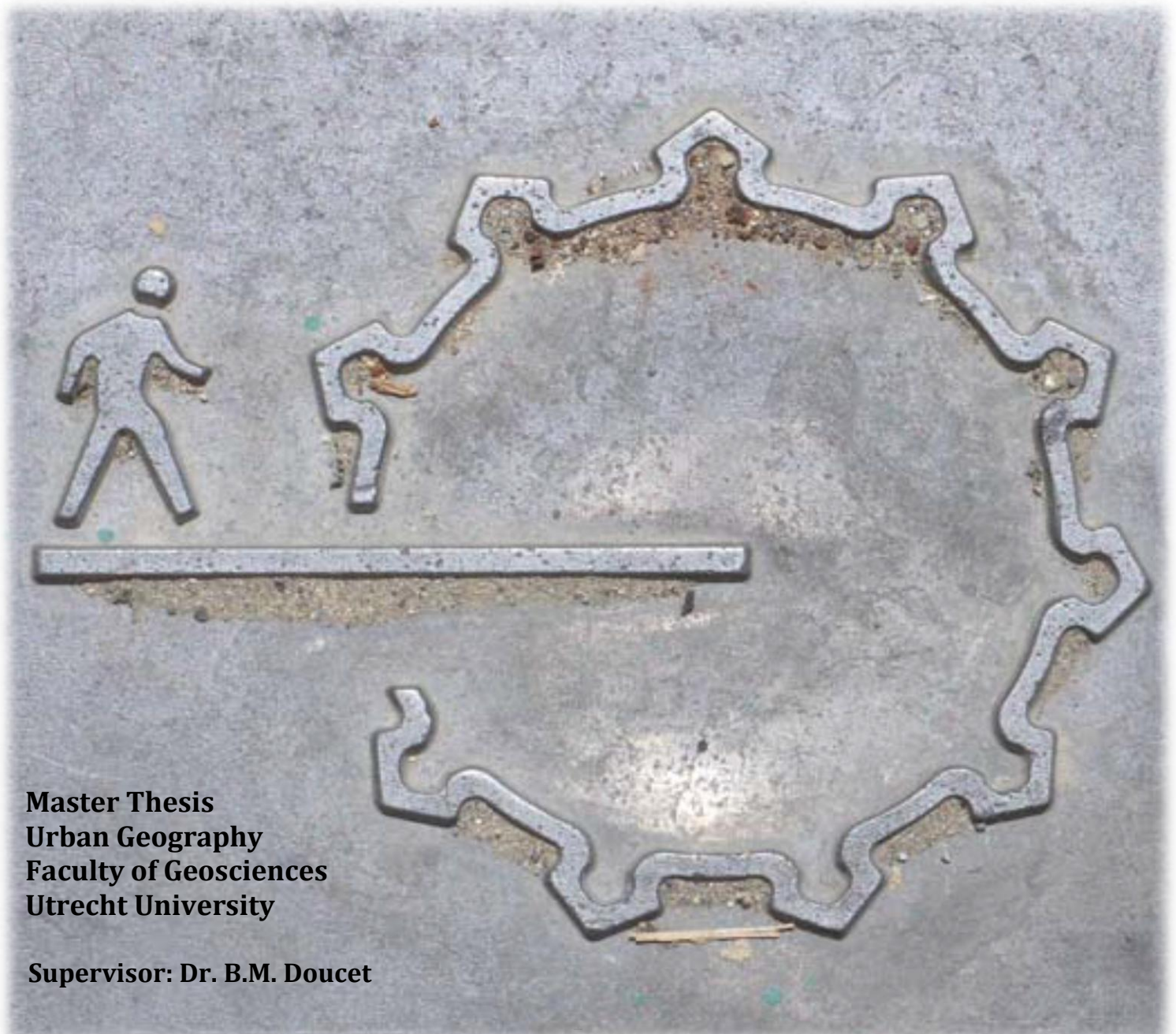


# **Echoes of Revitalization Projects in the Historic Walled City of Nicosia, Cyprus**

**Non-Residential Reputation on Previously Stigmatized, Revitalized  
Neighbourhoods and 'back to the city' movement**

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Urban Geography  
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## **ABSTRACT**

One of the aspects of neighbourhood revitalizations is good neighbourhood reputation and this reputation can be determined through various neighbourhood characteristics. The present study examines the different perceptions of non-residential groups on previously stigmatized and revitalized/gentrified neighbourhood of Arabahmet, Nicosia, Cyprus. By using interviews with business owners/employees, national visitors of the area and tourists, three different characteristics of Arabahmet including functional, physical and social aspects, were assessed in order to establish the reputation of the neighbourhood. The results of the present study demonstrate that non-residents perceive the area differently in accordance with their frequency of visits. Business owners/employees were found to be more knowledgeable about the problems of the neighbourhood, since they spend more time in it. Additionally, among the three characteristics, social factors revealed as the most important one that impacts to neighbourhood reputation. These findings suggest that, a displacement of the working class inhabitants is required for a successful urban renewal in stigmatized neighbourhood of Arabahmet. This study provides crucial information that fills the gap in the current academic literature which is the reputation of a gentrified neighbourhood from a non-residential perspective.

**Key Words:** *Neighbourhood Reputation, Revitalization, Gentrification, Non-Residents.*

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## Chapter I

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Introduction

Due to remarkable losses in middle class population, cities have experienced physical and social decline. This group of population was encouraged by variety of governmental policies to choose living in suburban communities (Cicin –Sain, Ed Rosenthal, 1980, p.49). This combined with the exodus of industry and consequent job losses (Noon, 2000, p.63; Clay, 1979, p.1), city centres became problematic and undesirable places to live. However, during the 1960s, when it became increasingly clear that many cities in Britain were facing long term decline (Noon, et al, 2000,p.63), urban revitalization was becoming a necessity more than a need to change this stigmatization of city centre neighbourhoods towards a better reputation. With this new spirit, for the first time, cities started to experience a reversed trend, suggesting a confidence in urban neighbourhoods. Various names have been given to this new trend, including; ‘gentrification’ ‘urban renaissance’, ‘back to the city movement’ ‘neighbourhood conservation’ and ‘neighbourhood upgrading’. These movements not only took the nations’ media’s attention but have also led to a growing body of academic literature on the topics (Cicin, Sain, 1980, p.51).

Academic studies are highly focused on the causes of this process, which are mainly centred on two major theories: consumption and production based explanations. However, during the decades with changing nature and economy of the world, the definition of this process has broadened and mutated to different forms. But no matter how far it has mutated, people have always been profoundly affected by the impact of this process (Doucet, 2009). Yet ‘displacement’ has been another focal point in academic discussion as a consequence of this urban regeneration or more specifically of *gentrification*.

However, when we look at the neighbourhoods themselves and not to the individuals, we see that their decline has halted but it is not known if their reversal has been accepted by the nation’s society and achieved a good reputation. Especially in communities closed to the outside world, reputation is a matter of importance. So the question here is; are these revitalization developments effective in changing declined inner city neighbourhoods’ reputations to a more positive position?

There are several previous works on neighbourhood reputation (Permentier, van Ham, Bolt, 2007, 2008, 2009) but the focus point of these studies have been the internal reputation rather than the external one. Some other studies have focused on how local residents perceived this revitalization (Doucet, 2009). However, combination of these studies with additional external/non-residential view instead of residential has not been covered yet in the academic literature.



This paper aims to study the non-residential reputation by examining the perception of externals on a previously stigmatized and declined inner city neighbourhood to provide a better understanding on the success of revitalization projects in replacing the stigmatization with good reputation.

## 1.2 Research Site: Arabahmet, Walled City of Nicosia

After the conflict in 1974 between the Turkish and Greek Cypriot communities, the inner city, especially neighbourhoods close to the borders, experienced suburbanization. The Northern part of Cyprus (T.R.N.C) has received high numbers of immigrants from Turkey especially to the core of the city, where the majority of local residents have moved out. Because the new comers were working class, their initial choice has been meeting their food and shelter needs and therefore the neighbourhoods they were living kept neglected. It can be hypothesized that, as the number of immigrant population increased and the natives' population decreased and the decline of the neighbourhood become more pronounced during the last 30 years.

This invasion has changed the character of Arabahmet neighbourhood from a wealthiest residential area to an area where Cypriots feel like foreigner and insecure to walk in the streets at nights, due to its new uneducated low-income residents. However, in 1979 the Nicosia Master Plan has formed under the umbrella of United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), aiming to increase the capacity of the city's services and to improve the existing and future human settlement conditions of all inhabitants of Nicosia (Petridou, 2010). But the first implementation of the plan was initiated in 1986 including twin projects of Arabahmet and Chrysaliniotissa (Al-Asad, 2007).

However, so far no scientific article has been published on how successful have this project been. Has it changed only the physical structures or the project has also improved the social and functional characteristics of the neighbourhood as well? What does the society think about these 'changes'? More importantly has this project become successful enough to change the destiny of this stigmatized neighbourhood?

This study aims to answer all these questions and explore the effects of revitalization projects in the stigmatized neighbourhood of Arabahmet by incorporating the perceptions of different groups of non-residential populations.

## 1.3 Scientific Relevance

Urban revitalization, its causes and consequences are widely studied in the field of urban geography. As briefly presented in the previous section, the main focus has been the economic, cultural and recently the political approaches for an explanation and displacement as a consequence of these processes. However, all these studies have been a subject to conversions in residents and housing units (Luckins, 2009, p.265-266).

Only a few studies have systematically focused on the perceptions towards revitalization processes (such as Doucet, 2010 on gentrification) and the reputation of neighbourhoods (Permentier, van Ham, Bolt, 2007, 2008, and 2009). But all these studies used the residents as an approach and there is no detailed study on non – residential neighbourhood reputation and how non – residents perceive revitalized neighbourhoods.

This thesis aims to fulfil the gap in the academic literature on the involvement of the non-residential population in searching for the effects of revitalization projects in dispelling the stigmatization and creating a new image. In this aspect, three non-residential groups have been used as focus points of this research.

This research will contribute to the existing academic studies on different forms of revitalization processes and their outcomes in addition to the neighbourhood reputation by providing a non-western example.

#### 1.4 Societal Relevance

The Northern part of Cyprus experiences revitalization projects with such a systematic and major scope for the first time with the Nicosia Master Plan (NMP), which is still ongoing.

This study comprises the outcomes of the revitalization projects held in the area and the society's perception on these changes. Because it covers the perspective aspect, the vision of the pupils are implicitly reflected and this will provide the project leaders of NMP how successful their work can be considered in terms of functional, physical and social aspects. Additionally, this could be used by urban planners and professionals to evaluate the process and work on it to increase the positive and beneficiary aspects and decrease the negative consequences. This could both benefit to this ongoing project in other parts of Nicosia and to the future projects, where there are great potential in other historical cities of Cyprus, such as Famagusta.

The study also offers initial clues about the possible future of the neighbourhoods through non-residential population's perspective, which will not only facilitate insight information to the entrepreneurs, who are interested in the historic walled city but also will assist policy makers to gain extra insight into the debates ongoing in the academic field in combination with a real life case. As previously mentioned, the research will shed light to the future revitalization projects, where the missing gaps in that revitalization project could be filled and the demand of the population can be considered and meet.

Furthermore, this study will take part among the very limited academic studies about Cyprus which is a factor for students refraining themselves to do a deep research on Cyprus due to a lack of scientific information. Therefore, this study would guide and

encourage young minds to take an insight look to the systems of Cyprus waiting to be discovered.

### 1.5 Research Questions

In order to reach to the aim of the theses, the main research question is formulated. Attached to the main research question, additional three sub-questions are constructed which will provide us a detailed information to answer the main question.

#### *Main Research Question*

- *How do the different groups of non-residents perceive a revitalized neighbourhood and within this context to what extend is urban renewal successful in changing negative reputation?*

#### *Sub Research Questions*

- How do the different groups of non-residents perceive the functional characteristics of a revitalized neighbourhood?
- How do the different groups of non-residents perceive the physical characteristics of a revitalized neighbourhood?
- How do the different groups of non-residents perceive the social characteristics of a revitalized neighbourhood?

### 1.7 Methods

Since the research aims to gain insight into relationship between revitalization processes and non-residents reputations on stigmatized neighbourhoods, qualitative methods were used in the study as there is a much greater interest in the interviewee's point of view in this method (Bryman, 2008). The approach in collecting qualitative data was in-depth, semi-structured interviews enabling the interview process to be more flexible (Zang & Wildemuth, 2009). An interview guide was used including both closed-ended and open ended questions. This would allow informants the freedom to express their views in their own terms (Cohen, 2006). The main source of information for this study will be obtained on the basis of fieldwork, which was conducted in a four weeks period in the months of April and May in 2012 in Arabahmet, the walled city of Nicosia. The data collection has done through interviews with non-residents, including business owners and employees in the area, national visitors, tourists, team leaders of the revitalization projects and urban planners. This process was followed by in depth evaluation of the interviews. As a result of the data collected during the fieldwork, which includes functional, physical and social aspects of the area, we are able to measure the

reputation of the neighbourhood and assess whether the revitalization has been successful in dispelling the stigmatization from non-residential view.

## 1.8 Thesis Outline

This thesis consists of nine chapters as followed;

Chapter two is primarily a review of the existing academic literature and consists of two main sections; *first*, the definition and theoretical approaches of the urban revitalization including its two fundamental types; *gentrification* and *incumbent upgrading*. *Second*, the definition and different aspects of neighbourhood reputation with additional focus on non-residential reputation.

The methodological chapter (Chapter III) provides explanations of the chosen research methods and the approach to be used in order to answer each sub-question.

Then chapter four introduces the research site of Arabahmet, the Nicosia walled city. In order to provide a better understanding for the following sections, the chapter initially provides basic information about the history of the Island and specifically about the history of Arabahmet. Then it focuses on the decline of the city centre and its stigmatization following up with the revitalization projects (Nicosia Master Plan). Then it determines the type of revitalization process (Gentrification or incumbent upgrading) that Arabahmet is experiencing.

The following chapter (Chapter V) analyses and discusses the data obtained from the interviews with non- residential group of respondents in order to answer the first sub-research questions. Chapter VI focuses on the physical factors of the neighbourhood and chapter VII focus on the social characteristics of the neighbourhood and how the non-residential respondents perceive them. The analysis of these interviews aims to answer the second and the third sub-research questions respectively.

Chapter VIII discusses the results of each sub research questions by addressing the studies from the existing academic literature that presented in the theoretical chapter of this study. Additionally, it offers answer to the main research question and concluding remarks of the research.

Chapter IX offers evaluation and recommendations for future researches on neighbourhood reputation and revitalization. The following sections present References and Appendices.

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **2.1 Introduction**

In order to reach a better understanding of the revitalization process and neighbourhood reputation, it was a necessity to study and summarize the theoretical aspects of this particular subject from the previous literature. Therefore this chapter will introduce the most important themes in this subject, starting with the declining of city centres and then their revitalizations. The following sections will provide descriptions and explanations on both gentrification and incumbent upgrading processes as two fundamental types of revitalization. In gentrification section, the major arguments in the academic literature are presented and discussed. However, within the two revitalization processes, it is gentrification that has been taking the majority of the attention in the academic literature and studies on incumbent upgrading remained rather limited. Therefore, the second section of this chapter provides the description of incumbent upgrading and its comparisons with gentrification. Finally, in the third section, neighbourhood reputation and its fundamental points were explained and discussed.

### **2.2 Declining Cities and Revitalization**

City centres are unique places in cities with their main characteristics of being multifunctional places (Rypkema, 2003; Balsas, 2007; Doratli *et al*, 2004). Especially, historic urban quarters have special place in countries as they reflect the accomplishments of a significant cross-section of the world cultures and while some represents the efforts of indigenous cultures, others display the impact of colonial activities (Doratli, et al, 2004, p329). However as a result of varied reasons, such as job migrations, more affordable housing in suburban areas, construction of peripheral office complexes and the out-migration of entertainment activities, those centres experience tremendous population loss. During this loss the more affluent, the young and the skilled have left the city centres and the elderly, the poor and the disadvantaged remained (Huntley, 1980). In other words, middle and upper – income families moved to suburban areas and chose to live there rather than central cities. This loss of urban middle class is considered as the main reason for city declines (Cicin-Sain, 1980). After the great population loss, cities lose their liveability as well, which leads to a spiral decline of the centre creating the ‘urban doughnut effect’ (Balsas, 2007). As a result, neighbourhoods in city centres become abandoned with the loss of confidence in city neighbourhoods as a desirable place to live. Such circumstances require a need for change for these central areas in order to bring back the liveability and other activities.

Following the years of decentralization and suburbanization, since 1970s, there is an emerged spirit generating more positive feelings and interest about the city centres both as a residential location (Beauregard, 1986) and hub of commercial activities (Ravenscroft, 2000) . There is a special interest to the historic centres because, as Ford (2003) states culture plays an ever-increasing role in the market as a prime tourist destination and a desirable place to live. At this point, the attempts to bring liveability, social and economic activities back to the city centre are called *revitalization* (Balsas, 2007). In the urban academic literature, there is neither common definition nor single accepted theory on urban revitalization. Also, the terms ‘renovation’, ‘regeneration’, ‘redevelopment’ and ‘revitalization’ are used without clear distinctions (Palen & London, 1984). In a broader context, as Clay (1979) states, such terms suggest that the decline in city populations and neighbourhood confidence may have been reversed, or at least halted in selected areas. This study chooses to use the term ‘urban revitalization’ mainly referring to ‘urban regeneration’, which is initially and broadly defined by Roberts (2000, p .17):

*“a comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change”*

During their long histories, city centres have always experienced changes, but the ones that are experiencing during the last 30 years probably cannot be compared with the previous changes (Balsas, 2007; Ford, 2003). While cities in the USA and Western Europe experienced those accelerated changes straight after the World War II, Southern and Eastern European cities are taking their places only recently in this process (Balsas, 2007; Ford, 2003; Davies, 1980). During the 1990s, those southern cities experienced many revitalization interventions, some, such as Lisbon and Porto, complimenting the renovation of the historic districts which had already started during the 1980s (Balsas, 2007). However, due to Western countries have been in the first place experiencing this process, focus in the academic literature has also been mainly based on these countries rather than an eastern approach. This paper aims to give an eastern European contribution to the ongoing debates about urban revitalization processes.

