outside. The staff work in hygienic conditions, and it says much for the labour policy of the firm that since it began there has never been a strike among any of its workers. They are paid a higher rate than other comparable workers, and showers, dressing rooms, and canteens are provided for them at the factory.” (“Plant keeps growing,” 1958)

At this time, the road of Gladstonos, bounding the historical centre at the northern end of Anexartisias had started becoming a centre of entertainment with the appearance of a number of cinemas along it. This would seem to indicate a shift of the entertainment area from nearer to the coastline towards the north as the city expanded and a new boundary was created by the new ring road. While modernisation, physical and spatial, as well as progressive social changes were occurring in the city, the 1950s was also a decade of tension and strife, with the formation of the National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters (EOKA) and the beginning of guerrilla action against the British rule in 1955. Discussing the details of the social implications of the historical events of the EOKA fight and the ethnic clashes between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities is beyond the scope of this study. However, their immediate consequences on the distribution of population within

the city and on its administration must be mentioned here. A trend that occurred throughout the British administration was the steady decrease in the proportion of the Turkish-Muslim population within Limassol and its surrounding villages, with the clear exception of the village of Pano Polemidia, which shifts from a mixed village to a fully Turkish one by 1960 (table 5.1), most likely due to the shifting of this population into this village from other areas dominated by Greek Cypriots.

Municipality	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1946	1956	1960
Limassol	24.6%	23.3%	23.0%	19.4%	15.9%	11.1%	16.6%	16.4%
Mesa Geitonia	0.7%	2.0%	0.0%	0.4%	0.4%	0.2%	0.1%	0.0%
Agios Athanassios	0.4%	0.3%	0.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Germasogeia	0.5%	1.2%	1.1%	0.8%	0.1%	0.2%	0.4%	0.0%
Kato Polemidia	50.4%	46.7%	46.5%	47.9%	45.1%	36.1%	47.5%	43.3%
Pano Polemidia	50.4%	72.7%	94.7%	94.0%	92.8%	99.4%	97.2%	100.0%
Zakaki	11.4%	8.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.4%	0.8%	0.1%	0.4%

Table 5.1. Proportion of Turkish-Muslim population in Limassol and surrounding villages 1891-1960 (derived from governmental censuses and registration of the population for 1956).

Once ethnic tensions became problematic to manage, proposals for the formation of Turkish municipal areas were developed and discussed. The potential consequences on the administrative and economic life of the city and various concerns of the Greek Cypriot population were expressed in the press, in particular in relation to the fact that the proposed area would have included much of the western industrial zone (and its tax revenue):

“The was concern in Greek circles here today as rumours spread that the port of Limassol and large Greek-inhabited areas – including the main business centres of Ayios Andreas, Victoria and Eleftheria streets – will be in the Turkish municipal area under the Surridge Commission report... The Land Registry Office and other Government offices are working on the details of the ‘partition line’... it is obvious that the revenue of the Turkish Municipal Council will be extremely good since it will include fees for the produce export through Customs.” (“Limassol ‘port for Turks’ fears,” 1958)

By 1960 the population was 43,600, but reached 51,000 if one is to include the peripheral villages. The urban growth of Limassol along with its population between the latter part of the British rule and independence is captured in the diagram in figure 5.11.

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Figure 5.11. Diagram of Limassol's urban growth 1927-1957 (Source: Limassol Local Plan – Analysis of Current Situation, 1987, unpublished).

In the early 1960s, the writer Athina Tarsouli (1963) describes the city as lively and etched against its old labyrinthine and complex form, with its newer parts showing off wide and tarmacked avenues. At this time the second ring road of Spyrou Kyprianou was planned, though it will not see the light of day until the 1990s. Residential densification speeds up with 3,000 homes being built within a few years at the beginning of the 1960s. Much of this densification takes place through the development of small detached homes by the middle classes, a trend which is very different from that taking place in contemporary Europe, although the first few apartment blocks also appear at this time in Limassol. A few more industrial developments take place during this decade, but most of the development is residential until 1970, when the population is estimated at 72,000.

A tourist map of 1974 (figure 5.12) poignantly shows the densification of the city following independence.

Figure 5.12. Tourist map of Limassol during the post-colonial period (*Cyprus, 1974*).

The establishment of a formal planning system at this time became more pressing than ever and initial studies are carried out to inform the drafting of the Town and Country Planning Law and preparation of local plans. The law will be published in 1972, but it will not be enacted and a local plan not drawn until 1990. Because of this, development continued to be dispersed and unregulated. Building regulations and a planning control system set a zone exclusively for residential development where industrial uses were forbidden, an area for mixed industrial use in the west of the city, a specialized industrial zone further west, and a narrow lane for residential and recreational development along the eastern coast. Within this framework construction began for the industrial area of Ypsonas in the far west of the city and the new port was constructed and opened in 1974, as did the Tsirion stadium in the north. At the time the Cypriot Athletic Organisation (KOA) was investing in developing infrastructure (Georgadi, 1971), however, the land for the stadium was donated by Petros Tsiros. Nevertheless, a systematic programme for urban planning and development did not exist.

At this time, the avenue of Makariou starts competing with the centre and coastal area as a business, retail and recreation centre. This was partly because works were taking place on the coastline to construct the beach and expand again the promenade, but also because of the expansion of the city to the north. This indicates a further shift of the centre towards the north, as commercial activities also appeared on the main routes connecting the historical

centre with Makariou. Residential development continued to follow a model of detached homes and ‘garden city’ neighbourhoods, which, according to Serghides (2012), failed to acquire a specific character due to the large number of empty space within them, as well as the disconnected architectural styles used for building.

The rate of population growth in Limassol between 1960 and 1973 was particularly pronounced, but this is partly because the 1973 survey included the surrounding villages (Kato and Pano Polemidia, Mesa Geitonia, Agios Athanassios, Germasogeia and Ypsonas) which were not included in previous censuses. At this point, while the villages, with the exception of Mesa Geitonia, were still physically separate from the city, urbanisation was quickly reaching them. The rate of population growth is summarised in table 5.2.

	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1946	1960	1973
Population	6.131	7.388	8.298	10.302	13.302	15.349	22.799	43.561	79.641
Growth Rate	N/A	1,9	1,2	2,2	2,6	1,4	2,6	4,7	5,0

Table 5.2. Limassol’s population and population growth rate 1881-1973 (Statistical Service, 2011).

There are no available accurate records of the diversity of the population in each city either by religion or ethnicity prior to the British rule. Table 5.3 reports the proportion of the population in Limassol by religion for every year of the census during the British rule and in 2001. This gives an outline of diversity throughout the city at the end of the Ottoman Empire, how it developed during the British rule and how it compares to more recent times.

	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1946	1960	1992	2001
Orthodox	76.83%	81.92%	83.06%	83.57%	83.94%	85.54%	86.85%	79.68%	99.6%	94.30%
Muslim	20.18%	17.07%	16.28%	15.58%	14.37%	13.08%	12.32%	12.81%	0.03%	0.78%
Armenian	0.01%	0.03%	0.03%	0.04%	0.69%	0.35%	0.29%	0.20%	0.08%	0.09%
Catholic	1.10%	0.53%	0.28%	0.30%	0.43%	0.41%	0.23%	1.46%	0.02%	1.60%
Maronite	0.23%	0.23%	0.16%	0.03%	0.08%	0.16%	0.06%	0.09%	0.25%	0.27%
Other	1.62%	0.20%	0.17%	0.45%	0.47%	0.44%	0.22%	5.73%	0.00%	2.74%

Table 5.3. Proportion of population by religion in the district of Limassol. All proportions were derived from the absolute numbers reported in (Statistical Service, 2011) and (Statistical Service, 2004).⁶

What is clear from the demographic data is that the population of Limassol was at its most diverse – in terms of faith – at the end of the Ottoman period; this was mostly due to the presence of a large Muslim minority. The number of Catholics and other religions were

⁶ The totals do not amount to 100% as a small proportion of respondents did not state their religion. It is not known what category ‘Other’ from 1881 to 1960 was likely to include, however protestants were not recorded a separate group and might have been included here. The 1992 data relate only to the Cypriot population and not the whole population, thus there are no ‘other’ religions; the ethnic group rather than religion was recorded – here Turkish Cypriots are classified as Muslims and Latin are classified as Catholic. For the 2001 data the category ‘Other’ includes those recorded as Protestants, atheists and other.

significantly higher than in Nicosia and than in the following decades up until 1960. Following World War II there was a sharp increase in the number of Catholics and other religions, probably due to British and other European citizens settling on the island during the post war economic boom. This trend reversed following independence and the 1974 war, causing a sharp increase in the number of Orthodox people – mostly refugees from the occupied area of Cyprus – and the practical disappearance of Muslims who moved to the occupied area, as well as a decline in the proportion of other faiths.

Such a decrease in multiculturalism might be assigned to nationalist trends developing in Cyprus as well as many other countries within the Ottoman Empire, and beyond, at the beginning of the 20th century. It could also be argued that more local and regional factors played a role in the increasing division of communities. In any case, it is undeniable that different scales, including the global scale of imperialist politics, international alliances and world-system economic factors conjured to lead to the 1974 invasion, which divided the island ethnically and thus transformed the cities from multicultural environments to socially homogeneous urban forms dominated by one ethnicity.

Following the 1974 war Limassol saw an unprecedented population growth as the residents were estimated at 101,900 in 1976 (almost 30% increase from 1973). Most of this increase was due to the influx of Greek refugees, though some of it also included Lebanese refugees of the civil war. The great loss of national economic resources coupled with increasing competition from the European wine industry led to a period of sharp economic decline, with GDP growth dropping from around 20% to around 8% between 1976 and 1978. Like many other European countries the growth has never, so far, returned to the level of the post-war economic boom (figure 5.13).

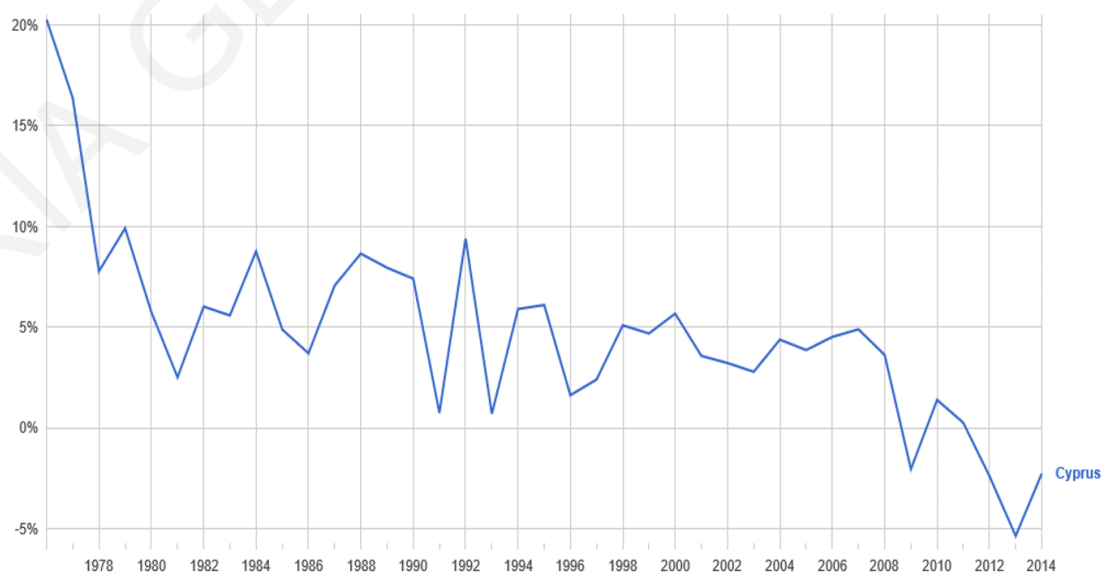


Figure 5.13. Cyprus GDP growth rate 1976-2015 (data from the World Bank ©2014 Google).

The greatest portion of development during this period was constituted by residential development to accommodate the refugees, which included the construction of housing estates in peripheral areas of the city, as well as much construction by the private sector. A true building explosion commenced around 1979 and the city expanded significantly and finally engulfed the surrounding villages as shown in figure 5.14.

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Figure 5.14. Diagram of Limassol's urban growth 1965-1981 (Source: Limassol Local Plan – Analysis of Current Situation, 1987, unpublished).

The ring road and the motorway shown in the bottom half of figure 5.14 were still in the planning stages as of 1981. Despite the great need for housing, density did not particularly increase; in fact, the city sprawled as housing estates were placed in very peripheral areas where the Government already owned the land or was able to purchase it cheaply, while the private sector, within a loose system of building regulations, was concerned with meeting market demands for detached homes. Kritiotti (1988) highlights that urban expansion in Limassol was therefore not even as large sites within developed areas were left undeveloped while construction continued beyond them due to two factors: developers waiting for land prices to increase in order to maximise profits and the inadequate financial resources of migrants to meet market prices increases in the post-1974 period.

All focus went on building new areas with little regard for how they were connected to the existing fabric, which “had, as a consequence, a rupture in the historical continuity of the city at many points of its network, especially the city centre and the seafront” (Serghides, 2012, p. 110). At this point the Municipal Committee had an urban plan drafted, which included older suggestions, such as a 4-lane road along the coast, and newer proposals for the regeneration of the area between the two ports by increasing tourist establishments, building a marina and a road connecting the two. Moreover, there were suggestions to turn the old port into a marina and connect it to the castle just to its north, an area which would be designated as a conservation area. At this time the embankment area along the coastline next to the old port was built in order to secure the port from sea waves, however, this quickly developed into a recreational area for the city’s residents and tourists (Gerasimou & Georgoudis, 2011). A further proposal was to construct a beach from the embankment along the eastern coastline until the municipal border.

With the occupation of Famagusta, Limassol became the major port on the island, which, despite the economic slump, marked the beginning of intensive tourist and further commercial development in the city. Although tourist development opportunities had already been looked into by the private sector prior to the war (“Yper tis axiopoiseos tis periochis ‘Dasoudiou’ to epimelitirion Lemesou,” 1970), they were being contrasted by certain stakeholders (“O syndesmos tou fysikou perivallon kai alloi organismoi provainoun eis eisigiseis dia tin Lemeson,” 1972). Following the occupation of Famagusta, which was also the centre of the tourist industry, concerns about development in the eastern area of Limassol were overridden by economic considerations and a decision was made to designate the area for tourist development. The area was selected jointly by the Ministerial Council, the TPH and CTO partly because hotels were already present in the area, but mostly because the area was the easiest to provide with water supply (Conversation 1a). Because of the great expansion of the city in the 1980s, local authorities had to concentrate on addressing various problems which had come along with the drastic increase in population. The problems were widely debated in the press in the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s, which reveals a variety of issues relating to the new port, tourist, industrial and agricultural development, as well as housing supply (“Dekades provlimata sti Lemeso,” 1988, “Epilysi ton provlimaton tis polis zita i Syntonistiki Epitropi Lemesou,” 1979, “Oi apantiseis ypourgon gia ta provlimata Lemesou,” 1979). Press reports also show that many of the problems have to do with adequate road access and infrastructure within the city (ibid). Consequently, much of the local authorities’ work focused on the construction and improvement of roads (“Kataskevazontai alloi 4 anisopedoi komvoi sto neo dromo,” 1985, “O parakamptirios Lemesou dothike stin kykloforia,” 1987). Major works across the road infrastructure continued throughout the 1990s (Giannopoulos, 1996; 158

Iasonos, 2000; "Neos paraliakos dromos sti Lemeso," 1995, "Odika erga sti Lemeso," 1994). The road infrastructure work of the 1980s and 1990s included the construction of the second ring road as well as the motorway. However, despite the fact that the ring road of Spyrou Kyprianou had been planned far back in the past, priority was given to the construction of the motorway which started in 1981 and was in place by 1987. The construction of the motorway naturally occurred in stages, but delays took place due to non-compliance by the contractors and mistakes in safety procedures which led to work accidents (Conversation 3). Spyrou Kyprianou was built slowly, its construction began in 1985-1986 – in fact sections of it are visible in the 1987 map – and was finished around 1990 (Conversation 2 and 3). Why priority was given to the motorway remains unclear, though national-level policy would have played a significant role; one suggestion is that it was because of the influx of refugees into Limassol and its consequent expansion (Conversation 2), another that private and economic interests played a role (Conversation 1a).

The year 1990 was also a turning point as planning legislation drafted in 1972 was finally enacted and the first local plan was produced. This included provisions with regards to the density of development, the organisation of the urban form, the allocation of land uses and the creation of a hierarchical street network. During the 1990s attention shifted back to the town centre and the coastal area, which had decayed during the 1980s because of the focus put on new development in other areas of the city, economic constraints affecting its commercial and entertainment establishments, as well as apartment blocks having been built on the coastline replacing older buildings and disconnecting it from the rest of the city. During a strong local leadership from the middle of the 1990s to the middle of the 2000s, which thoroughly engaged in the regeneration of the town centre, coupled with activism from local residents (Rakoczy, 2007), the city has undergone much renewal and continues to do so. However, there remains some criticism that the renewal is prioritised towards temporary, visitor, recreational and tourist uses, rather than focusing on a long-term, more sustainable regeneration aimed at bringing back permanent residents into the town centre. The recent developments were briefly described in section 3.1.1 and will be discussed further in the next section.

The demographic data from the past few decades (table 5.4) shows that the trend in multiculturalism has reversed again and Limassol has seen an increase in both its European and non-European population, probably due to its entry in the Eurozone as well as its tax system attracting non-European investors, but also perhaps to increased exchanges with other countries through the tourist sector as well as refugees and other migrants using Cyprus as a first point of call from the East to receive asylum or gain employment.

	1976	1982	1992	2001	2011
Population	101,896	109,410	139,424	160,733	183,555
Households	NA	29,880	43,200	52,600	65,304
Cypriots	NA	NA	136,741 (94.7%)	140,092 (89.3%)	144,579 (80.2%)
EU Citizens	NA	NA	4,597 (3.4%)	4,610 (4%)	19,144 (10.6%)
Non-EU Citizens	NA	NA	2,657 (1.9%)	10,235 (6.5%)	16,186 (8.9%)

Table 5.4. Proportion of population by citizenship. All proportions were derived from the absolute numbers reported in the 1992 census and in (Statistical Service, 2011) and (Statistical Service, 2012).⁷

As we have seen a piece-meal system of planning was in place until fairly recently, a factor which has greatly contributed to the sprawling nature of the city and to the continued existence of large empty areas within its form. The city population has shifted from a multicultural one to a homogeneous one with a renewed trend towards cosmopolitanism in the past decade or so – a trend already identified by Driessen (2005) as occurring across Mediterranean port cities. Structural factors clearly played a role in how the city developed as did the local economy and the balance of power between institutions and private interests. A level of activism in urban issues has existed for a significant time, although the voices represented in both primary and secondary sources tend to be those of the educated, higher classes. While the economic situation does play a role in development, this narrative does not seem to show a strict link between certain economic conditions and the development of specific uses, especially in the early stages of development – though details about economic conditions at this time are not as clear as for the periods ensuing World War I. While large industrial uses did develop during economic slumps as the private sector was able to take certain advantages of economic conditions abroad, these clearly intensified during the economic booms of the 1930s and the 1950s. However, with regards to the public sector, the development of certain large uses does take place during harder economic conditions, especially those uses relating to addressing rising socio-economic problems. These uses placed in peripheral areas vary in size, with medium-large developments of fairly homogeneous size constructed by the private industry, while size varies greatly in the public sector ranging from the fairly small (poor and old people's homes, schools) to much larger ones (ports, parks, hospitals, stadia). Within the Cypriot

⁷ Due to changes in EU membership since 2001, citizens belonging to the EU show a drastic increase in comparison to non-EU citizens purely because their status changed rather than changes in migration patterns. The proportions do not add to 100% as a small number of respondents did not state their citizenship.

system developers are required to construct the road – without any subsidy – in order to gain permission to build on a plot which currently has no access. This partly explains why initially development occurs along existing roads and also why sprawl has occurred so drastically (Conversation 1a) as developers, especially small ones, are keen to avoid the additional cost by taking advantage of existing roads – the system creates a situation exemplified in figure 5.15.

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Figure 5.15. Generalised model of the consequences of the prerequisite of road access posed on private developers prior to receiving planning permission (Image ©Byron Ioannou).

This system may also influence the location of certain large uses as wealthy developers may donate land to the Government for the construction of large uses in peripheral areas. Doing so, roads and other infrastructure are put in place through public funding and donors are later able to gain planning permission throughout the surrounding land as well as take advantage of the infrastructure (Conversation 1a).

Throughout the development of the city, the local administration has given priority to maintenance, improvement and widening of existing roads, as well as construction of major new routes. Certain necessary establishments, such as slaughterhouses, the hospital, markets and the like are also prioritised by the local Government at certain stages.

However, while zones are designated for specific uses, the development of residential areas and their road infrastructure has been left to the private sector, with public facilities being

added on at a later stage, once the population and the density have increased enough to justify the effort and the cost. All this seems to have led to a situation where the creation of long routes associated to a number of large land uses tends to lead the expansion process. Residential developments then follow, producing 'patches' of compact grids between and along major routes. However, rather than producing densification within existing areas and near to the existing extent of the built form, these have also tended to be placed peripherally. Let us now look in more detail at how the planning system, since its formal enactment, and the relationship between different powers and stakeholders plays out in the city's development. Such endeavour will give us better insight into how formal planning might influence developmental processes, how the most recent developments have come into being, as well as potential directions in the future of Limassol.

5.1.3 A narrative of the planning system and the future of Limassol

In Cyprus, a three-tier hierarchy of development plans was introduced in 1972 and is based on the concepts set out in the **Island Plan**, which refers to the national territory and the regional distribution of resources and development opportunities. The **Local Plan** is produced for major urban areas or regions under intensive development pressures, and the **Area Scheme**, at the lower end of the hierarchy, which may relate to specific zones, such as town centres. Following 1974, the Island Plan was no longer feasible and was eventually replaced in 1982 by the **Policy Statement for the Countryside** (PSC), which refers to all government-controlled territory, except areas where a Local Plan or Area Scheme is in place. This is intended to provide a general policy framework and development guidelines to ensure optimum utilization of the development potential of each region or territory and the protection of the rural environment. Local Plans refer to a broad geographical area and set a broad range of provisions which refer to various types of development permitted in infrastructure networks and standards, authorised sizes and intensity of development. The Area Scheme include policy measures and provisions, much more detailed than those contained in the Local Plans, and generally relating to geographical areas smaller in size than those referred to in Local Plans.

Control of growth is achieved through the process of monitoring planning applications determined by the Town and Country Planning Law. Municipal Councils function as the local policy-making bodies, with responsibilities including street construction, maintenance and lighting, waste collection, disposal and treatment, the provision of public open spaces, the protection and improvement of the environment and public health, along with additional activities in social services, education, the arts and sport. The larger municipalities are also delegated as planning authorities. However, municipalities do not lead the drafting of Local Plans or Area Plans, which are developed by the Department of

Town Planning and Housing (TPH) in consultation with the municipalities. These are then in charge of implementing the plan, granting planning permissions and monitoring planning conformance – with the exception of very large projects which are assessed and approved by central Government.

A Union of Cyprus Municipalities was established in 1981 in order to strengthen the political autonomy and independence of local authorities. The Union also acts as spokesman of local government interest, including presenting urban issues to the national government. Allocation and distribution of planning competencies between Central Government and Local Authorities, especially in relation to the development of Local Area Plans, is an issue that remains highly debated and under examination and evaluation. It is possible that the responsibility for local plans will be moved to elected municipal councils in the future, so that the TPH can focus on more strategic-level plans, while local authorities can be more involved in the process and develop plans which better meet local needs, provided that suitable socio-economic studies and criteria are set (Conversation 4). The Cypriot planning system is exemplified in figure 5.16.

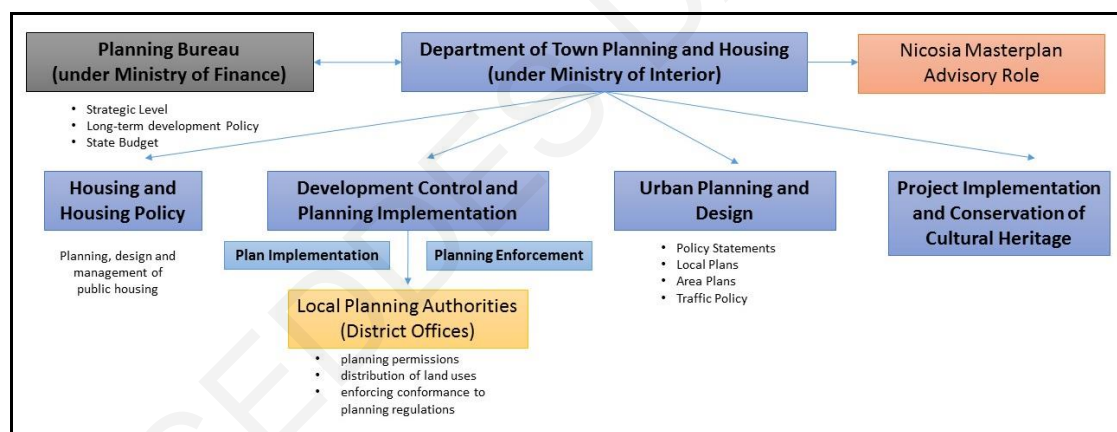


Figure 5.16. Summary diagram of the current Cypriot planning system.

Urban areas across Cyprus face a variety of problems. A general decline of historic city cores has occurred during the 1980s and 1990s. This was due to the sudden increase in population following the 1974 war, the spread of car use, the system for developing road infrastructure and the placing of certain land uses in areas at the edge of the city with easy vehicular access and parking provision. Lack of public transport and unwillingness of the private sector – as well as no incentives – to invest in the urban fabric (Department of Town Planning and Housing & EUKN, n.d.) also contributed to a decline of the inner-city centres and the insurgence of sprawling, speculative developments. Such speculative developments are a typical feature of Cyprus from the air, where a variety of unbuilt speculative ‘suburban

hills' grids are clearly visible peppering the island – two such examples are shown in figure 5.17.



Figure 5.17. Two typical speculative suburban street grids in Cyprus, one to the north east of Larnaca (top) and one to the north west of Limassol (bottom).

Although the 1972 planning law requires the promotion of public participation in the planning process, it does not specify how such promotion should be implemented. However, it does detail the requirements for public consultation in the planning process: it does state that the public has a right to influence planning decisions and that it should be involved both at the plan-making stage and following the granting of planning permission. This was a 2-stage process through which citizens could participate in open meetings to

influence plans development and then they could make an objection to the plan. In this latter stage of consultation, the plans would be published and made available to the public for potential objections to the plan's provisions – such objections have to be reviewed and accepted or rejected by the Council of Ministers. Joint Development Boards composed of a representative from the local authority and a number of stakeholders related to the plan in question could also participate in the drafting or amendment of the plan. The whole public consultation process was reviewed through a EUKN Policy Lab and amendment were made to the law in 2007. The key problems identified by the project were the ineffectiveness of the joint boards as they did not represent a wide variety of stakeholders, and the lack of awareness of planning issues of the citizens participating in the open meetings and thus expressing views of purely personal interests (Conversation 4). These were therefore substituted with public hearings where the public would be informed about the strategies and plans before providing their contributions. The public participation project has led to the redesign of the structure of planning consultations, which has meant a strengthening of the role of local authorities in organising consultations and influencing planning decisions made by Central Government, as well as a more effective system for the public to express views and opinions, including the ability to write directly to the Ministry in order to suggest proposals or object to ongoing projects. Public interest groups have become more actively involved in trying to influence development plans in recent years. This has been more so when the larger and more controversial plans have been proposed, such as the new Marina, the redevelopment of the old port and the development of the area of Dasoudi. However, the feeling remains that a proper dialogue between citizens and planning authorities still does not exist (Conversation 1a) and that often the requests and interests of land owners are met to the detriment of the public good (Conversation 1b).

Efforts to monitor the efficacy of the planning system have also taken momentum and there seems to be a general agreement that the Island Plan should be reviewed and strengthened in order to provide a more effective lead on key social and economic issues upon which the Local Plans are based (EUKN, 2015). Only environmental assessments are required in the case of large developments; traffic or commercial impact assessments are not compulsory (Conversation 4). A variety of assessments is often sought to evaluate planning applications, however, these are not carried out by the authorities or independently, but by the developers themselves (Conversation 2). Generally, the criteria for approving planning applications are therefore those set by the Local Plan itself, with no particular additional tools available. In practice, there is no system in place to assess the impact of a single development on the whole city (Conversation 2) and there are opinions that in many cases decisions are made which do not reflect the requirements of the plans or the views expressed in public consultations (Conversation 1b).

In order to monitor policy results and develop more sustainable policy instruments, the TPH implemented the URBANGUARD project aiming at facilitating the incorporation of urban sustainability indicators in the planning process (Department of Town Planning and Housing, 2012). A set of indicators and monitoring tools were developed, and a pilot implementation and dissemination activities took place as part of the project. The information available as to the evaluation of the project reports its success in terms of the results against the project objectives and the raising of awareness amongst stakeholders, as well as the fact that “significant long-term sustainability benefits are foreseen to be achieved through the ongoing application of the URBANGUARD tool” (Department of Town Planning and Housing, n.d.). While local plans have since been revised to include clearer and more detailed provisions for the implementation of their planning policies, the impact of the project on planning practice, plan development and evaluation of plans remains unclear and an assessment of whether the tools and indicators are being used in practice has yet to be made.

Some of the themes addressed by the URBANGUARD project are now the subject of further work, specifically another EUKN Policy Lab focusing on the compact city. The project on the compact city, which would relate to many of the key sustainability indicators included in the URBANGUARD – in particular those measuring population and building density – was initiated in May 2016. Such a project aims to develop the policy tools to address the issue of sprawl and increase density within the city, something which is felt should be a priority for Limassol’s future (Conversation 4 and 5). Although these tools are not yet in place, a number of major high-rise projects along the coast of Limassol have been given the go ahead, partly on the basis that there is an urgent need to construct high density buildings. As has been mentioned previously, recent urban renewal in Limassol has mostly focused on the waterfront, with mixed results and mixed feelings. One reason behind this focus is the fact that this area had seen a decline in previous decades; another is that the sea is a significant resource for the city (Conversation 1a) and that everyone in the city, not just those living near the coast, benefit from waterfront renewal (Conversation 3). These latter reasons have also been publicly supported by major international architects at a conference held in Limassol in November 2013, including Daniel Libeskind (“Lemosos: A renewed coastal metropolis! Architecture and Identity,” 2013). Members of the public at the same conference questioned not just the focus of development on the coastal area, but also the benefit and nature of the proposed high-rise projects, as well as the lack of dialogue between the public and planning authorities. While the tools to implement densification across sparse residential areas are not yet in place, speakers at the conference also defended decisions to implement high-rise projects, though stating that greater dialogue is needed along with systems for connecting the urban tissue of the existing city. However,

these high-rise projects are essentially commercial developments offering luxury office space and are not aimed at increasing residential densities. All the proposals have recently been shown to reach, cumulatively, a combined height way above that of other major European cities with populations of over 10 times that of Limassol (Mesh Spatial Design Studio, 2017) and the question of high rise building has been said to have gone out of hand (Conversation 5).

One widespread feeling about recent development in Limassol that came across clearly through all the conversations is that it is a highly positive trend. The redevelopment of the promenade was seen as particularly successful (Conversation 4) and regeneration efforts were seen as making Limassol being its best developmental phase (Conversation 3) and its centre as blooming again (Conversation 1a). The Marina and the regeneration of the old port were also seen as positive interventions, but these were also fraught with reservations and discontent about their design, in particular the connections made between the two, between the port and the promenade and between the port and the town centre (Conversation 1a, 1b and 4), as well as criticism toward the architectural design of the old port (Conversation 1b and 3). The Marina project was supervised and approved by central Government and, while feelings about it were generally positive, the local authority felt that they had little more than a token say in the plans and that they would never have approved them as they were if they had been given the chance (Conversation 2). Regeneration of the town centre also provoked mixed feelings with some thinking of it as highly positive and successful (Conversation 1a and 3), some thinking that effort was really minimal (Conversation 1b) and others questioning the reasoning for the approval of the development of a whole university in the town centre (Conversation 4). When questioned about the balance of regeneration and development between the coastal area and other areas of the city, few were aware of any projects taking place outside the historical centre or the coastline, although the current member of staff in the municipality stated that there are various plans for other neighbourhoods in the city (Conversation 2). Some thought that projects comprising areas outside of the centre, such as the linear park along the river Garyllis, were positive (Conversation 1a); others thought that nothing of particular significance was taking place beyond the coastal area (Conversation 1b). At the same time, while all expressed generally positive views about the regeneration of the coastal area, when asked about future priorities for Limassol almost all answers included the need to focus on local neighbourhoods, for example the need to make each neighbourhood self-sufficient (Conversation 1a), the need to build squares and green spaces (Conversation 1b), something that would make prettier and healthier any city's neighbourhood (Conversation 2), a drastic embellishment of neighbourhoods (Conversation 3), a strengthening of other areas (Conversation 4). Improvements in public transport coupled with solutions for

parking problems also featured quite prominently in the conversations as to the priorities for the city.

Strategic urban policy goals in Cyprus are elaborated within the Local Plans depending on the needs of each area and additional area-specific goals may be added to these. Some of the strategic goals which are particularly relevant to Limassol include (EUKN, n.d.-a):

- Viable distribution of land uses, separation of incompatible uses and a balanced mix of compatible ones.
- Functional integration of multi-centred urban complexes.
- Efficient and effective use of land designated for development, especially the timely provision of adequate infrastructure and services.
- Promotion of comprehensive integrated urban development.
- Organisation of residential areas to achieve functional balance between population distribution, employment opportunities and service provision.
- Creation of conditions that will permit residential development of such types and intensities to fulfil the needs and requirements of all income groups.
- Balanced distribution of commercial activity and uses at strategic nodes of the urban fabric and the hierarchical organisation of commercial cores.

All the above goals, however, are hindered by a number of spatial problems and policy constraints, some of which have been touched upon in the discussion above and in the previous section. These were also summarised by the EUKN (n.d.-b). The spatial problems include the fact that cities are dominated by a single centre with commercial and employment opportunities scattered along the main transportation corridors; the high prices of land withheld within designated development areas causing lower income groups to seek accommodation in outer areas; difficulty in planning and sustaining an effective public transport system due to low densities, the radial or 'fan-shaped' urban form of the cities, and the distribution of commerce and employment; a lack of public areas and green spaces. The policy constraints include the behaviour of the real estate market and individual property owners, who strongly oppose the implementation of planning and fiscal measures to develop empty land and increase density; the potential cost of compensation systems favouring private property rights and thus discouraging the implementation of plans and policy and therefore the timely provision of services; and the underestimated long-term potential of designated development areas.

Some of the issues above are being addressed through the local plans, other through ordinances and legislations, which would provide planning authorities with the tools to effectively implement policies. Specific requirements for green space are now stated in the

local plan, while proposed ordinances to release developable land and to change the compensation system are currently under consideration (Conversation 5). Generally, it is thought that the quality and detail of local plans as well as the tools available to planning authorities have improved significantly since the enactment of the law. The latest Limassol Local Plan was released in 2011, with amendments in 2013 – this is also considered to be generally good, although its quality is dependent on the quality of the scoping studies done prior to its drafting, and has some shortcomings, especially with regards to environmental requirements, the adaptation of urban areas and the maintenance of the street network (Conversation 5).

As we have seen the planning system has been put in place and regimes are changing towards a direction conforming with the EU acquis, which includes a move towards greater sustainability through increased densities, the development of public transport systems, support for sustainable modes of transport and development of green areas. Finding a balance of power between local authorities, central Government, the TPH and other interested parties, which reflects different opinions and priorities without giving in to exclusively private interests, and respecting the mandate of elected powers while ensuring expertise and the greater public good are given full consideration, remains challenging. Such a balance is something which is highly dependent on political interest and its management is currently being tested through a renewed 3-member Planning Council (Conversation 5).

Summary

The key themes arising from the narrative relate to periods of different types of development in the city and the modes through which such developments came to be located in space. Problematic issues of the city, as well as its potential also appear through the narrative, as does the impact of socio-political changes and diffusion of progressive ideas.

Firstly, the narrative seems to indicate that there is no particular relationship between economic cycles and certain types of development: peripheral areas establish themselves and expand regardless of economic conditions. Private industrial enterprises set up or expanded during periods of economic growth, but also during periods of decline, as they seem able to exploit opportunities afforded by crises in other countries or by conditions related to critical periods, such as the stationing of troops in the area or the availability of cheap labour. On the other hand, certain public services also set up during better-off times, but many also do so in times of needs establishing uses such as the poor asylum or the subsidy house, and

workers' homes. The establishment of these latter uses is also influenced by the circulation of social progress ideas developed in other countries.

Secondly, the location of certain developments, in particular industries which produce waste, seems to be determined by contemporary international planning standards of separation of uses and by more evolved hygiene and safety requirements. The location of residential developments from the 1950s onwards seems to relate, on the one hand, to land use prices, on the other to people's changes in expectations of urban housing standards and in preferences for housing types, but also to the behaviour of the real estate market and planning regulations.

Finally, there seems to be problems with the way the road network has developed, causing congestions across the major routes and sparse concentrations of commercial uses along them, while at the same time local neighbourhoods are extremely quiet and lack access to public spaces and retail within them. Other concerns about the city include the lack of a comprehensive plan and a lack of dialogue between the public and planning authorities. However, it also seems that many long-standing problems are being addressed and that there are positive feelings about concerted development recently put into regenerating various areas of the city and into finding solutions to the current issues.

Let us now see if and to what extent these themes are reflected in the quantitative analyses of the city.

5.2 A spatial history of the city

This section presents a quantitative analysis of the city at different points in time, focusing on spatial and location aspects, as well as socio-physical aspects such as land uses. All key findings are included in this section, the full set of maps displaying the configurational and block size analyses can be viewed in appendices 4 and 5; the full set of maps summarising the land use analysis into fringe belt maps can be viewed in Plate 1 (inside of back cover).

5.2.1 Configuration

The analysis of Limassol towards the beginning of its urbanisation history, in the second half of the 19th century, reveals that the city has a very strong and continuous foreground structure, which forms a series of large and smaller loops around and within the extent the city (figure 5.18). This structure comprises the coastline and penetrates into the western area of the city, although the large loop around the city is interrupted and does not fully close at either western or eastern end. The analysis of global integration (figure 5.18) highlights the commercial street of Agiou Andreou as the most integrated route. The street

of Angyras also appears to have fairly high levels of integration, though not as high, which might be an explanatory factor of the shift of the commercial area from the western side to the eastern part of the city. The street of Anexartisias at this stage forms part of the foreground structure of the city and is clearly an important through-route in the geographical centre. In the integration analysis only the southern part of the street has higher integration values, which possibly mark its beginnings as a destination of choice and a location for commercial and service uses.

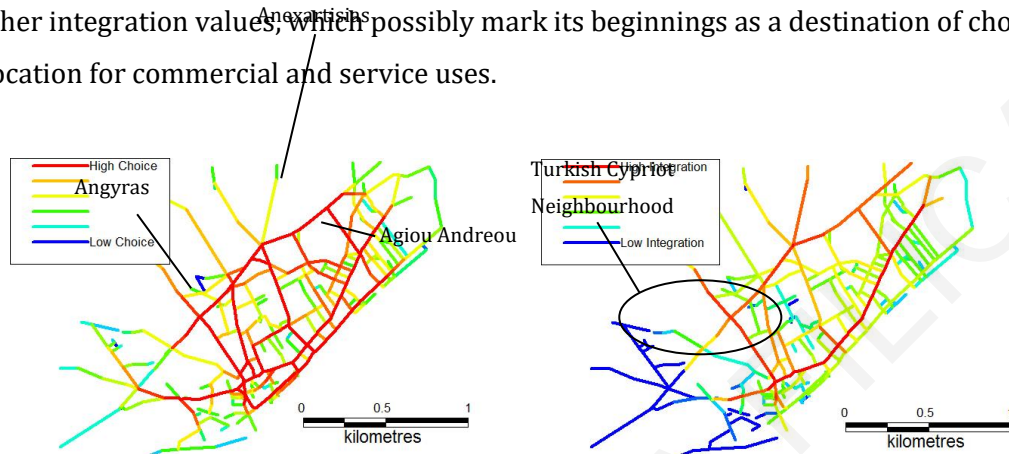


Figure 5.18. Global choice analysis of 1883 (left) and global integration analysis of 1883 (right).

One other thing which is clearly highlighted by figure 5.18 is the fact that the Turkish Cypriot neighbourhood in the west of the city is extremely segregated, even in comparison with other peripheral areas in the east and north of the city. Partly this is due to the fact that the neighbourhood is connected to the remainder of the city only at one point in the system, through the only existing bridge over the river.

Moving on to 1933, the basic foreground structure of the city is the same, but has expanded to complete the large loop around the historical centre and the radial routes heading toward surrounding villages as urbanisation to the north, east and west of the town centre started taking place (figure 5.19). If we look at the integration analysis (figure 5.19), we will notice that at the global level, the integration core is shifting to the north, with the alignment of Navarinou/Gladstonos becoming highly integrated and the northern part of Anexartisias gaining importance, perhaps predicting the later development of an entertainment centre along Navarinou/Gladstonos. By this time the western area of the city has become more integrated, mostly due to the construction of a bridge further north.

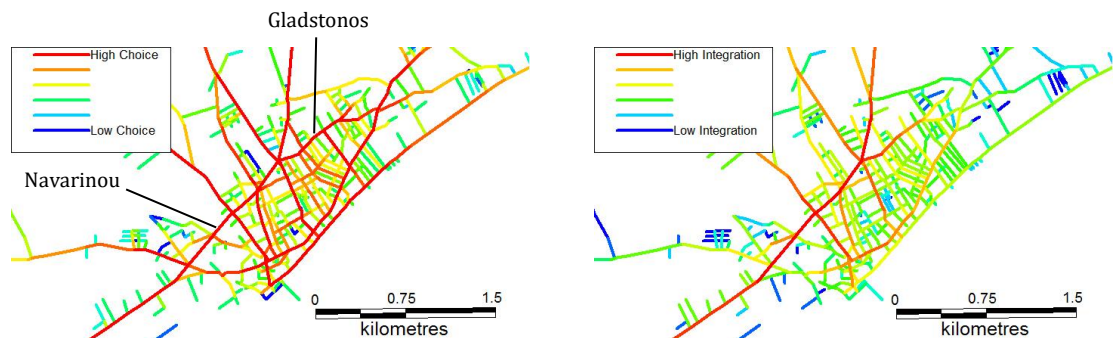


Figure 5.19 Global choice analysis of 1933 (left) and global integration analysis of 1933 (right).

If we look at a more local measure of 800m radius (figure 5.20), in 1883 the main through route channelling local movement is the street of Agiou Andreou, while, as time goes by, Navarinou/Gladstonos and the northern part of Anexartisias also start sharing this role as enablers of local movement.

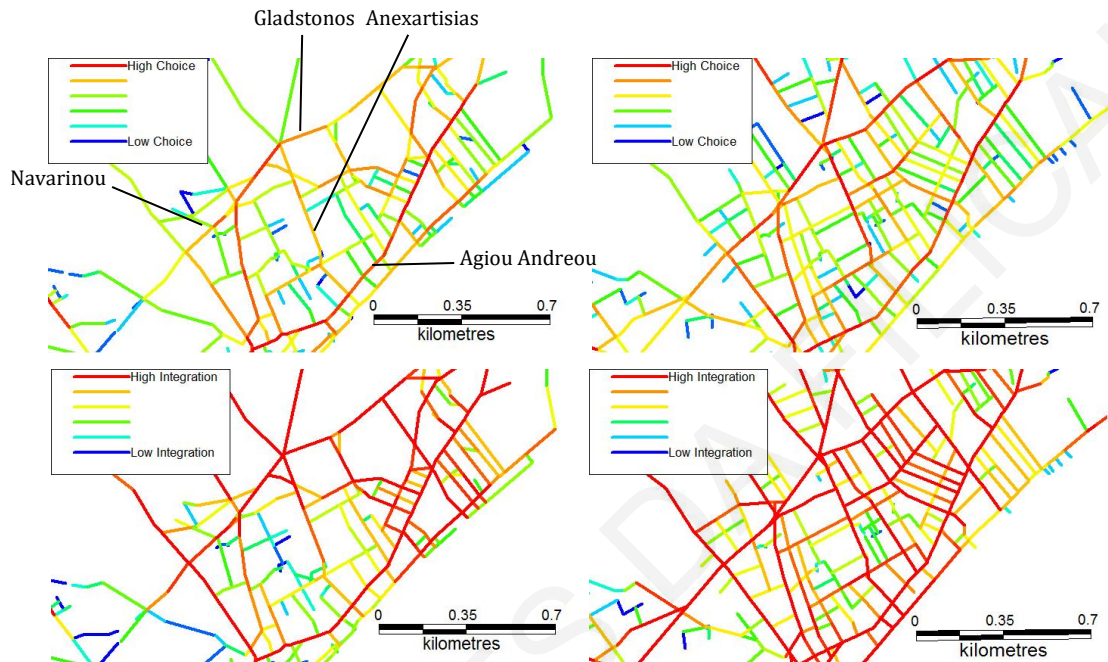


Figure 5.20. Local choice and integration analysis (800m radius) in 1883 (left) and 1933 (right).

With regards to integration, local measures tend to pick out highly accessible routes, which include the routes of high choice, but also emphasise 'griddyness' in the network. In this case, these are local grids and tend to reflect residential densification through the development of a high number of relatively short routes. Initially, this seems to occur at the eastern end of the town, but as empty areas within the centre develop through the insertion of fairly regular north-south routes, this phenomenon shifts to the north and west.

The key changes to the street network in the period 1933-1960 are the construction of Makariou, as well as a significant amount of residential densification between the town centre and the new by-pass, as well as to the north of it. The insertion of the first ring road has significant consequences for the foreground structure of Limassol (figure 5.21). Firstly, a new large loop is formed within the city, comprising the whole of Makariou to the north and the Yildiz/Navarinou/Gladstonos alignment to the south. This shifts the circulation of long-range movement to the north as the western part of the coastline has decreased choice values. Secondly, two important junctions in the city are formed at this stage: pentadaktylo at the northern end of Anexartisias and the roundabout at the western edge of Makariou.

These had already appeared in 1933 as strong intersections, but clearly become even more

focal points in the city as further intersections are added to them or their vicinity and densification occurs around them.

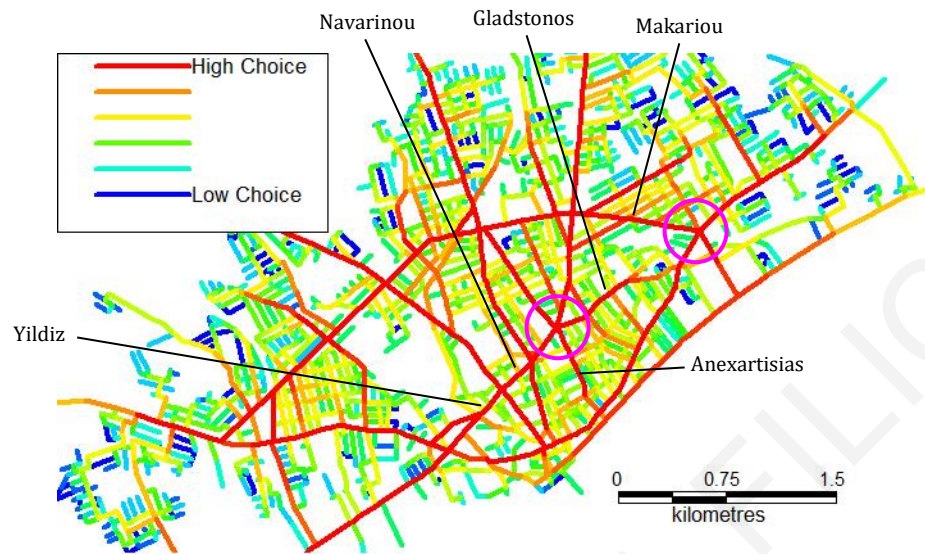


Figure 5.21. Global choice analysis, 1960, with the junction of pentadaktylo (left pink circle) and the Makariou roundabout (right pink circle).

If we look at the local integration analysis (800m radius), another clear effect of construction on the network is the appearance of dense residential grids, attached to or between major routes: particularly large and dense are those just to the north of Makariou roundabout and the one at the western edge of the large circulation loop (figure 5.22). It seems that during this period the preferred form for residential development is that of the regular grid. This analysis also shows that both Gladstonos and Makariou, as well as the radial routes connecting the two are also highly locally integrated. By this time the nature of Gladstonos as an entertainment centre is fully established; Makariou will only start competing with the historical centre as a retail and commercial location in the 1970s.

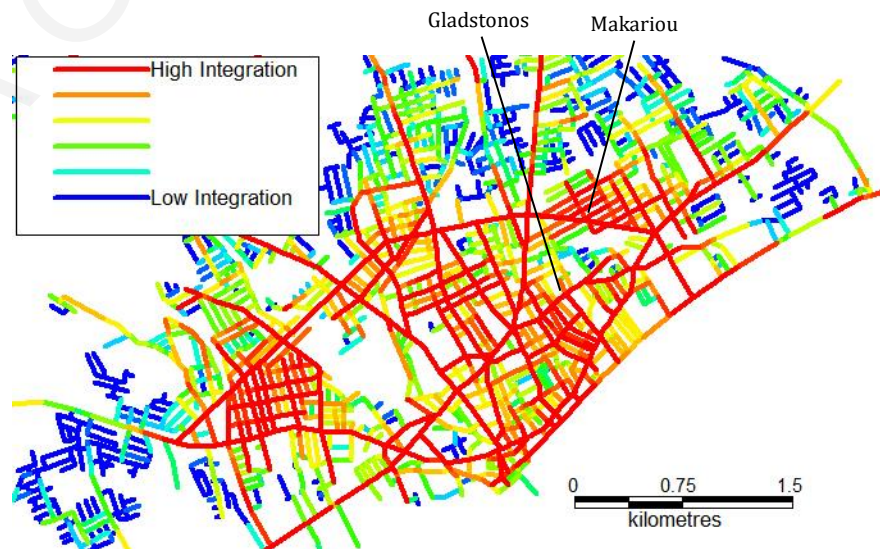


Figure 5.22. Local integration analysis (800m radius), 1960.

Finally, if we consider a local to mid-range choice analysis (figure 5.23), it is easy to notice how the centre of surrounding villages acts as the focal point of each village – being the central local route as well as lying along the main route connecting the village to the city. This analysis also highlights routes, which seem to have become important local movement enablers, such as the main north-south alignment in the neighbourhood of Agios Nikolaos and a loop through the neighbourhood of Kapsalos.

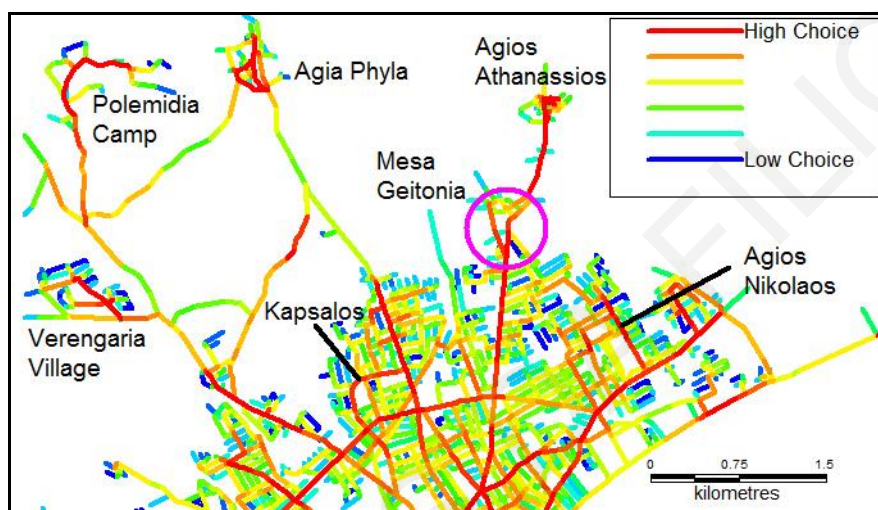


Figure 5.23. Local choice analysis (1200m radius), 1960 detail.

Reading the picture above along with the previous ones, the new areas highlighted here (Kapsalos and Agios Nikolaos) are not just enablers of mid-range movement, but also longer-range movement as well as being highly integrated at the local level. This suggests that these areas have the potential to become strong local centres, if we consider that centre hierarchies are defined by streets' potential for to and through movement (Karimi, Parham, & Acharya, 2015). However, as we will see within the remainder of the analysis, these properties disappear with time and further development instead of becoming reinforced.

By 1974 some additional north-south connections are put in place in the west of the city in order to serve the new port. Except for that, the bulk of development is residential expansion, which seems to produce some diversification in the network, by which a number of routes gain movement potential, as shown in figure 5.24.



Figure 5.24. Local choice analysis (1200m radius) of 1974.

This diversification is only partially matched by high levels of local integration, which means that not many of these locations also share potential as local destinations (figure 5.25).

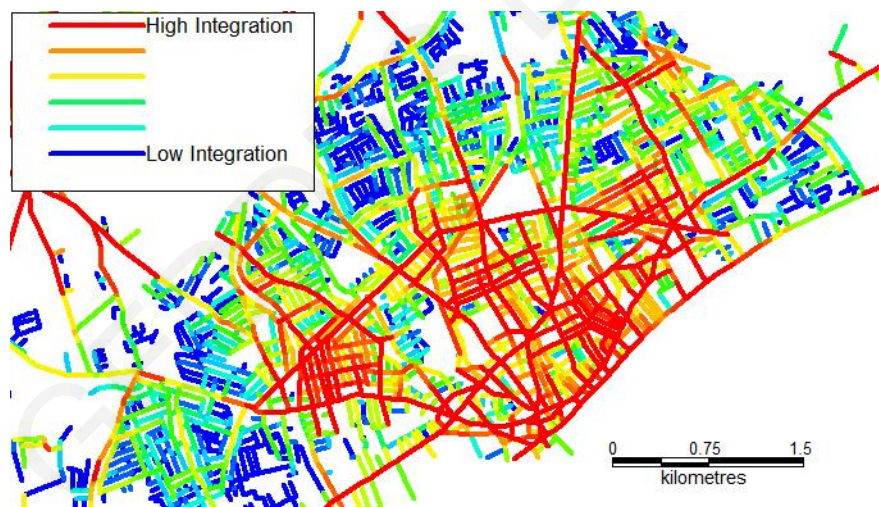


Figure 5.25. Local integration analysis (800m radius) of 1974.

One other characteristic of development revealed through the local integration analysis shows that during this period no intensive, dense and regular residential grids appear in the system. It seems that the layout design of residential developments has now changed in favour of more 'irregular' patterns, such as irregular grids (with short segments meeting at irregular distances and forming "T" junctions rather than crossings), cul-de-sac systems, and 'bendy' grids, as shown in the examples in figure 5.26. All of these form, both globally and locally highly segregated systems within the network.

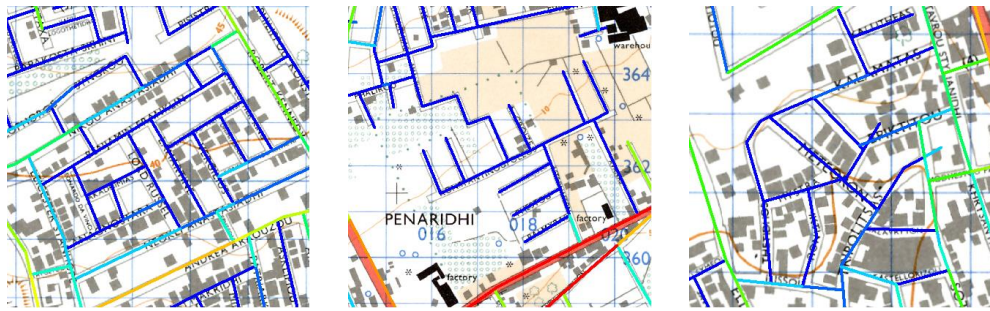


Figure 5.26 Irregular grid, 1974 (left); cul-de-sac system, 1974 (middle); bendy grid, 1974 (right).

By 1987, the motorway is in place and this has two key effects. Firstly, the long-range movement system shifts to the north to create a loop connecting Makariou and the whole of the motorway. This has the effect of significantly decreasing the global choice values along the coastline, the street of Agiou Andreou and that of Anexartisias, effectively removing them from the foreground structure of the city. This is also true for the global integration analysis: the central focus of the city at this time is the road of Makariou (figure 5.27).

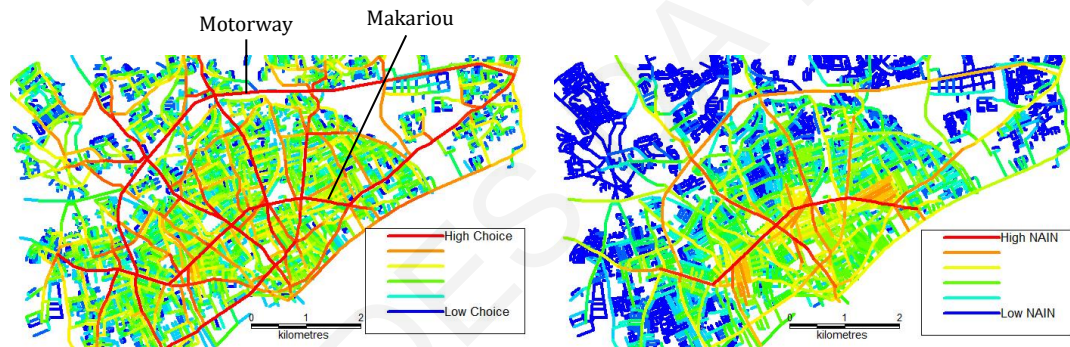


Figure 5.27. Global choice analysis of 1987 (left) and global integration analysis of 1987 (right).

Much residential development also takes place in the period 1974-1987. Some of this densifies the area between Makariou and the motorway, although gaps in the fabric still remain, while the remainder of the development extends to the north of the motorway around the existing villages. Much of this peripheral development looks highly segregated in the integration analysis. While this is likely to be partly due to street network design, it is also an edge effect in this analysis, which was discussed in section 4.4. However, even south of the motorway, in much more urbanised areas, there are clearly patches of highly segregated local systems, which correspond to residential areas following street layout designs described above (figures 5.26). Some of these systems are the new housing estates for refugees, which have a peculiar layout design, comprising a peripheral road enclosing the estate onto which are attached a series of cul-de-sacs or fragmented grids. These systems are clearly picked out by the local choice analysis (figure 5.28). This analysis also shows how the original villages surrounding Limassol have their own clear local centres which have become stronger through surrounding densification.

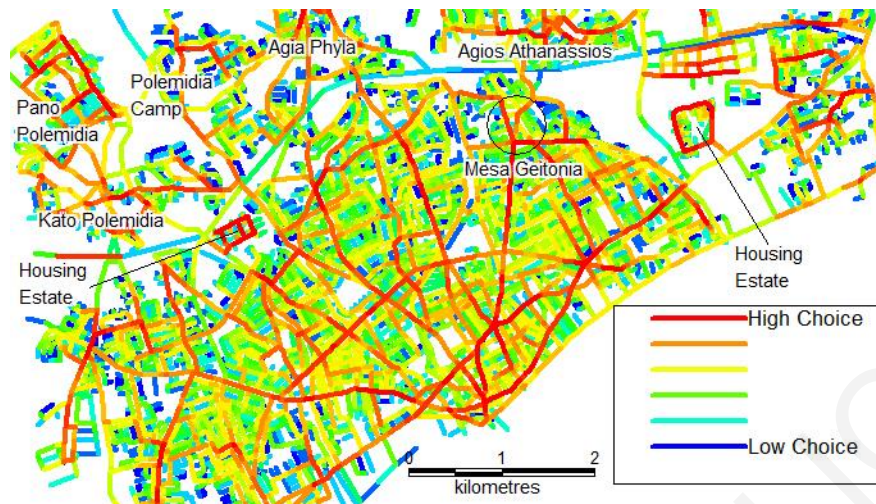


Figure 5.28. Local choice analysis (1200m radius) of 1987.

A similar layout to the estates is also apparent in Pano Polemidia; this was originally a small village, which over time had become fully Turkish Cypriot. Following the war (and thus the Turkish Cypriot population abandoning the area) a large residential area for refugees was planned here and, although it was not literally planned as an estate and was superimposed on the existing village, its basic structure is comparable to that of the estates. These areas are very segregated within the city-wide system; the analysis in figure 5.28 shows that their peripheral road provides the main circulation structure on a local to mid-range scale, however, once inside, the estates are also highly segregated even at a local level as shown in figures 5.29a-c.

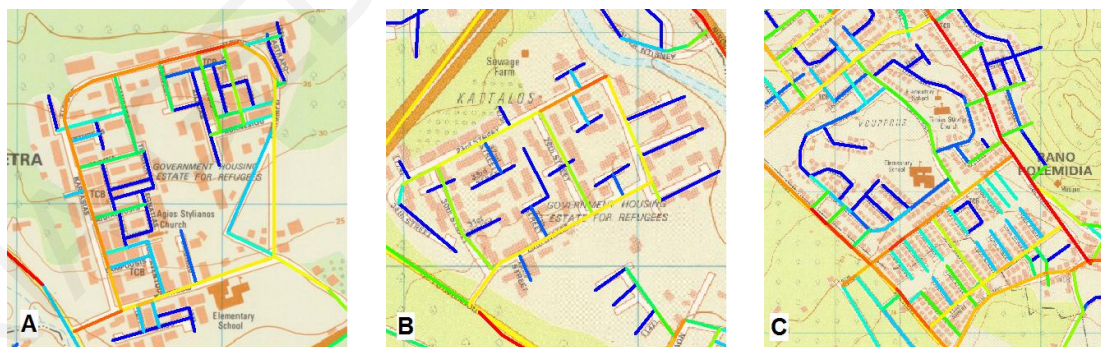


Figure 5.29. Linopetra Housing Estate, 1987 (a); Kattalos Housing Estate, 1987 (b); Pano Polemidia Settlement, 1987 (c).

The main addition to the street network in the period 1987-2003 is the second ring road of Spyrou Kyprianou, roughly half way between Makariou and the motorway. This immediately becomes part of the foreground structure of the street network and, while it only affects the town centre minimally (something not really visible in figure 5.30, but its mean global choice decreases slightly as detailed in table 5.6), it does reinforce the

foreground structure in the north and the east. Here, the eastern part of the coastline and the radial routes leading from Spyrou Kyprianou to the motorway become stronger and penetrate further into the old surrounding villages and their new periphery. The road is also part of the integration core of the city and its addition makes the motorway become highly globally integrated (figure 5.30). This is of course a peculiarity of a motorway which crosses the whole city and is connected through slip lanes along flyovers with all its radial routes. The analysis makes clear that the motorway is highly accessible. However, it does not mean that it is an attractor of to-movement, as by its very nature no developments nor pedestrian movement are permitted along it.

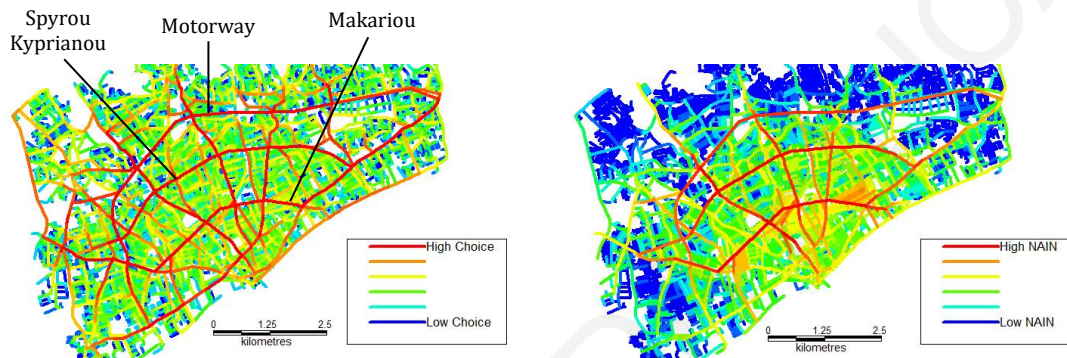


Figure 5.30. Global choice analysis of 2003 (left) and global Integration analysis of 2003 (right).

A more realistic representation of the integration core might be a more local to mid-range radius such as 1200m (figure 5.31). This shows that while Spyrou Kyprianou is also highly integrated at this radius, the motorway completely loses its importance (as it does in the choice analysis at radius 1200m), reflecting the fact that it is neither planned for nor incidentally supporting local movement. The integration analysis also shows that any area, which previously showed as having through movement potential at this radius, is still not matched by high integration values. In many cases these values have even decreased and thus do not provide potential for these areas to develop as local centres. The exception remains the historical town centre, Gladstonos, Makariou and their connecting radials.

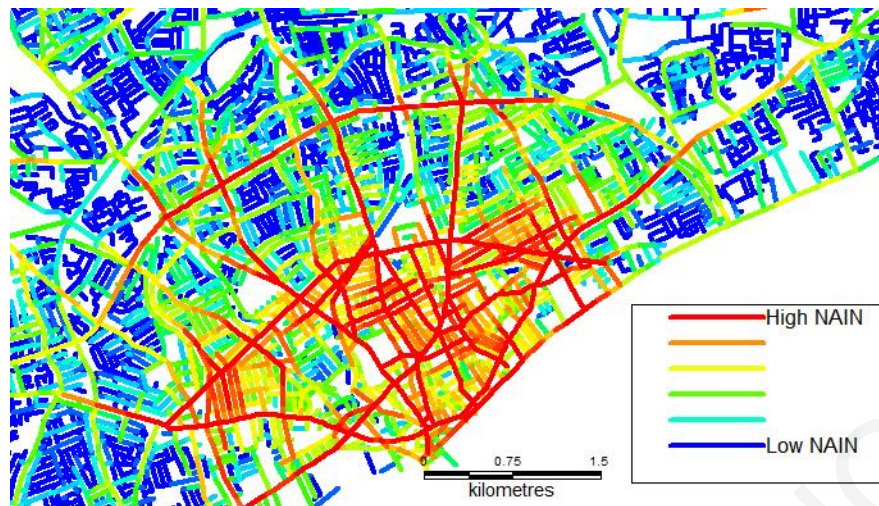


Figure 5.31. Local integration analysis (1200m radius) in 2003.

By 2014 only the north-western edge of the historical centre is part of the foreground structure of the city, which has moved further north and east to comprise both ring roads, the motorway and most of the radial roads, including the stretches going through the old villages and the stretch of the seafront east of the inner ring road, leading to the tourist area along the coast (figure 5.32).

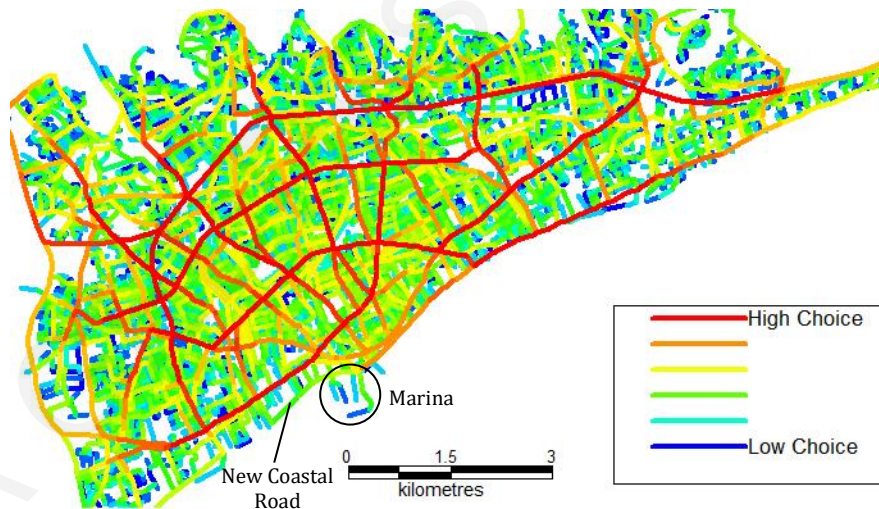


Figure 5.32. Global Choice analysis of 2014.

The key change in the structure of the city in this period is the addition of the marina and the development of the coastal road in the western part of the city. As the local integration analysis show (figure 5.33), the marina itself is a fairly segregated development, although its land side is locally fairly integrated. The coastal road initially has quite warm colours, but these cool up quickly as the road soon stops as it goes through the still-existing western industrial area. The development of the marina and the ongoing regeneration of the surrounding area has therefore had little impact on the city as a whole, with its mean choice

values and integration values decreasing and increasing respectively ever so slightly that no significant effect can be identified.

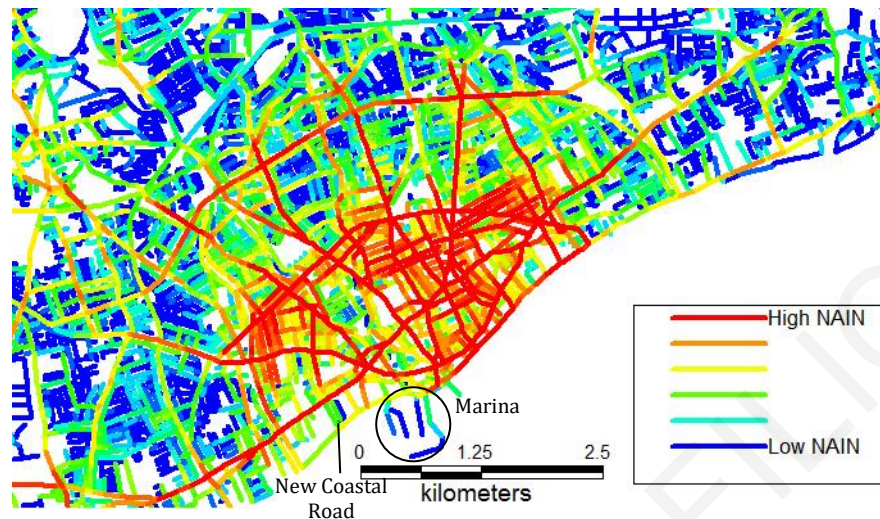


Figure 5.33. Local integration analysis (1200m radius) of 2014.

The reason for so little change in spatial properties of the city and the town centre, despite the large size of the project and its vicinity to the town centre, is likely due to the fact that there is no direct linkage between the coastal road and the marina nor between the pedestrianised route along the old port and the marina. In both cases, turns must be made to access the marina and the western side of the city more generally (figure 5.34). The old port round about is known to be problematic and congested, with a staggered alignment to go move east-west and vice versa and a one-way system in place around the block to its west. Furthermore, a stretch of the road within the marina development connecting the east-west coastal road has controlled access, meaning that in order to access it you have to state to security at the gates that you are either a resident, visiting a resident or accessing the beach. Although access remains open to the public, this does discourage movement as people perceive it as private access only.

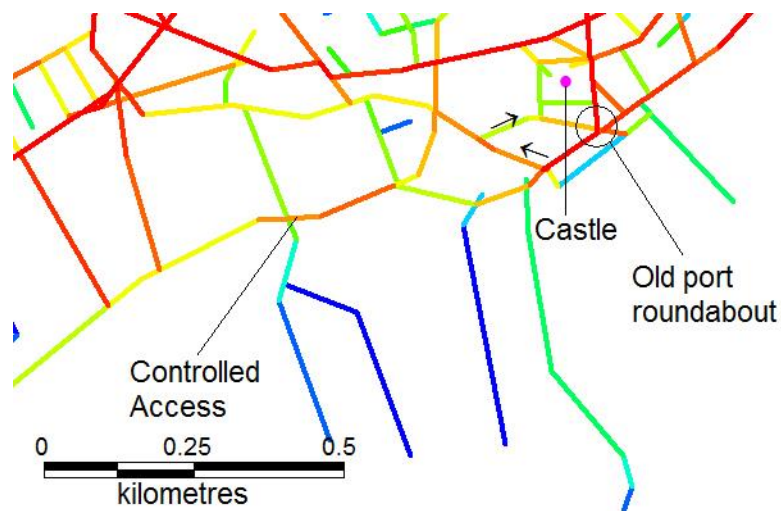


Figure 5.34. Local integration analysis (800m radius) of the area around the old port and marina.

The space syntax analysis provides us with an array of information about the overall structure of the city and its development, a summary of which is provided in figure 5.35.

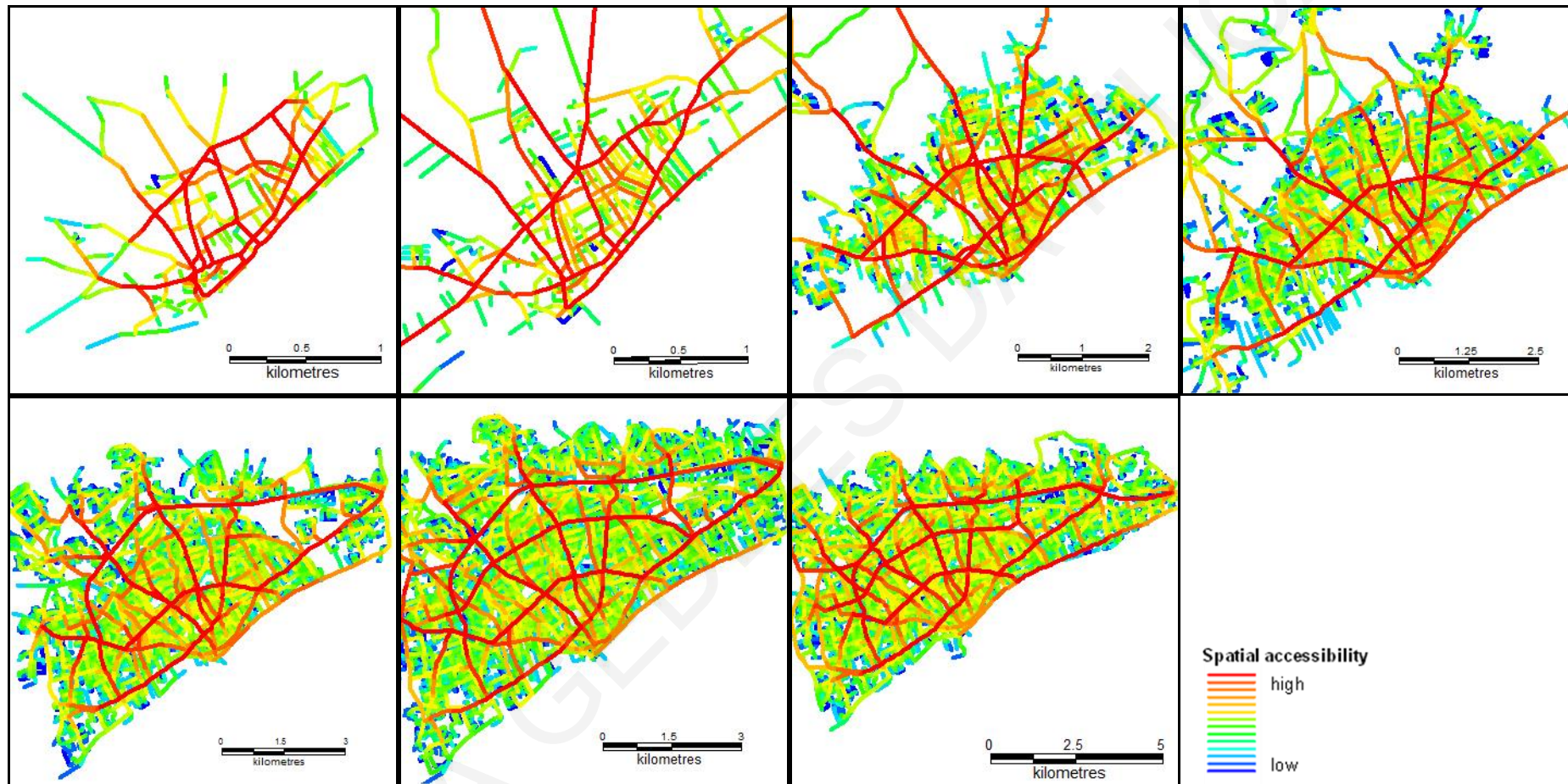


Figure 5.35. Choice maps of Limassol (left to right and top to bottom: 1883, 1933, 1960, 1987, 1974, 2003 and 2014).

The configurational analysis tells us how continuous or fragmented, and how accessible, are the foreground and background structures of the city (Hillier et al., 2012). Various measures also tell us the rate of expansion, how dense is the street network, and how deep or shallow is, on average, any element within the system. An overview of the city as it develops is given in table 5.5. The node count is simply the number of street segments within the city, which of course increases as the city expands. In brackets is the yearly rate of increase, which tells us that the city expanded slowly in 1883-1933 and that expansion picked up speed during the post-war economic boom and the initial years of the country's independence to then reach its peak following the 1974 invasion. Since the 1980s and the decrease in economic growth, development has slowed again, but continues at a faster pace than pre-war times. The mean segment length gives an indication of how intense the street network is and thus tells us whether longer, more continuous routes were built during a certain period (1883-1960) or shorter, more fragmented routes were laid (1974-2014). Total depth also increases as the city grows (as the number of shortest routes between any place increases with the number of places). However, here the yearly rate also gives us an indication of how much overall segregation increases across the city in one period compared to another. What this measure reveals is particularly striking for 1987 because the rate is particularly high (10 times higher than the increase in node count, compared to the 7 or 8 times higher in 1974 or 2003). This is despite the fact that the mean segment length decreases, coupled with the highest increase in node count. This clearly suggests that inserting a high number of short routes within the system does not help with minimising increases in segregation. It is likely that this significant increase in total depth is partly due to the insertion of a large number of highly segregated systems made of short segments, irregular grids, bendy grids and cul-de-sacs, such as the housing estates and the private residential developments built during the 1974-1987 period to meet the dramatic housing demand of that time.

	NC	mnSL	mnTD	mnNChN (background)	mnNAInN (background)	maxNChN (foreground)	maxNAInN (foreground)
1883	623	52.64	2,158	1.24	1.09	1.69	1.54
1933	1,025 (8.0)	63.58	6,797 (92.8)	1.20	1.08	1.63	1.48
1960	3,592 (95.1)	67.21	18,359 (428.2)	1.11	1.08	1.65	1.74
1974	6,408 (201.1)	68.15	38,035 (1405.4)	1.06	1.03	1.62	1.68
1987	9,833 (263.5)	65.46	72,333 (2638.3)	1.03	0.90	1.59	1.49
2003	12,743 (181.9)	62.44	95,507 (1448.4)	1.03	0.92	1.55	1.48
2014	14,247 (136.7)	62.88	108,934 (1220.6)	1.02	0.93	1.55	1.45

Table 5.5. Comparison of space syntax measures of Limassol in different periods. NC = Node Count (Number of Segments) and in brackets the yearly rate of change for the period; mnSL = Mean Segment Length; mnNChN = Mean Normalised Global Choice; mnNAInN = Mean Normalised Global Integration; mnTD = Mean Total Depth.

Bearing in mind that values of 1.2 and above are considered high values (Hillier et al., 2012), we can then describe the nature of the city according to its mean and maximum choice and integration measures. The analysis shows that the continuity of the background, residential structure of the city is high only up to 1933, its accessibility has always been low and both decrease steadily over time with some sharp drops continuity in 1933-1960 and 1960-1974 and a very sharp drop in integration in 1974-1987. The drop in integration is likely due to the same reasons discussed above in relation to increases in total depth. Although integration improved slightly in recent times, this remains extremely low. With regards to the foreground structure, this is persistently high, although its continuity also decreases steadily over time. Its integration is now also lower than it ever was, however, this reached a peak in 1960, possibly due to the effect of the insertion of Makariou into the network as well as residential griddy developments connecting mostly to the major roads rather than developing their own structure. These properties of the city and how they change through time can also be visualised as a star diagram (figure 5.36). This diagram is a diachronic adaptation of the same type of representation used synchronically to compare cities in Hillier et al (Hillier et al., 2012). It shows that the city constantly has a longer horizontal axis, which tells us that the foreground system dominates the city. It also shows that the background, residential system loses its continuity and integration more sharply than the foreground system, and that the latter has a clear peak in integration in 1960-1974. Furthermore, it is evident that change in these properties seems to stabilise after 1987, with less dramatic changes, but a small improvement in the integration of the background network matched by a small decrease in that of the foreground network.

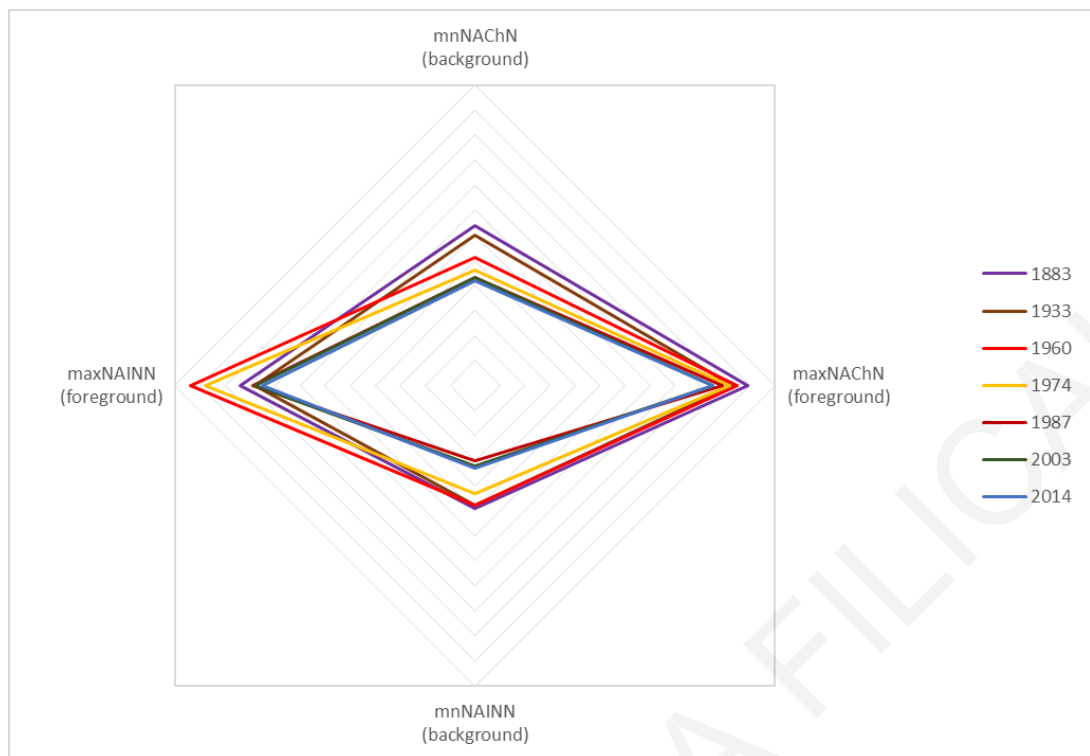


Figure 5.36. Star diagram of the changing properties of foreground and background structures of Limassol from 1883 to 2014.

A brief comparison between the city as a whole and the historical town centre (table 5.6) reveals a somewhat similar pattern of spatial change. There are, however, important differences. Firstly, the background structure within the town centre is more continuous and more resilient to change as the lower decrease in mean choice shows, while its integration, despite some decrease over time, especially in 1974, has a striking continuity and is now back to the levels of the late 19th and early 20th century. This is an interesting finding because it indicates that there may be a relationship between the recent revival of the town centre – with its many cafes and venues along its back streets – as a destination for night time entertainment, and the spatial properties of the background network. Secondly, the decrease in both continuity and accessibility of the town centre’s foreground network is much sharper than for the whole city. This indicates that its strength is more susceptible to the impact of growth and that its role in distributing and attracting long range movement is more effectively diminished by the incorporation of new routes and new areas in other parts of the city.

	mnNChN		mnNAInN		maxNChN		maxNAInN	
	Whole City	Town Centre	Whole City	Town Centre	Whole City	Town Centre	Whole City	Town Centre
1883	1.24	1.26	1.09	1.10	1.69	1.70	1.54	1.54
1933	1.20	1.24	1.08	1.10	1.63	1.63	1.48	1.48
1960	1.11	1.20	1.08	1.08	1.65	1.58	1.74	1.59
1974	1.06	1.14	1.03	1.03	1.62	1.50	1.68	1.50
1987	1.03	1.11	0.90	1.07	1.59	1.45	1.49	1.34
2003	1.03	1.09	0.92	1.07	1.55	1.42	1.48	1.33
2014	1.02	1.11	0.93	1.10	1.55	1.42	1.45	1.35

Table 5.6. Comparative table of mean and maximum global choice and integration values of the whole city and the town centre over time.

The greatest drop in the global choice of the town centre comes between 1960 and 1974 with the densification of areas along the radial routes and Makariou. The greatest drop in global integration, however, occurs between 1974 and 1987 with the insertion of the motorway and the dramatic residential expansion of this period.

If we look at local to mid-range measures for the whole city and the town centre (table 5.7) we will notice that, after initial development, integration values drop from 1933 onwards, which indicates that local neighbourhoods on average become less and less integrated even within their local area. The picture is different for the town centre taken as a separate unit – values here are more variable over time and are generally high, meaning that while shifts do occur in its properties as an attractor of movement and a to-destination, it steadily functions well as a local neighbourhood. The values drop somewhat in the years during which it is known to have decayed, but have recently risen again. This indicates that its spatial properties play a role in the fact that it is still well used and chosen as a location for commercial and service uses.

Year	mnNAIn						mnNCh					
	WC	WC	WC	TC	TC	TC	WC	WC	WC	TC	TC	TC
	800	1200	1600	800	1200	1600	800	1200	1600	800	1200	1600
1883	1.20	1.14	1.12	1.20	1.50	1.12	1.12	1.14	1.12	1.13	1.16	1.18
1933	1.44	1.23	1.17	1.33	1.35	1.37	1.19	1.19	1.21	1.15	1.19	1.21
1960	1.17	1.12	1.11	1.37	1.37	1.38	1.12	1.14	1.15	1.16	1.19	1.2
1974	1.10	1.04	1.03	1.43	1.45	1.44	1.11	1.12	1.13	1.16	1.19	1.13
1987	1.02	0.96	0.94	1.34	1.33	1.33	1.09	1.1	1.11	1.16	1.18	1.19
2003	0.98	0.93	0.91	1.30	1.29	1.28	1.09	1.10	1.11	1.16	1.18	1.18
2014	0.99	0.94	0.92	1.34	1.33	1.32	1.09	1.10	1.11	1.16	1.18	1.19

Table 5.7. Comparative table of mean local choice and integration values of the whole city and the town centre over time.

Considering the choice values, change is not as significant compared to integration and compared to global values, in particular following 1960. After this time, values of local accessibility for both the historical town centre and the city as a whole seem to stabilise.

This phenomenon is interesting: it seems that local values seem to 'average out' for the whole city over time, despite the fact that clearly changed to occur across the city over the 1987-2014 period. It may be that somehow the system 'adjusts' itself over time to provide a certain level of overall local accessibility across different areas and thus sustain movement through one neighbourhood to another. It could be suspected that local choice values of the historical town centre would change little after a certain time, as development and redevelopment would occur mostly in areas relatively far from it. This, however, is unlikely to be the cause, given that many changes occurred within and near the town centre between 1933 and 1960, nearby changes occurred up to 1974, and a major development just outside the historical town centre took place recently. This raises the issue as to whether there may be a process such as 'spatial continuity' or 'spatial memory', whether once a subsystem within the city has established a certain 'status' or identity within the local-to-global spatial hierarchy, it then develops a resilience – an ability to retain some of its spatial properties in the face of significant growth and change.

Through the historical process, the global structure of the city has shifted from the historical centre outwards. Initially, it comprises all major routes within the centre including the whole of the seafront, the street of Agiou Andreou and the whole of Anexartisias. By 1960 the western side of the seafront has lost its importance at the city-scale and the global structure includes fewer segments within the historical centre and more to its north, including much of the inner ring road (Makariou). This shift of centrality toward the edge of the historical core and then further out is comparable to that of Chania discussed in section 2.4.2 (Perdikogianni, 2003). It is also the case, as in Chania, that many of the retail, administrative and service uses aimed at locals are the ones which shifted outwards and relocated on main roads just outside the historical core constructed after the war, while retail aimed at tourism remained in the historical centre – something highlighted in the case of Makariou by the detailed land use analysis by Charalambous & Geddes (2015b). By 2014 only the northern edge of the historical centre remains part of the global structure of the city, which has moved further north and east to comprises both ring roads, the motorway and most of the radial roads, including the stretches going through the old villages and the stretch of the seafront east of the inner ring road, leading to the tourist area along the coast.

As indicated by previous studies, in both similar and wider contexts (Shpuza, 2009), the city's overall integration tends to decrease with growth. However, as we have seen this is not necessarily an endless or irreversible pattern. The configurational analysis highlighted two key problematic patterns which were validated by the qualitative analysis:

- the domination of the foreground structure over the background one, which is validated by literature and experts' observations that the city developed radially and

with a 'fan-shaped' pattern causing commercial uses to be dispersed along major roads, with the exception of the town centre.

- a lack of subcentres and short routes which have the spatial potential to sustain local movement, which is validated by experts' comments pointing out that attention needs to be given to local neighbourhoods, that local public spaces were never constructed and that a concentration of commercial uses was directed towards the centre and vehicular roads instead of local areas.

Despite these problems, the stabilisation of mean choice values and the small increase in mean integration values indicates that the city is perhaps heading toward a better balance between foreground and background network. Limassol is by no means a dysfunctional city, though suffering some of the problems found in other cities in hot climates, which are heavily reliant on car use, such as Jeddah (Karimi et al., 2015). To the contrary, it fits very well within the range of 'real' unplanned cities, which tend to have a mean NACH value from about 0.6 to 1.1 – lower than regular grids – and high maximum values (between 1.5 and 1.6). As Hillier points out:

“Intuitively, there would seem to be two ways to create high NACH values in systems: creating additional links by such techniques as a small number of diagonals; and cutting links so as to divert movement to other sequences of segments. From the fact that, compared to grids, we find markedly lower mean NACH values and markedly higher maximum values, it is clear that both are being used to create the spatial structure of the city. Cities in effect seem to sacrifice mean NACH to create the pattern of high values that we call the structure of the system... The dual foreground and background networks that seem to be found in most cities in fact interdepend: the restriction of the background grid is part of the means by which the strength of the foreground grid is created.” (Hillier et al., 2012).

5.2.2 Block size and land use

The block size analysis of the contemporary city (figure 5.37) shows how the historical town centre is almost wholly made up of small blocks with the exclusion of the athletic centre towards the east and two large residential blocks along the river in the west. Area 1 and Area 2a are also dense, but include some larger blocks, some of which match historical large uses, such as the Commissioner's Depot and the public gardens in Area 1, or Lanitio school, Agios Nikolaos cemetery and the race course in Area 2a. In some cases, historical land uses have survived, in others they have been replaced by other, sometimes new, sometimes old uses that were located centrally as these needed large plots available for their development or expansion.

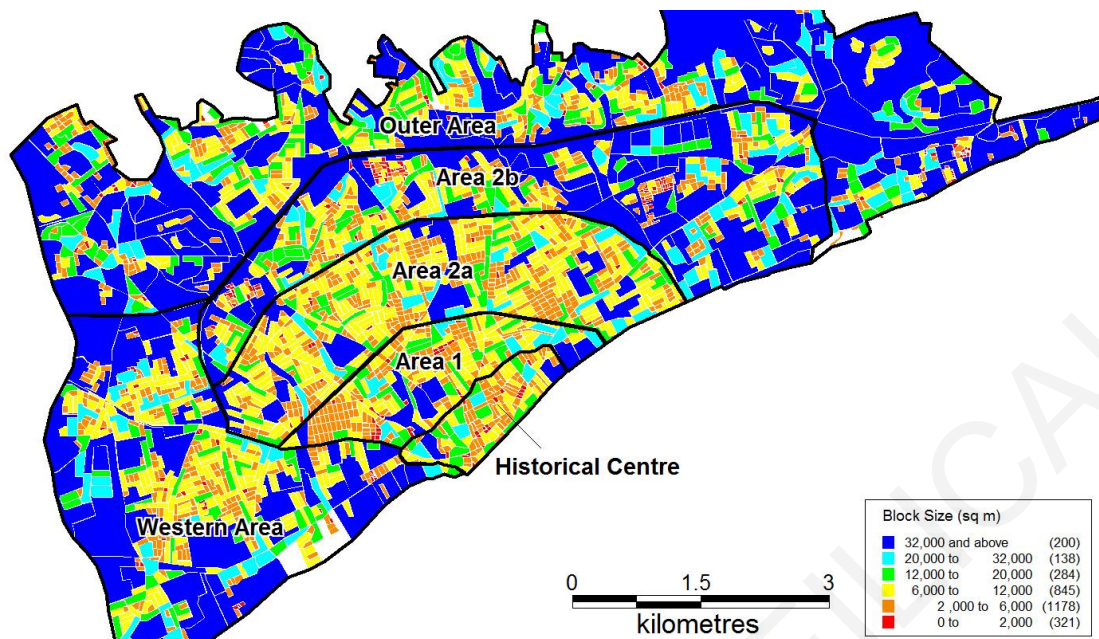


Figure 5.37. Block size analysis of 2014.

Area 2b still comprises a high number of large blocks, especially in the eastern side where a large industrial area is located and residential development is still very low density. Here there are also a few areas with very small blocks; these comprise two refugee housing estates, which are made up of slab building blocks criss-crossed by a high number of pedestrian footways creating highly permeable environments and very small street blocks. This area also includes the centre of the old village of Mesa Geitonia – the only one south of the motorway. The Outer Area comprises the highest number of very large blocks, and it does have the greatest mean block size of all areas (table 5.8). Such large blocks are also present along the eastern coastline, where tourist development has seen the construction of large hotels with extensive grounds and parking areas. The denser areas north of the motorway are the centre of the old villages surrounding Limassol.

Area	1883	1933	1960	1974	1987	2003	2014
Town Centre	9,810	9,675	6,740	6,220	6,328	5,933	5,754
Area 1		20,142	10,195	8,367	7,974	7,695	6,613
Area 2			15,405	17,418	14,706	11,140	10,651
Area 2a						8,308	7,952
Area 2b						14,619	13,758
Outer Area				60,999	20,187	14,378	20,187
Western Area			28,752	30,625	14,733	14,769	15,825
Whole City	11,269	11,907	13,319	18,816	14,134	11,927	11,806

Table 5.8. Mean block size (m²) for each area.

The mean block size for each area shows a densification process occurring steadily across time in all areas (table 5.8) except for the outer and western areas. The rate of densification clearly decreases with time as opportunity for plot subdivision and development decrease. With regards to the outer area, this has also densified, drastically after its initial development and then more steadily until 2003; the mean block size has since increased, likely due to further expansion into the periphery comprising large empty fields. As far the western area goes, this did exist in 1933 but only comprised a few large blocks on the coast which are not picked up by the analysis as they were accessed through dead ends. As of 1960 the block size is very large and this increases with expansion in 1974 to then decrease again through residential densification in parts of the area. The block size has recently increased again; this is partly due its further expansion, but may also be a limitation of the analysis (discussed in section 4.4.1) which now picks up more large blocks along the coastline due to the construction of a road here.

The mean block size for the city as a whole increased significantly between 1883 and 1974, reflecting the expansion of the city into peripheral areas and then decreased drastically with the post-1974 residential development. It should also be noted that once Area 2 gets split into two, it is the northern part (Area 2b), farther away from the town centre that comprises the larger blocks. In fact, the blocks of Area 2b are larger, on average, than for the whole Area 2 eleven years previously.

Looking at the distribution of block sizes over time (table 5.9), it is interesting to note the fluctuation in the proportion of large block sizes (20,000m² – 32,000m² and 32,000m² and above) which increases as new areas form (Area 1 and the Western Area 1883-1933), decreases as they expand and are densified while a new area forms (Area 1 densified, Western Area expanded, establishment of Area 2 between 1933 and 1960), increases again as older areas and the latest new area are densified and a new one established (all areas densified, Outer Area formed 1960-1987), decreases again as one area is split and all are further densified (1987-2003) and increases again as the outer and western areas expand farther (2003-2014).

Size (m ²)	1883	1933	1960	1974	1987	2003	2014
32,000+	7.5%	7.5%	3.9%	5%	5.9%	5.5%	6.7%
20,000 - 32,000	5.3%	6.0%	2.4%	3%	3.6%	4.4%	4.7%
12,000 - 20,000	10.6%	7.0%	6.8%	9%	8.6%	8.2%	9.6%
6,000 - 12,000	17.0%	20.0%	26.4%	31%	30.1%	31.4%	28.5%
2,000 - 6,000	34.0%	42.7%	52.8%	44%	43.2%	40.2%	39.7%
0 - 2,000	25.5%	16.6%	7.7%	8%	8.6%	10.4%	10.8%

Table 5.9. Distribution of block sizes over time.

The analysis so far gives us an indication of different areas being established and developing relatively to certain economic conditions which were discussed in section 5.1.2 and also relatively to the implementation of major roads which serve as fixation lines for the establishment of large blocks:

- Area 1 and the Western Area are formed once the 'boundary' route of Navarinou/Gladstonos is established and long radial routes are paved.
- Area 2 is formed once the first ring road has been established.
- Outer Area is formed as development occurs along radial roads and the motorway is put in place.

Despite these indications, it remains to be seen how these large blocks relate to land uses. It is revealing to compare the map in figure 5.37 with that in figure 5.38, which displays all the largest blocks (32,000m² and above) that contain fringe belt uses – the largest blocks which were impermeable residential areas, due to a cul-de-sac layouts, or which were simply open fields were removed manually. Firstly, only 37% of such large blocks actually include fringe-belt uses, out of these many also include an amount of impermeable residential use. This observation suggests that it is not fringe-belt uses that cause impermeability in the system, but rather the layout design of residential areas, coupled with many empty plots. Naturally, there are many fringe-belt uses which are smaller than the largest blocks, these are not displayed in figure 5.38. Secondly, the great majority of uses have survived since their establishment, the few cases where the use has changed are detailed in the map: the Commissioner's Depot was turned into the hospital, police headquarters and technical school; the zoo was turned into the municipal gallery and an embassy building; and the race course was turned into tennis courts and a football ground. In these cases, other fringe-belt uses have taken advantage of existing large plots within existing fringe belts rather than setting up into a new periphery. This is a form of *absorption* or *alienation* (M. R. G. Conzen, 2004), though the fringe-belt use is maintained rather than transformed into residential.

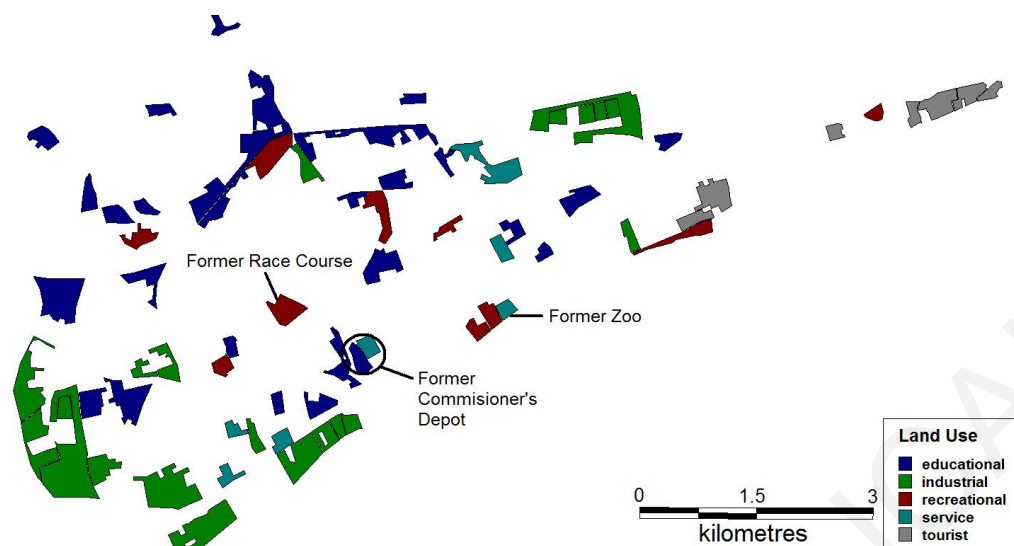


Figure 5.38. Contemporary land uses within blocks of 32,000 m² and above.

The figure above shows that there is a concentration of very large industrial land uses in the west of the city as well as picking up the industrial area of Linopetra in the north east. Large tourist services are exclusively located along the east coast, while general large service uses tend to be fairly central. Educational and recreational uses are more spread out across the city. Educational uses were located very centrally in the 1930s and, with the exception of one school in the historical centre and one school in the 1930s periphery, these moved to outer areas with population growth and residential densification. The land use analysis shows how the earliest fringe-belt uses in peripheral areas, except for the cemeteries, were constructed soon after the arrival of the British administration. All of these are associated with long radial routes, some of which were still unpaved at the time of their construction. If we are to take the analytical proxy as a valid indicator for the assessment of fringe belts, then this is the formation of the first, inner fringe belt of the city, which has a slow expansion and can be seen in its full extent in the fringe belt map of 1933 (figure 5.39).

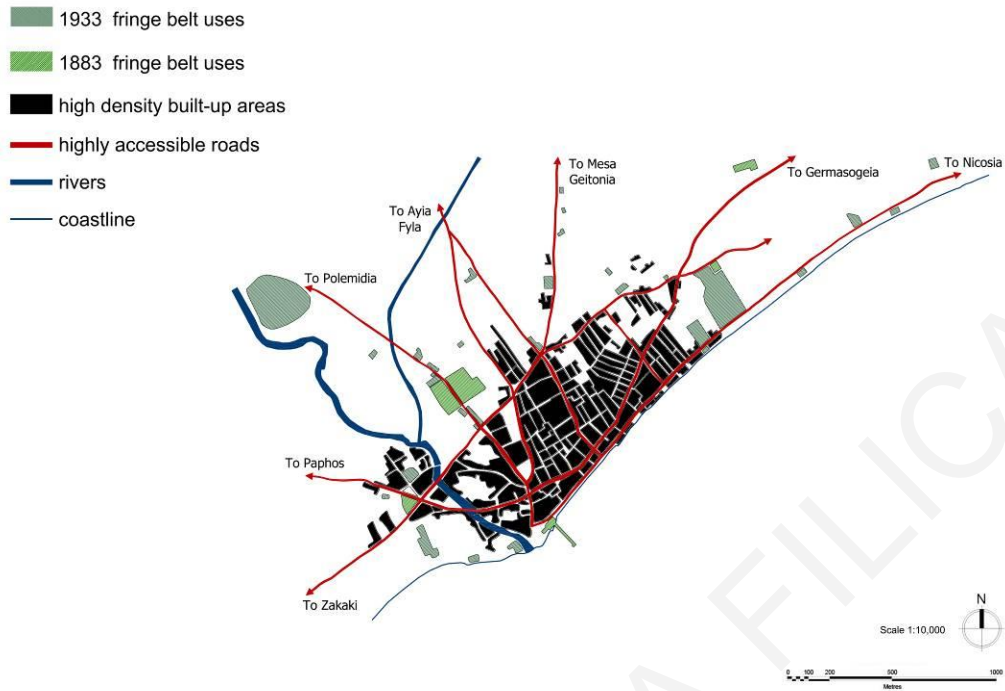


Figure 5.39. Inner Fringe Belt (greens), 1933.

It is clear that throughout its expansion the fringe belt is associated with the radial routes and as such it spreads out like a fan around the whole built up area. The nature of this fringe belt is highly industrial (53% of uses), but with a high proportion of administrative and service uses (31%) and a small amount of educational and recreational uses. There is no particular concentration of specific uses in one part of the fringe belt. A new wave of fringe-belt uses established itself in the 1950s, these are also mostly industrial uses with some educational and service ones (an exact proportion cannot be measured as the 1960 map does not report uses and these have to be inferred from earlier or later maps). During the same time, many of the 1933 uses disappear, essentially the gypsum factories as this industry declined due to concerns about the safety of the material. These buildings were either turned into other industrial uses or abandoned and eventually absorbed by residential development. This is the formation of a second, middle fringe belt of Limassol, which occurs after significant residential development, and expands substantially throughout the 1960s in association with the ring road of Makariou, but also, still with the radial routes (figure 5.40).

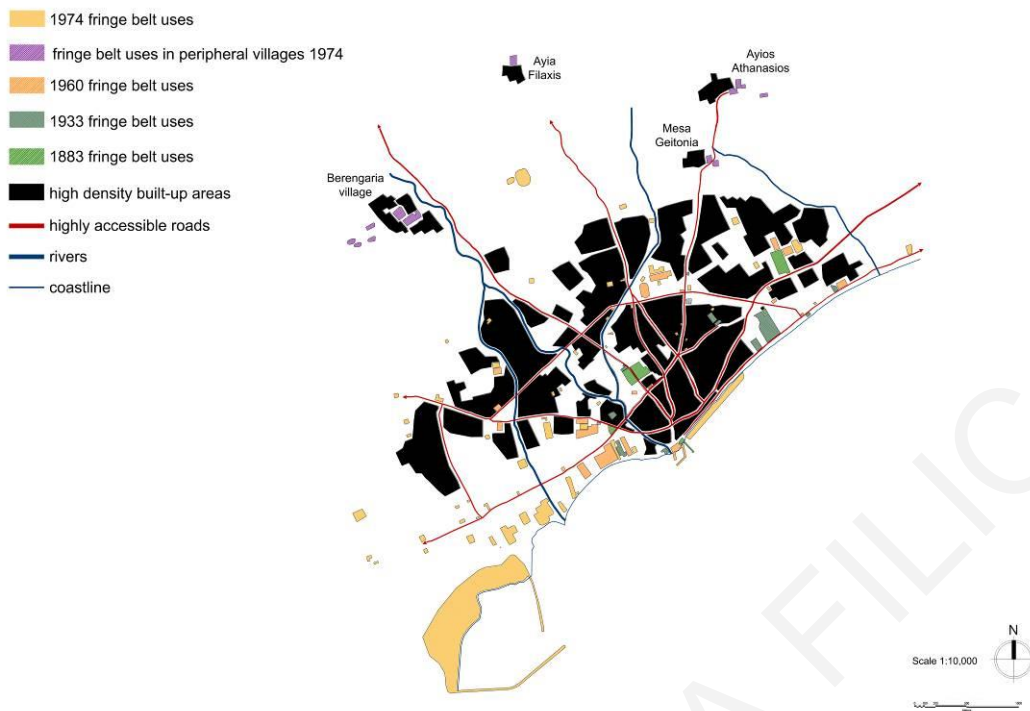


Figure 5.40. Middle and Western Fringe Belts (yellows), 1974.

In the case of the MFB, there is a concentration of specific uses, with all of the industrial uses located in the western area – though this also comprises a few educational and administrative uses, except for two industries along the eastern coastline. By 1974, although a few warehouses remained, all factories along radial roads have been absorbed by other uses. It can therefore be said that during this period a separate western fringe belt of a specific functional nature across the western area is formed. This is associated with the coastline and with the road of Franklin Roosevelt and Misiaouli and Kavazoglou. An outer fringe belt starts forming beyond the greatest part of the fast-paced residential development of the late 1970s with the establishment of two dedicated industrial zones, one within the WFB, the other in the north-eastern part of the city. Most of the fringe-belt uses constructed in the 1980s are associated with the motorway, along the peripheral northern and eastern strip of the city, although a few can be found in low density areas of the MFB along radial roads. The outer uses begin to merge with the fringe-belt uses of the surrounding villages at this time (figure 5.41). By 2003, this fringe belt is expanded and fixated by the construction of the second ring road of Spyrou Kyprianou; it continues to expand to the present day. No further fringe belt uses are added to the WFB during the 1987-2003 period, by residential expansion into the norther part of this fringe belt occurs during this period.



Figure 5.41. Outer Fringe Belt (reds and blues), 2003.

A fringe-belt map of 2014 was not produced due to the lack of a basemap reporting the extent of a built-up area and identifying land uses consistently with previous maps. However, the block size/functional analysis reported in figure 5.37 tells us that the eastern part of the city where a section of the OFB is located is functionally dedicated to tourism. This creates the two, opposite western/eastern, industrial/tourist functional zones of the city. The WFB is a particularly persistent entity in the life of Limassol, but there is now uncertainty about its future as proposed plans for its redevelopment are under scrutiny and it seems that assessment of its value as a core feature in the identity of the city may not yet be clear to the relevant stakeholders (Serghides, 2012), while public consultation over the plans are encountering problems which were mentioned in section 5.1.3 (Conversation 1a).

5.2.3 Distribution of social variables

Historically, data on ethno-religious groups can only be compared at the municipality level and these data were discussed in section 5.1.2. Moving on to more recent times, comparison can only be made between 2001 and 2011 as data for 1992 are not available at the municipality level. In so far as we refer simply to a large minority group in terms of ethnicity or citizenship, the data can still give an indication of the distribution of the population's largest minority (Turkish Cypriot in the past, non-Cypriot in present times). Table 5.10 summarises the proportion of the main minority group in each municipality.

This reveals that only the municipality of Limassol itself continues to have a population with an average (or just over the average) minority group for its times. Mesa Geitonia and Agios Athanassios, which in 1960 were completely dominated by Greek Cypriots now have a significant amount of non-Cypriots, though under the urban area's average of 21.8%. Germasogeia has transformed from a municipality dominated by Greek Cypriots to one with a significant proportion of non-Cypriots. To the contrary, Kato Polemidia and Pano Polemidia, which were significantly or completely Turkish Cypriot are now dominated by Greek Cypriots due to the settling of refugees in these areas. A number of non-Cypriots are found in these municipalities, but compared to other areas, even those with low levels of minority groups, it seems that, for whatever reason, there is little influx of non-Cypriots here.

Municipality	Minority Group 1960	Minority Groups 2001	Minority Groups 2011
Limassol	16.4%	11.1%	21.7%
Mesa Geitonia	0.0%	8.9%	17.8%
Agios Athanasios	0.0%	8.1%	14.7%
Germasogeia	0.0%	26.5%	40.1%
Kato Polemidia	43.3%	3.0%	8.7%
Pano Polemidia	100.0%	2.3%	7.6%
Zakaki	0.4%	NA	NA

Table 5.10. Proportion of main minority group in Limassol in 1960 and then 2001 and 2011. Zakaki became part of Limassol's municipality in the 1990s. Data for 1960 refer to Turkish Muslims, data for 2001 and 2011 refers to non-Cypriots.

With the arrival of migrant groups, following changes in migration law in the 1990s, new minorities settle in but remain proportionally relatively small, until more recent years when their numbers become significant again. The reasons beyond the settling of large numbers of foreign citizens in Germasogeia are difficult to infer without further research. The most logical conjecture is that it is due to the fact that this area attracted tourist investments after 1974 and it is perhaps where foreign investors, foreign workers in the tourist industry and retired holiday home-owners have chosen to reside.

Looking at other social data, such as social class, employment, age and education at the municipality level also gives an insight into the nature of these areas (table 5.11). Such data reveals that the populations of Germasogeia and Agios Athanassios have high proportions of highly educated residents and low levels of unemployment. It seems that overall both these areas are the wealthier areas of Limassol, the former an area with a high proportion of highly skilled working-age foreign residents, the latter an area of highly skilled Cypriots with high numbers of children, so perhaps where wealthy local families tend to settle. Pano Polemidia shows a high proportion of older people, low levels of education (possibly reflecting the older age of the population) and high levels of unemployment, so this is

perhaps the most disadvantaged area in the city – perhaps still an effect of the consequences of the status of refugees. Kato Polemidia, where high levels of refugees are also found, follows closely; however, the proportion of young people is relatively high, which might indicate that this area is the ‘chosen’ one by lower income families. The more central municipalities of Limassol and Mesa Geitonia tend to be more mixed with regards to all social factors, perhaps a reflection of a more diverse nature of central areas.

Municipality	Non Cypriots	Unemployed	19yrs and under	20-65yrs	65yrs and over	Secondary Education	Post Secondary Education	University Education
Limassol	21.7%	12.6%	15.4%	69.2%	15.3%	67.0%	10.8%	22.2%
Mesa Geitonia	17.8%	11.4%	16.4%	69.9%	13.7%	64.7%	11.2%	24%
Agios Athanasios	14.7%	8.9%	20.3%	67.9%	11.8%	60.8%	12.4%	26.9%
Germasogeia	40.1%	8.8%	17.5%	73.7%	8.8%	54.4%	12.8%	32.8%
Kato Polemidia	8.7%	12.6%	18.4%	69.6%	12%	75.3%	9.3%	15.3%
Pano Polemidia	7.6%	15%	12.9%	64.5%	22.6%	85.1%	5.5%	9.3%
Whole City	20.2%	11.9%	16.4%	69.5%	14.1%	66.8%	10.8%	22.4%

Table 5.11. Proportion of different social variables in each municipality in 2011. Highlighted in red are the very high levels compared to the whole city, in blue are the very low levels.

When looking in more detail at the 2011 data at the postcode level (figures 5.42-5.44), the findings confirm the general picture of the municipality level. However, they also highlight certain characteristics and differences within each municipality. Within the municipality of Limassol and of Germasogeia foreign residents tend to live nearer to the coast, with the exception of the Turkish Cypriot neighbourhood which has a high concentration Cypriot residents; here, like in Polemidia, most are Greek Cypriot refugees, however, it known from the press (C. Charalambous, 2000) that the concentration includes Turkish Cypriots and gypsies, who also have Cypriot nationality, as the census does not record different ethnicities. Within the wealthy area of Agios Athanassios, the quarter of Apostolos Loukas also displays a high concentration of Greek Cypriots – again due to the fact that this quarter is almost exclusively made up of refugee housing (figure 5.42). The distribution map makes clear that non-Cypriots tend to concentrate in the city or the eastern coastal area, in particular the areas further east around the coastal park of Dasoudi, which will be discussed in section 5.3.4. A clear trend is that on average the farther away we move from the town centre, the higher the proportion of Cypriots, in particular in the western areas. Central Limassol tends to be fairly mixed with average and higher than average levels of Cypriots living fairly centrally, within the first ring road, compared to very low numbers which were found to live centrally in Nicosia (N. Charalambous & Geddes, 2015a).

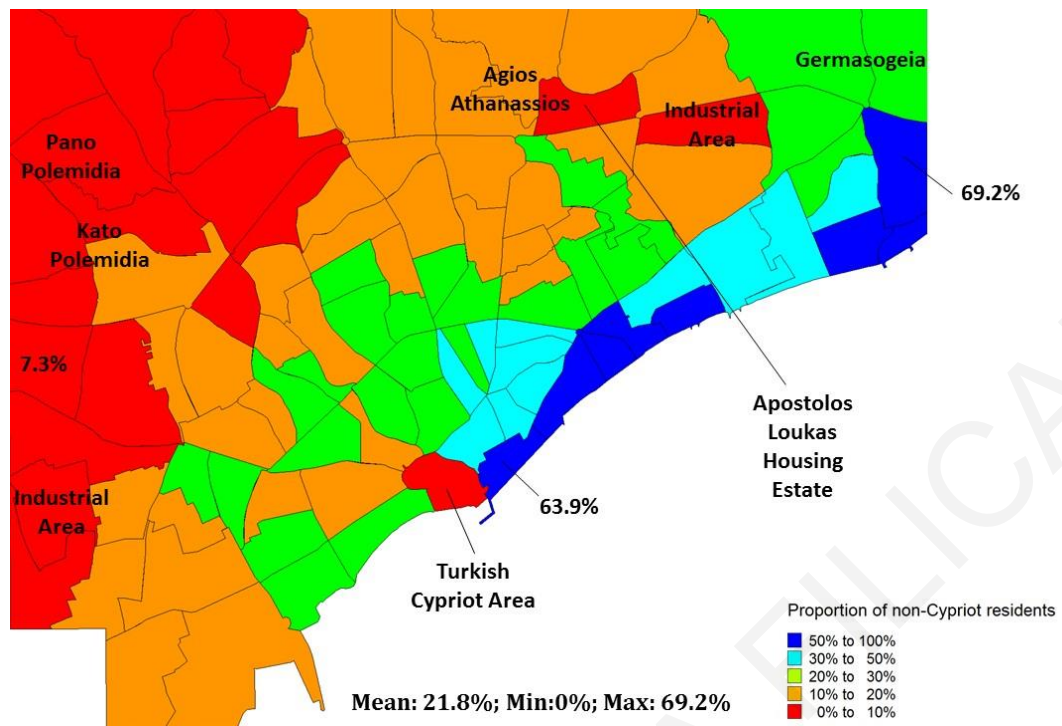


Figure 5.42. Proportion of non-Cypriot residents by postcode in 2011 (mean 21.8%)

When looking at social classes (figure 5.43), it is clear that Agios Athanassios and Germasogeia (including the tourist area with high numbers of foreign residents) are the more socially advantaged areas, however, concentrations of high classes are also found in central areas of Limassol, just beyond the immediate historical centre. In the historical town centre itself, there is a high concentration of lower classes, although the most central area is a mixed one, despite having high levels of non-Cypriots. Areas which comprise large housing estates fall into the lower-class category – these do not necessarily match high levels of unemployment (figure 5.44). However, there are also many lower-class areas which are not related to a purpose-built housing estate, including the old Turkish Cypriot area and Pano Polemidia, as well as other areas in the town centre. It is actually these areas that tend to have higher unemployment, than the ones comprising housing estates.

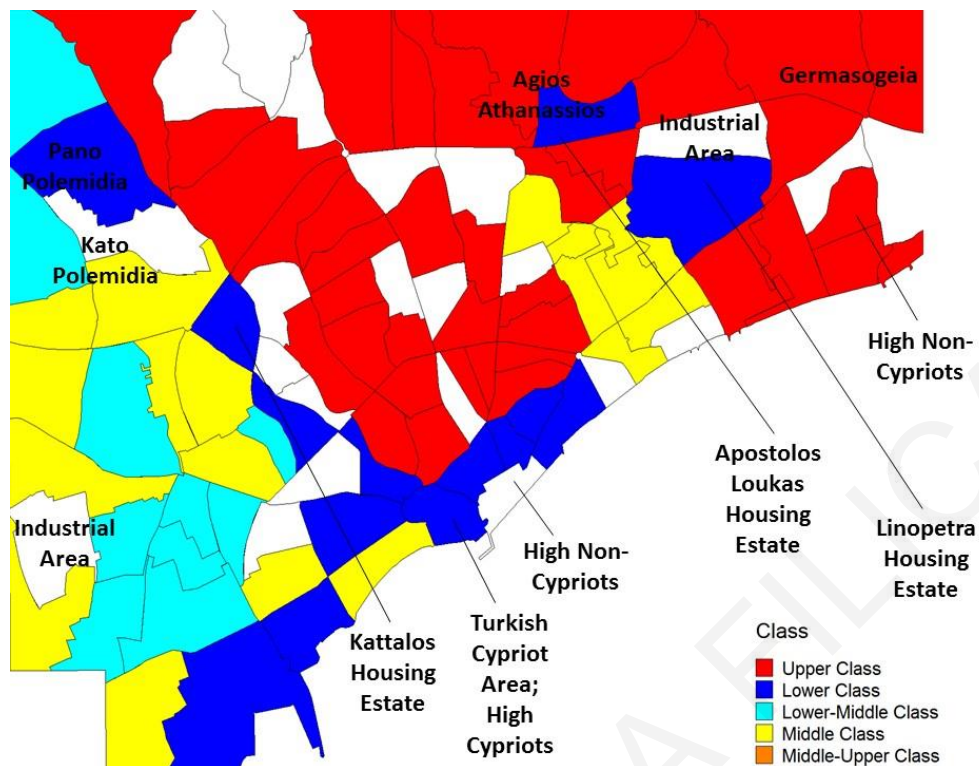


Figure 5.43. Concentration of social classes in 2011 (blank= no significant concentration).

The picture of unemployment (figure 5.44) is similar to that of social classes; however, in this case areas that include Apostolos Loukas and Linopetra housing estates do not seem to suffer from unemployment as much as other areas with high level of Greek Cypriot refugees (Polemidia and the Turkish Cypriot area), but also areas just west of the town centre which seem fairly mixed in terms of social classes and citizenship. This final analysis also highlights a level of deprivation in the former Turkish neighbourhood of Kesoglouidia, in the middle of the historical centre, just by Iroon square, an area where poorer Greek Cypriots came to live during the ethnic conflict, by swapping houses with the Turkish Cypriot residents (Akif & Akif, 2008) and which decayed during the 1980s and 1990s. Another concentration of unemployment can be found just to the east and north east of the centre, in the area of Agios Nikolaos, which is where some of the oldest workers' housing in Limassol is located. The unemployment picture is also different from that of Nicosia (N. Charalambous & Geddes, 2015a); here it is more scattered across various areas of the city rather than concentrating almost exclusively in the centre. Areas with very low levels of unemployment match both areas with high levels of Cypriots and areas with high levels of non-Cypriots. As discussed in section 4.4.2, however, unfortunately, the data do not allow us to distinguish to which citizenship group within each area employment and social class characteristics apply.

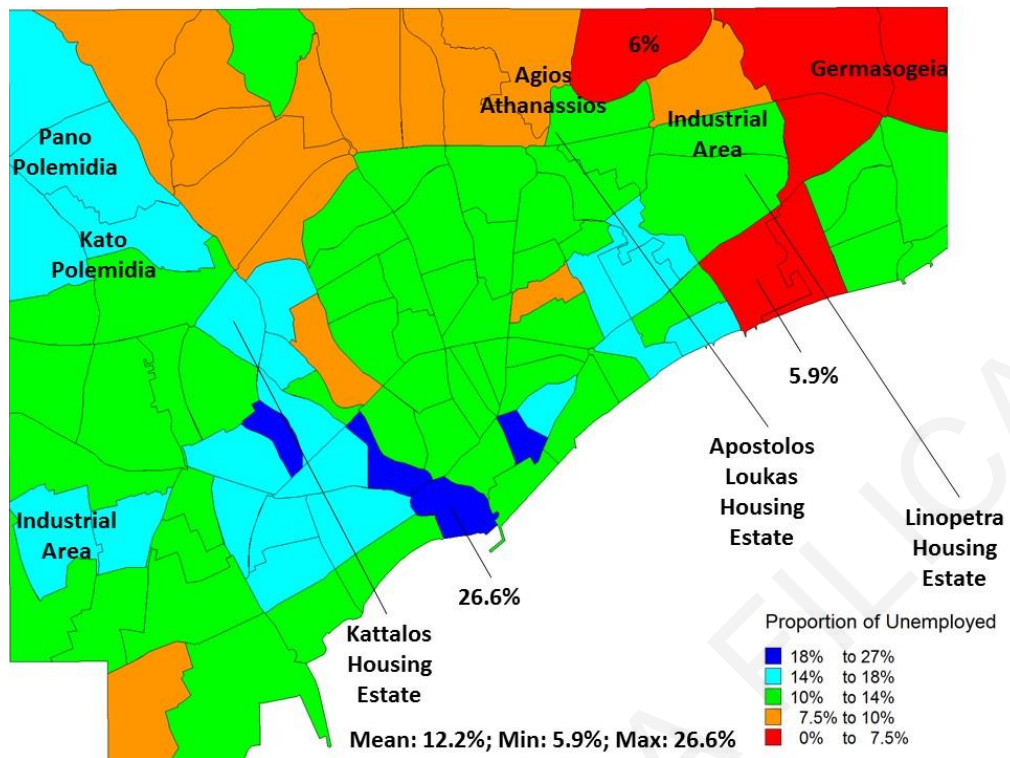


Figure 5.44. Proportion of unemployed residents by postcode in 2011.

Before drawing some conclusions from the analysis, it must be stated that the difference between the areas was statistically highly significant for all variables ($p < 0.01$), except for employment. This exception makes perfect sense because whether we are talking about segregation and the ability of people to access residences in certain areas, or we are talking about congregation and the choice made by certain groups to live near residents with similar characteristics, all variables can potentially be explanatory. For example, one might choose to move to a quieter area in old age, or an area where one can afford a larger home when they have children. Occupation is related to income and so it affords or hinders the ability to choose one area over another. Again, if you are Cypriot or non-Cypriot you might have certain cultural preferences for certain areas, you might be able or unable to choose a specific area, or you might want to live near people from a similar background. Again, unemployment will impact on your financial ability to choose an area. However, employment per se does not, because, although it does relate to income, it does not determine the financial ability to choose an area over another as levels of wealth relate to occupational level (social class) rather than simply employment. Furthermore, people belonging to all sorts of groups are employed and therefore, it is not a characteristic according to which people choose to associate with each other.

The social make-up of Cyprus has changed significantly since the beginning of the century – this is by no means a Cypriot phenomenon, it is something that has been happening throughout southern European cities. The economic crisis has also changed the social

fabric, with a significant proportion of the population being unemployed (244% increase between 2002 and 2012, which likely to have increased even more following the banking crisis of 2013). Here we are trying to assess whether there is a spatial pattern in the distribution of social factors, partly to test anecdotal evidence around inequality and disadvantage in Cyprus, which argues that inequalities are low and that, spatially, disadvantage is only related to the refugee housing estate that were built in the late 1970s and early 1980s. In fact, we do know that income inequalities in Cyprus are relatively low as the GINI index is 34.31⁸. However, the preceding analysis indicates that there are spatial patterns and concentrations of social distributions. As the anecdotal evidence suggests, housing estates are associated with disadvantage to a certain extent; however, other areas display similar characteristics and can be associated with high level of non-Cypriots. On the other hand, non-Cypriots may be associated with high class and good employment conditions as well as a 'specialised' industry area such as the tourist area. Exactly how the relation between residential concentrations and the configurational and physical characteristics of the city will be explored in section 5.3.3.

5.3 Relationality: part-to-whole and linking components

This section presents the analyses which address two key analytical requirements of the framework: the need to consider different scales and the relationship between the parts of an assemblage and the whole, and the need to assess how the material and human components of an assemblage are connected together. First, the relationship between different scales of the city and the whole are analysed through a configurational multi-scale analysis. Secondly, the statistical multivariate analysis of whether there is a relationship between the distribution of social groups and the spatial and physical elements of the city is presented. Thirdly, a description and analysis of the case studies is articulated through the combination of findings from their observation, photographic survey and press review, as well as the quantitative data relating specifically to the study areas.

Finally, a visual timeline of the city, summarising the connections between different components by layering the fringe belt analysis with the configurational analysis and texts from the narrative, is introduced. Its analytical contributions and its potential for further development are discussed.

⁸ This is the most common measure of income inequality, and it is relatively low for Cyprus. It is a value out of a hundred, where 0 is complete equality where everyone has the same income and 100 complete inequality, where 1 person has all of the wealth. The extremes of course do not occur in practice, so values tend to fall between 20 and 70. To put this in context, this is lower than Italy, Greece or Turkey, but higher than Finland and Sweden; it has also seen significant increase since 2004, especially in 2010-2012 as it peaked higher than the UK and France in 2012.

5.3.1 Part-to-whole spatial relations

In order to understand how local spatial properties relate to those at the whole-city scale, it is possible to overlay those segments which have both high global and high local accessibility values. The extent of the overlap was measured as the proportion of segments with both global and local (1200m radius) NACH values of over 1.3 out of the total number of segments. This is known as a multiscale analysis and provides a measure of the extent of street segments which enable both long-range and short-range movement. The results are visualised in figure 5.45, which shows how the amount of overlap is reduced over time, how it becomes more fragmented and how it shifts from the historical core towards the north as the city grows.

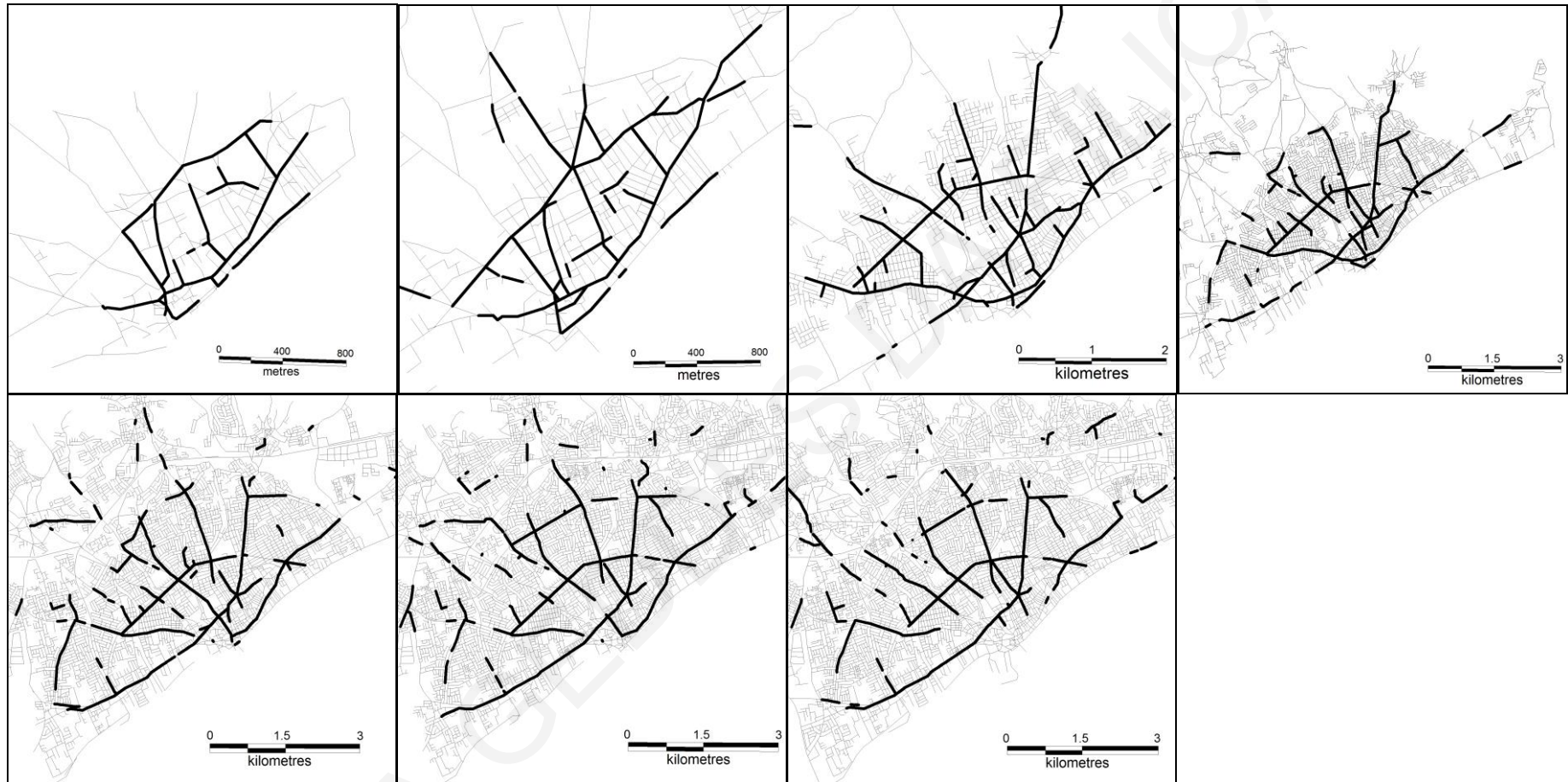


Figure 5.45. Multi-scale accessibility overlap of Limassol (left to right and top to bottom: 1883, 1933, 1960, 1987, 1974, 2003 and 2014)

The overlap between global and local accessibility measures the performance of segments at different radii and is an indicator of the combined long-range and short-range movement potential of street segments: those segments which have high choice at both scales are likely to have higher rates of movement comprising a variety of users and modes of transport. The measures from the multiscale analysis (presented in table 5.12) show that except for 1883-1933 when the city changes from being fairly small with much of its eastern side made up of open fields and gardens to a denser urban system, the overall extent of the multi-scale overlap decreases significantly over time. It also shows that the overlap is always much greater in the historical town centre (proportionally to its size), even in contemporary times, after the overlap has shifted drastically towards the north. It has to be noted, however, that the overlap within the town centre concentrates in its northern edge (figure 5.45). As the core of the overlap moved towards newly built areas in the city, the difference between the extent of the core within the town centre and within the whole city also decreases significantly, reflecting the fact that the core ‘moves’ out of the historical town centre. An exception again is 1883, when almost the whole city was within the boundary of the historical centre.

Year	Town Centre	Whole City	Difference
1883	25.2%	22.6%	2.6%
1933	33.6%	18.7%	14.9%
1960	27.3%	14.7%	12.6%
1974	20.8%	9.8%	11%
1987	19.2%	6.9%	12.3%
2003	15.0%	6.0%	9%
2011	10.2%	5.0%	5.2%

Table 5.12. Extent of multi-scale overlap.

Kritioti's study (1988), discussed in section 2.4.2, suggests that generally the Cypriot urban society is transpatial, meaning that human interaction between different social classes is intrinsic and generally based on exchange of ideas rather than trade/economic exchanges which are related to spatial properties that support interaction. Furthermore, kinship relations are of an urban-rural nature; because of this, connections to and from the cities are more important than connections within the city, and local spatial properties do not need to interact to support exchanges at various scales within the city. She suggests that this may be one of the reasons why the background and foreground systems in Limassol are fairly disconnected. The author, however, highlights that this kind of structure is likely to be

transitional while urbanisation intensifies and stabilises. The original suggestion was valid in 1988 when the study was carried out, but in modern times the social analysis shows that there seems to be a spatiality in the distribution of social groups – as predicted by Kritioti; something which will be discussed further in the next section. Despite this increased spatiality of society, the overlap between local and global scales has not increased; to the contrary, it has decreased even further since times when kinship relations were very closely linked to rural areas. In fact, concentration of groups within specific areas and decreased relations with rural populations might hinder rather than aid a development of good local-to-global connections.

5.3.2 Correlating the social and the physical

The distribution of social groups was discussed in section 5.2.3. It remains to be seen how such distributions relate to the configurational and physical properties of the city. To this end, a multivariate regression model was carried out as described in the methodology. Its results are presented in table 5.13, which shows in black correlations which are not statistically significant, in red those which are highly statistically significant and in orange those which are statistically significant. Positive correlations are highlighted in bold type, negative ones in light type.

	Class P	Class CC	Unemployed P	Unemployed CC	Non-Cypriot P	Non-Cypriot CC
mnNAChN	>0.10	0.0052	<0.01	0.2796	<0.001	0.3631
mnNACh1200	>0.10	-0.1196	<0.01	0.2874	<0.0001	0.4106
mnNAInN	>0.10	-0.0161	<0.001	0.3415	<0.0001	0.3493
mnNAIn1200	>0.10	-0.1017	<0.001	0.3743	<0.0001	0.3669
mnTD	>0.10	0.056	<0.0001	-0.3778	<0.0001	-0.3421
mnTD1200	>0.10	0.041	<0.05	0.2015	>0.10	-0.0685
Node Count/Area	>0.10	-0.1473	<0.05	0.31	>0.10	0.0967
mn Block Size	>0.10	0.0897	<0.05	-0.2004	>0.10	-0.1164
Population Density	>0.10	-0.0343	<0.05	0.2372	<0.05	0.2214
Proximity Sea Front	>0.10	-0.1315	<0.01	0.2635	<0.0001	0.7658
Proximity Motorway	<0.05	0.2077	<0.001	-0.349	<0.001	-0.3678

Table 5.13. Correlations between social variables, spatial and physical measures. P = probability; CC = correlation coefficient; mn = mean.

Firstly, if we look at the class variable, its distribution correlates exclusively with one physical characteristic: the proximity to the motorway; this is a positive correlation, meaning the nearer to the motorway, the more likely the area is to have a high

concentration of higher classes. The significance is not particularly high, but it does exist. A possible inference that could be made from this finding is that higher classes tend to be more transpatial and less reliant on local facilities and public transport. They may therefore locate themselves in areas which are nearer to long-range road infrastructure that takes them to other cities on the island or even airports. It could also be that larger plots of land are available for the construction of larger homes in the area nearer to the city and that this leads to the upper classes building within the vicinity of the motorway. However, the correlation coefficient is low and therefore such inferences are purely speculative and should be taken with caution.

Secondly, if we take into consideration the unemployed group, there is a statistically highly significant and positive correlation with choice and integration, both at the city-wide and local levels. In a few words, the higher the proportion of unemployed, the higher the accessibility of the area and its likelihood to contain street segments which act as both through-movement and to-movement locations. This is corroborated by the fact that there is also a highly significant, but negative correlation with mean total depth, and thus these areas are also quite shallow within the system, although this is not true at a more local to mid-range scale as there is a positive correlation with mean depth at the 1200m radius, even if this correlation is not as strong as the previous ones. If we look at the following three measures, it can be stated that the proportion of unemployed also correlates with a higher number of segments (the node count, weighted by the area size), thus a more intense street network, higher population densities and lower mean block size, so also a more permeable and more intense urban fabric. In the specific case of Limassol, the two final variables are somewhat interdependent, as the coastline and the motorway are found at opposite ends of the city, although at the eastern edges the motorway gets nearer to the coastline and network distance from either is not necessarily reflective of their geographical location. In this case, there is a highly significant positive correlation with proximity to the seafront and a negative one with proximity to the motorway.

Finally, looking at the proportion of non-Cypriots, again there is a highly significant positive correlation with choice and integration at global and local level, as well as a negative one with mean total depth. These correlations are stronger than for the unemployed. Other variables related to local depth, intensity of the street network and density of the urban fabric do not seem to play a role, with the exception of population density, for which there is a positive correlation. The pattern for proximity to sea front and motorway is similar to that of the unemployed, but the correlation is stronger, especially for proximity to the sea front. This is shown quite clearly in figure 5.42, although with some exceptions in the

distribution and this had to be corroborated by running the correlation with network distance rather than simply visualising the location of concentrations of non-Cypriots. In terms of comparative evidence and the Cypriot context, these results can be read along those of Charalambous & Geddes (2015a) with regards to Nicosia. In the capital, correlations were checked for the same dependent variables with choice at the global and 1200m scale. These were all significant except for unemployment and city-wide choice. There is clearly a similarity in the distribution of social groups across the two cities, at least with regards to citizenship and unemployment, which may be a Cypriot phenomenon worth investigating in other cases. As for the distribution of social classes, it seems that in Limassol this is not as spatialised as it is in Nicosia.

To summarise, there is a clear relationship between certain social variables and certain spatial and physical properties of the city. Spatial properties overall play a more prominent role in the distribution, in particular with regards to immigrant groups and unemployment levels been associated with areas of high accessibility, especially at the local scale. It must be highlighted that the correlation coefficients are all relatively weak (under 0.5), with the exception of non-Cypriots and proximity to the sea front, here the relationship appears to be particularly strong. It is possible that foreign citizens locate themselves in areas near the tourist industry, or may perhaps have less access to private transport and as such want to be within closer distance of the sea or the town centre (and by default the coastline). The weak correlations may partly be caused by an edge effect of the administrative areas used in the analysis and the fact that these do not always reflect real neighbourhoods and real physical boundaries within the city. However, low correlations are particularly common – and realistic – within the social sciences when assessing complex situations, such as urban environments. All that the low correlations imply is that inferences should be made with caution and cross-validated through other method and that it is not possible to build a predictive model of the distribution of social factors based on the variables analysed here. Nevertheless, the values of the correlations and the fact that the sample size is large (n=101) make these associations significant.

5.3.3 Case studies

The aim of this section is to enliven the description of the city and illustrate its variety through an in-depth look at areas which developed at different historical times and which display disparate social characteristics. It is also intended to highlight the linkages between each area and the whole city, both in terms of spatial relations and physical characteristics as well as their social make-up. In doing so it aims to highlight what causal factors are at

play in the emergence of these areas and how their articulation in the urban form is mediated by different agencies.

The exploration of the case studies is elaborated through a variety of methods and sources, which are here embedded together to pick up the different aspects of each neighbourhood and connections between each area and the whole city. The causal pathways, scales of causality and relationality between components is then articulated and visualised through the combined assemblage/ANT framework. The specific methods used to assess the case studies, including the photographic survey, the researcher's observation and the press review are therefore coupled with descriptive statistics and the results of the quantitative analyses as they apply to each specific area. In particular, the spatial relations provided by the configurational analysis give a measurable and accurate picture of how each area is embedded within and interacts with the whole. The criteria for the selection of these case studies were stated in section 4.2.3; they presented here in their chronological order of development.

Arnaout

Arnaout is a quarter which is part of the larger Turkish Cypriot neighbourhood west of the Garrylis river comprising the quarters of Djami Jedit (Tzami Tzatit) – which also includes much of the medieval core of the city east of the river, Ayandon (Agios Antonios), and Chiftikler (Tsiflikoudia). Arnaout is the northern-most part of this area and takes its name after the ethnic origin (Albanian) of the residents who settled in this area in the 19th century, at a time when Albania was also under Ottoman rule. The detail of the area can be seen in figure 5.46.

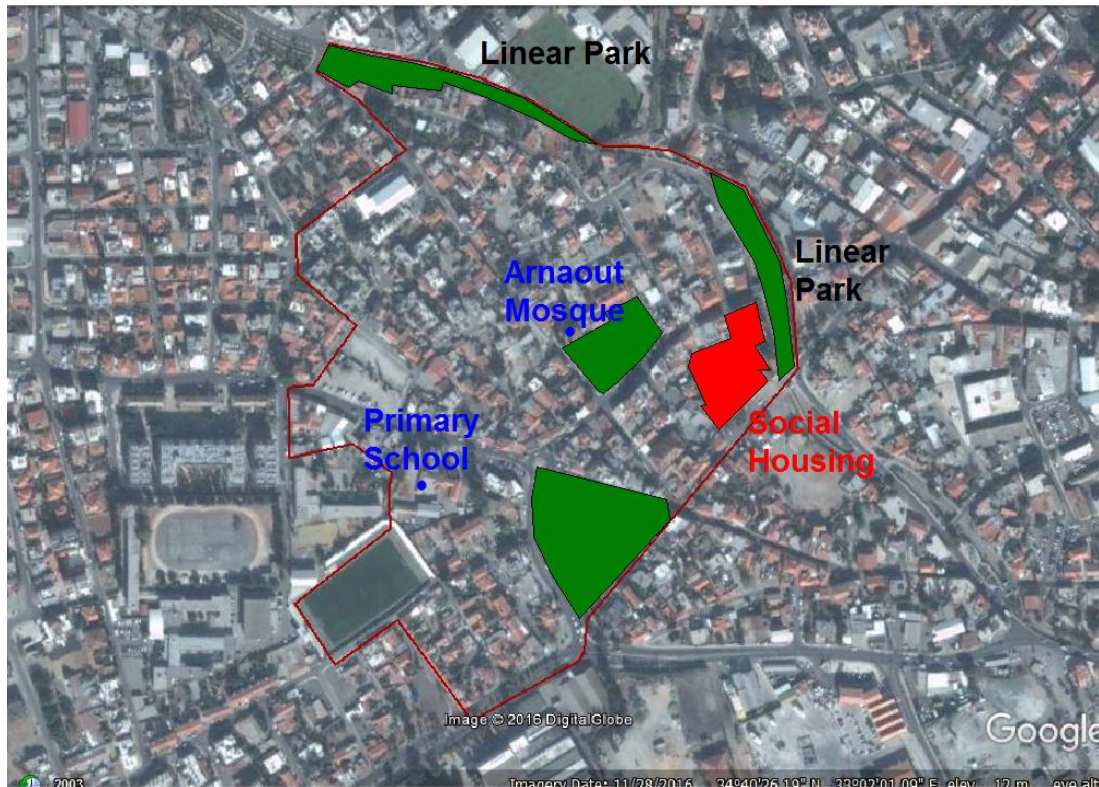


Figure 5.46. The quarter of Arnaout study area (Google Earth 2016)

The area comprises a number of formal public green spaces: two stretches of the linear park along the river Garyllis, which was recently developed, and two small parks. One is in front of the Arnaout mosque and the Municipal Administrative Offices for the Management of the Turkish Cypriot Properties, comprising a small Muslim cemetery. The administrative offices were originally the People’s Home, founded in 1953, which used to serve as a place for festivals, balls, wedding ceremonies, conferences and meetings. This was later converted into a hospital which operated until 1974 (Akif & Akif, 2008). The other public green space is on a triangular piece of land, formerly a Muslim cemetery, between the roads of Misiaouli & Kavazoglou, Djelal Bayar and Beyazit. Another small formal public space was also embedded in the parking lot of the only purpose-built housing estate in the area.

During the time of the observation, a warm and sunny late Saturday morning in December, none of the public spaces were being used and only one person was seen sitting on a bench in the park in front of the Arnaout mosque. The linear park and the triangular gardens were found to be in good maintenance (figure 5.47).



Figure 5.47. Stretches of the linear park (top) and the triangular public space along Djelal Bayar (bottom).

The gardens in front of the Arnaout Mosque (figure 5.48), though relatively clean and well maintained were clearly the subject of anti-social behaviour in the form of graffiti over the benches and over the mosque itself, which is not currently in use. Much of such graffiti read 'Saint Antonis' and could be read as a form of continued ethnic tension: perhaps the younger Greek Cypriot population marking Muslim heritage with what was reputed as the Greek name of the area – that of the neighbouring quarter (Agios Antonios – Saint Anthony).



Figure 5.48. Public gardens (left) in front of the Arnaout mosque and cemetery (right).

The public space within the housing estate was in a poor state of maintenance, with rubbish lying around and graffiti covering much of the walls surrounding the space, the whole area in front of the housing estate was also in poor condition, with no maintenance of the surrounding public realm, rubbish lying around, graffiti and bad smell caused by poor cleaning of the large number of rubbish bins at the entrance to the estate (figure 5.49).



Figure 5.49. Public space within the housing estate (top left), refuse facilities in front of the estate (top right), and the public realm in front of the estate (bottom).

Although the area has a dense urban fabric, being part of the historical core of the city, its population is relatively small in numbers (905 inhabitants in the 2011 census), but high in density (5,256 per Km² compared to the city's average of 4,221). This is not as high as other areas outside the historical centre, such as Agios Nikolaos, discussed in the next section. This is probably due to the fact that a significant number of living quarters in the area are vacant (12%) and the housing stock is low rise, consisting mostly of one or two-storey buildings as is normal in traditional urban areas in Cyprus – often the ground floor of two storey buildings is used for commercial purposes and top floor for residential use. The configurational analysis (figure 5.50) shows that a major long-range route goes through the southern part of the area (mnNACHN: 1.09), this was observed to have high rates of vehicular traffic. A number of local through-movement routes go through the area (mnNACH1200: 1.14) and these also displayed fairly high levels of movement. However, the area is not particularly well-integrated within at the whole-city scale (mnNAInN: 1.08), despite its central geographical location, but it does have very good levels of local integration with many routes with high potential for to-movement going through the area (mnNAIn1200: 1.23).

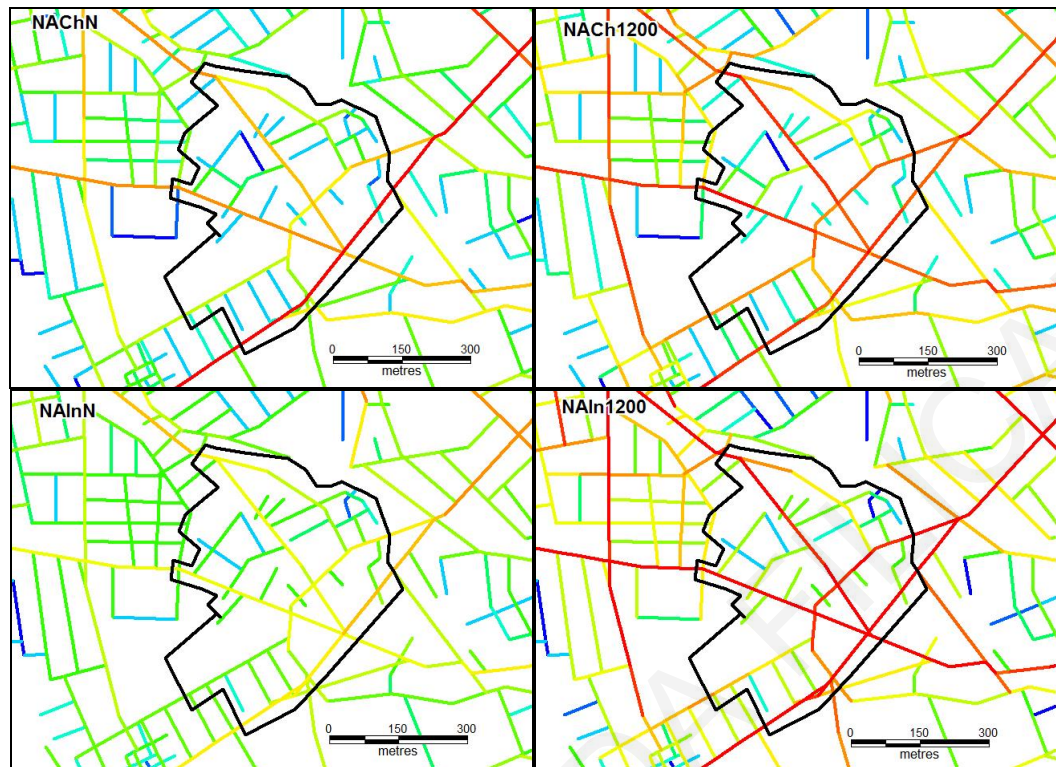


Figure 5.50. Contemporary configurational analysis of the Arnaout.

Despite the small population and the fact that public green spaces were not being used at the time of observation, the area was found to be lively, with people walking around even in residential areas, commercial activities taking place along the main roads, and groups of male residents congregating in more or less formal public spaces, most noticeably in the refugee club on the roundabout by the triangular park and in a nearby street behind the same park, where another refugee club was present (figure 5.51). This liveliness is probably a reflection of the area's good local integration values.



Figure 5.51. The two main areas by the refugee clubs where local congregates.

As would be expected from the demographics shown by the social analysis in section 5.2.3 (high concentration of Cypriots, high concentration of lower classes and high levels of unemployment), the researcher observed the area to be lived in and used mostly by Greek

Cypriots. A small number of migrants from south east Asia were also seen going in and out of properties in the area, though it is not known whether these were residents or domestic workers. Gypsies were also seen residing in the area – during the observation no interaction amongst these groups was observed: gypsies were seen working and playing around their homes, while south east Asians were observed doing functional trips; Greek Cypriots were the ones undertaking a variety of activities in the public realm and interacting amongst themselves.