City centre revitalization not only includes physical improvement, but also considers economic and environmental aspects as well as social and community issues (Roberts, 2000; Tiesdell *et al.* 1996). Under the concept of these aspects, Clay (1979) suggests that revitalization activity has two different fundamental types: *incumbent upgrading* and *gentrification*.

### 2.2.1 Gentrification

The term 'gentrification', first used by Ruth Glass (1964) while pointing out the changes in the inner city of London, where the local lower class residents of East End relocated away by the wealthier middle class population.

*"One by one, many of the working class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle classes—upper and lower... Once this process of 'gentrification' starts in a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed"* (Glass, 1964, p. xviii).

This approach is defined in the academic literature as "classical gentrification" (Davidson & Lees, 2010). Todoric and Ratkaj (2011) briefly explained this process by stating "a complex revitalization process of the inner city core including physical improvement or dilatation of housing stock, changes in ownership structure, increase in house prices and displacement of poorer working class which replaces the new middle class with higher incomes". Even though, gentrification has mutated from its classic form in the central city to examine rural, new-build (Davidson & Lees, 2010) and super-gentrification (Lees, 2003; Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008), this paper will still examine the 'classical gentrification'. First section will provide the social characteristics of gentrified neighbourhood, which will become helpful in comparing gentrification and incumbent upgrading processes and followed by different theories arguing the causes and the consequences of this process.

#### 2.2.1.1 Social Characteristics of Gentrified Neighbourhoods

Before the gentrification process, neighbourhood's household composition is mainly combination of settled families, the elderly and the transient households. The share of young families in such neighbourhoods is very small. Most of the neighbourhoods have residents working in blue collar jobs before gentrification. However, as a neighbourhood go through experiencing the gentrification process, its social composition shows significant changes. The families, elderly and transient households are replaced with young couples or singles, who are mainly professionals and white collar workers. In other words, residents (working -class) of the neighbourhood is replaced with middle or upper class population (Smith & Williams, 1986; Todoric & Katraj, 2011; Clay, 1979; Beauregard, 1986). Additionally, the displacement causes changes in the dominant ethnic background in the neighbourhood. In many cases before gentrification neighbourhood is dominated with ethnic minorities, but this composition switches to the domination of natives. This is usually due to the financial situation of the minorities that is not as good as the natives', making them unable to afford living in the gentrified neighbourhood. As a result they are either directly or exclusionary displaced (chain displacement and displacement pressure are other ways that low-income population could be removed from their homes) (Marcuse, 1986) from the neighbourhood and the

newcomers are the ones who can afford living the gentrified neighbourhood (Slater, 2006).

#### 2.2.1.2 The causes of Gentrification: 'Production Side' versus 'Consumption Side'

Since the process has regularly been defined as 'the rehabilitation of working-class and derelict housing and the consequent transformation of an area into a middle-class neighbourhood' (Smith & Williams, 1986, p.1), there has been a debate on its causes and consequences (Atkinson, 2004). Most of the arguments in the academic literature have defended under two converse theories; 'production-supply-capital' and 'consumption-demand- culture'. Even though they are contrary to each other, both theories emerged as a reaction to the obfuscations of 1970s neo-classical economists' taking on gentrification as a natural, inevitable market adjustment process, something to be celebrated as part of an apparent middle-class return to the central city from suburbia (Slater, 2011, p.574).

Those arguing the explanation of gentrification from consumption perspective reacted to the simplistic neo classical accounts of demographic changes and lifestyle preferences by showing the changing industrial structure of major cities with the switch from manufacturing industry to service-based industries as well as by the changing in the occupational structure from the domination of a large manual working class to the domination of white-collar professionals, managers and technical workers in the financial, cultural and service industries, which are concentrated in the central cities (Slater,2011; Hamnett 1991; Hamnett,2003). Based on these arguments, Ley (1996) suggested that as a result of these changes in class composition, there have also been changes in the cultural orientation, preferences and working patterns of this 'new middle class' , which incline them living in the inner city rather than the suburbs (Hamnett, 2003). Therefore, for this side of the argument 'socio -cultural characteristics and motives' of the gentrifiers are the key elements explaining gentrification of the post industrial city. David Ley (1996) additionally proposes a 'creative class' among these 'new middle class'. This creative class consisting from artists, teachers and cultural administrators are the first stage gentrifiers, who prepare the inner city for gentrification.

Those from the production side of the argument rejects neo-classical view<sup>1</sup> (Smith, 1996,p53-54; Slater, 2011) and rather stress the economic and social factors or in other words they emphasize the role of capital and institutional agents (public and private) that produce attractive housing supply in the central city for middle-class individuals (Zukin, 1987). From this perspective, gentrification is a consequence of uneven investment of public and private capital in certain land uses, its devaluation through use and disinvestment and the opportunities for profitable reinvestment created by these

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<sup>1</sup> neo-classical view: gentrification was an expression of the changed consumption choices among certain sections of the middle class (Smith,1996,p. 53-54 ; Slater,2011)



flow of capital (Smith & Williams, 1986, p.4; Slater, 2011). At this point Neil Smith offers 'rent gap theory', which locates gentrification within long-term shifts of investment and disinvestment in the built environment (Hamnett, 1991). He defines the theory as "the disparity between the potential ground rent level and the actual ground rent capitalized under the present land use" (Figure 1) (Smith, 1996, p.65). Even though it is known that there is not always a need for a rent gap for gentrification to occur, this theory is still provocative today. According to Smith, property-based capital, estate agencies, and developers are the ones who see the 'rent gap' and rehabilitate and gentrify undervalued inner city housing for profit. From Smith's perspective, economic and structural factors are the key elements for gentrification, and individual preferences are not taken into account. He suggests that, what flows from city centres to suburbs (due to devaluation) and then from suburbs to inner cities (when the gap is sufficiently large) is the 'capital'. Therefore, he states "*Gentrification is a back-to-the-city movement all right, but a back-to-the-city movement by capital rather than people*" (Smith, 1996, p.67).

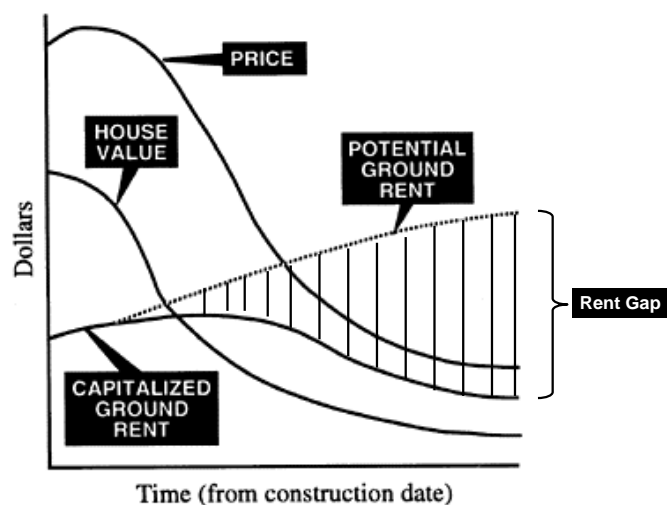


Figure 1: The devaluation cycle and the evolution of rent gap theory (Smith, 1996, p.63).

### 2.2.1.3 The consequences of Gentrification

Another argument in the gentrification literature is the 'winners' and 'losers' of this process. Independently from which theory the gentrification is grounded, it has both positive and negative consequences but a limited amount of studies has focused on the positive side of it. The findings of such studies represent the advantages of

gentrification process as; stabilization of declining areas, improvement of physical environment, desegregation of urban areas, increased socio-economic, racial and ethnic integration, stimulation of additional retail and amenities, better public services and attract visitors (Atkinson,2004; Doucet,2009; Freeman and Braconi,2004; Slater,2006).

On the other hand, there is a considerable amount of studies providing the negative impacts of gentrification mostly focusing on the 'losers', in other words the working class, low income residents. In this field, displacement of low-income household has been the most discussed negative effect of gentrification among the others. Additionally, disruption of social cohesion, community conflict, less affordable housing, and homelessness can be categorized as the negative outputs of gentrification (Atkinson, 2004; Doucet, 2009; Slater, 2006).

Apart from the positive and the negative side of the argument Doucet (2009) has provided another perspective on this dualism. He argues that gentrification should not only be considered with 'black -and -white' terms. According to his findings there is also a third category. In his case, the local residents of Leith (Edinburgh) do not fit in any of the 'winners' or 'losers' class since they are neither the gentrifiers nor those being displaced by them.

As a result of the direct positive impacts of gentrification as mentioned above, such as improvement in physical environment, it also has indirect effect. It may not be merely true or maybe a bit cruel to say that gentrified neighbourhoods are always stigmatized before experiencing the process but it can be claimed that they were not the most favorable places, mostly reconciled with other names such as 'the slums' or 'the working class district'. This labeling gives an idea to the 'others', who are not the inhabitants of that neighbourhood. Without doubt, the media (press, television, radio and so on) plays an important role during the labeling process. Both the images and the stigmas are related to the physical appearance (housing types, infrastructure etc.) of the area (Wassenberg, 2004). Since the physical appearance of a neighbourhood changes as a result, both gentrification process and incumbent upgrading will to create a new image by replacing the perception of a declined city with one of a reborned city (Holcomb & Beauregard, 1981). It is believed that gentrification is more successful than incumbent upgrading in creating new image and a perception related to that. However, there is no considerable detailed study in the academic literature covering the perceptions on the newly created images. This study aims to help closing this gap in the literature by focusing on a previously stigmatized and later revitalized neighbourhood. More detailed description on neighbourhood reputation is provided in Section 2.3 of this chapter.

### 2.2.2 Incumbent Upgrading

This section will provide information on the profile of an upgraded neighbourhood while pointing out the fundamental differences between upgrading and gentrification processes.

In incumbent upgrading, the residents of neighbourhood, who are usually stable, moderate- income households, reinvest their environment by improving physical conditions of both their properties and the neighbourhood in general. Even though the process may occasionally involve government assistance, it is not always the case (Holcomb & Beauregard, 1981). Therefore, because the effort is done by the residents, unlike gentrification, the revitalization of space allows them to stay in the area and does not result with rapid migration or displacement (Clay, 1979; Holcomb & Beauregard, 1981; Uzun, 2001), leading to stability in the characteristics of the social composition of neighbourhood. This reveals as the main difference between the two revitalization processes that incumbent upgrading mainly occurs as physical changes rather than social as gentrification. Studies (Clay, 1979) revealed that in upgraded neighbourhoods the racial composition of the area shows no significant difference and the same dominant racial group is maintained after the process is completed, whereas, in gentrification process, due to the initial inhabitants are replaced with the new comers, racial composition of the area might shows differences. In Table 1, the main differences between incumbent upgrading and gentrification are demonstrated.

As for the physical changes in upgrading, the improvements are more likely to be either interior and exterior structural repairs or modernisation. Even though without much investment, the structural features of a house can be changed. In a longer term, this may result in changing the perception and the image of the neighbourhood (Clay, 1979 p.48). Such improvements cause a general increase in taxes and property values but these are still at a relatively modest level when compared with the rises in gentrified neighbourhoods. The reason behind the differences in the level of increases between the two processes is mainly the location factor. The neighbourhoods experiencing gentrification are mainly located within one mile of the central city, whereas only one third of the upgraded neighbourhoods are located within this distance. Usually, upgraded neighbourhoods are spread around the city (Clay, 1979, p.47).

Land use is another important factor related to the location. Upgraded neighbourhoods are more likely than gentrified neighbourhoods to be entirely residential, while the halves of the gentrified areas are mixed- land use areas. This can be explained by the development of commercial areas in the low or moderate parts of the cities. Such areas are dominantly occupied by service centres and institutions, restaurants, bars, which attract outsiders generating problems for residents. Therefore, commercial areas become more nuisance rather than beneficiary and as a result such upgraded neighbourhoods locate away from these busy commercial areas (Clay, 1979, p.47).

Additionally, upgraded neighbourhoods are dominantly settled by families with dependent children including few exceptional old residents. Only a limited percent of the upgraded neighbourhoods have previously been middle or upper class areas, most of them have always been working- class residential areas.

Table 1: Summary of the differences between two revitalization processes; Upgraded Neighbourhoods and Gentrified Neighbourhoods.

<b><i>Characteristics</i></b>	<b><i>Upgraded Neighbourhoods</i></b>	<b><i>Gentrified Neighbourhoods</i></b>
<b>Actors</b>	Residents (No Displacement)	Middle-Upper class individuals, developers/ investors, governments  (Displacement)
<b>Factors changed in Neighbourhood</b>	Physical Composition	Social Composition (population)
<b>Class</b>	Same class: Working class	Changes in class: Middle and Upper class
<b>Ethnic composition</b>	Same ethnicity before and after the process	Changes in the ethnic composition after the process
<b>Residential characteristics</b>	Families with children	Young singles / Couples without children
<b>Land -use</b>	Mostly Residential	Mostly mixed- land use
<b>Location</b>	Spread throughout the city	Mostly city centres
<b>Changes in Property value and Taxes</b>	Modest Increase	Significant Increase

## 2.3 Neighbourhood Reputation

In the academic literature, there is a range of findings and discussions about the effects of neighbourhood reputation on residents. The literature suggests that neighbourhoods with bad reputation have negative influence on residents' self - esteem, social and job opportunities (Galster, 2007; Musterd & Andersson, 2005; Bauder, 2002; Wilson, 1996; Taylor, 1998 from Permentier et al, 2008). It has been also suggested that residents' behaviours can be affected from neighbourhood's reputation by changing the social action according to the neighbourhood's bad repute among externals (Permentier *et al*, 2007). The term *reputation* refers to "the opinion that people in general have about someone or something" or "how much respect or admiration someone or something receives, based on past behaviour or character " (Cambridge Dictionary, 2012).

Places, including countries, cities or neighbourhoods, have always been very popular for this labelling process. When the term is considered within the neighbourhood framework, another definition comes from a Dutch literature. As Permentier (2007 & 2008) cited, Hortulanus (1995, p.42) states that reputation "refers to the meaning and assessment assigned by residents and outsiders to the neighbourhood. Reputation also refers to the relatively stable image a neighbourhood has among city residents and to its place in the urban neighbourhood hierarchy".

### 2.3.1 Residential and Non - Residential Reputation

Neighbourhood's reputation is a common concept that one belief is widely accepted among a group of people about the status of a neighbourhood. As aforementioned, this belief may belong to the residents of a neighbourhood and/or to the non-residents of the neighbourhood. The collective perspective adopted by the residents of a neighbourhood can be also named as internal reputation, and the perspective adopted by non-residents of a neighbourhood as external reputation (Hortulanus, 1995 cited and translated by Permentier *et al*, 2007). In all cases there is a social interaction between the internal and externals leading their perspectives to get affected by each other. Therefore the reputations of these two groups of actors are inseparable even though they might not be on the same angle all the time. Studies in this filed (Logan & Culver, 1983; Curtis & Jackson, 1977) demonstrate that there is a strong correlation between the internal and external reputations. Permentier *et al* (2008) argues that the similarities in residents and non-residents' reputation may be due to the internalization of outsiders reputation by insiders and therefore giving similar rating for their neighbourhood. However, it is more common that internal and external reputations show differences. Such differences occur when residents are more willing to give higher rates to their neighbourhood as a result of either an adaptation process of their unimproved situation (Festinger 1957) or because it was their choice to reside in that particular neighbourhood (Bell *et al*, 1996). Therefore, when internals choose the place by their own will or have no other choice than the neighbourhood, then they tend to give more positive reputation to neighbourhood compared to the non-residents.

However, differences in reputation not only occur between residents and non-residents, but also among groups of outsiders (non-residents). At this point, academic literature is not adequately complete to provide studies showing differences in neighbourhood reputation by different groups of non-residents. This study aims to fill this gap in the literature by focusing on three groups of externals and their reputations on a revitalized neighbourhood.

According to Permentier *et al* (2011, p.978), because of externals engage with the neighbourhood to a limited extend, they usually do not have detailed knowledge about it and their perspective is based on a limited set of objective neighbourhood characteristics. Physical features including general aesthetics, building density, housing condition and the availability of green spaces are important characteristics influencing their perceptions of the reputation of a neighbourhood (Arthurson, 2012p.106). It is true to some extent that externals do not engage with the neighbourhood as much as the residents. However, there is a long standing literature leading to the conclusion than the neighbourhood is only a very small part of people's lives (van Kempen,2010; Webber, 1963; Stein, 1972,Merton,1957). Even though neighbourhood is still important for some certain groups, such as less well educated people, lower income groups, ethnic groups(van Kempen,2010), children (Matthews and Limb 1999) and elderly ( Allan and Phillipson 2008; Phillipson et al. 2001; Savage et al. 2004), it is clear that increased transportation facilities (leading to *human extensibility*<sup>2</sup>) (Janelle, 1973 from van Kempen, 2010), ICT services and transnational activities weakens the strength of the relationship between the neighbourhood and its inhabitants. As van Kempen (2010) states "Where people have their home, where they reside, is relevant in some respects. But lives of people do not organize completely around the home", if we suggest that one's life is more organized around the working environment then, this person has stronger bonds and engagement with the neighbourhood than the inhabitants. From this point of view in contrast to Permentier's suggestion, it can be considered that internals can also engage with the neighbourhood to a limited extend and therefore have limited knowledge about it and in some cases externals might engage with the neighbourhood more than the internals. However, this engagement is not at the same level among the non-residents and it is believed that their perception changes according to the frequency they are engaged with the neighbourhood. Based on this assumption, this paper also aims to find perceptions of individuals from different non-residential groups. Therefore, the group of non-residents is divided in three categories according to their frequency of engaging with the neighbourhood. The first group is supposed to visit the area very frequently (at least 3days of a week), while the second group visits rarer than the first group (once or couple of times in a month) and the final group is supposed to visit the area only once.