The newspaper archival research confirmed the anecdotal accounts as well as the researcher's observation of the area; it also gave further insight into the housing and social issues related to this quarter. Reports about the area were found from the early 1990s. Most reports relate to the poor state of the housing stock, residents' needs for improvement works or for finding other suitable accommodation – during the observation much of the housing stock was found to still be in poor conditions, in particular that inhabited by gypsies. Disputes over noise and anti-social behaviour become common in the press in the early 2000s, in particular with reference to the relationship between the main 3 communities inhabiting the area: Greek Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots and gypsies. The press review reveals that in early 2000 around 70 gypsies moved from Northern Cyprus to southern part following violent discriminatory attacks towards them in the occupied area (C. Charalambous, 2000). The majority of the gypsies were accommodated in the area of Arnaout; the municipality tried to set up a camp/estate for them on the outskirts of town, but protests from the local residents stopped the development. In some cases, Arnaout offered vacant accommodation which could be occupied, and rentals at the lower end of the market. Gypsies were known to reside in camps in this area prior to 1974 ("I Istoria tis synoikias mechri to 1974," 2003) and moved to northern Cyprus along with the Turkish Cypriots following the war. During informal conversations with residents of Limassol as well as with academics and other stakeholders, gypsies in this area are often referred to as Roma gypsies, however the researcher observing the area could not clearly identify them as such (by comparison with the Roma gypsies residing across western Europe) and the press normally refers to them either simply as 'gypsies' or as 'Turkish Cypriot gypsies'. It is possible that the confusion may not be contradictory and that the gypsies are the original inhabitants of Arnaout, having been Roma gypsies coming from Albania – hence giving the name to the area – who later mixed with and adopted the local language, becoming Turkish speakers.

A number of Turkish Cypriots also moved to the area in the early 2000s, in very few cases claiming back the properties that they owned, in most others renting out properties or taking up social housing. Issues around anti-social behaviour, fear of crime, disputes and

fight between the various ethnic groups were reported in the press soon after the gypsies and Turkish Cypriots settled in the area (C. Charalambous, 2000). Research about the situation of the different ethnic groups in the area and the tension between them was carried out by social services and reported in the press (Solomonidou Drousiotou, 2003). This states that in the quarters of Djami Jedit and Arnaout, 211 Turkish Cypriots and 360 gypsies had settled by 30 September 2003. The research focused on what problems each ethnicity felt they faced in the area. Although a number of Greek Cypriots viewed positively the arrival of the newcomers and the social programmes set in place to integrate them, a large part of the Greek Cypriots reported that they faced a degrading of the area due to the arrival of Turkish Cypriots and gypsies, poor levels of cleanliness and communal spaces, poor levels of hygiene, poor educational level of their neighbours, verbal aggressiveness, dangerous driving, theft, begging and illicit behaviour. Turkish Cypriots and gypsies mainly reported problems relating to their living environment and the housing stock with many of them being hosted by other families and hence living in overcrowded conditions and in homes classified as dangerous properties due to their conditions.

The establishment of this area occurred during the Ottoman period with the settling of the Turkish population in the city. The key causal factor in its emergence could therefore be identified as the capacity of a 'global' agency – that of the Ottoman Empire – to expand into nearby lands. The formation of the Turkish Cypriot area occurs through the settling of Turkish residents, while the emergence of Arnout itself takes place following migrations from Albania, though the reasons behind such migrations are not well known. The key physical components playing a role in establishing the character of the area are the river and its oldest bridges; one really being a passage over the narrowest and shallowest point, by the mosque of Djami Jedit, the other being the 'Four Lanterns Bridge' further north, built by the British around 1900. This early lack of connections between the greatest part of the city and the settlement west of the river established the physical segregation of the area. Population growth throughout the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century leads to the establishment of the two Muslim cemeteries in the area, the new mosque of Arnout and, later on, the People's Home. All these, supported by the physical segregation, contributed to the homogenisation of this area and to its coding as the Turkish Cypriot area. Nationalist movements within and outside of Cyprus led to the formation of the antithetic groups of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, which in turn led to ethnic clashes and the 1974 war. The mediation of a variety of international, national and local agencies ultimately enabled the establishment and the consolidation of the area's new identity as a Greek Cypriot refugee area first, and later as a mixed Cypriot area displaying problematic characteristics both in its physical and socio-economic aspects. A simplified network

diagram of the causal pathways, the components and the agencies involved in the emergence of the area as a social assemblage and the expressive definition of its characteristics is shown in figure 5.52.

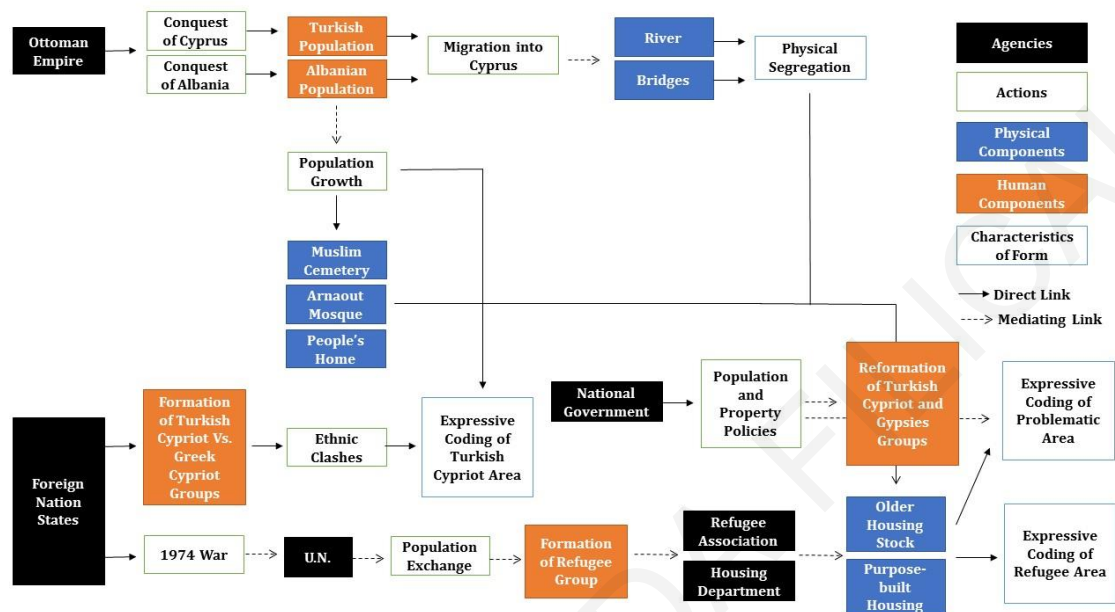


Figure 5.52. Simplified network diagram of Arnaout as a social assemblage.

This is by no means an exhaustive diagram or a representation of every feature of the area and detail of its causal pathway, rather it aims at providing a snapshot, from the viewpoint of an assemblage framework, of the variety of scales, agencies and components operating to shape the area's form and identity. There is, in fact, a much greater range of components involved both in the establishment and the transformation of the area, which could be embedded within the diagram to extend the network representing the assemblage.

Agios Nikolaos

This area is in contemporary central Limassol, just to the north-east of the roundabout at the eastern end of Makariou. It comprises the Greek Orthodox cemetery founded in 1865, which was originally fairly small, but expanded substantially following World War II. Most of the area is within the municipality of Limassol, but the northern part falls within that of Mesa Geitonia. It is a fairly large area comprising two postcode areas (3096 and 4005) and it is relatively high density in terms of built fabric, although some void areas, especially empty building plots, can be found within this neighbourhood, mostly in its northern part. These are often used for parking and two examples are shown in figure 5.53.



Figure 5.53. Empty plots used for parking within the northern part of the case study area.

The area started developing in the 1950s, but still had a large number of open fields and empty plots by 1960; however, by 1974 it was almost as dense as nowadays. The area comprised 2,508 residents in 2011 and population density is high (6,506 per Km² compared to the 4,221 average for the whole city and despite the presence of the large block of the cemetery). The social analysis in section 5.2.3 shows that this area has a high concentration of middle classes, and the proportion of non-Cypriot citizens and unemployment is either within average (in its northern part) or somewhat above average (in its southern part). The details of the area are shown in figure 5.54.



Figure 5.54. The Agios Nikolaos study area (Google Earth 2016)

There are five green areas within the neighbourhood, highlighted in green in figure 5.54. All of these were well-maintained and included a playground, but none were being used during the researcher's observation, except for one, where a pedestrian was seen walking through it. An 'informal' green space was also set up with old household chairs and recliners in an area of landscaping between two rows of workers' homes; this space was also not being used during the observation. Examples of these spaces are given in figure 5.55.



Figure 5.55. Examples of green spaces with playgrounds in the case study area, and the 'informal' space between rows of workers' homes (bottom right).

The area was found to be quiet throughout, both in terms of pedestrian movement and vehicular traffic; a few walkers and car drivers were observed in the more residential areas, but their numbers were low. Significant levels of movement and commercial establishments were relegated to the main routes surrounding the area, essentially the roads corresponding to the postcode boundaries shown in figure 5.54. Housing tended to be made up of small detached homes or small apartment blocks; the latter seemed to be in fairly high proportion in this area. The quality of the housing seemed to reflect the middle-class nature of the neighbourhood, with good quality, well maintained housing, but no larger or more luxury properties to be seen. Some poorer quality housing was present in the southern part of the neighbourhood, including the workers' homes built in the 1950s, which were of extremely low standard and very small; these still had laminate roofs and the

original back-to-back gardens had been filled with sheds or extensions to create indoor space. Although the area was pleasant, clean and tidy, some graffiti were visible, most relating to the local football club, and a few unkempt areas were present. Example of the above characteristics are given in figure 5.56.



Figure 5.56. From left to right and top to bottom: commercial establishments on the main road along the eastern side of the site; small detached homes; small apartment blocks; two rows of back-to-back workers' homes with extensions filling up the back garden; graffiti related to the local football club; and an unkempt area.

The configurational analysis shows that the area has only one major through route running through its southern edge (mnNACHN: 1.09); some local through routes appear in warmer colours along the western and eastern edges of the side, where commercial activities were observed (NACH1200: 1.16). This area is also not particularly well integrated at the whole-

city scale; on average a little more so than Arnaout (mnNAInN: 1.09). The most integrated part of the area is its south-western part, nearest to the main through route, Makariou and the griddy residential area to its west. Local integration is also not particularly good (mnNAIn1200: 1.12) and is relegated to the western and southern routes of the area, as well as the lower section of the eastern route. This explains why commercial activities were relegated to these roads and the remainder of the area was found to be extremely quiet.



Figure 5.57. Contemporary configurational analysis of Agios Nikolaos.

It was not possible to find any archival or press sources relating to this area. Although this gives us less material to understand the actors and agencies involved in its development and its characteristics, this is in itself revealing. In particular, the lack of appearance in the press might be taken as an indication of this area being less problematic or less controversial than the other two case studies. Here we find neither the housing problems faced in Arnaout nor the tension over development proposals found in Dasoudi discussed below.

The key causal factor in the development of this area seems to be population growth, initially during the second half of the 19th century, which leads to the establishment of the cemetery and, later on, during the post-World War II economic boom which led to densification of this area. Agencies beyond national borders play a key role in initiating the pathways that lead to the emergence of this area and to its characteristics: the events of

World War II and the diffusion of social ideas developed elsewhere lead to the construction of the city's bye-pass and thus the choice to develop areas near it, as well as the construction of workers' housing.

Developers' choices of design both in terms of street layout and housing typologies give the area its particular character and possibly its higher density compared to the other two case studies. However, the way the spatial structure of the area relates to that of the whole city also influences its nature as a quiet residential area. A summary network diagram of the above key features of Agios Nikolaos as a social assemblage is shown in figure 5.58.

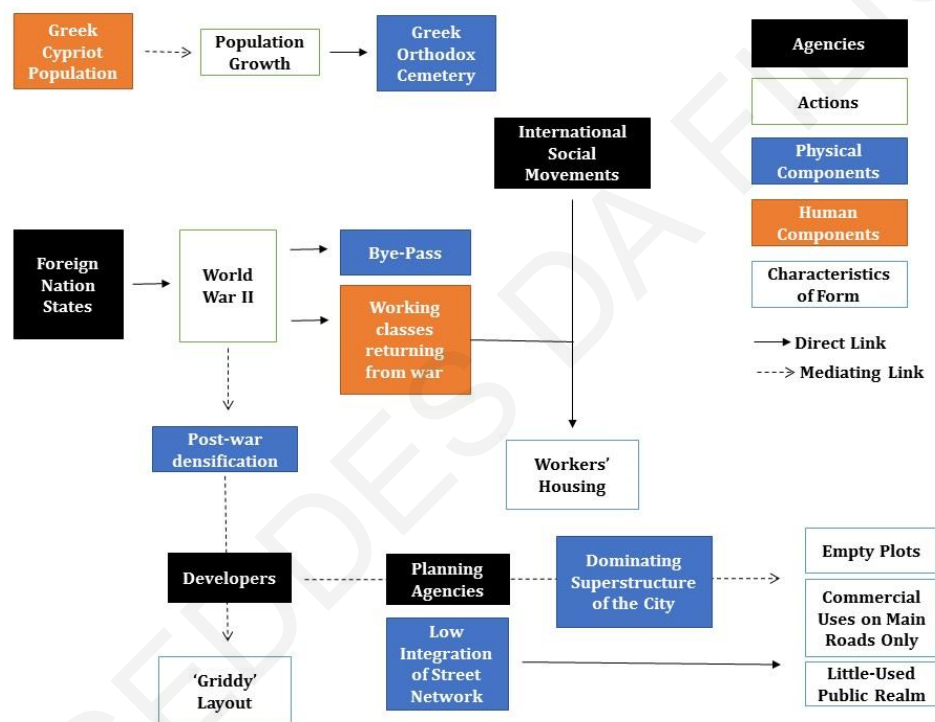


Figure 5.58. Simplified network diagram of Agios Nikolaos as a social assemblage.

Dasoudi

Dasoudi is an area in the eastern side of Limassol within the wider tourist area. The name means 'small forest' and it refers to the woods along the coast which have always been much loved by local residents and have been controversially turned into a municipal park and organised beach. The area under study is located in the municipality of Germasogeia and comprises the coastal area of the park/beach managed by the Cyprus Tourism Organisation (COT) and the residential areas to its north beyond the main coastal road. The study area is fairly large in terms of surface area and comprises two postcode areas (4041 and 4047). However, it is relatively low density in terms of built fabric, with many voids in the built form: unused open spaces, unbuilt land plots, areas dedicated to small-holding

agriculture and a few formal public green spaces. On the other hand, the population is fairly high (2,089 residents in the 2011 census), but the population density is low (2,940 per Km²). This is despite the fact that much housing in this area is high rise, made up of apartment blocks originally developed as holiday lets or second-home properties for foreign investors and 'retirement' homes, mostly aimed at the British expatriates market. The social analysis in section 5.2.3 shows that over 50% of the population is not Cypriot, well above the average for the whole city; the area also comprises a significantly high proportion of upper class residents and average levels of unemployment – the detail of the area can be seen in figure 5.59.



Figure 5.59. The Dasoudi study area (Google Earth 2016)

The area comprises a small number of formal public green spaces which include play areas (highlighted in green in figure 5.59), as well as two gated residential developments (highlighted in blue in figure 5.59). Anecdotally, this area is known to be resided by wealthy Russians and retired British professionals. Although the census confirms that upper class residents live in this area, it is not possible to extract the nationality of the non-Cypriot residents or to distinguish whether it is the Cypriot or foreign residents who belong to the upper classes. Observation and the photographic survey corroborates the anecdotal evidence in the sense that much shopping facilities are aimed at the Russian and higher end markets and that British businesses are present in the area (figure 5.60).



Figure 5.60. Foreign and higher end businesses in Dasoudi (an English pub – top left; pharmacy and advertising in English, Russian and Greek – top right, a shop with Balkan products – middle left, a fur shop – middle right, upmarket brands and jeweller’s – bottom).

The area was observed on a late Saturday morning in early June and it was found to be very quiet at the time of observation: very few people or vehicles were observed on residential streets, with activity limited to the main roads at the edges of the area where shops and services are found. While there was much activity on the beach and park, and some activity in the private gardens and swimming pools which are part of residential complexes, the public green spaces were not being used at all. Figure 5.61 shows some of these areas.



Figure 5.61. The public beach (top left), municipal swimming pool (top right) and two public space with play areas (bottom) in the residential zones of Dasoudi.

The configurational analysis shows that both choice and integration values are low; integration is particularly low (mnNACHN: 1.01; mnNACH1200: 1.1; mnNAInN: 0.85; mnNAIn1200: 0.81). As figure 5.62 shows, the coastal road is the only long-range route within the area, but it does not perform particularly well at the local scale: at this level the route along the north-western side of the site has stronger local properties. The site is also highly segregated, both at the local and global level, despite the fact that, while being at the eastern end of the city, this is by no means an edge area. The very low integration levels explain the fact that the area is extremely quiet.



Figure 5.62. Contemporary configurational analysis of Dasoudi.

The make-up of housing was fairly peculiar and mixed; as mentioned much of the residential fabric is made up of high rise apartment blocks, however single detached homes were also present in the area, especially in the northern end. Some of this housing was higher-end villa developments, but some were older homes – often with small agricultural land-holdings attached to them, possibly belonging to the Greek Cypriot population who settled ‘just outside’ the city prior to or during the early stages of the bulk of the development in this area. A number of poorer-quality apartment blocks were also present in this area, some of which seemed to be social housing, most likely built in the late 1970s or early 1980s for refugees of the 1974 war. At the same time, advertising for luxury properties was common and some gated developments of either apartments or homes are present in the area, although in some cases these are easily accessible despite being well demarcated as private complexes. The persistence of some areas dedicated to agriculture is still typical of edge areas of all Cypriot cities; despite the fact that properties have existed here for a long time and the whole area has been developed as a tourist area since the 1970s, the urban fabric is still low-density and developments are still ongoing in much of the area. The different types of housing are displayed in figure 5.63.



Figure 5.63. Two different types of gated developments (top), lower-quality housing, possibly social housing (middle left), detached home with small agricultural plot (middle right), higher-end apartment block (bottom left), and apartments still under construction near the coastal road (bottom right).

It is generally thought that development around Dasoudi started following the 1974 war in order to exploit the area to provide tourist facilities and enterprises after the loss of the major tourist areas in Famagusta and Kyrenia. However, by 1974 the area had already seen some residential development with sparse housing and road infrastructure already represented in the 1974 map. In 1987, the area was still very low density with many open fields, a bit less so in 2003, but continues to have plenty of undeveloped land and many projects are still under construction. The archival research also revealed that the tourist industry, in particular the Hotels Network, already had its eyes on this area in the early 1970s and that proposals for the tourist development of the area and its funding were

being discussed and debated by various stakeholders between 1970 and 1972 (“O syndesmos tou fysikou perivallon kai alloi organismoi provainoun eis eisigiseis dia tin Lemesou,” 1972, “To thema tis touristikis axiopoiseos tis periochis ‘Dasoudi’ Lemesou,” 1971, “Yper tis axiopoiseos tis periochis ‘Dasoudiou’ to epimelitirion Lemesou,” 1970). Much of the debate focuses around who should manage the area, whether some areas should be passed on to private interest or remain in the public domain – if it should be managed by the municipality or the tourist organisation – and the environmental protection of the forest and the beach. After 1974 the tourist development of the area was seen as an economic necessity and the municipality ‘subcontracted’ the area to CTO as of 15th July 1976 for a symbolic rent of 1£. In turn CTO produced controversial development plans (Kristia Christou, 1977) and released parts of the area for private use by hotels and other organisations for significant profits. In the mid-1990s suggestions were made that the municipality should again take over the area (Solomonidou Drousiotou, 1995) to counteract its privatisation, to protect the environment and to better manage the area – action which was legally challenged by CTO on the basis that the rental of the area had been granted for 99 years. The management of the area and CTO’s plans for further development continue to be scrutinised and criticised to the present day (“CTO violated local and EU laws with Dasoudi deal,” 2011, “Our View: CTO’s plans to develop Dasoudi lacking both logic and authority,” 2011). A number of groups have been involved in the debate around the various plans for Dasoudi: political parties such as AKEL and EDEK, professional organisations such as ETEK, civic organisations such as The Association for the Protection of Natural Environment, business interest groups, such as the Hotels Network and many more. The debate has seen more and more active engagement of a variety of actors and ultimately their participation in local elections as a means to have further leverage in the debate (“The fight for a forest becomes a fight for power,” 2011). Plans from the early 2010s have been put on hold and more recently suggestions have been made that improvements in the area should involve an architectural competition (“To ETEK zita na ginei architektonikos diagonismos gia tin axiopoisi tou Dasoudiou,” 2015) and that improvement could be based on a zero-growth model (Stamatiou, 2015).

The ongoing debate about the area, especially if one takes into consideration the social make up of its residents, not only highlights the variety of actors that might shape the emergence of an area, but also its popularity amongst residents and visitors alike. While plans for the future of the management of the beach and its forest are still to be agreed, much of the residential area beyond the coastline lacks a unified character and is still undergoing development. While new construction is likely to see the settling of more foreign residents, the area as a whole is likely to remain, for a while to come, a somewhat

quirky mix of residents of various origins, high-end permanent and holiday properties, Cypriot suburban homes intermingled with empty and agricultural plots, some social housing and little-used public space.

A simplified network diagram (figure 5.64) of the key features of the area discussed above reveals how the key causal factor in the emergence of this area again lies beyond national borders. However, the deployment of physical components and their characteristics is substantially mediated by local agencies as well as the human and physical components themselves.

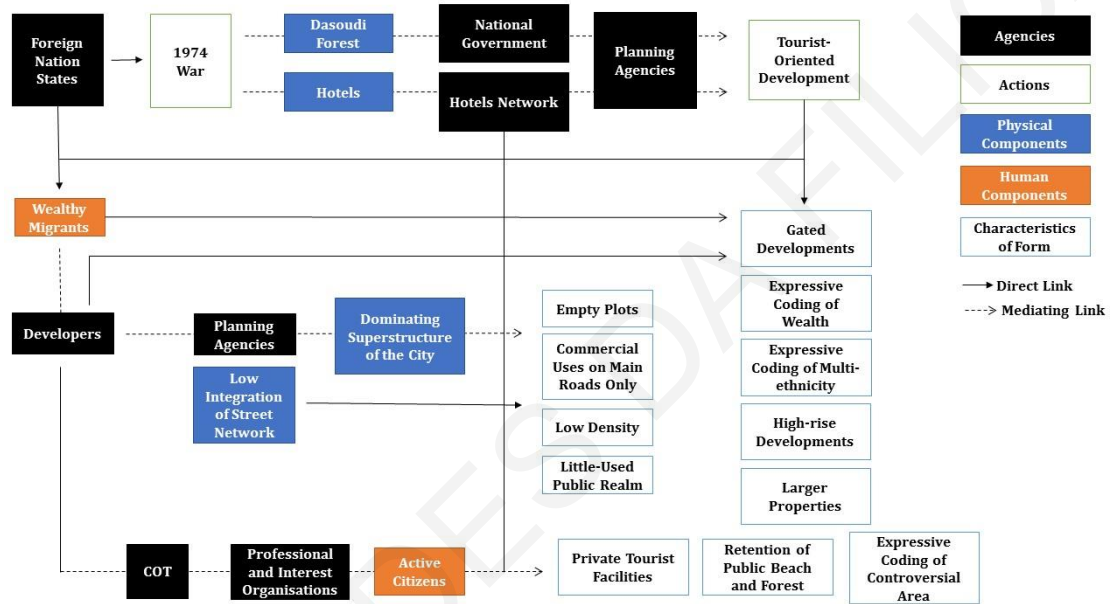


Figure 5.64. Simplified network diagram of Dasoudi as a social assemblage.

The diagram also highlights how the spatial relationality between the area and the whole city leads to its nature as a quiet residential area with little-used public realm beyond the major roads.

Summary

The analysis of case study areas has given an overview of their diversity and key characteristics. It also suggests some trends and patterns in the development of the city, as well as perhaps disproving some assumptions about the relations between the areas and the whole city and between housing types and the urban characteristics.

It seems that the height of building increases over time, with the more traditional area offering one and two-storey housing, the 1950s-1970s area having a high proportion of two and three-storey apartment blocks, while the more recently developed area of Dasoudi had a large number of three-storey and higher residential units. The latter two areas, however, also comprised detached homes, especially Dasoudi, which also had larger properties. To

the contrary, the homes of Arnaout were smaller and traditional, compact rows. This means that block size and population density does not necessarily increase with an increase in higher rise buildings. It is, in fact, the fabric and the density of development that provides for population density.

Arnaout has a lower population density than Agios Nikolaos and both include large blocks which are land uses belonging to the inner, earliest fringe belt of the city. Population density is also highest in Agios Nikolaos, despite the fact that it contains a higher number of vacant or temporary properties (15%) than Arnaout (12%). This might be because properties in Arnaout are occupied 'by necessity' or because temporary residents might be higher in numbers within Agios Nikolaos. Dasoudi has a very low population density, which is caused by the sparse built fabric as discussed above, but also by the fact that a very high number of properties are vacant or temporary (40.6%). This is possibly because many of these are still fairly recent developments and had still not been sold or rented by the 2011 census.

The spatial values for each area (table 5.14) suggest that geographical location is not necessarily an indicator of the integration of the area within the city. They also show that the presence of a single highly-used long-range route does not elevate the overall accessibility values of an area. Whether multiple routes with high values are present and whether these cross through the areas rather than being located at its edges plays a more important role in average accessibility and integration values.

	mnNACHN	mnNACH1200	mnNAInN	mnNAIn1200	mnBlock Size M ²	Population Density per KM ²
Arnaout	1.09	1.14	1.08	1.23	11,528	5,256
Agios Nikolaos	1.09	1.16	1.09	1.12	7,529	6,506
Dasoudi	1.01	1.1	0.85	0.81	20,932	2,940

Table 5.14. Summary characteristics of case study areas.

One other finding to be mentioned here is that there is clearly a relationship between block size and population density – we are only looking at 3 cases here, but there is in fact a statistically highly significant relationship between the two across the whole city. However, population density may still be high even when average block size is fairly large, as in the case of Arnaout, if the housing typology enables high densities. Furthermore, all areas seem to have a significant amount of well-maintained public green spaces. However, these seemed to be little used, with the exception of the large area of Dasoudi. To the contrary, if any static activities were taking place, these seemed to be located in informal or private meeting spaces. Further observations would be needed to establish exactly the extent to

which public spaces are used and to understand if and why these may be underused if it does indeed prove to be the case. The amount of public green spaces observed seems to contradict the perception and many mentions in conversations that local neighbourhoods need more of these spaces, they are in fact abundant; there may be other reasons, such as their location or size or accessibility, that induces the perception that they are few and far between.

This section highlighted how spatial properties at different scales interact and have stronger influence than geographical location in enabling distribution of activity. It has also pointed out how physical characteristics, such as block size, must be read in conjunction with other factors such as housing typology, in order to understand population density and thus the potential input of movement into the street network that each area might have.

Therefore, it has to be underlined how the relationship between the whole city and its parts, as well as between area characteristics, land uses, activity and population groups is complex and goes beyond simplistic assumptions about geographical locations or the influence of a single aspect onto one variable.

Furthermore, the description of the case studies as social assemblages and their visualisation as network diagrams clearly depicts, in a simplified way, what the causal factors initiating the emergence of the areas are. The analysis also describes the causal pathways leading from the initial establishment of physical components in the areas to their expansion and acquirement of a specific identity. The fact that the diagrams are more or less complex depending on the case study seems to be reflective of the complexity of their nature as assemblages and of their 'stability' as assemblages, suggesting that the more complex diagrams are representative of areas which have undergone or are likely to undergo more destabilisation than others.

5.3.4 A socio-physical timeline

The timeline available in Plate 1 reports a schematic version of all available maps from 1849 to 2003. The key physical features of the city (the coastline and rivers⁹) are reported in these maps along with the extent of the high-density built-up area and the peripheral fringe belt uses identifiable in each map (non-residential central uses were excluded). The roads which have very high choice values, as measured by the configurational analysis, are highlighted in red for every point in time. The maps are presented in chronological order and they are matched by a narrative timeline of primary sources which describe the city at

⁹ Those who are not familiar with the Cypriot context should be aware that, while rivers are reported in these maps, these, in modern times, do not carry any water and, though part of the Garyllis and the Germasogeia rivers are fairly wide, these are more like ditches in the ground than actual rivers.

different times in history. Key historical events, the establishment of very large land uses and significant road infrastructure are also reported chronologically, as is the population growth. The timeline summarises elements of the narrative and of the spatial history of the city by layering all of the pieces of information onto one medium. In doing so it is particularly useful not only to relate the formation of fringe belts to specific elements of the road infrastructure, which were described in section 5.2.2, but also to highlight how the core global structure of the city shifts in relation to the formation of fringe belts and to the processes of densification and sprawl. The timeline also permits us to easily relate key historical events to the urban form as the temporal aspect unfolds, while being able to perceive the scale, population growth and increased complexity of the city as time goes by. As a visual summary of the potential of the relational analytical approach used for this study, the timeline is a very effective output and provides the basis for the development of further, more complex visualisation tools within similar relational research frameworks.

6. Discussion

This chapter focuses on drawing themes arising from the convergence of findings from the various analyses. It aims to highlight the processes that lead to the emergence of the city and shape its form and identity by discussing the implications of the findings, identifying where these were cross-validated by the different analyses and assessing the extent to which such processes are continuous or sporadic across time.

Issues surrounding relationality between human and physical components, and the variety of scales at which processes are initiated, reinforced, diminished, construed and deployed are also addressed here. How all the themes and issues relate to the existing literature is highlighted in order to identify the synthesising mechanisms shaping the form of the city and to assess their generalisability.

6.1 Shifting centrality, spatial change and continuity

The narrative of development identified a shift in the location of the commercial centre across the city, initially from east to west and then towards the north, with a level of 'return' of activities towards the historical centre and the coastal area in very recent times. This was corroborated by the configurational analysis, which showed a shifting of the accessibility and integration core in the same directions as described by the narrative, including a small increase in values of the town centre in recent times. Centrality has been shown to be a process (Hillier, 1999) and it is certainly not surprising that this has shifted over time to 'relocate' to a more geographically central area characterised by higher global accessibility. The process here seems to be one of a continuously shifting centrality – a centrality which follows outward growth, changes in spatial properties and local transformations. This spatial phenomenon of shifting centrality is validated by historical records and contemporary data on land use. These identify the main commercial road as moving from Agkyras at the western edge of the town centre to Agiou Andreou further east and then northwards onto Anexartisias and Makariou; the latter three remain popular commercial streets, with Agiou Andreou being more of a tourists' destination and Anexartisias and Makariou being more of a locals' destination. However, recently, the local population has started 'reappearing' around the castle at the western edge of Anexartisias and along the coastline, the new port and the marina.

Experts' observations and secondary literature also reveal that a concentration of services and commercial uses was always present within the historical town centre. This is validated by existing comparative evidence, which shows that local accessibility values of the town centre remain stable through time (Geddes, 2014), as do those of its main street of

Anexartias once it is well established by 1933 (N. Charalambous & Geddes, 2015b). It is perhaps to be expected that local accessibility values of the historical town centre would change little after a certain time, as development and redevelopment would occur mostly in areas relatively far from it. This is, however, only partly true as a major development recently occurred within the historical town centre with the construction of the new marina and this has not affected the local choice values of the town centre, though local integration values have improved a little (table 5.7). Moreover, after 1974, local accessibility at the city-wide scale also stabilises. This is perhaps harder to interpret, especially in a context where a lot of densification and change in permeability – as shown by the block size analysis – has been occurring over the past three decades. This might be simply an effect of averaging local values for the whole city, whereas changes might be found within local areas subject to development between two periods, or it may be that somehow the system ‘adjusts’ itself over time to provide a certain level of overall local accessibility across different areas with the background network trying to ‘establish’ itself against the foreground network in order to sustain a certain level of local properties. This issue remains open for further analysis and interpretation, but there seems to be a process of spatial stabilisation followed by continuity at the local level or for specific areas such as the town centre. The fact that the town centre retains a good proportion of multi-scale accessibility compared to the whole city also points to a form of ‘spatial resilience’ of the historical centre in the face of dramatic growth and change.

In reference to local spatial properties and the tension between the foreground and background network, it is worth mentioning at this point that the conversations and secondary literature clearly highlighted a lack of well-structured neighbourhoods and asserted a scarcity of local public and green spaces within the city (Conversations 1a, 1b, 3), as well as a lack of functional hierarchy, with commercial land-uses peppered along main vehicular roads. The configurational analysis, as well as the case studies, highlighted this domination of the foreground network which is linked to the sparseness of commercial land uses along major routes. It also picked up a lack of spatial properties which could sustain local movement and thus local shopping areas. The lack of local public squares was to a certain extent related to intentional hindering by the British authorities to provide space for congregation which might lead to spreading of ‘independentist’ ideas (Conversation 3), and to lack of planning, with priority given to the development of residential units following independence and the 1974 invasion. However, spaces for congregation do exist and many were built during British rule; although ‘European-style’ squares might not exist, public spaces were present in all case studies observed, but were almost completely unused at the time of observation and almost none were supported by

surrounding land uses as most were located within exclusively residential areas. It may therefore be that such inactivity within public spaces is perceived as a lack of them, while in fact it may have to do with their location and with their ability to support activity through their spatial properties. Whatever the answer – which would require further and more detailed research into their use and characteristics – there seems to be something at play which hinders the development of local neighbourhoods and successful local public spaces. It seems that the conditions necessary for the emergence of neighbourhoods and successful local spaces are not present: there may be a lack of suitable components or an inability on the part of components to exercise their capacities to initiate such a process of emergence. It is possible, based on the evidence, to suggest what these missing components and capacities are: an extended lack of comprehensive planning and regulation of real estate and private interests until recent times, lack of appropriate densities to sustain movement and activities, and lack of spatial properties to support movement and commercial uses. Finally, a clear trend identified by the configurational analysis is the decrease in global choice and integration values persistently and continuously across time. This is matched by a decrease in the extent of multi-scale accessibility. This process of steady spatial change and decrease in accessibility is certainly in line with previous research showing that global accessibility and legibility tend to decrease over time as the city-system grows, and that this is the case for many Mediterranean port cities that have grown rapidly in recent years (Shpuza, 2009). The fact that global accessibility continues to decrease despite the insertion of ring roads across the city suggests that such roads, while aimed at decreasing distance for longer journeys, do not improve overall accessibility. It may be that their role is not at all to meet this purpose and they have no capacity to improve accessibility or to ‘counteract’ the effect of growth, densification and sprawl on global accessibility. It may be that the city is sacrificing accessibility in order to minimise increases in distance. As shown through the narrative, as well as through the timeline, these longer routes are associated with large fringe belt uses, while at the same time being involved in a shift in centrality. The location of large blocks in peripheral areas is therefore associated with the process of shifting centrality and thus the attempt to counteract increases in universal distance as the city grows. This leads us to discussing the next theme, more closely related to the development, nature and location of such peripheral large blocks.

6.2 Fringe belt formation, expansion and densification

The land use analysis, combined with the block size analysis, suggests that fringe belts with different characteristics and from different morphological periods do exist. The inner fringe belt focuses along the radial roads and is thus sparse, in the sense that it covers the city’s

periphery in all directions. This belt has a long expansion phase and the narrative tells us that both its establishment and expansion is not necessarily associated with particular economic conditions. A second, middle fringe belt develops in the 1950s, fixating itself along the new ring road of Makariou. At the same time the western part of the IFB is translated into a western fringe belt (WFB) which now consolidates along the coastline through the development of radial routes to the north that start acting as fixation lines. The WFB seems to undergo a continued territorialisation process, by which not only the fringe belt survives to present times, but it retains, to a great extent, its coarse-grained structure (as shown by the block size analysis) and its industrial nature. It is a highly homogenised area with a strong fringe belt character. The establishment of the MFB and the consolidation of the WFB seem to be associated with good economic conditions. An outer fringe belt develops from the late-1970s into the 1980s partly using the radial routes as fixation lines, partly the motorway. This belt is associated with a strong economic downturn. During the 1990s and up to modern times, the OFB expands and starts interacting with and incorporating the fringe belts of the surrounding villages. At the same time the MFB 'splits up' into two through the insertions of an additional ring road, which acts as a new fixation line through which a new boundary for the MFB is set and MFB land uses farther than this boundary are embedded within the OFB. Significant densification with the embedding of fringe belts within the built-up area occurs in the 1970s for the IFB and in the 1990s for the MFB. The insertion of the second ring road seems to influence the consolidation phases of the of the MFB and OFB, in the sense that the MFB quickly and significantly becomes embedded within the residential fabric, as shown by the drastically decreasing block size of Area 2a while the OFB remains coarse grained as shown by the mean block size of Area 2b and the Outer Area. The establishment of the OFB is associated with a period of economic recovery.

A process of fringe belt formation seems to be taking place, something which is thoroughly documented in the literature across many cities (M. P. Conzen, 2009). However, there seem to be contextual differences at various scales in the timing and deployment of this process. Firstly, the lack of natural fixation lines plays a role in the fact that fringe belts in Limassol develop according to a mixture of concentric and radial belts – or what is referred to in secondary literature as a 'fan-shaped' development. This is supported by the subsequent construction of ring roads, something which is very similar to the process that was found in Mersin (Ünlü, 2013). The key differences between Mersin and Limassol is that while in the former the IFB and MFB merge together, in the latter the MFB splits and 'loses' its northern part to the OFB. A level of margining also occurs in Limassol with the western, coastal parts of the IFB and MFB merging together into the separate, functionally distinct WFB with its

own fixation lines. Furthermore, in our case, the narrative indicates that there seems to be no strict relationship between the formation of fringe belts and socio-economic cycles; rather the production of peripheral fringe-belt uses according to economic conditions seems to follow a private-public dichotomy. Here fringe-belt formation, expansion and intensification through private uses is continuous through economic cycles, while the establishment of public peripheral uses relates to economic downturns as well as socially progressive changes. Residential densification generally occurred during phases of economic prosperity, except for the post-1974 period, during which not only dramatic residential construction took place, but was also located in peripheral areas of the city and in association with existing radial roads.

While paving, extension and widening of radial routes also occurs continuously, the construction of brand new concentric roads is associated with periods of economic downturns (World War II and the post-1974 period); although in the case of Spyrou Kyprianou, this was planned during an economic boom, the plan was not deployed until it became strictly necessary. As mentioned above, long routes can be associated with both fringe-belt and residential development as, regardless of the causal factors and pathways involved in their inception, their location is mediated through planning's road access rule. There is clearly a process of fringe belt development in Limassol, though this comprises contextual features which were either previously found in a similar geographical location, or have not yet been identified elsewhere and reported in the literature. A socio-economic pattern for fringe belt formation does not occur here, though the fixation lines which greatly impact centrality and are associated with economic downturns eventually establish certain physical references for the fringe belts. There are several components and capacities, which this process is synthesising. Firstly, Limassol's capacity to act, through its port-city nature, as connecting the agricultural hinterland to foreign markets, which is being synthesised through the placing of large peripheral industrial uses along the western coastline. Secondly, Cyprus' natural resources and related wine and carob industries obviously play a role. Thirdly, the diffusion of socially progressive ideas is reflected in the setting of educational establishments in peripheral areas – uses which continue to be characteristic of the surviving fringe belts. Fourthly, migrating rural populations and refugee populations are also synthesised by these processes through residential densification and the construction of long routes in an attempt at minimising increases in distance in a city which suddenly has to expand. Finally, the real estate market, private interests and planning regulations (or lack of any up to a certain time) also exercise their capacities in the ways the city is physically shaped. Issues arising from how different

populations groups are distributed and the exercises of various actors' capacities are discussed within the next two sections.

6.3 Congregation, segregation, integration

The social analysis shows that historically the municipality of Limassol is the most diverse area within the extent of the current urban form, accommodating a number of different ethnic and religious groups. This remains true in contemporary times as the distribution maps show that central areas tend to have the greater mix of Cypriots and non-Cypriots. During a first wave of British immigration, the narrative tells us that they settled in the eastern side of the town centre and along the road to Polemidia. During the 1920s, the great majority of British residents would have represented the higher classes of the city. The contemporary social analysis shows us that the former area has now become either middle class or mixed, while the latter area continues to retain a concentration of high classes. During a second wave of British immigration in the 1950s, large numbers would have been found across the whole of Limassol and in the villages of Agia Fyla and Mesa Geitonia, both of which are now located across the boundaries of high-class, middle-class and mixed areas. Therefore, there does not seem to be a trend of persistence of higher class – and even less foreign residents – within these areas.

The historical social analysis also shows that there is a territorialisation process which takes place steadily throughout the British rule and culminates in the 1960s with the complete homogenisation of Polemidia as a Turkish Cypriot Area, and Agios Athanassios and Germasogeia as almost completely Greek Cypriot with a small proportion of British residents (0.9% and 0.7% respectively). In this case, Polemidia and Agios Athanassios have remained highly homogenised, although the latter feature the opposite ethnic make-up, while Germasogeia has since undergone a drastic deterritorialisation process, being the only area with a greater proportion of non-Cypriots than the Limassol municipality. The data does not allow us to establish exactly what happened between 1960 and 1974, neither to state whether homogenisation occurred through congregation of different ethnic groups in specific areas, or segregation of the minority into specific zones. It is, however, well-known that Turkish Cypriots in Nicosia had to withdraw into enclaves in the early 1960s – the extent to which this was forcibly done or a preference to avoid intercommunal conflict carried out by sections of the two communities remains debated. In any case, the process of territorialisation in this case is more akin to segregation than congregation, although it is possible that the latter reinforced the former. These processes of territorialisation and recent deterritorialisation (it is only in the 2000s that the proportion of minorities in the area returns to late 1950s-early 1960s levels) are synthesising a variety of components,

which are largely human and exercising capacities in larger assemblages, such as nations and empires, which act as agencies in these processes unfolding at the scale of the city. This is true for earlier times with regards to nationalist movements across Greece and Turkey and strategic interests and shifting priorities on the part of the British Empire and the two opposing Western and Eastern poles of cold war times. It is also true for more recent times with the establishment and reinforcement of European identities and policies, migrations following the disintegration of the Soviet block and globalisation patterns. However, physical components also played a strong role in the recent deterritorialisation, including the tourist infrastructure set up in Germasogeia and the opportunities provided through air travel.

In contemporary times, immigrant groups and unemployment levels are associated with areas of high accessibility and integration, in particular at the local scale, and with proximity to the seafront. This is not necessarily surprising if one is familiar with the Cypriot context, where the local population displays a clear preference for detached homes in quiet, suburban areas and levels of car ownership and car use are extremely high. This might be dissimilar to continental European patterns where ethnic minorities are often associated with more segregated or peripheral areas; however, it is something which does occur in Anglo-Saxon contexts, especially in the United States where local, ethnic majority groups display a preference for suburban detached homes (Leichenko & Solecki, 2005). This phenomenon – the relationship between high accessibility, non-Cypriots and unemployment levels, can also be explained through another aspect of the deterritorialisation process. The rapid decline that occurred in the town centre following fast residential development in peripheral areas in the aftermath of the war led to a fall in rent and property values in this area. Because of this latter effect processes of ‘group formation’ and congregation were initiated. Recent, less wealthy and less skilled immigrant communities at the end of the 1990s congregated in the town centre, taking advantage of the low rent values and attracting new immigrants through the provision of communal services and social contacts. At the same time the wealthier and better skilled immigrant communities congregated in the eastern coastal area providing business opportunities initially relating to tourism, and later developing into other services and forming a popular residential location for temporary residents and those versed towards having easy access to the sea. The wealthy Cypriots congregated in the least accessible areas through their ability to afford higher land values, higher car ownership, a cultural preference for suburban low-rise housing and easier access to the motorway and rural areas in order to access social networks support and maintain relationships with the remaining rural kinship and those friends and acquaintances residing in other parts of the island.

While social segregation is often assessed with spatial measures of physical segregation, such an approach is clearly inappropriate in this case; other theorisations of social segregation must come into play in order to fully understand the socio-spatial phenomena taking place in Limassol. While it is clear that immigrant populations and the unemployed might be relegated to certain areas of the city (the highly accessible areas) through congregation, they are also located in highly integrated areas which perhaps enables them to access support networks and services in the face of other difficulties or disadvantages. However, they may also be considered in some cases socially segregated in the sense that they are unable to access other areas of the city for a number of reasons, including lack of car ownership or lower financial resources. At the same time the local population is, to a great extent, spatially self-segregating (i.e. congregating in areas of low accessibility and low integration) for a variety of reasons, but may be socially integrated through their ability to access networks within the same segregated areas or to be more transpatial and less dependent on certain spatial properties in order to maintain social relations. Fully understanding such processes requires greater insight into different population groups' choices of residential location in the Cypriot context, but it is clear that a simple equation or dichotomy of spatial-social, segregation-integration is not sufficient to correctly interpret the socio-spatial structure of contemporary Limassol. In this context, the conceptualisation of cities as social assemblages is vital to understand the socio-spatial phenomena observable and measurable in the city. The author believes that embedding concepts from assemblage theory and ANT to interpret results from different urban morphological and social sciences approaches is a necessary framework to fully understand the distribution of population groups in relation to the spatial structure of the city and is beneficial in suggesting diverse interpretative dimensions to the research findings described in chapter 5.

6.4 Scales and pathways of causality

The analysis has shown that a shift in centrality occurs through growth and through the construction of road infrastructure with specific properties. Fringe belt formation happens through economic conditions and to meet the demands of growth. It has also highlighted how various actors and agencies are at play in the emergence of Limassol's form. It is now necessary to explore further the connections between the human and physical actors, as well as their capacities, which produce the form of Limassol through the synthesising mechanisms of fringe belt development, densification, shifting of centrality, spatial change and continuity.

Limassol's population and urban fabric have both grown steadily since the end of the Ottoman period. This is partly due to an overall population growth in Cyprus, but also to migration of the population from rural to urban areas between the 1920s and 1940s – a period of depression in agricultural prices due to changes in world economic systems. The city grew even faster following the 1974 war, which saw the influx of a large number of refugees and the development of its port and coastal area following the occupation of Famagusta. Population growth initially was accommodated in and around the compact city at a time when private vehicles were still scarce, while services and retail were located in the town centre. However, later on development shifted to peripheral areas: large sites within developed areas were 'left behind' while construction continued beyond them. This created a kind of suburban sprawl leaving gaps in the urban fabric due to developers holding on to land in wait for price increases and certain migrants being accommodated in areas of lower land values.

This trend towards sprawl, as well as the distribution of various population groups within the city and the surrounding area, the form of residential development, and the form of the street network relate to different components, actors and agencies exercising their capacity. Agencies make use of individual human actors as well as physical components and through their involvement in processes which embed material and expressive means, they act to shape the emergence of the urban form. These key agencies, actors and components – identified in the case of Limassol – and their capacities are:

- National governments, empires and nation states which initiate processes of segregation witnessed during the years of the ethnic strife in Cyprus, lead to the formation of groups such as higher classes from the ruling powers, or refugees through international conflicts.
- Groups, such as wealthy locals, poorer locals, refugees, economic migrants, wealthy migrants, etc. Through the process of group formation, we see the establishment of areas which typically relate to one group or another.
- Land and housing, their value being their capacity. Although this is true to a certain extent for the Anglo-Saxon context, it is also found in other Mediterranean areas such as the Barcelona Metropolitan Region (BMR) (Catalán, Saurí, & Serra, 2008); the main difference in Limassol is that land values played a greater role than housing values.
- Individual, wealthier Cypriots who choose to build their own properties leading to many choosing cheaper, but larger plots further away from the centre in order to build larger homes.

- Local politicians and planners, who have an impact through the way policies (or lack of them) regulating land and development are set and implemented; and local interest groups, who have an impact on if, when and how development does take place.
- Technological changes in transport infrastructure, such as the spread of car ownership and the increase in air travel.
- The streets themselves, their capacities being their spatial properties affecting the interaccessibility of locations, the formation of commercial and residential areas, and levels of movement and activity across the city.
- The buildings themselves, their capacities being their size and typology, as well as function. These play a role in the formation of specific morphological areas, population density and distribution of uses.

In complex cases like cities, an extensive list of all agencies, actors and components, or detail about every potential capacity, would neither be possible nor valuable. Greater insight into how components are linked together and how their capacities as well as the actions and mediating roles of agencies lead to the emergence of form with the smaller three case studies was given in section 5.3.3. However, further details about how some of these interact at the whole-city scale do provide useful insight into the causal pathways of emergence of form.

Firstly, demographic changes, which are themselves caused by a variety of factors interact with local components to produce patterns and shapes in the city. With regards to migrant populations from abroad, the proportion of foreign residents in Limassol has increased drastically over the last two decades. These populations form their own residential patterns and while some tend to concentrate in the city centre due to labour opportunities or lack of private transport, others are attracted to coastal areas, where there is tourism-related employment, or to peripheral areas nearer to agricultural industries in need of temporary workers. This was shown to be the case in the BMR and it is even more evident in the case of Limassol where over 40% of the residents of Germasoglia, where the tourist area is located, are of foreign origin. At the same time the large Vietnamese population of Limassol (over 4,000 in the 2011 census) can often be spotted working in fields in the outskirts of the city. The main actors involved in the emergence of urban forms, which reflect demographic patterns, comprise individuals as well as all the groups which display specific patterns; from the local population with declining fertility rates and an ageing population to the younger foreign migrants with higher fertility rates. The processes at play are those of congregation in specific areas which offer labour opportunities, housing or social networks

support. When considering migrant groups, the role played by actors at larger scales becomes more evident: foreign and EU politicians and their socio-economic policies, international markets and all the material means through which migrant populations can travel are, perhaps, the first and foremost causal factors of very localised residential patterns in one Cypriot city.

Secondly, like for many other Mediterranean cities, Limassol's greatest expansion occurred after WWII as the use of private vehicles spread fast across the population. Consequently, much of the road infrastructure was planned for the development of car use and initiated by the British administration along Anglo-Saxon models of the time with the construction of the first inner ring road and the development of radial routes connecting to surrounding villages. This model continued to be followed by local planners and architects mainly trained in Anglo-Saxon countries. This led to the proliferation of residential developments with provision for car parking and the proliferation of industrial and commercial areas easily accessible by car along major vehicular routes such as Linopetra or the Mall. The provision of car parking facilities in and around central areas as well as in commercial and residential developments has thus become somewhat entrenched and further encouraged the search for residential forms facilitating car parking and dispersion of the urban fabric more generally. This trend has somewhat decreased in recent years due to global environmental concerns and the inflow of foreign migrants who do not have access to private car transport or may be more used to and more willing to use alternative modes such as walking and cycling. Although such changes are perhaps not yet visible in the forms of residential development, they are clear in recent public projects, including the pedestrianisation of various central areas, the construction of the promenade along the seafront and the cycling and walking route along the Garyllis river. Up to the middle of the 1900s empires had influence on the way the urban form developed and how groups were distributed in the city. The material entity of the car has had the capacity to powerfully act in the emergence of form. Planners and local politicians played the most direct role through the provision of public projects and by determining their nature.

Finally, the preference for detached houses in Cyprus is generally strong. Although cultural influences are hard to disentangle, there are a number of them which are clearly playing a role. Traditional architecture in Cyprus has always been low-rise both in the rural and urban environments. Even in cities where the urban fabric was denser, whole courtyard houses would belong to individual extended families while apartments were non-existent until the post-war period. During the British rule, the administrative classes settled in detached homes in then-suburban areas and the local population quickly followed suit, uptaking this typically Anglo-Saxon preference. There is also a tendency to prefer newly-

built and large homes; this is possibly due to a lack of a historical bourgeoisie class settled in the city centre and having a preference for historical properties, as well as the persistence of extended family links which tend to require larger homes. The urban population's relationship with rural populations has perhaps influenced the choice of residential location in the periphery, somewhere near enough the city providing labour opportunities, but also far out enough to minimise distance to rural areas where many still retain a home. Moreover, such a relationship with the rural environment may have also led to housing preferences which emulate village homes and village life. The actors involved in the formation of these cultural patterns are varied and expressive media play a particular important role: agencies range from empires to nation states, actors include foreign rulers settling in the country, individuals and their families, material components involve houses left behind in the villages of origin, while expressive media mostly act through the built form. The expression of a national identity is represented through low-rise forms, articulating the belonging to a certain socio-economic or ruling class through detached homes and the ability to separate oneself from the rest of the city by locating one's home in peripheral areas and by having access to private transport. All these are reinforced or mediated by the capacities exercised by real estate developers as well as planning authorities.

The discussion above clearly highlights the complexity of the linkages between components, agencies and actors, and raises issues about the scales at which these interact to produce certain outcomes. Throughout the analysis, we have seen how at times macro-level political processes are called to account for initiating the conditions which lead to a particular form. At other times, specific properties of the street network or individual roads, the location of particular land uses or certain details of the planning system are to be held responsible for the physical characteristics and the identity of specific areas as well as the whole city. The interaction of macro-level political processes with specific physical and human components, the destabilising events of conflict interacting with other destabilising processes of shifting land values and homogenising processes of territorialisation, the national and local level planning policies, and the micro-level properties of the street network and the built fabric all conjointly lead the specific form of the city. It is the connections between different component elements and actors exercising capacities at either different scales or, as put by ANT, all at the same scale since the local-to-global (and vice versa) interact, with local capacities often mediating the effect of global capacities, which produce effects at the scale of the city and the scale of each neighbourhood.

The discussion points to the fact that stark dichotomies between critical views of structural factors and the historical process being the fundamental causal determinants of urban

characteristics, or, at the other end of the spectrum, the bottom-up view that urban form is shaped by everyday life and routine activities, is perhaps neither useful for the understanding of form nor for the identification of causal factors. This is why using a combination of assemblage theory and ANT as a framework has been more productive in revealing the complexities of causal pathways. It is because it provided us with the ability to identify when and where structural properties and the temporal aspect influence city form. It allowed us to understand and interpret how human and non-human components are connected together and it enabled us to identify the scales at which causality is initiated and mediated through capacities exercised at other scales.

7. Conclusions

The analysis revealed the key characteristics of Limassol's identity. Firstly, it is a city which has a convoluted historical relationship with the sea. Until agricultural exports increased and there was a need to establish a stronger relationship with shipping, the city looked inwards to the mountains and access to the sea was limited. While the central coastal area has since been redeveloped repeatedly, the western one remains closed off and the domain of Limassol's industrial soul; the eastern one has been 'sublet' to private interests and the tourist industry providing little public access or even a view of the sea from the coastal road. Despite recent redevelopments, the three sections of the coastline are not truly connected to each other and neither is the central section to the old port and marina, or any of them to the historical town centre – the relationship remains convoluted.

Secondly, it is a city dominated by its own superstructure and characterised by a patchwork of residential areas, where local neighbourhoods struggle not just to thrive, but to even develop any structure or identity. At the same time, due to its own dominance, the superstructure itself is highly congested and commercial uses peppered throughout it. This leads to a vicious circle by which residential areas are dependent on car use to access the superstructure for supplies and circulation across the city. At the same time, the main road network of the city and its commercial establishments are also dependant on car use and movement from far and wide in order to sustain themselves, as they cannot rely on surrounding residential densities or commercial concentrations to provide enough trade. Finally, it is a city which has reinstated its status as a cosmopolitan Eastern Mediterranean port city, with its problematics, its controversies, its social concentrations and its struggle to revive its past and revitalise its historical urban heritage. Regardless of the extent to which multicultural communities within the city are interacting and integrating at this stage, they clearly have an impact on the identity of the city through expressive means and spokespersons, articulating in visual signals across the built form and in the local press.

Like other cosmopolitan cities of past and present, Limassol is full of potential and uncertainties, from its unused public spaces to its quirky mix of housing styles and typologies, from its reeling reverence for the value of its shoreline with its still unfulfilled potential to its neighbourhoods' cry for help, from its drive to drastically implement high rise developments to its continued lack of a comprehensive masterplan and strategy to increase density.

Limassol has been shown to have a developmental history that follows some pathways similar to those found in other cities within similar contexts, in particular Mersin and Chania. In the case of the former, these similar pathways regard the establishment of

fixation lines through the construction of ring roads and the merging of fringe belts, as well as the establishment of functional zones. In the case of the latter, these regard the shifting of the commercial centre towards outer areas of the city, with a division between the distribution of tourist retail in the historical core and of local services and commercial enterprises in the newer post-War World II centre.

Other developmental characteristics match those found persistently across cities regardless of context: the formation of fringe belt areas and the development of a deformed wheel structure, which is most evident between 1883 and 1960. Although this structure does continue to exist, with its centre now at the intersection of Makariou and Agia Filaxeos, it has become weaker from 1974 onwards, with its spikes heading south losing accessibility. What we find is what Shpuza (2009) defines as a distributory system superimposing over a deformed grid (table 2.2), which seems to be disrupting the more 'natural' structure of the deformed wheel and creating what is commonly termed as the 'fan-shape' of Limassol. Different layouts are found within the residential areas of the city, including biased and unbiased grids (table 2.2), the former being more typical of more recent developments and the latter of older ones. Serpentine patterns, due to topography, are emerging in the city at its very northern edges as it develops further over the hills, but these still have some way to go before being fully embedded within the urban area.

There are certain other pathways of its evolution which are, however, highly contextual, though similarities can be found in other cities, for example Jeddah. These are the establishment of a 'patchwork' of peripheral residential developments and the failure of local neighbourhoods to flourish through a lack of suitable spatial properties coupled with low levels of population density.

Cyclical change and growth are obviously occurring in Limassol through the combination of development of long routes and establishment of fringe belt uses, and densification, with the change occurring repeatedly to spatial properties and to the character of fringe belts. Derivation does also take place with the cyclical reproduction of certain forms in repeated residential patterns and road layouts, and modification occurring over time with housing typologies changing from the compact rows of low-rise courtyard houses to detached homes and detached apartment blocks rising in height. Diversification of the spatial structure does not seem to be occurring in Limassol, certainly not to the extent that is found in other cities with the formation of local neighbourhoods. While it could be said that continuous readjustment does take place, since spatial properties shift and fluctuate, as does the mean block size of the whole city and various areas, it is difficult to state whether this is a form of feedback to intrinsic needs of the city to improve its performance or simply a fairly crude response to demographic and developmental pressures.

Clearly, variations in social distributions and construction of the identity of various areas in Limassol were initiated by global agencies beyond national borders or by factor beyond the city, such as the wine industry, through a variety of actors and physical components.

However, the ways these were deployed in space and articulated in the urban form was mediated through global forces and local socio-spatial realities. The distribution of certain social factors is spatialised, but this is limited to nationality and unemployment. While higher social classes do tend to group together, there is no particular segregation or division between classes in space and there is certainly no relationship between physical and configurational properties of the city and the distribution of classes.

More specifically, the main structural changes affecting the urban form of Limassol are the passage from the Ottoman to the British rule, the influx of rural populations during the 1920s, the influx of refugees and the economic slump after 1974, the economic boom of the 1950s, and the shift towards a preference for detached homes. These structural factors initiate a variety of processes linked to the socio-physical development of the city, including congregation, territorialisation and fringe belt formation. Their impact on the urban form is mediated through local agencies such as the real estate industry and planning authorities, actors such as individual citizens and interest groups, as well as through capacities exercised by existing physical components of the urban form, such as the presence of road infrastructure.

The main physical characteristics displayed in Limassol's growth and change are the formation of fringe belts, including two, separate and different functional zones, the development of an extremely strong superstructure with the imposition of a 'fan-shaped' network onto a deformed wheel, increasing permeability within the more central areas and fluctuating permeability in outer areas, and low density of the urban fabric composed of a patchwork of residential areas.

The nature of the significant relationship between physical aspects of the city and the distribution of certain socio-economic variables lies in different groups' ability to be transpatial and is characterised by a link between foreign citizenship and unemployment with high accessibility, density and proximity to the sea.

The processes of fringe belt formation and of centrality are two key synthesising mechanisms shaping the form and character of the city, but other crucial mechanisms do exist – some are more relevant to form, others are more relevant to identity. The other processes involved in synthesising various components and the actions of different agencies include the retention of certain spatial properties, sprawl, the formation of groups, and a variety of mechanisms, which either stabilise or destabilise identity. These are

detailed and defined in the next section, along with a reflection on the extent to which they are generalisable or contextual to the case of Limassol.

7.1 Synthesising mechanisms

Below is a brief description of each mechanism identified by the analysis and discussed in the above sections. Many of these mechanisms are interrelated and their impact on the urban form changes according to the strength and nature of the components' capacities and on the mediating role of agencies. The outcomes of each process are not terminal and immutable, even when these have produced stable and resilient characteristics, disruptions and causal factors at various scales might initiate any of the other processes and ultimately produce new outcomes.

Shifting centrality

This mechanism synthesises the spatial capacities exercised by each street segment in the city through the way it relates to all other segments. The distribution of land uses and levels of movement reflect the outcomes of this process. The direction and the extent of the shift is dependent on the type of change produced by the connection between different spatial elements of the city. This is a generalisable process which can and most often does occur with growth throughout cities depending on the strength and nature of the components' capacities.

Spatial Change

This mechanism synthesises the spatial capacities exercised by each street segment in the city through the way it relates to other segments within a given radius. At the whole-city scale it is related to the mechanism above, but it tends to either precede it or follow it: the change in spatial properties in certain elements of the street networks may lead or be caused by a shift in centrality. Spatial change can occur aside of centrality, through additions and modifications to the street network in any areas of the city. The nature and strength of the change defines the spatial nature of different areas as integrated or segregated, as potential destinations of movement or enablers of through movement. This is a generalisable process which occurs in any city where elements are added or removed – the extent of change determines the impact on areas' identity.

Spatial Memory

This mechanism synthesises the capacities of physical and spatial properties of areas through the stabilisation of spatial characteristics at certain radii. It tends to occur

after sustained and significant changes to the urban fabric, by which a level of saturation is reached and therefore the extent to which change can occur is restricted by the high density of the urban fabric and the high intensity of the network within a certain radius. The consolidation of spatial properties establishes the extent to which an area's nature will be resilient. It is not possible to say, at this stage, whether, this process is generalisable or found in Limassol only. There are, however, indications that local to mid-range spatial values tend to be consistent across cities (Hillier et al., 2012) and therefore a generalised process of stabilisation might exist.

Fringe belt formation

This mechanism synthesises different agencies' capacities to act and thus implement infrastructure. It is highly dependent on the ability of agencies to exploit material components, which is highly determined by macro- as well as micro-economic factors. This is a generalisable mechanism as it has been shown to occur across a variety of cities, but the extent and nature of fringe belts is highly contextual. What is also contextual is the scale and nature of causal determinants of the formation: while in most other cases these were identified with certain economic conditions, in Limassol this does not seem to be the case.

Densification

This mechanism is relatively straightforward and synthesises demographic factors, human components and agencies' capacities of development. It invariably happens across all cities where population growth occurs and, as such, is a generalisable mechanism. The extent of densification is determined by the strength and capacities of the components, while its nature is an outcome of other processes (sprawl and compactness) described below.

Sprawl and Compactness

These can really be considered two faces of the same mechanism and are strictly related to the mechanism of densification. They synthesise a variety of components and their capacities, such as land availability, land prices, location of existing infrastructure and so on. They also synthesise individual actors' and agencies' capacities to afford and construct. They determine the specific forms and residential patterns found in cities; they are not mutually exclusive and can occur at the same time. The extent to which either one dominates the nature of densification is highly dependent on the mediating role exercised by national and local agencies which set planning frameworks and regulations. Therefore,

while the mechanism itself is generalisable so long as densification is occurring, its mode is contextual to local planning systems.

Group formation

This mechanism synthesises the characteristics of various human components through the mediation of agencies and actors. It can be initiated at different scales by agencies beyond national borders or local spokespersons. Through the action of actors and expressive means they determine the identity or characteristics of areas either appearing in visible features of the urban form or constructing awareness of the group across the general public through a variety of communication media and social interactions. This is a generalisable process across all cities where any level of diversity is present, regardless of the nature of such diversity. The extent of the impact of group formation on the urban form is dependent on the spatial distribution of groups, on the size and density of the group, on the vocality of its spokespersons and on the mediation exercised by agencies.

Congregation

This mechanism is related to the one above and synthesises the characteristics of human components and the way they are connected to physical and spatial properties of the urban form – in doing so, it determines the distribution of populations across the urban form. However, it can also synthesise the capacities of agencies and individuals, as well as material components by forming homogenised areas dedicated to certain functions or hosting populations with particular skills. Agencies like enterprises and planning authorities play a determining and mediating role in this process, which is generalisable as it tends to occur at one time or another across most cities. However, the extent of congregation is highly dependent on the mediating role of agencies. The temporal aspect also plays a significant role in this process as time might aid the consolidation of an area's identity or might disrupt it through a 'dilution' or weakening of groups' identities over time.

Segregation

This mechanism can be related to that of group formation and synthesises the capacity of individuals and groups to access – literally or in terms of residential opportunities – certain areas of the city. The component parts involved in this process include physical elements of the city and their spatial properties, land and housing values, location of infrastructures and so on. The extent to which this process is directly initiated by agencies, groups or individuals, or is incidental to circumstances is determined by structural factors such as

political will and actions, and by the impact of expressive media on public awareness. Incidental segregation is a generalisable process as it occurs across various cities; direct segregation is contextual to structural characteristics and is only found under specific circumstances – in Limassol this might have occurred in the past, but the direct form of this mechanism is not identifiable in contemporary times.

Within the analysis and the discussion, we have often referred to the processes of territorialisation and deterritorialisation. If we recall their definitions and details given in section 2.2, these are the generic processes, which apply to all social assemblages of any size and nature. Congregation and segregation in assemblage theory are specific to the urban form and both fall within the definition of territorialising mechanisms – both were identified to have taken place in Limassol. The process of assembly and thus of emergence takes place through synthesising mechanisms; here we have identified those mechanisms which exist in Limassol and stated the extent to which these may be generalisable to all cities. These mechanisms may be territorialising or deterritorialising depending on the circumstances and the role of the temporal aspect.

Let us now turn to a final review of what this analysis has brought to the table of urban development knowledge and, as importantly as the general and contextual findings themselves, an assessment of the performance of the theoretical and methodological framework.

7.2 Research challenges, contributions and prospects

Developing a relational research approach in order to address the problem of the city required distilling relevant theories to a) identify key issues relating to the complexity of the urban environment; b) extract the key elements of relational theories applicable to the analysis of cities and, more specifically, the urban form; and c) review how various morphological approaches could supply analytical tools to match the theoretical framework.

The result was the deployment of a diachronic analysis comprising a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. There were two key challenges in implementing the methodology: the scarcity of quantitative historical social records, and the complexity of relating qualitative to quantitative findings across time accurately and coherently. The inclusion of qualitative methods was partly aimed at supplementing the lack of quantitative records, while the relational nature of the analytical framework was partly aimed at supporting the linking of different layers of information.

Although it remains hard to visualise the distribution of different population groups in the past, even in recent times, the narrative informed by the qualitative analysis proved

effective in supplying a level of information with regards to concentrations of population groups at different times in history. The quantitative social analysis, on the other hand, provides the basis for future comparative studies once new data become available. The relational framework allowed to link back and forth between qualitative and quantitative analyses whenever they validated each other's findings, it also allowed us to construct a visualisation linking textual information to various layers of the spatial history in the timeline in plate 1 (inside of back cover). While the visualisation proved useful, it remains a static snapshot of the temporal factor and of the linkages between different components. However, this also offers great potential for further development in future research with the possibility of animating it and thus providing an actual temporal display of the city's development and an oral narrative of the city which would automatically run at the same time as physical elements appear, change and disappear from the urban form.

The diachronic analysis performed well, not just because it enabled the identification of key synthesising mechanisms, but also because it provided the tools to define the characteristics of Limassol at different points in time and ultimately what caused and led to its contemporary identity. The analysis was clearly able to pick out a variety of problems in the functioning of the city, which relate to the impact of specific interventions onto the whole, and their causal factors. Many of these were intuitively identified by those with expertise in the field and experience of the city. In some cases, their inferences as to the causes may not have been correct because no analyses providing more and specific details of each issue was available to them. In a case, a problem highlighted by the qualitative analysis, such as the lack of public green spaces in the city was found by observation and quantitative analyses to be a misinterpretation of the existing situation; this again was due to the lack of tools and a comprehensive method to assess the nature of these spaces.

Without a qualitative analysis highlighting the problematics, regardless of their accuracy, and without the implementation of specific tools to understand the relationality of the city, it would have been impossible to empirically verify the existence of these problems and to pinpoint their specific causes. This is one of the key achievements of the application of this methodology and of the diachronic analysis: it enables us to assess the existing situation and understand how it came into being; it therefore provides us with the information and tools to develop plans and implement interventions to address existing problems. Perhaps more importantly, these same tools can be used to assess the potential impact of future developments, not just in a piecemeal way and by referral back to planning guidelines, but through a systematic process which enables an accurate quantitative assessment of the impact on surrounding areas and on the whole city. Furthermore, it permits us to monitor the distribution of groups and the properties of the areas where they reside – by choice or

necessity – and can inform the development of housing policies, densification strategies and public transport planning. The fact that both the framework and the methodology proved effective in assessing the case study of Limassol, where social data is scarce and cartography less than ideal, shows that they are both applicable to other case studies. The theoretical framework also proved vital in identifying the mechanisms at work: without the construction of a narrative, it would have been impossible to validate quantitative results and to corroborate inferences about causal pathways. Without the aid of assemblage theory and ANT, it would not have been possible to explain causal pathways, scales of causality and the mediating role of various agencies – something which was shown to be particularly useful in the analytical description of the three case studies. The analysis and discussion made clear that a simple equation or dichotomy of spatial-social, segregation-integration is not sufficient to correctly interpret the socio-spatial structure of contemporary Limassol. The use of thematic mapping to understand the distribution of population groups in relation to the spatial structure of the city and embedding the concepts of group formation, territorialisation and deterritorialisation has been vital in providing diverse interpretative dimensions to the research findings. Identifying the synthesising mechanisms would have been impossible without the theoretical framework. While assemblage theory and ANT lacked a description of processes specific to the urban form – the main criticism to their use within urban studies – it was demonstrated that the non-specificity of these theories can be made analytically specific through the application of relevant urban morphological methods.

The framework and methodology also hold interdisciplinary potential as the combination of qualitative and quantitative tools, and social and urban morphological methods mean that different fields can ‘join forces’ to supply analytical outputs when a single discipline cannot prove effective due to scarcity of data, lack of suitable resources to perform a type of analysis, appropriateness of its methods to address a research problem. The set of tools proposed by this thesis is applicable to any other case and can therefore be replicated to further the assessment of how generic every mechanism identified here is. It is, however, by no means the exclusive set of tools, and refinements can be made to the analytical framework, as well as adjustments to the type and extent of different methods used, especially in light of availability of different, better quality and more accurate data in other cases, and resources and technological development to carry out more intensive methods of analysis.

A number of pathways for further development of this research are clear: a process-typological analysis could bring great benefits to the understanding of the aggregation, repetition and modification of housing typologies and street layouts; raw census data could

be summarised in a way that reflect actual, real boundaries within the city, so that greater detail and confidence in the correlation analysis could be achieved; even raw historical census data, if available, could be resummarised, so as to be able to run a quantitative analysis for historical times; the narrative could be developed further to include the views and accounts of a wider variety of stakeholders, so as to get a more nuanced description of the nature of the city and of its needs for future development; research on the semantics of the urban realm could improve our understanding of the expressive means at work in the synthesising mechanism and thus shed more light on the construction of different areas' and the city's identity.

Finally, the most important next step for research is reflecting on the benefits of this approach and the light it has shed on the value and validity of theories. Here, attention must be drawn to the points made by Netto (2016) about the future of theory and the need to engage with new concepts and interact with ideas other than those from which every researcher starts their journey. In his poignant words new approaches are needed to "escape the dead ends into which the different strands of urban socio-spatial knowledge have been drawn" (Netto, 2016, p. 24). Here is where our duty ends, where the cyclical process of diachronic analysis terminates and a new cycle begins. It is now up to the next research and our inexhaustible normative drive to use the contributions made by this thesis to test the theories, to refine the methodologies and to run a new, even more accurate and comprehensive diachronic analysis to further our knowledge and provide an even stronger and more secure basis for planning interventions.

Appendix 1: Glossary

Absorption (of Fringe Belts) = see Alienation.

Actor = term used by Actor-Network Theory to refer to participants in networks and systems. These can be human or non-human.

Agency = term used by Actor-Network Theory to refer to heterogeneous associations of humans and non-humans.

Aggregate (also urban tissue) = term used by the Italian School of process typology meaning a component of the urban form made of the combination of repeated smaller elements (buildings).

Alienation (of Fringe Belts) = the replacement of a fringe-belt unit by a functionally different, usually residential, component.

Analytic Relationality = interpretation of places as sets of interconnected and interrelated parts.

Assemblage = a whole which is characterised by relations of its components and the processes the components are involved in.

Biotechnic = a term used by Louis Mumford to refer to technologies which function in an ecological responsible manner.

Centrality = a process by which urban centres are formed, shift and diversify through the configuration of the street network shaping movement and the distribution of land uses. This involves minimisation of distance through placing objects peripherally.

Compactness = a process by which distance is minimised through placing compact objects in the system and thus intensifying the street network, leading to more permeable structures.

Complex Systems Theory = see Complexity Science.

Complexity Science (also Complex Systems Theory) = a broad ranging research approach comprising a collection of theories which studies complex systems as a field of mathematics or informatics.

Configuration = a set of relationships that takes into account other relations among spaces which are interdependent in an overall structure.

Congregation = a process which defines the homogeneity and boundaries of given areas through a tendency of various components to come together in a relatively homogeneous composition.

Copresence = term used by the Italian School of process typology to refer to the spatial relations between components of the urban form.

Critical Urban Theory = a branch of critical theory, which includes neo-Marxist theory, and focuses on the reflective assessment and critique of structural elements of society as determinants of urban processes.

Deformed Wheel = a highly-integrated network of public spaces which links the centre of the city to the edges and appears similar in shape to a deformed wheel.

Derivation = term used by the Italian School of process typology to refer to the cyclical reproduction and modification of forms.

Determinism = the belief that that human behaviour and choices are caused by factors other than the will of humans. In this specific context, it is used to mean that physical and spatial features of the environment influence to a significant extent human behaviour.

Deterritorialisation = term used in assemblage theory to describe a process which destabilises, reduces homogeneity, and might initiate change of an assemblage.

Diachronic = concerned with the way in which something has developed and evolved through time.

Dialectical = relating the logical arguments of two opposing views.

Dichotomy = the contrast between two things which are opposed and mutually exclusive.

Emergence = the process of coming into existence and developing new properties.

Eotechnic = term used by Louis Mumford following concepts originated by Patrick Geddes to refer to the epoch of the middle ages.

Expressive Role = the conveying and semantic role played by components of an assemblage in consolidating and reinforcing the identity of an area.

Fabrique Urbaine = a series of unplanned historical events which lead to effects in the urban form.

Feedback = term used by the spatial analytical approach to urban morphology to identify a process of continuous readjustment.

Fractal = a complex, fragmented geometrical figure which exhibits a repeating pattern and can be subdivided into parts which resemble the whole.

Fringe Belt = area of a city characterised by an initial stage of being located in peripheral zones and comprising land uses which require large plots.

Fringe Belt Absorption or Alienation = the absorption of a fringe belt component by a functionally different cover.

Histories of Spaces = an approach to the historical analysis of place concerned with understanding social construction and the impact of ideologies on the built form.

Indeterminism = the belief that that human behaviour and choices are not wholly caused by factors external to the will of humans. In this specific context, it is used to mean that

physical and spatial features of the environment have no significant influence human behaviour, but rather that it is human choices and behaviour that shape the built form.

Individual Singularities = term used in assemblage theory to refer to the variants found across social assemblages.

Material Role = the physical and functional role played by components of an assemblage in consolidating and reinforcing the identity of an area.

Meta-criteria = term used by Kevin Lynch to refer to two dimensions of his normative theory (efficiency and justice), which are dependent on and involved in each of five prior dimensions (vitality, sense, fit, access and control).

Morphogenetic = the process that causes an entity to develop its form.

Neotechnic = term used by Louis Mumford following concepts originated by Patrick Geddes to refer to the present-day era.

Normative = determining or relating to how things should or ought to be.

Normative Drive = the attempt to develop knowledge and tools to determine how things should or ought to be.

Normative Impulse = the instinct to apply individual perceptions and preferences in determining how things should or ought to be.

Ontology = the branch of philosophy dealing with the nature of being.

Paleotechnic = term used by Louis Mumford following concepts originated by Patrick Geddes to refer to the time of the industrial revolution.

Particulars = an individual element or characteristic, as contrasted with universal qualities.

Place Histories = an approach to the historical analysis of place concerned with understanding how historical factors are articulated in the characteristics of a place.

Reduction (of Fringe Belts) = the loss of units of a fringe belt either through *translation of alienation*.

Relational = concerning the ways in which two or more people or things are connected together.

Segregation = a process which defines the homogeneity and boundaries of given areas induced by external forces.

Space Syntax = a set of theory and techniques for the understanding and analysis of spatial configurations and their relationship to a range of socio-economic phenomena. See Appendix II for further details.

Spatial Histories = an approach to the historical analysis of place concerned with understanding the relationship between spatial and locational factors at specific times in the past.

Superstructure = a part of the overall street network of the city which is constituted by the most integrated lines and acts as a facilitator of longer range movement.

Synergistic Relationality = interpretation of places as wholes whose parts sustain and are sustained by the properties of the whole place itself.

Synthetic Processes (or Mechanisms) = term used in assemblage theory to refer to processes which synthesise the properties of the various components and the exercise of their capacities leading to the emergence of assemblages.

Territorialisation = term used in assemblage theory to describe a process which stabilises, reinforces properties and increases the internal homogeneity of an assemblage.

Translation (of fringe belts) = the transfer of a unit from an older fringe belt to a more recent one without a change of site.

Uncertainties = term used by ANT to refer to the nature of five domains of the social world.

Universal Singularities = term used in assemblage theory to refer to the invariants shared by different assemblages.

Universals = characteristics or qualities which are shared by or recurrent within specific entities, as contrasted with particular qualities.

Urban Morphology = the study of the physical form of urban settlements and the process of their formation and transformation.

Urban Tissue = see Aggregate.

World-systems Theory = a macro-scale approach to social change which focuses on the inter-relationship between countries in the context of the world economy.

Appendix 2: Space syntax definitions and measures

Space syntax is both a theory and a method for quantitatively describing patterns of spatial layout and relating these patterns to social activities such as movement, behaviour, and even social meaning and interpretation. Space syntax theory is based on two fundamental ideas: firstly, that space is not simply a background to human activity, but an intrinsic aspect of it and, secondly, that important characteristics of architectural and urban space are not just about the properties of individual buildings and spaces, but also about how the inter-relations between these spaces combine to form a city as a whole (Hillier & Hanson, 1984). This network of spaces was termed by Hillier (1996) as *configuration*, and by analysing mathematically these relationships of spatial layouts it is possible to develop an understanding of space independent of architectural type and style. In the *Social Logic of Space*, Hillier and Hanson (1984) assert that human societies are spatial phenomena and that spatial orders are one of the main ways in which members of society live their social existence. Viewed in this way, space can be seen as an expression of human society and can be analysed to understand particular characteristics of society. This is done through a process of investigating how spatial configuration relates to people's use and experience of space.

The **axial map** is the basic tool of space syntax analysis and is constructed by drawing the fewest and longest lines of sight (axial lines) that cover the whole system of accessible open spaces (figure A2.1). **Axial lines** are the elements most spatially extended in a structure of open spaces such as a city and thus the set of longest straight lines that are at a tangent to the boundaries of blocks of buildings form the axial model; these boundaries define the limits of visibility and permeability within a system (Hillier, 1996).

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Figure A2.1. Axial map of the Barnsbury area of London; source: Space Syntax Online Training Platform (UCL & Space Syntax Limited, n.d.)

The axial map is analysed as a set of nodes and lines, and different types of measures are derived regardless of metric distance. These include local and global configurational measures. The former describes the relationship between nodes and other nodes closely connected to each other, while the latter describe the relationship of all nodes to all other nodes in the system. A set of justified graphs from each space in the system is constructed for all spaces in the system. A **justified graph** is constructed from any particular space in the system, considered the root of the graph, and all other spaces directly connected to this are linked to it one level up; the spaces connected to this are linked a second level up and so on until all spaces in the system have been connected – a generalised example of a justified graph is show in figure A2.2.

Figure A2.2. Justified graph, showing the first 5 steps in the graph; reproduced from Vaughan and Geddes (2009)

Justified graphs allow the calculation of certain measures, such as **connectivity**, which is the number of spaces immediately connecting to a space, and **node count**, which is the number of spaces encountered from one space to all others in the system. Various measures of **depth** of any space from any other given space can also be calculated. **Total depth** is the sum of the topological depth from any node to all others. **Mean depth** is calculated by averaging the depth of each node within each possible justified graph of the spatial system.

Integration in practice measures the relative accessibility of nodes within a spatial system; spaces, which are found deep in a system have lower integration values, while higher integration values usually correlate with high levels of movement and activity and thus with social interaction. **Local integration** has a radius of 3 steps in the justified graph and examines the configurational relationships of small-scale areas, while **global integration**

examines the relationship of all nodes to all nodes and therefore reveals large-scale configurational characteristics of the whole spatial system. Local integration has been shown to strongly correlate with pedestrian movement and the movement of residents and people who know the study area well, while global integration has been shown to strongly correlate with vehicular movement and the movement of people who have little knowledge of an area, such as non-residents and tourists.

Integration is calculated according to the following formula:

$1/RRA$ (*Real Relative Asymmetry*)

$RRA = RA/Dk$ (*Relative Asymmetry/A value based on the number of spaces in the system*¹⁰)

$RA = 2(MD-1)/k-2$ (*Mean Depth as defined above/k = node count as defined above*)

Using such measures an **integration core** of the system can be identified – this is the structure made of the 10%, 25% or any given number of spaces depending on the size and complexity of the system.

Intelligibility assesses whether a whole system is easily understood from each part of the system. It basically indexes the extent to which the connectivity of each space is a reliable indicator of how integrated the space is within the system. As a measure, this is the correlation between axial connectivity and global integration.

Synergy assesses the degree to which the internal structure of an area relates to whole system within which it is embedded. As a measure, this is the correlation between axial global integration and axial local integration.

A **segment map** is derived from the axial map by literally segmenting each axial line at every intersection with another axial line (figure A2.3), thus deriving the smallest measurable element of the urban form: the street segment. A segment map can be analysed to produce measures which take into account the angular properties of graphs: this involves calculating the relative straightness (least angular deviation) of each segment from all other segments in the system. This model can also be analysed using metric radii and is thus able to take into account distance when analysing configuration, which makes it a particularly useful model when assessing the relationship of the urban environment and social variables against a background of commuting distances and accessibility to services.

¹⁰ For more information on how to derive the Dk values for a given system, refer to the Social Logic of Space (Hillier & Hanson, 1984).

Figure A2.3. Segment map of the Barnsbury area of London; source: Space Syntax Online Training Platform (UCL & Space Syntax Limited, n.d.)

Choice in practice measures the 'flow' of movement through space and is calculated by counting the number of shortest paths connecting all spaces to all other spaces within a specified distance. **Global choice** measures the number of shortest paths connecting each space to all other spaces in the system, while **local choice** measures the number of shortest paths connecting each space to all other spaces within a certain local distance, which could be a 'walkable' distance (up to 1200m), a 'cyclable' distance or any other that suits the research's needs. Numeric and metric measures are a valuable background to space syntax analysis and can reveal basic aspects of spatial networks. For example, the number of axial lines in an axial map and the number of segments in a segment map or any sub-areas of these can be used as baseline to quantify systems and compare them. Metric measures such as **axial length** and **segment length** are also useful in describing physical properties of space and in assessing the relationship between syntactic measures and other properties of space.

The measures of choice can be normalised to account for the fact that spatial structures which have higher mean depth value (and as such are segregated within a whole system) add more total and average choice to the whole system. This adjusts choice according to depth and thus reduces the choice value of spaces according to how deep they are in the system ¹¹.

Choice is normalised according to the following formula:

$$\log (\text{choice} + 1) / \log (\text{Total Depth} + 3)$$

¹¹ For further details about normalisation see (Hillier et al., 2012).

The measure of integration can also be normalised so that systems can be compared to the urban average and to each other.

Integration is normalised according to the following formula:

Node Count ^{1.2}/Total Depth

ILARIA GEDDES DA FILICAIA

Appendix 3: Transcripts of Conversations with Expert Stakeholders

A3.1 Letter requesting interview

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN
RE: INTERVIEWS FOR PHD RESEARCH

Dear Sir/Madame,

I am writing to request an interview with you as part of my PhD research. My PhD is about the urban development of Limassol from the end of the Ottoman period until the present day and how changes in the urban form of Limassol relate to the distribution of different social groups within the city.

More specifically, I am analysing two issues: one is the relationship between two theories of urban development – both of which relate to economic cycles. For this I am trying to access information about the dates of planning and construction of certain developments, as well as the reasons behind their location. The second issue is how the impact of individual developments on the whole city is assessed and what criteria are taken into consideration when assessing planning applications and when developing the Local Plan.

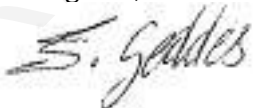
The aim of the interview therefore is firstly to find out a number of facts/pieces of information – these you may be able to provide or you may be able to point me in the right direction to find out, may this be a colleague or some kind of records. The second aim is to find out the reasoning behind certain planning decisions and try to identify the various planning regimes behind the main historical developments in Limassol and, more specifically, behind the recent and ongoing developments in the town centre and along the waterfront.

The interview is semi-structured: a number of questions aim to retrieve factual information, while some try to build on your knowledge and understanding of the planning processes, of Limassol's development, the history of its planning and how things work in practice. I am particularly interested in hearing your professional opinion about how Limassol's development has been managed in the past, what you find are the key characteristics of the city (positive and negative), what you see as the current strengths and weaknesses of the city, and what you think should be priorities for Limassol's future development.

I envisage the interview to last around 30 minutes and am happy to run this in either English or Greek.

Looking forward to hearing from you.

Kind regards,



Ilaria Geddes

A3.2 Formulation of reassurance regarding recording and anonymity

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this interview. If it is ok with you I need to record it – this is just for me to listen to it again at a later stage and to transcribe the

interviews to append to my PhD. I will not be using names or even job titles when presenting this material in my PhD. However, these may be disclosed to researchers who require them to check the validity of my finding – disclosure will happen only on a confidential basis, following a review of the reasons for requesting it, as well as your approval.

A3.3 Conversation 1a

Researcher: Τι θέλω είναι για κάποια γεγονότα, μπορεί να έχει αρχείο εδώ στη Λεμεσό, ξέρω ότι έχει κεντρικό αρχείο.

Expert 1a: Υπάρχει ένα αρχείο και το εργαλείο που μπορείς να χρησιμοποιήσεις είναι εφημερίδες, δηλαδή να βάζεις κάτι και να σου βγάζει τις εφημερίδες που έχουν την λέξη που έβαλες εσύ.

Researcher: Αυτό το έχουμε και στη Λευκωσία, το ΡΙΟ, εντάξει θα ψάξω εκεί.

Expert 1a: Αυτό το βιβλίο το έχεις; ... Αυτό είναι μέχρι την τουρκοκρατία, να σου το δώσω.

Researcher: Θέλω να ξέρω πότε αποφασίσαμε να κάνουμε κάποια πράγματα στην πόλη.

Expert 1a: Εγώ θα ήθελα να σε ρωτήσω επειδή έγραφες «The relationship between two theories of urban development» τι εννοείς ακριβώς;

Researcher: Έχει 2 θεωρίες, η μία ονομάζεται Space Syntax και λέει ότι όλες οι πόλεις έχουν μία μορφή που μοιάζει με τροχό, όλες οι πόλεις στον κόσμο. Αυτή η μορφή, ας πούμε είναι η κύρια μορφή και το λένε super structure, είναι κυρίως οι δρόμοι που κάνουν αυτή την μορφή.

Expert 1a: Το ακτινωτό σύστημα, δηλαδή το σύστημα που έχω ένα κέντρο και βγάζω έξω τους δρόμους. Αυτό έχουμε στη Λεμεσό, μισό λόγω της θάλασσας.

Researcher: Ανάμεσα οι μορφές είναι διαφορετικές μεταξύ των πόλεων για πολλούς λόγους, κουλτούρα, έδαφος.

Expert 1a: Εντάξει έχουμε μοντέλα, μιλάς για μοντέλα. Έχουμε το γραμμικό μοντέλο, αυτό το μοντέλο (ακτινωτό), το παράλληλο μοντέλο. Στη Λεμεσό έχουμε το ακτινωτό μοντέλο και προσπαθήσαμε με το Τοπικό Σχέδιο να το μετατρέψουμε σε ένα τέτοιο μοντέλο (κάτι γράφει στο χαρτί), όσο μπορείς να το κάνεις. Είναι σαν να κάνεις ένα τετράγωνο και μετά άλλο και μετά άλλο.

Researcher: Αλλά οτιδήποτε και να γίνει πάλι η πόλη έχει αυτή τη μορφή, ο μισός τροχός. Τι άλλο λέει, είναι ότι όταν η πόλη αναπτύσσεται, πρώτα κτίζουμε λίγους μεγάλους/ μακρινούς δρόμους, (δείχνεις σε σκίτσο) όπως η Μακαρίου και μετά κτίζουμε πολλούς μικρούς/ κοντινούς δρόμους. Μπορεί να είναι κυκλικό, μπορεί να είναι έτσι (σκίτσο).

Expert 1a: Έχεις υπόψη σου ένα χάρτη παλιό της Λεμεσού του 1893;

Researcher: Η άλλη θεωρία τι λέει; Λέει ότι όταν τα οικονομικά δεν πάνε καλά, βγάζουμε μεγάλα κτήρια που θέλουν πολλή χώρο όπως τα στάδια, σχολεία έξω από την πόλη και μετά όταν τα πράγματα πάνε καλά κτίζουμε πολλά σπίτια ανάμεσα και έτσι πάει η πόλη κυκλικά βάση των οικονομικών. Τώρα από την ανάλυση που έκανα, φαίνεται ότι η Λεμεσός κάνει λίγο και από τα δύο.

Expert 1a: Κοίταξε εγώ δεν μπορώ να σου πω ότι αν πάνε τα οικονομικά καλά θα γίνει αυτό. Αυτό που μπορώ να σου πω είναι ότι, από την δική μου εμπειρία και σπουδές, η ανάπτυξη της πόλης και της οικονομίας είναι στενά δεμένα και έχουν διαλεκτική σχέση. Δηλαδή, η οικονομία επηρεάζει την ανάπτυξη και ο τρόπος της ανάπτυξης επηρεάζει την οικονομία. Τώρα το τι μοντέλο θα ακολουθήσει αυτό το φαινόμενο εξαρτάται από πολλά πράγματα. Διότι τι σημαίνει οικονομία και στάδιο; Οικονομία μπορεί να βρίσκεται στα χέρια 5 ανθρώπων, να έχουμε μεγάλες επιχειρήσεις και μεγάλο εμπόριο, αλλά το κράτος και ο Δήμος να μην έχουν λεφτά. Οπότε όταν θέλει να κάνει ένα στάδιο και δεν έχει λεφτά, μπορεί να έρθει ένας πλούσιος και να πει

εγώ σου δίνω αυτή την γη για να το κάνεις γιατί ίσως έτσι θέλει, αλλά μπορεί να σου πει σου την δίνω αυτή τη γη για να το κάνεις, διότι δίπλα έχει γη άλλη με την οποία, εάν εσύ πάρεις το ρεύμα, το νερό, τους δρόμους, θα μπορέσει εκείνος να κάνει οικοπέδα. Άρα νομίζω είναι λίγο complicated, δεν υπάρχει καθαρό μοντέλο.

Researcher: Γι' αυτό θέλω να δω αν μπορώ να βρω περίπου την ημερομηνία, τουλάχιστο τον χρόνο, που αποφασίσαμε να κάνουμε ένα δρόμο, θέλω να φτιάξω ένα timeline της πόλης, ας πούμε ο δρόμος Μακαρίου πήρε έγκριση για να κτιστεί το 1942 και το στάδιο το 1943.

Expert 1a: Ωραία. Αντιλαμβάνεσαι ότι εγώ δεν θυμάμαι όλες τις ημερομηνίες. Αυτές τις πληροφορίες δεν είναι από interview που πρέπει να τα πάρεις, αλλά να πας στα διάφορα τμήματα που ασχολούνται. Το πρόβλημα στην Κύπρο είναι ότι δεν έχουμε καλά αρχεία, ή δεν κρατούμε τους φακέλους αλλά ίσως βρεις πιο παλιούς που θυμούνται. Θα ήθελα να πάρεις αυτό το βιβλίο και να ξαναβρεθούμε μετά αφού το διαβάσεις. Στη Λεμεσό υπήρχαν από πολύ παλιά, διότι από τότε άρχισε να αναπτύσσεται η Λεμεσός; Από το 1900, όπως λες και εσύ μετά την Οθωμανική κατοχή, ίσως όταν έρχονται οι Άγγλοι το 1878. Υπάρχουν κάποιοι άνθρωποι, οι οποίοι φωνάζουν συνεχώς ότι ό,τι κάνουμε μέσα στην πόλη δεν το κάνουμε με ένα πρόγραμμα, το κάνουμε ευκαιριακά, ό,τι βρούμε. Έχεις ζήσει στην Λεμεσό; Ξέρεις την εκκλησία της Αγίας Νάπας; Εκεί υπήρχε μια παλιά εκκλησία, μια καμαρωσκεπής εκκλησία, τυπική Κυπριακή. Μετά αποφάσισαν να κάνουν τέλη του 1800 έναν πιο καλό ναό. Γιατί αποφάσισαν να φαίνεται πιο καλός; Πλούτισαν και ήθελαν να δείξουν κάτι πιο καλό. Την έκαναν στο ίδιο σημείο που ήταν η παλιά εκκλησία, αφού πλάτυναν τους δρόμους λίγο μπροστά. Εφώναζε λοιπόν ένας κύριος και έλεγε «Μα καλά γιατί κάνατε ένα τόσο ωραίο ναό, τον καλύτερο της Κύπρου, γιατί πήγατε στο σημείο εκείνο που ήταν ο παλιός ναός;». Μετά μόλις ήρθαν οι Άγγλοι το 1878 είπαν ότι ήθελαν να κάνουν μία αγορά, έπρεπε να κάνουν μία αγορά, άλλο η οθωμανική αγορά που βγαίνουν και φώναζαν και άλλο η ευρωπαϊκή αγορά. Βρήκα ένα ελεύθερο και ανοικτό στο κέντρο τόπο. Έκαναν στο κέντρο μια αγορά και δίπλα ένα χάνι. Μετά από αρκετά χρόνια σκέφτηκα ότι πρέπει να κάνουν μία καλύτερη αγορά. Πάλι η απόφαση ήταν «Να η πόλη εδώ, που να την τοποθετήσουμε; Που να την κάνουμε; Υπάρχει εδώ ένα περβόλι, ένα χωράφι να πάμε εδώ να κάνουμε την αγορά.» Πάλι αυτός ο κύριος που έκανε την κεντρική έλεγε «Μα πως αποφασίζετε, γιατί πήγαμε να δημιουργήσουμε μία πλατεία, μια vista, ένα χώρο που να φαίνεται και να προβάλλεται ο ναός και η αγορά μας». Πηγαίναμε όπου βρίσκαμε και αυτό το πράγμα έτσι έγινε, όπως και ο δημόσιος κήπος, υπήρχε ένα χωράφι, μακριά από την πόλη εκείνη την εποχή και έγινε ο δημόσιος κήπος. Δεν έγιναν απαλλοτριώσεις για να γίνουν κτήρια, σπάνια γίνονταν.

Researcher: Αν πάμε πιο μετά σίγουρα σιγά σιγά άλλαξαν.

Expert 1a: Είναι πάντα το ίδιο. Θυμάμαι που γράφεις μέσα για το Σπύρος Κυπριανού που κτίστηκε το 1990, το οποίο είναι ένα κρατικό δάσος μία κρατική έκταση, μέσα στα όρια του Δήμου, διότι ήθελε να το κάνει ο δήμος, και ήταν δωρεά και κάποιος αποφάσισε να κάνουν το στάδιο εκεί. Εάν με ρωτάς εμένα, που εκείνη την περίοδο ήμουν στην Πολεοδομία, δεν είναι σωστό ένα στάδιο το οποίο θέλεις να το κάνεις μέσα στην πόλη για να αθλείται η νεολαία σου, και αυτό το ρόλο θα μπορούσε να έχει αυτό το πράγμα, να πας να το βάλεις τόσο μακριά, έξω και σε μία πόλη που δεν έχει καλές συγκοινωνίες.

Researcher: Και τι απάντησαν;

Expert 1a: Δεν έχουμε λεφτά να αγοράσουμε γη. Είναι αυτό που σου έλεγα προηγούμενος πλούσια πόλη αλλά όχι πλούσιο κράτος.

Researcher: Η εταιρία που λέει ότι δεν είχε λεφτά το έκανε προς τα έξω, είναι εταιρία για όλες τις πόλεις, δεν γίνεται μόνο στην Κύπρο.

Expert 1a: Όχι δεν είναι για όλες τις πόλεις, διότι σε άλλα καθεστώτα (πολιτικά) ή σε κάποιες άλλες περιπτώσεις πιθανό να θέλεις να έχεις slam clear μέσα στο κέντρο

και πηγαίνουν στα slam και κάνουν κεντρικές λειτουργίες. Είναι πάρα πολλοί οι παράγοντες που θα σε οδηγήσουν στο να πάρεις μια απόφαση.

Researcher: Αλλά κάτι όπως ένας δρόμος, συγκεκριμένα ο Σπύρου Κυπριανού, που φαίνεται από τους χάρτες ότι ένωσαν κομματάκια μαζί για να φτιάξουν το δρόμο.

Expert 1a: Όχι στην Κύπρο δεν υπήρχε νόμος περί Πολεοδομίας. Νόμος για Πολεοδομία εφαρμόστηκε το 1990. Παλιά υπήρχε ο Streets and Buildings Law (Περί οδών και οικοδομών νόμος). Πιο παλιά δεν υπήρχε καν τμήμα Πολεοδομίας το 1955. Όταν δεν υπήρχε νόμος περί Πολεοδομίας και υπήρχε ο νόμος περί οδών και οικοδομών, έβαλαν κάποια άρθρα μέσα για να φτιάξουν μια στοιχειώδη πολεοδομία. Όταν, λοιπόν, ήθελαν να διαπλατύνουν ένα δρόμο ή ένα μονοπάτι να το μεγαλώσουν ή να το μετατρέψουν σε δρόμο, δημοσίευαν ένα σχέδιο το οποίο ονόμαζαν «Σχέδιο Δεσμευτικής Ρυμοτομίας». Όταν εσύ έκαμες τότε ένα application είτε ήθελες να χωρίσεις τη γη σου σε οικόπεδα ή να κτίσεις το σπίτι σου, σου έλεγαν εντάξει αλλά τον δρόμο που σχεδιάσαμε θα τον κάνεις ή θα τον αφήσεις. Αν θα ήθελες να χωρίσεις οικόπεδα θα σε έβαζαν να τον κάνεις, ίσως όχι ολόκληρο, διότι η διοίκηση δεν μπορεί να είναι αυστηρή με τους άλλους αλλά να αφήσεις την έκταση και να κάνεις ένα κομμάτι. Αν ήθελες να κτίσεις ένα σπίτι πρέπει να πας πίσω για να γίνει ο δρόμος. Αυτός λοιπόν ο δρόμος φαίνεται ότι είχε σχεδιαστεί γύρω στο 1959, απ' ό,τι ακούω. Για να το βρεις αυτό σίγουρα πρέπει να πας στην Πολεοδομία και να βρεις παλιούς φακέλους και κάποιον που έχει όρεξη να σου τα δείξει, αλλά οι παλιοί υπάλληλοι της Πολεοδομίας μας έλεγαν ότι ήταν το 1959, και μάλιστα με πυρρό. Λοιπόν, μετά το 1959 ερχόταν κάποιος και έλεγε «θέλω να χωρίσω οικόπεδα» του έλεγαν εντάξει, χώρισε τα οικόπεδα σου αλλά αυτό άφησε το ελεύθερο για να περάσει ο δρόμος. Έτσι λοιπόν αυτό το πράγμα βάση ενός σχεδίου που υπήρχε έβλεπες κομματάκια και κάποιοι έλεγαν να κάνουμε τον δρόμο, να πληρώσουμε για να γίνει ο δρόμος. Αν κάποιοι δεν άφηναν το κομμάτι, θα τους το απαλλοτριώνανε για το κομμάτι. Αλλά όταν τους το απαλλοτριώσουμε θα δούμε και το better med. Δηλαδή θα τους πούμε ότι σας απαλλοτριώσαμε για να κάνουμε το δρόμο, αλλά δεν πρέπει να σας πληρώσουμε πολλά, διότι κάναμε την περιουσία σας να έχει περισσότερη αξία που σας κάναμε δρόμο, άρα πληρώνουμε πιο λίγο. Οπότε, θα τον κατασκευάσουμε.

Researcher: Αυτό είναι πολύ ενδιαφέρον. Δηλαδή μάλλον αν βάλλω ένα χάρτη πάνω από τον άλλο να δω ότι έχει κενά. Τα κομματάκια έμειναν εκεί και είπαν δηλαδή πρέπει να κάνουμε ένα δρόμο έχει πολύ κίνηση και ένωσαν τα κομμάτια, αλλά όχι το είχαν σχεδιάσει από πριν.

Expert 1a: Όταν λεμέ ότι δεν υπήρχε νόμος περί πολεοδομίας, διότι ο νόμος περί πολεοδομίας (planning law) που μπήκε το 1990, είχε ψηφιστεί αλλά δεν εφαρμόστηκε. Σε βοηθούσε πλέον να κάνεις τα τοπικά σχέδια, όλα αυτά να τα σχεδιάζει. Τώρα έχουμε το τοπικό σχέδιο Λεμεσού (σου δείχνει το σχέδιο), δεν είναι το σύγχρονο απλώς επειδή δουλεύω πάνω σε κάτι, είναι το πιο παλιό αλλά δεν έχει σημασία. Όπως το 1959 τραβήξαν μια γραμμή και έκαναν το δρόμο αυτό, ο οποίος ήταν έτσι (κάτι δείχνει στον χάρτη). Σήμερα υπάρχει μια γραμμή για ένα δρόμο εδώ, πάνω από το δρόμο του αυτοκινητόδρομου.

Researcher: Ναι αλλά αυτό δεν φαίνεται πουθενά.

Expert 1a: Φαίνεται μόνο στο σχέδιο. Αν πας τώρα εδώ που κάποιος χώρισε οικόπεδα θα δεις τον δρόμο κάτω, ως κομματάκια. Ή λοιπόν θα περιμένουν όλους να έρθουν να τον κάνουν χωρίζοντας τα οικόπεδα, που δεν μπορεί να γίνει διότι υπάρχει τόσο urban sprawl (αστική διάχυση), τόση διάχυση στην Λεμεσό που δεν μπορεί να γίνει αυτό το πράγμα. Αλλά σε κάποια φάση όταν η κίνηση μεγαλώσει τόσο πολύ αν αυξηθεί ο πληθυσμός τόσο πολύ τότε η κυβέρνηση θα πει αυτό το δρόμο θα πρέπει να τον κάνω. Οπότε τι θα κάνει; Αφού το σχέδιο υπάρχει, είναι σχεδιασμένος σε μεγάλη λεπτομέρεια. Θα πει αυτός έδωσε κομμάτι, αυτός έδωσε, αυτός δεν έδωσε άρα θα απαλλοτριώσω αυτόν, αυτόν και αυτόν και θα τον κάνω. Υπάρχουν δρόμοι

που είναι και έξω από το τοπικό σχέδιο που υπάρχουν και προχωρούν, είναι σχεδιασμένοι ανάλογα με το πότε εσύ θα ζητήσεις την άδεια σου θα το πάρουν. Το πότε θα το κάνουν είναι όταν θα έρθει πολύ μεγάλη ανάγκη ή αν υπάρξουν πολλά λεφτά.

Researcher: Τουλάχιστον έχει κάποιους που σκέφτονται για το μέλλον. Δεν έρχονται τελευταία στιγμή για να πουν να το κάνουν.

Expert 1a: Ναι σίγουρα. Όταν δημιουργήθηκε ο νόμος και δημοσιεύτηκαν τα τοπικά σχέδια το 1990, απλώς τα σχέδια έγιναν δημόσια, δηλαδή τα ξέραν όλοι. Δεν σημαίνει ότι πιο πριν δεν υπήρχαν. Με ρωτάς για παράδειγμα πότε έγινε ο δρόμος Λεμεσού- Λευκωσίας, αλλά δεν ξέρω για ποιο κομμάτι με ρωτάς διότι έγιναν σε πολλές φάσεις. Έγινε από την Γερμασόγια μέχρι την Λευκωσία και μετά έγινε το λεγόμενο bypass της Λεμεσού.

Researcher: Εγώ ενδιαφέρομαι, ας πούμε για πότε αποφάσισαν να τον κτίσουν.

Expert 1a: Αυτό τον δρόμο μπορεί να μην τον είχε σχεδιάσει η πολεοδομία, όπως την Κυπριανού που έκανε το σχέδιο το 1959, αλλά υπήρχε το τμήμα των Δημοσίων Έργων, το οποίο υπήρχε ένα σχέδιο στην Κύπρο μετά την εισβολή, στο οποίο ήθελαν να ενώσουν όλες τις πόλεις με δρόμο τεσσάρων λωρίδων. Άρα έβαζαν κάποιους και έκαναν τα σχέδια, έφτασαν στο σημείο να το ξεκινήσουν γύρω στο 1979-1980. Δεν υπήρχαν μεν σχέδια που τα βλέπεις, δεν υπήρχε ένα planning authority που να συντονίζει, αλλά το κάθε τμήμα μέσα στις δικές του αρμοδιότητες, διότι ακόμη και κάποιοι δρόμοι μέσα στις πόλεις είναι αρμοδιότητα των δημοσίων έργων όταν είναι συνδεδετικοί, όταν είναι μεγάλοι, όταν είναι υπεραστικοί και περνούν μέσα από τις πόλεις, έκαναν τα δικά τους σχέδια. Αν έρθουμε τώρα στην Μακαρίου, η πληροφορία είναι ότι έγινε 1941.

Researcher: Δηλαδή με τον πόλεμο.

Expert 1a: Ναι. Τώρα δεν θυμάμαι που ακριβώς το βρήκα και η εντύπωση που μου μένει μέσα στο μυαλό είναι ότι έγινε για σκοπούς του πολέμου, δηλαδή υπήρχε και πολιτικό αεροδρόμιο. Πρέπει να ήθελαν οι Άγγλοι να παρακάμψουν την πόλη, γι' αυτό και ονομάζεται και bypass, διότι αν θέλεις να μετακινήσεις στρατεύματα, αυτοκίνητα κτλ., δεν μπορείς να περάσεις μέσα από την πόλη, αλλά δεν υπήρχε άλλος δρόμος και έτσι έπρεπε να μπει μέσα από την πόλη. Γι' αυτό νομίζω τον έκανα, διότι δεν είχε τότε η πόλη ανάγκη. Έχει κάτι σχήματα που δείχνουν την πόλη σε διάφορες φάσεις, τα έχεις;

Researcher: Έχω όλους τους χάρτες που θα μπορούσα να βρω, έχω το Kitchener, έχω χάρτη από το 1930-1933, 1960, 1974 και μετά είναι από το κτηματολόγιο, έχω 2003.

Expert 1a: Του 1930 τον έχεις μαζί σου σε usb;

Researcher: Όχι, αν έχετε usb τον έχω στον υπολογιστή. Έχω και ένα καλό χάρτη από το 1845.

Expert 1a: Θέλω να δω αυτό τον χάρτη. Τον είδα.

Researcher: Δεν είναι πολεοδομικός χάρτης, είναι ναυτικός, αλλά είναι καλοσχεδιασμένος. Απλά δεν ξέρουμε αν περιγράφει όλη την πόλη.

Expert 1a: Ναι θα τον δούμε, διότι έχει μια φωτογραφία το 1850 που δείχνει με πολύ ακρίβεια την Λεμεσό.

Researcher: Έχω τα μισά από το ιστορικό αρχείο.

Expert 1a: Είναι από τα τοπικά σχέδια, τα παλιά πριν να μπει ο νόμος. Θα σου τα δείξω, (σου δείχνει πάνω σε χάρτη). Βλέπεις το 1937, αυτή εδώ είναι η Γλάστωνος, δηλαδή το 1937 που είναι κοντά στο 1941 δεν υπάρχει η ανάγκη να ανέβω εδώ πάνω για να κάνω δρόμο. Πάμε μετά στο 1947, βλέπεις τον δρόμο και είναι πολύ μακριά, δεν είναι ένας δρόμος που θα πει κάποιος «να η απόσταση, να τον φέρω εδώ τον δρόμο». Είναι καθαρό ότι κάποιος θέλει να φύγει μακριά, να κάνει bypass, να μην έχει καθόλου κίνηση, άσχετο αν μετά έρχεται η κίνηση και τον βρίσκει. Μάλιστα γίνεται λίγο παράξενος, έλα να σου δείξω. Αν προσέξεις εδώ, η πόλη

σχεδιάζεται με βάση αυτά τα σχέδια εδώ, under the table, και ξαφνικά έρχεται αυτός ο δρόμος και δημιουργεί τρομερά προβλήματα, τα οποία αποτελούν και μετά σχόλια σε έναν πολεοδόμο, ο οποίος κάλεσε η Λεμεσός, για να της κάνει πολεοδομικό σχέδιο. Δηλαδή πως θα έλυναν αυτό το πρόβλημα ότι όλοι οι δρόμοι έρχονταν έτσι πάνω σε αυτόν τον δρόμο. Και μάλιστα ήταν να κλείσουν κάποιοι δρόμοι, άρα είναι δρόμος βιαστικός, γίνεται χωρίς να λάβει πολλά πράγματα υπόψη. Εδώ δεν υπήρχε η ανάπτυξη τότε. Κάπου εδώ, δεν θυμάμαι ακριβώς, που υπάρχει στρατιωτικό αεροδρόμιο. Δεν θυμάμαι τώρα ακριβώς, πρέπει να ψάξω για να το βρω. Δηλαδή ίσως αυτό ήθελαν να το ενώσουν για να φεύγουν εύκολα από την Λεμεσό, μετά έρχονται και ενώνονται με το δρόμο που πάει στα βουνά, δηλαδή πως θα έρθουν;, διαφορετικά θα έπρεπε να πιάσουν αυτό το δρόμο εδώ, και εδώ είχαν κάνει τα λεγόμενα «τέσσερα φανάρια», δεν ξέρω αν ξέρεις την γέφυρα, και να περάσουν από την Γλάστωνος; Ήταν πολύς ο συνωστισμός να μπουν από μέσα. Έτσι ξέρω αλλά δεν βάζω και σφραγίδα.

Researcher: Να σας δείξω τον χάρτη.

Expert 1a: Δείξτε μου του 1930. Είσαι αρχαιολόγος και κάνεις planning;

Researcher: Ναι, το πρώτο μου πτυχίο ήταν στην αρχαιολογία, το μεταπτυχιακό μου ήταν πάνω στο GIS για την αρχαιολογία, αλλά τώρα έκανα αυτό.

Expert 1a: Τώρα στο πανεπιστήμιο Κύπρου κάνεις στην αρχιτεκτονική;

Researcher: Το τμήμα είναι της αρχιτεκτονικής αφού δεν υπάρχει τμήμα πολεοδομίας και κάνω GIS με τους χάρτες. (μικρή διακοπή για εύρεση αρχείου) Τώρα, μιλήσαμε για τα παλιά. Για τα μη δημόσια έργα, ήταν για άλλα, ας πούμε, όπως η βιομηχανική περιοχή.

Expert 1a: Οι βιομηχανικές περιοχές είναι δημόσιες. Κοίταξε, υπάρχουν δύο είδη, η βιομηχανική περιοχή και η βιομηχανική ζώνη. Λοιπόν, αυτό είναι το τοπικό σχέδιο, εδώ έχουμε την Λινόπετρα, δηλαδή Αγίου Αθανασίου, η οποία είναι κυβερνητική, το κομμάτι αυτό. Τι σημαίνει αυτό; Έρχεται το κράτος απαλλοτριώνει την γη, κάνει τους δρόμους, παίρνει το ρεύμα, παίρνει το νερό, παίρνει τα τηλέφωνα, ίσως και τις αποχετεύσεις, δεν ξέρω ακριβώς και χωρίζει οικόπεδα και μετά έρχονται οι βιομηχανίες και τους κάνει μία ενοικίαση. Δηλαδή διευκολύνει τις βιομηχανίες να βρουν τόπο να εγκατασταθούν. Αυτή είναι περιοχή άρα είναι κυβερνητικό το έργο. Εδώ είναι επίσης στα όρια του δήμου πάνω που είναι το Ζακάκι, είναι περιοχή. Ένα μέρος είναι ζώνη, δηλαδή εδώ δεν είναι περιοχή, αλλά σε αυτή τη ζώνη επιτρέπεται να κάνεις μόνο βιομηχανίες.

Researcher: Και πάλι η απόφαση για να γίνει σε αυτή την περιοχή την παίρνει το κράτος και είναι κάποιος που λέει εκεί θα πάει καλά η βιομηχανική. Απλά έτσι έλεγε, έχουμε χωράφια άρα να τα κάνουμε βιομηχανίες.

Expert 1a: Ναι να το συζητήσουμε μετά αυτό. Μετά έχουμε τις περιοχές αυτές, μικρές που είναι ζώνες. Εδώ πάνω ψηλά στην Αγία Φύλα είναι βιοτεχνικές-βιομηχανικές, και μετά εδώ είναι οι πολύ οχληρές. Δηλαδή, η βιομηχανία χωρίζεται σε πολύ οχληρή, σε κανονική και σε ελαφρά βιομηχανία. Τι θέλεις τώρα να δεις;

Researcher: Γιατί την έβαλαν εκεί πάλι, της Λινόπετρας ήταν εκεί μετά τον αυτοκινητόδρομο.

Expert 1a: Όχι είναι παλιά, η περιοχή είναι παλιά. Όμως πιθανώς να υπήρχαν τα σχέδια του αυτοκινητοδρόμου. Δηλαδή, όπως είπαμε και προηγουμένως το μοντέλο μέχρι εκεί που δημιουργείται μόνη της η πόλη χωρίς να σχεδιαστεί είναι ακτινωτό. Δηλαδή έχουμε την ακτίνα που σε παίρνει Λευκωσία παράλληλα με την θάλασσα, σχεδόν παράλληλα με την θάλασσα που σε παίρνει Πάφο και προς τα βουνά, μετά έχουμε ακτίνα που σε παίρνει πάλι προς τον Ύψωνα, που από εκεί κατεβαίνουν τα κρασοχώρια, διότι η Λεμεσός είναι πόλη που έρχονται και αφήσουν το κρασί και τα χαρούπια για να γίνει εμπόριο. Έχουμε άλλες ακτίνες που σε παίρνουν σε χωριά αρκετά μεγάλα που είναι περι-αστικά, γύρω γύρω από την πόλη όπως είναι τα Πολεμύδια, αλλά μετά όταν συνεχίσεις πάνω σε παίρνουν σε άλλα χωριά και

δημιουργούνται αυτές οι ακτίνες. Αν δεις οι ακτίνες σταματούν μέχρι εδώ. Η Γλάστωνος υπήρχε από παλιά, θα το δεις από το χάρτη του Kitchener, σαν μονοπάτι. Μετά έχουμε το bypass, μετά έχουμε την Σπύρου Κυπριανού το 1959 περίπου, σχεδιασμένη. Όταν δημιουργήθηκε ο δρόμος Λεμεσού, πρέπει να ξεχωρίσουμε 2 πράγματα, ο δρόμος Λεμεσού-Λευκωσίας έρχεται ως εδώ και μετά πάει έτσι. Μετά το 1984, όταν άρχισαν οι πιέσεις ότι θέλουμε να πάμε Πάφο, αρχίζουμε και κάνουμε αυτά, μετά συζητούμε αν θα κάνουμε round about, διότι αυτοί που μας δανειοδοτούν και μας δίνουν λεφτά μας λένε ότι δεν αξίζει να κάνεις 4 λωρίδες, να κάνεις 2 και δεν μπορείτε να κάνετε round about. Μετά αρχίζει η ευμάρεια και ο κόσμος αρχίζει να πηγαίνει προς τα υψώματα να κατοικήσει, όταν κατεβαίνει κάτω; Μετά παίρνουν απόφαση να κάνουν roundabout, μετά υπέργεις διαβάσεις λόγω του traffic, αυτά ήταν από το τμήμα δημοσίων έργων. Άρα το ότι ερχόμασταν εδώ και ότι πιθανόν να είχε σχεδιαστεί ο παρακαμπτήριος από πιο παλιά, αφού βλέπουμε ακόμα ότι το 1984 που έχω τα πρώτα πολεοδομικά σχέδια. Άρα φαίνεται ότι υπήρχα κάποια σχέδια ότι αυτή η περιοχή εκεί θα εξυπηρετείτο από διάφορους δρόμους. Με δεδομένο ότι αυτή, νομίζω, ήταν πιο παλιά ίσως δημιουργήθηκε μια ανατολικά και μία δυτικά, η μία να ενώνει με Λευκωσία και η άλλη με Πάφο. Δεν είναι τυχαίο. Τώρα γιατί έρχεται τόσο κάτω; Είσαι πλέον μακριά από την πόλη, δεν είχε αναπτυχθεί η πόλη, πάνω σε κάποιους άξονες που λογαριάζεις να κάνεις.

Researcher: Απ' ότι μου είπαν σχεδίασαν την Σπύρου Κυπριανού πρώτα και μετά τον αυτοκινητόδρομο, αλλά έκτισαν τον αυτοκινητόδρομο πριν την Σπύρου Κυπριανού, δηλαδή έδωσαν προτεραιότητα πρώτα στον αυτοκινητόδρομο, μάλλον είχε πίεση από κίνηση.

Expert 1a: Το ξαναλέω, ο αυτοκινητόδρομος σταματάει εδώ.

Researcher: Ναι αλλά, μέχρι το 1984 είναι...

Expert 1a: Μετά ξεκινά ο παρακαμπτήριος, ναι αλλά υπήρχε η εξής πίεση. Ερχόταν ένας από την Λευκωσία και ήθελε να πάει στην Πάφο. Περνούσε από την λεωφόρο, είχε πολύ traffic. Οπότε, ίσως δόθηκε μία λύση να έρθουν από πάνω για να φύγουν τελείως από το traffic, διότι και από εδώ να έρχονταν και να παίρναν την Σπύρου Κυπριανού (η οποία λεγόταν τότε Συγκρού) πάλι θα μπαίναν ένα κομμάτι μέσα στην πόλη, ενώ από εδώ θα έφευγαν. Μετά, δημιουργηθήκαν πιέσεις και στο ενδιαμέσο πυκνώσε η ανάπτυξη. Εκείνο που πρέπει ίσως να πούμε είναι ότι σε μια ελεύθερη οικονομία δεν μπορείς να προγραμματίσεις τα πάντα και τότε θα τα κάνεις ακριβώς, διότι δεν ξέρεις και πως θα αναπτυχθεί η πόλη. Άρα αναμένεις να δεις πως αναπτύσσεται η πόλη, τι πιέσεις δημιουργούνται και πράττεις αναλόγως.

Researcher: Τα σπίτια για τους πρόσφυγες;

Expert 1a: Το πρώτο που γίνεται είναι ψηλά, στον Άγιο Αθανάσιο, πάνω από τον αυτοκινητόδρομο.

Researcher: Όχι αυτό που είναι κάτω; Αυτό που είναι πάνω; Πώς ονομάζεται αυτή η περιοχή;

Expert 1a: Άγιος Αθανάσιος. Έχεις λάθος μέσα με τους housing estates, δεν είναι αυτοί που περιγράφεις, θα σου πω εγώ ποιοι είναι. Το πρώτο που γίνεται λοιπόν είναι εδώ. Λοιπόν, τι είναι ο Άγιος Αθανάσιος;, τι είναι η Μέσα Γειτονιά;, τι είναι η Αγία Φύλα; Είναι δορυφορικά χωριά (satellite villages)/περι-αστικά χωριά. Το 1974 που έγινε η εισβολή, όταν κινήσουν δεν έχεις την αίσθηση που έχεις σήμερα, πρέπει να δεις τους χάρτες.

Researcher: Ο χάρτης είναι το 1933 και ιδιοκτήτης είναι το British Library. (ανταλλαγή χάρτη)

Expert 1a: Εγώ προσπάθησα να κάνω χάρτη του 1927, γι' αυτό θέλω να το συγκρίνω με αυτό, με χωρομετρικά παλιά που βρήκα. Βλέπεις; Είναι μπερδεμένος, δεν βγαίνει καλά. Είναι χωρομετρικά που έγραφαν πάνω ότι είναι του 1927. Έλεγαν ότι είναι του 1927, αλλά και το 1940 όταν ήθελαν να βάλουν ένα κτήριο το έβαζαν επάνω σε

αυτούς και το ξανασχεδιάζαν, γι' αυτό τον θέλω αυτόν για να συγκρίνω και να σιγουρευτώ. Έχεις και το άλλο του 1849;

Researcher: Είναι καθαρός, αλλά είναι ναυτικός, δηλαδή δεν έχει ακρίβεια. Μήπως έχετε χάρτη της Λευκωσίας του 1974;

Expert 1a: Όχι δεν έχω.

Researcher: Επειδή έχω ένα της Λεμεσού το 1974 και της Πάφου.

Expert 1a: Το κτηματολόγιο δεν μπορεί να σου δώσει;

Researcher: Μου λένε ότι δεν έχουν. Τους βρήκα στο μούφλοκ, βιβλιοπωλείο, και η κυρία εκεί μου λέει ότι τους έπιασε από το κτηματολόγιο, αλλά ήταν μια αγγλική εταιρεία που έφτιαξε τις κάρτες και βρήκα την εταιρεία. Η εταιρεία τώρα έκλεισε, αλλά οι υπάλληλοι μπορεί να έχουν αντίγραφα και ψάχνουν τώρα για μένα. Είπαμε για τα housing estates.

Expert 1a: Σου έλεγα λοιπόν ότι ο πρώτος που έγινε, έγινε εδώ στον Άγιο Αθανάσιο ψηλά και σου έλεγα ότι το 1974 που έγινε η εισβολή, το 1975-76 που έγιναν οι πρώτοι οικισμοί, δεν υπήρχε συνέχεια μέσα στην πόλη, δηλαδή αν πήγαινες από το δρόμο και ανέβαινες επάνω όπως σήμερα, θα καταλάβαινες πότε φεύγεις από τη Λεμεσό και πότε μπαίνεις στη Μέσα Γειτονιά, υπήρχε κενό, σταματούσε με χωράφια και μετά ξεκινούσε. Υπήρχε στην Κύπρο ένας νόμος ο Housing Law, στον οποίο η κυβέρνηση μπορούσε να κάνει έρευνα και να κτίζει σπίτια για την εργατική τάξη. Επέλεξαν λοιπόν, εκεί στον Άγιο Αθανάσιο να κτίσουν τα πρώτα σπίτια για την εργατική τάξη. Στο μεταξύ έγινε η εισβολή, οπότε οι πρόσφυγες πήγαν και ζήσαν σε αυτά τα σπίτια και γύρω από αυτά τα σπίτια, λίγο πιο εκεί, έκτισαν τον πρώτο οικισμό, ο πρώτος οικισμός Άγιος Αθανάσιος. Ο δεύτερος οικισμός ήταν η Λινόπετρα, η οποία κτίστηκε εδώ, 485 σπίτια.

Researcher: 485 σπίτια; Σίγουρα κάπου θα πρέπει να υπάρχουν οι πληροφορίες αυτές.

Expert 1a: Να ψάξω να τα βρω, αλλά αν δεν τα βρω να σου πω που να πας να τα βρεις. Μεγάλος οικισμός, 2 εκατομμύρια τότε, ο οποίος κτίστηκε πάλι στα ανατολικά. Όπως είχαμε πει, δεν είμαστε πάνω στους παραδοσιακούς ακτινωτούς δρόμους, αλλά είμαστε κάτω από μία κυβερνητική βιομηχανική περιοχή και η θεωρία μας είναι, αφού σκεφτόμαστε να κάνουμε αυτό το δρόμο εδώ μπορούμε να είμαστε εύκολα accessible, δεν είμαστε στο κέντρο της πόλης, όπου η αξία της γης είναι πιο χαμηλή, δεν είναι ακριβή, είμαστε όμως σε ένα πυρήνα που δουλεύουν εργάτες, άρα μπορώ να βάλω ένα οικισμό που για να το κάνω οικισμό για τους πρόσφυγες σημαίνει ότι αυτοί οι πρόσφυγες δεν είναι πλούσιοι, αλλά είναι εργάτες. Και επίσης, σχεδιάζω να κάνω όλους αυτούς τους δρόμους και υπήρχε κάτι στοιχειώδες εδώ μπορώ να πάρω εύκολα ρεύμα, νερό και τηλέφωνο και δρόμους με ασφαλτό. Το σημαντικό είναι να μπορείς να πας με ασφαλτό. Άρα αυτό είναι το σκεπτικό. Τρίτος οικισμός γίνεται ο Κάψαλος. Εδώ λοιπόν υπάρχει ένας ακτινωτός δρόμος ο οποίος σε παίρνει σε ένα δορυφορικό χωριό την Αγία Φύλα και αν προχωρήσεις πιο πάνω θα πας Παλλόδια και διάφορα άλλα χωριά. Εδώ γίνεται ο τρίτος οικισμός. Αρκετά ψηλά, διότι και πάλι είμαστε μακριά. Όλα αυτά δεν υπήρχαν, η πόλη μετά θα ερχόταν να το βρει, πιο λίγες κατοικίες, δεν θυμάμαι ακριβώς πόσες. Αλλά πάλι γίνεται με το ίδιο σκεπτικό, φτηνή γη πάνω σε άξονα που μπορώ να δώσω εύκολα χρήσεις, περνά σωλήνα του νερού, εδώ είναι ένα κεντρικό διυλιστήριο του νερού. Δεν είμαι σε περιοχή που είμαι σε κυβερνητική βιομηχανική περιοχή, αλλά μπαίνοντας (μιλούμε για την Λινόπετρα το 1977-78, ο Άγιος Αθανάσιος είναι πιο πριν, στον Κάψαλο ερχόμαστε 1978-79) σιγά σιγά ο κόσμος αρχίζει και αποκαθίστανται, αρχίζουν να βρίσκουν δουλειές σε διάφορα σημεία της πόλης, οπότε η κεντρικότητα της πόλης είναι καλό κριτήριο. Συνεχίζουμε όμως να κάνουμε μεγάλους οικισμούς, οι οποίοι θα έρθουν σιγά σιγά να περικυκλωθούν από την υπόλοιπη ανάπτυξη. Αλλά κάποιιοι άρχισαν να φωνάζουν να μην κάνουμε μεγάλους οικισμούς για να μην κάνουμε γκέτο. Οι ανάγκες συνεχίζουν, τελειώνουμε από εδώ

και πάμε σε ένα άλλο οικισμό, του Μακάριου. Παρ' όλο που είμαστε ακόμα κοντά σε άξονα, βλέπεις τον άξονα αυτό που πάει στα θέρετρα, στα Πολεμύδια, επιλέγετε ο χώρος αλλά δεν έχει απευθείας access πάνω στο δρόμο διότι υπάρχει εδώ ποταμό. Έτσι λένε, δεν πειράζει και θα κάνουμε ένα access από εδώ που είναι το κομμάτι που είναι η Σπύρου Κυπριανού που υπήρχε και σχεδιαζόταν. Έτσι θα τον έχουμε πάνω στους ακτινωτούς μας δρόμους αλλά δεν θα έχουμε καλό access, παρόλο που σκέφτονταν να ενώσουν από εδώ και να περάσουν τον ποταμό αλλά προτίμησαν να τον κάνουν αυτό. Τώρα υπάρχει access που έρχεται απευθείας έτσι και σε βάζει μέσα. Θέλεις να σχεδιάσεις μεγάλους οικισμούς, πάλι τα κριτήρια είναι τα ίδια, μακριά αρκετά για να μην είναι ακριβή η γη, κοντά για να μπορεί ο κόσμος να δουλέψει, κοντά σε άξονες που μπορώ να πάρω φτηνά ρεύμα νερό κτλ., και οπωσδήποτε οικιστικές ζώνες. Φεύγουμε από του Μακάριου και πάμε σε ένα άλλο οικισμό στον Άγιο Ιωάννη. Δηλαδή το τι κάνουμε; Ερχόμαστε πάνω σε άξονες πιο ανατολικά και πάλι τα ίδια κριτήρια, κοντά σε αυτό τον άξονα, και κοντά και μακριά, αυτά είναι τα κριτήρια, έχουμε εδώ και μία κυβερνητική περιοχή. Από εδώ ξεκινούν οι φωνές να γίνονται για πιο μικρούς οικισμούς, γίνεται ένας στο κέντρο εδώ με ψηλές πολυκατοικίες. Μετά γίνονται άλλοι αλλά τώρα δεν μπορώ να τους βρω πάνω στο χάρτη ακριβώς που είναι, είναι πιο μικρά κομμάτια σε περιοχές που ανακατεύονται μέσα στην πόλη, διότι ο κόσμος έχει ανακατευτεί.

Researcher: Δεν έχει ένα και στο Ζακάκι; Πρέπει να έχει, ήμουν σίγουρη.

Expert 1a: Ζακάκι; Μήπως εννοείς την Ομόνοια;

Researcher: Μπορεί.

Expert 1a: Ήβρες Ζακάκι;

Researcher: Όχι, δεν ξέρω.

Expert 1a: Υπάρχει ένας οικισμός εκεί κάτω, Ομόνοια ονομάζεται. Κάπου εδώ, σε αυτή την περιοχή, είναι πιο μικρός.

Researcher: Είναι ο πιο καινούργιος;

Expert 1a: Προτελευταίος. Μετά έγιναν κάτι πολυκατοικίες εδώ. Αυτός εδώ, υπήρχαν και διάφορα άλλα πράγματα, υπήρχε και τουρκοκυπριακή γη. Σου έχω πει και για τον Άγιο Ιωάννη. Αυτός ήταν ο τελευταίος και μετά έγιναν κάτι άλλοι εδώ πιο ψηλοί. Εδώ ήταν κοντά στους άξονες, νομίζω η γη ήταν τουρκοκυπριακή και γι' αυτό επέλεξαν να πάνε εκεί, δεν θυμάμαι ακριβώς τι συνέβει. Άρχισαν να σμίγονται όλα, σμίγονταν τάξεις κτλ. Έγινε προσπάθεια να γίνει πιο μικρός και μετά οι επόμενοι ήταν διεσπαρμένοι. Αν είναι αυτό που λες Ζακάκι κανονικά είναι Ομόνοια που ονομάζεται, διότι το Ζακάκι πλέον είσαι πιο εδώ.

Researcher: Έχει μια ενορία ξεχωριστή που ονομάζεται Απόστολος Λουκάς πάνω στον Άγιο Αθανάσιο, μπορεί να είναι εκεί που έχει το estate.

Expert 1a: Του Αγίου Αθανασίου; Τι ψάχνεις;

Researcher: Ψάχνω μία ενορία που ονομάζεται Απόστολος Λουκάς πάνω από την Λινόπετρα.

Expert 1a: Τι θέλεις να ρωτήσεις για αυτό;

Researcher: Αν είναι εκεί που έχει το estate.

Expert 1a: Όχι εδώ είναι ολόκληρος, τεράστιος ο οικισμός. Μάλιστα τα πρώτα που σου είπα τα εργατικά είναι εδώ. Αυτές είναι οι εκκλησίες που έκαναν μετά για να τους εξυπηρετήσουν. Όμως καταλαβαίνεται το estate αφενός από τους δρόμους.

Researcher: Βλέπετε ότι έχει ξεχωριστή ενορία εδώ; Αναρωτιέμαι γιατί; Επειδή στην Λευκωσία κάθε οικισμό, κάθε estate έχει ξεχωριστή ενορία εγώ εδώ στην Λεμεσό δεν έχει και δεν ξέρω γιατί; Έκανα ανάλυση της απογραφής και είναι φανερό ότι η ανεργία είναι πάρα πολύ ψηλά το 2011, ενώ εδώ δεν μπορώ να το δω γιατί οι ενορίες είναι μεικτές. Απλά σκέφτηκα ίσως αυτό να είναι estate. Θα το δω πάνω στο GIS.

Expert 1a: Πρέπει να το ψάξεις.

Expert 1a: Λεπτομέρεια από το χάρτη του Thomas Graves του 1871. Τώρα δεν θυμάμαι αν είχε χάρτη από πίσω, διότι αυτά τα πήρα από την Τράπεζα Κύπρου. Εκείνο που έχει σημασία είναι ότι φαίνεται αυτοί επανεκδίδαν τις πληροφορίες του Graves αλλά την ημερομηνία στον χάρτη έβαζαν την ημερομηνία που έκαναν την έκδοση. Δεν ξέρω αν το έχεις κάπου, θέλω να δω το reference για να δω πως το αναφέρουν εκείνοι. Έψαξα πολύ να βρω ποιος ήταν ο Ron John (?) πότε έζησε. Υπάρχει και άλλο που εκδίδει το internal (...), δεν το έχω βγάλει είναι στην τράπεζα Κύπρου και έχει ημερομηνία 1891. Έχει το χάρτη περίπου όπως τον δικό σου. Δεν έχει το factory, το οποίο είναι το κεραμείο που κτίστηκε το 1901. 1893 έγινε η αποβάθρα.

Researcher: Στο Kitchener δεν υπάρχει, αλλά υπάρχει εδώ.

Expert 1a: Η αποβάθρα έγινε μετά το 1849. Έχει δεύτερο JT εκεί που είναι η καθολική εκκλησία. Εντάξει είναι χοντρικός ο χάρτης. Αλλά μακάρι να είχαμε χάρτη του 1849, αλλά δεν έχουμε. Αυτός μάλλον πήρε τις βυθομετρήσεις του Graves, γιατί είναι ναυτικός ο χάρτης. Διότι βλέπεις και ο χάρτης του Graves του 1849-1850 δεν έχει αποβάθρες καθόλου, η Λεμεσός είναι περίπου η ίδια, όταν το πάρεις να το δεις. Αλλά είναι και αυτό που σου έλεγα τότε, βλέπεις αυτόν που είναι του 1946, βλέπεις αρχίζουν τα σπίτια εδώ.

Researcher: Που τον βρήκατε αυτό;

Expert 1a: Είναι από φωτογραφίες από το ΣΥΛ (Συμβούλιο Υδατοπρομήθειας Λεμεσού), έβγαλα φωτογραφίες και ένωσα τα κομμάτια.

Researcher: Έχω ένα μικρό χάρτη του 1947 που είναι στον οδηγό του Mongolian.

Expert 1a: Μην τους εμπιστεύεσαι τόσο αυτούς. Του 1974 που βρήκες ποιος είναι;

Researcher: Δεν ξέρω, τώρα μπερδεύομαι θα το ψάξω. Δεν κάνω ανάλυση με αυτούς.

Expert 1a: Μην τους εμπιστεύεσαι. Παίρνουν παλιούς χάρτες και προσθέτουν πληροφορίες, δεν παίρνουν καινούργιους.

Researcher: Κοιτάξετε, ψάχνω για γεγονότα, αλλά δεν είναι όλα γεγονότα, πρέπει να βρω αποδείξεις, ημερομηνίες από εφημερίδες.

Expert 1a: Να σου πω μετά για αυτά και που να πας να τα βρεις σωστά. Αλλά πάνω στους χάρτες του Mongolian μην στηρίζεσαι. Και του 1974 του Mongolian είναι λάθος.

Researcher: Φαίνεται μικρή η πολύ μικρή η πόλη της Λεμεσού για το 1974.

Expert 1a: Όχι μόνο ότι φαίνεται μικρή η πόλη, παίρνει πιο παλιό χάρτη και προσθέτει επάνω πράγματα. Πάμε παρακάτω.

Researcher: Μου είπατε ότι θα μου πείτε για το ditch, τη Βάθια Ditch, που κτίστηκαν πάνω.

Expert 1a: Η Λεμεσός υπέφερε από πλημύρες και είχαμε πολλές πλημύρες το 1894-96 και μετά οι Άγγλοι αποφάσισαν να κάνουν αυτά τα έργα για να μην έρχεται το νερό. Δηλαδή, έκαναν 2 πράγματα, που δεν τα βλέπουμε στον χάρτη του 1893 αλλά θα το δούμε στον χάρτη του 1933. Έλα κοντά να δεις. Ο Γαρίλλης ποταμός έρχεται από πάνω και είναι εδώ. Εδώ έχουμε την Σπύρου Κυπριανού. Ερχόταν λοιπόν έτσι κάτω, περνούσε από την οδό Ειρήνης και πλημύριζε όλη την περιοχή εδώ και έρχονταν και άλλα νερά από πάνω. Οπότε μετά από την πλημύρα του 1896, έκλεισαν τον ποταμό και έκαναν μια τεχνητή κύτη εδώ. Αυτή η τεχνητή κύτη σήμερα πάει στο Καρνάγιο. Έκανα επίσης αυτό εδώ το έργο για να κόψουν τα νερά που έρχονταν κάτω, ενώνεται με τον Γαρίλλη, αλλά πλέον το νερό δεν θα ήταν τόσο πολύ όσο έρχεται από επάνω, απλά θα έπαιρνε τα νερά και τα φέρνει μέσα και έκαναν αυτό εδώ, το οποίο περνά μέσα από τον κήπο για να φεύγουν τα νερά. Αυτό εντωμεταξύ υπήρχε και ήταν ο λεγόμενος «Βαθιάς» ποταμός, δηλαδή απλά έκλεισαν απλά από κάτω για να μην έρχονται τα νερά μέσα στην πόλη για να την προστατεύσουν. Δηλαδή από εδώ έπαιρναν το νερό και το έφερναν μέσα στην θάλασσα. Αν πας τώρα εκεί, με την

πάροδο του χρόνου, επειδή έφερναν και χώματα από πάνω, τώρα δεν θα δεις τίποτα, γέμισε με χώμα και από κάτω έχει αγωγό. Αυτό ήθελα να σου πω για αυτό.

Researcher: Μετά το γέμισαν και έφτιαξαν τον δρόμο από πάνω, που έχει το πράσινο στην μέση.

Expert 1a: Ναι εδώ, ας πούμε, ο δρόμος υπάρχει. Αυτός είναι Θέκλας Λυσιώτη, περνά από τα Δικαστήρια. Αλλά αυτός ο δρόμος βλέπεις υπήρχε από πριν. Αλλά φαντάσου δεν το προστατέψαν, έρχονται τα κτήρια ως εδώ, μερικά και δεν προστατεύουν εδώ και πάνω. (σου δείχνει αρκετά πάνω στον χάρτη)

Researcher: Το νοσοκομείο τότε μεταφέρθηκε εκεί;

Expert 1a: Το νοσοκομείο φαίνεται ότι (είχα ένα email αλλά το δεν το κράτησα), κάποιος βρήκε μέσα στο νοσοκομείο μια πινακίδα, ξεκινά νομίζω το 1955. Coronation Hospital of Limassol foundation stone led by his Excellency Sir Andrew Right 1953. Αλλά δεν λειτουργεί το 1953, λειτουργεί το 1958, κάπου εκεί νομίζω, δηλαδή γίνεται το foundation to 1953. Αλλά είναι παράξενο διότι οι Άγγλοι βλέπουν ότι γίνεται ένας αγώνας, αλλά δεν είναι μόνο το νοσοκομείο, είναι απέναντι η Τεχνική σχολή και ο αστυνομικός σταθμός και είναι στην περίοδο αυτή 1957-58 και είναι μοντέρνα κτήρια. Κάνουν, λοιπόν, δημόσια κτήρια και έμειναν, ήταν η πιο μεγάλη παραγωγή δημοσίων κτηρίων για την εποχή και μαζί κοντά. Ήταν σαν να έλεγαν «αν μας αφήσετε κοιτάξετε τι μπορούμε να κάνουμε» ή αφήναν σφραγίδα γιατί λογάριάζαν να φύγουν. Όμως την τεχνική σχολή οι Έλληνες δεν την ήθελαν γιατί δεν ήταν ελληνική παιδεία.

Researcher: Εντάξει είπαμε για τους οικισμούς, ας πούμε για την τουριστική περιοχή, τι δεν είναι δημόσια έργα, έγινε ανάπτυξη παραλιακά.

Expert 1a: Το 1974 χάνουμε την Αμμόχωστο που είχε τον παραλιακό τουρισμό, οπότεν κάτι έπρεπε να την αντικαταστήσει. Η Λεμεσός έχει 2 μειονεκτήματα. Πρώτον, δεν έχει παραλία, δεν έχει άμμο σε πολλά σημεία. Έχει στο Lady's smile αλλά εκεί είναι οι βάσεις. Είχαμε διαφορές στις ημερομηνίες με τον Στέλιο;

Researcher: Ναι κάποιες για το πότε σχεδιάστηκε η Σπύρου Κυπριανού, είπε γύρω στο 1970.

Expert 1a: Μπορεί η πολεοδομία να το είχε τότε.

Researcher: Και για ποιους λόγους σχεδιάστηκε η Μακαρίου, δεν πιστεύει ότι είναι λόγω πολέμου, έγινε για την ανάπτυξη της πόλης, αλλά είναι μακριά από την πόλη.

Expert 1a: Δεν έχουμε κάποια αναφορά μέσα στα βιβλία. Κοίταξε να δεις τώρα. Έχουμε μία Λεμεσό που πρέπει να αντικαταστήσει την Αμμόχωστο. Πρέπει να φέρουμε τον τουρισμό, έχουμε μια πόλη μεγάλη, έχουμε το λιμάνι το 1974, όμως εδώ αυτή η περιοχή ήταν βιομηχανική περιοχή. Άρα έχουμε την βιομηχανική περιοχή, έχουμε την πόλη, έχουμε το reclamation, δηλαδή δεν έχουμε παραλία. Μετά το reclamation έχουμε ένα μέτωπο και μετά ξεκινούμε ανατολικά. Δυτικά έχουμε το λιμάνι και από εδώ και κάτω τις Αγγλικές βάσεις όπου δεν μπορεί να γίνει σχεδιασμός, είναι το lady's smile εκεί. Άρα αποφασίζουν την ανατολική περιοχή, ήδη υπήρχε εκεί ένα ξενοδοχείο κτισμένο το Αμαθούς. Βλέπεις όμως πόσο μακριά είναι από τη Λεμεσό και εδώ έχουμε αρχαία, την αρχαία πόλη της Αμαθούντας. Οπότε, γίνεται μία σύσκεψη και είπαν ότι θα πάρουν μία λωρίδα ανατολικά και θα την μετατρέψουν σε τουριστική ζώνη.

Researcher: Ποιοι είπαν;

Expert 1a: Απ' ότι συζητούσαν, υπήρξε συμμετοχή όχι μόνο του Υπουργικού Συμβουλίου με την Πολεοδομία αλλά και ο ίδιος ο πρόεδρος, ήταν ο ΚΟΤ. Πολλοί από την Αμμόχωστο είχαν έρθει στη Λεμεσό. Αυτό το όριο που πήραν, ήταν το όριο που θα έκαναν τουριστικές και οικιστικές ζώνες, αλλά ήταν επίσης το όριο που θα μπορούσαν να υδροδοτήσουν, να δώσουν νερό, διότι αποφάσισαν παράλληλα και έκαναν ένα υδατικό έργο, δηλαδή ντεπόζιτα που θα μπορούσαν να φέρουν νερό για να κάνουν αυτή την τουριστική περιοχή. Είχαν πάρει τότε αυτή την περιοχή που θα μπορούσαν να την υδροδοτήσουν και την έκαναν μεικτές τουριστικές ζώνες, ήταν οι

πολεοδομικές ζώνες που ίσχυαν μέχρι το 1986, μετά το 1990 μπήκαν αυτές οι ζώνες μέσα στο τοπικό σχέδιο. Η φιλοσοφία απ' ότι άκουα και ξέρω ήταν για να υπάρξει μία τουριστική πόλη που θα αντικαθιστούσε την Αμμόχωστο, θα έκανε κάποιους επιχειρηματίες να δραστηριοποιηθούν με κάποια δάνεια, όμως δεν υπήρχε η παραλία της Αμμοχώστου, η οποία ήταν άμμος, αλλά πολλοί προσπάθησαν παράνομα, έκαναν κυματοθραύστες για να την κάνουν. Αυτή είναι η μαρίνα του Sheraton, αυτή είναι νόμιμη, αλλά αυτά όλα που βλέπεις τα έκαναν παράνομα. Ήταν γεμάτο αλλά σήμερα σχεδόν έχουν φύγει. Βλέπεις έχουν φύγει από εδώ, διότι πρέπει να συμπληρωθούν, βλέπεις τους παράλληλους κυματοθραύστες; Όταν γίνονται οι παράλληλοι κυματοθραύστες παίρνουν τα υλικά και τα φέρνουν εδώ, διότι αυτά κάνουν ιδιωτικοποίηση της θάλασσα. Έτσι είναι η Λεμεσός, διότι αν πάρεις μία φωτογραφία του 2003 θα δεις ότι υπάρχουν. Άρα ήταν μια πολιτική βασική απόφαση για αναβίωση της οικονομίας, η οποία έγινε με συζήτηση με την πολεοδομία και τον ΚΟΤ. Μάλιστα για να σου πω κάτι παραπάνω, ενώ υπάρχουν οι κοινότητες, (υπάρχουν δήμοι και κοινότητες) και οι περιοχές διοικούνται από τις αντίστοιχες κοινότητες. Όταν έρθεις εδώ θα δεις ότι έχεις μία κοινότητα έτσι, μια άλλη έτσι κτλ., τότε είπαν ότι αυτή η περιοχή δεν θα διοικείται από τις αντίστοιχες κοινότητες και έκαναν μία κοινότητα μόνο για αυτήν την περιοχή, η οποία διοριζόταν από το υπουργικό συμβούλιο, ήταν ψηφισμένη, ήταν Συμβούλιο Βελτιώσεως Αμαθούντας για να κάνει την περιοχή καλύτερη, για να κάνει τις υποδομές, τους δρόμους. Μετά καταργήθηκε και ο καθένας έπαιρνε την δική του μεριά.

Researcher: Τι είναι αυτό; Είναι το τοπικό σχέδιο αλλά δεν το δημοσίευσαν;

Expert 1a: Όχι δεν το δημοσίευσαν.

Researcher: Ποιο χρόνο;

Expert 1a: Το 1986

Researcher: Και έχει 2 σχέδια; Ένα μέχρι το 1956 και ένα μέχρι το 1981;

Expert 1a: Ναι.

Researcher: Τώρα φτάνουμε στο σήμερα. Πρόσφατα έγιναν πολλά πράγματα στην Λεμεσό όπως η μαρίνα, το παλιό λιμάνι, έκαναν ξανά το παραλιακό.

Expert 1a: Επειδή είδα στο ερωτηματολόγιο σου για το θέμα των δημοσίων διαβουλεύσεων, υπάρχουν αντιρρήσεις για αρκετά πράγματα.

Researcher: Σίγουρα υπάρχουν και άλλα πράγματα που γίνονται στην πόλη πίσω από το παραλιακό. Αλλά κατά τη γνώμη σας, έχει κάποια ισορροπία μεταξύ αυτών που γίνονται παραλιακά και στο υπόλοιπο της πόλης; Συγκεντρώνονται πολλά στο παραλιακό τώρα, αναπτύξαν τον τουρισμό. Εγώ μένω Λευκωσία και έρχομαι και βλέπω τα μεγάλα έργα αλλά δεν ξέρω τι γίνεται.

Expert 1a: Μιλάς για τα δημόσια έργα ή για τα ιδιωτικά;

Researcher: Και τα δυο.

Expert 1a: Κοίταξε, η Λεμεσός είναι μια παραλιακή πόλη, δηλαδή έχει το πλεονέκτημα να έχει τη θάλασσα, ενώ η Λευκωσία δεν έχει θάλασσα και η θάλασσα είναι ένα μεγάλο πλεονέκτημα για μια πόλη, είναι μια έξοδος. Όταν βγεις έξω βλέπεις τον ορίζοντα, χαλαρώνει το μυαλό σου, ακούς τον φλοίσβο, κολυμπάς το καλοκαίρι, βρέχεσαι τον χειμώνα, φυσά ο αέρας, βλέπεις τους γλάρους, βλέπεις τα βαπόρια, άρα είναι ένα πλεονέκτημα για μία πόλη και ένας ανοικτός χώρος. Άρα το γεγονός ότι είχε ξεκινήσει από πολύ παλιά μια ιδέα στην Λεμεσό να καθαρίσουν το παραλιακό μέτωπο στα δημοτικά όρια από τον δρόμο και κάτω, να μην υπάρχουν κτήρια, διότι παλιά υπήρχαν.

Researcher: Ναι είχε κτήρια πάνω στην θάλασσα παλιά.