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<sup>2</sup> *Human Extensibility*: the increased opportunities for interaction among people and places.

### 2.3.2. Neighbourhood Characteristics

An individuals' thoughts and perceptions on a particular subject develops through his/her observations. When the subject is neighbourhood image, then the thoughts are determined according to some particular features. One of these features is functional characteristics of a neighbourhood. Physical appearance is another factor but it is the most easily observable among all and yet one of the most important factors influencing an external's opinions. The third important factor effecting neighbourhood image and therefore its reputation is the social composition of the area.

#### 2.3.2.1 Functional Factors

Functional characteristics of neighbourhoods consist of location, accessibility, availability of utility and services, presence of facilities including hospitals or medical facilities, open urban spaces, shopping centres or retail stores (Permentier et al, 2008; Jeffrey & Pounder, 2000; Cutrona et al, 2006).

According to Jeffrey and Pounder (2000), the three traditional qualities of a site is location, location, location. Less desirable locations are places where vulnerable households are tend to be clustered and reinforce patterns of deprivation. Health inequalities and social exclusion are significant in such locations (Barton, 2009). Therefore, location can also be important in terms of public services. Some neighbourhoods are located within political jurisdictions and that offers inferior services and facilities (Galster, 2007, p.23). Hasting and Dean (2003) also argues that location can be an important factor leading to a neighbourhood's reputation (Permentier et al, 2008). Related to the location, accessibility (also includes public transportation) is an important scope since it is more than just easy connections to a high quality road network. According to UK's Planning Policy Guidance (PPG) 13 (2001), and the preoccupation of many regeneration schemes in inner cities or town centres, there is a need to ensure that access by mass transport system is viable as the pressure of congestion and traffic pollution result in restrictions on car use (Jeffrey and Pounder, p.87-88, 2000). Also the quality and safety of the pedestrian and cycling environment is important (Barton, 2009). As Galster (2007) argued, because of the spatial proximity or transportation networks, some neighbourhoods have limited accessibility to job opportunities appropriate to the skills of internals. But disadvantageous spatial proximity and limited transportation networks can be important factors for non-residents as well. Therefore, poor accessibility to a neighbourhood can be responsible for its stigmatization (Costa-Pinto, 2000, see Permentier et al, 2008).

In the academic field one group of professionals argues that availability and quality of services (such as municipal services), retail stores and medical facilities can be critically

important elements in regeneration and determination of well being and therefore neighbourhood reputation (Jeffrey and Pounder, 2000; Cutrona, Wallace and Wesner, 2006). According to Hasting and Dean (2003), stigmatized neighbourhoods often have few commercial, leisure or retail facilities as businesses become reluctant to locate there and private sector services such as insurance or financial institutions withdraw. They also argue that, the quality of public services such as policing or education can be undermined. On the other hand, some such as Hortulanus (2000, see Permentier et al, 2008) have not considered the presence of facilities as an important element for neighbourhood reputation. The third group alternatively suggests that if these facilities are presented significantly, only then they can be considered as factors effecting the reputation (Permentier et al, 2008).

### 2.3.2.2 Physical Factors

As aforementioned, physical factors are important features for non-residents influencing their perceptions while forming neighbourhood reputation. These factors can be divided into three subcategories as structural aspects, infrastructural aspects and environmental aspects.

Structural aspects of residential and non-residential buildings consist of dwelling types, sizes, quality, design, materials, maintenance and the density (Koopman, 2005, Galster 2001). Quality of a dwelling is commonly related to the construction period of the neighbourhood, affecting people's viewpoint about the area. Construction period also reflects the architectural style of the buildings and therefore becomes one of the influential factors (Permentier, van Ham & Bolt, 2008, p.45). Infrastructural aspects include roads, sidewalks, streetlights, sewer systems, streetscape or general aesthetic and utilities. The combination of public space, green spaces, degree of land, air, water and noise pollution, topographical features and views address the environmental aspects of neighbourhood characteristics (Koopman, 2005, Galster 2001). The better the condition of these aspects the nicer the neighbourhood reputation is.

Wassenberg (2004) stressed that images and stigmas are connected to the physical appearance of an area. Therefore, physical factors also play important role during the revitalization processes of stigmatized neighbourhoods. As Jeffrey and Pounder (2000, p.86) stated "physical renewal is usually a necessity if not sufficient condition for successful regeneration". They further added that one of the important roles of physical regeneration within the full context of regeneration of an area is an integrated socio-economic and physical renewal.

As Wassenberg (2004, p.12) stated people observe the visible features of the surroundings including the appearance, the built environment and neglect of buildings. The built environment is seen and judged by non-residents in relation to its tenants, since the physical features of the environment give hints to the externals about the statue and way of life of its internals. Therefore, the physical characteristics of a



neighbourhood can be an indicator of its social characteristics (Permentier et al, 2008). According to Parkes et al (2002), who also supported this argument, housing satisfaction and the general appearance of an area are the two main elements related to neighbourhood satisfaction and therefore they are the two factors that a renewal should include.

### 2.3.2.3 Social Factors

As Hortulanus (1999, see Wassenberg, 2004, p. 12) stated, social aspects play a role in neighbourhood reputation. In addition to physical features mentioned above, people also look at the kind of persons living in the area. There is a common notion in the literature that socio- cultural and socio-economic composition of neighbourhood are the most influential factors effecting the reputation of the area (Wacquant,1993; Permentier et al, 2008). Additionally, the finding of Permentier, Bolt and Ham (2008) suggests that the objective social neighbourhood characteristics, such as ethnic composition and socio-economic status (income and employment status) are the most important variables explaining perception of reputation. Within these elements, ethnic composition has been found by Permentier *et al* (2011) as the most prominent factor that significantly relate to the neighbourhood reputations.

In most cases negative reputations are linked with the dominance of ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood. Studies from different countries such as Denmark, Portugal, France and America concluded that problematic reputations are strongly related to the over-representation of ethnic minorities. There are two distinguishable theories explaining the reasons lying behind the effects of ethnic minorities to negative neighbourhood reputations. The first theory is the “pure race hypothesis” which is basically the strong prejudice of whites against blacks and other ethnic minorities (Permentier et al, 2008). The second theory is the “the racial proxy theory”, which assumes the neighbourhoods dominated by blacks and ethnic minorities are commonly have high poverty rates leading to low-qualified schools etc. , so the negative reputation of these neighbourhoods come from its poverty rather than the ethnic background of its residents (Harris,2001 from Permentier, et al, 2008).

The negative reputations caused by over-representations of ethnic minorities make neighbourhoods undesirable places to visit or to reside by non-residents. This accordingly effects the revitalization processes held in neighbourhoods possibly by preventing the use of whole capacity of revitalization projects as expected by policy makers or program leaders. But it may also discourage middle and upper class outsiders to gentrify the neighbourhood.

Addition to ethnicity, class can also be a factor effecting neighbourhood reputation. People whose attitudes and behaviours are based on the assumption that the individual good is enhanced by submitting to social norms are assigned under “civil class”. On the other corner, there is “uncivil class” whose attitudes and behaviour reflect no acceptance of norms beyond specified by civil and criminal law. Clay (1979, p.38), argues that in

case of intention to revitalization, neighbourhoods dominated by civil class will develop and maintain the process of upgrading while the areas under the domination of “uncivil class” will not be successful generating private investment and developing, which will lead them to be an unattractive place for outsiders.

## **2.4 Conceptual Framework**

With reference to the research questions formulated in the previous chapter and the academic literature presented in previous sections of this chapter, a preliminary conceptual model is designed (Figure 2). The model demonstrates the relation between the processes and hypothesized outcomes of these processes. As it can be seen, the starting point of the whole process is stigmatized neighbourhood. In order to change this stigmatization and create a new image, the revitalization projects are applied to the neighbourhood. This revitalization process can be either incumbent upgrading or gentrification. These two fundamental types of revitalization can be associated to each other. A successful incumbent upgrading process may trigger actors to gentrify the neighbourhood and when those gentrifiers reinvest their environment just like Business Improvement Districts (BIDs), another incumbent upgrading would be created. Changes created by revitalization in the previously stigmatized neighbourhood's environment are expected to change the neighbourhood's reputation as well. The characteristics of a neighbourhood that determine its reputation are functional, physical and social factors. Neighbourhood reputation can be categorized under two aspects as residential and non-residential reputation. This study focuses on non-residential aspects only, including the three non-residential groups; business owners/ employees, local visitors and tourists, which may show differences in perceiving the area. Changes in neighbourhood reputation towards a more positivistic state may trigger even more gentrifiers and the positive feedback from the society may increase the levels of incumbent upgrading as well.

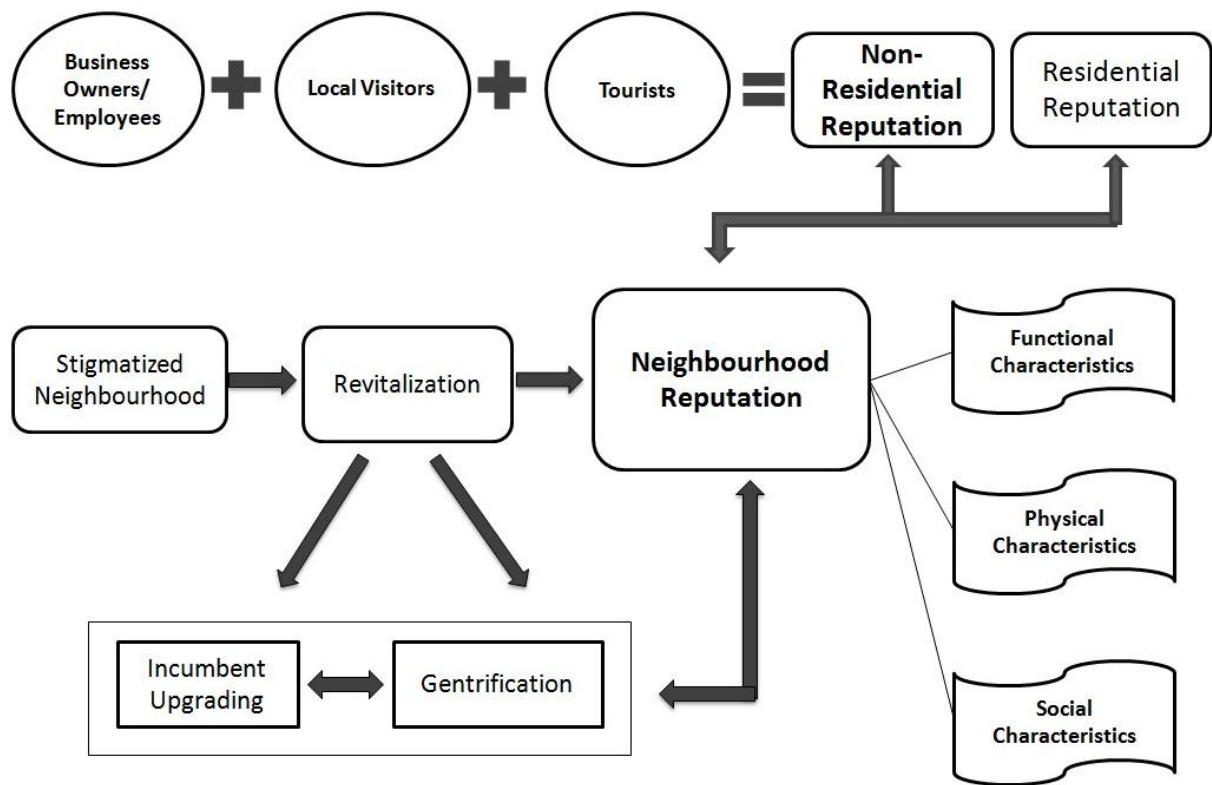


Figure 2: Conceptual model of the proposed research.

## **METHODOLOGY**

### **3.1 Introduction**

In the previous chapter main concepts and theories on revitalization and its consequences as well as neighbourhood reputation has been discussed. This chapter aims to illustrate the methods used in order to answer the main and sub-research questions. To do so, a case study has been selected that will be discussed later within the framework of what has been argued in the theoretical chapter.

### **3.2 Case Selection**

The case selection for this study identified through review of Nicosia Master Plan studies. Under this plan, many neighbourhoods within the historic walled city of Nicosia (including both Turkish and Greek sides) has experienced revitalization and Arabahmet (locates in Turkish part of the island) and Chrysaliniotissa (locates in the Greek part of the island) has implemented as first twin projects. Because Arabahmet neighbourhood was one of the first revitalized places, it is believed that it would be also one of the first neighbourhoods experiencing the changes in its social and cultural composition. In addition to that, the history of Arabahmet neighbourhood, which will be explained more in depth in the next chapter, has been an important element during the case study selection for this thesis. Therefore, the aim here is to systematically study the observed changes in the neighbourhood and to reveal how effective the revitalization projects in changing the reputation of stigmatized neighbourhoods are. Accordingly, an additional focus was given to different groups of individuals who were all non – residents.

It would have been preferable to study Chrysaliniotissa as well to make comparisons between two neighbourhoods which would have help us to understand the differences in these neighbourhoods' current conditions (Chrysaliniotissa is considered as a more successful project (Bensel, 2012) under a different nation, policies and economic conditions). However, the cost (time restrictions and language problem) of collecting data in a second neighbourhood made this approach infeasible.

Another limitation based on the research site, Arabahmet, was that reliable and up-to-date data on demographics was not available, which restricted the presentation of the neighbourhood characteristics to be based on a solid data.

Since the research aims to explore changes in the neighbourhood reputation from non-residential perspective, qualitative methods are used in the study as there is a much greater interest in the interviewee's point of view in this method (Bryman, 2008). The approach in collecting qualitative data was in-depth, semi-structured interviews which enables the interview process to be more flexible (Zang & Wildemuth, 2009). An

interview guide was used including both close-ended and open-ended questions (Appendix A, B and C). This would allow informants the freedom to express their views in their own terms (Cohen, 2006). The main source of information for this study was obtained on the basis of fieldwork through interviews, which was conducted in a four week period in the month of April and May in 2012 in the Northern side of Nicosia (Appendix G).

### **3.3 Division of the Research Questions**

In order to answer the main research question of this study, three sub- research questions were derived as separate elements sourcing main question when combined. Each of these sub-questions was answered in the following chapters.

First of all Arabahmet' s reputation before the implementation of revitalization projects determined through searching old newspaper articles, books and interviews with respondents in order to prove that the neighbourhood used to be stigmatized. This process was presented under a separate section in the next chapter (Chapter IV), where the research site was introduced. This proved stigmatization was later used as a base data to compare the past and current reputation of the neighbourhood to distinguish if the revitalization projects have contributed to shift neighbourhood reputation from stigmatization to a more positivistic state.

After the determination of the previous reputation of the neighbourhood, the next step has been finding out the current reputation of Arabahmet among non-residential population. However, "non- residential population" is a broad term to study its reputation and more importantly it is believed that all individuals consisting non-residential group might not receive the neighbourhood from the same aspect. The reputation of neighbourhood may change among people according to their frequency of engagement with the neighbourhood. Therefore non-residential group is divided into three sub categories as:

**A) Business Owners/ Employees:** People, who owns a business or work as an employer in that business in Arabahmet neighbourhood.

**B) National Visitors:** Customers of the businesses in the neighbourhood (customers of shops, restaurants, bars, cafes, art galleries, etc.) or random visitors (who visit historical sites etc. Or use neighbourhood for variety of purposes). This group consists of Cypriot residents.

**C) Tourists:** People from different nations, who do not reside in Cyprus and have a complete outsider view to the area.

According to these groups, it has been hypothesized that the engagement with neighbourhood is supposed to decrease from group A (business owners/employees) to group C (tourists). Group A is supposed to engage with the neighbourhood more frequently than the other groups and therefore to be the one that can have higher probability to observe changes in the neighbourhood. The second group, national visitors, is supposed to be less likely to engage with the neighbourhood when compared to the first group and therefore less likely to be aware of the changes. This may lead to the group members to stick with their views through the time and cannot change their reputation about the neighbourhood from stigmatized to positive reputation. As for the third group, which consists of tourists, the situation could be that because they were not affected from the history of the neighbourhood (that it was stigmatized), they could be more objective in their evaluation and therefore could have more positive views than the second group. The perceptions of these non-residential groups were assessed according to the three characteristics of the neighbourhood; functional aspects, physical aspects and social aspects.