Expert 1a: Το σπίτι της γυναίκας μου ήταν πάνω στην θάλασσα. Ξεκινήσαν λοιπόν να έχουν αυτή την ιδέα, δηλαδή να ρίξουμε τα σπίτια που είναι πάνω στην θάλασσα και να δημιουργήσουμε ένα παραλιακό μέτωπο, ένα μόλο, ένα περίπατο, ένα πάρκο. Αυτή η ιδέα ξεκίνησε από παλιά. Από τις αρχές του 20 αιώνα είχε γίνει ο πρώτος

μόλος που ήταν μέχρι το ξενοδοχείο του Continental περίπου. Εκεί ήταν λίγο παράξενα τα πράγματα. Δηλαδή τον χρησιμοποιούσαν για περίπατο, για αναψυχή αλλά ήταν πολλές φορές γεμάτο με εμπορεύματα, ήταν σαν μια προέκταση του λιμανιού. Ο δήμος είχε στόχο να καθαρίσει συστηματικά τον χώρο, άρα έγινε εκεί μία επίχωση, διότι παλιά ήταν στενός ο μόλος και έκανα μία διαμόρφωση, την οποία τελευταία την έκαναν πολυλειτουργικό πάρκο και πριν από αυτό είχαν κάνει την ακτή Ολυμπίων, τον περίπατο επάνω με διάφορα κέντρα όπου μπορούσες να περπατήσεις. Θεωρήθηκε ένα έργο, το οποίο έφερνε τους Λεμεσιανούς πιο κοντά στην θάλασσα. Τώρα τι γίνεται μετά τα δημοτικά όρια; Μετά τα δημοτικά όρια δεν υπήρχε έτσι πολιτική, διότι δεν έλεγχε το δημαρχείο τις άδειες αλλά ο έπαρχος. Όπως σου είπα υπήρχε και η πολιτική για να γίνουν beach hotels. Γύρω στο 1989, ήρθε ένας ξενοδόχος και ήθελε να κάνει ένα ξενοδοχείο και τότε είπαμε υπήρχε το Συμβούλιο Βελτιώσεως Αμαθούντας, η πολεοδομία έκανε εισηγήσεις, ο επαρχιακός τότε, είπε θέλω έναν κάθετο πεζόδρομο από τον δρόμο για να πηγαίνω στην παραλία και ένα παραλιακό πεζόδρομο. Υπήρχε ένα σχέδιο που περίπου έδειχνε για το πώς θα κατεβαίνουν και μετά σχεδιάστηκε το παραλιακό. Έγιναν φασαρίες, τότε δεν είχε μπει και ο νόμος, πήγαν στο ανώτατο, είπαν ότι δεν μπορείτε να μας βάζετε τέτοια πράγματα με τις άδειες. Τέλος πάντων, κερδήθηκε στο ανώτατο και το συμβούλιο το δέχτηκε και εκεί υπήρχε αρχιτέκτονας, μέλος του συμβουλίου και ανέλαβε να σχεδιάσει το παραλιακό πεζόδρομο. Υλοποιήθηκε και αυτό, δηλαδή έγινε ένας παραλιακός πεζόδρομος μετά τα δημοτικά όρια μέχρι εκεί που μπορούσε, η Γερμασόγια όχι, διότι η Γερμασόγια είπαμε ήταν άλλο, μετά ήταν Άγιος Τύχωνας, Μουταγιάκα που ήταν το συμβούλιο. Αλλά και στην Γερμασόγια υπήρχε αρκετή διάβλωση, θα το κάνουν όμως. Έτσι έγινε ένα σχέδιο που θα περπατάς παραλιακά. Στην αρχή φώναζαν ότι θα μας φέρετε Κυπραίους που θα τρώνε καρπούζια και σουβλά, αλλά τώρα βλέπεις υπάρχει μια ισορροπία με κέντρα κτλ. Άρα η θάλασσα είναι μεγάλο πλεονέκτημα για την πόλη και το ότι έγινε δημόσια ήταν θετικό, διότι παλιά τα ξενοδοχεία με τους κυματοθραύστες προσπαθούσαν να το κλείσουν και να το κάνουν private και δεν υπήρχε τρόπος να κατέβεις κάτω. Όταν έχεις παραθαλάσσια ένα ξενοδοχείο ή κάποιες κατοικίες πουλάς, άρα ένας επιχειρηματίας θα κινηθεί παραθαλάσσια. Τα ψηλά κτήρια, παίρνουν ένα περισσότερο συντελεστή σαν κίνητρο, διότι κάνουν δημόσιους χώρους στάθμευσης για δημόσια χρήση. Ο λόγος που κάνουν πύργο είναι διότι εάν έχεις ένα τεμάχιο μεγάλο και βάλεις αυτόν τον συντελεστή μέσα και δεν βγεις ψηλά, κατά την γνώμη μου, κάποια από αυτά δεν θα βλέπουν θάλασσα. Οπότε, όταν ψηλώσεις πάνω βλέπεις θάλασσα και δεν είναι λίγο να βλέπεις την θάλασσα. Είπαμε τι συμβαίνει με τα δημοτικά όρια, ο κόσμος μετά το 1974 και μέσα στα δημοτικά όρια ψηλώσανε και έκαναν πολυκατοικίες και οι Λεμεσιανοί φώναζαν ότι έχασαν την γραφικότητα και το ρομαντικό τους παραλιακό μέτωπο, γέμισε με ένα τοίχος από πολυκατοικίες. Δεν αρέσει σήμερα στον κόσμο, θεωρεί ότι έκλεισε το πίσω μέρος της Λεμεσού, αλλά τότε πέφταν το ένα μετά το άλλο.

Researcher: Έχει πολύ κόσμο εκεί παραλιακά, στον μόλο. Σκέφτομαι για το υπόλοιπο της πόλης, τι είναι πιο σημαντικό, ποιες είναι οι προτεραιότητες για την Λεμεσό τώρα;

Expert 1a: Έγινε πεζοδρομοποίηση στο κέντρο της πόλης, αν πας εκεί στο ΤΕΠΑΚ, κάποια δημόσια τμήματα έφυγαν από εκεί και κάπου νέκρωσε η πόλη και με το ΤΕΠΑΚ ήρθαν φοιτητές και έδωσαν ζωή. Αν πας σήμερα στο κέντρο της πόλης που δεν είσαι πάνω στην θάλασσα, στην Σαριπόλου θα δεις μπαράκια, έτσι είναι οι νεαροί. Θα δεις στην λεωφόρο Μακαρίου να ανοίγουν συνεχώς καφέ και λες μα γιατί πάνε σε αυτό εδώ το καφέ, δεν θα ήταν καλύτερα να πάνε σε ένα καφέ που βλέπουν την θάλασσα; Αλλά ο κόσμος θέλει να βλέπει και ο ένας τον άλλο και την κίνηση, να κοινωνικοποιείται. Έγινε το γραμμικό πάρκο του Γαρίλλη, ωραίο έργο, μπορείς να πάρεις το σκυλάκι σου ή το ποδήλατο σου. Εκείνο που ίσως θα έπρεπε

να γίνουν περισσότερο μέσα στην πόλη και για το κέντρο ειδικά είναι ότι πρέπει να δημιουργηθούν κάποιοι χώροι στάθμευσης, διότι το βράδυ γίνεται χαμός και να δούμε τι μπορούμε να κάνουμε με τις δημόσιες συγκοινωνίες. Δεν μπορεί να κατεβαίνει ο κάθε ένας με το αυτοκίνητο του, πρέπει να γίνουν πάρκινγκ στην περιφέρεια και να κατεβαίνουμε με mini buses στο κέντρο για να ζήσει το κέντρο. Μετά πρέπει να δούμε τι μπορούμε να κάνουμε με το πράσινο στις γειτονιές, δηλαδή οι γειτονιές να γίνουν πιο αυτοτελής, αυτό που προσπαθεί να κάνει τώρα η Ευρώπη τα mixed uses, να φέρνεις κάποιες χρήσεις μέσα στις περιοχές με τις κατοικίες για να μην αναγκάζεις τον άλλο να μετακινείται. Υπάρχουν καφενεία αλλά χρειάζεται το πράσινο και αυτό που χρειάζεται περισσότερο απ' όλα είναι διάλογος. Δηλαδή, κάθομαι στην γειτονιά, (δεν υπάρχει γειτονιά σήμερα, είναι συνεχές) και θέλω να έχω την ευκαιρία να μου πει κάποιος τι θέλει από την γειτονιά. «Δεν θέλω τα αυτοκίνητα να περνούν, δεν θέλω το πάρκινγκ απέναντι μου, θέλω το πράσινο μου να γίνει καλύτερο με παιχνίδια και φωτισμό, θέλω καλύτερα πεζοδρόμια κτλ.»

Researcher: Και αυτός ο διάλογος δεν γίνεται;

Expert 1a: Υπάρχουν προσπάθειες, διότι κάποια έργα χρηματοδοτούνται από την Ευρώπη και υποχρεωτικά πρέπει να υπάρχει διάλογος. Η ιδέα της διαβούλευσης είχε κυκλοφορήσει, έχεις υπόψη σου την arshtain; Έχει τις βαθμίδες της διαβούλευσης, δηλαδή μπορεί να λες κάποιου έλα να μιλήσουμε, μίλα, τελειώσεις; Εντάξει. Και στο τέλος μπορείς να πεις εντάξει, θα σε ακούσω τόσο τοις εκατό, εγώ είμαι μηχανικός που πρέπει να βάλω την γνώμη μου μέσα και να βρεις μια ισορροπία να κάνεις. Τα δύο ακραία δεν συμβαίνουν ως συνήθως, αλλά μέσα σε αυτά συμβαίνουν πολλά πράγματα. Πιστεύω ότι ο κόσμος που ενδιαφέρεται, οι ενεργοί πολίτες, πιστεύουν ότι έχει αναπτυχθεί καλά ο διάλογος. Τώρα υπάρχει το πρόβλημα μεταξύ του νέου και του παλιού λιμανιού, την παλιά βιομηχανική ζώνη.

Researcher: Έφτιαξαν σχέδιο για την περιοχή.

Expert 1a: Όχι ακόμα. Έκαναν μια πρώτη μελέτη, αλλά το σχέδιο θα γίνει από την κυβέρνηση ως σχέδιο περιοχής. Πολλοί θέλουν να γίνει Manhattan, θέλουν να γίνει ένας δρόμος παραλιακός, άλλοι λένε να γίνει ένα παραλιακό πάρκο.

Researcher: Για αυτό υπάρχει διάλογος;

Expert 1a: Όχι, δηλαδή ο κόσμος λέει ότι αυτά που έγιναν ήταν ένας καλός διάλογος. Για να κάνεις ένα σχέδιο περιοχής ακούς παραστάσεις, γίνονται δημόσιες διαβουλεύσεις.

Researcher: Έχει κάποιες περιοχές που έχουν πολλά προβλήματα, συγκεκριμένα προβλήματα, είτε περιβαλλοντικά είτε κοινωνικά. Σίγουρα υπάρχουν περιοχές που είναι πιο φτωχές.

Expert 1a: Μίλησες με τον Στέλιο για αυτό καθόλου; Διότι υπήρχε ένα πρόγραμμα που ήρθε από την Ευρώπη, στο οποίο πολέμησα διάφοροι να διασωθούν κάποιες εργατικές κατοικίες, και είχε διαλέξει ήδη ο δήμος ότι αυτές οι συνοικίες που υστερούν και έκαναν και μία έρευνα είναι οι δυτικές συνοικίες, δηλαδή από εδώ που είμαι εγώ και ακόμα 300 μέτρα και εκεί και την λεωφόρο Ομονοίας. Επειδή βλέπεις τους χάρτες, θα δεις ότι οι δυτικές συνοικίες αρχίζουν να αναπτύσσονται όταν μεγαλώνει το φαινόμενο της αστικοποίησης της Λεμεσού, δηλαδή πέρα από το εμπόριο, όταν αρχίζει η βιομηχανία και ειδικά η βιομηχανία κρασιού. Αυτά θα τα βρεις και μέσα στο βιβλιαράκι. Άρα συνήθως είναι εργάτες, μετανάστες (εσωτερικοί) και τώρα υπάρχουν και εξωτερικοί μετανάστες, είναι οι λεγόμενες πιο φτωχές συνοικίες. Είχαν κάνει και μια έρευνα τότε και είδαν ότι υπήρξαν φαινόμενα παραβατικότητας, ανεργίας και γι' αυτό σου λέω ο Στέλιος θα σου είπε.

Researcher: Όχι δεν μου είπε πολλά.

Expert 1a: Ωραία έχουν site, αλλά δεν ξέρω ακριβώς τι γράφουν μέσα στον δήμο. Να τελειώσουμε και σου δώσω μερικές ομάδες να μπει μέσα στο Facebook για να δεις. Αυτό θα σε βοηθήσει να βρεις φωτογραφίες, Λεμεσού Μνήμες ονομάζεται. Εδώ θα

δεις πολλές παλιές φωτογραφίες της Λεμεσού. Επειδή σε λίγο θα με ρωτήσεις για το παλιό λιμάνι αν συμφωνώ θα σε βάλω και σε αυτό το γκρουπ. Το δασούδι ήταν παραλιακό και υπάρχει ένα κτισμένο κομμάτι μέσα, αλλά ήθελαν να κτίσουν και άλλα πράγματα μέσα αλλά υπήρξε μεγάλο κίνημα από τους λεμεσιανούς για να μείνει φυσικό.

Researcher: Μιλούσαμε για τις φτωχές και πλούσιες περιοχές.

Expert 1a: Η Κύπρος έχει μεσαίες τάξεις, δεν έχει τόσες διαφορές ακόμη, δεν ξέρουμε μετά. Υπάρχουν περιοχές που αναπτύχθηκαν πάνω στα υψώματα, όπου πήγαν άνθρωποι που είχαν περισσότερα χρήματα μια Α περίοδο 1979-81, όσοι ασχολούνταν με τα κτίσματα, υδραυλικοί, ηλεκτρολόγοι έβγαζαν λεφτά και πηγαίνουν πάνω, πηγαίνουν πάντα στα ψηλά. Υπάρχουν και περιοχές μέσα στην πόλη που δεν είναι πάνω στα υψώματα που θεωρούν ότι είναι πιο καλές περιοχές. Όλα αυτά βέβαια αλλάζουν, διότι το κέντρο σιγά σιγά αλλάζει. Αλλά οι κοινωνικές διαφορές, σήμερα δεν είναι πάρα πολύ μεγάλες, παλιά ήταν.

Researcher: Πιστεύετε, δηλαδή ότι παλιά ήταν πιο μεγάλες από τώρα;

Expert 1a: Ναι, έγιναν και οι εργατικές κατοικίες στην Λεμεσό. Λοιπόν, μετά τον πόλεμο και μετά τον Β' Παγκόσμιο Πόλεμο (διότι και στον Α' Παγκόσμιο Πόλεμο υπήρξαν επιπτώσεις και στην Κύπρο, πουλούσαμε τα κρασιά μας, υπήρξε μαύρη αγορά κτλ.) και επειδή σιγά σιγά άρχισε να βιομηχανοποιείται η Λεμεσός, υπήρχαν πάρα πολλοί φτωχοί άνθρωποι. Τότε είχαμε αριστερό δημοτικό συμβούλιο και προσπάθησαν, έκαναν και μια πολύ καλή μελέτη, να κάνουν εργατικές κατοικίες, δηλαδή κατοικίες που θα μπορούσαν να βάλουν κάποιες οικογένειες για να ζήσουν καλύτερα. Τις φωτογραφίες θα τις βρεις εδώ, όχι στην κατεδάφιση.

Researcher: Ακόμη υπάρχουν;

Expert 1a: Το τελευταίο που πήραμε είναι ότι πριν από λίγο στις ειδήσεις ακούσαμε τον δήμο Λεμεσού να ανακοινώνει την επικύρωση κονδυλίου 22 εκατομμυρίων για την κατεδάφιση, για να μπορέσουν να διορθωθούν μαζί με τα έργα στις δυτικές συνοικίες, αυτό το πρόγραμμα που σου έλεγα. Δεν είναι μόνο εδώ όμως που έγιναν, έγιναν στον Άγιο Νικόλαο από τον δήμο. Όμως σε κάποια φάση υπήρχε ο οργανισμός ανάπτυξης γης, τον έχεις υπόψη σου; Υποτίθεται κάνει social housing. Ήρθαν σε συμφωνία με τον δήμο και κατεδάφισαν αυτές τις παλιές του 1948 και έκτισαν αυτές τις πολυκατοικίες ως social housing από πίσω.

Researcher: Έβαλαν τις ίδιες οικογένειες μέσα;

Expert 1a: Όσοι ήθελαν έβαζαν και άλλους, εξαρτάται διότι είχε ανθρώπους που πεθάναν, που εγκαταλείψανε κτλ. Ήταν με ενοίκιο αυτά, με ενοικιαγορά. Αυτά τα τρία ήταν πάνω σε εμπορικό δρόμο και τους τα άφησαν για να τα αξιοποιήσουν και αντέδρασαν αρκετοί μέσα στην πόλη για να σωθούν. Αυτό είναι το σχέδιο για τις δυτικές συνοικίες, εγώ έκανα αυτό το σχέδιο, πως θα ήταν διότι δεν έγινε. Αυτές είναι οι εργατικές συνοικίες, οι συνδέσεις, οι χώροι πρασίνου, αθλητικοί χώροι, πως κατεβαίνουμε κάτω, σαν pressure group. Άρα έχουμε social housing, τις εργατικές κατοικίες του δήμου, οι οποίες έγιναν 48-50, διάφορες περιοχές, υπάρχουν σε 3-4 σημεία της πόλη, στον Άγιο Νικόλαο, αλλά καλύπτουν αρκετές εργατικές οικογένειες. Είχαν και οι τουρκοκύπριοι κάποιες δικές τους, παρ' όλο που στις αρχικές ήταν όλοι μαζί. Μετά αυτά που έκανε ο κυπριακός οργανισμός ανάπτυξης γης που σου έδειξα ένα παράδειγμα, αν θέλεις περισσότερες πληροφορίες να μιλήσεις μαζί τους, να σου δώσω τηλέφωνο.

Researcher: Σκέψεις για την μαρίνα και το παλιό λιμάνι; Οτιδήποτε θέλετε να μου πείτε. Πήγα στην μαρίνα την νύχτα και έχει κόσμο.

Expert 1a: Ο ΚΟΤ έλεγε κάποτε με μελέτες, τις οποίες νομίζω κάποιοι της πολεοδομίας είχα στηρίξει, εμείς μέσα στην Κύπρο οι υποδομές μας (νερό, ρεύμα) είναι για να πάρουμε ένα Α τουρισμό, πχ. 1 εκατομμύριο, αντί να πάρουμε 1 εκατομμύριο φτωχούς θέλουμε να πάρουμε 1 εκατομμύριο πλούσιους για να αφήσουν λεφτά. Αν τώρα πράγματι αφήνουν λεφτά ή όχι δεν ξέρω. Διότι αν πάει ένας άνθρωπος της

μεσαίας τάξης σε εστιατόριο ή να πάει να πάρει το ψωμί του, τελικά μπορεί να αφήνει λεφτά εκεί που πρέπει και να μην τα παίρνουν οι εθνικές. Παράλληλα με αυτό, είπαν ότι πρέπει να προσελκύσουμε εξειδικευμένο τουρισμό, δηλαδή δεν μπορούμε να πουλούμε μόνο ήλιο και θάλασσα. Πρώτα απ' όλα έχουμε πολλά πλεονεκτήματα, έχουμε την θάλασσα που μπορούμε να χρησιμοποιήσουμε για να φέρουμε πλούσιους με τα κότερα τους και να τους βάλουμε στις μαρίνες, μπορούμε τον χειμώνα που έχουμε καλό καιρό να φέρουμε κάποιους να παίζουν γκολφ, έχουμε ωραία μοναστήρια και μπορούμε να φέρουμε κόσμο να βλέπει την θρησκεία μας, άρα υπάρχει ο θρησκευτικός τουρισμός, ο τουρισμός γκολφ, ο τουρισμός της μαρίνας, ιατρικός τουρισμός κτλ. Μέσα σε αυτά τα προγράμματα ήταν να δημιουργηθούν μαρίνες και αποφασίστηκε καθώς υπήρχε και στα τοπικά σχέδια ότι αυτός θα ήταν ο χώρος της μαρίνας. Τι ήταν εκείνος ο χώρος; Εκείνος ο χώρος ήταν παραβικός χώρος σαν επέκταση του λιμανιού και είχε απαλλοτριωθεί ακόμη και πίσω του ιδιωτικά κτήρια για να γίνει το μεγάλο λιμάνι εκεί. Τελικά το μεγάλο λιμάνι πήγε πιο εκεί, έμειναν οι πίσω απαλλοτριώσεις, έγιναν γεγονότα με τους τουρκοκυπρίους και είχε μείνει ο χώρος και υπήρχε αν δεις από τα παλιά τοπικά σχέδια ότι ήταν σημειωμένο ότι η μαρίνα θα γινόταν εκεί και έγινε. Είναι κάτι μέσα στην Λεμεσό που δεν το βρίσκω ως αρνητικό, είναι καλό. Εκείνο που αναρωτιέμαι είναι με τόση πολύ κατανάλωση που δίνουμε σε κέντρα (φαγητό, καφέ) που θα βρεθούν τόσοι άνθρωποι; Μέχρι στιγμής γεμίζουν, άλλα ανοίγουν άλλα κλείνουν. Τώρα αν αρχίσεις να με ρωτάς για την αρχιτεκτονική, για το αν είναι κιτς..

Researcher: Όχι, δεν ενδιαφέρομαι για αυτό, ενδιαφέρομαι για τον χώρο.

Expert 1a: Ωραία, έγινε μια μαρίνα. Τώρα αν έδωσαν πολλά κίνητρα για να κτιστούν πολλά πράγματα από τους ιδιώτες είναι ένα θέμα, διότι έγινε με μία μέθοδο ότι σου δίνω γη να κτίσεις σπίτια και να βγάλεις το κέρδος σου και να μου συντηρείς την μαρίνα. Αν είναι βαρυφορτωμένο από πλευράς σπιτιών ή όχι δεν ξέρω γιατί δεν μπήκα στις μελέτες για να τις αναλύσω. Φαντάζει λίγο ότι έχει πολλά σπίτια και ίσως πολλά κέντρα αναψυχής, όμως έγινε ένας ωραίος τόπος συνάντησης, δεν είναι άσχημος.

Researcher: Σύγκριση με το τι υπήρξε πριν.

Expert 1a: Πριν δεν υπήρχε κάτι, αλλά δεν έχει σημασία. Και εκείνο που δεν υπήρχε τίποτα πριν ήταν γραφικό, υπήρχε ένα κέντρο πάνω στην θάλασσα. Δεν έχει σχέση το πριν με το μετά, μην σου πω το πριν το προτιμούσα. Αλλά είπαμε υπήρχε ένα πρόγραμμα να γίνει μια μαρίνα. Τώρα το παλιό λιμάνι. Η άποψη μου για αυτό που έγινε στο παλιό λιμάνι είναι ότι είναι too much και έξω από το πνεύμα. Ήθελαν να κάνουν ένα γραφικό ψαρολίμανο δίπλα από την μαρίνα. Αυτό είναι ένα επιδεικτικό project, αν μπει κάποιος μέσα αρχιτεκτονικά και να τα δει ένα-ένα είναι επιτυχημένο. Το θέμα είναι αν εκείνα τα πράγματα εκεί που μπήκαν αν είναι σωστά, δηλαδή αν πας να δεις την λεπτομέρεια, για παράδειγμα «ωραία αυτή η λάμπα, ωραία γραμμή και την βάλεις δίπλα από ένα luis, guess, όχι». Δηλαδή η άποψη μου είναι ότι είναι πολλά αυτά που έχουν γίνει, υπάρχει μεγάλη συγκέντρωση των πραγμάτων και δεν ξέρω πως θα δουλέψει. Το βασικό είναι ότι περιμέναμε όλοι ότι από το κάστρο φεύγοντας θα μπαίναμε σε μια πλατεία και θα υπήρχε ένα άνοιγμα να βλέπουμε την θάλασσα. Αυτό δεν υπάρχει, είναι πολύ μικρό. Το άλλο είναι ότι από το reclamation θα είχαμε μια οπτική φυγή αλλά πέφτει ένα κτήριο μέσα στην μέση. Το τρίτο είναι ότι από πάνω υπάρχει μία δίοδος που οδηγεί στην μεγάλη αποβάθρα, εγώ θα περίμενα να την δω ελεύθερη να μην έχει από πάνω προβόλους. Το άλλο είναι ότι είναι βαρυφορτωμένο, αυτή είναι η προσωπική μου άποψη.

Researcher: Νομίζω ότι αρχικά σχεδίασαν μια γέφυρα για να πας ευθεία από το παραλιακό στην μαρίνα, αλλά δεν ξέρω αν δεν ήταν ποτέ στο σχέδιο, αλλά πρέπει να στρίψεις και να ξαναπάς πάνω. Έχει κάτι που είναι πάνω, κάποιο έχει σκάλες, δεν είναι ανοικτό ακόμα αλλά φαίνεται πως έχει κάτι.

Expert 1a: Εάν πάρεις μία αρχιτεκτονική ιδέα ότι θα περπατώ ψηλά και θα βλέπω την θάλασσα είναι ωραία ιδέα. Το θέμα είναι πως την βάζεις, που την βάζεις, πόσο την γεμίζεις, πόσο την συνοστίζεις, τι έχει δίπλα, είναι πολλά. Σου είπα ότι είναι too much, είναι πολλά πράγματα με τις 3 vistas που σου είπα ότι θα έπρεπε να υπάρχουν.

Researcher: Η τουρκοκυπριακή περιοχή είναι εκεί πίσω, έχει προβλήματα αυτή η περιοχή;

Expert 1a: Τι εννοείς;

Researcher: Εκεί στην περιοχή έχει ανεργία;

Expert 1a: Αυτά δεν τα ξέρω. Πριν λίγο καιρό ήρθε μια φοιτήτρια, η οποία έκανε ερευνητικό θέμα, και έκανε τα συναισθήματα που μας δίνουν τα κτήρια σε αυτή τη γειτονιά.

Researcher: Πως ονομάζεται η κοπέλα θυμάστε;

Expert 1a: Ναι. Ήρθε να μιλήσουμε και της είπα θα μιλήσουμε όσο θέλεις αλλά θα κάνουμε ένα γύρο, πάμε να περπατήσουμε και της είπα αν είχε συμφοιτητές της μαζί της, αλλά δεν είχε και πήρα δικούς μου ανθρώπους. Περπατήσαμε αυτή την γειτονιά, την είδαμε και την γνωρίσαμε. Τώρα όσο αφορά τα συναισθήματα; Ποιος; Ποιου; Εκεί κατοικούν άνθρωποι, οι οποίοι έχουν φύγει από τα σπίτια τους και τους έδωσαν να κατοικήσουν εκείνα τα σπίτια. Κατοικούν στα σπίτια αυτών που τους έδωσαν από τα σπίτια τους. Υπάρχουν και ορισμένοι, τσιγγάνοι κυρίως, τουρκοκύπριοι που έχουν γυρίσει και κατοικούν εκεί, υπάρχουν τα σχολεία. Είχαν έρθει κάποτε κάποιοι μαθητές από τα τουρκοκυπριακά σχολεία που πάνε τώρα οι δικοί μας και πάλι μου ζήτησαν να μιλήσουμε για το σχολείο τους. Τι να τους πω; Όπως εσείς είσατε σήμερα εκεί, κάποτε υπήρχαν κάποια άλλα παιδάκια, οι οποίοι ήταν τουρκοκύπριοι. Τώρα, εάν εκεί έχουμε μια υποβαθμισμένη περιοχή πάλι από πλευράς κατοίκων, δηλαδή πιο χαμηλά εισοδήματα, πιο πολύ παραβατικότητα, αυτά δεν τα ξέρω. Εξαρτάται, σκέψου ότι ένας πρόσφυγας πήρε εκεί ένα κατάστημα και το έκανε ένα ωραίο εστιατόριο και του έφτιαξαν και το σπίτι για να μένει εκεί και να δουλεύει, δεν ξέρω. Πέρασαν χρόνια, δεν σημαίνει ότι αν κάποιος είναι πρόσφυγας, οι επόμενες γενιές δεν έχουν αποκατασταθεί. Εμπνέει πολύ παράξενα συναισθήματα, εμένα το συναίσθημα που μου εμπνέει είναι ότι είναι ένα κομμάτι της πόλης μας, ότι εκεί κατοικούσαν κάποιοι άνθρωποι που ήταν άνθρωποι της πόλης μας, πολύ θα ήθελα να επανακατοικήσουν αυτοί οι άνθρωποι ειρηνικά σε αυτές τις περιοχές και αυτοί που κατοικούν σήμερα εκεί να γυρίσουν στα δικά τους τα σπίτια. Αυτό είναι το κυρίαρχο συναίσθημα.

Researcher: Αλλά ως περιοχή είναι διατηρημένη καλά από τον δήμο, τα κτήρια κτλ.

Expert 1a: Όχι, δεν είναι από τον δήμο, υπάρχει ειδική υπηρεσία. Από τον δήμο εντάχθηκε και αυτή στο πρόγραμμα της πεζοδρόμησης, ένα κομμάτι της βελτίωσης. Τα σπίτια συντηρούνται από μια υπηρεσία που διαχειρίζεται τις τουρκοκυπριακές περιουσίες. Έχουν κατεδαφίσει πολλά με το πρόσχημα ότι παλαιώσαν και ότι δεν μπορούσαν να συντηρηθούν. Τώρα αποφεύγουν να τα κατεδαφίζουν, αλλά γενικά έχουν μια καλή εικόνα. Έχεις δει την περιοχή; Την έχεις περπατήσει;

Researcher: Λίγο, δεν έχω πάει συστηματικά. Πρέπει να πάω να την δω να βγάλω φωτογραφίες και να περπατήσω παντού.

Expert 1a: Ναι, φυσικά δεν ξέρω πόσο βαθιά να μπει σε αυτό το πράγμα. Γιατί θέλεις να βγάλεις φωτογραφίες;

Researcher: Αρκετά. Θα μελετήσω 3 περιοχές με λεπτομέρεια και μάλλον θα είναι αυτή η περιοχή, αλλά πρέπει να την περιορίσω λίγο, θα είναι ο Άγιος Αντώνιος, τα τσιφλικούδια, μάλλον το τζαμί Jedid.

Expert 1a: Αν θέλεις να τα δεις αυτά θα πρέπει να ξαναμιλήσουμε για αυτά, διότι πρέπει να σου μιλήσω ειδικά για αυτά τα πράγματα, πως έγιναν, πότε έγιναν.

Υπάρχει ένα καλό βιβλίο που θα μπορέσεις να το διαβάσεις «Echo from the past».

Researcher: Ναι το έχω διαβάσει.

Expert 1a: Αλλά πρέπει κάποιος να τα ερμηνεύσει.

Researcher: Άλλη περιοχή μάλλον θα είναι η περιοχή της Λινόπετρας και μια άλλη το Ζακάκι.

Expert 1a: Το Ζακάκι δεν ήταν χωριό.

Researcher: Τι εννοείται δεν ήταν χωριό; Ήταν μικρό χωριό αλλά ήταν.

Expert 1a: Έχω κάποιες φωτογραφίες από την περιδιάβαση, δηλαδή η τουρκοκυπριακή συνοικία ξεκινά από το κάστρο, αυτές όλες οι περιοχές εδώ ήταν από τουρκοκύπριους. Θα φτάσουμε στα λουτρά, τα είχαν τουρκοκύπριοι και τα διαχειρίζονταν. Αυτά τα σπίτια ήταν τα αρχοντικά τους, δεν ήταν έτσι αυτά, τώρα είναι λάθος ήταν σοβατισμένα απλά τα έκαναν έτσι για να φαίνονται πιο γραφικά. Βλέπεις όλα αυτά είναι συντηρημένα από αυτές τις υπηρεσίες και είναι πολύ καλά συντηρημένα και από μέσα που είναι πολύ ωραία. Αυτό είναι ένα παλιό σινεμά που χρησιμοποιούταν παλιά ενώ σήμερα όχι. Αυτό είναι το Αρναούτ, η περιοχή των Αλβανόφωνων. Αυτό ήταν το κέντρο τους και μετά έγινε το νοσοκομείο τους. Έχει πολλά πράγματα να συζητήσουμε αν θα πας πλέον μέσα σε αυτή την γειτονιά, δηλαδή πως εξελίχτηκε. Στην ουσία φαίνεται ότι είναι οι τόποι που έμεναν οι Φράγκοι, κατεξοχήν το κέντρο. Διότι που θα κατοικήσει ο κατακτητής; Εκεί που κατοικούσε ο προηγούμενος κατακτητής. Έχει τζαμιά, εκκλησία παλιά και άλλα πολλά.

Researcher: Για το Ζακάκι τι ξέρετε;

Expert 1a: Δεν ξέρω τίποτα.

Researcher: Σε αυτό το βιβλίο διάβασα ότι πήραν νερό από αυτή την περιοχή παλιά και από αυτό παίρνει το όνομα του. Ξέρω ότι έχει πολλά προβλήματα σήμερα γι' αυτό και το λένε Ζακάκι Texas και έχει νεαρούς που είναι πιο σκληροί.

Expert 1a: Είχα ένα συμμαθητή μου από το Ζακάκι και καλός μου φίλος. Η οικογένεια της γυναίκας μου έχει πολλά κτήματα στο Ζακάκι, διότι το Ζακάκι έβγαζε πολλά προϊόντα, αλλά μετά τα πωλήσαν. Την εποχή που ήμουν μαθητής και έκανα παρέα με αυτόν τον φίλο μου πήγαινα με το ποδήλατο σπίτι του, αλλά δεν είχε τίποτα μέχρι να φτάσω στο Ζακάκι. Δεν ήταν όπως είναι σήμερα. Ήταν μια περιοχή που δεν ήταν ακόμη πλήρως αστικοποιημένη, δηλαδή το 1968-69 που ήμουν σχολείο και το 1972 που ήμουν στρατιώτης δεν ήταν αστοί, ήταν κοντά στην πόλη, ήταν ημιαγρότες. Αλλά δεν ξέρω κάτι άλλο για την ιστορία του.

Researcher: Ναι ήταν κοντά στην πόλη αλλά σε σύγκριση με τα άλλα περιφερειακά χωριά. Είναι το μόνο χωριό που μπήκε μέσα στην Λεμεσό.

Expert 1a: Και η Αγία Φύλα. Είναι στο δήμο Λεμεσού.

I: Για ποιο λόγο έγινε αυτό;

Expert 1a: Το Ζακάκι έγινε για το λιμάνι περισσότερο. Οι κάτοικοι της Αγίας Φύλας είχαν κτήματα μέχρι χαμηλά στην Λεμεσό και νομίζω προσπαθούν να βάλουν αυτά τα κτήματα μέσα, δεν ξέρω ακριβώς.

Researcher: Τα παλιά τοπικά σχέδια μπορώ να τα βρω κάπου;

Expert 1a: Κανονικά πρέπει να είναι στο αρχείο του τμήματος πολεοδομίας. Αν δεν βρεις έλα εδώ να τα φωτογραφίσεις.

Researcher: Θα συνεχίσω με τις μελέτες μου, θα πάρω γύρω στην τουρκοκυπριακή περιοχή και μάλλον θα ξαναρθώ να σας ρωτήσω.

Expert 1a: Είναι ωραίο το θέμα σου αλλά δεν έχω καταλάβει που θέλεις να επικεντρωθείς. Κοινωνικά; Χώρος; Αρχαιολογία; Όλα;

Researcher: Χώρος. Η επικέντρωση είναι για το πώς αναπτύχθηκε η πόλη, δηλαδή τα στάδια, τα επίπεδα, τι ήρθε μετά από κάθε στάδιο, θέλω να φτιάξω την ιστορία της πόλης με αρκετές λεπτομέρειες αλλά με focus τους δρόμους. Δεν είμαι αρχιτέκτονας αλλά ενδιαφέρομαι πως λειτουργεί ολόκληρη η πόλη.

Expert 1a: Θα σου πω κάτι να το έχεις υπόψη σου. Στην Κύπρο υπάρχει ένας νόμος, ο οποίος υπήρχε πάντα, ότι για να κτίσεις πρέπει να έχεις δρόμο, δεν ισχύει παντού. Διότι παλιά, ειδικά στην Ελλάδα, μπορεί να υπάρχει ο δρόμος στο χαρτί, ενώ στην

Κύπρο πρέπει να υπάρχει ο δρόμος για να κτίσεις. Άρα, η ιστορία των δρόμων ξεκινά από τους παλιούς δρόμους, οι οποίοι επεκτείνονται.

Researcher: Μα σίγουρα κάποιοι ήταν χωματόδρομοι, ειδικά αυτοί που πήγαιναν στα χωριά.

Expert 1a: Σίγουρα, σιγά σιγά επεκτείνονταν, φτιάχνονται, ενώνεται ο ένας πάνω στον άλλο. (δείχνει παράδειγμα πάνω σε χαρτί). Άρα θα δεις ένα ribbon development, δηλαδή ένα development κατά μήκος του δρόμου και σιγά σιγά, ειδικά μετά από την ίδρυση του Τμήματος Πολεοδομίας, θα τους αναγκάζουν να κάνουν τους δρόμους. Για να κτίσω ένα σπίτι μπορώ να πάρω άδεια διάβασης αλλά όχι να κόψω οικοπέδα, δεν μπορώ. Επίσης, η διαμόρφωση των δρόμων είναι και κοινωνικό θέμα και αν ασχοληθείς με τους δρόμους θα πρέπει να τα λάβεις όλα υπόψη σου.

Researcher: Αυτό είναι ο λόγος που η Λεμεσός έχει κενά, πάντα είχε, που δεν έχουν άλλες πόλεις σε άλλες χώρες.

Expert 1a: Υπάρχει και είναι το φαινόμενο urban sprawl (αστική διάχυση). Εντάξει δεν είναι μόνο τα κενά, είναι και οι χαμηλές πυκνότητες.

Researcher: Φαίνεται όμως ότι η Λεμεσός έχει μεγαλύτερα κενά μέσα στην πόλη που δεν αναπτύσσονται.

Expert 1a: Όταν έχεις χαμηλές πυκνότητες διότι δεν αναπτύσσετε η πόλη, τότε η πόλη σε έκταση γίνεται μεγάλη και δεν μπορεί να εξυπηρετηθεί ειδικά σε θέμα λεωφορείων (μεταφορές).

A3.4 Conversation 1b

Researcher: Πήρα πολλά λίγα από τον κύριο __ για τα ιστορικά και αυτό που θέλω από εσάς είναι λίγο περισσότερα από τα πρόσφατα γεγονότα στη Λεμεσό, για το τοπικό σχέδιο και γενικά για την γνώμη σας από την ανάπτυξη της Λεμεσού πρόσφατα και τι πρέπει να γίνει στο μέλλον. Τώρα ξέρω ότι δουλέψατε πάνω στο τοπικό σχέδιο, έχετε σχέση με αυτό;

Expert 1b: Όταν έγιναν οι πρώτες ζώνες της Λεμεσού, (πριν πόσα χρόνια ήταν;), γύρω στο 1990 νομίζω, δεν θυμάμαι, τις σχεδίασε ο τότε επαρχιακός ο Γιάννης Παπαδόπουλος μαζί με εμένα (καθήσαμε ένα απόγευμα και τις σχεδιάσαμε). Εντάξει, μετά είχα επαφή με την έννοια ότι εγώ ήμουν στο επαρχιακό γραφείο, εμείς εφαρμόζαμε το τοπικό σχέδιο, δεν το μελετούσαμε, δεν το αλλάζαμε. Τούτη η δουλειά είναι στην Λευκωσία. Πήγατε στην Λευκωσία καθόλου;

Researcher: Ναι, μίλησα με τον κύριο Αχινιώτη, που ξέρω ότι γίνεται στα κεντρικά το σχέδιο.

Expert 1b: Εμείς απλά το εφαρμόζουμε ή αν θέλεις κάτι για το σκεπτικό ή οτιδήποτε άλλο θα πρέπει να μιλήσεις μαζί τους, αλλά ότι ξέρω θα σου πω.

Researcher: Εντάξει, ξέρω ότι το τοπικό σχέδιο το έχουν αλλάξει 5 φορές από τότε, λίγο το έχουν αλλάξει.

Expert 1b: Δεν είμαι σίγουρος. Κάθε τόσο το αλλάζουν. Λέει ότι κάθε 5 χρόνια πρέπει να αναθεωρείται.

Researcher: Εντάξει, αλλά είναι μια απόφαση, έτσι το είπαν το 1990 κάθε 5 χρόνια να το αναθεωρούμε, ή κάθε φορά που χρειάζεται.

Expert 1b: Νομίζω το είχαν βάλει έτσι κάθε 5 χρόνια για να νιώθουν οι κοινότητες και ο κόσμος ότι αν δεν σε ικανοποιήσω τώρα για τα αιτήματά σου, σε 5 χρόνια έχεις, αλλά είχαν βάλει ένα χρονικό ορίζοντα 5 χρόνια, νομίζω το τηρούνε.

Researcher: Πρόσφατα, έχουν γίνει πολλά πράγματα στην Λεμεσό, έχουν φτιάξει το παλιό λιμάνι, έφτιαξαν καινούργια μαρίνα. Εντάξει, νομίζω για μένα ως επισκέπτη, επειδή μένω Λευκωσία μου φαίνεται ότι συγκέντρωσαν πάρα πολύ στο παραλιακό, την ανάπτυξη ας πούμε, ανανέωσαν πολύ το παραλιακό. Έκαναν βεβαίως λίγο στο ιστορικό κέντρο, αλλά γιατί τόσο πολύ στο παραλιακό; Νομίζω έχει και πολλές άλλες ανάγκες η πόλη και ξέρω ότι είναι σημαντική η θάλασσα.

Expert 1b: Κοίταξε, όταν λες για την Λεμεσό και το παραλιακό μέτωπο, εκεί που έγινε ο πεζόδρομος και ο ποδηλατόδρομος, που έγινε μέχρι το ξενοδοχείο Holiday Inn, είναι εντός των ορίων του Δήμου Λεμεσού, δηλαδή επεκτείνεται και φτάνει μέχρι. Τώρα, η μαρίνα είναι ιδιωτική, δεν την έκανε το δήμος, είναι ιδιωτική επειχρήρηση (που εμένα μ'αρέσει η μαρίνα). Εκείνο που θα περίμενε κανένας ότι στην μαρίνα θα πήγαιναν οι πλούσιοι και οι εκατομυριούχοι, δεν γίνεται. Εάν πας στην μαρίνα και δεις τον κόσμο, πάει ο φτωχός κόσμος, ο πιο φτωχός κόσμος που δεν έχει ένα τόπο να πάει στη θάλασσα να καθίσει πάει στην μαρίνα, ενώ την σχεδίασαν για τους εκατομυριούχους, για τους Ρώσους που έρχονταν. Μάλιστα ακούστηκαν και παράπονα από τους πλούσιους, «εγώ δεν πάω στην μαρίνα», έλεγαν «πάει ο φτωχός κόσμος».

Researcher: Σίγουρα συμφωνώ, δεν θα πάνε στο KFC, ούτε στο Costa Coffee.

Expert 1b: Θα μπορούσαν να το κάνουν να είσαι member για να μπεις μέσα αν θέλεις, ή να το απαγορεύσουν να μπαίνεις μέσα. Η μαρίνα έγινε από ιδιωτικά συμφέροντα. Τώρα το λιμάνι που έγινε, είναι μια μεγάλη αποτυχία (το είδες). Έγινε παγκύπριος διαγωνισμός νομίζω, νομίζω ήταν με θέμα «ανάπλαση του παραδοσιακού λιμανιού», είχε την λέξη «παραδοσιακού». Εγώ όταν είδα τα αποτελέσματα του διαγωνισμού είπα του αντιδήμαρχου «τι είναι αυτά τα πράγματα; Δεν βλέπω πουθενά παραδοσιακό λιμάνι». Απλώς αποδείξαμε ότι ξέρουμε να αντιγράφουμε περιοδικά και ότι υπερβάλαμε και η απόδειξη είναι ότι δεν νοικιάζονται. Κατά την ταπεινή μου άποψη θέλουν κατεθάφιση. Δεν ξέρω αν συμφωνείτε μαζί μου, είναι άχρηστα. Τώρα να κάνω ένα κέντρο ψηλό πάνω στις κολώνες, ένα ναι, να κάνω τρία τέσσερα και τα άλλα τα καινούργια να είναι μικρά και χαμηλά, τι θα γίνει; Έκαναν γραφεία της Αρχής Λιμένων πάνω στη θάλασσα. Αριστερά είναι κάτι κτήρια και διαναρωτιώνται τι είναι αυτά τα κτήρια μουσεια; Όχι, είναι τα γραφεία της Αρχής Λιμένων. Μα είναι απαράδεκτο να κάνουν πάνω στη θάλασσα γραφεία. Μα τους λέω γιατί; Είπαν για να μας δώσουν την γη, διότι ανήκει στην Αρχή Λιμένων, μας έβαλαν όρο να κάνουμε τα γραφεία τους. Είναι απαράδεκτο, ένας δημόσιος υπάλληλος να έχει το γραφείο του στη θάλασσα; Ας το έκαναν μουσείο, άσε που δεν έπρεπε να χτιστούν καθόλου εκείνα τα κτήρια.

Researcher: Γιατί αποφάσισαν έτσι με αυτό το σχέδιο;

Expert 1b: Λόγω βλακείας. Ήταν βλακεία, ήταν ανίκανοι.

Researcher: Τι νομίζετε για το σχέδιο των δρόμων; Αν σύνδεσαν σωστά το παραλιακό με την μαρίνα και το κέντρο.

Expert 1b: Πρέπει να ξέρεις το πρόβλημα που υπάρχει, που φτάνεις μέχρι το παλιό λιμάνι και σταματάς για να πας απέναντι. Λοιπόν, εκείνο το συζητούν εδώ και πολλά χρόνια και δεν παίρνουν καμία απόφαση. Υπάρχει και ένα πρόβλημα, στα αριστερά του δρόμου υπάρχει το μνημείο του πρώτου στρατιώτη που ήρθε στην Κύπρο (ψάξε το να το βρεις, πριν φτάσεις στο round about κάπου στο προτελευταίο κτήριο) και δεν θέλουν να το κατεδαφίσουν και λεν μα δεν έχουμε πλάτος δρόμου πως θα το κατεδαφίσουμε, τι πρέπει να κάνουμε; Την απέναντι πολυκατοικία θέλουν να την κατεδαφίσουν και έμεινε εκεί. Υπήρχαν πολλές ιδέες να γίνει βύθιση του δρόμου, να πάει πάνω να πάει κάτω, αλλά δεν παίρνει κανένας απόφαση, με αποτέλεσμα να ταλαιπωρείτε κόσμο. Για παράδειγμα, εάν πάεις κατά τις 13.00 που σχολάνει ο κόσμος ή άλλες ώρες που σχολάνει ο κόσμος, τα αυτοκίνητα περιμένουν να περάσουν, είναι απογοήτευση. Αυτό το πράγμα πρέπει ο δήμος να το λύσει, αλλά στο δήμο δεν παίρνει κανένας απόφαση και είναι ένα πάρα πολύ σοβαρό πρόβλημα και πρέπει να λυθεί. Ας μετακινήσουν το μνημείο του Τούρκου στρατιώτη, ας το διαλύσουν και ας το ξανακτίσουν πιο κάτω στο κάτω κάτω. Και εκείνες οι αποθήκες που λένε ότι τις θέλουν μετά το round about είναι βρωμιά. Έχουν κάνει τα ωραία κέντρα, τα οποία είναι προς την πλευρά του κάστρου, και αν δεις τα κέντρα πίσω έχουν τα βοηθητικά τους, είναι οι κουζίνες τους με τα air-condition, καλάθια αχρήστων, αυτό το πράγμα είναι απαράδεκτο.

Αυτό το πράγμα πρέπει η Λεμεσός να το λύσει. Τώρα όσο αφορά τα υπόλοιπα έργα που έκαναν στην παραλία, εγώ επειδή είμαι από την Αμμόχωστο και όταν πήγαμε το 1974, γινόταν πόλεμος στην Λεμεσό, πάνω στην παραλία υπήρχαν κέντρα, μικρά που ήταν σαν περίπτερα, παράγκες, που την νύχτα έβαζαν και φώτα, σαν τις ελληνικές ταινίες, άσπρο, κόκκινο, κίτρινο και πούλαγαν σουβλάκια όπου πήγαινε ο φτωχός και έπερνε. Σε κάποια φάση είπαν όχι θα τα κατεδαφίσουμε, διότι αυτά είναι επικύνδινα για την υγεία του κόσμου και θα κάνουμε άλλα σύγχρονα. Αυτό το πράγμα το άφησαν 20 χρόνια περίπου και δεν έκαναν τίποτα. Και τώρα είπαν να κάνουν 2-3 κεντράκια και το έκαναν. Για χρόνια η επίχωση δεν είχε ούτε ένα κέντρο, τώρα νομίζω έκαναν ένα, λειτουργεί ένα ή δύο. Κινήθηκαν αργά. Όσο αφορά την πόλη πίσω δεν έκαναν τίποτε, έκαναν ένα πίσω δρόμο την Ανεξαρτησίας, προσπάθησαν να κάνουν κάτι.

Researcher: Αλλά νομίζετε δεν έκαναν τίποτε εκτός το πισώδρομο, λίγο το κάστρο.

Expert 1b: Κοίταξε, πρέπει να υπάρχουν και τα λεφτά. Δηλαδή δεν μπορούμε να τους κατηγορούμε, θέλουν λεφτά, πρέπει κάποιος να πληρώσει. Το δημαρχείο, ξέρεις, περιορίζεται ως ένα σημείο, μετά είναι ο δήμος Άγιος Αθανάσιος και πάνε μετά άλλοι δήμοι. Εντωμεταξύ, είναι γεγονός ότι φαίνεται ότι τώρα είναι ωραίο. Τώρα η Λεμεσός έγινε ωραία, διότι παλιά όταν πήγαμε εμείς Λεμεσό από την Αμμόχωστο, ο παραλιακός δρόμος ήταν μονόδρομος, ούτε πεζοδρόμια δεν είχε. Ήταν δράμα η κατάσταση. Τώρα τελευταία τα έκαναν και η Λεμεσός έγινε πολύ ωραία όσο αφορά το παραλιακό μέτωπο.

Researcher: Πεζοδρόμηση στην Ανεξαρτησίας και τώρα έκαναν και τον ποδηλατόδρομο δίπλα στον Εριλλή, δεν έχω δει κανένα πάνω στον ποδηλατόδρομο ακόμα, αλλά νομίζω έχουν μάθει...

Expert 1b: Νομίζω ξεκίνησε από την παραλία αλλά πήγε μέχρι πάνω, δεν ξέρω. Ο Γιώργος Γιώργου που ασχολείται με ποδηλασία (...) δεν προσφέρεται.

Researcher: Είναι λίγο πιο δύσκολο από τον δικό μας εδώ επειδή είναι ανηφορικό για να πας σπίτι.

Expert 1b: Ίσως δεν υπάρχει και τίποτα ενδιαφέρον για να δεις. Είναι φτωχογειτονιές, γιατί να μην πάω στην παραλία και να πάω στο παλαιό λιμάνι.

Researcher: Έχει κάποια άλλα projects στη Λεμεσό που γίνονται τώρα νομίζω, πολυώροφα και αθλητικά κέντρα, κάτι στο Franklin Rusverk(το έχει η ιστοσελίδα του δημαρχείου)...

Expert 1b: Εντάξει, εγώ έχω καιρό που λείπω από την Λεμεσό, 3 χρόνια που αφυπηρέτησα, 5 χρόνια που ήμουν στην Αμμόχωστο, δηλαδή δεν ξέρω τι έργα προγραμματίζει η Λεμεσός. Μπορεί να προγραμματίζει πολλά έργα αλλά επειδή έλειπα 8 χρόνια, δεν ξέρω τι κάνει ο δήμος. Πιθανόν να έχουν οι άνθρωποι πολλά έργα να μελετούν.

Researcher: Μου είπατε ότι έχει φτωχές περιοχές στη Λεμεσό, μπορείτε να μου πείτε ποιες είναι;

Expert 1b: Φτωχές περιοχές είναι στα πρώην τούρκικα, πολύ φτωχός κόσμος στα πρώην τούρκικα. Είναι και ο οικισμός εκεί τα Τσιφλικούθκια (μόλις περάσεις την μαρίνα να πάεις προς το λιμάνι, κάτω στην θάλασσα είναι η ΚΕΟ, η COCA COLA, τα εργοστάσια. Πάνω στο δρόμο, από την πίσω πλευρά είναι ένας οικισμός και αυτός είναι τα Τσιφλικούθκια και υπάρχουν πρόσφυγες). Οι φτωχές περιοχές είναι Πολεμίδα, Κάτω Πολεμίδα, Ύψωνας. Οι πλούσιοι είναι στην περιοχή Καλογείρων (είναι πάνω από τον υπεραστικό δρόμο). Την θυμάμαι τότε όταν εμείς σαν πολεοδομία είπαμε τα περισσότερα οικόπεδα ήταν της αρχιεπισκοπής, το κοπάδι και είπαμε να βάλουμε συντελεστή 20%. Λοιπόν, είχαμε αντιδράσεις από τους παπάδες. Είπαν «θα μας καταστρέψετε». 20% δεν μπορεί να κτιστεί καν διπλοκατοικία, ποιος θα αγοράσει το οικόπεδο. Κανένας δεν φανταζόταν ότι βαζοντας 20% συντελεστή θα γινόταν μια περιοχή για πλούσιους. Η αρχιεπισκοπή ήθελε τα οικόπεδα για να πουλήσει το μισό οικόπεδο σε κάποιον και το άλλο μισό

σε άλλον και χτίζουν και κάτω και πάνω. Γι αυτό με το 20% έγιναν ιστορίες. Όταν τους εξηγήσαμε το δέκτηκαν και τελικά αποδεικνύεται ότι είναι σχεδόν η πιο ακριβή περιοχή της λεμεσού εκτός από το παραλιακό μέτωπο.

Researcher: Γιατί να φτάσουν περιοχές να έχουν ψηλή συγκέντρωση φτωχών;

Expert 1b: Επειδή τα οικόπεδα ήταν πιο φτηνά, δηλαδή εκεί που είναι ο Ύψωνας τα οικόπεδα ήταν πιο φτηνά διότι ήταν μακριά από το κέντρο, όσο πάεις πιο μακριά από το κέντρο μιας πόλης τα οικόπεδα είναι πιο φτηνά.

Researcher: Και ο Άγιος Αθανάσιος και η Γερμασόγια είναι μακριά αλλά έχει πλούσιους.

Expert 1b: Ναι αλλά η Γερμασόγια, ο Άγιος Αθανάσιος είχαν τα ξενοδοχεία, είχαν κάποια θέα, ενώ οι άλλοι δεν είχαν τίποτα, ήταν πεταμένοι. Κάποιος επιλέγει να πάει εκεί να μείνει διότι θα βρει το πιο φτηνό οικόπεδο που μπορεί να βρει και το πιο φτηνό έτοιμο σπίτι να αγοράσει. Και ούτε οι ξένοι πήγαιναν, δηλαδή Άγιο Αθανάσιο και Άγιο Τοίχωνα πάνε οι Ρώσοι. Άρα οι τιμές στην ανατολική περιοχή ανέβηκαν και λόγω των ξένων, έχουν ανεβάσει πολύ τις τιμές. Τώρα αν πας στην παραλία να αγοράσεις διαμέρισμα θέλεις 1 εκατομμύριο, ενώ παλιά ήταν 80 χιλιάδες και τώρα που ήρθαν οι Ρώσοι ανέβασαν τις τιμές.

Researcher: Σε αυτές τις περιοχές έχω πάει, τουλάχιστο στην τουρκοκυπριακή περιοχή, τα σπίτια είναι παλιά, γιατί δεν κάνει τίποτα γιαυτό ο δήμος;

Expert 1b: Μερικά τα έδωσαν σε πρόσφυγες. Όσα ήταν ετοιμόρροπα και επικίνδυνα τα άφησαν για κατεδάφιση. Μερικά τα επιδιόρθωσαν και τα έδωσαν σε πρόσφυγες και ήταν μια ανεκτή κατάσταση. Αλλά τώρα υπάρχουν κάποιες οικογένειες εκεί στον ποταμό, όπως ξεκινά μετά την μαρίνα, φαίνονται πόντιοι, ξένοι. Δεν ξέρω τι συμβαίνει, έφυγαν οι πρόσφυγες και τα πήραν αυτοί;

Researcher: Τσιγγάνοι ξέρω ότι βρίσκονται εκεί και κάποιοι Τουρκοκύπριοι που επιστρέψαν. Αλλά απότι είδα δεν γίνεται τίποτε.

Expert 1b: Δεν μπορεί να γίνει επένδυση. Δηλαδή να πας να πάρεις το σπίτι του Τουρκοκύπριου; Όταν είναι τουρκοκυπριακή γη και το σπίτι ανήκει σε Τούρκο, είναι και πολιτικό το θέμα. Δεν μπορείς να πας και να πεις θα τα απαλλωτριώσω. Το κράτος θα μπορούσε να απαλλωτριώσει όλη την περιοχή και να κάνει πολυκατοικίες για υψηλά εισοδήματα, αλλά επειδή είναι Τουρκοκύπριοι...

Researcher: Ναι αλλά είδα και άλλα πράγματα, όπως σε ανοικτούς χώρους έχει γκραφίτι. Θα μπορούσαν να τα ξαναβάψουν. Έχει καινούργιους οικισμούς με τουρκοκυπριους που έχουν σκουπίδια παντού.

Expert 1b: Αν αποφασίσουν να τα πουλήσουν οι Τουρκοκύπριοι τότε μπορεί να τα αγοράσει μια μεγάλη εταιρεία.

Researcher: Μπορείται να μου πείτε για τα μικρά πράγματα της Λεμεσού, μικρά parking, μερικά προβλήματα, πράγματα όπως τα πεζοδρόμια, που λείπουν από παντού, όχι μόνο στη Λεμεσό αλλά σε όλη την Κύπρο, πως σχεδιάζουν τα φανάρια.

Expert 1b: Στην Κύπρο τα πεζοδρόμια τα κάνει όποιος πάει να πάρει άδεια για να κτίσει, του λένε κάνε και το πεζοδρόμιο σου, όταν κάποιος πάρει άδεια διαχωρισμού για να διαχωρίσει ένα χωράφι σε οικόπεδα του λένε φτιάξε το πεζοδρόμιο σου, δεν το φτιάχνει ο δήμος, ο καθένας φτιάχνει το δικό του και έτσι σιγά σιγά άρχισαν και φτιάχνονται τα πεζοδρόμια. Τώρα σε μερικές περιπτώσεις όταν ο Δήμος κρίνει ότι ένα πεζοδρόμιο είναι σημαντικό μπορεί να το κατασκευάσει, αλλά στην ευρύτερη Λεμεσό που θα δεις οικόπεδα που δεν έχουν αναπτυχθεί θα δεις ότι μπροστά τους δεν έχει πεζοδρόμια. Αλλά επειδή είναι αρκετά τα λεφτά για να τα κάνει ο Δήμος λέει ότι θα τα αναπτύξει. Τώρα κάτι που πρόσεξα εγώ που γίνεται στην λεωφόρο Μακαρίου. Στη λεωφόρο Μακαρίου τι έγινε; Κατά διάφορες εποχές έρχονται και ξαναφτιάχνουν τους δρόμους. Η σωστή διαδικασία είναι να αφαιρεθεί ένα πάχος του δρόμου 5-7 cm και μετά να μπει νέα επίστρωση. Δεν ξέρω τι κάνουν, κάποιος δεν κάνει σωστά την δουλειά του, κάποιος δεν επιβλέπει, δεν το ζητούν, έρχονται και βάζουν στρώση, με αποτέλεσμα σε

μερικές περιπτώσεις ο δρόμος να φτάνει τα υφιστάμενα πεζοδρόμια. Και τι έκανε ο Δήμος; Έβαλε ένα εργολάβο να ψηλώσει όλα τα πεζοδρόμια. Μα γίνεται να έρθω να ψηλώνω τα πεζοδρόμια και να υπάρχει κτήριο που χτίστηκε με άδεια πριν χρόνια και η αυλή του κτηρίου ή καταστήματος να είναι εδώ και το πεζοδρόμιο πιο ψηλό; Αυτό είναι πολύ άσχημο και πολύ επικίνδυνο, δηλαδή που να ξέρεις ότι υπάρχει τόσο ύψος διαφορά; Και πως θα φεύγει το νερό; Και δεν ξέρω αν το πρόσεξες, περπάτα και φωτογράφησε το, είναι σημαντικό για μία πόλη, δεν γίνεται να έρθω να ψηλώσω τα πεζοδρόμια και ο άλλος να έχει κατάστημα και να βρίσκεται κάτω από το δρόμο διότι εσύ δεν έκανες τη δουλειά σου σωστά. Δες το, περπάτα την περιοχή από τα δικαστήρια και να πάεις προς τα δυτικά και λεωφόρο Μακαρίου και φωτογράφησε δεξιά και αριστερά τα πεζοδρόμια και θα δεις πεζοδρόμια που είναι πάνω από υφιστάμενες αυλές και καταστήματα και πήγαινε μέχρι το Debenhams να δεις τι άσχημο είναι για μια πόλη. Και κτήρια που χτίστηκαν τότε, όπως μια τράπεζα ωραία όταν την δεις, βρέθηκε το πεζοδρόμιο να είναι πάνω από την τράπεζα.

Researcher: Δηλαδή πιστεύετε ότι όλα είναι σχεδιασμένα για τα αυτοκίνητα και δεν δίνουν έμφαση στους πεζούς;

Expert 1b: Όχι όχι δεν είναι αυτό, ήταν μια λύση, δεν μπορώ να το πω αυτό ότι ήταν για τα αυτοκίνητα. Απλώς ήθελαν να ξανακάνουν επίστρωση του δρόμου, ήταν μια βλακεία. Θα ήθελα να γράψω των μηχανικών για τούτο το θέμα διότι δεν γίνεται. Διότι η γυναίκα μου έχει κατάστημα εκεί και τους είπα δεν θα κάνετε το πεζοδρόμιο μπροστά από το κατάστημα μου και να το ψηλώσεις και ο εργολάβος δεν το έκανε. Το άλλο που βλέπεις είναι ότι υπάρχουν περίπτερα. Υπάρχει ένα περίπτερο λεωφόρο Μακαρίου και Αγίας Φυλάξεως που κατεβαίνει κάτω, από περίπτερο μετατράπηκε τώρα και πουλά sandwich και κάνει επεκτάσεις και δεν μπορώ να το καταλάβω. Στο εξωτερικό το περίπτερο είναι ένα μικρό καθαρό περίπτερο το οποίο πουλά μερικά πράγματα, στην Κύπρο και ειδικά στη Λεμεσό έχει περίπτερα, συγκεκριμένα ένα περίπτερο στην Ανεξαρτησίας τώρα τις απόκριες πουλούσε μάσκες, κουστούμια, πουλούσαν τα πάντα. Μα δεν γίνεται αυτό το πράγμα, δηλαδή τι είμαστε; Στην Ινδία είμαστε; Πρέπει να είναι περίπτερο και να εξυπηρετεί αυτό που πρέπει, τώρα γιατί τα αφήνουν; Μπορεί να είναι έταιροι, δεν ξέρω, ιστορίες μεγάλες. Για να φανταστείτε, κάποτε, ήρθε κάποιος με ένα σκάφος από την Αμερική και ήθελε να το παρκάρει στον Εναέριο (εκεί που χτίστηκαν οι πύργοι, μετά τα επόμενα φώτα, έχει και μία αποβάθρα εκεί). Αυτός έφερε ένα σκάφος, μεγάλο, και ο άνθρωπος ήθελε το καλοκαίρι να το παρκάρει εκεί στην αποβάθρα, του έβαλε φώτα πάνω, μουσική, ποτό και μπορούσες να παεις να καθίσεις να πιεις το ποτό σου και ζήτησε άδεια. Εγώ σαν Πολεοδομία, επειδή μου αρέσουν τα σκάφη, τους είπα τι πιο ωραίο να πάω να κάτσω πάνω στο σκάφος και να πιω το ποτό μου; Αλλά έκαναν παράπονο αυτοί που είχαν τα καταστήματα πίσω, δεν γίνεται λέει θα μας κόψει την δουλειά μας. Έτσι δεν έδωσαν του ανθρώπου άδεια. Για χρόνια δεν έκαναν πάνω στην παραλία περίπτερα ούτε κέντρα, διότι έκαναν παράπονα οι πίσω ότι θα τους κόψει την δουλειά τους. Το θέμα είναι να εξυπηρετήσουμε τον πολίτη. Και πάνω στην παραλία υπήρχαν ωραία παραδοσιακά σπίτια, τα οποία κατεδάφισαν και ήταν λάθος. Υπήρχαν οι αποθήκες του θεοδοσίου, εκεί που είναι το Debenhams πριν τους πύργους, 5-6 οικόπεδα υπήρχαν κάτω αποθήκες, οι οποίες ήταν πετρόκτιστες, πήγα να τις κατεδαφίσουν. Αυτός που τα είχε ήταν αρχιτέκτονας και τους είπε μην τις κατεδαφίσετε και κάντε τις πολιτιστικό κέντρο ή ότι θέλετε αλλά μην τις κατεδαφίσετε. Και τότε πήγαν αρχιτέκτονες, έκαναν διαδήλωση, ήταν και η σημερινή Διευθύντρια Πολεοδομίας, η Αθηνά, η οποία ήταν υπεύθυνη για τα διατηρητέα, αλλά ήθελαν να τα κατεδαφίσουν. Ο Γιώργος Σεργίδης είχε ένα σπίτι εκεί που αρχίζει το Reclamation, το πατρικό του, ωραίο πετρόκτιστο και πήγαν και το κατεδάφισαν ενώ θα μπορούσαν να το κάνουν ένα πολύ ωραίο έργο. Όλο το Reclamation είχε πάνω σπίτια. Η ιστορία του Reclamation

είναι ότι το σχέδιο το έκανε ο Άγγελος Δημητρίου (ήταν από την Αμμόχωστο και έκανε καριέρα στην Αμερική) και τον εκάλεσαν για να κάνει εκείνα εκεί στο Reclamation και είπε εκεί μπροστά να κτιστούν 11 όροφα κτήρια. Και τι έγινε; Μπροστά έχουμε μια μάσκα και πίσω είναι η παλιά η πόλη. Πίσω αν δεις από φωτογραφίες, ο Σεργίδης πρέπει να σου τα έδειξε, ήταν φοβερό, σπίτια διόροφα, ωραία αλλά τα κατεδάφισαν για την ανάπτυξη. Και έκαναν αυτό το τοίχος και όταν είσαι πίσω βλέπεις τα πισινά των 10 οροφων κτηρίων και έτσι καταστράφηκε η Λεμεσός. Η Λεμεσός ήταν ωραία, ήταν παραδοσιακή και αν δεις φωτογραφίες παλιές, ήταν ο παραλιακός δρόμος, κτυπούσε το ρέμμα πάνω στον δρόμο, ήταν τα κτήρια. Ήταν ωραία η Λεμεσός αλλά τώρα την κατέστρεψαν.

Researcher: Τα φανάρια είναι σχεδιασμένα όπως τα λέμε stager, διότι φτάνεις στο παραλιακό και για να περάσεις πρέπει να στρίψεις δεξιά για να περάσεις μισό το φανάρι, και μετά να περιμένεις για να περάσεις το άλλο μισό. Υπάρχουν παντού στο δρόμο αν έρχεσαι να περάσεις από την παλιά πόλη και να πας στο παραλιακό για να περπατήσεις εκεί.

Expert 1b: Υπάρχουν κάποιες κατεβασιές που μόνο αριστερά μπορείς να πάεις.

Researcher: Όχι εννοώ περπατητοί. Δηλαδή ως πεζός για να φτάσω στο παραλιακό θέλει πολύ δουλειά για μένα.

Expert 1b: Έκαναν μια γέφυρα τώρα και μία στους Δίδυμους Πύργους χωρίς lift, ενώ η άλλη έχει lift. Τώρα δεν ξέρω αν λειτουργεί το lift. Έχει διαβάσεις σε 3-4 τόπους με φώτα, πατάς το κουμπί για να περάσεις, είναι η φτηνή λύση.

Researcher: Ναι αλλά δεν είναι στην ίδια γραμμή του δρόμου.

Expert 1b: Μερικά μπορεί να είναι, όπου έχει φώτα και έχει δρόμο απέναντι έχει και διάβαση για τους πεζούς. Εμείς σαν Κύπρος τώρα τελευταία αρχίσαμε να σκεφτόμαστε τους πεζούς. Ίσως σε κάποια φάση ήταν μια πολυτέλεια, διότι είμασταν κάτω από τους Άγγλους, ότι μας έκαναν οι Άγγλοι, όπως μας οργάνωσαν το κτηματολόγιο, που έχουμε καλό κτηματολόγιο, έμειναν. Ουσίες όπως η διατήρηση κτηρίων ήταν πρόσφατες. Όταν ήμουν εγώ στην Πολεοδομία την δεκαετία του 80 και κάναμε τα χωριά επάνω, Τριμίκλινη, Άνια, οι σχεδιάστριες μόνες τους έπερναν το μολύβι και έκαναν διαπλάτυνση του δρόμου στα χωριά. Ήμουν ο πρώτος αρχιτέκτονας εκεί, τους έλεα δεν γίνεται να κάτεδαφίζετε στο χωριό τα πετρόκτιστα για να κάνουμε δρόμους και μου λεν «Κύριε Κυριαζή έτσι είναι πρέπει να τους κάνουμε 9 μέτρα». Πέρασαν χρόνια για να αλλάξει αυτή η νοοτροπία και να καταλάβουν. Στα χωριά υπήρχαν δρόμοι πετρόκτιστοι που τους έκαναν αναπτυξη. Μετά αρχίσαμε να εφαρμόζουμε τον νόμο διατήρησης των κτηρίων. Ο πρώτος, αν θυμάμαι, Περί Πολεοδομίας νόμος έγινε το 1972 αλλά δεν εφαρμόστηκε γιατί υπήρχαν συμφέροντα. Εφαρμόστηκε το άρθρο 36 για την διατήρηση δέντρων, ήταν το πρώτο. Είχαμε άλλη νοοτροπία τότε, τώρα ο κόσμος άλλαξε, γίναμε πιο Ευρωπαίοι, καταλάβαμε την αξία του παραδοσιακού κτίσματος. Παλιά ήταν να το κατεδαφίσουν και να χτίσουν άλλο. Τώρα σχεδίασαν πεζοδρόμους εντός της Λεμεσού και τι έκαναν; Σε ένα κανονικό δρόμο τράβησαν μία γραμμή και είπαν εδώ θα γίνει πεζόδρομος, δηλαδή εντός του ίδιου δρόμου με το ίδιο πλάτος τράβησαν γραμμή. Μα πώς θα γίνει; Θα πάεις να σκοτωθείς. Απέναντι από το σπίτι μου εκεί στο Debenhams τράβησαν μία γραμμή, τις πρώτες μέρες όποιος πάρκαρε έπιανε κλήση, μετά εσταμάτησε, εσβησε και ξεχάστηκε το θέμα. Μα αφού δεν υπάρχει τι το σχεδιάζεις; Για να σκοτώσεις κόσμο δηλαδή; Ήταν ένα σχέδιο που έπρεπε να γίνει και πήραν και λεφτά. Αλλά αν πάεις τώρα στο Debenhams θα δεις μια γραμμή αν δεν σβήστηκε που λέει ότι είναι πεζοδρόμο και ποδηλατόδρομος.

Researcher: Μάλλον ούτε που το κατάλαβα ότι είναι πεζόδρομος.

Expert 1b: Μα γιαυτό σου λέω, να σε σκοτώσουν αν τολμούσες να πας με το ποδήλατο. Τώρα τελευταία είδες τις διαβάσεις για τους ανάπηρους πάνω στις γωνιές των πεζοδρομίων σε μερικά σημεία, ο Δήμος Λεμεσού το έκανε, μέσα στην

κεντρική πόλη, στη λεωφόρο Μακαρίου, κάποιες περιοχές το έκαναν και έτσι μπορεί κάποιος ανάπηρος που έχει το καρότσι του να περάσει. Έβαλαν και κάτι κανονισμούς τώρα στα ισόγεια πολυκατοικιών να υπάρχει τουαλέτα αναπήρων και ο κανονισμός λέει και για παρκινγκ αναπήρων που δεν υπήρχε παλιά, ότι ανά 10% πρέπει να κάνεις παρκινγκ αναπήρων. Στην Κύπρο δεν βλέπουμε τους ανάπηρους, δεν ξέρω αν δεν υπάρχουν, δεν τους είδα ποτέ.

Researcher: Ναι τώρα υπάρχουν πολλά παρκινγκ για ανάπηρους.

Expert 1b: Το άλλο που είδα σε κανονισμό είναι η πόρτα του ανσανσέρ να είναι τουλάχιστον 70 cm πλάτος για να μπορεί να μπει καρότσι και όταν εγώ φιλοξένησα ένα φίλο μου Ελλαδίτη που είχε κόρη ανάπηρη, είχαμε πρόβλημα για το που θα κυκλοφορήσουμε, της πολυκατοικίας μου επειδή την σχεδίασα εγώ ήταν η πόρτα 70 cm ήταν εντάξει αλλά δεν μπορούσαμε να κυκλοφορήσουμε αλλού. Δηλαδή πάεις στα κτήρια και έχουν σκαλιά, τώρα τελευταία βάζουν κάτι ράμπες αλλά οι ράμπες για τους ανάπηρους πρέπει να είναι 10%, δηλαδή δεν έχουν πρόνοιες. Όταν είμασταν στην Αθήνα και θέλαμε να πάμε θέατρο, κυκλοφορούσαμε, είχαν πρόνοιες στο θέατρο, έφερναν ξύλα για να κατεβάσουν κάτω κτλ. Στην Κύπρο τώρα αρχίσαμε με τους ανάπηρους.

Researcher: Αυτό το πρόβλημα δεν είναι μόνο στην Κύπρο, είναι παντού στην Ευρώπη, είχαμε πρόβλημα και εμείς στην Φλωρεντία είχαμε φίλους παράλυτους και δεν μπορούσαμε να βρούμε ένα ξενοδοχείο που είχε τουαλέτα.

Expert 1b: Μα η Φλωρεντία είναι παραδοσιακή, είναι παλιά κτήρια. Τώρα η νομοθεσία προβλέπει.

Researcher: Τελευταία ερώτηση, ποιες είναι οι προτεραιότητες για τη Λεμεσό, νομίζετε, για το μέλλον;

Expert 1b: Δεν ξέρω τι κάνει ο δήμος τώρα.

Researcher: Όχι τι κάνει ο Δήμος, κατά την γνώμη σας τι θα έπρεπε να κάνει, τι θα ήτανε καλό για την πόλη τώρα.

Expert 1b: Εκείνο που δεν έχουν οι κυπριακές πόλεις σε αντίθεση με το εξωτερικό είναι ότι δεν έχουμε πλατείες. Εντάξει δικαιολογημένα δεν έχουμε πλατείες, εκτός από τώρα που κάνουμε την πλατεία ελευθερίας στη Λευκωσία, στη Λεμεσό έχουμε την πλατεία Ηρώων. Παλιά η Πλατεία Ηρώων ήταν κακόφημη, τώρα έγινε descent περιοχή. Εκτός από την πλατεία Ηρώων και την πλατεία γύρω από το κάστρο που έγινε τώρα, δεν έχει άλλες πλατείες η Λεμεσός. Τα πεζοδρόμια μας είναι στενά, πας στο Παρίσι και το πλάτος είναι 2 πεζοδρόμια, το οποίο είναι άλλη κουβέντα αυτή. Ξέρεις πως έγιναν οι δρόμοι πλατιοί στο Παρίσι; Όταν έκαναν επανάσταση στο Παρίσι οι φτωχοί, το κράτος κατεδάφισε κτήρια για να μπορεί ο στρατός και οι άμαξες να καταστέλλουν τις επαναστάσεις. Δεν μπορούσαν διότι ήταν στενοί οι δρόμοι να μπει η άμαξα, και κρύβονταν οι επαναστάτες και σκέφτηκαν ότι θα ήταν καλά να κατεδαφίσουν τα κτήρια και να κάνουν τους δρόμους πιο πλατιούς για να πηγαίνει ο στρατός, ενώ εμείς δεν είχαμε έτσι πρόβλημα. Αν δεις η Λεμεσός έχει 2 μέτρα το πιο πλατύ πεζοδρόμιο και ούτε τόπους για να κάθεται ο κόσμος είχε. Τώρα τελευταία έβαλαν κανένα παγκάκι. Τώρα με τον διαχωρισμό οικοπέδων, κάθε 10 οικόπεδα το 10%, τώρα νομίζω έγινε 15%, είσαι υπόχρεος να το κάνεις χώρο πρασίνου, και έτσι στις νέες περιοχές γίνονται οι χώροι. Επίσης, δεν έχουμε παρκινγκ, δηλαδή το καλοκαίρι αν θες να πάεις στην παραλία δεν έχεις παρκινγκ.

Researcher: Ούτε μέσα συγκοινωνίας αν θέλεις να πάεις με τα μέσα αυτά.