In the attempt of finding out the differences in perceptions of these three groups of non-residents, the first sub-research question studies neighbourhood reputation from functional aspect of the research site by answering: *How do the different groups of non-residents perceive the functional characteristics of a revitalized neighbourhood?*

In Chapter VI, the same research is applied to physical factors of the neighbourhood by answering the second sub-research question: *How do the different groups of non-residents perceive the physical characteristics of a revitalized neighbourhood?*

In chapter VII we address the question: *How do the different groups of non-residents perceive the social characteristics of a revitalized neighbourhood?* Social factors, culture, ethnicity, economic factors and safety are determined and presented as important factors consisting the social characteristics of the neighbourhood.

### **3.4 Information Gathering**

In order to answer the sub-research questions, in total 29 semi-structured, in depth interviews including both open and close ended questions were conducted. The interviewee groups consisted from 10 people who work in the neighbourhood, 10 people who visited the neighbourhood and 9 who were considered as tourists. Approximately, 63 percent (30 out of 47) of those who were asked to be interviewed were agreed and those who could not participate either had time constraints or first accepted but then rejected when they were asked permission for voice recorder, kindly explaining that they are reluctant from any kind of actions that may create political attention.

The respondents showed variety in terms of age, sex, economic conditions, occupations, educational and ethnic backgrounds. Out of 29 interviewees, 15 of them were male and 14 were female. There were also over representation of the respondents who were over the age of 50 (17 respondents) and highly educated (having bachelor degree and above).

The potential respondents were approached by asking if 'they have couple of minutes to answer my questions about Arabahmet neighbourhood' and among those who agreed to their voice to be recorded, the interviews were conducted. The questions asked during the interviews were open ended and semi structured focusing on the three major themes: functional, physical and social characteristics of the neighbourhood. Many questions investigated respondent's feelings, based on their personal observations, towards the changes that the neighbourhood experienced as a result of revitalization process. The interviews with business owners/ employees and national visitors usually lasted around 20-35 minutes. During the interviews, respondents were free to express their feelings and experiences but they were also guided by the interviewer in order to stay focused on the topic. However, the interviews with tourist respondents were rather limited with around 5 minutes, due to the schedule they have to follow with the group.

As a next step, the interviews were transcribed word for word including the local accents. The transcription helped capturing the feelings. However, due to the interviews were conducted in Turkish, the texts from these interviews were translated into English by the author and then presented in the results chapters mainly as direct quotes. Then the data analysed by coding the transcriptions under variety of categories (such as safety, cleanness, maintenance of the buildings etc).

The following chapter presents a description for the case study, Arabahmet neighbourhood, and an explanation for its evolution in its short history that is believed to be an important factor in the neighbourhoods' reputation (Hasting & Dean, 2003). Chapter IV additionally provides information on the revitalization projects that were complimented so far within the borders of Arabahmet.

## RESEARCH SITE: ARABAHMET, HISTORIC WALLED CITY OF NICOSIA

### 4.1 Introduction to the Walled City and Arabahmet

Walled City of Nicosia is an old city where most of the buildings of cultural, historic and archaeological value in Cyprus from the medieval period onwards have concentrated. There are 23 neighbourhoods within this historic walls and Arabahmet is a small traditional residential neighbourhood locating in the western part of the historic walled city (in Turkish part) within a walking distance from the core of commercial facilities, and the buffer zone (separates the island and the capital into two as north, Turkish side, and south, Greek side) (Figure 3).

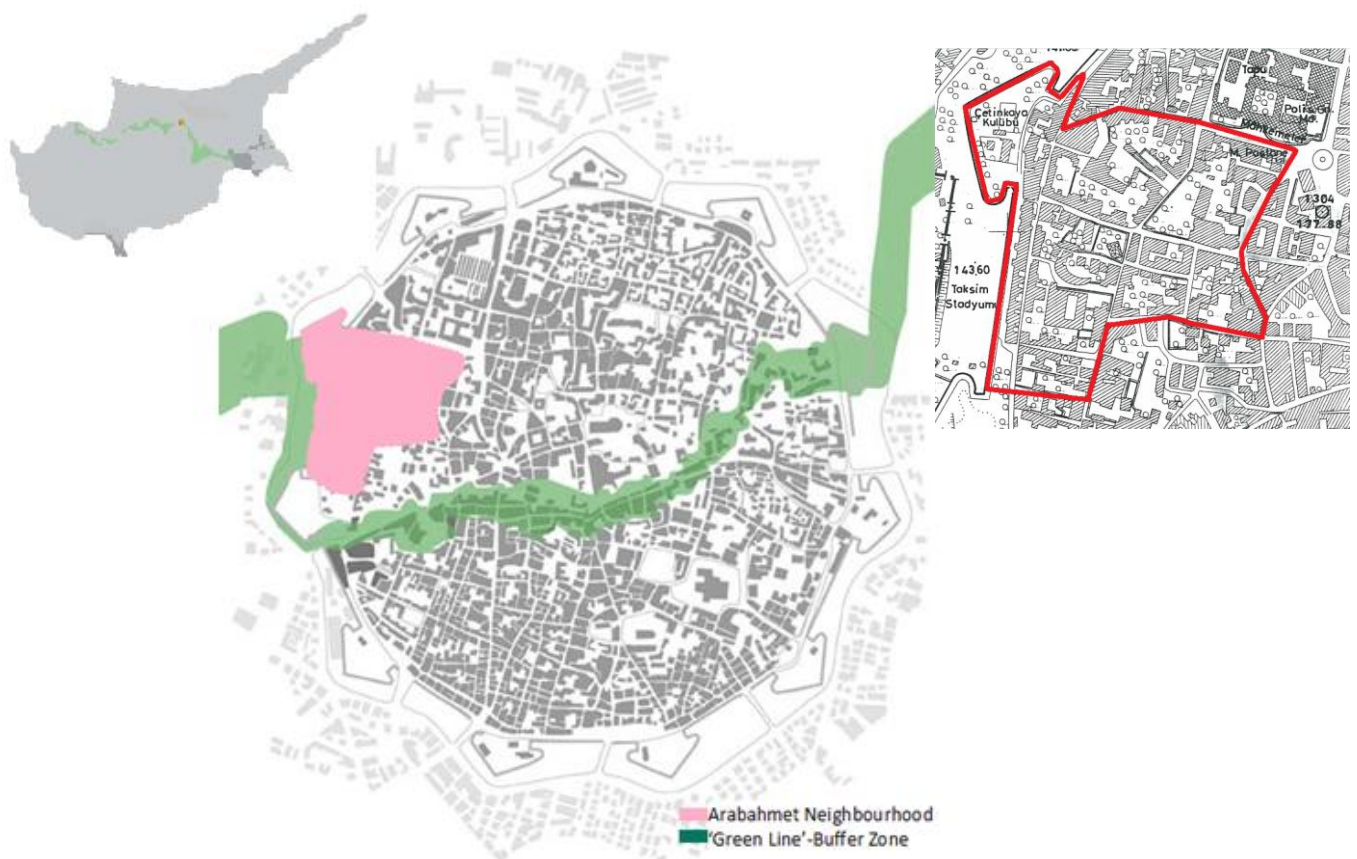
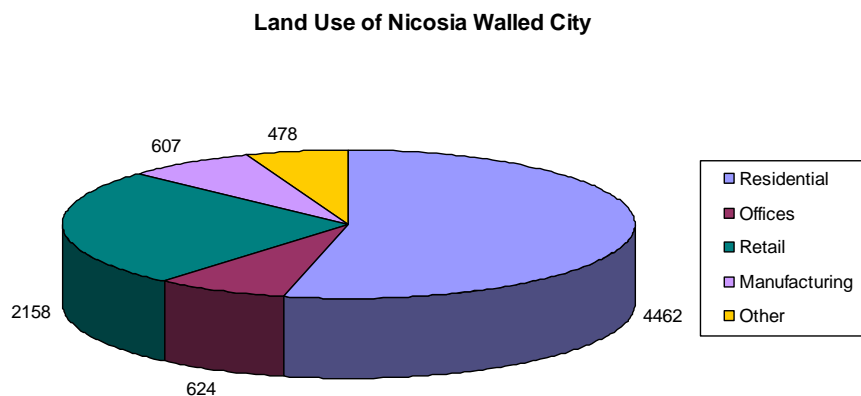


Figure 3: Upper left: Location of Nicosia walled city, Cyprus. Center: Location of Arabahmet neighbourhood within the walled city of Nicosia and the Buffer Zone (Source: Iannacone & Hanson, 2010, edited by the author, 2012). Upper Right: Arabahmet neighbourhood (Source: Map Department of T.R.N.C, 2012, edited by the author).



In planning zone terms, the city owns mix land use including hundreds of buildings of various uses: residential, religious, commercial, governmental, cultural and educational. The majority of land is used for residential purposes (53.57 %) and the second highest land is used by the retail services (25.90 %), which is followed by offices (7.49%), manufacturing (7.28%) and other services (5.66%) respectively (Figure 4) (NMP, Strategy Report, 2004). Even though the land division between the two sides of the buffer zone made evenly (100ha each), southern side includes about 2,800 buildings, the northern side no less than 2,000 and the buffer zone about 230 buildings. (al Asad, 2007). However, population figures are 2.6 times and employment figures are 1.5 times higher in the Northern side than the Southern side of the walled city (Table 2) (NMP, Strategy Report, 2004). Even though the statistics given in Table 1 is outdated, especially for the northern part of the walled city, it still illustrates the difference in population between the two sides. It is believed that these numbers given for the northern side is rather much smaller than today's population demographics, since the dramatic increase in population flow from Turkey began after 1996 (Atasoy, 2011). Arabahmet is one of the twelve neighbourhoods in the northern part of the walled city and today only Arabahmet has 761 residents (425male; 336 female)<sup>3</sup> (Muhtaroglu, 2012)

The difference between the two sides of the green line is because Turkish side welcomes migrants without requiring any document (such as occupational status, place of residency etc) but passport or ID card only during the entrances to the country and the majority of these migrants prefer walled city as a place of residency due to low estate costs and for hosting people from their origin. On the other hand, because the Greek government carries more strict policies for migrants during their entrance to the country, the numbers of immigrants are rather limited in the Greek side of the island.



<sup>3</sup> It is argued in the media that the population statistics are not reliable since there is a significant amount of illegal workers living in demolished buildings in Arabahmet.

Figure 4: Land use characteristics of Nicosia Walled City (in terms of number of units) (NMP, Strategy Report, 2004).

Table 2: Brief Statistical Summary of Nicosia Walled City.

Walled City	Total	North *	South**
Area (ha)	200	100	100
Population	11000	8000	3000
Employment	11500	7000	4500

Source: NMP, Strategy Report ( 2004 ).

\*Population 1993, employment 1998

\*\* Population 2002, employment 2000

## 4.2 History of the Walled City and Arabahmet

Nicosia has been the capital of Cyprus for the last ten centuries (Petridou, 2010). Locating at the crux of Europe, Asia and the Middle East, the island experienced centuries of foreign rule (Figure 5) which influenced developing a unique urban fabric and founding Cypriot identity and culture (Hanson, 2010). During the Venetian period, in 1567, protective walls started to be built at the core of the island defining the boundaries of the capital city, Nicosia. The walls had a diameter of 1.6 kilometers (al-Asad, 2007), 11 heart shaped bastions surrounded by a moat and three gates.

After Venetians, the island was ruled by Ottoman and British as well, then in 1960 Republic of Cyprus has founded but in three years inter communal violence began between Turkish and Greek Cypriots. Before the violence, walled city of Nicosia was used as both commercial and residential purposes as today and as aforementioned Arabahmet was and still is the residential part of the district. But contrary to today's population, the residents of Arabahmet was consisted of the wealthiest and elite class of Armenians, who were mostly merchants, in great majority but also limited population of Turkish Cypriots (generals and judges) and Greek Cypriots (An, 2007). In this period, the walled city had the best reputation ever in its history. The wealth was visible from the physical structure of the houses (building sizes around 830m<sup>2</sup> with additional 240m<sup>2</sup> courtyards (NMP, 2002)). Well known Cypriot writer Hasmat M. Gurkan (from Guralp, 2003) stated in his book as "During the 1940s, I was hearing pianos from the row houses each time I pass through Victoria Street<sup>4</sup>". But Armenians, left the walled city in 1958 and Greek Cypriots in 1963, both migrating to the southern part of the

<sup>4</sup> One of the two main streets in Arabahmet Neighbourhood.

island (An, 2007). After this out migration, owner occupier Turkish Cypriots was the only residents in Arabahmet neighbourhood. In the following decade, the neighbourhood welcomed many refugees, who were Turkish Cypriots migrating from southern Cyprus. They were from different social – classes (Kalogjera, 1985). In 1974, war started between two communities. As a result, all the Turkish Cypriots moved to the north and all Greek Cypriots moved to the southern parts of the island. This is the year that the “Green Line” (Figure 3) was drawn as a ceasefire zone dividing the island into two and since then Nicosia is the only divided capital in Europe since the fall of Berlin Wall (Calame, 2009). For 30 years since the war, neither of the two communities (Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots) was allowed to cross to the ‘other side’ of the green line. However, in 2004 as a result of an agreement communities were able to cross the green line from checkpoints to see ‘the other side’.

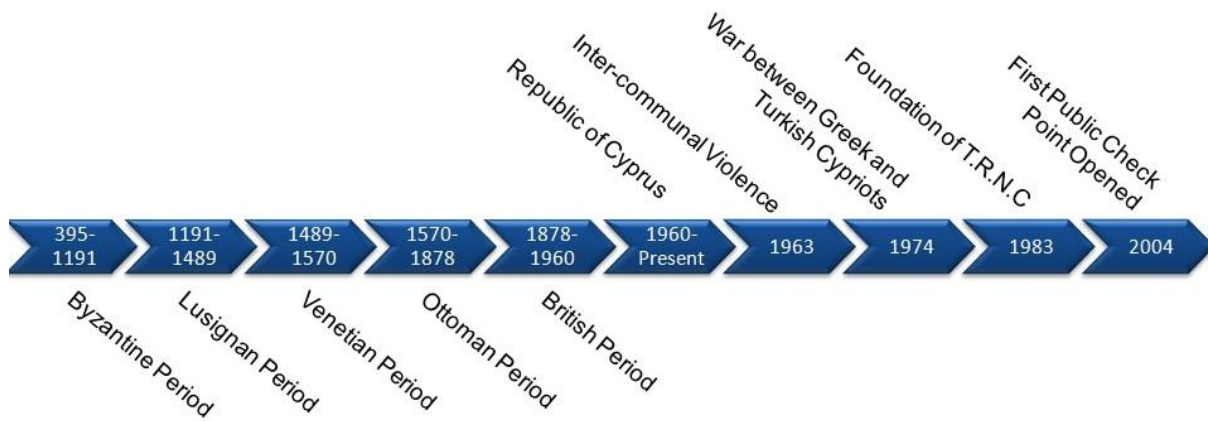


Figure 5: Timeline of Cyprus history from 395 AD to present (edited by the author, 2012).

### 4.3 The Stigmatized Neighbourhood

As the majority of the world cities experienced suburbanization after the World War II, for Cyprus this experience came with the end of war in 1974. The existence of the Buffer Zone at the heart of the Walled City was posing danger with the sense of ‘end of city’ and rendering the centre as unfavourable place for business investment and housing development (NMP, Diagnostic Report, 2004). This political problem encouraged a cumulative trend of suburbanization and Arabahmet was one of the neighbourhoods that highly effected from this out migration. Apart from few elite owner-occupiers, the neighbourhood was abandoned with a lot of vacant buildings (Kalogjera, 1985), which was followed by depression of land values (NMP, Diagnostic Report, 2004). In a short time Arabahmet became a desirable place for low income groups to reside and the depressed land values encouraged a new wave of population movement. This time the

immigrants were Turks coming from the most undeveloped and poorest areas of Turkey, with low economic, educational and occupational status (Kalogjera, 1985; NMP, 2005).

After the foundation of Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) in 1983 and strengthened bonds with Turkey, the immigrant influx got even higher and higher. This third invasion has changed the character and the reputation of the neighbourhood from the wealthiest residential area towards an area, where Cypriots feel like foreigner and insecure to walk in those streets especially at nights. Poverty and crime levels increased in the area. It was not surprising to read bad news about Arabahmet; some was about illegal workers occupying vacant buildings, some about ecstasy trading, the other was about an outbreak of hepatitis A at Arabahmet Elementary school and another about burglary, murdering, despoliation and so on (Kibris Newspaper, 2004, 2005, 2006)(Figure 6). As Al-Asad(2007) stated, some Cypriots from outside the walled city had a negative view of it, for them it us a place with too many migrant workers, crime and inadequate services. So Arabahmet became an area that people do not visit unless driving through to reach their destinations because of its bad reputation.



Figure 6: Articles and pictures from a local newspaper “Kibris” reporting disturbing news occurred in Arabahmet neighbourhood.

A) “increased illegal workforce due to lack of control, highlights the chaotic and unhealthy lives” (Kibris Newspaper, 26/07/2004).

B) “Ramshackle, old historic buildings that were sealed by municipality became home for illegal workers and their families” (Kibris Newspaper, 14/03/2005).

C) “an alarm of hepatitis A at Arabahmet Elementary school” (Kibris Newspaper, 8/04/2006).

D) “ ‘tourists’ (which is a sarcastic term used for Turkish immigrants) were in action again! Another burglary in the middle of the day in Arabahmet; stealing bag from a locked car by breaking the windows...” (Kibris Newspaper, 4/05/2005)

#### 4.4 Revitalization of Arabahmet

In 1979 Nicosia Master Plan has formed as a bi-communal project, under the umbrella of United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)/UNCHS-HABITAT, aiming to increase the capacity of the city’s services and to improve the existing and future human settlement conditions (Petridou, 2010) as well as stimulating physical, economic and aesthetic needs of all inhabitants of Nicosia, providing cultural and social facilities and promoting tourist attraction (NMP, 1985). But the first implementation of the plan was initiated in 1986 including twin projects of Arabahmet and Chrysaliniotissa (Al-Asad, 2007). Because Arabahmet was predominantly residential neighbourhood with low income population, which mostly consist of elderly, the aim was to enable the area to attract more young and economically active families and increase the population from 185 to 250 people (NMP, 1985) (Today, the population of Arabahmet is 761 (Muhtaroglu, 2012)). The plan aimed walled city to be used as business site during the day and as entertainment site at nights. Accordingly it involved the displacement of low income migrants to new built dwellings, called as Haspolat Social Housing Units (outside the Nicosia core city). Nicosia Turkish Municipality announced in 2011 that the flats have given to 304 families and 213 of them used to be Walled city inhabitants. However, when the 213 of emptied housing units in the walled city was filled with another group of migrant families coming from Turkey, the promises become vague (Duzgun, 2012). Therefore, even 19 years after the revitalization projects started, majority of the area’s population is non-Cypriots (62%), mostly from Turkey (NMP, 2005). In this case the project can be successful in increasing population with young families but the question to be asked here is whether these families are economically active middle class people or again low income migrants, who have been unsuccessful in assimilation process<sup>5</sup>.

Under this project, until 2006 a total of 22 buildings, 1 fully equipped theatre building, 3 car parks accommodating a total of 144 cars and 4 partially restored pedestrianised streets have been restored in Arabahmet neighbourhood (Yilmaz & Kodan, 2006) (Figure 7). Restoration and rehabilitation programme is still ongoing in the area.

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<sup>5</sup> There is a common belief among Cypriots that Turkish migrants, who came straight after the war in 1974, adapted and assimilated to Cyprus culture but those who came later has shown no signs of assimilation. Because they do not have sense of belonging to Cyprus and in this case to Arabahmet, they avoid making any investment to the place they reside. However no academic study has been found on the assimilation process of migrants living in Northern Cyprus yet.

However, while some buildings are well preserved after their rehabilitation as presented in Figure 8, some has been neglected and started losing their well-cared image.



Figure 7: Historical building previously used as a mansion, today serves as Boghjalian Mansion Restaurant mostly hosts senior governors (both Turkish and Greek Cypriots) and tourists. (Photographs taken by the author, 2012)



Figure 8: Residential buildings that are well preserved after their rehabilitation (*Photographs were taken by the author, 2012*).

#### **4.5 Gentrification or Incumbent Upgrading?**

When the evolution and the characteristics of the two revitalization processes; gentrification and incumbent upgrading is considered, it becomes difficult to determine which of these processes has Arabahmet been experiencing. The neighbourhood neither experiences pure gentrification or incumbent upgrading but rather a combination of them. Table 3 below, demonstrates the characteristics of upgraded and gentrified neighbourhoods (as given in section 2.2.2, Chapter 2) along with their applicability to Arabahmet. Even though majority of the characteristics of Arabahmet fits to the upgraded neighbourhoods, when we look at the actors we see that process has not proceeded by the residents itself but rather by local government and USAID- UNDP, which is a vital indicator for preventing Arabahmet called as an upgraded neighbourhood. However, when the population characteristics of the inhabitants are considered that even after the revitalization the residential population consist from working class immigrants rather than the middle-upper class, the process also cannot be classed as gentrification under the so far theoretical explanations.

On the contrary, when we consider the artists, (who renewed the historical structures themselves or rented the already renewed ones, and run those places as art galleries or workshops) investors (using the residential structures as bars, cafes and restaurants) and teachers (turning residential mansions into educational institutions), even though they do not reside in Arabahmet, they spend considerable amount of time there whilst working. The question is do the gentrifiers have to be the residents of that neighbourhood as well? The gentry class has integrated to an area, even though they don't reside, they spend the whole day in the neighbourhood and also attract other middle-upper class to the neighbourhood for social activities. This should also be considered as the initial stages of gentrification. Therefore, the role and character of these pioneers in Arabahmet, are applicable to David Ley's (1996) creative class, as he explained this class as the first stage gentrifiers, preparing the inner city for gentrification. As presented in the following chapters, these artists, investors and teachers choose Arabahmet for its cultural and historical values. When these characteristics are considered, consumption side of the gentrification argument is more appropriate to explain the process in Arabahmet neighbourhood. But also, even though there is only modest increase in overall land and property values, there has been significant increase in the values of revitalized structures, which generated revenues to the local municipality and landlords. At this point, the rent gap theory of Neil Smith (1996) from the production side of the argument can be also applied to Arabahmet.

When we focus on the non-gentrifiers side of the process, it is seen that the residents of Arabahmet are under the same conditions as the residents of Leith (Edinburg), which is presented in Doucet's (2009) study, that they are neither the gentrifiers nor those being displaced by them. As mentioned above, even though there is currently no gentry class living in Arabahmet, their integration to this working class neighbourhood by business purposes should not be disregarded. Accordingly, gentrification process should not be only considered under the case of invasion of the upper class and displacement of the working class inhabitants but rather should be applied to processes when the middle-upper class integrates into working class neighbourhoods for other purposes as well than merely residing.

Table 3: Characteristics of Arabahmet and its applicability to gentrified and upgraded neighbourhoods.

<b>Characteristics</b>	<b>Upgraded Neighbourhoods</b>	<b>ARABAHMET</b>	<b>Gentrified Neighbourhoods</b>	<b>ARABAHMET</b>
<b>Actors</b>	Residents (No Displacement)	-	Middle-Upper class individuals, developers/ investors, governments (Displacement)	√ But no displacement
<b>Factors changed in Neighbourhood</b>	Physical Composition	√	Physical Composition	√
			<b>Social Composition</b>	<b>Slight change with integration of middle class entrepreneurs</b>
<b>Class</b>	<b>Same class: Working class</b>	√	<b>Changes in class: Middle and Upper class</b>	<b>To a very limited extent</b>
<b>Ethnic composition</b>	Same ethnicity before and after the process	√	Changes in the ethnic composition after the process	To a very limited extent
<b>Residential characteristics</b>	Families with children	√	Young singles / Couples without children	√
<b>Land -use</b>	Mostly Residential	√	Mostly mixed- land use or Residential Use	Significant increase in non-residential land use (Appendix use)
<b>Location</b>	Spread throughout the city	-	Mostly city centres	√
<b>Changes in Property value and Taxes</b>	Modest Increase	√ For non-revitalized structures	Significant increase	√ Only for revitalized structures



## FUNCTIONAL FACTORS

### 5.1 Introduction

According to Galster (2001) 'neighbourhood' consist of variety of characteristics. Functional factors are one of them that characterise a neighbourhood and effect the way how non-residents perceive it. Therefore it is an important aspect to analyse in this study. The first section of this chapter presents the perceptions of three group of non-residential population as group 1: business owners/ employees, group 2: National visitors and group 3: Tourists, on the location and accessibility of the neighbourhood. Then the second section of this chapter focuses on the perceptions of the same non-residential groups on the presence of facilities in the area and how successful were these facilities to attract people to the neighbourhood from their point of views.

### 5.2 Location

Arabahmet locates on the western side of Nicosia Walled City, on the edge of the Green Line between two border crossing points, 350m away from Lokmaci Checkpoint and 550m away from Ledra Checkpoint. As it can be seen from figure 9, the neighbourhood is very close to the both checkpoints. It was one of the most important districts of Nicosia because of locating on the highest point of the old city. But today its elevation is neither considered as advantage nor as a disadvantage since its name has been associated with political issues concerning Turkish immigrants.



Figure 9: Point A illustrates the location of Ledra Palace border crossing, which was the first opened checkpoint (2004) in Cyprus. Point B illustrates the borders of Arabahmet neighbourhood and Point C illustrates Lokmaci Checkpoint (Source: Google Maps, edited by the author, 2012).

### 5.2.1 Business owners and / Employees

For majority of the respondents owning a business in Arabahmet, location is an important characteristic. But its locational importance is rather indirect. The neighbourhood locates in the historic urban quarter of the capital city on the Venetian walls and this gives a particular characteristic to the whole neighbourhood including the buildings and the streets and creates a distinct atmosphere (see Figure 10). For the respondents' businesses that are rock bar, art gallery, and culture center, atmosphere and therefore the location is critically important. They said that even though people prefer to go other popular neighbourhoods outside the walls, especially to Dereboyu<sup>6</sup> for any kind of facilities, it is impossible there to catch such an historic atmosphere and they added that without this atmosphere their businesses would have a missing value. So, instead of locating their businesses in such popular places, where they would guarantee denser client population, they preferred less popular neighbourhood in terms of entertainment but the one with an authentic atmosphere that targets the elite class, who appreciate the historic value of the place. Tamer Arslan, who is the manager of Oldies Bar, explains this vision as:

*“When you open a new business, your goal is always to gain. However, we really aim to attract elite class of customers. When you observe this bar from outside, it may seems like there are few people inside but they are all belong to the same statute in the public. We are trying to attract a group of people that when you come here alone to enjoy a coffee, a tea or an alcoholic beverage, you would not be disturbed by anyone and this is our aim” (Tamer Arslan, 44, Turkish)*



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<sup>6</sup> Dereboyu is a street in Nicosia that is considered as the heart of entertainment, where the most popular restaurants, bars and cafes are located.

Figure 10: The historic Ottoman and Lusignan houses at Zahra Street on the Venetian Walls with Roccas Bastion on the far right side and Cetinkaya Sports Club football field below the walls (Source: Photograph was taken by the author, 2012).

The other common view about the location of this neighbourhood is the fact that it is on the edge of the border (Green Line) and in five minutes walking distance to Lokmaci checkpoint. Locating their businesses in such a close distance to the checkpoint is very advantageous for some groups because, as previously mentioned in chapter IV, only after 2004 the access to the southern part (and also from southern to northern part) became legal and the areas around the checkpoints became hotspots. For institutions and businesses that the bicomunity and bicomunal activities are important, Arabahmet became a perfect place. One of the respondents, who is a politician from a leftist party of which head office locates in Arabahmet, states the importance of the neighbourhood's location as;

*“This area is the center of Nicosia and there is a border gate here, entry point to the Greek side. When we bought this building in 1980, there weren't any kind of access to the other side (meaning Greek side of the island) but with the idea and hope of opening of the checkpoints we choose to locate here” (Yiltan Oneri, 58, Cypriot)*

Another respondent, who is an artist, mentions that when they have exhibitions in Arabahmet, tourists and other artists from the Greek side of Cyprus can come and visit them easily. Also the museum curator of Dervish Pasha Mansion stresses the importance of location from the closeness of border by stating;

*“Before the opening of gates, the number of tourists visiting this mansion was very limited. Well, I can't say that they come a lot now because when they see 'ticket' label, they just pass, they don't want to spend money. But still when compared with the past, visitors from foreign nations increased. If the mansion would be out of the walled city, then I believe there wouldn't be even that much foreign visitor. They come here because when they pass from the border it's on their route” (Cuma Gunalp, 50, Turkish)*

### 5.2.2 National Visitors

As for national visitors, the importance of Arabahmet as a location was its closeness to Arasta (town's traditional commercial centre within Ayia Sophia neighbourhood) and to the Lokmaci border gate to access the southern side. So, for the majority of the respondents Arabahmet was a neighbourhood on the way to their destination. A major reason for this is the insufficient parking spots within the rest of the walled city while there are three car park areas in Arabahmet. A 54 year old respondent, who used to be a

teacher at Arabahmet Elementary School, visiting Arabahmet at least three days of a week, explains his reasons of being in this neighbourhood as;

*“Generally I go there due to the head office of CTP<sup>7</sup> is being there, I go there to use Lokmaci checkpoint, to visit the commercial centre (in Aya Sophia / Selimiye neighbourhood) and shop from there, I prefer to use car park area in Arabahmet and walk through this neighbourhood too.”* (Huseyin Ozok, 54, Cypriot)

### 5.2.3 Tourists

As for the tourists visiting Arabahmet for the first time, the location of Arabahmet represents a rather different opinion than both what it represents to business owners and to local visitors. Eventhough again it is associated with the closeness to the Lokmaci checkpoint, the perspective is exact opposite than the other two groups of non-residents. According to tourists being close to border is rather a negative characteristic because although the presence of soldiers around the border area aims to enable a more secure environment, to walk among armies and polices of three different nations<sup>8</sup> made them to feel anxious and they think it would be a nicer place if there won't be any border and checkpoint. One of the tourist respondents called Ruth Portiere, who has a Dutch nationality and have been in Nicosia before, explains this situation by comparing his previous and current visit to Nicosia by stating:

*“I think it is safe place now. I have been in Greek part twenty five years ago. In Nicosia there was border, soldiers, a lot of soldiers, it was not that much safe as it is now”* (Ruth Portiere, 58, Dutch)

## 5.3 Presence of Facilities and Attractiveness

Presence of facilities is another functional factor that has effect on neighbourhood reputation. Such facilities can be named as shopping centres, medical facilities, leisure facilities, retail facilities , commercial facilities, green spaces, learning centres (Permentier, van Ham & Bolt, 2008; Hasting & Dean, 2003). As the number and quality of these facilities increase it can positively affect the reputation of neighbourhood and make it more attractive place to be, both from internal and external perspective.

In Arabahmet, implementations under 'Arabahmet Area Improvement Scheme' has been ongoing since 1985 but only limited number of buildings that renovated devoted to cultural and social activities and rest of them were given back to the migrant families

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<sup>7</sup> CTP: Cumhuriyetçi Türk Parsiti, Republican Turkish Party, is a leftist political part in Northern Cyprus.

<sup>8</sup> Armies and polices of three different nations: Greek army and polices in Southern side, United Nations' army in the buffer zone and Turkish army and polices in Northern side.

for residential purposes. This section presents non-residential respondents' opinions about the existing facilities and how attractive could these facilities make Arabahmet.

### 5.3.1 Business owners/ Employees

According to most of the respondents from group one, Arabahmet does not offer such facilities to attract people from outside. When they are asked about the Nicosia Master Plan and the changes came along with it, they accept the presence of new facilities but describe them as unsuccessful in terms of functioning. Even though a 51 year old lecturer and president of French Cultural Association, who is one of the pioneers investing money to contribute bringing back life to Arabahmet by moving the association to this neighbourhood, consider themselves (who also hoped to bring back life there and act accordingly) as unsuccessful in attracting people. She explains her reasons as;

*"Where do people go? To the places where they can meet their needs! These places (Arabahmet and surrounding neighbourhoods) were not shopping centres, so we weren't coming here for shopping. When these places stopped being our residential places and no longer represent our grandfathers, grandmothers and aunties houses, then we stopped coming. We should have specific reasons to come here, and when those reasons disappeared as well, then we stopped coming to these areas."*  
(Heran Ciftci, 51, Cypriot).

In the statement above, it is seen that people are still under the influence of the past, when they had to move from the neighbourhood as a result of bad experiences. Once the neighbourhood is labelled as a place 'not for us anymore' it becomes difficult to break this notion for some people. She also added that students coming to French Cultural Association for French language courses immediately go to Dereboyu whenever their class is dismissed because there is no place around such as cafes to attract young generation to this neighbourhood.

However, a 50 year old artist Osman Atilla Keten, who owns an art gallery at Arabahmet, considers the recent situation of the neighbourhood by eliminating it from its recent stigmatization and by focusing on the newness came with Nicosia Master Plan and he offers an opposite view to the perspective suggesting the absence of facilities in Arabahmet;

*"First of all, Arabahmet is a place that has to be seen. It is a historical place. Cafes, pubs and bars are opened, there are lots of cultural and artistic workshops, and the presence of the field (football field of Cetinkaya Sport Club, see figure 11 below) brings an attraction here. Therefore these are the elements that improve the*

*quality and from this point it is a place that people has to come and see it” (Osman Atilla Keten, 50, Cypriot)*



Figure 11: Cetinkaya Sport Club that locates on the Mula (Zahra) Bastion and the field is between the Mula (Zahra) Bastion and Roccas Bastion (Source: Photography was taken by the author, 2012).

Even though majority of the business owners are not satisfied with the presence of facilities in Arabahmet, there are some with an opposite view. The first group, who were not satisfied with the facilities in the neighbourhood, actually are aware of the differences and arrival of new facilities came with Nicosia Master Plan(Figure 12). But because these facilities has not been significantly effective in attracting people and bringing back life to Arabahmet, they rather said in the first place that the facilities do not exist.



Figure 12: A) Narnia is a well known pub, of which back garden is also used for concerts in summers as shown in upper right (*Source: Photograph of the outer look was taken by the author, 2012; interior of the pub was taken by Burcin Aybars, 2012*) B) The interior of 'Cafe Cadi Kazani', which was renovated under NMP. The ground floor is used as cafe while, the upper floor is used as a painting workshop (lower right) (*Source: www.cadikazanicafe.com*)

### 5.3.2 National Visitors

Great majority of the local visitors agreed with business owners that Arabahmet does not offer nice facilities to attract themselves. For most of them it is currently just a residential place for working class migrant people. Even though when we look at the data of land use and the list of buildings used for non residential purposes, we see variety of uses such as, cinema, park, restaurant, cafe and bars, football field, badminton club etc, (see Appendix H) most of the respondents believe that Arabahmet does not have the facilities to attract people. According to one of the respondents, who was the former president of Teacher's Union of Turkish Cypriot, Arabahmet does not provide services and facilities for non residents, he states:

*"In order for people to go from one place to another, there should be something attractive. No Turkish Cypriot would all of a sudden say 'let's go to Arabahmet and spend time around that area!' Maybe only the people which have properties around that area (people who own property that rent it, so goes to the area to observe the condition of the property) would occasionally do this. Why would people go from one place to another? If there is an art activity or a cultural activity or a shopping mall or a sports centre, then people would go there for shopping or sports activities. In my opinion, Arabahmet has none of these attractive properties. Therefore Arabahmet is not an attractive centre. I think if it is renewed as an attraction centre, Turkish Cypriots would go there"* (Erdogan Sorakin, 54, Cypriot)

Beyond the availability of factors that determines the attractiveness of the neighbourhood from external perspective, as stated above, he additionally criticized the availability of functional factors from internal perspective. He even stressed that availability of such factors are vitally important for the residents, while non residents may simply choose not going to the neighbourhood and therefore he suggested that the priority in supplying the deficiencies should be made from this order.