Expert 1b: Έβαλαν τώρα ένα λεωφορίο και πάει και έρχεται και έχει και άλλα λεωφορεία. Αλλά εμείς οι Κύπριοι μάθαμε να κυκλοφορούμε με το αυτοκίνητο, δεν ξέρω και λεωφορεία να μας βάλουν και απ έξω από το σπίτι μας, δεν ξέρω αν θα το πιάναμε το λεωφορίο, διότι έχουμε μάθει ότι έχουμε λεφτά. Και τώρα ο ξένος που δεν έχει λεφτά δεν έχει τα μέσα να πάει στον τόπο του.

Researcher: Αυτό είναι το θέμα. Αν είχε καλύτερα μέσα συγκοινωνίας, πιο σύγχρονα που σε πέρνουν στον τόπο σου.

Expert 1b: Δηλαδή τώρα μπορώ να έρτω εγώ από τη Λεμεσό αντί με το αυτοκίνητο μου με ένα λεωφορείο. Μετά όταν μπω στη Λευκωσία που θα πάω; Συζητούσαν το θέμα να κάνουν τράμ, ηλεκτρικό. Το τράμ πιθανόν να δουλέψει, θα μπορούσε να δουλέψει, αλλά ίσως επειδή ακόμα είναι μικρές οι πόλεις μας αυτά είναι ασύμφορα. Τα λεωφορεία τα επιδοτούν, δεν έχουμε συγκοινωνίες αλλά δεν ξέρω κατά πόσο θα μπορούσε να γίνει βιώσιμη μια συγκοινωνία, νομίζω δεν θα τα καταφέρουμε.

Researcher: Τώρα πλέον δεν θα κάνουν το τραμ στη Λευκωσία, είπαν πως πρέπει να το κάνουν αλλά δεν θα το κάνουν τελικά, δεν έχουν λεφτά, έτσι θα κάνουν λεωφορεία στη γραμμή του τραμ.

Expert 1b: Διότι στην Κύπρο με τα λεωφορεία παν λίγο οι τουρίστες από το ξενοδοχείο στο mall ή να πάει στο λιμάνι, αλλά οι Κύπριοι όχι, κάτι συνταξιούχοι πάνε αλλά αυτοί είναι δωρεάν.

Researcher: Εμένα με βολέει, όχι συνέχεια, κάποιες φορές παίρνω την μοτοσυκλέτα στη Λευκωσία.

Expert 1b: Η Λευκωσία είναι πιο μεγάλη από τη Λεμεσό και η Λεμεσός είναι γραμμική πόλη. Αναπτύχθηκε γραμμικά και έβαλαν κάποιες γραμμές, έβαλαν και κάποιες κάθετες, νομίζω. Το άλλο που έχουμε είναι η ακαταστασία των Κυπριακών πόλεων, δεν ξέρω αν το πρόσεξες. Οι ταράτσες μας έχουν ντεπόζιτα, ηλιακά πανέλα, αντένες, είμαστε ακόμη λίγο αραπάδες. Δεν μας ενδιαφέρει, ο άλλος θα κτίσει το σπίτι του και θα φορτώσει το ντεπόζιτο, τις αντένες πάνω και επειδή δεν θα τα βλέπει δεν τον ενδιαφέρει. Προσπαθούμε να τα κρύβουμε και τα βάζουμε τα ηλιακά πανέλα κάτω από το ντεπόζιτο αντί πάνω και να μπαίνει πιεστικό. Τώρα τελευταία υπήρχε μία κίνηση εκ μέρους του επάρχου στα πιστοποιητικά εγκρίσεως να τα ζητά. Εγώ τα ζητούσα στα χωριά τουλάχιστο και στην παραλιακή ακτή, που ήθελαν πιστοποιητικό, να κατεβάσουν τα ηλιακά και μετά θα σου δώσω πιστοποιητικό. Το πιστοποιητικό είναι για να γραφτεί στον τίτλο ιδιοκτησίας, και είναι μόνο αυτή η περίπτωση που μπορείς να τον πιάσεις νομικά, να το εξαναγκάσεις να τα κατεβάσει.

Researcher: Αυτά. Δηλαδή θέλουμε πεζοδρόμια και παρκινγκ.

Expert 1b: Ναι δεν έχουμε καθόλου πάρκινγκ. Ξέρεις τι είδα στην Νίκαια και το είπα του Δημάρχου; Του λέω ότι ήμουν στη Νίκαια και στη μέση του δρόμου όπως είναι η πλατεία δικαστηρίων, υπήρχε οκταόροφο υπόγειο πάρκινγκ, που σου κοστίζει 0 γη, διότι δεν θα απαλλωτριώσεις γη και μου λέει που να το κάνουμε; Και του λέω κάτω από δημόσιες πλατείες. Μου έκανε εντύπωση που ήμουν στα φώτα και βλέπω δεξιά και αριστερά που μπορείς να πιάεις στο υπογείο, και ήταν υπόγειο δημόσιο πάρκινγκ 8 ορόφων.

Researcher: Αυτά τα υπόγεια πάρκινγκ θέλουν πολλά λεφτά όμως.

Expert 1b: Ναι αλλά δεν θέλεις την γη, η γη είναι δική σου είναι δωρεάν και ειδικά στα κέντρα των πόλεων όπου η γη είναι ακριβή δεν μπορείς να αγοράσεις. Βέβαια τώρα έδωσαν κάτι κίνητρα για τα πάρκινγκ ότι όταν χτίσεις πάρκινγκ μπορεί να σου δώσουν ορόφους κάτω πάνω. Υπάρχει κίνητρο στο τοπικό σχέδιο. Νομίζω όταν κάνεις 100 πάρκινγκ, δεν θυμάμαι, τότε μπορείς να κάνεις περισσότερους ορόφους, είναι ένα κίνητρο, όμως το πάρκινγκ να είναι δημόσιο, όχι για εσένα, ιδιωτικό. Βέβαια τώρα αρχίσαν πολλοί επιχειρηματίες να αγοράζουν οικόπεδα και να τα μετατρέπουν σε πάρκινγκ και να πληρώνεις διότι συμφέρει και πολλά πάρκινγκ που έγιναν είναι ιδιωτικά, άρα το δημόσιο είναι αυτά τα κίνητρα που προσπάθησαν να δώσουν. Αυτά, δεν θυμάμαι αν έχει κάτι άλλο η Λεμεσός. Μαρίνα δεν είχαμε τώρα έχουμε, διότι ξέρεις κάποτε, παλιά, ήθελαν ... (ξέρεις το Καρνάγιο που είναι μεταξύ των δύο λιμανιών; Από το παλιό λιμάνι μέχρι να πας στο καινούργιο λιμάνι είναι το παλιό Καρνάγιο. Εκεί είναι ένα καθεστώς που είναι σαν παράνομοι, έχουν κάποιες άδειες μερικοί). Οι άνθρωποι θέλουν να χτίσουν ή θέλουν να επεκταθούν για να εξυπηρετούν τον κόσμο και όταν πήγα σε συνεδριάσει στον έπαρχο, είπε κάποιος εκεί «και εμάς τι μας ενδιαφέρει αν ο κόσμος έχει βάρκες; Αυτοί που έχουν

τα σκάφοι να έχουν και το πρόβλημα». Αυτή είναι η νοοτροπία. Και ακόμη είναι παράνομοι και έπιασαν την πολεοδομία να τους σχεδιάσει οικοπέδα, και σχεδίασε για τον κάθε ένα οικόπεδα σαν τα δικά μας 500 μέτρα, ας πούμε 2-3 οικόπεδα. Όλα τα τουριστικά σκάφη που είναι 100 πόδια το κάθε ένα πρέπει κάθε χρόνο να βγουν έξω για συντήρηση, που να τα χωρέσει; Λέει το Καρνάγιο θα το κάνουμε να είναι караβομαραγκοί και θα κάνουν ξύλινα παραδοσιακά σκάφη και να περνά ο κόσμος και να τους βλέπει. Κανένας πλέον δεν κάνει ξύλινα σκάφη, δεν συμφέρει όλα είναι με fiber glass. Πλέον δεν θα του πεις πήγαινε να κάνεις μια παραδοσιακή ψαρόβαρκα, δεν υπάρχει περίπτωση. Έτσι έμεινε ο χώρος ανεκμετάλλευτος. Τώρα η Πολεοδομία σχεδιάζει την Ακταία Οδό, θα γίνει ένας παραλιακός δρόμος και σκέφτονται τι θα κάνουν πίσω τα εργοστάσια της Coca Cola, ακούστηκαν πολλές ιδέες, κάποιιοι λένε να γίνουν ξενοδοχεία, γραφεία πολυτελείας, ένας αρχιτέκτονας είπε «Όχι, να γίνουν δημόσιοι χώροι για τον κόσμο». Αλλά δεν γίνεται στη Λεμεσό το 2017 να είναι το Καρνάγιο έτσι με εκείνη την βρωμιά. Και στον διευθυντή της πολεοδομίας είπα, επειδή έχω ένα σκάφος εκεί, βρέστε μας ένα μέρος οπουδήποτε και εμείς θα πάμε, αλλά βρέστε μας ένα μέρος και πείτε μας ότι θα είμαστε εκεί, να φτιάξουμε τις εγκαταστάσεις μας σύγχρονες και πιο μεγάλες για να βολεύει τον κόσμο αλλά δώστε μας ένα τόπο να πάμε και η Πολεοδομία δεν έβρισκε ένα τόπο για να πάει το Καρνάγιο και μέχρι σήμερα δεν ήβραν τόπο. Όλοι είναι εκεί και οι παραπάνω έκαναν επεκτάσεις μέσα στη θάλασσα παράνομα, μπήκαν μέσα στη θάλασσα σε απόσταση 3 μέτρα παράνομα και εξυπηρετούν τον κόσμο, και όχι μόνο από την Κύπρο αλλά και σκάφη από τον Λίβανο. Αλλά το τοπικό σχέδιο δεν έχει προβλέψει τίποτα αλλά ούτε και η Πολεοδομία. Ακόμη και σήμερα αν πας στην Πολεοδομία και τους πεις που θα πάει το Καρνάγιο; Θα σου πουν δεν ξέρουμε! Όπως εμείς έχουμε τα αυτοκίνητα μας και πρέπει να πηγαίνουν στους μηχανικούς και αυτοί που έχουν τα σκάφη πρέπει να πηγαίνουν στους μηχανικούς. Αν χαλάσει ένα καΐκι, μια ψαρόβαρκα μεγάλη που να πάει; Να πάει στην Ελλάδα; Αυτά

Researcher: Ευχαριστώ πάρα πολύ.

Expert 1b: Άλλα προβλήματα η Λεμεσός ξέρεις που έχει; Εκεί που είναι το Debenhams στο παραλιακό, εκείνη η περιοχή πίσω αναπτύχθηκε με πολυκατοικίες και θα υποβαθμιστεί σε κάποια φάση διότι είναι ψηλές πολυκατοικίες σε στενούς δρόμους και πυκνές η μια πίσω από την άλλη. Άλλη περιοχή είναι εκεί που είναι ο δημόσιος κήπος προς την πόλη είναι η οδός Αγίου Ανδρέου, η οποία είναι ακριβώς πίσω από τον παραλιακό, έχουν πάει πολλοί Πόντιοι και υπάρχουν μερικές πολυκατοικίες είναι μόνο Πόντιοι και αν δεις τα μπαλκόνια έχουν ξύλα, κλουβιά, σίδερα. Τώρα αυτή η περιοχή αποφεύγετε, βέβαια ήταν μια περιοχή που υποβαθμίστηκε έντονα λόγω του ότι έχει Ελληνοπόντιους. Δες το από τον Δημόσιο Κήπο είναι η Αγίου Ανδρέου πίσω από τον παραλιακό δρόμο.

Researcher: Ευχαριστώ πάρα πολύ.

A3.5 Conversation 2

Researcher: Έχει αρχείο εδώ, ξέρω ότι έχει ένα αρχείο στη Λευκωσία. Μίλησα με τον κύριο Ηρακλή Αχινιώτη, που νομίζει ότι δεν υπάρχει αρκετό στη Λευκωσία. Είναι ανοικτό;

Expert 2: Έχουμε αρχείο και φυσικά είναι ανοικτό και μπορείτε να μιλήσετε με τους συναδέλφους εκεί και θα σας πουν κάποια πράγματα. Φυσικά εξαρτάται τι θέλετε να ρωτήσετε.

Researcher: Μπορεί να είναι δύσκολο.

Expert 2: Πάντως το αρχείο υπάρχει και είναι ψηφιοποιημένο (Digital). Μπορείτε να πάτε εκεί, να μπείτε στο σύστημα από τον υπολογιστή και να δείτε κάποια πράγματα.

Researcher: Για να έχω πρόσβαση;

Expert 2: Δεν ξέρω ακριβώς τι χρειάζεται, αλλά δεν νομίζω να έχετε πρόβλημα πρόσβασης στο αρχείο.

Researcher: Με ποιον θα μιλήσω ξέρετε;

Expert 2: Θα μιλήσετε με τον ___ και να του πείτε ότι εγώ σας στέλνω.

Researcher: Στο ιστορικό τμήμα, ναι τον γνωρίζω και είναι πάντα πολύ βοηθητικός από παλιά που τον συνάντησα. Για να βρω τους λόγους γιατί κτίστηκε κάτι, πάλι στο αρχείο θα υπάρχει κάτι; Όχι μόνο τις ημερομηνίες.

Expert 2: Τους λόγους; Ο λόγος νομίζω είναι προφανές. Για ποια εποχή ενδιαφέρεστε;

Researcher: Ας πούμε να αρχίσουμε από την Μακαρίου.

Expert 2: Ο λόγος που έγινε η Μακαρίου ήταν ο τότε παρακαμπτήριος της εποχής και για τους Λεμεσιανούς η Μακαρίου ήταν γνωστή ως bypass.

Researcher: Ναι, η Μακαρίου είναι bypass, αλλά είναι λόγου πολέμου;

Expert 2: Όχι, ήταν λόγο της ανάπτυξης της πόλης. Επί Αγγλοκρατίας η Λεμεσός, στα πρώτα χρόνια της αγγλοκρατίας μέχρι το 1935, ήταν η πιο ανεπτυγμένη πόλη της Κύπρου, για πολλούς λόγους, περισσότερο το εμπόριο αλλά όχι μόνο. Αυτή όλη η ανάπτυξη και ο πλούτος που ήρθε στην πόλη αυτή την εποχή δημιούργησε ανάγκη επέκταση της πόλης. Η επέκταση της πόλης έφερε την ανάγκη της δημιουργίας του bypass, όπως γίνεται και σήμερα, οι ίδιοι λόγοι. Το bypass ξεκίνησε να κτίζεται το 1941 αλλά δεν είμαι σίγουρος πότε τελείωσε. Το 1946, νομίζω, λειτούργησε.

Researcher: Κατάλαβα ότι η περιοχή Σπύρου Κυπριανού, ο δρόμος, σχεδιάστηκε πολύ πιο πριν...

Expert 2: Πρέπει να σχεδιάστηκε γύρω στο 1970, αλλά ξεκίνησε να κατασκευάζεται σιγά σιγά μετά τον πόλεμο του 1974.

Researcher: Επειδή στο χάρτη του 1987 έχει κομματάκια.

Expert 2: Και ολοκληρώθηκε κοντά στο 1990. Τώρα ξεκίνησε και γίνεται ο επόμενος παρακαμπτήριος πιο ψηλά.

Researcher: Αλλά σε κάποιο σημείο έδωσαν προτεραιότητα στον αυτοκινητόδρομο.

Expert 2: Κοίταξε όταν σχεδιάστηκε η Μακεδονίας, η Σπύρου Κυπριανού το 1970, η Λεμεσός ήταν μέχρι την Γλάστωνος, δηλαδή πιο πάνω ήταν χωράφια. Μετά το 1974, με την απότομη αύξηση του πληθυσμού και την πρώτη δεκαετία μετά, η Λεμεσός επεκτάθηκε πάρα πολύ και γι' αυτό δόθηκε προτεραιότητα στον παρακαμπτήριο, ο οποίος αν δεν κάνω λάθος ξεκίνησε το 1985-1986. Ήταν σχεδιασμένος από το 1977 αλλά ξεκίνησε να κτίζεται το 1985-1986. Το 1981-1982 ξεκίνησε το high-way, μέχρι να τελειώσει το highway πήρε 3-4 χρόνια, τελείωσε το highway Λεμεσό – Λευκωσία και μετά έγινε ο παρακαμπτήριος.

Researcher: Πάλι τα μεγάλα έργα, τα στάδια, η βιομηχανική περιοχή, όλα αυτά είναι από το κράτος όπως του Ύψωνα και της Λινόπετρας.

Expert 2: Για την βιομηχανική περιοχή Λινόπετρας δεν είμαι 100% σίγουρος. Η βιομηχανική περιοχή του Ύψωνα ξεκίνησε να λειτουργεί πολύ πιο πριν το 1974. Δηλαδή τα πρώτα εργοστάσια κτίστηκαν πριν το 1974 στην περιοχή. Του Αγίου Αθανασίου-Λινόπετρας,, ο δρόμος της βιομηχανικής έγινε νομίζω το 1980 ή το 1981 και η βιομηχανική ήδη υπήρχε. Αλλά ήταν μετά το 1974 που έγινε. Ο Ύψωνας ήταν από πριν αλλά τότε ήταν έξω από την πόλη.

Researcher: Οι οικισμοί...

Expert 2: Οι οικισμοί έγιναν σίγουρα μετά τον πόλεμο, ξεκίνησαν το 1977 να γίνονται.

Researcher: Ναι αλλά γιατί έγιναν εκεί που είναι; Επειδή η γη ήταν φτηνή;

Expert 2: Πρώτον, η γη ήταν κυβερνητική, ήταν περιοχές, οι πλείστες, που δεν ήταν ανεπτυγμένες. Ας πάρουμε τον Άγιο Αθανάσιο, ο Άγιος Αθανάσιος, πριν γίνουν οι συνοικισμοί, οι οποίοι είναι τεράστιοι, ήταν ένα μικρό χωριό, και ο πυρήνας του ήταν πολύ μικρός. Μετά κτίστηκαν οι συνοικισμοί διότι η γη ήταν κενή και ήταν κυβερνητική γη ως επί το πλείστο. Το ίδιο και στα Πολεμίδια όταν έγινε ο συνοικισμός της αυτό-στέγασης.

Researcher: Η τουριστική περιοχή.

Expert 2: Στην τουριστική περιοχή τα πρώτα ξενοδοχεία κτιστήκαν γύρω στο 1970 και ήταν το Μιραμάρε, το Αμαθούς, το Απολλώνια. Το μεγάλο οικοδομικό «μπουμ» με τα ξενοδοχεία ξεκίνησε το 1976-77.

Researcher: Τώρα τι γίνεται με εκείνη την περιοχή, δηλαδή είναι τουριστική περιοχή;

Expert 2: Έμεινε η ονομασία ως τουριστική περιοχή αλλά δεν είναι μόνο τουριστική περιοχή.

Researcher: Ναι έχει και άλλα η περιοχή, αλλά δεν έχει συγκεκριμένο σχέδιο η περιοχή για να κτιστούν περισσότερα και να αναπτυχθεί ως τουριστική περιοχή.

Expert 2: Το σχέδιο που υπάρχει είναι αυτό για την Λεμεσό, το τοπικό σχέδιο για τη Λεμεσό και καλύπτει και εκείνη την περιοχή, αλλά δεν είναι τουριστική περιοχή ασχέτως ότι μάθαμε να την λέμε τουριστική περιοχή.

Researcher: Θα ήθελα να ξέρω περισσότερα για το πώς κρίνεται ένα σχέδιο.

Expert 2: Με βάση την νομοθεσία φυσικά. Περίμενε, μιλάς για ένα πολεοδομικό σχέδιο, ένα τοπικό σχέδιο ή ένα σχέδιο οικοδομής;

Researcher: Όχι σχέδιο οικοδομής, κάτι πιο μεγάλο όπως η Μαρίνα, το Παλιό Λιμάνι.

Expert 2: Αυτά τα έργα είναι κυβερνητικά και βασικά αποφασίζονται με βάση την κυβερνητική πολιτική και γι' αυτό γίνονται ανάλογα με τις προτεραιότητες που βάζει η κάθε κυβέρνηση.

Researcher: Δηλαδή, δεν είναι στο σχέδιο;

Expert 2: Υπάρχει το σχέδιο για την νήσο. Αλλά αυτό είναι σε επίπεδο κράτους και όχι σε επίπεδο τοπικών αρχών.

Researcher: Ναι αλλά το σχέδιο δεν λέει ότι πρέπει να φτιάξουμε μια μαρίνα στην Λεμεσό.

Expert 2: Όχι περίπου αυτό λέει.

Researcher: Ναι;

Expert 2: Γι' αυτό σας λέω, το σχέδιο για την νήσο, για την ανάπτυξη, είναι ένα σχέδιο στην ουσία που καθορίζει την πολιτική του κράτους, η οποία καθορίζεται από πολλούς παράγοντες, οικοδομικούς παράγοντες και τα λοιπά.

Researcher: Εντάξει, το σχέδιο της νήσου έλεγε ότι θα πρέπει να φτιάξουμε μια μαρίνα και να αναπτύξουμε το παραλιακό και σας δίνω κάποια σχέδια. Τι κάνετε ακριβώς, δηλαδή, να δείτε πόσο καλά είναι τα σχέδια.

Expert 2: Το κράτος εξετάζει τα σχέδια, εμείς δεν έχουμε να κάνουμε κάτι. Στην καλύτερη περίπτωση μπορεί να μας φωνάξουν για να πάρουν κάποιες απόψεις από εμάς αλλά είναι το κράτος που αποφασίζει για αυτά τα έργα.

Researcher: Και δεν ξέρετε πως κρίνουν; Θα ψάξω για κάποιον να μιλήσω.

Expert 2: Για αυτό πρέπει να μιλήσετε στο Τμήμα Πολεοδομίας και Οικήσεως στην Λευκωσία. Ο ___, ο οποίος ήταν ο διευθυντής της Πολεοδομίας ενδεχομένως να σας πει την διαδικασία.

Researcher: Είστε Λεμεσιανός έτσι;

Expert 2: Ναι.

Researcher: Πιο γενική ερώτηση. Υπάρχουν κάποιες περιοχές που είναι πιο φτωχές και κάποιες που είναι πιο πλούσιες.

Expert 2: Φυσικά, όπως όλες οι πόλεις του κόσμου.

Researcher: Έχει κάποια διαφορά από άλλες πόλεις; Φαίνεται πιο πολύ;

Expert 2: Να σου το πω λίγο διαφορετικά. Πιθανόν να κοίταξες στην Κύπρο οι κοινωνικές διαφορές που έχουμε δεν είναι τόσο μεγάλες όσο σε άλλες χώρες. Επομένως, ναι μεν υπάρχουν οι πλούσιες και φτωχές περιοχές, αλλά δεν έχουν την τεράστια διαφορά μεταξύ τους που βλέπεις σε άλλες χώρες. Για παράδειγμα, στην Λεμεσό, οι περιοχές της Αγίας Τριάδας, του Αγίου Ιωάννη, του Αγίου Αντωνίου, η περιοχή της Ομόνοιας, αυτές είναι οι πιο φτωχικές περιοχές, οι εργατικές περιοχές. Αυτές οι περιοχές αναπτύχθηκαν όταν έγινε η Βιομηχανική και το λιμάνι και ήρθαν εργάτες από την επαρχία και κατοίκησαν στην Λεμεσό και γι' αυτό είναι και πιο φτωχικές. Η περιοχή του Αγίου Αντωνίου, για παράδειγμα, ήταν τουρκοκυπριακή

περιοχή, η οποία ήταν πιο υποβαθμισμένη. Αν πάμε όμως σε περιοχές Αγία Φύλα, Εκάλη, περιοχή Τρυχερούσας, αυτές είναι πιο πλούσιες και πιο καλές περιοχές.

Researcher: Γενικά τα σπίτια, οι δρόμοι σε αυτές τις περιοχές έχουν διαφορά μεταξύ τους;

Expert 2: Ναι έχουν διαφορά.

Researcher: Γιατί;

Expert 2: Δεν είναι θέμα Δήμου αυτό, είναι θέμα προσφοράς, αγοράς και ζήτησης. Δηλαδή, πρώτον, τα οικόπεδα στην Αγία Φύλα, για παράδειγμα, είναι πολύ πιο ακριβά απ' ό,τι ένα οικόπεδο στον Άγιο Ιωάννη και δεύτερο είναι πιο χαμηλός ο συντελεστής δόμησης, άρα είναι πιο αραιοκατοικημένες περιοχές, άρα το επίπεδο ζωής είναι πιο καλό σε σχέση με τον Άγιο Ιωάννη που είναι πιο πυκνοκατοικημένη περιοχή, με πιο μικρά και φτωχικά σπίτια.

Researcher: Ναι αλλά τα σχολεία και τα δημόσια κτήρια;

Expert 2: Αυτά είναι τα ίδια παντού.

Researcher: Τελευταίες ερωτήσεις. Πρόσφατα η Λεμεσός αναπτύχθηκε αρκετά ειδικά στο παραλιακό, έφτιαξε το Παλαιό Λιμάνι, τη Μαρίνα, γνωρίζω ότι έχετε σχέδια για την Εθνική Λεμεσού, δηλαδή πάλι παραλιακά, εκεί που ήταν η βιομηχανική περιοχή παλιά. Γίνονται και άλλα πράγματα. Στο κέντρο, άλλαξε με το ΤΕΠΑΚ, έχει τον ποδηλατοδρόμο και γίνονται και άλλα πράγματα. Δηλαδή, πιστεύετε ότι έχει μια ισορροπία το παραλιακό και το υπόλοιπο της πόλης ή έχει συγκέντρωση στο παραλιακό.

Expert 2: Το κέντρο της πόλης, είτε μας αρέσει είτε όχι, σε όλες τις πόλεις πάντα παίρνει την «Μερίδα του Λέοντος», αλλά τα έργα δεν είναι μόνο για το κέντρο της πόλης. Υπάρχουν έργα σχεδιασμένα για όλη την πόλη και για το κέντρο της Αγίας Φύλας υπάρχει σχέδιο και για άλλες περιοχές.

Researcher: Κατά τη γνώμη σας ποιες είναι οι προτεραιότητες για την Λεμεσό τώρα; Όχι κατά το σχέδιο, αλλά ως Λεμεσιανός ή ως αρχιτέκτονας ποια είναι τα πιο σημαντικά;

Expert 2: Όταν κάνουμε κάτι πρέπει να έχουμε πάντα, σαν γνώμονα, σαν στόχο, να βελτιώσουμε την ποσότητα ζωής των Λεμεσιανών, των κατοίκων αλλά και των επισκεπτών φυσικά. Γι' αυτό προτεραιότητα για μένα είναι οτιδήποτε μπορεί να έχει να κάνει με αυτή την κατεύθυνση. Τώρα, αν θα κάνω ακόμα 2 δρόμους τετραπλούς δεν νομίζω να βοηθά και πάρα πολύ. Αν θα ομορφύνω μια γειτονιά και να την κάνω πιο φιλική προς τους κατοίκους της, τότε ναι αυτό κατ' εμένα είναι προτεραιότητα. Αλλά αυτό είναι προσωπική άποψη, δεν είναι άποψη του Δημαρχείου.

Researcher: Αυτά νομίζω. Εγώ ενδιαφέρομαι πολύ πως ένα ατομικό σχέδιο επηρεάζει όλη την πόλη, αλλά αυτό εγκρίνεται από το κράτος.

Expert 2: Κοίταξε το κράτος βλέπει τα μεγάλα έργα, τα κρατικά έργα. Τα ιδιωτικά έργα είναι εμείς που τα κοιτάζουμε.

Researcher: Ναι σίγουρα, αλλά ένα κτήριο μπορεί να επηρεάσει την πόλη, αλλά όχι ολόκληρη πόλη.

Expert 2: Ναι επηρεάζει αλλά εξαρτάται από το μέγεθος του, εξαρτάται από τους συντελεστές.

Researcher: Ενδιαφέρομαι να γνωρίζω πως θα ξέρουμε πως θα επηρεάζει την πόλη.

Expert 2: Δεν ξέρουμε.

Researcher: Δεν κάνετε αναλύσεις;

Expert 2: Εμείς όχι. Εκείνο που κάνουνε στις άδειες είναι ότι ζητούμε να μας κάνουν αναλύσεις οι ίδιοι οι μελετητές. Δηλαδή για παράδειγμα, για το Olympic Residence, όταν ήταν να βγει η άδεια τους ζητήσαμε να μας κάνουν κυκλοφοριακή μελέτη, μελέτη εμπορικών περιπτώσεων και περιβαλλοντική μελέτη. Δεν τα κάναμε εμείς όλα αυτά, τα ζητήσαμε να μας τα φέρουν στα πλαίσια της άδειας για να

προβλέψουμε τι επιπτώσεις θα μπορούσε να έχει στη γύρω περιοχή και για να μπορέσουμε να πάρουμε τη σωστή απόφαση.

Researcher: Και κάτι πολύ μεγάλο όπως η Μαρίνα που έχει οδούς μέσα, έχει πάρκινγκ;

Expert 2: Δυστυχώς, τη Μαρίνα δεν την εξετάσαμε εμείς. Αν εξετάζαμε εμείς την Μαρίνα δεν θα έβγαζε άδεια όπως έβγαλε.

Researcher: Ας πούμε, ο δρόμος που μου είπατε ότι σχεδιάζεται για το μέλλον, πιο πάνω από τον αυτοκινητόδρομο, μάλλον θα αλλάξει την κίνηση, μπορεί να αλλάξει.

Expert 2: Εκείνος είναι ο επόμενος παρακαμπτήριο, ο οποίος πάλι αυτή τη στιγμή είναι μέσα στη μέση των γειτονιών.

Researcher: Αλλά θα γίνουν οι μελέτες για το πώς θα επηρεάσει;

Expert 2: Προφανώς έγιναν οι μελέτες όταν σχεδιάστηκε, διότι σχεδιάστηκε από το κράτος.

Researcher: Ευχαριστώ πάρα πολύ.

A3.6 Conversation 3

Researcher: Έχουμε γνωριστεί ξανά αλλά δεν ξέρω αν είστε από την Λεμεσό.

Expert 3: Ναι είμαι από την Λεμεσό και συγκεκριμένα γεννήθηκα στην συνοικία των «Τσιφλικουδιών», τα οποία είναι εκεί που είναι το μεγάλο λιμάνι της Λεμεσού σήμερα.

Researcher: Επειδή κάνω έρευνα για τα άλλα 2 μέρη, ένα από αυτά είναι το Αρναούτ, δεν είναι τα Τσιφλικούδια όμως. Μιλήσαμε για την κατοικία εδώ και μου είπατε τότε κτίστηκε περίπου.

Expert 3: Δεν το έχουμε γραμμένο αυτό. Μάλλον το 1875, αν δεν με απατά η μνήμη μου, αλλά νομίζω έτσι είναι. Στην αρχή μπήκε μέσα ένας δικαστής, ο Parker, αργότερα πουλήθηκε στην Αγγλική Κυβέρνηση και η Αγγλική Κυβέρνηση το χρησιμοποιούσε ως κατοικία του εκάστοτε διοικητή της Λεμεσού. Το 1931, το πυρπόλησαν, κατά την διάρκεια των οκτωβριανών, των διαμαρτυριών των Λεμεσιανών, έγιναν μεγάλες ταραχές και πυρπόλησαν την κατοικία. Το 1931-1933 έκαναν τις επιδιορθώσεις και επανάφεραν την κατοικία. Με την ανεξαρτησία χρησιμοποιήθηκε σαν οικία των επαρχών της Λεμεσού. Όμως αργότερα με μια απόφαση της κυβέρνησης ο έπαρχος να κατάγεται από την πόλη, δεν την χρησιμοποιούσαν, διότι είχαν τα σπίτια τους στην πόλη. Προηγουμένως για παράδειγμα, ο πρώτος γραμματέας της πόλης, ο οποίος κόντευε να βγει στην σύνταξη, μπορούσε να διοριστεί σαν έπαρχος αλλά δεν ήταν από την πόλη, ήταν από την Λάρνακα ή από την Πάφο. Έτσι, όταν ερχόταν ένας Παφίτης για να γίνει έπαρχος της Λεμεσού χρησιμοποιούσε και την κατοικία. Με τον νέο κανονισμό η κατοικία έπεσε σε αχρηστία, δεν χρησιμοποιείτο πλέον, παρά μόνο κάποιες δεξιώσεις. Έχουμε ένα υπέροχο γραφικό που δείχνει δεξίωση, η οποία έγινε για την στέψη της βασίλισσας Ελισάβετ το 1953. Μια φωτογραφία, που αν δεν απατάει η μνήμη μου σας έδωσα, η οποία δείχνει την πόλη σημαιοστολισμένη το 1936 με την στέψη του βασιλιά Ιουλίου Στ'.

Researcher: Όχι δεν έχω την φωτογραφία. Ο δρόμος της Μακαρίου, που είναι εδώ κοντά, ξέρω ότι κτίστηκε μετά τον Β' Παγκόσμιο Πόλεμο. Ξέρω από άλλες πηγές, κάποιος μου είπε ότι κτίστηκε για στρατιωτικούς λόγους, κάποιος άλλος μου είπε ότι κτίστηκε γιατί είχε κίνηση η Λεμεσός.

Expert 3: Όχι, λεγόταν μάλιστα bypass, ήταν δρόμος έξω από την πόλη για να περνούν τα αγγλικά στρατεύματα και να μην περνούν από την πόλη και να προκαλούν ή να ενοχλούν και να προκαλούν συμφόρηση μέσα στην πόλη. Ήθελαν ένα δρόμο άμεσης κίνησης, έτσι έκαναν ένα δρόμο έξω από την πόλη για να περνούν. Ο δρόμος αυτός εξυπηρέτησε τους πάντες, και τον αγγλικό στρατό αλλά περισσότερο τελικά εξυπηρέτησε τους ίδιους τους Λεμεσιανούς.

Researcher: Τώρα ξέρω ότι το τελευταίο κομμάτι του δρόμου, από το round-about μέχρι τη θάλασσα, κτίστηκε πιο μετά. Νομίζετε ότι η θέση του δρόμου έχει θέση της οικίας; Επειδή ξέρω ότι έμεναν κοντά εδώ οι Άγγλοι.

Expert 3: Δεν νομίζω να έχει κάποια σχέση με τον δρόμο και μάλιστα έχω φωτογραφία, η οποία έχει πινακίδα εκεί στην συμβολή του δρόμου αυτού με τον παραλιακό, και υπάρχει πινακίδα εκεί που λέει «προς Πάφος» «προς Τρόδος», δηλαδή για να πάει κάποιος στην Πάφο ή στο Τρόδος, ειδικά όταν ερχόταν από Λάρνακα περνούσαν από αυτό τον δρόμο. Δηλαδή είχε πρόσβαση, δεν ήταν ανάγκη να γίνει για να συνδέσει την οικία του επάρχου με τον δρόμο. Εικάζω ότι δεν έγινε για αυτό το λόγο αλλά μπορεί να εξυπηρέτησε τυχαία, αλλά δεν έγινε επί σκοπού για να πηγαίνει ο δρόμος στην οικία.

Researcher: Ο αυτοκινητόδρομος κτίστηκε τέλος του 70' ή αρχές του 80'.

Expert 3: '80.

Researcher: Σίγουρα το σχέδιο είχε σχέση με ευρύτερα θέματα, για όλη την χώρα, αλλά θυμάστε πότε σχεδιάσαν τον αυτοκινητόδρομο, πότε αρχίσαν να τον κτίζουν, πότε άνοιξε για τον κόσμο.

Expert 3: Ο δρόμος έγινε επί προεδρίας του Σπύρου Κυπριανού και έγινε σε στάδια. Υπήρχαν καθυστερήσεις μάλιστα λόγω μη τήρησης των συμβολαίων από τους εργολάβους, έγιναν και δυστυχήματα. Ο δρόμος ξεκίνησε το 1981-82 και αποπερατώθηκε σε 4 χρόνια, αρκετό διάστημα. Έχουμε χάρτες που δείχνουν την πόλη όταν δεν υπήρχε ο δρόμος του bypass, η λεωφόρος Μακαρίου, έχουμε χάρτες που δείχνουν την λεωφόρο Μακαρίου όταν δεν υπήρχε επάνω η οδός Μακεδονίας και Σπύρου Κυπριανού, δηλαδή έχουμε συγκριτικούς χάρτες της ανάπτυξης της πόλης. Θα σας δώσω ηλεκτρονικά τους χάρτες να τους έχετε και θα έχετε και τις ημερομηνίες.

Researcher: Όπως είπατε η Σπύρου Κυπριανού κτίστηκε αργότερα.

Expert 3: Ναι αργότερα και μάλιστα όπου ήταν δημοτικό ήταν τελειωμένος και όπου δεν ήταν δημοτικός, για παράδειγμα Μέσα Γειτονιά ή Πολεμίδα, δεν ήταν τελειωμένος ο δρόμος. Εκεί που ήταν ο ποταμός δεν υπήρχε ούτε γέφυρα για να περάσεις απέναντι. Για παράδειγμα, εκεί που συμβάλλει με την οδό Νίκου Παττίχη, 100 μέτρα πιο πέρα υπάρχει ποταμός και δεν υπήρχε γέφυρα, κατεβαίναμε στον ποταμό για να περάσουμε απέναντι. Η Σπύρου Κυπριανού άλλαξε πολλά ονόματα (3-4), ήταν Συγγρού, έγινε Μακεδονίας και μετά Σπύρου Κυπριανού. Η Συγγρού, λοιπόν, ήταν τελειωμένη ή χαραγμένη μόνο μέσα στα δημοτικά όρια.

Researcher: Και μετά ήταν χωματόδρομος.

Expert 3: Ή δεν υπήρχε καθόλου, ούτε ο χωματόδρομος.

Researcher: Πάλι μου είπαν ότι το σχέδιο για την Σπύρου Κυπριανού είναι πολύ παλιό, τον σχεδίαζαν από παλιά.

Δθ: Ναι από πολύ παλιά, όταν ήμουν μικρός, και μάλιστα πριν τον υπεραστικό δρόμο, δηλαδή ο σχεδιασμός του ήταν από την δεκαετία του '60 και έγινε μετά το '90.

Researcher: Από τους χάρτες βλέπω ότι ένωσαν κομμάτια, αλλά σκέφτομαι ότι ακόμα και το κοινό ήξερε ότι έπρεπε να γίνει αυτός ο δρόμος. Αυτοί που ζούσαν στην περιοχή γύρω γύρω είχαν προβλήματα επειδή έπρεπε να ήταν ήσυχες περιοχές και μετά κτίστηκαν μεγάλοι δρόμοι.

Expert 3: Οι αντιδράσεις για τον δρόμο αυτό δεν ήταν ουσίας. Ήταν περισσότερο ουσίας οι απαλλοτριώσεις που έκαναν για να περάσει ο δρόμος, δηλαδή ήταν οικονομικό το θέμα και όχι οποιοδήποτε άλλο θέμα, περιβαλλοντικό δηλαδή. Αυτοί που είχαν την γη προσέφυγαν και στα δικαστήρια για να πάρουν τα λεφτά της αποζημίωσης. Δηλαδή, η αποζημίωση που έδιναν ήταν πολύ χαμηλή, πιο χαμηλή από την αξία του κομματιού, άρα οι αντιδράσεις ήταν από τους κατόχους γης και ήταν για να πάρουν τα λεφτά της αποζημίωσης και όχι αν θα γινόταν ο δρόμος. Υπήρχε δικαιολογητικό από τον δήμο και από την Κυβέρνηση διότι το έργο ήταν πολεοδομικό, δεν απόφαση μόνο δική τους. Οι αποζημιώσεις που έδιναν από την

κυβέρνηση δεν ήταν ικανοποιητικές και τον λόγο τον είχε η Κυβέρνηση και δεν τον είχε ο Δήμος Λεμεσού, δηλαδή δεν είναι ο δήμος που απαλλοτριώνει. Ήδη στον δήμο Λεμεσού ήταν χαραγμένος ο δρόμος και σκόπευε να τον κάνει.

Researcher: Άλλο θέμα. Γενικά στην Λεμεσό νομίζετε ότι έχει περιοχές που παρουσιάζουν συγκέντρωση προβλημάτων;

Expert 3: Είναι υποβαθμισμένες, ενώ άλλες περιοχές είναι καλύτερες. Αυτό είναι κάτι που προσπαθεί ο σημερινός δήμαρχος να ανατρέψει και να δώσει σημασία στις συνοικίες. Δεν ήταν ίδια η ανάπτυξη και ούτε θα μπορούσε να είναι. Πάντα έδιναν περισσότερη σημασία στο κέντρο της πόλης, παντού γίνεται αυτό παγκοσμίως σε όλες τις πόλεις. Οι συνοικίες είχαν τα προβλήματα τους, μάλιστα οι απομακρυσμένες συνοικίες, όπως η Ομονοίας, αντί να κτίζονται οι δρόμοι και μετά τα σπίτια, κτίζονταν τα σπίτια και μετά οι δρόμοι. Είχε να κάνει με την οικονομία, οικονομικά ο δήμος δεν μπορούσε να κάνει δρόμο, τον δρόμο τον έκτιζε αυτός που έκανε και το σπίτι. Υπήρχε παραμερισμός στις συνοικίες του Αγίου Ιωάννου, των Τσιφλικουδιών, της Ομόνοιας, της Τουρκοκυπριακής είτε γιατί κάποιες φορές δεν ήθελαν είτε γιατί δεν είχαν πρόσβαση λόγω των ταραχών. Δηλαδή δεν έδωσαν σημασία τόσο πολύ στην ανάπτυξη της συνοικίας Αρναούτη, της συνοικίας Αγίου Αντώνη επειδή ήταν μέσα στην πόλη. Μετά ήθελαν να κάνουν δημαρχία και να τα κάνουν μόνοι τους αλλά παραμερίστηκαν εντελώς. Αλλά αυτή ήταν λανθασμένη τακτική όχι μόνο του δήμου αλλά και της κυβέρνησης, η οποία ακόμα και στα χωριά, για να είμαστε δίκαιοι, δεν έδωσε την πρέπουσα σημασία στα τουρκοκυπριακά χωριά και συνοικίες. Το Παραμάλι ακόμα μέχρι και το 1974 ήταν με χωματόδρομους και ήταν πάνω στον κύριο δρόμο Λευκωσίας-Λεμεσού. Δηλαδή παραμερίστηκε από πλευράς ηλεκτροδότησης, διότι προτεραιότητα είχαν τα ελληνοκυπριακά χωριά. Ήταν τα λάθη των κυβερνήσεων που έδωσαν και την αφορμή να δημιουργήσουν αντιπαλότητα μεταξύ των Ελληνοκυπρίων και των Τουρκοκυπρίων.

Researcher: Είπαμε αυτές οι περιοχές είναι υποβαθμισμένες.

Expert 3: Αργότερα ο δήμος Λεμεσού και ειδικότερα επί δημαρχίας Κολακκίδη αλλά και αργότερα, δημιούργησαν πάρκα στις συνοικίες. Δηλαδή αυτός που έκοβε οικοπέδα, ο developer, αξιοποίησε την περιοχή, αλλά ήταν υποχρεωμένος να δώσει ποσοστό για χώρο πρασίνου. Αυτοί οι χώροι πρασίνου ήταν στην δικαιοδοσία του Δήμου Λεμεσού, δηλαδή ο Δήμος Λεμεσού ήταν υπεύθυνος να φροντίζει τα πάρκα. Κάπου στα 150 πάρκα, ήταν δύσκολη δουλειά για τον δήμο και πολλές φορές η υπηρεσία πρασίνου δεν μπορούσε να τα προλάβει. Τα κυριότερα μικρά πάρκα που υπήρχαν στην Λεμεσό ήταν στην περιοχή του Αγίου Αντώνη εκεί που είναι η Τριών Ιεραρχών, το οποίο ήταν το δεύτερο πιο σημαντικό πάρκο της Λεμεσού. Υπήρχαν πολλά μικρά πάρκα μέσα στις συνοικίες, δηλαδή προσπάθησαν να δημιουργήσουν πνεύμονες μέσα στις συνοικίες. Έκαναν όμως κατασκευές μέσα στο πάρκο οι ίδιοι σαν γκαράζ. Αντί να αξιοποιήσουν τον χώρο πρασίνου και να τον προστατεύσουν, τον κατάστρεφαν.

Researcher: Εκτός από τις συνοικίες έχει και άλλες περιοχές που έχουν προβλήματα ή είναι μόνο αυτές.

Expert 3: Μέχρι και σήμερα η συνοικία της Αγίας Φύλας παραπονιέται ότι την παραμελήσαμε, ήταν ένα χωριό βέβαια η Αγία Φύλα, αλλά εφόσον την εντάξαμε στα δημοτικά όρια έπρεπε να της δώσουμε την ανάλογη σημασία για να γίνει μια μοντέρνα πόλη. Όμως οι αξιοποιήσεις αυτές τελικά είναι boomerang; Επιστρέφουν πίσω σε εμάς; Όταν αναπτύξαμε το παραλιακό μέτωπο της Λεμεσού και έγινε μοντέρνο είπαμε «Μα χάλασαν αυτή την γραφική πόλη για να κάνουν αυτά τα μέγα-κτήρια, τα οποία ασχημίζουν την πόλη». Θα κάνουμε το ίδιο στην Αγία Φύλα; Δηλαδή ποια ανάπτυξη θέλουν; Ξέρετε τι θέλουν; Θέλουν να κτίσουν ψηλές πολυκατοικίες για το κέρδος, ενώ είναι καλύτερα να κρατήσει αυτό τον χαρακτήρα της, να κρατήσει αυτό το δείγμα αρχιτεκτονικής της εποχής εκείνης, διότι η Αγία

Φύλα έχει αξιολογημένα δείγματα αρχιτεκτονικής της εποχής εκείνης. Αυτό είναι πολεοδομικό θέμα, δεν γνωρίζω τις ζώνες και τι ποσοστό δόμησης δίνουν στην Αγία Φύλα. Αυτό που χρειάζονται είναι μία πλατεία, αξιοποίηση ανοικτών χώρων, ένα πάρκο, αυτά δεν τα έχουν. Έχουν προβλήματα με τα όμβρια ύδατα και με τις αποχετεύσεις τους.

Researcher: Τώρα το αντίθετο, έχει περιοχές στην Λεμεσό που είναι πλούσιες, αν γνωρίζεται.

Expert 3: Όχι, απλά αυτό συνηθιζόταν πάντα, οι πλούσιες οικογένειες έκτιζαν τα σπίτια τους στις παρυφές της πόλης για να έχουν την ησυχία τους. Να μην ξεχνούμε ότι ο έπαρχος έκτισε το σπίτι του έξω από την πόλη, ο Λανίτης έκτισε έξω από την πόλη και σήμερα το συνεχίζουν. Υπάρχει μία περιοχή high trust και κτίζουν εκεί, αν μπορούμε να πούμε έχει high trust στην Κύπρο, οι οποίοι έκτισαν στην περιοχή Εκάλης, αλλά και αυτοί τότε ήταν εκτός δημοτικών ορίων, ήταν έξω από την πόλη. Σήμερα, κτίζουν στην περιοχή Καλογήρων στην Γερμασόγια. Τελικά πνίγονται όλοι στην πόλη, δηλαδή δεν υπάρχει μία συνοικία που θα πεις εδώ είναι οι πλούσιοι, μπορεί να είναι για μία δεκαετία/εικοσαετία μετά αναμειγνύονται με την πόλη. Όμως υπήρχαν στην Λεμεσό παλιά περιοχές, οι οποίες θεωρούνταν ότι ήταν τα αρχοντικά της πόλης, πχ οδός Βασιλίου Μακεδόνος που είναι στο κέντρο της πόλης. Τότε μπορεί να ήταν και έξω της πόλης, διότι η Λεμεσός ήταν μέχρι εκεί που τελειώνει η δημοτική αγορά, από εκεί και πέρα ήταν περβόλια και δεν υπήρχε η οδός Γλάσθωνος, Οπότε η πόλη ήταν τόσο μικρή που τα σπίτια που κτίστηκαν τότε, τα λεγόμενα αρχοντικά της Λεμεσού, έξω από την πόλη, στις παρυφές της πόλης τελικά βρεθήκαν στο κέντρο της πόλης.

Researcher: Αυτό μπορεί να είναι άλλο θέμα. Γνωρίζεται αν έχει κάποιο κριτήριο η κυβέρνηση όταν σχεδιάζουν το τοπικό σχέδιο της Λεμεσού;

Expert 3: Σίγουρα έχουν κάποιο κριτήριο αλλά δεν το γνωρίζω.

Researcher: Νομίζετε ότι σίγουρα έχει;

Expert 3: Δεν το γνωρίζω. Γνωρίζω όμως ότι πηγαίνοντας έξω από την πόλη λιγοστεύει το ποσοστό δόμησης για να μην γίνεται μια περιοχή πυκνοκατοικημένη. Για παράδειγμα στο κέντρο της πόλης μπορεί να δικαιούσαι 90% δόμηση και τα κτίρια είναι κολλητά χωρίς κενό μεταξύ τους, ενώ βγαίνοντας έξω πρέπει να υπάρχει το πεζοδρόμιο γύρω γύρω, δηλαδή το ποσοστό είναι χαμηλό, και μερικές φορές έξω από την πόλη μπορεί να είναι 6%. Άρα για μπορέσεις να κτίσεις ένα ικανοποιητικό σπίτι πρέπει να έχεις ένα χώρο που θα είναι περισσότερο από 2-3 οικοπέδα. Υπάρχουν σήμερα οι ζώνες, αλλά κάποιες ζώνες επηρεάζονται πολιτικά, δηλαδή υπάρχει χαλάρωση της ζώνης ή αλλαγή. Αν και οι ζώνες πρέπει να αλλάζουν αλλά όχι ευκαιριακά, δηλαδή του φίλου μας του γνωστού μας. Κάποιοι όμως που έχουν την πρόσβαση προς τα κυβερνητικά τμήματα, διότι η πολεοδομία είναι υπεύθυνη για τις ζώνες, μπορούν να πάρουν χαλάρωση της ζώνης.

Researcher: Πάλι το ίδιο για το Δημαρχείο, όταν εγκρίνουν τις αιτήσεις για να εγκρίνουν κάτι έχουν κάποια κριτήρια;

Expert 3: Σίγουρα. Το δημαρχείο βασίζεται πάνω στις εγκεκριμένες πολεοδομικές ζώνες, δεν μπορεί να τις παραβεί αλλά ούτε και να τις αλλάξει ο δήμος.

Researcher: Αλλά εκτός από τις ζώνες, τα περιβαλλοντικά θέματα, οι δρόμοι..

Expert 3: Αυτά τα τελευταία χρόνια, ειδικά επί δημαρχίας Κοντίδη, Χατζηπαύλου και Ανδρέα Χρίστου έγινε πλέον θεσμός να προσέχουμε πάρα πολύ τις όψεις των κτιρίων. Μάλιστα ο δήμος δίνει ενθαρρυντικά μέτρα για διατήρηση και διόρθωση των όψεων, έτσι ώστε να είναι πιο φιλικές. Βλέπεις σήμερα ότι τα μεγάλα κτίρια έχουν style, δεν έχουν δηλαδή αυτά τα κουτάκια στις όψεις που τάχα είναι δείγμα μοντερνισμού, τα οποία ήταν και κακόγουστα. Σήμερα μας ενδιαφέρει να είναι όμορφα τα κτήρια και έτσι αν δείτε διάφορες πολυκατοικίες έχουν στυλ, βάζουν την τέχνη τους οι αρχιτέκτονες και έξω από το κτήριο όχι μόνο να καλύψουν ένα

χώρο. Έχουμε αρκετά παραδείγματα τα τελευταία χρόνια, τα οποία βραβεύσαμε, καλοσχεδιασμένες οικοδομές.

Researcher: Έγιναν πολλές αλλαγές στην Λεμεσό πρόσφατα, η μαρίνα, το παλιό λιμάνι, ο πεζόδρομος στην παλιά στην πόλη, ο πεζόδρομος στον Γαρίλλη κτλ. Τι νομίζετε για όλα;

Expert 3: Η Λεμεσός σήμερα είναι στην καλύτερη της φάση. Πολλοί νοσταλγούν την Λεμεσό όπως ήταν τότε, με τον μόλο της, με τους δρόμους της, με τα παλιά αρχοντικά της, με τα μικρά σπιτάκια της τα οποία δεν ήταν όλα αρχοντικά. Όμως, η Λεμεσός τότε, από πλευράς δομής, δεν μπορούσε να εξυπηρετήσει τους σημερινούς Λεμεσιανούς, δεν υπήρχε παραλία. Δηλαδή από το παλιό λιμάνι μέχρι τα δημοτικά όρια δεν είχες πρόσβαση στην θάλασσα, εκτός του ότι ήταν κτισμένα σπίτια από την πλευρά της θάλασσας, δεν είχε ούτε οργανωμένες θάλασσες, ούτως ώστε να απολαμβάνει ο Λεμεσιανός τη θάλασσα και έτσι σιγά σιγά ο Λεμεσιανός έστρεψε την πλάτη του στη θάλασσα. Τώρα επέστρεψε πίσω, υπάρχουν οι ποδηλατόδρομοι, οι πεζόδρομοι, υπάρχει ένα πολυλειτουργικό πάρκο και εξυπηρετεί χιλιάδες κόσμο, υπάρχουν οι κατασκευές, όπως είναι οι κατασκευές που έγιναν στο πολυλειτουργικό πάρκο, οι οποίες δεν έγιναν για να αξιοποιούν το εμπόριο αλλά για την ψυχαγωγία των Λεμεσιανών. Παλιά όμως ήταν για το εμπόριο και όχι για την ψυχαγωγία των Λεμεσιανών. Ακόμη και ο ίδιος ο μόλος που έγινε τότε στην Λεμεσό από τους Άγγλους, δεν έγινε για να κάνουν τον περίπατο τους οι Λεμεσιανοί, ήθελαν ένα χώρο για να βάζουν τα εμπορεύματα τους για να τα κάνουν εξαγωγή μέσω των αποβάθρων στα καράβια, όταν δεν είχε λιμάνι. Όταν έγινε το λιμάνι της Λεμεσού και το εμπόριο γινόταν από εκεί, ο μόλος έπεσε σε αχρηστία και τότε έστησαν τέντες οι μαγαζάτορες από τα καταστήματα, εστιατόρια και καφετέριες που βρίσκονταν απέναντι και έγινε χώρος ψυχαγωγίας των Λεμεσιανών, αλλά δεν είχε κτιστεί ως χώρος ψυχαγωγίας των Λεμεσιανών, κατάντησε να γίνει. Δεν ήταν κάτι το αξιόλογο, ήταν μπετόν χωρίς πλακόστρωτο κάτω και μύριζε άσχημα. Η Λεμεσός σήμερα με το αποχετευτικό της σύστημα καθάρισε την θάλασσα της, έγινε το πολιτισμικό πάρκο, ενώθηκε με το παλιό λιμάνι το οποίο έγινε ψαρολίμανο, ενώθηκε με την μαρίνα και θα ενωθεί και με το νέο λιμάνι το οποίο είναι μέσα στα σχέδια του δήμου Λεμεσού. Εκεί θα είναι πολύ καλύτερη και ήπιας μορφής ανάπτυξη. Το πάρκο του Γαρίλλι, η κύτη του Γαρίλλι ήταν ένας σκουπιδοτόπος. Είναι μια υπέροχη και μοναδική δουλειά στα χρονικά της Κύπρου, με ένα γραμμικό πάρκο που αρχίζει από τα Πολεμίδια και κατεβαίνει στην πόλη, πνεύμονας πρασίνου ο οποίος καθαρίζεται και περιποιείται. Στη κύτη του Γαρίλλι ο ποταμός ήταν κλειστός και μάλλον κάποιοι υπονόμοι κατέληγαν εκεί. Κοντά στο jumbo οι Άγγλοι έκτισαν τείχος και έκοψαν τον ποταμό. Όταν μια φορά κατέβηκε ο ποταμός Γαρίλλης περνούσε ο ποταμός πάνω από τη γιοφύρι που περνά από την Μακαρίου. Γενικά στην πόλη παλιά έκλειναν έναν δρόμο και τον έκαναν πεζόδρομο. Σήμερα γίνεται κυκλοφοριακή μελέτη για να γίνει κάτι, έχει ανακουφιστεί το κέντρο της πόλης, αλλά οι Λεμεσιανοί δεν συνήθισαν ακόμη να αφήνουν το αυτοκίνητο τους έξω και να παίρνουν τα πόδια τους να πάνε στο κέντρο, δεν περπατούν πάνω από 500μ γιατί είναι κουραστικό για αυτούς και για όλο τον κόσμο που δεν το έχει συνηθίσει. Παλιά επειδή είχαν πρόσβαση και έμπαινε το αυτοκίνητο στο κέντρο της πόλης, στάθμευαν έξω από το κατάστημα που ήθελαν να πάνε. Πολλοί μαγαζάτορες έβαζαν και καρέκλα έξω από το κατάστημα τους για να φυλάξουν την θέση για να βάλουν το δικό τους αυτοκίνητο εκεί και να μην το βάλουν άλλοι. Σήμερα δεν έχουν αυτή την πολυτέλεια να κατεβάζουν το αυτοκίνητο τους στο κέντρο. Πολλοί νομίζουν ότι η κίνηση θα φθίνει αλλά συμβαίνει το αντίθετο και υπάρχει αύξηση της κίνησης στην πόλη, λόγω και των φοιτητών του ΤΕΠΑΚ και των σχολών του που κτίστηκαν μέσα στο κέντρο της πόλης. Από προσωπική εμπειρία, κυκλοφόρησα στο κέντρο της πόλης και την κυκλοφορούσα από την δεκαετία του '70 και φοβόμουν γιατί ήταν ερημιά, δεν υπήρχε φωτισμός δεν υπήρχε τίποτε. Σήμερα

υπάρχουν πεζόδρομοι, υπάρχει ωραίος φωτισμός και ωραία κίνηση. Η Λεμεσός ζωντάνεψε στο κέντρο της, είναι η πλατεία Σαριπόλου η οποία ήταν δρόμος, έγινε πλατεία και συγκεντρώνει αρκετό κόσμο. Το σημείο στο οποίο υστερούμε είναι το θέμα της αγοράς, η δημοτική αγορά δεν αναπτύχθηκε όπως θα θέλαμε.

Researcher: Νομίζω, απ' όσο ξέρω ότι υπήρξαν πολλές αντιδράσεις για την μαρίνα, για τον τρόπο που χτίστηκε το παλιό λιμάνι.

Expert 3: Οι αντιδράσεις ήταν περισσότερο για το παλιό λιμάνι παρά για την μαρίνα.

Researcher: Τι νομίζετε για αυτό;

Expert 3: Η Αρχή Λιμένων ήρθε και υπόβαλε στον Δήμο κάποια σχέδια, τα οποία ήταν μέσα στα νομικά πλαίσια που καθορίζει ο νόμος. Δηλαδή, από πλευράς συντελεστή δόμησης ο δήμος δεν μπορούσε να αρνηθεί την άδεια, από πλευράς οπτικής υπάρχει μοντερνισμός, όπου και πάλι δεν μπορούσε να τους αρνηθεί, δεν μπορούσε να τους πει ότι θέλουμε να κάνετε παραδοσιακό. Δεν υπήρχε κάτι που νομικά που θα μπορούσε να το αντιπαραθέσει. Έτσι, ο σχεδιασμός ήταν από την Αρχή Λιμένων και η έγκριση από τον Δήμο, ο οποίος ήταν νομοτυπικά σωστός. Αν με ρωτάς εμένα προσωπικά αν μου αρέσουν, δεν μου αρέσουν. Όμως όταν άρχισαν να γεμίζουν και να ενοικιάζουν τα καταστήματα και να έρχεται ο κόσμος, διορθώθηκε λίγο η κατάσταση. Όσπου ήταν άδεια φαινόταν κάτι άδεια κουτιά, αλλά όταν ενοικιάστηκαν και άνοιξαν καφετέριες έγινε καλύτερο και μετριάστηκε η κατάσταση.

Researcher: Όλη η ανάπτυξη, πρόσφατα, συγκεντρώθηκε παραλιακά και πάλι τώρα κάνουν σχέδια για παραλιακά στα δυτικά της μαρίνας. Γίνεται κάτι πίσω από το παραλιακό ή πρέπει να γίνει απλά δεν το ξέρουμε;

Expert 3: Κάτι το οποίο είναι σημαντικό και διαφεύγει της προσοχής του κόσμου και λένε ότι κάνουν όλη την ανάπτυξη μπροστά στην θάλασσα, αλλά η θάλασσα είναι για όλη τη Λεμεσό δεν είναι για αυτούς που είναι μπροστά. Δηλαδή, όταν φτιάχνεις το παραλιακό μέτωπο της πόλης και κάνεις παραλία, είναι για όλη την πόλη που το κάνουν και όχι μόνο για αυτούς που κατοικούν εκεί. Και σίγουρα επενδύουν οι developers εκεί που υπάρχει ανάπτυξη. Το πολιτικό πάρκο είναι για όλους και όχι μόνο για το κέντρο της πόλης. Στις συνοικίες πρέπει να κάνεις μερικά κέντρα, δηλαδή το παζάρι, η αγορά να μην είναι μόνο Ανεξαρτησίας, Αγίου Αντρέου, Σαριπόλου, αλλά να δημιουργήσεις πυρήνα και στον Άγιο Νικόλαο και στον Άγιο Ιωάννη. Γιατί πρέπει να το κάνεις αυτό; Διότι αυτό θα φέρει και την άλλη ανάπτυξη, τις άλλες δομές. Στο Λονδίνο, για παράδειγμα αν και η σύγκριση είναι ατυχής, βλέπεις ότι σε μια ευρύτερη περιοχή του Λονδίνου να έχει το κέντρο του, το κέντρο της συνοικίας, της περιοχής, το οποίο έχει τα πάντα, καταστήματα κτλ. Και να μην είναι μόνο το κέντρο του Λονδίνου αλλά και το κέντρο της συνοικίας. Γιατί δεν γίνεται αυτό; Και πάλι οι Άγγλοι φταίνε για αυτό. Γιατί φταίνε; Οι Άγγλοι ενδιαφέρονταν να εξυπηρετούνταν οι ίδιοι, κάποια έργα που μας ωφέλησαν και πάλι ήταν για να εξυπηρετούνται οι Άγγλοι. Η Λεμεσός και γενικότερα οι πόλεις της Κύπρου στερούνται των πλατειών, δεν έχουμε πλατείες, ενώ πηγαίνοντας στην Ελλάδα ή στην Ευρώπη, και το πιο μικρό χωριό έχει την μεγάλη την πλατεία τους, τον μεγάλο ναό και γύρω γύρω η πλατεία, έχουν ανοικτούς χώρους και πάρκα. Τους Άγγλους δεν ενδιέφερε η ψυχαγωγία των Λεμεσιανών αλλά η ευημερία τους, και όχι να μαζεύονται και να κάνουν διαδηλώσεις. Έτσι, απέφυγαν να κάνουν πλατείες μέσα στην πόλη. Τον καιρό που ήρθαν οι Ναζί, η πλατεία Ηρώων ήταν έξω από την πόλη, ήταν η μοναδική πλατεία που κάναμε για τους ήρωες, ήταν ο μοναδικός ανοικτός χώρος. Υπήρχαν και άλλοι ανοικτοί χώροι έξω από την πόλη και η τότε Αγγλική κυβέρνηση η οποία είχε σκεφτεί τα πάντα, αν θέλεις επί σκοπού, δεν άφησε ένα ανοικτό χώρο εκεί που είναι ο Πεντάδρομος ή η Τζαμούδα. Ζηλεύω την Κρήτη και την Πάτρα που έχουν ωραίες πλατείες ενώ εμείς τις στερούμαστε. Εφόσον δεν υπάρχουν αυτοί οι μεγάλοι ανοικτοί χώροι δεν μπορείς να κάνεις τίποτα, δεν μπορείς να χαλάσεις τα σπίτια και να φτιάξεις κάτι. Το μόνο εμπορικό

κέντρο που υπάρχει είναι εκεί που είχαν και οι Άγγλοι και είναι εκτός του κέντρου, είναι στην περιοχή της Νάαφη. Η περιοχή της Νάαφη ήταν περιοχή των Άγγλων. Μετά έγιναν κάποιες δυσκοθίες έξω από την πόλη, κάποια καταστήματα γύρω γύρω επειδή ήταν η Νάαφη εκεί και δημιουργήθηκε ένα εμπορικό κέντρο, το οποίο υπάρχει μέχρι και σήμερα. Είναι η μοναδική περιοχή που έχει εμπορικό έστω και μικρό κέντρο στην Λεμεσό.

Researcher: Τελευταία ερώτηση. Τι νομίζετε ότι είναι οι προτεραιότητες για τη Λεμεσό για το μέλλον κατά την γνώμη σας; Τι πρέπει να γίνει για να βελτιωθεί ακόμη πιο πολύ;

Expert 3: Η δική μου άποψη είναι το οδικό δίκτυο. Καταρχήν, καλύτερο οδοστρώματα, το οποίο μπήκε στο πρόγραμμα του δήμου της Λεμεσού. Δεν είναι μόνο όμως να έχω ένα καλό και όμορφο δρόμο αλλά πρέπει να έχω σχεδιασμό για το κυκλοφοριακό, δηλαδή μονοδρομήσεις που θα εξυπηρετούν και δεν θα ταλαιπωρούν. Να γίνουν δηλαδή με επιστημονικό τρόπο, να γίνουν μετρήσεις της κινητικότητας στην περιοχή και να υπολογιστεί αν θα πρέπει να μονοδρομηθεί ένας δρόμος ή αν θα δημιουργηθούν αναγκαστικές κατευθύνσεις. Είδα πολλές φορές να κάνουν κάτι και να αποτυγχάνει οικτρά διότι κάποιος χωρίς να κάνει έρευνα κάνει μονοδρομηση, άρα θέλει μελέτη και να κοινοποιείται στον κόσμο. Στις συνοικίες πρέπει να γίνει αυτό το πράγμα, υπάρχει κυκλοφοριακό πρόβλημα, αλλά επίσης πρέπει να φροντίσουν περισσότερο τους ανοικτούς χώρους, τα πάρκα τους με φύτευση πρασίνου, ακόμη και η επιλογή των δέντρων πρέπει να είναι προσεκτική. Εισαγάγαμε ένα δέντρο, τον φίκο, το οποίο είναι το χειρότερο που μπορείς να βάλεις και δεν γνωρίζω ποιος το σκέφτηκε αυτό, διότι θέλουν ψέκασμα και κλάδεμα συχνό. Εισηγήθηκα κάποτε στον προηγούμενο δήμαρχο και μου λέει «Μα πότε θα γίνουν;», σταδιακά θα γίνει. Θα αρχίσεις σταδιακά να βγάζεις ένα-ένα τους φίκους και στην θέση τους θα μπει ο κέδρος, ο οποίος δεν πιάνει ψώρα και δεν αρρωσταίνει, είναι δέντρο που δεν θέλει κλάδεμα. Οπότε, σταδιακά στις συνοικίες θα πρέπει να αφαιρεθούν οι φίκοι οι οποίοι σπάζουν τα πεζοδρόμια και μετακινούν τα σπίτια με τις ρίζες τους και κάνουν πολλές ζημιές. Τελικά οι λεμεσιανοί τα κόβουν από μόνοι τους, πράγμα που απαγορεύετε, και μάλιστα διαμαρτύρονται οι οικολόγοι. Εκεί στην Σαριπόλου θέλαμε να αφαιρέσουμε τους φίκους για να μην βρέχει πάνω στον κόσμο και κατέβηκαν με τα πανό και διαμαρτύρονταν. Εκείνο που προστατεύεις είναι τα τοπικά, εγώ λέω να τα αφαιρέσουμε και να βάλουμε χαρουπιές, ή πεύκο κυπριακό ή οτιδήποτε άλλο έχει να κάνει με την Κύπρο, αλλά να μας αφήσουν, δεν μας αφήνουν να κόψουμε τους φίκους οι οποίοι πρέπει να φύγουν. Πιστεύω ότι πρέπει να γίνουν τολμηρά βήματα για τον εξωραϊσμό των γειτονιών, να δοθούν ενθαρρυντικά μέτρα για επιδιορθώσεις των κιγκλιδωμάτων. Τα κιγκλιδώματα γύρω από τα σπίτια πρέπει να είναι εγκεκριμένα από τον δήμο. Λοιπόν, τα πεζοδρόμια, πρέπει να φύγουν όλα τα δέντρα από τα πεζοδρόμια για να μπορούν οι άνθρωποι με ειδικές ανάγκες να κυκλοφορούν, δηλαδή δίνω χώρο στο δέντρο και δεν δίνω χώρο στον άνθρωπο; Αφού δεν μπορεί να περάσει, τον εμποδίζει το δέντρο. Να φύγει το δέντρο από το πεζοδρόμιο και να μπει μέσα στην αυλή του Λεμεσιανού, αλλά ο Λεμεσιανός το θέλει να είναι πάνω στο πεζοδρόμιο και ο δήμος να τα φροντίζουν και όχι οι ίδιοι. Ο Δήμος πρέπει να μαζέψει τον κόσμο στην γειτονιά και να τους πει τι πρέπει να γίνει, τι πρέπει να κάνουν, θα είναι καλύτερα για όλους. Αθλητικά κέντρα, τα έχουμε αφήσει στους ιδιώτες να κάνουν γυμναστήρια, ενώ έπρεπε η κάθε συνοικία να έχει ένα κλειστό αθλητικό κέντρο. Δεν μπορεί ο Άγιος Νικόλαος να μην έχει ένα κλειστό αθλητικό κέντρο, ο Άγιος Ιωάννης άλλο, η Αγία Φύλα άλλο. Πρέπει η κάθε περιοχή να έχει το αθλητικό της κέντρο, διότι ένα αθλητικό κέντρο δεν μπορεί να εξυπηρετεί όλη την Λεμεσό. Το αθλητικό κέντρο το θέλω κοντά, την θάλασσα θα πάω να την βρω. Μουσουλμανικά νεκροταφεία. Το μουσουλμανικό νεκροταφείο υπήρχε στο τέρμα της Μισιαούλη και Καβάζογλου, εκεί στην τουρκοκυπριακή συνοικία και το έκαναν πάρκο τώρα. Οι

τούρκοι το συνήθιζαν να κάνουν τα νεκροταφεία τους πάρκα. Βέβαια, νεκροταφεία μουσουλμανικά είχαν σε διάφορες περιοχές, αλλά ήταν ευκαιριακά ή για αξιωματούχους. Βλέπουμε ότι ακόμα και γύρω από το κάστρο υπάρχουν τάφοι μουσουλμανικοί. Το νεκροταφείο λοιπόν ήταν εκεί και κατά το 1936 μετακινήθηκε στην οδό Αγίου Γεωργίου Αβέρωφ στον Άγιο Ιωάννη, όπου είναι εκεί και σήμερα, στο οποίο σταμάτησαν να έρχονται οι τουρκοκύπριοι μετά το 1963, διότι φοβούνταν και έκαναν κοιμητήριο στην Επισκοπή. Μουσουλμανικό νεκροταφείο υπήρχε και εδώ στον παραλιακό δρόμο που έθαψαν κάποιους ναυαγούς εκεί, υπήρχε μουσουλμανικό νεκροταφείο στο μικρό λιμάνι απέναντι από το γραφείο του πολίτη και πιο πέρα, υπήρχε και μικρό μουσουλμανικό νεκροταφείο για αξιωματούχους, υπήρχε και στα Πολεμίδια. Ο ιππόδρομος 1880-1925 στην οδό Νίκου Παττίχη. Ήταν μέσα στα ενδιαφέροντα των Βρετανών και το έκαναν μόλις ήρθαν. Ήταν ο τρόπος που ψυχαγωγούνταν και σιγά σιγά το αντιληφθήκαμε και εμείς. Δημιούργησαν στάβλους κτλ. Όχι μόνο στην Λεμεσό αλλά και στις άλλες πόλεις. Για τους Οθωμανούς ήταν κάτι ξένο αυτό. Μας δίνει πολλές λεπτομέρειες ο Σοφοκλέους, αν σε ενδιαφέρει να σου δώσω την μελέτη του. Εργοστάσια δυτικά του Γαρίλλη, στα Τσιφλικούδια. Ήταν η ΚΕΟ, η SODAP, η LOEL, ήταν κυρίως βιομηχανίες και το κεραμείο. Ήταν και η αρτοβιομηχανία, η οποία έκανε για πρώτη φορά το slice και το έκανε για τους βρετανούς. Αργότερα, δεκαετία του '60, μεταφέρθηκε η βιομηχανία ΕΤΚΟ, η οποία ήταν εδώ στην παραλία όπου είναι οι δίδυμοι πύργοι, και πήγε κάτω στα Τσιφλικούδια. Δυτικά τώρα, κοντά στην ΚΕΟ ήταν και το εμφιαλωτήριο της coca-cola του λανίτη.

Researcher: Το ΕΤΚΟ ήταν παραλιακά από το '45. Το ΚΕΑΝ έγινε πιο μετά '50 και μετά το ΕΤΚΟ πήγε δυτικά.

Expert 3: Η LOEL παλιά ήταν στην Ναβαρίνου και μεταφέρθηκε και αυτή εκεί. Υπήρχε η Συνεργατική Εταιρία Χαρουπιών, επίσης. Λοιπόν, δημόσιος κήπος. Ο δημόσιος κήπος άρχισε το 1902, όταν έγιναν οι πρώτες ιδέες. Όμως την τελική του μορφή την πήρε επί δημαρχίας Χριστόδουλου Σώζου, η οποία ήταν η ίδια διαρρύθμιση, αλλά οι δρόμοι ήταν χωματόδρομοι και μετά έγιναν ασφαλτος το 1909. Λεπτομέρειες στην βιβλιογραφία. Το 1909 άρχισε και κοντά στο 1911-1912 πήρε την τελική του μορφή. Ο ζωολογικός αν σε ενδιαφέρει νομίζω ήταν το 1954. Όταν μας έφεραν πιθηκάκι σκεφτήκαμε να κάνουμε ζωολογικό κήπο και να το επεκτείνουμε. Έχουμε και φωτογραφικό υλικό της εποχής. (Σου δείχνει φωτογραφίες)

Researcher: Το νεκροταφείο κτίστηκε το 1865, νομίζω, αλλά η περιοχή γύρω-γύρω;

Expert 3: Οι εργατικές κατοικίες. Έγιναν σταδιακά και η πρώτη έγινε εδώ στον εναέριο αν δεν απατόμαι, μετά έγιναν στην περιοχή του Αγίου Ιωάννη, αργότερα έγιναν εργατικές κατοικίες στον Άγιο Νικόλαο. Εργατικές κατοικίες υπήρχαν και υπάρχουν μέχρι και σήμερα δίπλα από το παλιό νοσοκομείο, οι οποίες ήταν ιδιωτικές και μετά τις πήρε ο δήμος και τις χρησιμοποίησε. (φωτογραφίες) Το φωτογραφικό υλικό το έχω σε jpg και μπορείς να το χρησιμοποιήσεις. Έχει κάτι άλλο που θέλεις να ρωτήσεις;

Researcher: Το φυσικό κέντρο δίπλα από τον κήπο, αυτό πότε κτίστηκε; Το ξέρετε;

Expert 3: Το ξέρω καλύτερα από κάθε άλλο. Το 1964 ήταν τελειωμένο. Δεν υπήρχε κανένας να το αναλάβει και ήρθε ο δήμαρχος Λεμεσού και είπε του πατέρα μου να το πάρει, και το πήρε και το άνοιξε πρώτος ο πατέρας μου. 1964, ο πατέρας μου το πήρε 4-5 χρόνια και μετά το πήρε ο Νίκος Ψαράς και το έχανε άχρηστο, το χάλασε με προσθήκες και μετά το έπιασε ένας που ήταν πρώην δημοτικός σύμβουλος, και το ενοικίασε με την προϋπόθεση ότι θα το ανακαινίσει και έκανε κάτι τέντες μπροστά. Χάλασε ο χαρακτήρας του και ήταν ένα από τα πιο όμορφα κέντρα την εποχή εκείνη. Εγώ το θυμάμαι να έχει και εσωτερικό κήπο.

Researcher: Ναι φαίνεται από τους χάρτες ότι έχει κήπο.

Expert 3: Είχε πίστα, είχε jukebox και περισσότερο έκανε ευρωπαϊκά, κοκτέιλ κτλ. Περισσότερο ήταν ευρωπαϊκού στυλ το κέντρο, όμως ο πατέρας μου έδωσε μια νότα κυπριακής κουζίνας.

Researcher: Το Τσίρειο στάδιο, ξέρω ότι το σχεδίασαν το 1972, ξέρετε πότε άνοιξε;

Expert 3: Νομίζω 1974 αλλά δεν είμαι σίγουρος.

Researcher: Το Λανίτιο σχολείο ήταν πάντα εκεί που είναι τώρα;

Expert 3: Όχι εκεί ήταν, κτίστηκε με συνεισφορά και δωρεά του Λανίτη, φαντάζομαι ότι ο Λανίτης έδωσε την γη για να γίνει το σχολείο και εξού πήρε και το όνομά του, ήταν ελληνικό γυμνάσιο και κτίστηκε δεκαετία του '40.

Researcher: Στην ιστοσελίδα τους φαίνεται ότι σαν σχολείο άνοιξε πολύ παλιά πριν από τους Βρετανούς.

Expert 3: Όχι. Να ψάξω και να βρω τις ημερομηνίες γιατί δεν είμαι σίγουρος και να σου πω. Να το ψάξω τώρα στην ιστοσελίδα τους. Ίδρυση σχολείου 1819.

Researcher: Γι' αυτό σας ρώτησα αν ήταν πάντα εκεί, μπορεί να ήταν μικρό κτίριο.

Expert 3: Πρέπει να ήταν εδώ στο παντοπωλείο και ήταν το ελληνικό γυμνάσιο, έτσι έλεγε. Εκεί στην εκκλησία της Αγίας Νάπας είχε ένα κτίριο πίσω από εκεί που είναι το ιερό και κτίστηκε. Αλλά καμία σχέση με το ίδιο το σχολείο. (πληροφορίες από την ιστοσελίδα του Λανιτίου) Το σχολείο εκείνο που είναι σήμερα κτίστηκε το 1945. Το Λανίτιο είναι μόνο εκείνο που είναι σήμερα, προηγουμένως δεν ήταν Λανίτιο, ήταν το ελληνικό γυμνάσιο.

A3.7 Conversation 4

Researcher: Είχε άλλο πρόγραμμα παλιά το Urbanguard. Δεν ξέρω αν γνωρίζετε κάτι για αυτό το πρόγραμμα, έχει αρκετές πληροφορίες στο διαδίκτυο. Δουλέψατε καθόλου πάνω σε αυτό ή δεν είχατε καμία σχέση με αυτό;

Expert 4: Όχι. Δούλεψα πάνω σε σχέδια ανάπτυξης εδώ, συγκεκριμένα ήταν το τοπικό σχέδιο Πάφου, τότε. Από ευρωπαϊκά προγράμματα δουλεύω στο European Urban Knowledge Network (NGTC), οπότε αυτή είναι η εμπειρία μου σε αυτά τα θέματα και φυσικά έχω δουλέψει σε έλεγχο της ανάπτυξης, για χορήγηση πολεοδομικών αδειών και όλα τα συναφή του ελέγχου και τώρα δουλεύω στην νομοθεσία και στα νομικά του τμήματος, οπότε μπορώ να δω οποιοδήποτε πρόβλημα προκύψει σε όλο το τμήμα.

Researcher: Σχετικά με τα δύο ευρωπαϊκά προγράμματα δουλέψατε πάνω σε αυτά;

Expert 4: Όχι, δούλεψα μόνο στο EUKN.

Researcher: Κάνατε την έρευνα για το public consultation και κατάλαβα απ' ότι διάβασα ότι άλλαξαν το σύστημα μετά την έρευνα σας. Πώς λειτουργεί το σύστημα τώρα; Τι νομίζετε, είναι καλύτερο; Πήγατε να δείτε αν δουλεύει καλά;

Expert 4: Το σύστημα το ζω. Την ομιλία μου την είχατε δει που την έκανα τότε;

Researcher: Ναι νομίζω.

Expert 4: Είδατε την εξέλιξη πως έφτασε μέχρι εδώ και πως άλλαξε το 1990, αλλά η βασική αλλαγή ήταν το 2007. Οπότε είχε μπει πιο δυναμικά στο όλο πρόγραμμα στα σχέδια ανάπτυξης ο πολίτης, ενώ προηγουμένως αντιπροσωπευόταν από τις αρμόδιες αρχές, που επαφίετο σε εκείνες τι θα αποφασίζανε να προτείνουν στο τέλος και απλώς τους ακούαν. Αυτό εξακολουθεί να υπάρχει, διότι οι αρμόδιες αρχές πάλι εκφράζουν τις θέσεις τους ως τέτοιες. Όμως, ο πολίτης πλέον έχει το δικαίωμα, τώρα μιλώ πριν να γίνει η παρουσίαση αυτή, η πρώτη δυναμική βελτίωση που είχε γίνει, ο πολίτης είχε το δικαίωμα πλέον από το 2007 να κάνει γραπτές παραστάσεις. Οπότε με αυτό τον τρόπο έκφραζε τη γνώμη του, την άποψη του πάνω σε αυτό το σημαντικό πολεοδομικό θέμα. Παρατηρήθηκε, όμως, ότι δυστυχώς δεν το έβλεπε από πολεοδομική άποψη, αλλά το έβλεπε προσωπικά, από οικονομική και κοινωνική άποψη. Δηλαδή, θέλω και εγώ να ενταχθεί σε ζώνη ανάπτυξης για να εξυπηρετήσω την οικογένεια μου. Είχε, επίσης, το δικαίωμα να παρευρεθεί σε δημόσιες ακροάσεις. Εκείνοι, οι οποίοι θα μιλήσαν ήταν

συγκεκριμένοι τους οποίους (αντιλαμβάνεστε ότι αν υπήρχε ένας τεράστιος που ενδιαφερόταν να εκφραστεί, σίγουρα ο χρόνος ήταν περιορισμένος), γι' αυτό γινόταν μία επιλογή από ομοειδής θέσεις, αν για παράδειγμα υπήρχε μια θέση που παρουσιάστηκε από 20 άτομα διαλέγαμε 2 για να παρουσιάσουν τις θέσεις τους. Δικαίωμα να μιλήσουν είχαν μόνο αυτοί, για να λύσουν ουσιαστικά απορίες που δημιουργούνταν στην επιτροπή, η οποία ήθελε να πάρει όλη την πληροφορία για να κάνει σωστό τοπικό σχέδιο. Σίγουρα δεν αρνήθηκαν, όσες φορές έχω παρευρεθεί, να δώσουν τον λόγο σε κάποιους άλλους να μιλήσουν αλλά σε λογικά όρια. Διότι οι περισσότεροι, πιστέψτε με, στα αρχικά στάδια, το πώς εκφράζονταν και το τι προσπαθούσαν να πουν ήταν πέρα για πέρα από πολεοδομικούς λόγους. Σιγά σιγά αυτό άρχισε να βελτιώνεται από μόνο του. Υπήρχαν φυσικά και τα κοινά συμβούλια, τα οποία αποδείχτηκε τελικά ότι δεν είχε καλή παραγωγή, ενώ ήταν καλός ο ρόλος τους, δηλαδή θα μαζεύονταν όλες οι κοινότητες, οι δήμοι και οι αρμόδιες αρχές, υπήρχε και μία στήριξη από μία πενταμελή ομάδα, που είχαν το γνωστικό αντικείμενο. Δηλαδή, είχαμε περίπτωση που υπήρχε και εκπρόσωπος του τμήματος αρχαιοτήτων διότι ήταν μια περιοχή με πάρα πολλούς αρχαιολογικούς χώρους, αν ήταν τουριστική περιοχή θα είχαμε του τμήματος ΚΟΤ (Κυπριακός Οργανισμός Τουρισμού), υπήρχαν θέματα βιομηχανιών άρα υπήρχε το επιμελητήριο για τις βιομηχανίες. Με αυτό τον τρόπο ενισχύαμε την ομάδα και έτσι για να καταλάβετε, το τοπικό σχέδιο της Πάφου αποτελείται από 15 κοινότητες, 3 Δήμοι, 5 ειδικοί άρα σύνολο 23 και υπήρχε και το τμήμα το δικό μου, το οποίο στήριζε την ομάδα για να βγει το αποτέλεσμα. Πιστέψτε το ότι παρόλο που ήταν το 2011, ήταν η πρώτη φορά που άρχισε πλέον η κάθε κοινότητα να νιώθει την ανάγκη να προσλάβει κάποιο πολεοδόμο να εκφράσει τις θέσεις της, προηγουμένως απλά ερχόταν για να συζητήσαν απλώς για τις ζώνες. Εκείνη την περίοδο, θυμάμαι πολύ καλά ότι αρχίσαμε να παραμερίζουμε αυτόν τον τρόπο σκέψης. Είχαμε πάρει το σχέδιο ανάπτυξης, το αναλύσαμε σε όλους για να καταλάβουν τι γίνεται και τους ζητήσαμε να προβληματιστούν, να το μελετήσουν και να αναθεωρήσουν όποιες σκέψεις είχαν κάνει προηγουμένως βάση των πολεοδομικών κριτηρίων. Σίγουρα, το 2011, το συμβούλιο ήρθε αρκετά βελτιωμένο αλλά και πάλι η νοοτροπία ήταν τέτοια που φάνηκε ότι υπερίσχυε το παλιό καθεστώς. Γι' αυτό ένα θέμα που καταθέσαμε τότε στο εργαστήριο που είχε γίνει εδώ ήταν κατά πόσο το συμβούλιο θα έπρεπε να συνεχίσει έτσι ή όχι. Διαφάνηκε ότι έπρεπε να σταματήσει την εργασία αυτή, διότι ο τρόπος που δούλευε είχε και πολλά νομικά κενά, με αποτέλεσμα να ακυρωθούν πολλά τοπικά σχέδια λόγω της λειτουργία του κοινού συμβουλίου. Το πρώτο πρακτικό πρόβλημα ήταν ότι ήταν τοπικοί κάτοικοι, δηλαδή είχαν προσωπικό συμφέρον, άμεσο. Αυτό για να ξεπεραστεί κάναμε κάποιες τροποποιήσεις της νομοθεσίας μέχρι δεύτερου βαθμού, αλλά και πάλι δεν είναι η νοοτροπία που είχαμε παλιά. Όπως, όταν αγόραζε κάποιος από το χωριό το γνώριζε όλο το χωριό και μπορεί να τους έκανε και πάρτι, ήταν τέτοια κατάσταση. Τώρα, ακόμη και ο αδερφός σου καμία φορά δεν γνωρίζεις τι αγόρασε και τι πούλησε, άρα υπάρχει μεγάλο ρίσκο. Πέραν των προσωπικών συμφερόντων που έχεις, διότι το να έχω μόνο το σπίτι μου είναι ένα γεγονός, αλλά το να έχω και άλλη περιουσία όμως αρχίζουν πλέον «εσύ δεν θα παρευρεθείς σε αυτή την συνεδρία», ο άλλος το ίδιο, οπότε δεν λειτουργεί σωστά το σύστημα. Λοιπόν, βρήκαμε ότι για αυτούς τους δύο βασικούς λόγους ότι θα ήταν προτιμότερο οι ομάδες αυτές των τοπικών αρχών, εφόσον είχαν το δικαίωμα και εκείνοι να κάνουν τις γραπτές παραστάσεις, ας φέρνανε τον μελετητή τους και να τις κάνουν εμπειριστατωμένες, συμμετείχαν στις δημόσιες ακροάσεις και προσθέσαμε στο τέλος ακόμα ένα στοιχείο, να μπορούν να παρευρίσκονται στις τελευταίες συνεδριάσεις. Είχε ενδιάμεσα κάποιες συνεδρίες του πολεοδομικού συμβουλίου που είχε διπλό σκοπό. Από την μία το πολεοδομικό συμβούλιο να πάρει κάποια στοιχεία που χρειαζόταν, και από την άλλη εκείνοι να εκφράσουν με τον τρόπο που ήθελαν αυτά που ήθελαν να πουν, ούτως ώστε από

πρώτο χέρι να υπάρχει αυτή η μεταφορά των επιθυμιών. Αντιλαμβάνεστε ότι πλέον δεν θα ήταν μόνοι τους να συζητούν και να τα μαγειρεύουν όπως θέλουν. Διότι το τι επικρατούσε, να το πω ξεκάθαρα, ήταν «εάν με βοηθήσεις να βάλω εγώ αυτά μέσα στην ζώνη θα σε βοηθήσω να βάλεις και εσύ εκείνα». Δηλαδή χωρίς να το θέλουν ερχόταν από μόνο του, ενώ με το να είναι μέσα στο πολεοδομικό συμβούλιο πλέον ανέβαινε το επίπεδο, διότι έπρεπε πλέον να εκπροσωπηθείς από κάποιον αρμόδιο για τα θέματα πολεοδόμων, θα έπρεπε να μιλήσεις επιστημονικά και θα έπρεπε η εισήγησή σου να είναι πλήρες δικαιολογημένη. Οπότε με αυτό τον τρόπο βλέπουμε ότι βελτιώθηκε σημαντικά το θέμα. Έχουμε κάνει ακόμη μία δοκιμή με τον δημοκρατικό διάλογο, είχε γίνει πρώτα μια δοκιμή στα κρασοχώρια της Λεμεσού, και μέσα στην παρουσίαση που είχα κάνει τότε για την συμμετοχή του κοινού, είχα εξηγήσει την διαδικασία που είχε γίνει σε γενικές γραμμές, διότι ήταν πολύ δουλειά, και το πώς συμμετείχε το κοινό και φάνηκε ποια ήταν τα πλεονεκτήματα και τα μειονεκτήματα. Το βασικό πλεονέκτημα ήταν ότι το κοινό συμμετείχε μέσα από μία διαδικασία, που το ίδιο αποτέλεσμα παρήγαγε, δηλαδή το ζούσε. Πλέον αντιλαμβανόταν πως θα έβγαινε το αποτέλεσμα και ότι δεν υπήρχε λόγος μετά να έχουμε τον μεγάλο αριθμό ενστάσεων. Πρώτα απ' όλα, τους γινόταν επεξήγηση ο τρόπος που γινόταν με τις διάφορες ερωτήσεις για να εκφράσουν την άποψή τους, να επιλέξουν τις περισσότερες ερωτήσεις. Διότι φανήκαν ότι κάποια θέματα ήταν πολύ γενικού ενδιαφέροντος από κάποια άλλα που δόθηκε περισσότερη βάση. Όμως το αρνητικό του είναι ότι θέλει αρκετό χρόνο, αυτό είναι το βασικό πρόβλημα σε γενικές γραμμές.

Researcher: Αυτές ήταν δοκιμές, δεν είναι αυτό που γίνεται γενικά στο σύστημα.

Νομίζετε ότι αυτές τις δοκιμές που κάνατε θα πρέπει να πραγματοποιηθούν στο σύστημα;

Expert 4: Μιλάτε για το τελευταίο θέμα τώρα;, διότι στο προηγούμενο ήδη κάναμε την αλλαγή.

Researcher: Ναι, κάνατε την αλλαγή, αλλά το τελευταίο;

Expert 4: Είναι γεγονός ότι μας προβληματίζει. Από την μία είναι πιο αποτελεσματική δουλειά χωρίς αμφισβήτηση αλλά από την άλλη δεν υπάρχει αυτός ο χρόνος. Είναι και ήδη μετά το 2013 που το τμήμα έχει στριμωχτεί πάρα πολύ, είναι τόσα πολλά καθήκοντα για τον κάθε υπάλληλο που ήταν δύσκολο. Δεν ξέρω με το που θα γίνει η μεταρρύθμιση, πλέον εκεί θα φύγει ένα μεγάλο βάρος από το τμήμα, το οποίο ουσιαστικά θα αφορά τον έλεγχο της ανάπτυξης. Οπότε σε θέματα κεντρικής κυβέρνησης που θα πρέπει να ασχοληθούμε με θέματα πολιτικής, θέματα στρατηγικής κτλ, ίσως με αυτό τον τρόπο να έχουμε τον χρόνο να δώσουμε κάποια καλύτερα αποτελέσματα. Τώρα εκείνο που μένει είναι κατά πόσο τα θέματα των τοπικών σχεδίων αναλαμβάνουν οι επαρχιακές. Είναι η νοοτροπία, ο καθένας θέλει να λειτουργεί όπως θέλει.

Researcher: Κάνουμε αλλαγή όποτε θέλουμε.

Expert 4: Και είχαμε μείνει;

Researcher: Είχαμε μείνει, μου είπατε αν τα τοπικά σχέδια θα πάνε πίσω στα επαρχιακά, αν θα έχετε τον χρόνο.

Expert 4: Και εξαρτάται αν αυτά τα τοπικά σχέδια πλέον, αν θα πάνε στους ... Όχι δεν είναι επαρχιακά πλέον, είναι ανά επαρχία θα υπάρχει συμβούλιο, θα υπάρχει μια ομάδα, η οποία θα αποτελείται από εκλεγμένους για να αποφασίζουν. Όπως γίνεται στις άλλες χώρες που βασικά αποφασίζει η αρμόδια αρχή. Εδώ η Κύπρος επειδή έχει πολλούς δήμους και θα γίνει και η συμπλεγματοποίηση, έρχεσαι να δημιουργήσεις ανά επαρχία μια ομάδα εργασίας, η οποία θα επιλαμβάνεται των θεμάτων. Αυτό το νομοσχέδιο είναι στην Βουλή, συζητείται και περιμένουμε να δούμε που θα καταλήξει, και τι αρμοδιότητες θα δοθούν σε αυτά τα επαρχιακά συμπλέγματα.

Researcher: Και νομίζετε ότι έτσι θα πρέπει να γίνει; Είναι καλή ανάπτυξη για να πάνε τα σχέδια επαρχιακά;

Expert 4: Ο έλεγχος σίγουρα, διότι τον έλεγχο ακολουθείς τι λένε τα σχέδια ανάπτυξης, άρα εκεί είναι μια δουλειά που ερμηνεύεις και ακολουθείς χωρίς συζήτηση. Όσο αφορά τα σχέδια ανάπτυξης πιστεύω ότι και εκείνα πρέπει να πάνε εκεί, αφού αρχίσει να γίνεται κάποια ενημέρωση και να αρχίσει να έχει ένα πολεοδομικό υπόβαθρο και ενδιαφέρον το προσωπικό, το οποίο θα ασχοληθεί με αυτά τα θέματα. Σίγουρα θα στηρίζεται από πολεοδόμους, δηλαδή όπως προνοεί η νομοθεσία θα υπάρχει μόνιμο προσωπικό που θα στηρίζει, και μάλιστα θα υπάρχει μόνιμο προσωπικό που θα στηρίζει και για τις αποφάσεις στις πολεοδομικές αιτήσεις όχι μόνο στα σχέδια. Αυτό όμως το ξέρουμε πολύ καλά ότι υπάρχει σήμερα στους τέσσερις βασικούς μεγάλους δήμους και βλέπουμε όμως ότι πολλές αποφάσεις που παίρνονται, επειδή αποφασίζει το συμβούλιο τις παίρνουν με τα δικά τους τα κριτήρια. Το θέμα είναι να αρχίζουν αυτοί, πλέον, που αποφασίζουν στο συμβούλιο να επιζητούν την άποψη των αρμοδίων, των πολεοδόμων, να τα ζυγίζουν τα πράγματα, να λαμβάνουν και τους υπόλοιπους παράγοντες υπόψη που χρειάζονται (οικονομικά, κοινωνικά), διότι αυτά όλα μπαίνουν στο στρατηγικό σχεδιασμό και μεταφέρονται και στα τοπικά σχέδια. Άρα πρέπει βάση αυτών να καταλήγουν το τι θα κάνουν και ως αποτέλεσμα βλέπετε το δεύτερο θέμα που συζητήσαμε το Urban Sprawl, που το 2011 η όλη σκέψη και του πολεοδομικού συμβουλίου και των πολεοδομικών αρχών που συμμετείχαν ήταν πώς να επεκταθούν, Άρα δεν είναι το μοναδικό κριτήριο το ότι όσο επεκτείνομαι βάζω περισσότερη γη στο όριο ανάπτυξης και άρα αυξάνω τις τιμές και μπορώ να κτίσω. Αυτό δεν είναι η λύση, το μεγαλύτερο πρόβλημα έγινε το 2011. Για παράδειγμα, στο 2003 που ήταν η προηγούμενη τροποποίηση στην Λευκωσία, είχε επεκταθεί κατά 93 εκτάρια. Ενώ το 2011 είχε επεκταθεί κατά 930 εκτάρια. Δηλαδή μιλούμε για τεράστια έκταση και μετά που έγιναν οι ενστάσεις επεκτάθηκε ακόμη περισσότερο. Άρα αν είναι τέτοιους σχεδιασμούς που θέλουμε, εγώ το είχα πει τότε ότι τα προβλήματα είναι πάρα πολλά, οι κοινότητες έρχονταν και έλεγαν μα εφόσον δεν έχουμε προσπέλαση άρα και αυτή η γη που έχουμε δεν μπορούμε να την αναπτύξουμε. Άρα θα μας δώσετε περισσότερη γη, ούτως ώστε κάποια από αυτά να έχουν προσπέλαση για να μπορούμε να κάνουμε ανάπτυξη. Ήταν πολύ επιπόλαιη η σκέψη, τότε ξεκινήσαμε να μελετούμε τα πολεοδομικά εργαλεία, πριν το 2011, από το 2008 όταν μελετούσαμε τα σχέδια ανάπτυξης και λέγαμε ότι πρέπει να εφαρμοστεί αστικός αναδασμός, αυτό αρχίσαμε να το μελετούμε από το 2001 και είναι στην Βουλή από τον Γενάρη του 2010. Είχαμε πει ότι πρέπει να προχωρήσουμε νομοσχέδιο που αφορά την μεταφορά αναπτυξιακών δικαιωμάτων, ούτως ώστε να απλοποιηθούν πολλές καταστάσεις και επιπρόσθετα θα έπρεπε επιτέλους να μπει αυτό το τέλος πολεοδομικής αναβάθμισης. Δηλαδή ο πολίτης δεν μπορεί να επωφελείται από το κράτος και να έρχεται μετά το κράτος και όχι μόνο του είχε δώσει ένα σημαντικό όφελος χωρίς να κάνει κάτι ο πολίτης και κάποιοι πολίτες το πήραν όχι όλοι. Να έρχεται μετά να κάνει υποδομές, να δημιουργεί όλες τις συνθήκες για να υπάρχει σωστή λειτουργία αυτών των μεμονωμένων αναπτύξεων που ουσιαστικά επιβαρύνουν σημαντικά το όλο σύστημα. Από την άλλη σκεφτείτε πως θα λειτουργήσουν τα Μέσα Δημόσιων Μεταφορών, δηλαδή τι ωράρια θα κρατήσουν, τι διαδρομές και τι θα γίνεται, δεν λειτουργούν. Άρα θα πρέπει να βρούμε για την Κύπρο το όπτιμο. Δεν θα έλεγα ότι πρέπει να κάνουμε τους ουρανοξύστες, αλλά και πάλι όχι όλο αυτό το sprawl που έχει γίνει. Αλλά μια κατάσταση που να έχουν λογικά ύψη τα κτήρια, να είναι μαζεμένη για να μπορέσει να λειτουργήσει σωστά. Οπότε, γι' αυτό είχα σκεφτεί μετά το 2014, που το είχαμε κάνει αυτό, και αφού είδαμε τα αποτελέσματα των τελευταίων σχεδίων και είδαμε ότι έπρεπε να πάμε σε αυτό το θέμα. Πράγματι είχε προβληματίσει, δηλαδή τα εργαστήρια που είχαμε κάνει ήταν επιλεγμένα στον κατάλληλο χρόνο για τρέχοντα

θέματα, ούτως ώστε να είναι βοηθητικά. Τώρα μένουν τα πολεοδομικά εργαλεία, δηλαδή ο αστικός αναδασμός που είπαμε, υπάρχουν διάφορες νοοτροπίες.

Researcher: Αυτό το εργαστήριο τέλειωσε τώρα;

Expert 4: Ναι τέλειωσε το 2014.

Researcher: Έχετε κάτι γραμμένο, βρήκα κάτι μικρό.

Expert 4: Έχω όλες τις ομιλίες να σου τις δώσω αν θέλεις.

Researcher: Βρήκα κάτι στο διαδίκτυο, αλλά όχι πάρα πολύ.

Expert 4: Αν έχετε usb να σας περάσω οτιδήποτε έχω σε ομιλία. Αυτό ήταν βασικά. Αν θες κάτι να με ρωτήσεις.

Researcher: Βρήκατε κάτι για τα κριτήρια που χρησιμοποιούν οι δήμοι για να πάρουν απόφαση, τι νομίζετε;

Expert 4: Δεν είναι τόσο πολεοδομικά, αυτό είναι το πρόβλημα ενώ εκεί έπρεπε να είναι η βαρύτητα. Ξέρετε είναι εκλεγμένοι, οπότε θέλουν τους ψήφους, θέλουν να ικανοποιήσουν. Αυτό υπάρχει παντού δεν είναι μόνο στην Κύπρο.

Researcher: Και δεν έχει κανένα κριτήριο για όλους τους δήμους;

Expert 4: Όχι είναι τα σχέδια ανάπτυξης που πρέπει να ακολουθήσουν όσον αφορά τις άδειες. Όσο αφορά τα τοπικά σχέδια εκεί ο καθένας ρίχνει.

Researcher: Ναι, μου το ξαναείπανε αυτό.

Expert 4: Αλλά τα κριτήρια ποια είναι; Είναι το να έχει μία πόλη, ένα όριο ανάπτυξης, το οποίο να μπορεί να λειτουργήσει. Σκεφτείτε ένα τρίγωνο στο οποίο έχεις από πάνω τον άνθρωπο, από την μία το κτιστό περιβάλλον και από την άλλη το φυσικό περιβάλλον και μέσα στην μέση έχεις την βιώσιμη ανάπτυξη. Πρέπει αυτά όλα να ταιριάξουν, ούτως ώστε ο άνθρωπος να ζει σε ένα περιβάλλον που τον ευχαριστεί. Σκεφτείτε ακόμη ένα άλλο τρίγωνο, στο οποίο μέσα στη μέση είναι ο άνθρωπος, από πάνω να έχει την κατοικία του, από την μια την εργασία και από την άλλη την αναψυχή, δηλαδή αυτά αρχίζουν να σου λένε ότι πρέπει ο άνθρωπος πρέπει να έχει ένα περιβάλλον με υγεία, καλές συνθήκες διαβίωσης, όπως προσφέρω αναμένω να πάρω. Άρα όλα αυτά τα πράγματα για να τα πετύχεις πρέπει να δεις, όπως είπαμε προηγουμένως με τα δημόσια Μέσα Μαζικής Μεταφοράς για να λειτουργήσουν θα πρέπει να μελετηθεί. Δηλαδή εγώ αν θα κάνω τις υποδομές είναι πολύ πιο απλό όταν είναι συγκεντρωμένη η πόλη για να κάνω τέτοιες υποδομές, ενώ αυτό δεν το σκέφτεται ο άλλος, σου λέει εγώ θέλω να επεκτείνω, θα δώσω νέες ευκαιρίες, οι αξίες που παίρνουν είναι τρομερές και στο τέλος δεν προσφέρουν τίποτε αυτοί οι άνθρωποι στα έξοδα των υποδομών. Οπότε έρχεσαι και λες γι' αυτό προωθώ το νομοσχέδιο για το τέλος πολεοδομικής αναβάθμισης, ούτως ώστε μέρος αυτών των εξόδων να πληρώνονται από αυτούς που ήδη επωφεληθήκαν, διότι δεν επωφελείται όλος ο κόσμος, κάποιιοι επωφελούνται.

Researcher: Δεν είναι ούτε εύκολο ούτε για τον Δήμο να μετρήσουν για κάθε σχέδιο πως επηρεάζει την πόλη.

Expert 4: Κοιτάξτε, επειδή γίνονται μελέτες, ας πούμε, ξέρουμε ότι πλέον είναι υποχρεωτικό να κάνεις περιβαλλοντική μελέτη, ρωτάς αν χρειάζεται ή όχι και την κάνεις. Αυτή είναι μια μελέτη για το περιβάλλον. Το αν εγώ για παράδειγμα δώσω κάποιες εμπορικές περιοχές εξωτερικά και αυτές θα επηρεάσουν το κέντρο, και ήδη το επηρέασαν σημαντικά, και αυτό το πράγμα δεν πρέπει να το αφήσω εκ των υστέρων να το δω, αλλά όταν κάνω την μελέτη να προβληματιστώ και να δω αν χρειάζομαι μελέτη από ειδικούς για να δω τι επιπτώσεις θα φέρει στις υφιστάμενες εμπορικές δραστηριότητες ή το κυκλοφοριακό, και πάλι θα κάνω μία μελέτη να δω πως θα το επηρεάσει. Μόνο η περιβαλλοντική μελέτη είναι υποχρεωτική. Οι άλλες υποχρεωτικές είναι στο στάδιο της χορήγησης μιας άδειας. Για παράδειγμα, όταν έγινε το mall για να πάρει την άδεια έκανε μελέτες για περιβαλλοντικές επιπτώσεις, εμπορικές επιπτώσεις και κυκλοφοριακές επιπτώσεις, το απαιτείς εκεί. Αλλά όταν κάνεις ένα σχέδιο ανάπτυξης επαφίεται το υπόλοιπο μέρος, ανάλογα με τα κριτήρια που θα χρησιμοποιήσει το τι βοηθήματα θα φέρει. Και να μην ξεχνούμε ότι τα

τοπικά σχέδια περνούν όλα από το πολεοδομικό συμβούλιο, οπότε εκεί στο πολεοδομικό συμβούλιο θα πρέπει να είναι τέτοια άτομα, που το κάθε υπουργείο θα στείλει, που θα έχουν την γνώση και να αντιλαμβάνονται ή τουλάχιστο να παντρεύουν με κάποιο τρόπο τις θέσεις και τις γνώσεις που έχουν στο Υπουργείο τους ή στον οργανισμό που βρίσκονται (ΕΤΕΚ κτλ) μαζί με το πολεοδομικό μέρος, να μπορούν να τα συζητήσουν αυτά τα δυο. Διαφορετικά ο καθένας θα λέει για παράδειγμα, είμαι στο Υπουργείο Γεωργίας και μελετούμε περιοχές αναδασμού, αν πω όμως αυτού που θα κάνω αναδασμό ότι δεν μπορεί να κάνει κατοικία, δεν θα δεχτεί, άρα δεν θα μπορώ να κάνω αναδασμό, άρα και εγώ θα πρέπει να επιμένω ότι θα έχω και εκεί μεμονωμένη κατοικία. Αυτός ο τρόπος σκέψης είναι πολύ μονόπλευρος, ενώ κανονικά για τον αναδασμό θα έπρεπε να είναι άλλα τα κριτήρια του και θα έπρεπε να δει πως θα αποδυναμωθεί γενικά η μεμονωμένη κατοικία. Το βλέπει ότι όλοι θα πρέπει να εξυπηρετήσουμε τους σκοπούς που έχουμε ως Υπουργείου, ούτως ώστε να μπορούμε να δραστηριοποιηθούμε καλύτερα χωρίς να βλέπει το ευρύτερο Πολεοδομικό. Αυτό συμβαίνει σε πολλά ευρύτερα με τα μέλη, το οποίο έχει βελτιωθεί σε κάποιο βαθμό.

Researcher: Νομίζω αυτά. Έχω μια γενική τελευταία ερώτηση. Ξέρω ότι δεν μένετε Λεμεσό πια, αλλά μείνατε εκεί και βεβαίως έχουν γίνει πολλά στη Λεμεσό πρόσφατα. Τι νομίζετε γενικά γι' αυτό που έγινε στη Λεμεσό, η μαρίνα, το παλαιό λιμάνι, το παραλιακό, το κέντρο, το γραμμικό πάρκο, αν είναι γενικά επιθετικό ή όχι. Και αν μπορώ να σας ρωτήσω για τις τρεις προτεραιότητες για το μέλλον της Λεμεσού.

Expert 4: Λοιπόν, στην μαρίνα έχω πάει. Ξέρετε ότι μεγάλα έργα τα επιδιώκουμε στην Κύπρο, όχι μόνο πολεοδομικά. Είναι αυτό που λέμε ότι πρέπει να το δεις σαν πακέτο. Η οικονομία της Κύπρου χρειάζεται ενίσχυση, οπότε μέσα στο στρατηγικό σχεδιασμό σίγουρα μπαίνουν και οι μαρίνες. Ειδικά για την μαρίνα όπως έχει γίνει στη Λεμεσό, το βλέπω θετικά προσωπικά. Δεν ξέρω αν υπάρχει ένα σημείο που το μελετήσατε περισσότερο, διότι εγώ πήγα μία δύο φορές περαστικός. Τώρα όσο αφορά το παραλιακό μέτωπο, ναι έχει αλλάξει σημαντικά, ειδικά ο πεζόδρομος. Πρέπει να σου πω ότι πριν 10 μέρες, περνούσα από τον παραλιακό και σταμάτησα να δω τι γίνεται έτσι από ενδιαφέρον, έχει άλλη ζωή πλέον. Βλέπεις κόσμο να περπατά πλέον, το οποίο πολεοδομικά είναι πολύ θετικό, βλέπεις κόσμο να κολυμπά το πρωί, δηλαδή εκεί είχε μια περιοχή ειδικά που δεν κολυμπούσε ο κόσμος, δεν προσφερόταν ενώ τώρα προσφέρεται για κολύμπι. Άρα μέσα στα βασικά πολεοδομικά στοιχεία είναι να αξιοποιείς τον χώρο, όπως είπαμε προηγουμένως με τα τρίγωνα, για τον άνθρωπο που να ισοζυγίζεις το κτιστό περιβάλλον με το φυσικό με τρόπο που να έχεις την βιώσιμη ανάπτυξη. Τα βλέπω πολύ θετικά. Τώρα, το κέντρο που είπατε, συζητείτε λίγο ίσως με το πανεπιστήμιο που έγινε στο κέντρο. Εκεί έχει γίνει μια έντονη δραστηριότητα, και σίγουρα επιζητούμε να έχουμε κάποιες δραστηριότητες στο κέντρο, αλλά να έχουν ένα επίπεδο λογικού επηρεασμού. Δηλαδή, και στο σχέδιο περιοχής του κέντρου Λευκωσίας συζητούσαμε τότε, όταν ήμουν στο κοινό συμβούλιο, πως θα δραστηριοποιήσουμε το κέντρο της Λευκωσίας περισσότερο, το οποίο είχε αποδυναμωθεί σε μεγάλο βαθμό και σίγουρα ένα από τα σημεία ήταν μέρος του πανεπιστημίου, η αρχιτεκτονική σχολή για παράδειγμα, να ενδυναμωθεί στο κέντρο. Είναι διαφορετικό να βάλεις κάποιες βασικές σχολές στο κέντρο και είναι διαφορετικό να βάλεις ολόκληρο ΤΕΠΑΚ. Νομίζω εδώ θέλει λίγο προβληματισμό. Εσείς πως το είδατε;

Researcher: Γενικά, πήγα και είδα τις αλλαγές στη Λεμεσό. Δεν ξέρω αν προβληματίζει το πανεπιστήμιο, διότι δεν είμαι εκεί αρκετά συχνά για να ξέρω αν είναι πάντα μόνο φοιτητές.

Expert 4: Ναι, δεν έζησα το πανεπιστήμιο, δεν έχω πάει κέντρο για να έχω προσωπική άποψη, αλλά τα άλλα δύο που σας έχω πει έχω περάσει και τα έχω δει. Αλλά τα βλέπετε επιθετικά εσείς;

Researcher: Ναι και το Παλιό λιμάνι.

Expert 4: Θα έπρεπε να γίνουν πιο προσεγμένα.

Researcher: Ναι, το παλιό λιμάνι και η μαρίνα έχει κάποιες λεπτομέρειες που νομίζω θα μπορούσαν να βελτιωθούν, να είναι πολύ καλύτερα και έχουν χάσει μία ευκαιρία από πολεοδομική πλευρά. Θα μπορούσαν να ενώσουν το παλιό λιμάνι με την μαρίνα πολύ καλύτερα, αφού δεν έχει vista, δεν μπορείς να δεις από το παραλιακό το παλιό λιμάνι και από το παλιό λιμάνι την μαρίνα και δεν έχει συσχετισμό με το κέντρο. Νομίζω πολεοδομικά θα μπορούσε να είναι καλύτερο. Έχασαν μία ευκαιρία.

Expert 4: Έχεις υπόψη σου το σχέδιο περιοχής που γίνεται εκεί. Πάλι δεν ασχολήθηκα, αλλά ξέρω ότι το παλιό λιμάνι και η περιοχή προς το νέο λιμάνι, εκεί γίνεται μία σημαντική μελέτη ακριβώς για να λειτουργήσει αυτό που λέτε, η σύνδεση. Αλλά εξακολουθεί η σύνδεση να μην υπάρχει με το παλιό λιμάνι και την μαρίνα. Δεν το ξέρω αν το έχουν μέσα.

Researcher: Είδα τα σχέδια και είχαν γέφυρα, η οποία ήταν ευθεία από τον παραλιακό και δεν το έκαναν τελικά.

Expert 4: Μάθατε τον λόγο;

Researcher: Όχι, δεν έμαθα τον λόγο.

Expert 4: Δεν το γνωρίζω ούτε εγώ.

Researcher: Είναι κρίμα νομίζω, διότι έκαναν λίγο ανάλυση εδώ.

Expert 4: Πολεοδομικά πρέπει να υπάρχει συνέχεια. Δεν μπορεί να τελειώνει κάπου και μετά να βγαίνεις εκτός και να ξαναμπάνεις. Και όταν λες παραλιακό μέτωπο και έχεις αυτές τις σημαντικές αναπτύξεις πρέπει να τις συνδέεις μεταξύ τους, δεν υπάρχει αμφιβολία για αυτό.

Researcher: Και γι' αυτό σκέφτομαι μήπως δεν υπάρχει καλός τρόπος για να υπολογίσουμε πως ένα σχέδιο επηρεάζει το άλλο, πως το ένα συνδέεται με το άλλο όταν κάνουν τις μελέτες. Έχει τρόπους σίγουρα.

Expert 4: Κοίτα, εάν ιεραρχήσεις τα σχέδια και αρχίσεις από το στρατηγικό σχεδιασμό, που θα κάνω τις μαρίνες; Αρχίζει και μπαίνει ένα σημείο. Που θα κάνω, εάν θα κάνω νέα λιμάνια, αεροδρόμια ή οτιδήποτε. Μετά αρχίζεις να πηγαίνεις στο περιφερειακό και αρχίζεις πλέον να βλέπεις σε πιο αναλυτικό βαθμό αυτά τα πράγματα. Όταν θα πας στο τοπικό σχέδιο, αυτά θα τα λάβεις υπόψη και μετά όταν θα πας στο σχέδιο περιοχής εκεί είναι που θα μπει στη λεπτομέρεια, αλλά στο τοπικό σχέδιο θα τα συνδέσεις αυτά τα πράγματα. Διότι, εάν δεν είναι ενωμένα στο σχέδιο περιοχής και αν δεν περιλαμβάνει όλη την περιοχή σαν σχέδιο περιοχής, τότε πρέπει να πας στο τοπικό σχέδιο για να τα λάβεις υπόψη πως θα δουλέψουν. Αυτά τα πράγματα, η ιεράρχηση δυστυχώς δεν υπάρχει, δηλαδή έχουμε το σχέδιο για την νήσο που έγινε το 1972, δεν λειτούργησε λόγω της Τουρκικής Εισβολής και τελικά τι γίνεται; Όταν θα κάνουμε ένα τοπικό σχέδιο, για παράδειγμα το τοπικό σχέδιο Λευκωσίας, θα πρέπει να κάνω και τον στρατηγικό σχεδιασμό, δηλαδή θα τρέξω να βρω ότι στοιχεία έχω, τα οποία θα με βοηθήσουν για να καταλήξω στο τοπικό σχέδιο. Άρα η δουλειά που γίνεται είναι τεράστια, ενώ αν είχα τα άλλα σχέδια θα είχα τη βάση, θα είχα την καθοδήγηση και θα πήγαινα πλέον στις λεπτομέρειες του τόπου που θα ασχοληθώ. Υπάρχουν αυτές οι πρακτικές δυσκολίες, θέλει χρόνο. Είναι και αυτό ένα άλλο θέμα που ζητήσαμε για να συζητήσουμε με το UKM σε LAB και κάπου δεν έχει δραστηριοποιηθεί, ούτε πέρσι ούτε φέτος σε εργαστήρια, υπάρχουν και κάποια οικονομικά προβλήματα, οπότε έμειναν πίσω. Αλλά παρατηρήθηκε ότι ό,τι συζητούμε το βελτιώνουμε.

Researcher: Προτεραιότητες για την Λεμεσό σαν πρώην κάτοικος, σαν επισκέπτης, κατά την γνώμη σας; Για όλη την πόλη, όχι μόνο παραλιακά.

Expert 4: Το σημαντικό έργο που έγινε ήταν η παράκαμψη που πήγαινες Πάφο, αυτό βοήθησε πάρα πολύ, αυτό ήταν πολύ σημαντικό έργο. Ένα θέμα που συζητείται τελευταία είναι τα ψηλά κτήρια και ήδη δώσαμε κάποιες άδειες. Πιστεύω ότι πρέπει να ψηλώσουν τα ύψη στις πόλεις, να μην μείνουν αυτά που έχουμε και το σε κάποιες επιλεγμένες περιοχές να υπάρχουν τα ψηλά κτήρια θα ήταν πολύ καλό.

Researcher: Καλό θα ήταν να ήταν παραλιακά ή όχι. Διότι νομίζω έχει μεγάλη συζήτηση επειδή γίνονται παραλιακά.

Expert 4: Κοιτάξετε, είναι εκεί το ενδιαφέρον, γι' αυτό είναι εκεί οικονομικά πολλά συμφέροντα. Κάποια να είναι παραλιακά, εγώ θα το έβλεπα θετικά. Από την μία λες να μην αποκόπτω την θέα των άλλων πίσω, αλλά κάποια συγκροτήματα με ψηλά κτήρια επιβάλλονται πιστεύω. Τα υπόλοιπα πιστεύω πρέπει να βρίσκονται σε σημεία landmarks, σε σημεία καθοριστικά. Θα μπορούσε στην είσοδο που μπαίνεις της Λεμεσού, στα round about κτλ., να έχεις κάποια σημεία να φαίνονται, να προβάλλονται, αλλά πρέπει να λάβεις και άλλους παράγοντες υπόψη, τους επηρεασμούς που θα έχουν στα υπόλοιπα κτήρια. Είναι μεμονωμένα όμως, δεν είναι κάτι συγκεντρωμένο που θα πεις για βιοκλιματικές μελέτες κτλ.

Researcher: Νομίζω, γενικά υπάρχει ένα άλλο παράπονο, ότι όλη η ανάπτυξη γίνεται παραλιακά. Ξέρω ότι υπάρχουν τα συμφέροντα. Νομίζετε ότι θα πρέπει να γίνει κάτι περισσότερο στο υπόλοιπο της πόλης. Μου λένε ότι γίνονται πράγματα, αλλά σαν επισκέπτης συνήθως βλέπουμε το παραλιακό.

Expert 4: Όταν ήμουν τότε στην Λεμεσό η ζωή το βράδυ ήταν περισσότερο στην Μακαρίου. Εκεί ήταν γεμάτο καφέ και να μην ξεχνούμε ότι δεν είχαν όλοι αυτοκίνητο τότε, πήγαιναν περπατητοί και ήταν ευκολία και κάποιιοι που είχαν αυτοκίνητο πήγαιναν τις βόλτες παραλιακά. Η παραλία μετά άρχισε να δυναμώνει σιγά σιγά την νύχτα, ήταν το πρωί πιο πολύ και μετά άρχισαν να γίνονται όλα εκείνα τα κέντρα. Οπότε χωρίς να το θέλουμε μεταφέρθηκε έντονα στην παραλία, ήρθε από μόνο του. Σίγουρα, όπως το θέτετε θέλει ενδυνάμωση ο υπόλοιπος χώρος. Είναι ορισμένες περιοχές που για ορισμένους λόγους θέλεις να τις κρατήσεις, να επιβιώσουν και για σκοπούς ασφάλειας. Δηλαδή εκεί που έχεις διάφορα καταστήματα και έβλεπες ότι το βράδυ και δεν λειτουργούσαν, υπήρχαν τα κέντρα αναψυχής και έδιναν μία ζωή. Αυτό πρέπει να γίνει προσπάθεια για αυτό να κρατηθεί. Για να γίνει προσπάθεια πρέπει να πείσεις τον πολίτη ότι είναι καλύτερα να έρθει εδώ. Άρα είναι τέτοια έργα που θα γίνουν, τα οποία δεν είναι μόνο από τον ιδιώτη, αλλά από το ίδιο το κράτος για να κρατήσει εκεί. Είναι αυτό που συζητούσαμε, ένα παράδειγμα, για το κέντρο της Λευκωσίας, για το σχέδιο περιοχής. Προβληματιστήκαμε έντονα, διότι προτιμούν να πάνε στο mall παρά να έρθουν στο κέντρο της Λευκωσίας και λέμε να δούμε τα θετικά που τραβούν τον κόσμο να πάει εκεί. Έχει ένα συγκεντρωμένο παρκινγκ να παρκάρει άνετα, έχει μία ποικιλία χρήσεων, θα ψωνίσει, θα φάει με την ησυχία του, σινεμά, σε ένα περιβάλλον που είναι δροσερό. Δηλαδή θα πάω το καλοκαίρι, οι γονείς έχουν μια ασφάλεια για τα παιδιά τους, θα τρέξουν εκεί και εδώ. Άρα σκεφτείτε στο κέντρο τι είναι το πιο δυνατό που μπορώ να κάνω για να τραβήξω τον πολίτη. Άρχισαν να γίνονται κάποιες σκέψεις, αν θα έπρεπε να γίνουν κάποιες μονοδρομήσεις και να χρησιμοποιήσουμε μέρος που ήδη χρησιμοποιείται από τα αυτοκίνητα για τον πεζό, να δημιουργηθεί ένα πράσινο περιβάλλον, ένας ωραίος διάδρομος να περπατάς. Ίσως τα κτήρια θα πρέπει να ενωθούν μεταξύ τους και να είναι λιγότερα τα κενά, να υπάρχει ένα σύστημα ψεκασμού για το καλοκαίρι, air conditioning, και μήπως οι χρήσεις που θα αρχίσουν θα είναι τέτοιες που θα είναι σε συγκεντρωμένο χώρο, να βρίσκει όλες τις χρήσεις που θέλει, μπορεί να θέλει το πάρκο τους να πάει να ξεκουραστεί κτλ. Δηλαδή, οι προβληματισμοί έρχονται αφού μελετήσεις εκείνο που τραβά τον κόσμο στην άλλη πλευρά και τι είναι εκείνο που θα πρέπει να κάνεις εσύ, ούτως ώστε να προσφέρεις κάτι περισσότερο και να προβληματιστεί ο κόσμος και

να πει «εναλλακτική λύση, μπορώ να πάω και εκεί, αλλά θα πάω και κάποιες μέρες εδώ». Οπότε το ίδιο και στη Λεμεσό, θέλει μελέτη και προσοχή.

A3.8 Conversation 5

Researcher: Μπορείτε να περιγράψετε με μια μικρή περίληψη τι γίνεται όταν κάνετε το τοπικό σχέδιο, ξέρω ότι τώρα το κάνουν κάθε 5 χρόνια. Τι γίνεται, ποιος ξεκινά το σχέδιο, ποιος δουλεύει πάνω σε κάθε κεφάλαιο.

Expert 5: Τα τοπικά σχέδια απορρέουν από το νόμο περί πολεοδομίας, ο νόμος 90 του 72. Αυτά αναθεωρούνται κάθε 5 χρόνια. Υπάρχουν 2 δημοσιεύσεις, η πρώτη και η δεύτερη. Μεταξύ των 2 δημοσιεύσεων υπάρχει μια περίοδος 4 μηνών για ενστάσεις. Άρα, λέει ο νόμος ότι 7 χρόνια από την πρώτη δημοσίευση ή 5 χρόνια από τη δεύτερη, ότι είναι το πιο μικρό, συνήθως είναι 5-6 χρόνια. Ο νόμος λέει ότι μπορούν και έκτακτες δημοσιεύσεις όποτε θέλει ο υπουργός. Η διαδικασία είναι περίπου αυτή, σου έχω ένα copy. Δηλαδή γίνεται πρώτα μια έκθεση Αναθεώρησης ή έκθεση Εκπόνησης. Έκθεση Αναθεώρησης σημαίνει ότι υφίσταται ένα σχέδιο και θα το κάνουμε revision. Αυτό το κάνει ο Υπουργός. Τον βοηθούμε, κάνουμε την έκθεση και πάει στο Πολεοδομικό Συμβούλιο, που είναι το αρμόδιο σώμα. Αν είναι για πρώτη φορά, θα γίνει έκθεση Εκπόνησης και θα πάει κατευθείαν στο Πολεοδομικό Συμβούλιο. Πριν όμως πάει στο Πολεοδομικό Συμβούλιο, με βάση το νόμο υπάρχει το άρθρο 12Γ και 12Δ, 12Γ είναι απόψεις από το κοινό ή από οποιονδήποτε φορέα. Κάποιες από αυτές τις απόψεις για να διαμορφωθεί η έκθεση λαμβάνονται σίγουρα υπόψη και κάποιες από αυτές παρουσιάζονται σε δημόσια ακρόαση. Μετά θα τελειώσει η έκθεση, θα δημοσιευτεί και θα πάει στο Πολεοδομικό Συμβούλιο. Το Πολεοδομικό συμβούλιο θα κάνει μια υποεπιτροπή, είναι 3 μέλη και θα αρχίσει να το συζητά. Προηγουμένως πήγαινε σε ένα common council το οποίο καταργήθηκε τώρα. Πάει στην επιτροπή, συζητά τα διάφορα θέματα κτλ, όταν τελειώσει πάει στο Πολεοδομικό Συμβούλιο. Εκεί θα αποφασίσουν ότι αυτό το σχέδιο θα πρέπει με βάση το νόμο για στρατηγική περιβαλλοντική εκτίμηση πρέπει να περάσει από αυτό το strategic. Θα γίνει, θα πάει στο τμήμα Περιβάλλοντος, το τμήμα περιβάλλοντος θα γνωμοδοτήσει πίσω, ok άλλαξε τα αυτά κτλ., πάλι στο Πολεοδομικό Συμβούλιο, κάνουν modifications, λέει όχι κτλ και μετά πάει στον Υπουργό και ο Υπουργός το δημοσιεύει, πρώτη δημοσίευση. Μετά είναι 4 μήνες ενστάσεις και υπάρχει επιτροπή ενστάσεων, τα μελετά, μετά ξαναπάει στον υπουργό και μετά πάει στο υπουργικό συμβούλιο, 2^η φορά στο υπουργικό συμβούλιο, δημοσιεύεται 2^η φορά και αυτό θεωρείται finalised for the next 5 years.

Researcher: Τι μελέτες ακριβώς γίνονται και πού, πότε;

Expert 5: Οι μελέτες που γίνονται δεν είναι standard, βασικά να το πούμε έτσι χονδρικά είναι ανάλυση-σύνθεση in general. Γίνονται πολλές διαβουλεύσεις consultations, με 40-45 τμήματα, ρωτούμε και μας απαντούν διάφορες απόψεις. Στην προηγούμενη revision, ήταν το 11-13, δοθήκαν 3-4 μελέτες έξω στον ιδιωτικό τομέα για να γίνουν ειδικές μελέτες, ήταν μια μελέτη για το social housing, μια άλλη για το εμπόριο, για τα κέντρα των πόλεων, νομίζω αυτές ήταν.

Researcher: Αυτές οι μελέτες είναι δημόσιες, μπορούμε να τις διαβάσουμε ή όχι;

Expert 5: είναι μέσα στους φακέλους, δεν είναι confidential, εάν θέλεις να ρίξεις μια ματιά. Κάποιες ήταν καλές, κάποιες μέτριες, κάποιες δεν ήταν καλές. Η άλλη μελέτη ήταν τα ψηλά κτίρια, 4 μελέτες. Λήφθηκε υπόψη στο πολεοδομικό συμβούλιο και αποφασίζει.

Researcher: όλα αυτά γίνονται εδώ, σε ποιο σημείο μιλάτε με τον Δήμο Λεμεσού;

Expert 5: Η εμπλοκή του δήμου καταγράφεται από το πρώτο στάδιο, από την έκθεση. Ο δήμος θα κάνει κοινοτικές συσκέψεις, να πάρει απόψεις και θα εκφέρει απόψεις για αυτή την έκθεση την πρώτη πριν τη διαμορφώσουμε θα μας δώσει απόψεις, είναι το intention, τι θα κάνουμε. Μετά όταν το public λάβει υπόψη θα έρθει και ο δήμος, οι τοπικές αρχές. Επίσης, μετά όταν αρχίσει συζητήσεις το Πολεοδομικό

Συμβούλιο η υποεπιτροπή, αυτή η πρώτη υποεπιτροπή, πάλι είναι οι τοπικές αρχές, τους καλεί η τριμελής επιτροπή και μετά στην ολομέλεια πάλι τους καλεί, που θα πάρει τα final decisions, δηλαδή είναι συνέχεια ανακατωμένη η τοπική αρχή.

Researcher: Είναι καλό το σύστημα κατά τη γνώμη σας, μου είπατε ότι οι μελέτες μπορεί να είναι καλές μπορεί να μην είναι και αν δεν έχετε καλές πληροφορίες

Expert 5: Σίγουρα δεν είναι τέλει το σύστημα, ειδικά αυτή η συζήτηση, η επιτροπή είναι 3 μέλη. Προηγουμένως ήταν το κοινό συμβούλιο. Στο κοινό συμβούλιο, ήταν η Πολεοδομία, οι τοπικές αρχές, εκπρόσωποι από όλες τις τοπικές αρχές, από τους περιβαλλοντιστές, τους βιομήχανους, τα social unions, διάφοροι, ήταν μεγάλο αντιπροσωπευτικό δείγμα διαφόρων groups, αλλά η αλήθεια είναι ότι οι τοπικές αρχές έκαναν σαν συμμαχίες μεταξύ τους και όταν υποβάλλαν αιτήματα, ο ένας υποστήριζε τα αιτήματα του άλλου και οπότε δε γινόταν και πολύ καλή ζύμωση. Φυσικά εξαρτάται και από τον πρόεδρο του Πολεοδομικού Συμβουλίου πως manipulate τα πράγματα γι' αυτό και αποφάσισε το κράτος και το κατάργησε. Δεν είμαι σίγουρος αν είναι καλό. Μπορούσε να ήταν πιο δομημένος ο διάλογος για να βγάζει αποτέλεσμα, έχω δει διάφορα συμβούλια και καλά και μέτρια και κακά. Τώρα αυτό με την 3μελή επιτροπή είναι ένα test, το οποίο τώρα γίνεται, ακόμα δεν έχει ολοκληρωθεί μια επιτροπή για να δούμε πως δουλεύει, νομίζω ότι αυτή η αντιπροσώπευση των διαφόρων ομάδων δεν είναι και η καλύτερη. Το άλλο, όσο και να προσπαθούμε εμείς με τα διαφορα κριτήρια που πάμε στο Πολεοδομικό Συμβούλιο, προσπαθούμε να είμαστε τεκμηριωμένοι, λαμβάνοντας υπόψη τι θα πει το κάθε τμήμα, αλλά δυστυχώς το Πολεοδομικό Συμβούλιο είναι 13 μέλη, μόνο ένα μέλος είναι η Πολεοδομία, μια ψήφος. Οι άλλοι 12 ψήφοι είναι ιδιώτες, αρχιτέκτονες, πολιτικοί μηχανικοί, πολεοδόμοι ή άσχετοι με το θέμα, εκπρόσωποι από το ΕΤΕΚ, από την ένωση κοινοτήτων, από την ένωση δήμων. Καμιά φορά το expertise είναι λίγο αμφίβολο, έχουμε δει και αποφάσεις λανθασμένες από το τμήμα, αλλά όταν νικά η πλειοψηφία νικά. Μετά έρχονται και οι πολιτικές αποφάσεις, του υπουργού και του υπουργικού συμβουλίου. Και εκεί γίνονται καμιά φορά λάθη. Την πρώτη φορά ο υπουργός δεν αλλάζει τίποτα, όπως έρχεται από το συμβούλιο το δημοσιεύει. Μετά όμως δικαιούται όταν γίνουν οι ενστάσεις 4 μήνες και μελετηθεί από την επιτροπή ενστάσεων, είναι μια συμβουλευτική επιτροπή που συμβουλεύει τον υπουργό, ο υπουργός δικαιούται να ακούσει την επιτροπή ή να μην την ακούσει και να κάνει ότι θέλει. Και μετά θα πάει στο υπουργικό συμβούλιο που επίσης μπορεί να κάνει ότι θέλει. Στο τέλος της ημέρας γίνονται και λάθη, το άλλο είναι με το strategic.

Researcher: Έχει ισορροπία μεταξύ του υπουργείου και των δήμων και εσάς;

Expert 5: Εξαρτάται ποιος είναι ο υπουργός, ποιο είναι το υπουργικό συμβούλιο, παίζει μεγάλο ρόλο. Επίσης υπάρχει ακόμα ένα λάθος ή κενό, όσον αφορά το strategic. Αυτό γίνεται όταν τελειώσει το πρώτο σχέδιο, πριν την πρώτη δημοσίευση, γίνεται strategic. Μετά όταν εξεταστούν οι διαστάσεις και θα πάει στον υπουργό και στο υπουργικό συμβούλιο για να δημοσιευτεί μεταξύ της πρώτης και της δεύτερης δημοσίευσης δε γίνεται κάποιο άλλο supplementary strategic, δηλαδή σε αυτή τη φάση σε αυτό το διάστημα μπορεί να γίνουν αλλαγές οι οποίες να είναι μεγάλες και ουσιαστικές αλλά δεν εκτιμούνται περιβαλλοντικά και έχουν γίνει λάθη, όχι μόνο λάθη αλλά και ο γενικός ελεγκτής τώρα μελετά 10-12 υποθέσεις που αφορούν τις 4 πόλεις, που έχει εντοπίσει όχι μόνο λάθη αλλά και ενδεχομένως σκάνδαλα. Μεταξύ των 2 φάσεων παρήχθηκαν αποφάσεις παράξενες ή αποφάσεις οι οποίες ευνοούν πολιτικά εκτεθειμένα πρόσωπα. Άρα έχουμε λάθη και παραλείψεις στο όλο σύστημα.

Researcher: Άσχετα με αυτό που γίνεται με τα σκάνδαλα, ποια κομμάτια νομίζεται είναι τα καλά του τοπικού σχεδίου;

Expert 5: Ο κόσμος το κρίνει. Ανέφερες εδώ στην αρχή τα plan, σίγουρα πριν το 1990 δεν είχαμε πολεοδομία, είχαμε το streets and building regulations, ο νόμος, αλλά με

βάση αυτό το άρθρο 14 έκανε ζώνες. Μετά το 1990 μπήκε το land use plan. Οπότε κάνεις και ζώνες και χρήσεις γης και βγαίνει ένα βιβλίο με διάφορα παραρτήματα που αφορούν τα πάντα, πρόνοιες πολιτικής, κίνητρα, όλα αυτά τα πράγματα. Καλά και κακά. Όλα τα σχέδια είναι αναρτημένα στο ίντερνετ, μπορεί να κρίνει κάποιος αν είναι καλά ή κακά, γενικά είναι καλά αλλά έχουν μειονεκτήματα, ειδικά στο περιβάλλον. Κάπου αναφέρεις εδώ και για τα positives and negatives ειδικά της Λεμεσού. Υπάρχει ένας χάρτης εδώ τον οποίο ονομάζουμε περιβαλλοντικό πλούτο, τα positive και μετά υπάρχουν τα environmental risks. Αυτός είναι ο πλούτος, είναι τα πιο σημαντικά θετικά του σχεδίου, δηλαδή κάποια δάση, οι φυτείες στο Φασούρι, η θάλασσα, χαλίτικα που έγιναν πάρκο, τα μνημεία της πολιτιστικής κληρονομιάς, αυτά θεωρούνται τα θετικά, αυτά τα οποία βγαίνουν asset. Εδώ έξω από τη Λεμεσό, το τοπικό σχέδιο σταματά εδώ, αλλά είναι η αλυκή, το Φασούρι. Από εκεί και πέρα για τα αρνητικά υπάρχει άλλος χάρτης ο οποίος είναι οι απειλές, threats. Εδώ είναι ο υδροφορέας από τον οποίο ποτίζεται όλη η Λεμεσός, αλλά υπάρχουν κίνδυνοι μόλυνσης από τις περιοχές που είναι γύρω, ειδικά από τη βροχή η οποία δεν καλύφθηκε από το αποχετευτικό σύστημα. Εδώ υπάρχουν οι εγκαταστάσεις της ΑΗΚ, ο σταθμός παραγωγής, που θεωρείται ότι είναι επικίνδυνος με την έννοια ότι γειτνιάζει με μια τουριστική, και αυτά τα υλικά, τα πετρέλαια κτλ εμπίπτουν μέσα στα όρια του sezezo, είναι για μεγάλα ατυχήματα. Οι απορροές των όμβριων, δεν το βάλαμε αλλά υπάρχουν απορροές, η Λεμεσός κινδυνεύει από πλημμύρες, έχουν γίνει πλημμύρες, εδώ που είναι η γέφυρα στον Αγ. Αθανάσιο και εδώ στον Ύψωνα έχουν γίνει ατυχήματα. Αυτά είναι τα βασικά. Μπορούσα να αναφέρω άλλα αρνητικά είναι ο χειρισμός του τοπίου, το landscape, δεν έχουμε πρόνοιες είτε για της υπαίθρου είτε το αστικό τοπίο. Επίσης δεν έχουμε τόση καλή διαχείριση πάνω στο οδικό δίκτυο. 18:10

Λες για τα priorities.

Researcher: Ναι, τι νομίζετε;

Expert 5: Ένα βασικό είναι οι οικιστικές μας επιλογές, οι οικιστικές είναι πολύ μεγάλες, μπορεί να χωρέσουν πολλαπλάσιες φορές τον πληθυσμό που αναμένεται το 2015, 2020, 2030 κτλ., πάρα πολλές φορές. Και ο λόγος είναι ότι επειδή η Κύπρος χαρακτηρίζεται από μικρές ιδιοκτησίες και ο καθένας χτίζει όποτε είναι οι ανάγκες του, δεν έχουμε τόσο πολύ οργανωμένη δόμηση, υπάρχουν πολλές περιοχές στην πόλη που είναι για πολλά χρόνια freeze. Και ένα από τα βασικά προβλήματα που έχουμε είναι να ενεργοποιήσουμε αυτή τη γη, να δοθεί στο παζάρι, να χτιστεί δηλαδή. Ετοιμάζουμε τώρα μια εντολή, ακόμα δεν πέρασε για να δώσουμε κάποια κίνητρα. Το άλλο είναι οι υπεραξίες, δηλαδή όταν κάνεις συνέχεια επεκτάσεις και αυξάνεις το συντελεστή, αυτό σημαίνει ότι προσθέτεις στην αξία του τεμαχίου πολύ. Και αυτά μέχρι τώρα είναι δωρεάν, ενώ θα έπρεπε να υπάρχει κάτι σαν για να δώσεις κάτι πίσω. Αυτό είναι στον γενικό εισαγγελέα τώρα, ένα νομοσχέδιο για να γίνει και το κράτος να παίρνει κάποια λεφτά για να μπορεί να τα κάνει για διάφορα projects. Το άλλο είναι αυτή η οργανωμένη δόμηση που λέμε, έχουμε πάλι το νομοσχέδιο, είναι urban land consolidation, είναι within the urban areas, όπως γίνεται το land consolidation στην ύπαιθρο εδώ θέλουμε urban consolidation, είναι ο μηχανισμός. Κι αυτό το νομοσχέδιο που θα είναι compulsory εκκρεμεί στη βουλή, αλλά θα μπορούσε να γίνει και κάτι πάνω σε οικειοθελή βάση, δηλαδή voluntary, εκκρεμεί και αυτό. Το άλλο είναι πάλι ένα νομοσχέδιο που αφορά το transfer rights (?), εκκρεμεί και αυτό. Θα μπορούσαμε να κάνουμε διάφορα πράγματα, δηλαδή θέλουμε ένα σχολείο σήμερα πηγαίνουμε και κάνουμε απαλλοτρίωση, πληρώνουμε. Στο μέλλον αν έχουμε αυτό το εργαλείο, μπορείς να του πεις αυτά τα τετραγωνικά μετάφερε τα σε ένα άλλο τεμάχιο δικό σου ή πάρε και ένα bonus και να πάρεις το σχολείο. Και το άλλο που πάλι επεξεργαζόμαστε εδώ είναι το social housing που έχεις κι εσύ, εκεί έχουμε πρόβλημα. Δηλαδή διάφορες ομάδες τα social groups, ιδιαίτερα people in need, οι φτωχοί, δυσκολεύονται. Σήμερα ή θα πάνε έξω σε

χωριά και θα ταξιδεύουν ή θα πάνε εδώ και θα ενοικιάσουν. Η εναλλακτική λύση που θέλουμε να δώσουμε εμείς είναι το social housing. Τώρα υπάρχει ένας κυπριακός οργανισμός αναπτύξεως γης, είναι Cyprus Development Land Organisation. Αυτός έχει κάνει διάφορα projects, έχει κτίσει και στη Λεμεσό, εκεί στην Καβάζογλου, μέσα στο Δήμο Λεμεσού στην περιοχή εκείνη, υπάρχουν κάποια social houses παλιά τα οποία κτίστηκαν πριν τον πόλεμο, πριν το '74, τώρα θα διατηρηθούν εκείνα. Δίπλα έχει κτίσει μια πολυκατοικία. Και στον Ανώγειο έχει κτίσει. Είχε διάφορα προβλήματα, κατασκευαστικά, υγρασίες, αποχετευτικά κτλ. και τώρα γίνεται έρευνα από τον γενικό ελεγκτή γιατί κάτι δεν πήγε καλά. Η κυβέρνηση είχε 12 στεγαστικά προγράμματα. Αρμόδιο είναι το Υπουργείο Εσωτερικών. Τα 5 ήταν για πρόσφυγες και τα άλλα για μη πρόσφυγες. Λόγω όμως της ύφεσης, από αυτά όλα έμειναν μόνο 2. Είτε επιχορήγηση για να αγοράσει ένας διαμέρισμα κτλ. είτε επιχορήγηση ενοικίου, αυτά τα 2. Και ο κυπριακός οργανισμός αυτός αναπτύξεως γης αποφάσισε πριν 1-2 χρόνια να το κλείσει. Τώρα όμως, ίσως και με δική μας πίεση διότι λέμε ότι θέλουμε να κάνουμε αυτή την εντολή για το social housing, το οποίο δουλεύουμε αρκετά χρόνια, 3-4 χρόνια, και γράφει στα τοπικά σχέδια από την έκθεση εκπόνησης του 2008-2009 ότι πρέπει να γίνει κάτι για το social housing, να βάλουμε ένα μηχανισμό με βάση τον οποίο να μπορούν να κτιστούν σπίτια για το social housing. Το 2011 γράφτηκε ότι ένα bonus 25% συντελεστή δόμησης για τον κυπριακό οργανισμό αναπτύξεως γης και θα έπρεπε να γίνει εντολή, ένα ordinance, προς τον ιδιωτικό τομέα για να συμβάλει και ο ιδιωτικός τομέας, όχι μόνο το κράτος. Με το 2013 έχουν περάσει 4 χρόνια ακόμα προσπαθούμε να περάσουμε την εντολή, είχε διάφορα προβλήματα το υπουργείο, το τμήμα, πιστεύουμε ότι είμαστε στο τελικό στάδιο για να το δημοσιεύσουμε. Η κυβέρνηση αποφάσισε να τον καταργήσει, τώρα αποφάσισε να του δώσει την εξουσία να κάνει αυτά τα πράγματα, οπότε ελπίζω να προχωρήσει.

Researcher: Όλα όσα έγιναν στη Λεμεσό πρόσφατα, ο παραλιακός, το νέο λιμάνι, η μαρίνα, το κέντρο. Τι νομίζεται για όλα αυτά, τα βλέπετε θετικά, τα βλέπετε αρνητικά, έχουν λάθη, είναι τέλεια. Έχει ένα focus, συγκέντρωση στο παραλιακό, σίγουρα πρέπει να γίνονται άλλα πράγματα και στο υπόλοιπο της πόλης, τι νομίζετε είναι όλα καλά;

Expert 5: Η ακτή ολυμπίων, αυτό το παραλιακό πάρκο είναι πολύ καλό, έχει προσθέσει πάρα πολύ. Τώρα από εκεί και πέρα, υπάρχουν 2 projects, το ψαρολίμανο-το παλιό λιμάνι, η μαρίνα και έχουμε και το λιμάνι μετά. Το ψαρολίμανο, έγινε ένας διαγωνισμός, ήμουν κι εγώ στην κριτική επιτροπή, it's not bad. Αλλά υπάρχει ένα μειονέκτημα εκεί, από τη μεριά του roundabout, που είναι το κάστρο, κτίστηκε λίγο περισσότερο, ενώ προηγουμένως αυτή που κέρδισε το διαγωνισμό ήταν πιο ανοικτή αλλά μετά όταν ήρθε να πάρει μια άδεια εδώ στο τμήμα Πολεοδομίας έγινε μια μετατόπιση κάποιων όγκων και από τη μια πλευρά έγινε πιο ελαφρύ ενώ εδώ κάπως βάρυνε, έγινε πιο built up area. It's not bad. Τώρα η μαρίνα I think is too much, definitely.

Researcher: Ανεξάρτητα από την αρχιτεκτονική που μπορεί να μας αρέσει, μπορεί να μην μας αρέσει, πολεοδομικά.

Expert 5: Ναι σαν density, όχι μόνο αυτό, το ότι κτιστήκαν αρκετά, αλλά δοθήκαν κάποια κίνητρα από το υπουργικό συμβούλιο, incentives, τα οποία ήταν over the above των συντελεστών δόμησης κτλ, δηλαδή ήταν plus 20-30% και ακόμα δεν είδαμε το final stage, όταν δούμε το final stage θα τρομάξουμε. Διότι εδώ στην άκρη που είναι τα σπίτια θα γίνουν πολυκατοικίες στο τέλος και μέσα στη θάλασσα θα δεις ξαφνικά ένα πύργο. I think is too much αυτό το πράγμα. Το λιμάνι άλλη υπόθεση. Έγινε ένας προγραμματισμός πριν τον πόλεμο, πριν το 1974, για να γίνει επέκταση του λιμανιού με μια άλλη πλευρά, το οποίο είναι τεράστια αλλαγή και θα έρθει να καλύψει το μισό παραλιακό μέτωπο μεταξύ της μαρίνας... Εμείς δεν το βλέπουμε και πολύ θετικά, θα θέλαμε αυτό το πράγμα να μη γίνει. Θα γίνει το μισό

λιμάνι ως εδώ που είναι το καρνάγιο. Θα επηρεάσει σίγουρα αυτό το πράγμα. Τώρα η μελέτη που γίνεται για το κέντρο είναι υπό εξέλιξη το σχέδιο περιοχής του κέντρου Λεμεσού. Πρώτα ήταν εδώ το κέντρο, τώρα θα γίνει η επέκταση αυτή εδώ στον Φραγκλίνου Ρούσβελτ και νιώθουμε ότι αυτό το μέτωπο, από τη μια θα έχεις λιμάνι, όλα αυτά τα container, και από την άλλη θέλεις να κάνεις αυτό τον διπλασιασμό του κέντρου. Υπήρχε ένα παλιός πολεοδόμος ο οποίος πέθανε, ο Άγγελος Δημητρίου, ο οποίος τη δεκαετία του 1980 είχε βάλει την ιδέα ότι το κέντρο της Λεμεσού από το '80 έπρεπε να γίνει duplication up to here. Αυτή είναι η ιδέα, τώρα με αυτό τον προγραμματισμό δεν ξέρω τελικά αν θα προχωρήσει, τι θα γίνει. Αν γίνει σίγουρα αυτό το waterfront θα επηρεαστεί.

Researcher: Το σχέδιο επειδή οι αιτήσεις για να κτιστεί κάτι εγκρίνονται από το Δήμο.

Expert 5: Όχι όλες.

Researcher: Τι εννοείται όχι όλες;

Expert 5: Οι μεγάλες είναι εδώ. Ο Δήμος Λεμεσού είναι Αγ. Φύλα. Εδώ υπάρχουν και άλλοι δήμοι.

Researcher: Δηλαδή τα μεγάλα έργα, όπως η μαρίνα, εγκρίνεται εδώ, κεντρικά. Τα μικρά, αν θέλω να κτίσω σπίτι εγκρίνεται από το Δήμο. Τα κριτήρια για να εγκριθούν είναι το τοπικό σχέδιο, δεν έχει άλλα.

Expert 5: Όχι, υπάρχουν κι άλλα.

Researcher: Ο νόμος βεβαίως.

Expert 5: Ναι είναι το environmental impact assessment, για κάποια projects έχει ειδικό νόμο, μεγάλες βιομηχανίες ή μεγάλα commercial centers, υπάρχει αυτός ο νόμος που πρέπει να περάσουν από περιβαλλοντική μελέτη. Άρα είναι το τοπικό σχέδιο, η περιβαλλοντική μελέτη ανάλογα με την περίπτωση, ο νόμος σίγουρα, αυτά είναι απόρροια του νόμου. Από εκεί και πέρα υπάρχει το άρθρο 26/1 που λέει ότι η Πολεοδομική Αρχή επιπρόσθετα, over and above όλων αυτών, μπορεί να λάβει υπόψη και άλλους ουσιώδης παράγοντες. It's a big vague. It depends. Αν τα δημόσια έργα για παράδειγμα, όταν αυτό είναι δημοσιευμένο, αποφασίσουν να κάνουν ένα κύριο δρόμο οδό, new project, το οποίο δεν προλάβουμε να το βάλουμε στα σχέδια αλλά ήρθε μετά, αυτό το project, αυτή την ιδέα, το proposal, έστω κι αν δεν υπάρχει εδώ μπορούμε να το λάβουμε υπόψη, μπορούμε να βγάλουμε μια άδεια εδώ. Και μετά υπάρχει το deviation process, οι παρεκκλίσεις, υπάρχει άλλο σώμα, το Συμβούλιο Μελέτης Παρεκκλίσεων, το οποίο ανεξάρτητα τι λέει εδώ, με την έγκριση του υπουργικού συμβουλίου μπορεί να δώσει παρέκκλιση, deviation of the provisions. Το ύψος, ένα από τα μειονεκτήματα είναι αυτό με τα ψηλά κτίρια, το θέμα έχει ξεφύγει. Δηλαδή υπάρχουν πρόνοιες εδώ για ψηλά κτίρια, αλλά over above αυτό, επειδή υπάρχει μια πρόνοια η οποία δίνει την ευχέρεια στον διευθυντή Πολεοδομίας και στον Υπουργό και στο υπουργικό συμβούλιο να δώσουν over above. Γι' αυτό βγήκαν άδειες και αρχίσαν να κτίζονται και να φαίνονται ψηλά κτίρια.