*"I think our local municipality and government should show more interest to this area. But from every aspect! Municipalities should pay more attention to every aspect from cleaning to physical and infrastructural aspects and etcetera. Government should show more interest from health and educational aspects. A few*

*kinder garden and regional health care centres must be opened for the health of those children. Because when you observe the area it is the one among the other neighbourhoods that the hepatitis affairs are the most widespread. Those people live under unhealthy conditions. I don't blame those people at all. They came here, trying to survive somehow, they have no guilt. I believe all kind of humanitarian support should be provided to people living here, both in terms of health and education.” (Erdogan Sorakin, 54, Cypriot)*

Another respondent, who was aware of the facilities in the neighbourhood and was visiting it for entertainment purpose explains her reasons for not finding Arabahmet as an attractive place anymore:

*“To be honest, I used to go more often to Arabahmet because there were a few places (bars and cafes) that we were enjoying to go with my friends but with the closure of these places I only go there to meet a specific need, such as shopping. I used to go there twice a week but now I only go once a month.” (Bahar Sokmez, 23, Cypriot)*

In contrast to respondents stating the lack of activities and places as a reason behind considering Arabahmet as an unattractive neighbourhood, there were some, who believed that the area has the activities and services but has not been successful to attract people outside the walled city due to the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. 54 year old consultant stated on this as;

*“The area has gained a very nice image after revitalization. But it has not become a tourist attraction centre or a culture centre even though a number of art galleries are opened. This is not because of the existing facilities, I believe this is because of the population living there” (Huseyin Ozok, 54 , Cypriot)*

Also, accessibility is another negative characteristic of Arabahmet that makes it less attractive. The area as a whole is not on the route of any public transportation. However when we consider that public transportation is a total fiasco in whole country and living without the incorporation of public transport become people's lifestyle, respondents do not even mention the lack of public transport. They focused on the narrow streets and high car park fees as an accessibility problem that makes area even less attractive. He adds to explain this:



*“Turkish Cypriots, who works at the surrounding neighbourhoods, were coming to Arabahmet for parking purposes and for this purpose they had a chance to tour around and see Arabahmet. However, everyplace charges fee now, you park your car and five minute later you pay 5TL or 8TL parking fee and this is a great disadvantage. I mean in this kind of places, government should undertake the financing, in other words the parking should be free.”* (Erdogan Sorakin, 54, Cypriot)

So the car parking spots which was a positive characteristic of Arabahmet in previous section, now turned out to be losing its position as an advantage and the high car parking fees started to force people not to use these spaces and therefore discouraging the visits to Arabahmet, which was one of the most important reasons for majority of the local visitors to be in this neighbourhood.

All of the respondents mention that their visits to Arabahmet have decreased over the years. For middle-aged respondents within this group, the reason behind the decrease in their visit was the changes in demographic population of the neighbourhood. As for the younger respondents, the reason was the decrease in entertainment places such as cafe and bars. Even though statistically only two businesses under café & bar are closed, because one of them was a popular place among young population, the neighbourhood lost its attraction for this specific group of visitors.

### 5.3.3 Tourists

Even though majority of the tourist respondents not directly considered Arabahmet as an attractive place, they agreed that it is a nice and an interesting place to be in terms of being different from what they have observed so far about Cyprus. Some of the statements about the area are:

*“It is very interesting neighbourhood. Its history..., it is on the walls... I can live here. Because it is beautiful, Ottoman houses have been conserved and it is interesting for us”* (Zanna Durong, 58, French)

*“It is a beautiful place to be (....) Hmm, when I am in the Northern of Cyprus I would certainly come back here”* (Sonia, 44, Dutch)

*“It is very nice and there are many interesting things”* (Aurelia Elzemord, 50, Dutch)

*“You see the original building, the damage from the war, you see all and also they have no money to rebuild it again but we also like it as it is”* (Soho Owerkampf, 52, Dutch)

*“No, not specifically say like it’s beautiful or something, so not really recommend it to someone to come here” (Floor Van Baren, 20, Dutch)*

For tourists it is an attractive place because it offers them history that they can actually observe the marks made by the war from the buildings. So depending on the demands, the attractiveness can change. Because the tourists would like to see more than beaches and pubs, then Arabahmet is an attractive and interesting place to see. But again 7 of the 9 tourist respondents was above 43 years old and for them it would be more interesting to visit historical places. Whereas for the younger generation attractiveness may require more entertainment, as 20 year old respondent Floor van Baren could not consider the neighbourhood a nice place that she could also recommend someone else.

## **PHYSICAL FACTORS**

### **6.1 Introduction**

Most of the well preserved buildings in Arabahmet were constructed in the late 19<sup>th</sup> to early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries as one or two storey structures (up to 826m<sup>2</sup>) with courtyards (up to 242m<sup>2</sup>) and gardens at the back (as characteristic of Ottoman architecture) (Kalogjera, 1985; NMP, 2002). After the war (1974) when the owner of the houses left the neighbourhood and migrate, the physical structure of the buildings got worsened as the new residents' economical conditions has not been good enough for the maintenance of the buildings. Therefore in 1986 Nicosia Master Plan (NMP) stepped in for the revitalization of the neighbourhood.

First part of this section presents respondent's viewpoints about the physical structure of the buildings. As for the second part, respondents were asked about the general aesthetic of the neighbourhood.

### **6.2 Physical Structure and Maintenance of the Buildings**

This section offers the perceptions of non-residential population on the physical structure of the buildings, which can be dwelling type, size and quality. As mentioned above, the type of the buildings contains historical characteristics and their sizes can be considered as big, even though some of these huge houses split into sections and used as separate but smaller houses. As for the maintenance of the houses, respondents were both asked about the progress done by residents themselves to protect their houses and by NMP with the revitalization projects.

#### **6.2.1 Business Owners/ Employees**

Majority of the respondents owning a business or works as an employee in the neighbourhood agreed on the structural glory and beauty of the historic buildings in Arabahmet. 80% of those who were asked about the physical appearance of the buildings directly stated that they are all valuable historical buildings and has to be well preserved in order not to lose the cultural heritage. According to Osman Atilla Keten, who is a 50 year old artist (painter) owning an art gallery in the area considers the structure of buildings from artistic approach:

*“Because the atmosphere in Arabahmet, texture of stones, appearance of rafters, this cane structure, this primitiveness is more natural and more humanistic, it creates a psychological effect on person. This is something I am in love with.”* (Osman Atilla Keten, 50, Cypriot)

Another respondent (Yiltan Oneri, 58) emphasized the physical characteristics of the houses in this neighbourhood by stating;

*“This neighbourhood is a residential place, where the elite people were living. It is also obvious from the house types. They are huge with many rooms and they keep warm in winter and cool in summers. Probably because of this characteristic, wealthy people, especially Armenians chose this neighbourhood as a place to live”.* (Yiltan Oneri, 58, Cypriot)

After the migration of elite class, the arrival of working class (first Cypriot migrants and then with their suburbanization, arrival of Turkish migrants, who are the current residential population in the area) has changed both the social and the physical structure of the neighbourhood towards a stigma. From 1986 onwards, Nicosia Master Plan (NMP) has started to revitalize the neighbourhood, which set the bar upper in terms of physical appearance (Figure 13). He (Yiltan Oneri) went on to explain that:

*“Arabahmet, as an appearance, changed a lot. For sure there is decades of debris here, most of the buildings were ruins and because people living in them were not the owners, they were not taking care of the maintenance. Of course being close to the border also had an impact to this destruction. That image is gone now. After the reparation of UNDP, there is a significant difference between the situation 10-15 years ago and now.”* (Yiltan Oneri, 58, Cypriot)





Figure 13: A residential building before and after the revitalization (Source: old condition of the house: Guralp, 2006; today's condition of the house: author, 2012).

However when the maintenance of the buildings were asked, even though most of the respondents supported and appreciated the renovation done by NMP, by mentioning its necessity and importance, they had complains about its preservation that after a building has once renovated under this project, neither UNDP nor Nicosia Turkish Municipality or Department of Ancient Monuments has inspected the condition of the building and renewed it again. The public art demonstrated in Figure 14 is a nice example of this negligence. Seven years after its creation, the art on the wall of Arabahmet Culture and Arts Centre is not even recognizable, the authorities neither maintained it, nor removed the remaining paintings on it to give at least a white clean wall image. The same condition also applies to the residential buildings that previously renovated but then abandoned.

In addition to the negligence of local authorities, due to the economic condition and lack of the sense of belonging of current living population, the maintenance of the buildings also could not preserved by its residents. Therefore even the renovated buildings could also give a neglected image. Same respondent as above, Osman Atilla Keten, summarized this condition with these words;

*“Improvements like pedestrianization are done under the name of Nicosia Master Plan but is the municipality inspector of these? No. What has been destroyed remains destroyed. Because the kind of population here couldn't understand the value and the importance of protecting it and don't know how to protect it. And Municipality does not inspect and fix it. They (government officials) don't take precautions.”* (Osman Atilla Keten, 50, Cypriot)



Figure 14: The side wall of Arabahmet Culture and Arts Centre. It has painted after the revitalization of the building in 2005 by artist Farhad Nargol-O'Neill (in upper left) however after seven years of its creation, the current condition of the wall gives a disturbing image. (Source: [www.farhadsculpture.com](http://www.farhadsculpture.com))

### 6.2.2 National Visitors

The history of the neighbourhood and its previous reputation is also well known by the local visitor and when those days are considered in the evaluation of the physical structure of the buildings, the thoughts are gathered around 'beautiful Ottoman houses'. However, when the current condition is considered, the beauty of the structures is kept in the background. For the majority of the respondents the physical conditions of the buildings are getting worse as the years went by. They hold the residential population responsible for that physical decline. A 54 year old consultant, who worked in Arabahmet area as an elementary school teacher explains his thoughts:

*"In regard to physical condition, buildings were in better condition in the past than today. Because probably most of them were either owner occupied or rented by people for long years who lived there as it was his own house so at least they were repairing the window, the door and the roof of the house and were distemping the outer face of the building. Those were the good days of Arabahmet. Then the houses in this neighbourhood were rehabilitated for a while with UN fund but after that period it started to decline again. I mean the houses that already rehabilitated*

*in the past are even not in a good condition now” (Huseyin Ozok, 54, Cypriot) (Figure 15)*

This statement leads us to the maintenance of the structures. According to the respondents if the residents would look after the houses they are living in and the municipality would have rehabilitated the area after the projects of UNDP, then the neighbourhood would have a much nicer image. 54 year old respondent, who visits Arabahmet for last 15 years couple of times a week, describes this situation:

*“Arabahmet turned into ruins in time. Except the rehabilitation projects done by EU or other international organizations, you cannot see any other revitalization. Therefore it is getting worse from physical aspect..... Buildings are collapsing there. There are many buildings labelled as ‘LTB’<sup>9</sup>, they should either demolish it or if it has a historical value then rehabilitate it” (Erdogan Sorakin,54, Cypriot)*



<sup>9</sup> Labelled by LTB means that the building is sealed by Nicosia Turkish Municipality (LTB) as a dangerous and a forbidden building for entrance

Figure 15: Picture A shows a house in Arabahmet before revitalization. Picture B is the same house straight after its revitalization in 1998 (Guralp, 2006). Picture C is the current condition of the house 14 years later its revitalization complete with cracks and removed paint (photograph taken by the author, 2012).

### 6.2.3 Tourists

From physical structure aspect, all of the tourists appreciated the architecture of Ottoman houses and mosque, Armenian Church and Lusignan houses. For majority of the tourist respondents visited Arabahmet for the first time and their knowledge about the area was limited with the tourist guide books, which gives short information about the history of the area and the architectural characteristics with nice pictures of historic houses. However for most of them the pictures of the area in tourist book did not represented the reality. Just as in the case of business owners and local visitors, tourist group also thought that the buildings in the area have not been well maintained. For most of them it was upsetting to see such 'beautiful' and historical houses in poor condition. A 63 year old Belgian and a 44 year old Dutch respondents, who have never been in Cyprus before, stated their opinions about the physical structure and their maintenance as:

*"To be honest, little bit disappointed. In the way that it is not well maintained. They should really work in it, like buildings"* (Rita, 63, Belgium)

What is your general view about Arabahmet?

*"It is a beautiful historic place but the buildings are very neglected"* (Sonia, 44, Dutch)

Do the pictures in the tourist book match with what you see here in the neighbourhood?

*"Hmm, well for example, when I see a picture like this (showing a picture of well maintained historic house in Arabahmet from tourist guide), I won't expect all those houses in the walls are destroyed and no one lives here anymore but that was told by our guide."* (Sonia, 44, Dutch)

Do you like it overall? Is it a nice neighbourhood to visit?

*"Yes, I see a little bit, hmm, I would like to see that all of these beautiful houses are being restored, because they are so beautiful and it is such a pity that they are deteriorating. For me it is beautiful to see even deteriorated but it would be terrible lost when they just fall down and no one looks at it anymore. But it is a beautiful place to be"* (Sonia, 44, Dutch)

The tourist respondents hoped for a revitalization project in order not to lose such a historic neighbourhood. In other words most of them did not know about the neighbourhood's experience on revitalization and naturally they did not realize and observe the rehabilitated structures due to the buildings were in such bad condition for them. As a 52 year old Dutch tourist stated below, their views as a reason behind this



deterioration were the lack of budget in government that prevents them to revitalize and save the neighbourhood.

*“You see the original building, the damage from the war, you see all. And also they have no money for it, to rebuild it again” (Soha, 52, Dutch)*

However a 28 year old Dutch tourist guide, who came to Arabahmet three years ago for the first time and has been touring international groups around this neighbourhood since then, knew about the Nicosia Master Plan and the revitalization experience of the neighbourhood. So she could observe the rehabilitated structures but still she also had difficulties in determining the changes of the building’s appearances before and after the rehabilitation. She stated:

*“They (tourists) really liked the houses, old houses, the style and how it’s peacefully liberal .... Of course sometimes it is also shame that how sometimes they really need some money for restoration but yea luckily now I can say to people that the money is coming now and they can do restoration”*

Do you actually see the changes what the Nicosia Master Plan have done to the area?

*“Yes. For example there is one building, they almost finished its restoration so I show that to the people to have a little bit of idea about how it can be look like after few years and I see not too many changes at the moment but if you talk to other guides (of whom nationality were Cypriot) they have really seen the changes but I don’t see that much change because I am from different culture.” (Gim Burton, 28, Dutch)*

### **6.3 General Aesthetic and Services**

This section provides viewpoints of non residential respondents on general aesthetic and quality of municipal services including cleanness, infrastructure, street lighting and pedestrianization.

#### **6.3.1 Business owners/ Employees**

The main perspective on the general aesthetic of Arabahmet was that it has an unpleasant image. Accordingly this image was raised from the expression of the residents’ life styles. A 53 year old museum curator explains this perspective as:

*“There is only one thing that is annoying. Some families do not look after their children and this make tourists to be wary because they create a disturbing image. Because, the kids pull out the paving stones, tear newspapers into pieces and play with trashes. They collect coke bottles, cigarette ends and empty cigarette cases and play with them. Also women of the area all come together under the in front of this building and they make pasty in the street. Tourists see all those things and they took picture of it” (Nilgun Gunalp, 53, Cypriot) (Figure 16)*



Figure 16: Children of migrant families playing with the accumulated rain waters in front of the Dervish Pasha Museum (Source: [www.explow.com/north\\_nicosia](http://www.explow.com/north_nicosia)).

One of the respondents, whose aim was to contribute bringing life back to Arabahmet by locating their cultural centre to this neighbourhood, criticised the revitalization project and its effects to the general aesthetic of the neighbourhood:

*“When you look at the streets from an aesthetic perspective, you see that many things are not proper. In developed countries there are policies about such things. From the colour of windows to their sized there are policies and rules that they have to obey. But it doesn’t work like that in here. Even though it is called renovation, it is taken away from its original structure”.* (Heran Ciftci, 51, Cypriot)

She continues her argument by stating being located in this neighbourhood brought along a lot of disadvantages. She stated that by coming to Arabahmet, they both experienced 50% decrease in the number of students and having difficulties with the infrastructure in the area. She summarized all the infrastructural problems they were facing as:

*“Municipality remains very insufficient here in services. We (French Cultural Association) give courses here, street lights are not working, most of the time its*

*dark and because the children come courses at nights this turns into a great disadvantage for us (.....) For instance, we can't put our garbage in front of the house because the garbage truck does not pass from here. We have problems in terms of cleaning. When we do cleaning, we call the municipality to come and collect the garbage but they don't come (.....) Another example is date tree! Okay it is a tree kind that unique to Cyprus, the next door neighbour has a date tree in his garden but it seems like it can fall down at any time! We called the municipality for hundred times but no one came. Soon it will fall down on our historic building and give damage to it (.....) Due to the problems of this neighbourhood; traffic problem, parking problem, streets lamps that are not working, being dark at nights and narrow streets, it can turn into a ghost town again anytime” (Heran Ciftci, 51, Cypriot)*

So as one of the respondents summarized above, the greatest problem of people owing business or employing in Arabahmet was the level and frequency of the municipal services. Majority of the respondents considered these services as unsatisfactory and especially complained about the insufficient service of the cleaning department of municipality. A 44 year old bar manager explains the problems based on cleaning and traffic:

*“As you see everywhere is full with garbage. Within approximately 150-200 meters distance, there is only one garbage container and not another. Also there is no control of traffic here, this is one way street, but they drive in from the opposite direction with high speed!” (Tamer Arslan, 44, Turkish).*

Another problem depending on the municipal services is the infrastructure. According to respondents during the rain seasons they have difficulties with the rain water. It either permeates into the buildings or accumulates in the streets, where the elevation is lower, and blocks the passage. A 26 year old respondent who works as a counter clerk at the cinema and a 33 year old cashier summarize this situation as:

*“There is no sewer system in our district. When it rains, the water gets into houses” (Ayhan Avsar, 26, Turkish)*

*“At any time it rains, the water gets accumulated. For example tourists walking from there can't pass, they just can't walk any further. There is no infrastructure” (Aslihan Kanioglu, 33, Turkish)*

On the other hand there were also respondents having positive opinions about the general aesthetic and the cleanness of the neighbourhood. As a 58 year old politician states below, it is believed that the neighbourhood become a cleaner place as a result of the revitalization projects of NMP. However they also added that eventough it became a cleaner place, it wouldn't make a greater difference. He explains his reasons as:

*“It becomes a cleaner place that is right. Buildings have a cleaner outlook just like it used to in the past. But the people living in haven’t changed and if the people living in this neighbourhood are dirty then it doesn’t matter how much cleaning you make.” (Yiltan Oneri, 58, Cypriot)*

Another positive respond was about the pedestrianization of the narrow streets (Figure 17), which was made as a part of Nicosia Master Plan. 50 year old civil servant stated the importance of pedestrianization as:

*“There is pedestrianization; roads are closed to the traffic. It is good for the historical buildings, the lesser the vehicles enter to the streets, the longer the buildings stand still in that street. So it is a nice thing but there are many more streets that have to be pedestrianized.” (Cuma Gunalp, 50, Turkish)*



Figure 17: Illustrates a pedestrianized road that is closed to vehicle traffic. (Source: Photography taken by the author, 2012)

### 6.3.2 Native Visitors

Majority of the native visitors were disturbed by the general image of the area that leaves the historic structure behind. The main perspective was that Arabahmet was not an unclean area but rather a neglected neighbourhood that gives it an unclean image. As previously mentioned, because the mansions and some other big houses divided into several separate houses, most of these small individual structures don't have a garden and the inhabitants of these structures hang their clothes for drying in front of the houses, which create a disturbing image when combined with the historic building behind it as shown in Figure 18. A 23 year old English teacher, who visits Arabahmet not more than once in a month, explains this situation as:

*“For example during my last visit to Arabahmet, I saw that irritating bed sheets were hanged up on the upper floor of a historic building. That image really made me to lose my enthusiasm for that area because you just start focusing on a historic atmosphere but when you turn around you see laundry or other unpleasant images, you get disturbed.”* (Bahar Sokmez, 23, Cypriot)



Figure 18: A Turkish migrant woman, hanging up clothes for drying in front of her historic house at Zahra Street, Arabahmet (Source: [www.kibrisgazetesi.com](http://www.kibrisgazetesi.com)).

54 year old another respondent added a different perspective as a disturbing image that gives Arabahmet a shanty town look. He stated:

*“When you enter to Arabahmet neighbourhood, the worst image is satellite TV receiver dishes. They (residents) only spend money for that to watch television. The roof trickles, he just covers it with nylon, the window got broken, he just covers it with nylon, the window shutter fall off, he does nothing but that satellite dish is always there on the roof of the house. There is always a slum image”* (Huseyin Ozok, 54, Cypriot) (Figure 19).



Figure 19: A view from Sehit Salahi Sevket Street with the satellite dishes on the roof of the houses (Source: Photograph was taken by the author, 2012).

Then by focusing on the cleanness of the area he continues to explain:

*“Currently Arabahmet has no image of a bad neighbourhood. Maybe there is less garbage on the streets than the other areas. But when you look at the physical structure, the infrastructure, the asphalt, the pavement, demolished buildings, broken window shutters etcetera it has a dirty image”* (Huseyin Ozok, 54, Cypriot)

Another respondent, who is a 53 year old electric engineer visiting the neighbourhood at least once a week, agrees to the majority of the business owners and employees that there is a big gap in the municipal services in Arabahmet and he focuses on electricity:

*“I am electric engineer and I do my observations according to that. When I pass from the southern part to the northern part of the island at nights, I walk into darkness. They still haven’t done a project on the enlightenment of this area. It is either the defected street lamps or insufficient amateur enlightening, not professional”* (Mehmet Ceylanli, 53, Cypriot)

### 6.3.3 Tourists

For the general aesthetic respondents from tourist group did not have one dominant opinion. The viewpoints equally distributed as positive, negative and neutral. Among positive approaches a 58 year old French respondent considered it as a quiet place and a 58 year old Dutch man considered it as a well organized place:

*“It’s a nice place. It is clean, well organized. Because I had certain views before coming here (...) I have been to Turkey few years ago it was more chaotic and not well organized as here but this is Cyprus”* (Ruth Portier, 58, Dutch)

For some it was not a clean neighbourhood at all, as Aurelia stated below. However for the viewpoints about the cleanness of the neighbourhood, it should be considered that during the period of conducting interviews Nicosia Turkish Municipality employees were on a strike, including the cleaning department. So the garbage on the roads was accumulated for approximately three weeks. In order to get more accurate data about the cleanness of the neighbourhood, it is suggested to conduct another experiment during the ordinary working tempo.

*“At some places there are many bottles and that is a pity I think”* (Aurelia Elzemord, 50, Dutch)

As for the third group, the bad physical condition of buildings in Arabahmet affected their perception on the general aesthetic and the cleanness of the neighbourhood (Figure 20) . A 44 year old Dutch respondent explained her reasons for that approach:

*“It is a beautiful historic place but the buildings are very neglected (...) the streets are clean. But because the buildings look destroyed you have a feeling that the area is not that clean”* (Sonia, 44, Dutch) (see Figure 6.3.3)



Figure 20: In the picture on the left side, there is not litter on the street however because in both pictures the walls, doors and windows of the houses look destroyed, it gives a feeling that the neighbourhood is not clean (Source: author, 2012).



## **SOCIAL FACTORS**

### **7.1 Introduction**

The T.R.N.C. population of 145 thousand in 1977 has shown a steady increase to this day. Until the year 1996, the population has shown a steady/natural increase to 183 thousand. However, during 1996- 1997 it has shown an uncommon sharp increase to 200 thousand. During this year, natural population growth rate was lower than the population growth rate, which indicates that the country received high amount of migrant population (Atasoy, 2011). Afterwards the natural increase rate of population continued until 2005, but from this year till today its sharp increase continued and reached to 294 thousand 906 hundred according to the census of 2011(DPO, 2012).

However these official records have been thoroughly criticised and speculated to be false counting by the experts of this area. According to the unofficial but more trusted sources, the population of T.R.N.C is much higher than the revealed numbers (YKP, 2008). These unofficial records indicate that Turkish Cypriots are becoming minority compared to the high number of immigrants from Turkey.

These changing demographics brought a lot of variations along with it in ordinary lives of native people. This chapter presents the perspectives of non-residential population to the social characteristics of Arabahmet residents, who are believed to be part of the 'majorities'.

### **7.2 Socio – Cultural Factors and Ethnicity**

The belief of becoming minority by Turkish Cypriots as mentioned above, has eventually caused disturbances in their relationship with the Turkish immigrants and ethnic background become an important issue in the island. Since the great majority of Arabahmet residents are Turkish migrants, the socio cultural factors and ethnicity are important elements in the examination of the neighbourhood reputation.

#### **7.2.1 Business Owners/ Employees**

When the upper middle class left the inner city including Arabahmet to live in suburbs in 1970s and onwards, they rented their houses to working class Turkish migrants. This has changed many things in the neighbourhood including the ethnicity and culture. One of the respondents, who has been working in this neighbourhood for five years as a

president of French Cultural Association and also spend her childhood in this neighbourhood at her grand parents' house, explains this process as:

*"We turned our backs on Walled City to meet our needs at suburbs and this created emptiness in Arabahmet. Then these empty spaces were filled in a way that we (Cypriots) wouldn't appreciate. But I believe that we created this." (Heran Ciftci, 51, Turkish Cypriot)*

Then she continues to explain the reasons why Cypriots haven't appreciated this fulfilment:

*"Majority of people currently living here fulfilled the abandoned spaces. They came with their cultures and social orders (...) the difference in lifestyle repels people (Cypriots) from Arabahmet. Difference is only appreciated if it is a very developed difference. Otherwise people never accept, want to see or live something that is changed for worse" (Heran Ciftci, 51, Turkish Cypriot)*

As it is stated above, unless a change brings something 'better' than it used to be, it is not appreciated by people. This situation also applied to the culture and economic condition (see section 7. 2. 1) of the new residents of Arabahmet. Neither of these two factors evolved in a way that Cypriots would consider as 'better'.

This 'differentiation' can be also interpreted as Cypriots' regards to this culture as a strange. Even though it is another subject to be studied, according to the majority of respondents (both from Cypriot and Turkish background) migrants have not assimilated to Cypriot culture and this could be the reason why migrants have remained as 'the others' in the society<sup>10</sup>. One of the respondents, who was born in Turkey, lived there for 23 years and then came to Cyprus and reside here since then, explains his own assimilation process and compares it with other Turkish migrants:

*"Even though my origin is Turkey, I have never lived with people, who's origin is Turkey for 27 years. My wife is Cypriot and I have always lived in where Cypriots are. I assimilated to Cyprus culture and Cypriots. However there are people who came from Turkey, including 1974 migrants (who migrated straight after the war and known as the first migrant groups) and still couldn't adapted and assimilated. I am not even mentioning those who came here to work. I don't think that they will ever assimilate here because they are bringing their own cultures with them and they expect from Cypriots to assimilate their cultures!" (Cuma Gunalp, 50, Turkish)*

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<sup>10</sup> 'Us' and 'Them' division can be found almost at any stage of daily life in Northern Cyprus. However this definition is not only used by Turkish Cypriots but also by Turks. In other words, Turks also define Cypriots as 'the others'.

Another respondent, who is an artist, also agrees that Turkish migrants living in Arabahmet do not assimilate to Cyprus culture. But even so he hasn't observed any strong negative effects of their behaviour. He explains:

*"There isn't such assimilation because it is the bigoted group of people. We exchange greetings in the street, I give paints and papers to the children (children of the working class families who live in Arabahmet) and we paint together but when you look at their private lives, they are very closed communities. But this attitude of them do not cause to any pressure, at least they do not have such an attitude against me"* (Osman Atilla Keten, 50, Turkish Cypriot)

Even though the reason behind the avoidance of Cypriots coming to Arabahmet neighbourhood looks like it is about the Ethnicity of the residents, it becomes clearer after the respondents' statements that what creates a division between Turkish Cypriots and Turks is rather the culture conflict. This difference in cultures and unwillingness of the sides to get accustomed to each other's cultures created a lack of connection between them and as this disconnection increase the greater the cultural difference and conflict gets.

#### 7.2.2. National Visitors

Majority of the respondents visiting Arabahmet considered the residents (who came in after the suburbanization of Cypriots) of this neighbourhood as lower class migrant workers, whose cultural levels are low. Accordingly this cultural shift caused changes in the characteristics of Arabahmet. 56 year old respondent, who spent particular amount of time at Arabahmet neighbourhood during his childhood and adolescence, explains the population characteristic in the area as:

*"This culture has degenerated after 1974. Arabahmet is such a neighbourhood that, its population flow has increased from 1974 onwards, the poor people become majority and there are a lot of people who are not citizen. In other words, it is a neighbourhood that transmitted population, especially illegal workers, reside."* (Ahmet Barcin, 56, Turkish Cypriot)

The resident population there is widely known with these characteristics mentioned above and for most of the respondents the cultural life styles of these people do not match with Cypriot life style. One of the respondents, who was not willing to present her name, gave a detailed example showing the difference between 'us' (Cypriots) and 'them' (Turkish migrants):

*"I saw many times that children of the migrant population living in this neighbourhood ask for money from tourists. They run after tourists and beg for money and their mother don't say anything to them. I, myself get embarrassed! We (Cypriots) can never do something like this, it is a shame!"* (Women, 68, Cypriot).

As a result of these kinds of behaviours of the residential population, Arabahmet does not give the same impression to native people as used to give and the reason is the culture and life style of the internals that mismatch with the already existing historical structure there. 51 year old native respondent, who is a history teacher and an artist, expressed his feelings about this mismatch:

*“It used to be an area where the nights were full of jasmine steaming and endearment (...) now it is far away from being Cypriot as a place to live. Okay, the buildings tell us about Cyprus, but what about the insides? It’s inside and outside are different, there is alienation. You can feel that energy from a simple object standing in front of the house or from something else, that this place has a problem from inside. It is not Cypriot as it looks from outside, it is having an alienation”*  
(Mustafa Hasturk, 51, Cypriot)

As clearly stated by the respondent above, all of the Turkish Cypriot respondents within this group were not accustomed to the culture and life style of Arabahmet inhabitants. They regarded the immigrants’ culture as ‘strange’ and those whose visits to Arabahmet decreased over the years was due the increase in the population of that specific ethnic group, causing to the feeling of estrangement.

### 7.2.3 Tourists

Majority of the tourist respondents, who came as a group, were informed by their tourist guide that the dominant ethnicity of the residential population living in Arabahmet is Turks. However their trip to area was from noon (12 pm) to afternoon (17.00pm) and during this period of time, the neighbourhood can be considered as a quiet place since the residents were at work. Therefore tourist respondents wouldn’t have much chance to personally observe the cultural characteristics of Arabahmet. The only common observation made by them was about the friendliness of the people as 20 year old Dutch respondent stated:

*“They (residents) are very friendly, very open but that’s more about the community, the general, not about this specific neighbourhood.”* (Floor van Baren, 20, Dutch)

None of the tourist respondents mentioned about different cultural values of Turkish Cypriots and Turks or any other comments stating any difference in social terms between these two communities.

## 7.3 Socio- Economic Factors

### 7.3.1 Level of Education

According to Census 1999 (updated information is not available) considerable proportion of the Walled City inhabitants cannot read and write (11.5 %) and the ratio of literacy was even lower for female population with 83.1 %. Among those who could read and write 49.3 % only graduated from elementary school (Doratli, 2000). These outdated demographics still represent the education level of adult population (Ongun, 2011). For children, even though there is elementary school in Arabahmet neighbourhood, academics argue that the education level of migrant children are not in satisfactory levels (Caglar, 2011; Yavuz, 2012).

In this section respondents were asked about their views on the education levels of Arabahmet inhabitants. However, only two groups of respondents (Business owners/ employees and national visitors) are included here as tourist respondents were not familiar with the education level of the inhabitants.

#### 7.3.1.1 Business Owners/ Employees

According to many respondents under this category, education levels of Arabahmet residents are low. The residents consisting from migrants came from the developing areas of Turkey where education is not taken seriously enough, probably due to the economic depression of families forcing children to leave school and contribute to family budget. Especially the literacy levels are even lower among migrant females due to the taboos created by society in Eastern villages of Turkey.

One of the female respondents who works full time as a shop cashier in the neighbourhood for 9 years considers the residents as uneducated and illiberal. But for this condition, she blamed authorities and knowledgeable people living in Arabahmet for not sharing their knowledge and not informing them about the area itself. She stated:

*“People living in this area are uneducated. Tourists coming to this neighbourhood know the history and importance of the houses and other structures better than the residents. Even I don’t know much about this neighbourhood (...) until 3 years ago before dying, a pasha was living here. He and his wife were well educated people and they knew everything about the history. But they haven’t taught us. They should have taught it to us but instead they must have considered it as unnecessary that we remained uneducated” (Aslihan Kanioglu, 33, Turkish)*

### 7.3.1.2 National Visitors

National visitors have stricter and rather a different approach about the education levels of Arabahmet residents. Rather than focusing on the education levels of the adult population, majority of the respondents, especially those with teaching background, emphasized the lack of educational institutions in the neighbourhood. It is a fact that within Arabahmet neighbourhood there is only one educational institution which is Arabahmet Elementary School and there is no nursery school, secondary school or high school. Because of this condition respondents stated that they have concerns about the future of the children living in Arabahmet. One of the respondents who worked at Arabahmet Elementary school as a teacher and later became General Secretary of Turkish Cypriot Confederation of Trade Unions explained his concerns as:

*“If you raise a child at one place and then bring him/her to another place or another school, in this different place, he/she wouldn’t assimilate and be incompatible with the environment including the people. The best example for this situation is Arabahmet. The reason for this is that the children graduating from the Arabahmet Elementary School usually go to the Demokrasi High School (which does not have a good reputation). If you took a child graduating from these schools to Bulent Ecevit Anatolian High School (which is considered as superior in terms of education) he/she would not be able to cope and would suffer from a character meltdown. This is an issue of improper raising and it is a trauma for our society”* (Ahmet barcin, 56, Cypriot)

### 7.3.2 Income Level and Occupation

According to many sources income levels of migrant families (from Turkey origin) are low and among those who work usually take part in blue collar jobs, especially in construction sector. This condition can be easily claimed through the observation of Arabahmet. However, a scientific study that asked the inhabitants of the area about their views on the income levels revealed that almost half of the residents (46.3 %) believed that the income level in the area was middle and 35.8 % of them believed that it was low (Doratli, 2000). These findings are not surprising when it is considered that those people might compare their income levels they got in Cyprus and the income level they used to have before migration in Turkey. Another argument in the literature and Cypriot community about refugee families was that significant number of them occupied the buildings in Arabahmet without paying any rent for considerable amount of time (in terms of years) (Doratli, 2000, p.258).