Researcher: Αυτά νομίζω. Δεν ξέρω αν έχετε κάτι παραπάνω που θέλετε να πείτε γενικά για τη Λεμεσό, για το σύστημα, αν έχει κάτι που πρέπει να βελτιωθεί, θα θέλατε να βελτιωθεί κάτι συγκεκριμένο.

Expert 5: Αυτά που σου είπα εδώ είναι για μένα top priorities, πρέπει να γίνουν οπωσδήποτε.

Researcher: Πόσο καιρό δουλεύετε εδώ;

Expert 5: Σχεδόν 35 χρόνια.

Researcher: Έχει αλλάξει πολύ το σύστημα και βελτιωθεί φαντάζομαι.

Expert 5: Το βασικό είναι τα εργαλεία που έχεις. Και αυτά τα πράγματα εδώ θα μας δώσουν εργαλεία για να μπορέσουμε κάνουμε πράγματα καλύτερα. Τώρα στον τρόπο λήψης αποφάσεων και εκεί θεωρώ ότι σε μεγάλο βαθμό η Πολεοδομία είναι και πολιτική. Αλλά έπρεπε να υπάρχει και ένα όριο. Δηλαδή δεν μπορεί οι πολιτικοί να θέλουν τούμπα αυτά τα πράγματα. Ή να το πω διαφορετικά. Όλα τα θέματα

είναι 3 κατηγορίες, τα εύκολα, τα μεσαία και τα δύσκολα. Θα έπρεπε σε επίπεδο πολεοδομικού συμβουλίου να χαρακτηρίζονται αυτά τα θέματα που πάνε εκεί, εύκολα, μεσαία και δύσκολα. Τα δύσκολα θέματα θα μπορούσε το Πολεοδομικό Συμβούλιο αφού έχει 13 ψήφους, για παράδειγμα να πει ότι για να μπορέσουμε να αποφασίσουμε για αυτό το δύσκολο θέμα πρέπει να έχω overwhelming majority, εννοώ να μην είναι 6 με 7 ψήφοι, ένας ψήφος διαφορά. Αυτό το έχει η Ελβετία η οποία είναι πιο κοντά στην άμεση δημοκρατία, έχει διάφορα stages, ο κόσμος ψηφίζει, δημοψήφισμα κτλ. Όταν το θέμα είναι κρίσιμο μπορεί να έχεις αυτό το majority, strong majority. Το ίδιο θα έλεγα και στο επίπεδο του υπουργικού, και εκεί θα έπρεπε πιστεύω τα δύσκολα θέματα, να υπάρχει και εκεί ένα majority, το οποίο να είναι strong majority. Έτσι το βλέπω, διαφορετικά βγαίνουν αυτές οι αποφάσεις, αυτό το κίνητρο που σου είπα, plus 30% συντελεστή, πάρε και κτίσε κτλ., χωρίς time limit, ενώ αυτό δόθηκε για το recession, τώρα είμαστε στην έξοδο του recession και αυτό το κίνητρο πάει και πάει, μέχρι πότε; Αυτά τα 2, τα tools και ο τρόπος που λαμβάνονται οι αποφάσεις.

Researcher: Έχω κάνει ανάλυση της απογραφής, δηλαδή έχω κάνει τις κάρτες, τα έχω βάλει όλα πάνω σε κάρτες. Βεβαίως, έχει περιοχές που είναι πιο φτωχές, έχει περιοχές που έχουν πολλούς ξένους κτλ. Από τις συνεντεύξεις πολλοί μου λένε ότι τα προβλήματα είναι μόνο στο social housing, που γενικά δε νομίζω, έχει προβλήματα και αλλού, ή πολλοί νομίζουν ότι οι ξένοι είναι μόνο φτωχοί, που βεβαίως ειδικά στη Λεμεσό δεν είναι. Έχει Ρώσους, εκατομμυριούχους.

Expert 5: Κοίταξε, φαντάζομαι έχετε εντοπίσει που είναι τα high-class. Ειδικά δυτικά της Λεμεσού είναι the old Turkish-Cypriot area. Οι Ρώσοι μένουν εδώ στη Γερμασόγεια οι περισσότεροι;

Researcher: Δεν ξέρουμε αν είναι Ρώσοι, αλλά ξέρουμε ότι έχει πάρα πολλούς, αλλά είναι υψηλές τάξεις, έχουν πτυχία, έχουν καλές δουλειές κτλ. Οι Έλληνες που είναι πλούσιοι είναι στον Αγ. Αθανάσιο και γενικά δυτικά. Δεν ξέρω αν έχει ιδιαίτερα προβλήματα με το housing, όχι μόνο το social housing αλλά και στον ιδιωτικό τομέα.

Expert 5: Δεν ξέρω αν μπορεί να ονομαστεί γκέτο, μάλλον δεν είναι γκέτο αλλά υπάρχουν προβλήματα housing. Η Λευκωσία σε κάποια φάση είχε ενδείξεις για γκέτο, στην παλιά Λευκωσία, αλλά τώρα άρχισε να αλλάζει.

Researcher: Ευχαριστώ πολύ!

Appendix 4: Configurational Analysis

A4.1 Global choice maps



Figure A4.1. Global choice map of Limassol, 1883



Figure A4.2 Global choice map of Limassol, 1933

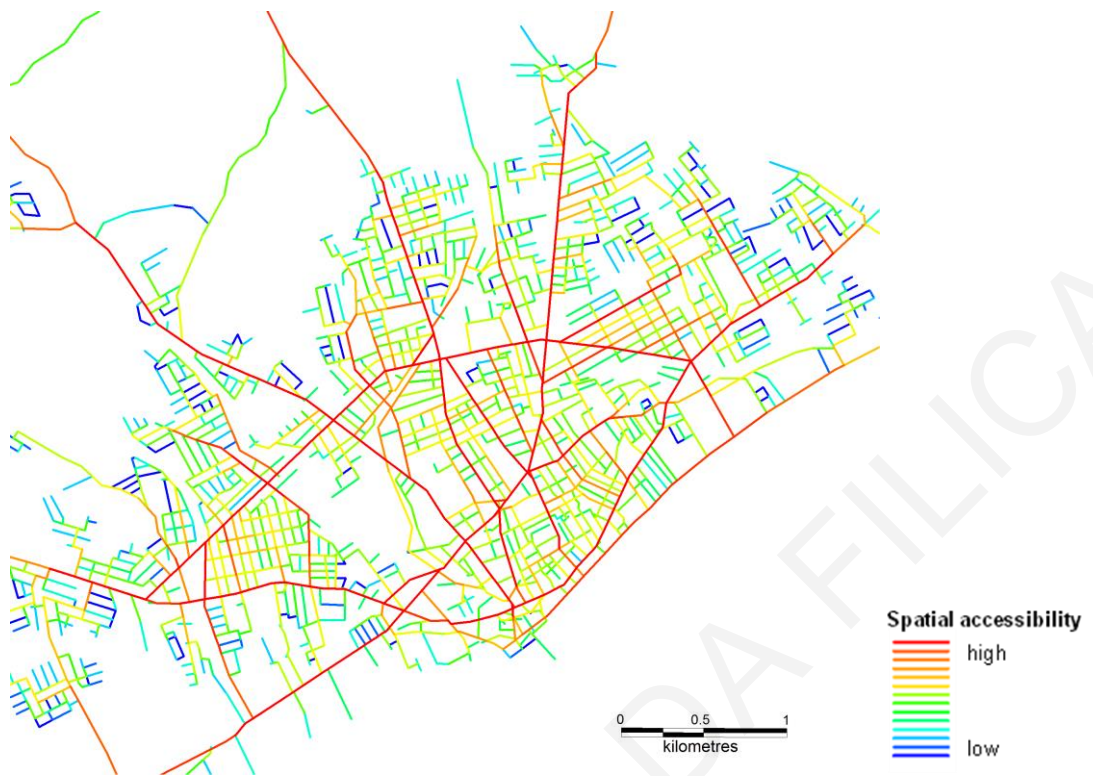


Figure A4.3 Global choice map of Limassol, 1960

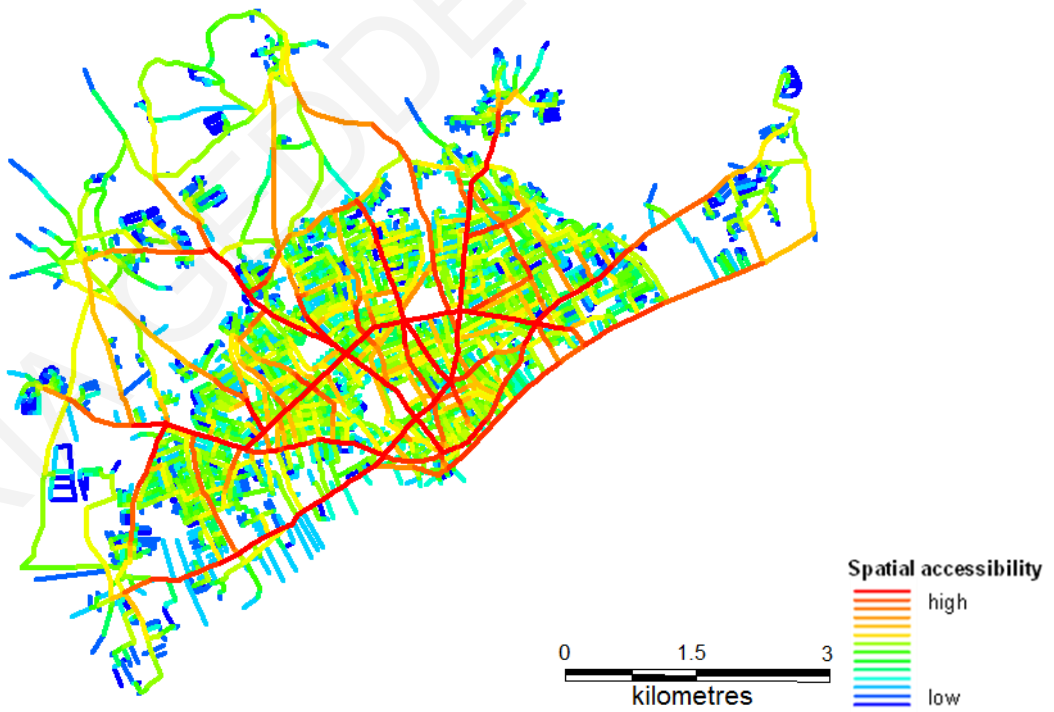


Figure A4.4. Global choice map of Limassol, 1974



Figure A4.5. Global choice map of Limassol, 1987



Figure A4.6. Global choice map of Limassol, 2003



Figure A4.7. Global choice map of Limassol, 2014

A4.2 Local choice maps

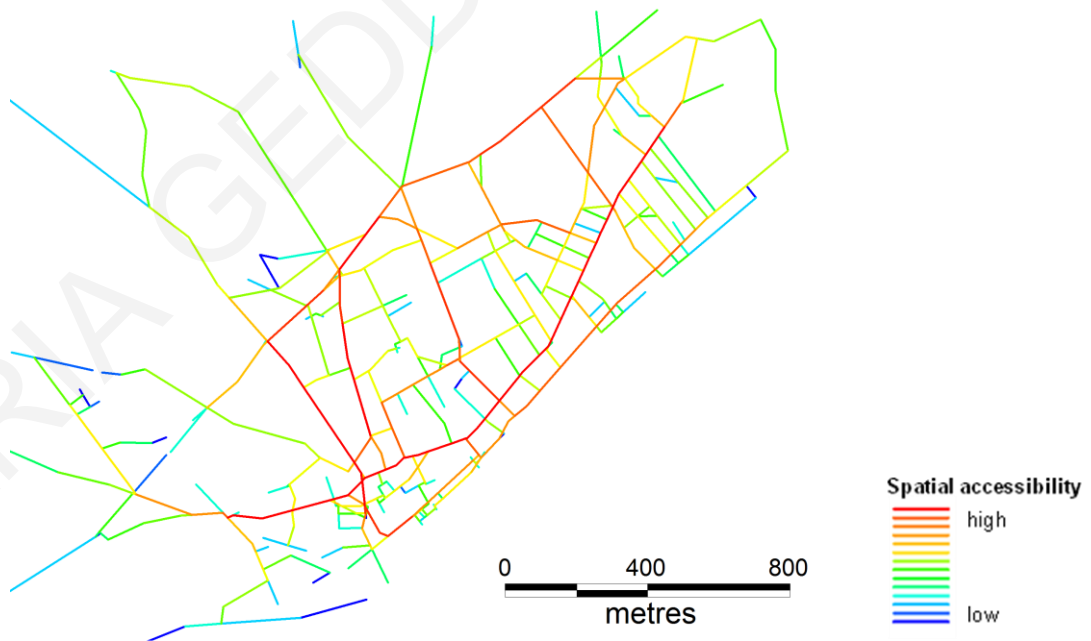


Figure A4.8. Local choice (1200m radius) map of Limassol, 1883

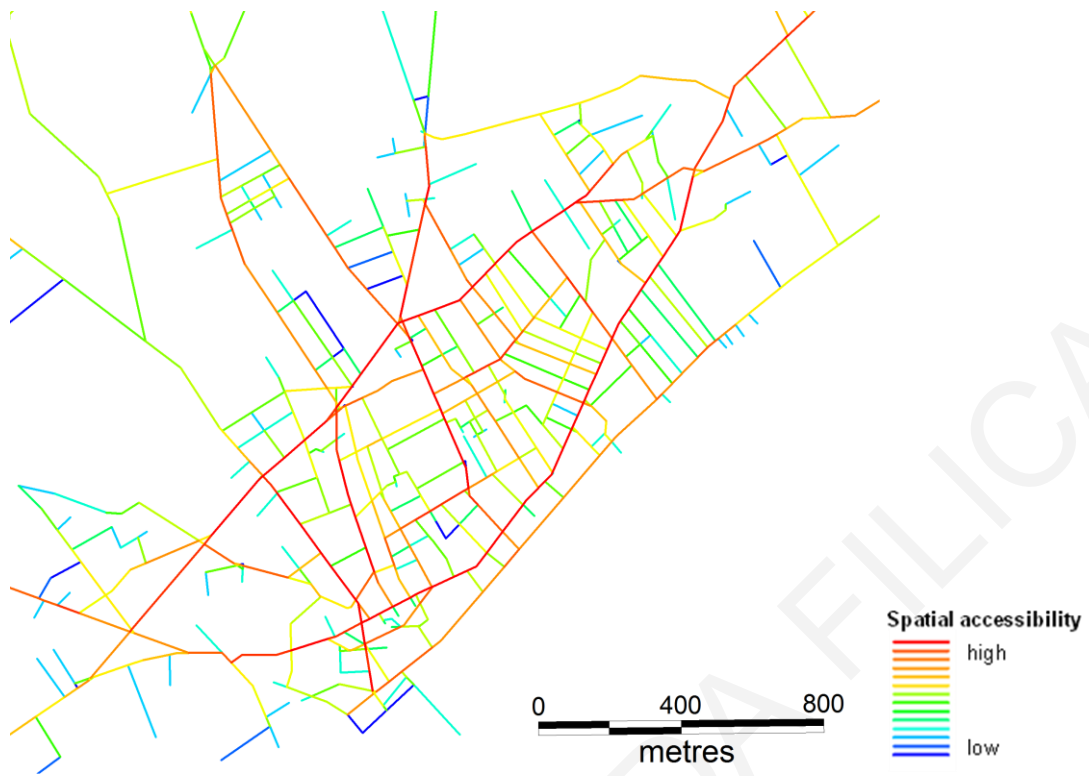


Figure A4.9. Local choice (1200m radius) map of Limassol, 1933

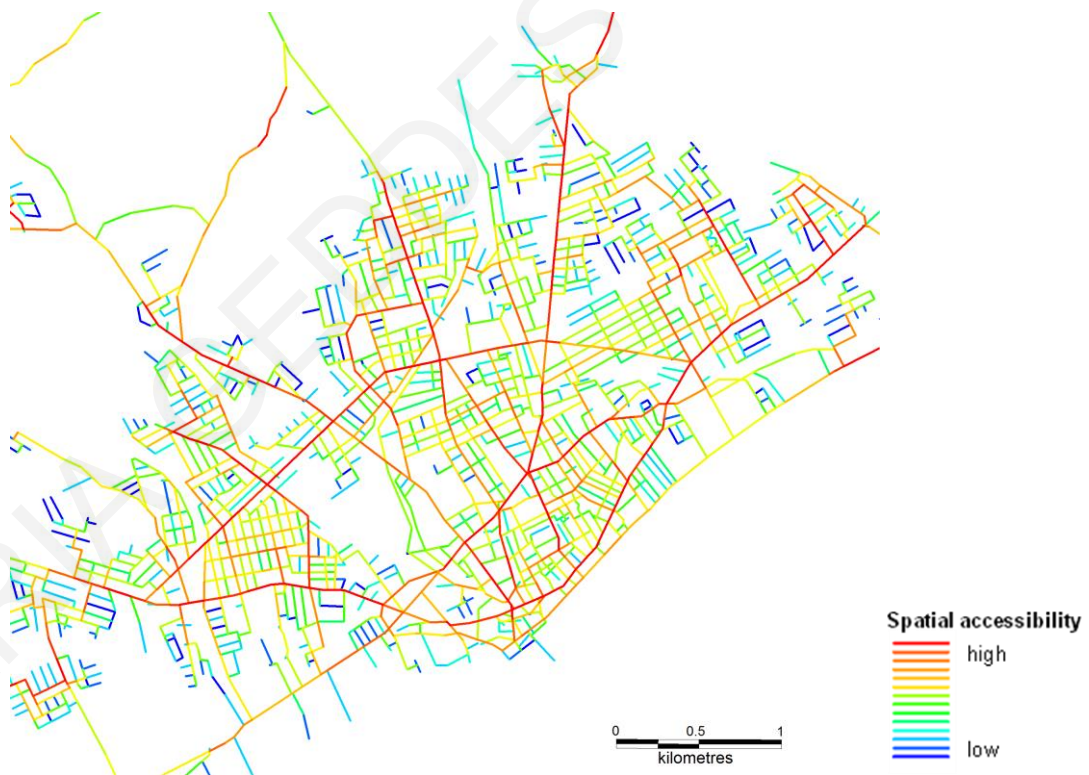


Figure A4.10. Local choice (1200m radius) map of Limassol, 1960

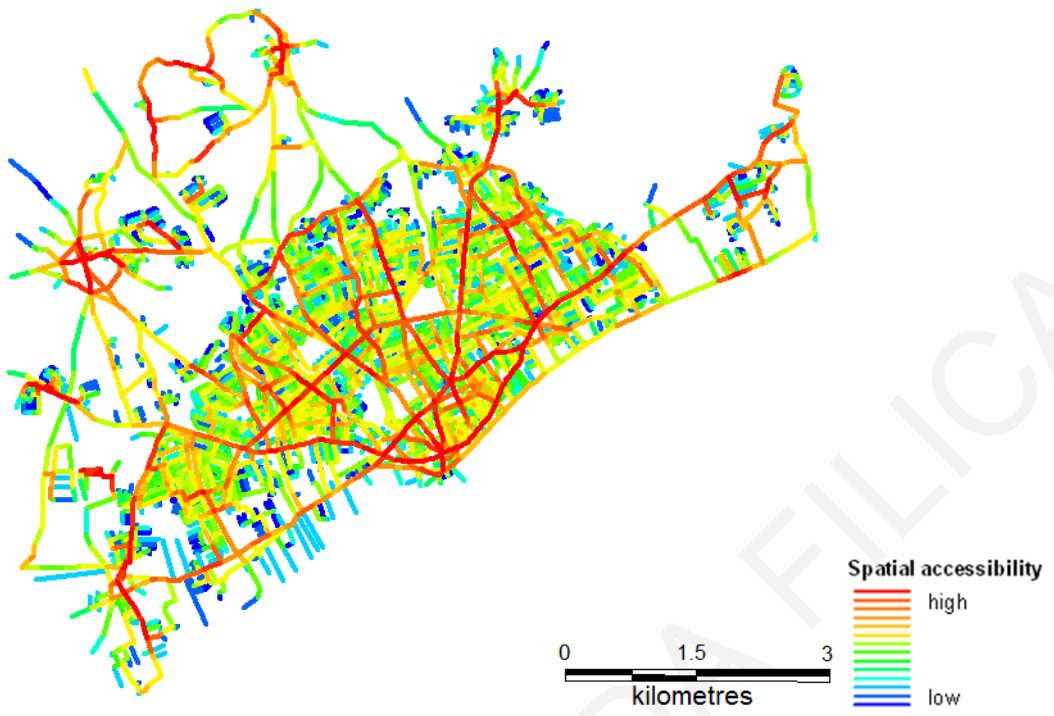


Figure A4.11. Local choice (1200m radius) map of Limassol, 1974



Figure A4.12. Local choice (1200m radius) map of Limassol, 1987



Figure A4.13. Local choice (1200m radius) map of Limassol, 2003



Figure A4.14. Local choice (1200m radius) map of Limassol, 2014

A4.3 Multi-scale analysis maps



Figure A4.15. Multi-scale map of Limassol, 1883



Figure A4.16. Multi-scale map of Limassol, 1933



Figure A4.17. Multi-scale map of Limassol, 1960

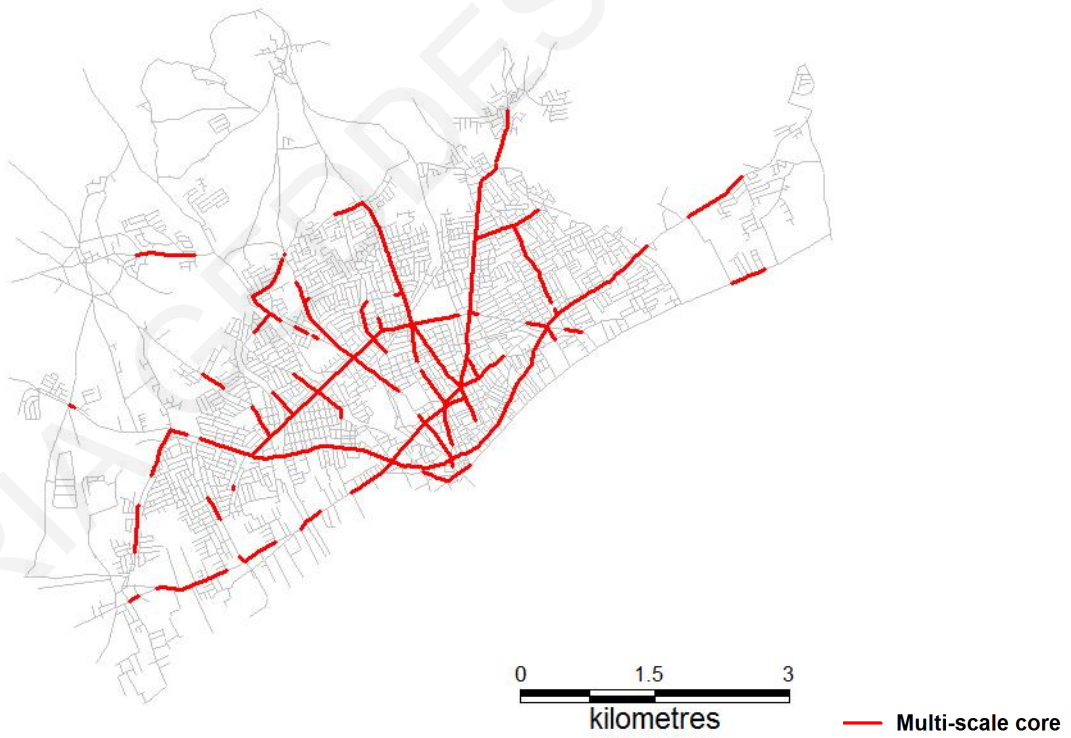
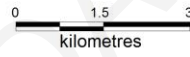
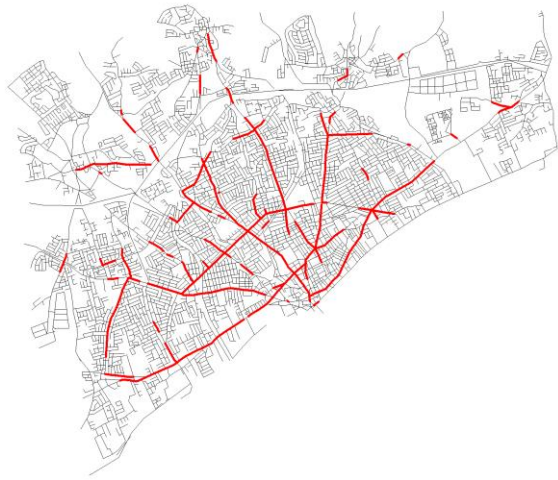
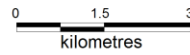


Figure A4.18. Multi-scale map of Limassol, 1960



— Multi-scale core

Figure A4.19. Multi-scale map of Limassol, 1987



— Multi-scale core

Figure A4.20. Multi-scale map of Limassol, 2003

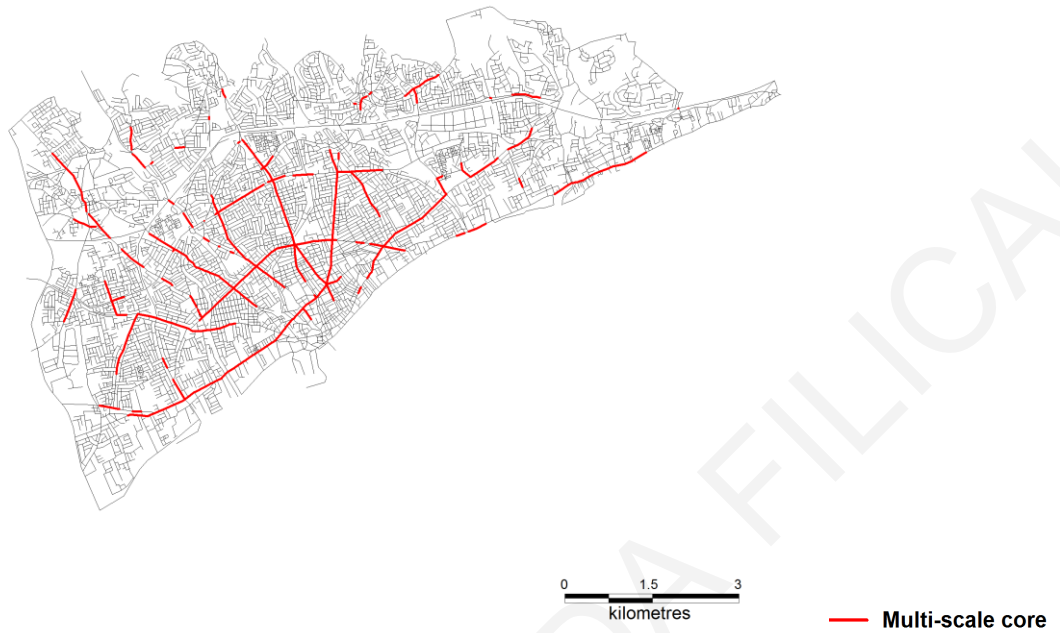


Figure A4.21. Multi-scale map of Limassol, 2014

A4.4 Global integration maps



Figure A4.22. Global integration map of Limassol, 1883



Figure A4.23. Global integration map of Limassol, 1933

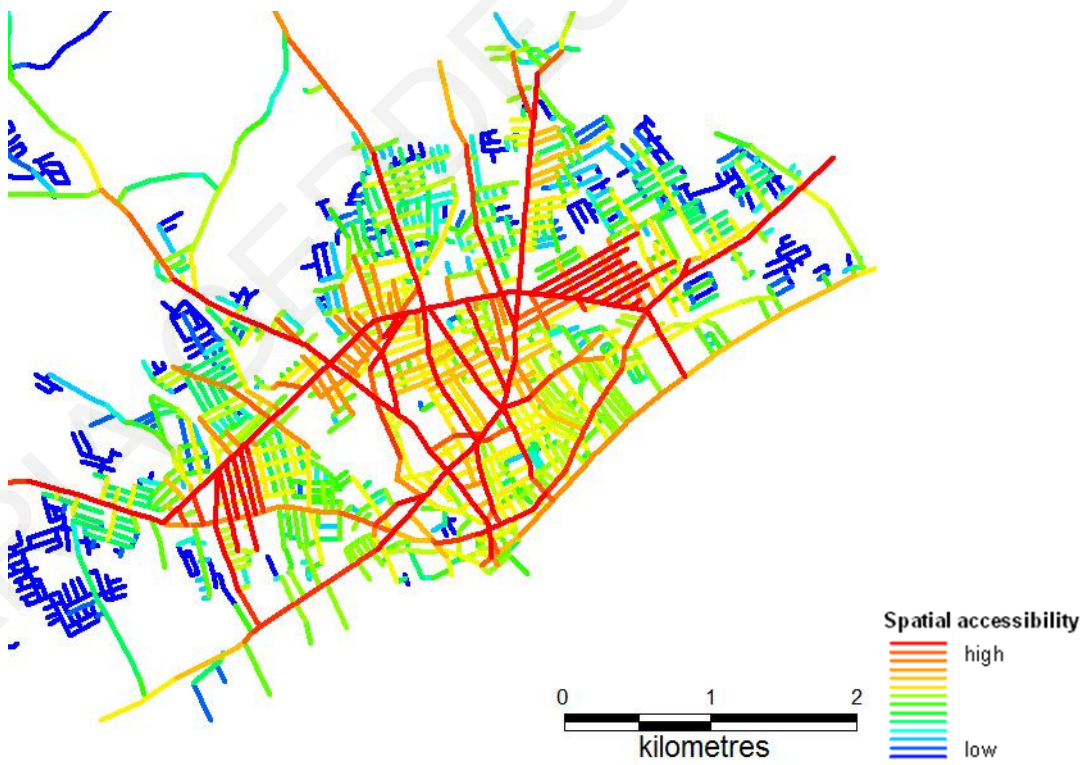


Figure A4.24. Global integration map of Limassol, 1960

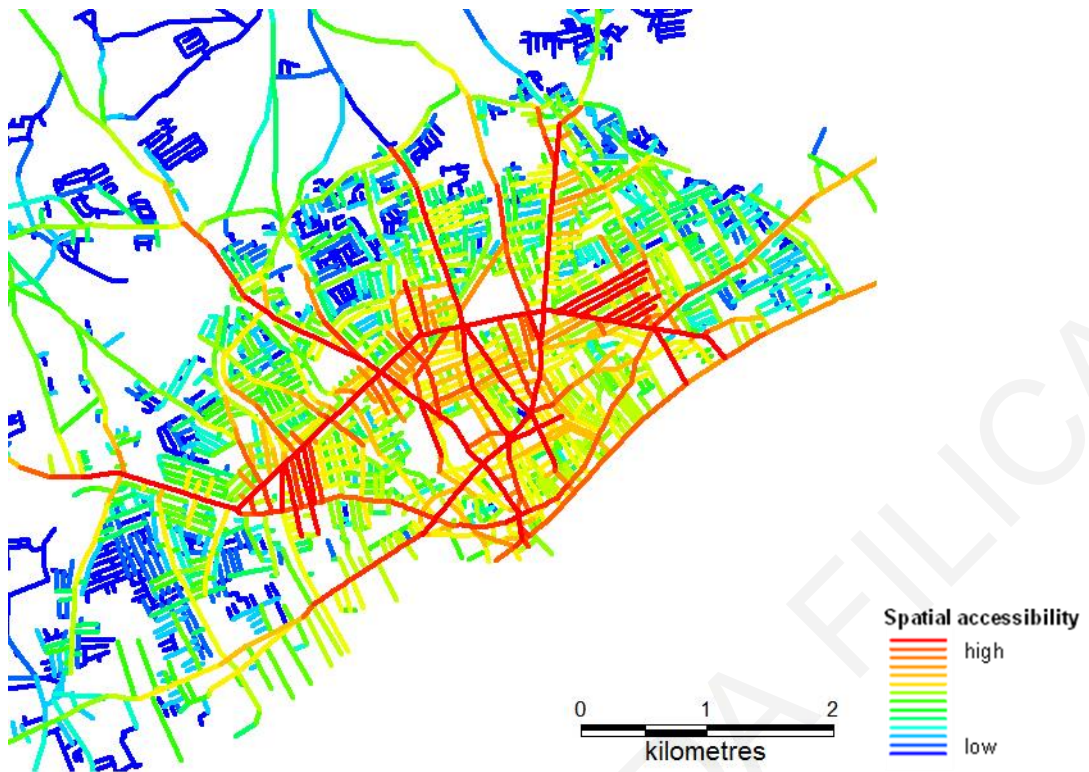


Figure A4.25. Global integration map of Limassol, 1974

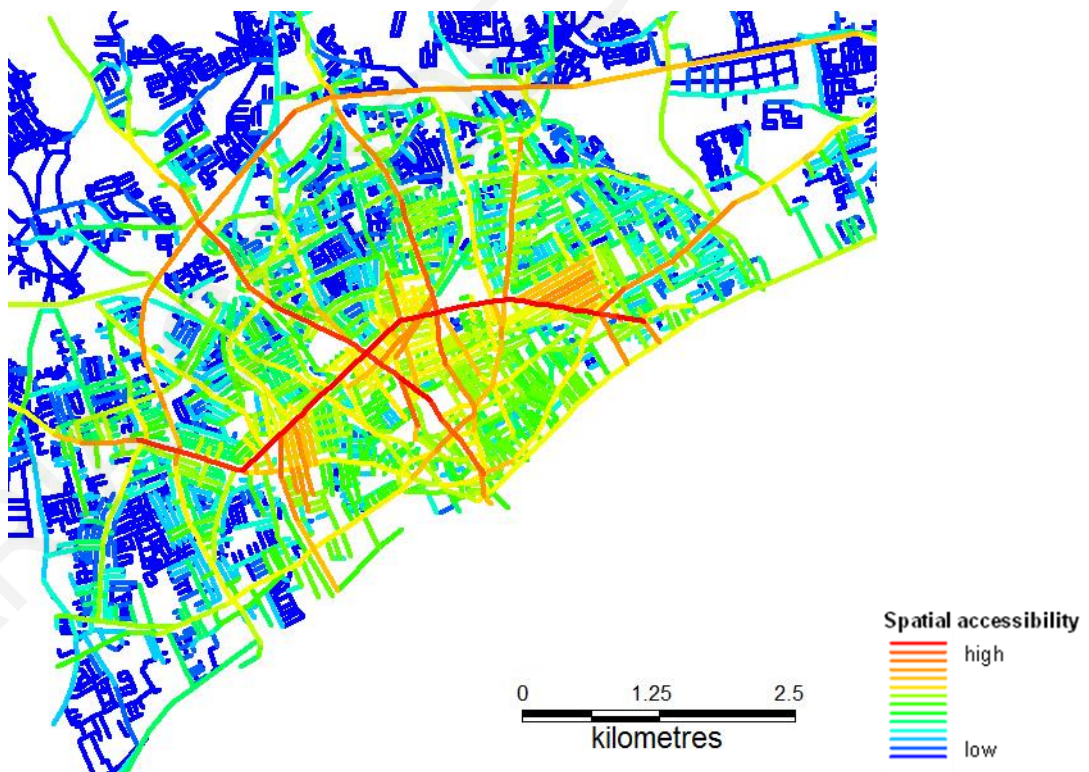


Figure A4.26. Global integration map of Limassol, 1987

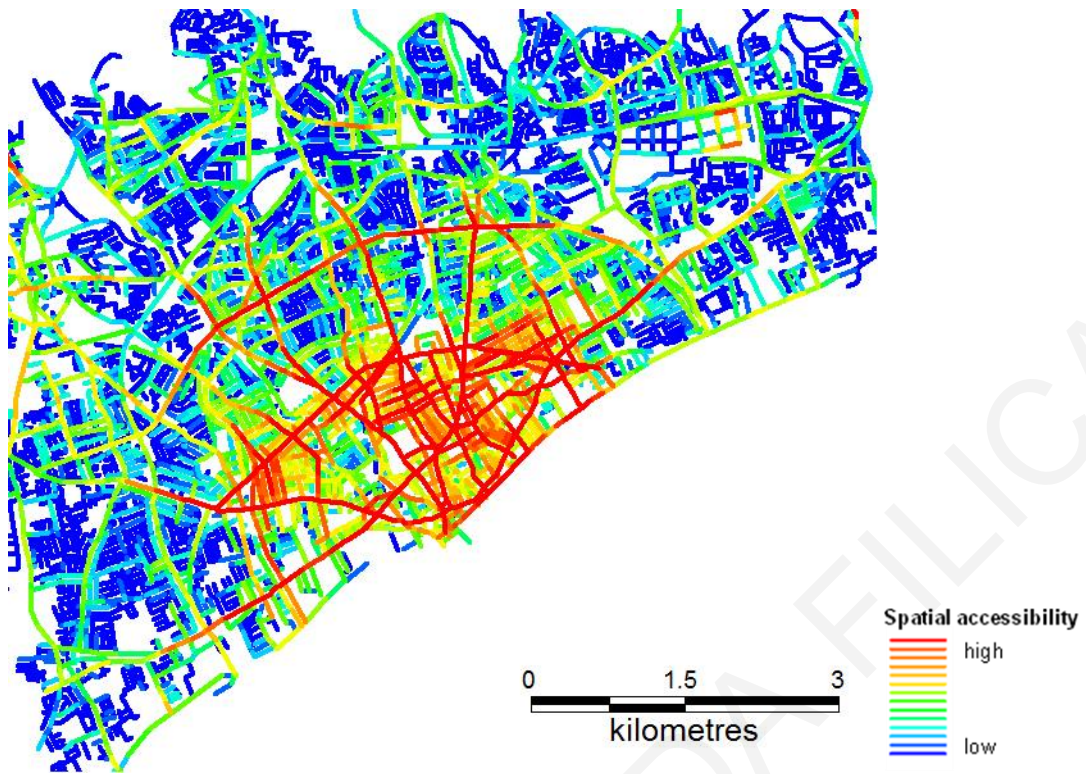


Figure A4.27. Global integration map of Limassol, 2003

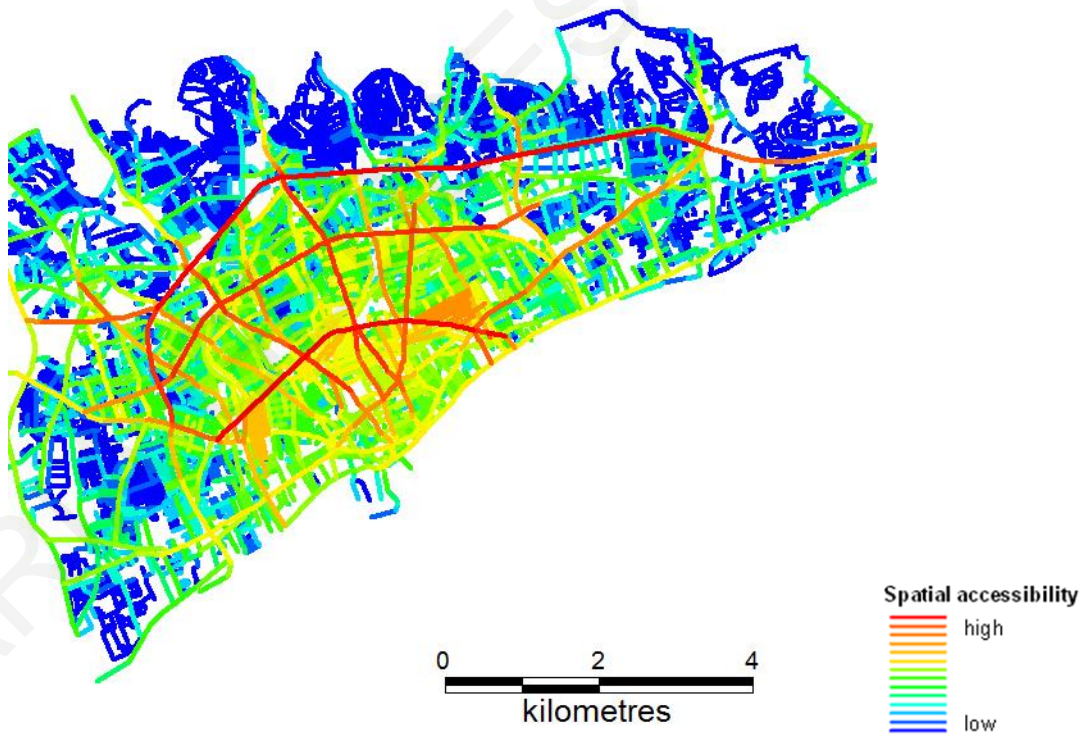


Figure A4.28. Global integration map of Limassol, 2014

A4.5 Local integration maps

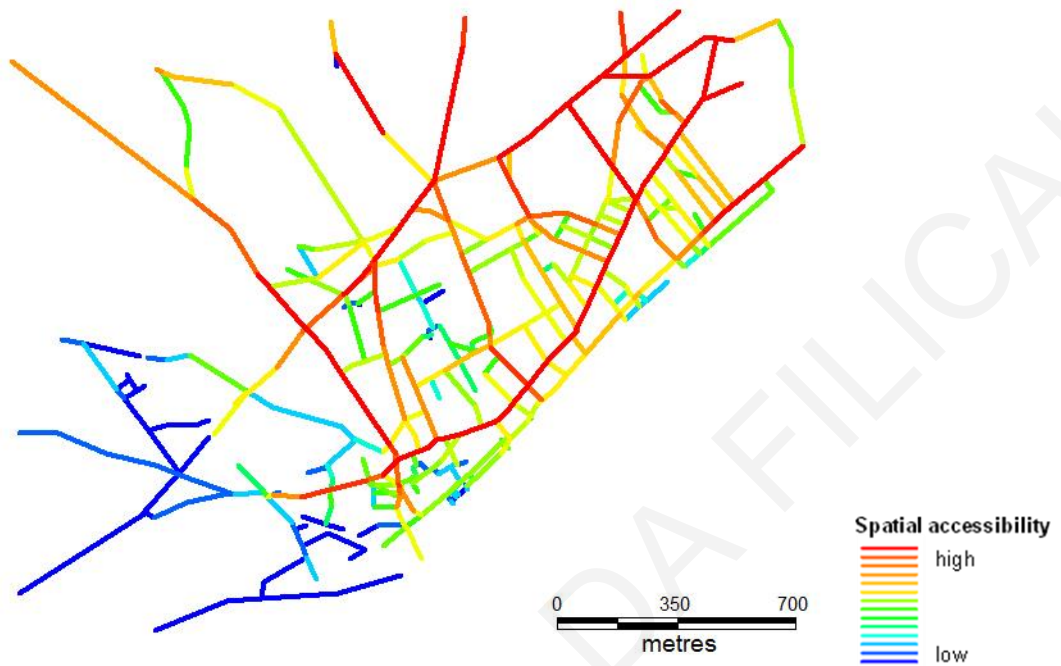


Figure A4.29. Local integration map of Limassol, 1883



Figure A4.30. Local integration map of Limassol, 1933

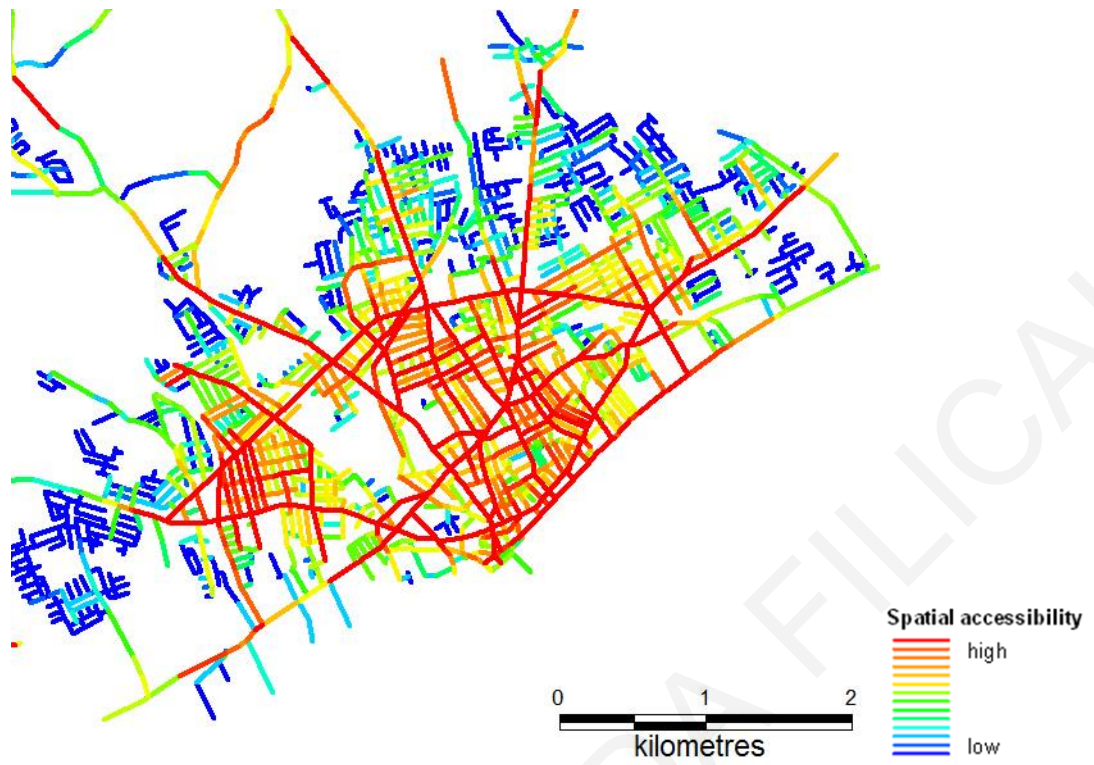


Figure A4.31. Local integration map of Limassol, 1960

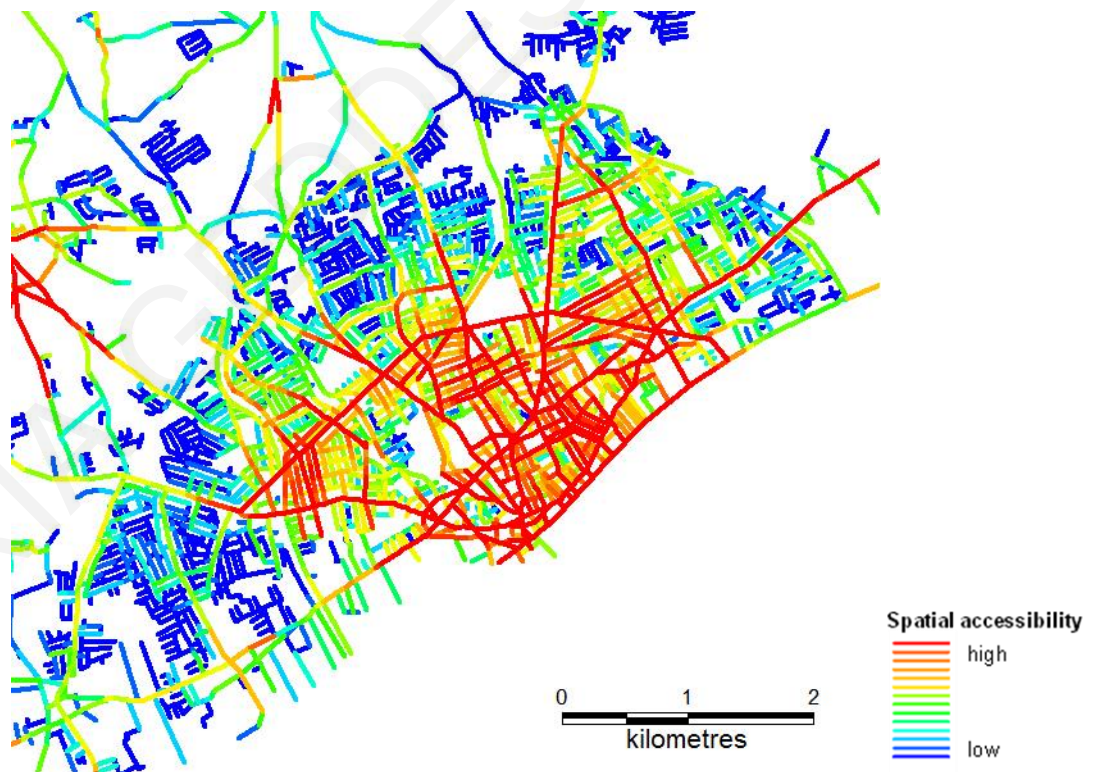


Figure A4.32. Local integration map of Limassol, 1974

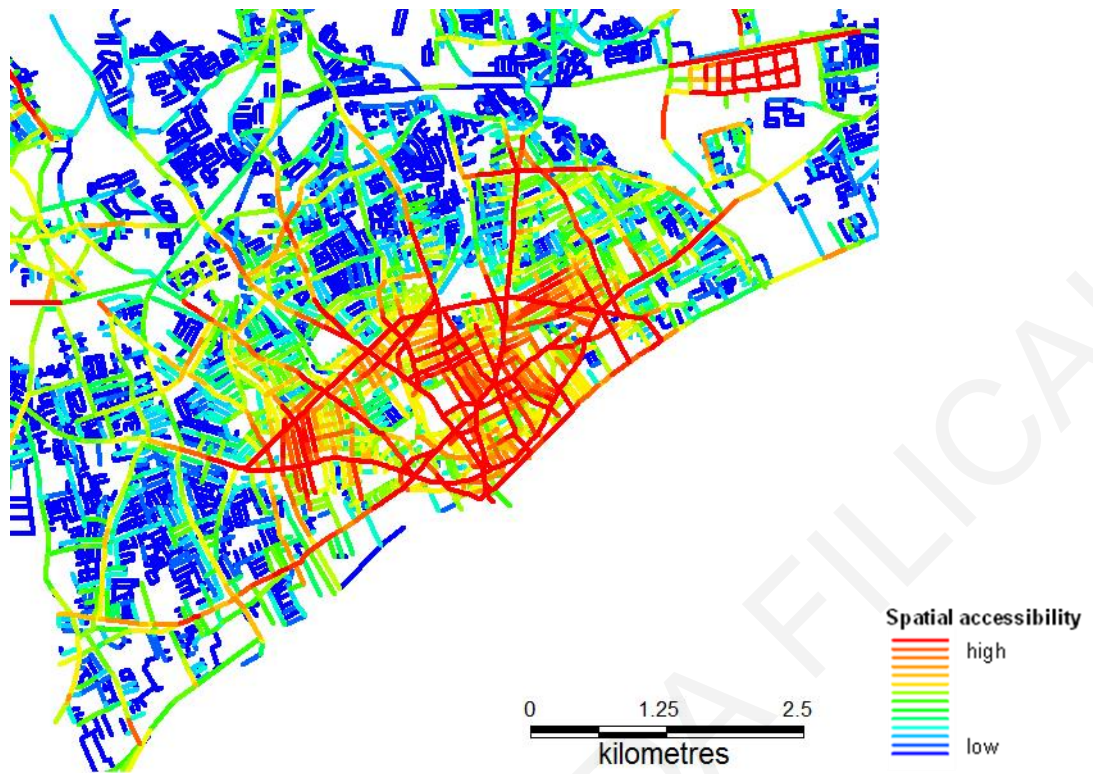


Figure A4.33. Local integration map of Limassol, 1987

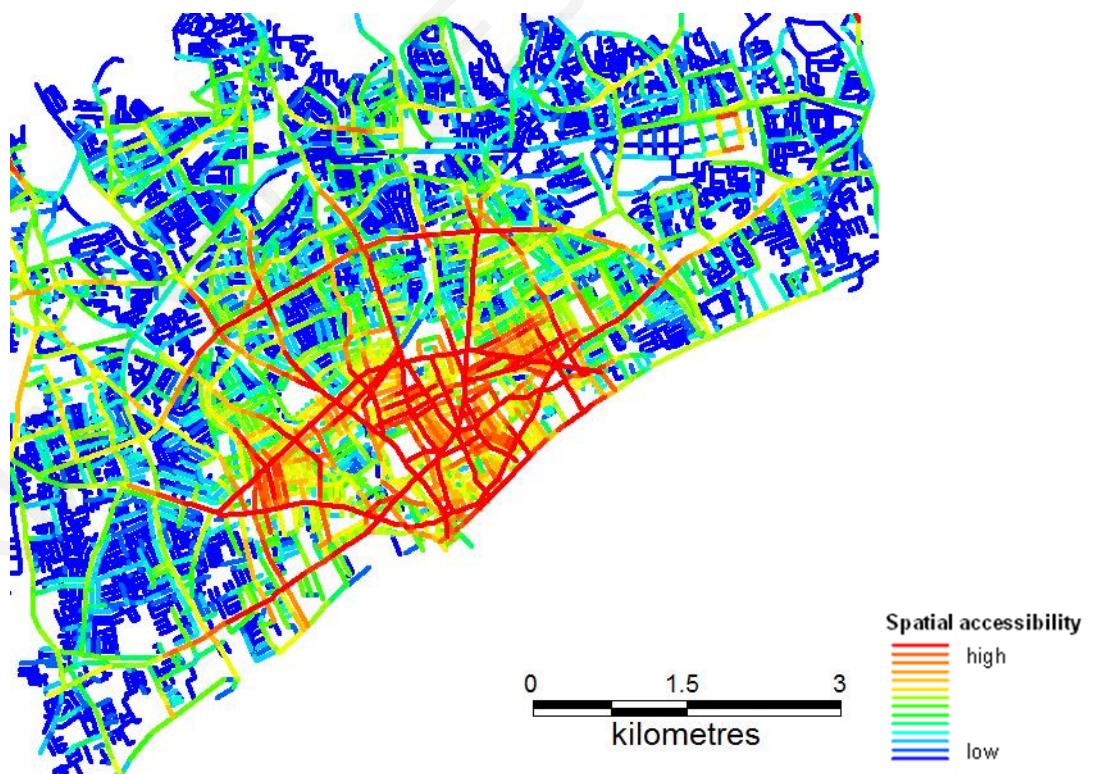


Figure A4.34. Local integration map of Limassol, 2003

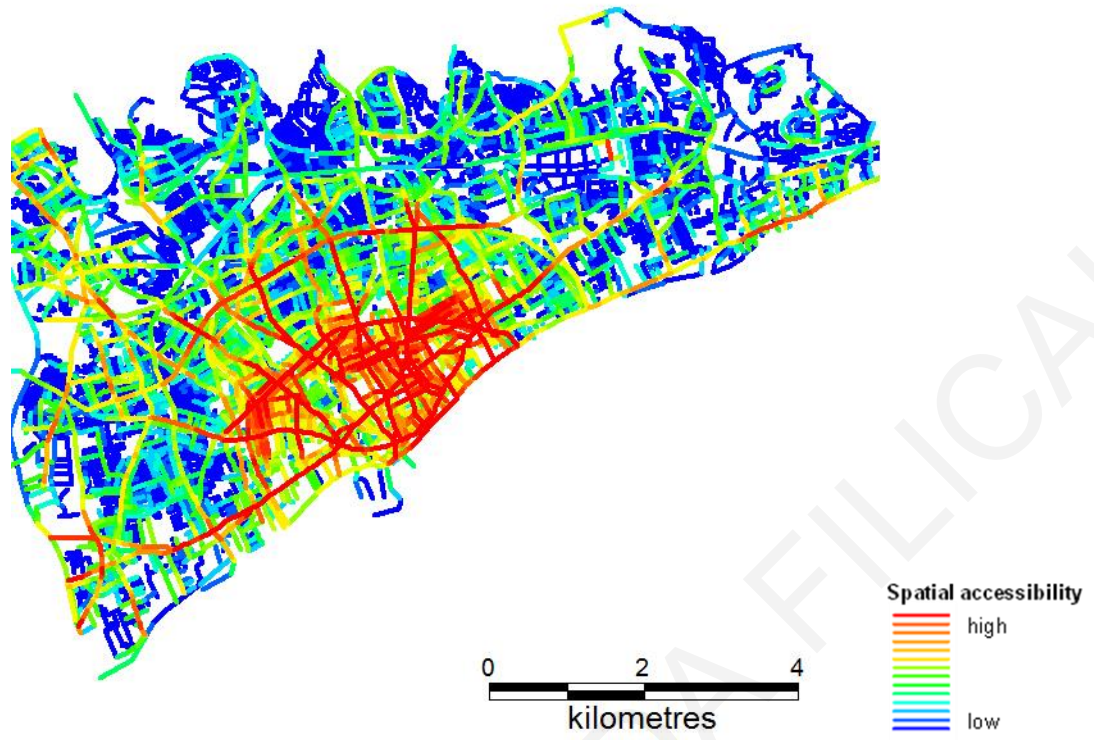


Figure A4.35. Local integration map of Limassol, 2014

Appendix 5: Block size analysis

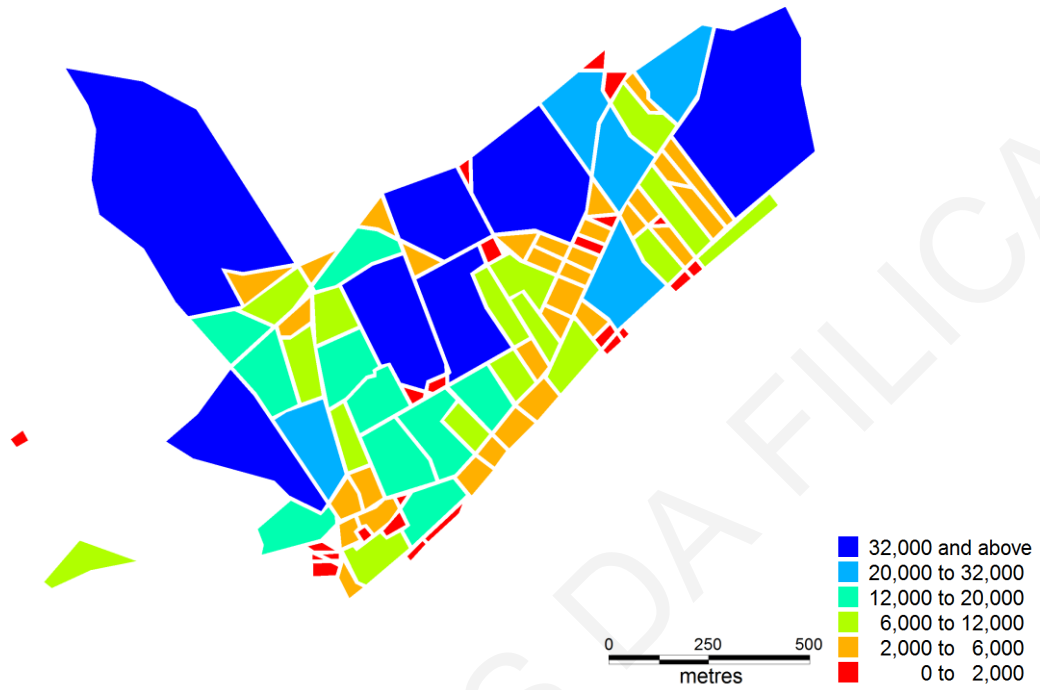


Figure A5.1. Block size (m²) map of Limassol, 1883

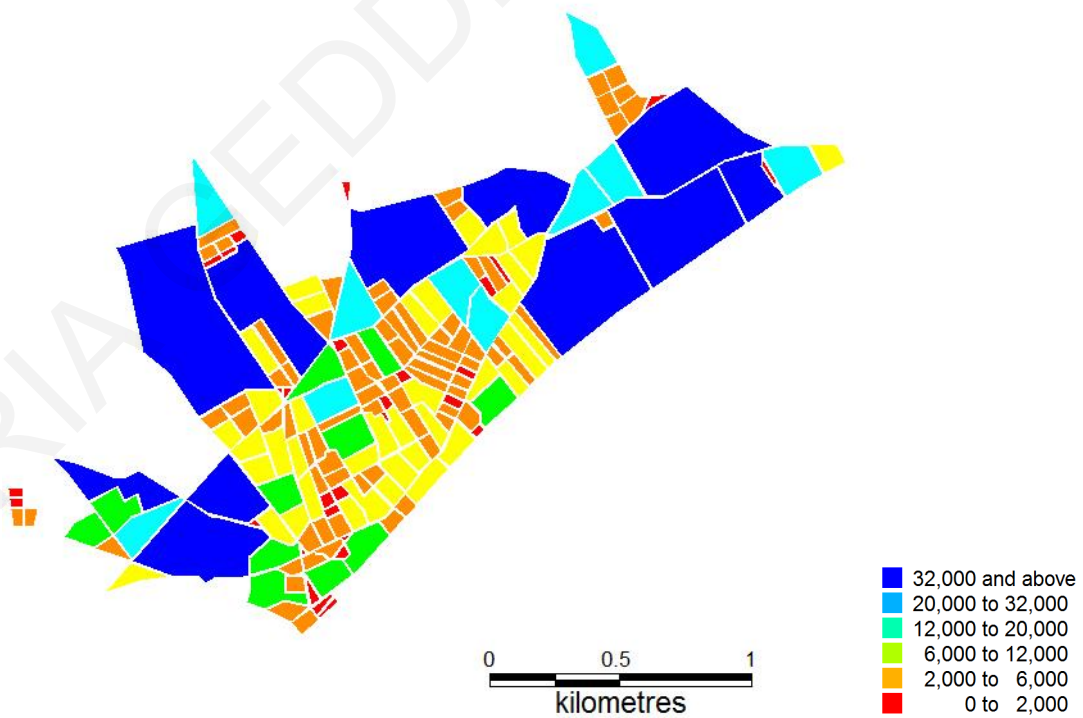


Figure A5.2. Block size (m²) map of Limassol, 1933

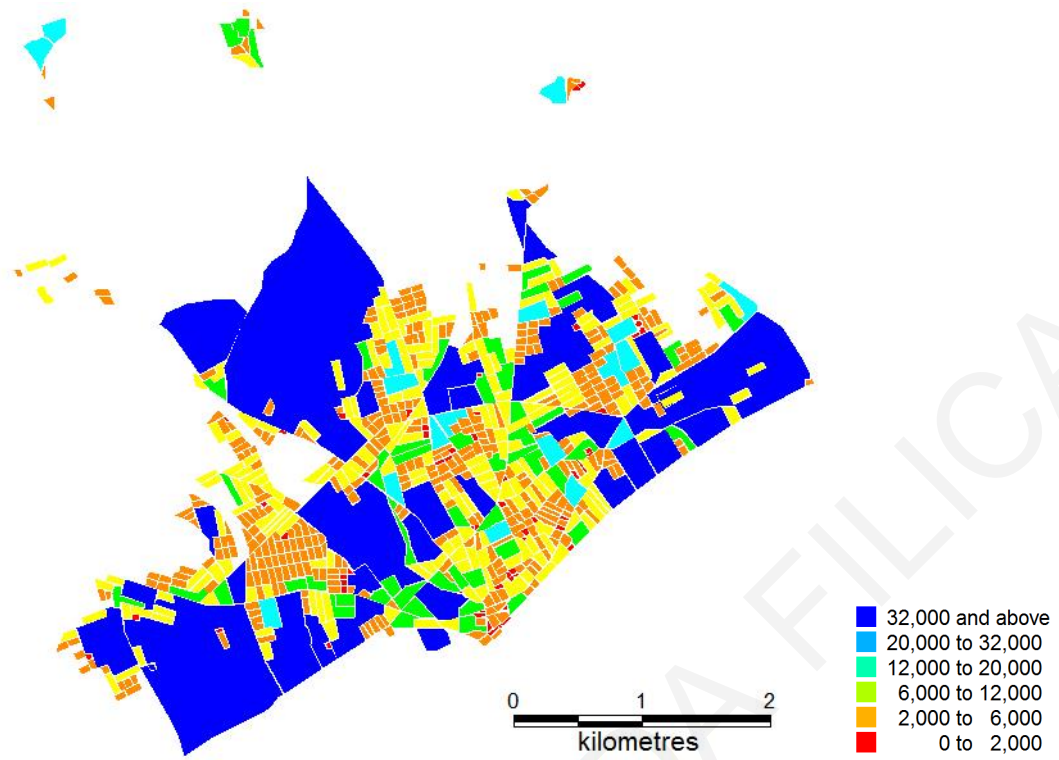


Figure A5.3. Block size (m²) map of Limassol, 1960

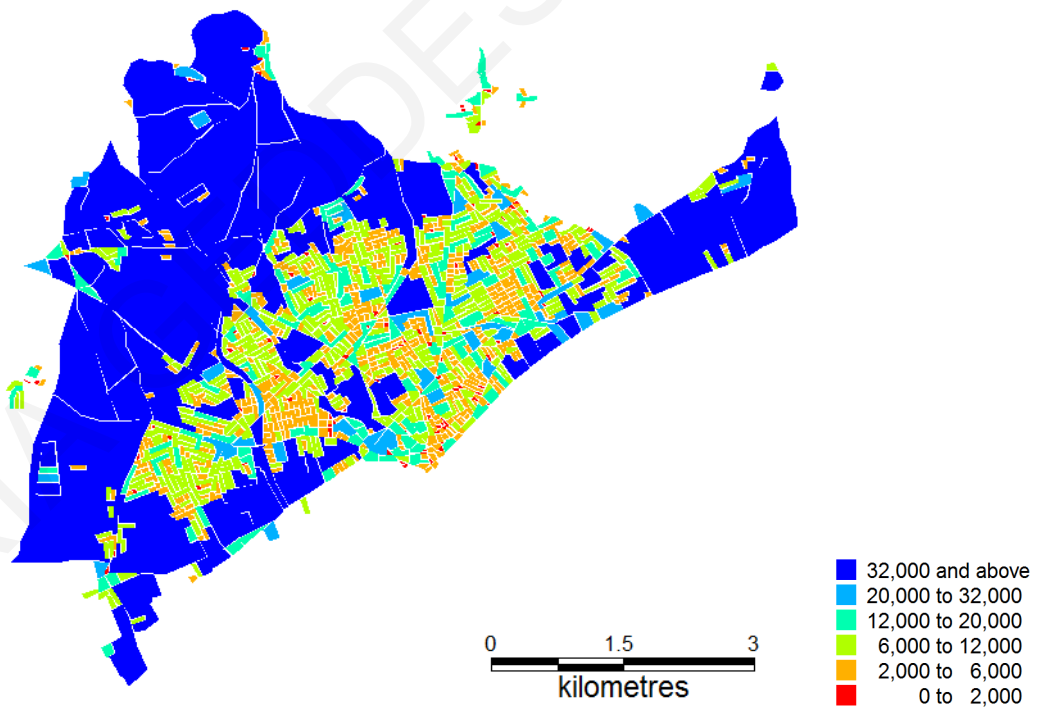


Figure A5.4. Block size (m²) map of Limassol, 1974

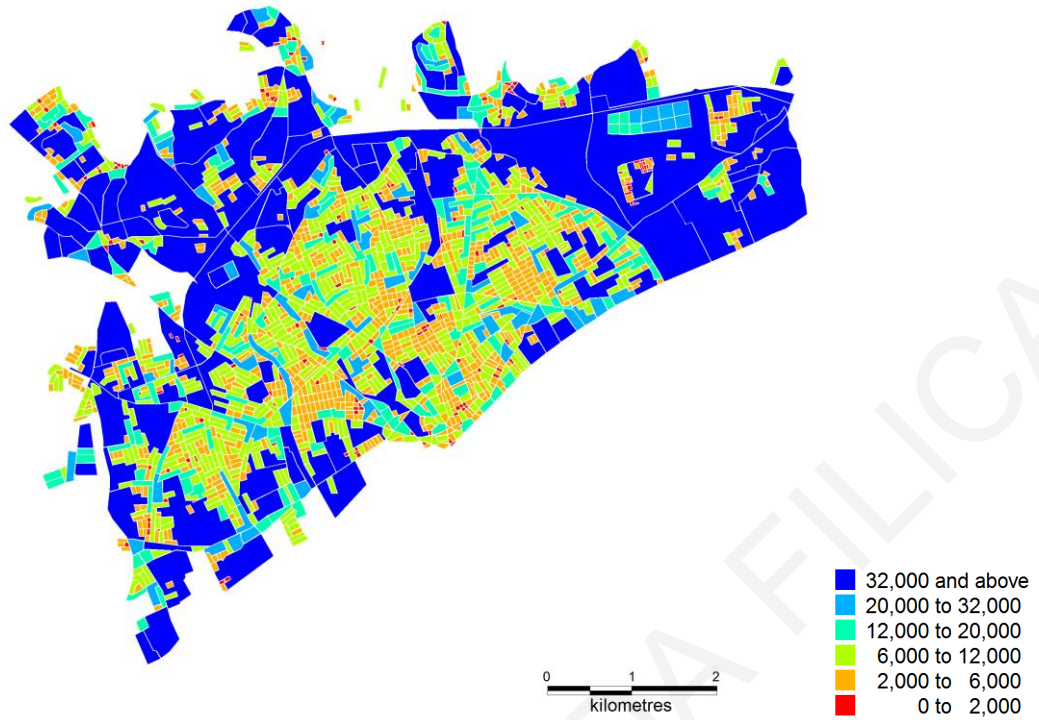


Figure A5.5. Block size map (m²) of Limassol, 1987

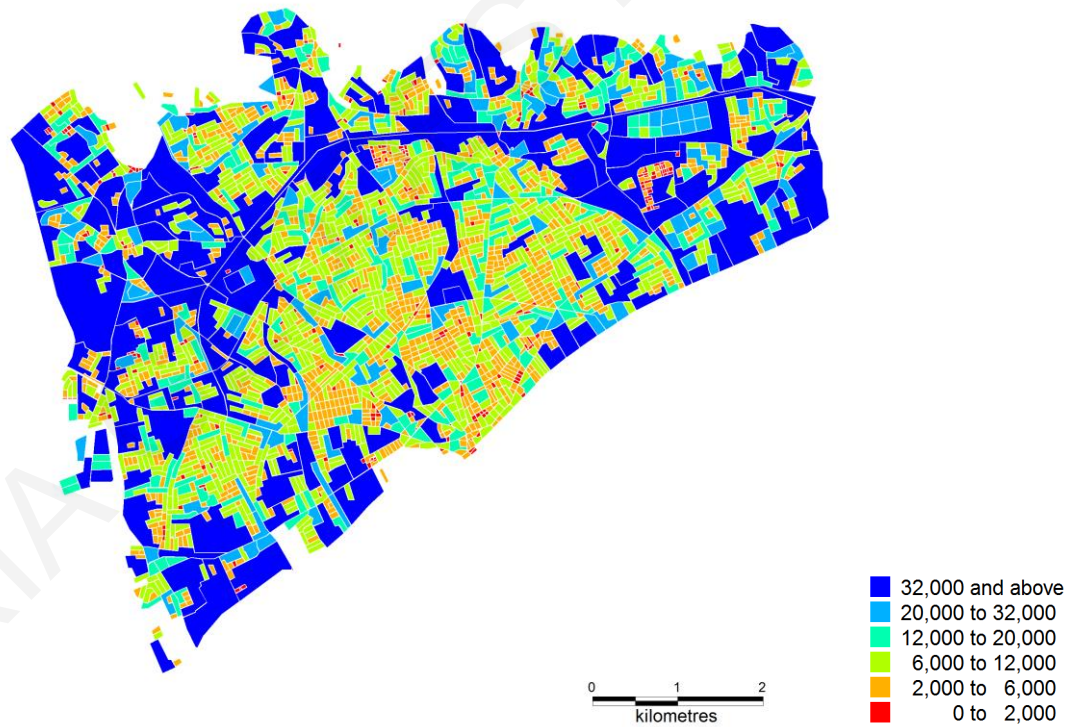


Figure A5.6. Block size (m²) map of Limassol, 2003

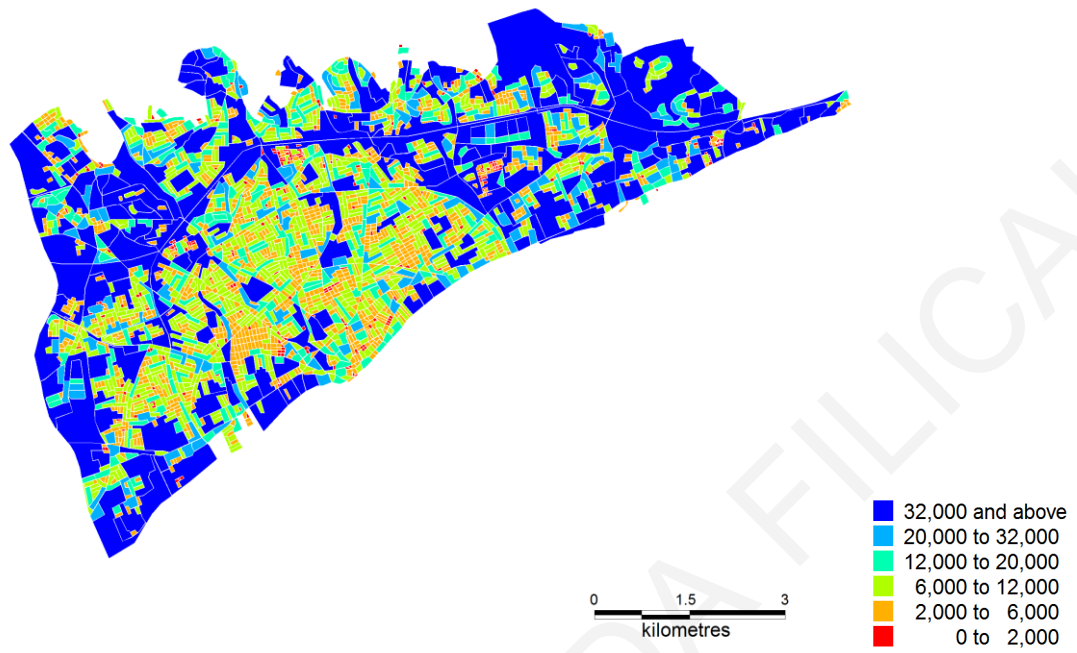


Figure A5.7. Block size (m²) map of Limassol, 2014

Abbreviations

ABM = Agent-Based Models
AKEL = Progressive Party of Working People
ANT = Actor-Network Theory
BMR = Barcelona Metropolitan Region
CA = Cellular Automata
CC = Correlation Coefficient
CI = Confidence Interval
CTO = Cyprus Tourism Organisation
EDEK = Movement for Social Democracy
EOKA = National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters
ETEK = Cyprus Scientific and Technical Chamber
EU = European Union
IFB = Inner Fringe Belt
ISCO-08 = International Standard Classification of Occupations
KOA = Cypriot Athletic Organisation
MFB = Middle Fringe Belt
NACH = Normalised Angular Choice
NAIn = Normalised Angular Integration
OFB = Outer Fringe Belt
PIO = Press and Information Office
TPH = Department of Town Planning and Housing

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ILARIA GEDDES DA FILICAIA

Plate 1: Fringe belt maps and timeline

See inside of back cover.

ILARIA GEDDES DA FILICAIA