### 7.3.2.1 Business Owners/ Employees

According to majority of the respondents working in Arabahmet, the income level of people living in the neighbourhood was low. Economical difficulties have been the reason of Turkish migrants for migrating to Northern part of Cyprus. Even though their occupational statuses have not changed, the money they earn by doing the same job increased at particular amounts. However when the cost of living in Northern Cyprus is considered, this budget difference between Cyprus and Turkey has not changed the fact that the migrant group of Arabahmet is still the low income families. One of the respondents working in the area as a counter clerk at the cinema considers this situation from employer's approach:

*"Businesses want cheap labouring and they choose Turks. Because Turks both work for little money and do whatever they are asked for" (Ayhan Avsar, 26, Turkish)*

Another respondent stated another fact illustrating the low economical condition of the neighbourhood residents. She emphasized the number of people living together in one house (not just one family but two or sometimes three families) to share the rent due to their limited economical conditions.

*"You live in your home by yourself, you have that luxury! He shares his house with other 5 people. Maybe it is not his preference as well, but the circumstances force him to live like that" (Aslihan Kanioglu, 33, TR- T.R.N.C)*

### 7.3.2.2 National Visitors

*"If you observe this neighbourhood, which I don't recommend by the way, you will see that 10-15 people may go out from one house or three families live together in one house. This neighbourhood is swimming in poverty" (Ahmet Barcin, 56).*

As clearly stated by one of the national visitors in the quote above, the great majority of the respondents have agreed with the observations of business owners and employees that the economical condition of Arabahmet is not good. In this group, over population of the migrants in the country was revealed as the dominant view indicating low income statuses of neighbourhood residents. Because more workforces are transmitted than what is needed, there is over presentation of blue collar workers. As the demand for jobs increases, then the employers will cut the budget of employees (since it is always better than gaining no money for the migrant workers, therefore there is always somebody to work for the price determined by the employers). As a result migrants work for low budgets and live in crowded houses. 54 year old respondent, who used to be the former president of Turkish Cypriot Teacher's Union, explains this as;

*“There is an uncontrolled population flow to Northern Cyprus (...) we are three people in my house, if I locate 33 people in my house, then it cannot be called as ‘house’ anymore. This is the current situation in Arabahmet. Instead of 3 people, 33 people are brought (by government as a result of lack of control) and the money that migrants earn is for 10 people so, 20 of them are starving.” (Erdogan Sorakin, 54, Cypriot)*

### 7.3.2.3 Tourists

Even though majority of the tourists stated that they do not know information regarding the economic condition of the residents, the majority considered it as low. This consideration of them derived from their observation of the outer looks of the buildings, where residents live. By observing the old look of the buildings that requires renewal they induced that residential population are economically not in such a good condition to renew their houses (Soha, 50, Dutch).

## 7.4 Safety

Since the crime rates are continually increasing in Northern Cyprus, safety becomes one of the major issues among native Cypriots. Also as crime news is getting more and more pronounced in the media, public becomes more anxious. According to the pronouncement made by TDP<sup>11</sup>, 65- 70 % of the crimes and criminals are “imported” from foreign countries (Gundem Kibris, 2012). There are some other resources published in the media claiming that 90% of the arrested criminals are ethnically from Turkish background (Ongel, 2000). As there has been no formal documentation that is publicly available on the crime rates and especially on the ethnic background of the criminals, the numbers demonstrated below in table 4 provided by a guardian are based on the Central Prison records of Northern Cyprus. According to these records, out of 280 criminals, 209 of them are originally from Turkey (74.6 %).

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<sup>11</sup> TDP: (Toplumcu Demokrasi Partisi), Social Democrat Party.



Table 4: The current number of criminals in Central Prison of T.R.N.C, according to their ethnic backgrounds. (Efendi, 2012)

Total Number of Criminals	280
Number of Criminals with TRNC Citizenship	140
With Cypriot origin	42
With Turkish origin	<b>98</b>
Number of Criminals with Republic of Turkey Citizenship	<b>111</b>
Number of Criminals with Foreign Ethnicity (not include Turks)	29

The criminal records given above are more or less known by the public. The over representation of Turkish ethnicities in criminal activities shakes the confidence of Cypriots towards the Turkish people. As the majority of the Arabahmet residents are ethnically from Turkish background and are low income families, ‘safety’ is one of the most important elements not only for composition of the respondents’ perceptions, but also for determining the differences in these perceptions of the respondent groups. According to the survey done by a newspaper journalist, the uncontrolled population growth, the lack of inspection during the entrances to the county and the economic crises are the reasons behind the increase in crime rates (Plevne, 2011). Some journalists also argued that unfamiliarity of the migrated county is also an element leading to crime (Ongun, 2011).

#### 7.4.1 Business Owners/ Employees

When the respondents, who work in Arabahmet, were asked about their perceptions on the safety of this neighbourhood, half of them considered the area as a safe place. Among those 60 % were ethnically Turks and the remaining 40 % were Cypriot backgrounds. One of the respondents, who was Turkish but legally gained T.R.N.C citizenship as well after 9 years of residency in the Island, strongly stated her opinion about the safety of Arabahmet as:

*“Cypriots do not prefer these areas. They think it is very frightening especially at nights. I am here at the shop all day and I know that nothing bad would happen. I mean as a girl I should be frightened but there is absolutely nothing to be scared of.”* (Aslihan Kanioglu, 33, Turkish)

However, there were also those who argued that Arabahmet is not a safe place. They supported their arguments by explaining their experiences that they had. For instance, a 30 year old bar owner, who works there as a barman as well, stated that his clients complain about how dangerous those areas look like especially at quite nights. He added that at Rock & Roll Bar, they experienced a burglary incident:

*“Someone cut the canvas and stole alcoholic beverages but there weren’t much. Interestingly more cokes were missing than the alcoholic beverages”* (Kemal Mehmet, 30, Cypriot)

Another Cypriot respondent, who has been working in the neighbourhood since 1980, also agrees that Arabahmet is not a safe place. He stated:

*“For example there has been a lot of robbery in this area. Since we have the CCTV cameras, police come and seek our help all the time and they even identified some of the robberies by this way.”*

Have these revitalization projects made this neighbourhood a safer place from Cypriots perspective?

*“No they haven’t because people living there are still the migrants”* (Yiltan Oneri, 58, Cypriot)

In addition to those who defined Arabahmet as pure ‘safe’ or ‘not safe’ place, a minority group of respondents described it as a safe place for men but unsafe place for women and kids.

*“At nights I walk home from here, I don’t get scared but most people scare walking here at nights. Because they watch the scandals in Turkey and because Arabahmet is full of Turks, then everybody gets annoyed. Especially when a woman walks alone, someone snipes”* (Ayhan Avsar, 26)

#### 7.4.2 National Visitors

Great majority of the respondents under this category had negative thoughts on the safety of the neighbourhood. 90 % of them clearly stated that Arabahmet is not a safe place to freely walk around. However, despite this very high percentage of negative perception, only one of them experienced a personal incident in the area leading him to define it as an insecure place.

*“Once I went away without locking my car, when I turned back I found that the inside of the car was delved. But there was nothing in it, so they couldn’t do anything. It was obvious that those who opened the door were looking for something. So when the cars are left unlock, then a problem can be experienced there”* (Erdogan Sorakin, 54, Cypriot)

The other respondents, who have not experienced a personal incident but still considered Arabahmet as an unsafe area, explained their reasons from different perspectives. One of the respondents, a 54 year old woman, explained this perspective with cultural differences. She stated:

*“People in this area are not from our culture; therefore I don’t feel safe here. Also you get trembled from the way they look at you. For example, I was passing from this area and I was looking at a house because I was observing its structure. But a woman sitting in front of the house threw me such a look, like if I kept on looking she would say “why the hell are you looking at my home!” so I just got into my car and drove away”* (Dudu Hallacoglu, 54, Cypriot)

In the above statement it is seen that the low appreciation of cultural differences, which was presented in section 7.1.2, also create insecure environment for the native visitors. Unfamiliarity of the habits and life styles of the residents disturb Cypriots and prompt them to feel as minorities. Another common approach among the respondents about the safety of the area has similar logic with cultural differences. It was the ethnic background of the residents. As 23 year old English teacher stated:

*“To be honest I prefer to lock the doors of my car especially at nights while driving through this neighbourhood. This is because that the people living there are not native and their economic conditions are not good.”* (Bahar Sokmez, 23, Cypriot)

We see that different ethnic background, especially Turkish migrants living in Arabahmet were associated with bad economic conditions and therefore more liable to commit a crime. However for some of the respondents it is not obligatory all the time to associate the ethnic minorities with their economic condition in order to feel insecure around them. 51 year old history teacher and artist respondent stated that women avoid going to Arabahmet even during the day and as a grown man he avoids going there at nights unless there is a specific event organized by his class of people. He explained his reasons for not feeling safe in this neighbourhood even though he hasn’t experienced an incident:

*“There is no need to experience it. You already feel that, it is frightening. I just read from the newspaper that even the advocates don’t want to defend the father, who*

*killed his own son<sup>12</sup> . If those kinds of people, who can slay even his own son, come here, is there a need to give it a try?!!” (Mustafa Hasturk, 51, Cypriot)*

#### 7.4.3 Tourists

Contrary to the strong negative perception of native visitors about the safety of Arabahmet, all of the nine respondents among tourists group described the neighbourhood as a very safe place. One of the respondents, who was a 50 year old nurse, considered Arabahmet as a safer place than her country of origin, the Netherlands:

*“Oh, so safe! I believe it is much safer than in our country (Aurelia Elzemord, 50, Dutch)*

The fact that interviews with this group conducted during the day time and there weren't much people around in the streets might be a reason for such a positive perception. Another Dutch respondent mentioned that at different times of a day, the safety condition might not be the same. She stated:

*“I feel safe, Not robbed yet (laughing...) I don't know how it is at 10 o'clock pm” (Perda, 51, Dutch)*

When compared with native visitors, the most common view was that Arabahmet is not a safe place especially for women. However one of the tourist respondents claimed just an opposite view by including the people living there in her observations:

*“You feel safe here, nobody is aggressive. While walking here people are so friendly and beautiful, I like it a lot that for a women alone walking here, you are safe. So that's a good thing.”(Soha Owerkampf, 52, Dutch)*

Considering the responds of business owners/employees and national visitors on the whole safety issue, the correlation between the education level, working status and income levels of the Arabahmet residents were found to be as expected. People from lower educational statuses are not eligible for white collar jobs and bound to get more labouring jobs. Even though it may show variations, in most cases blue collar jobs

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<sup>12</sup> In April, 2012, the news about a Turkish immigrant father, who killed his own seven year old son by abusing him twice, beating him for hours and then suffocating him to death with a pillow, created a big sensation in the media and in the whole society in Northern Cyprus (Source: Havadis Newspaper, 2012).

provide fewer earnings than white collar jobs. The idea behind considering Arabahmet as unsafe neighbourhood is that people with lower income status are more vulnerable to commit crime, especially when these people are not 'one of us' but rather a foreigner. When this anticipation combined with the crime issues published on newspaper even though they haven't experienced a personal incident to risk their security, majority of the respondents (both business owners and national visitors, but especially national visitors) considered Arabahmet as unsafe place.

## **DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS**

This thesis aims to find out the differences in perceiving a revitalized neighbourhood among non-residents, of which combination gives external neighbourhood reputation. In order to do so, each of the characteristics consisting neighbourhood reputation were examined and presented in each of the sub research questions. This chapter discuss the findings of these sub research questions and gives concluding remarks to the main research question.

### **8.1 Perceiving the functional factors**

Sub Research Question 1:

*“How do the different groups of non-residents perceive the functional characteristics of a revitalized neighbourhood?”*

The three different groups of externals, who use the same space for different purposes, have similar perception on functional factors at the bottom line, even though they show slight variations when analysed in detail.

For the locational importance, Arabahmet is a distinct place for the majority (if not all) of business owners for providing a historical ambiance, which is an essence for their business and very difficult thing to catch out of the walled city. Even though national visitors and tourists agrees to the importance of the historical characteristics of the neighbourhood as will later be discussed in the next section, they don't necessarily think that locating within the walled city is advantageous. However, the second most common view of the business owners and employees was also adopted by the other two groups of respondents. Closeness to Lokmaci checkpoint (see Figure 5.1) is an important locational characteristic of Arabahmet for three of the non-residents groups. For business owners this is rather important for accessibility. Businesses requiring bicommunal activities (such as political parties) or based on touristic attractions (such as museums) specifically chose this neighbourhood because for tourists or Greek Cypriots coming from the southern side accessing Arabahmet via Lokmaci is very easy. As for national visitors, in addition to the closeness to the checkpoint, Arabahmet's closeness to Arasta is also important. Majority of the respondents among national visitors uses Arabahmet as a parking spot to go Arasta for shopping. On the contrary to these two groups of non-residents, tourists had a different viewpoint about the location of the neighbourhood. For them closeness to the border is rather a negative characteristic than positive. For them, closer to the border means more soldiers around but more soldiers do not mean more security to them. Instead it makes them feel more nervous and less secure. As one of the respondents (Ruth Portiere) observed, there are

much lesser soldiers around the borders now than in the past and with the decrease in number of soldiers the area became safer when it is less associated with border.

From the perspective of respondents, it can be concluded that Arabahmet gained its forgotten locational importance after the opening of the Lokmaci checkpoint (2008) to access the southern side of the island and welcome tourists coming from there or to go Arasta (which was renewed after the accessibility become eligible and since then Cypriot's visits to Arasta increased). Before the accessibility become eligible through border gates, Arabahmet was a neighbourhood at the edge of the country, where the army had an authorization that also gave a negative image to foreigners. Because of this characteristic, as Galster (2007) suggested, locating within political jurisdictions offered inferior services and facilities that lead to further stigmatization. As Barton (2009) argued, less desirable locations, as Arabahmet, are places where vulnerable households are tend to be clustered and reinforce patterns of deprivation.

When the neighbourhood get rid of being the 'dead end' and started to be used (even not as a primary destination), its location no longer seen as a matter of stigma., which supports the argument of Hasting and Dean (2003) on the importance of location in a neighbourhood's reputation. On the one hand, in contrast to the arguments of Costa – Pinto (2000) and Galster (2007), who suggested limited accessibility to job opportunities can be responsible for a neighbourhood's stigmatization, in this study the poor accessibility caused by the absence of public transportation has not revealed as an important factor effecting neighbourhood reputation. On the other hand, in agreement with the arguments of Costa –Pinto (2000) and Galster (2007), the accessibility in terms of the closeness to the checkpoints is an important factor effecting the neighbourhood's reputation.

As for the presence of facilities and attractiveness, although for some of the respondents among business owners and national visitors, the area offers facilities such as cafes and art galleries to attract people, majority of them did not agreed with those supporting the availability of facilities. The common view was that the neighbourhood offers very limited facilities; therefore they choose to spend their time in other neighbourhoods rather than Arabahmet. Even though Hortulanus (2000) argued that presence of facilities are not important for neighbourhood reputation, we can say that both for business owners /employees and (especially for) national visitors such facilities were important elements. They stated that in case of more facilities that meet their demands, such as restaurants serving traditional food or shops selling cultural accessories, the neighbourhood would be more attractive place and their visits to the area would increase. However as it can be seen in Appendix H, the neighbourhood already hosts variety of facilities but respondents still complain about the lack of facilities. Therefore this case study approves the studies suggesting in case of the presence of facilities is extreme in nature then it positively affect external perspective. In this case because the

facilities are not extreme, the reputation in terms of facilities and attractiveness was rather negative.

## **8.2 Perceiving the Physical Factors**

Sub research question 2:

*“How do the different groups of non-residents perceive the physical characteristics of a revitalized neighbourhood?”*

Respondents of all three groups have the same approach in the physical appearance of the structures. They considered the structural characteristics of the houses as stunning and distinct. Majority of the respondents were aware of the historical importance and value of the buildings however, they criticised the maintenance. Some of them knew that the area experienced revitalization but some of them stated that they just heard about it but couldn't observe any. Among those who observed the revitalization processes have seen that the physical decline of the neighbourhood has slowed down with these processes but when the same -working -class of migrants has attended as inhabitants again, then the neighbourhood decline continued for them. Both business owners/ employers and national visitors blame municipality for not renovating the buildings and letting the 'working class' living in the neighbourhood. Even though they don't blame residents for their economical condition, they think that those residents are responsible for the current demolished image of the neighbourhood.

Most of the tourists, except the tourist guide, had not realized that some of the buildings were already been rehabilitated. The tourist guide knew about NMP and therefore the experience the neighbourhood had on revitalization. But for the other respondents it was mostly deteriorated buildings. From this aspect, there is a differentiation between the first two non-residential group of respondents (business owners and local visitors) and tourists. First two groups of respondents have knowledge about the revitalization projects and observed the condition of the buildings after these projects. Their observation leads them to conclude that there is a physical decline and then they examined the reasons behind this decline and came up with the economic and social characteristics of the living population. On the other hand because tourists had never been in Arabahmet before and did not obtained a detailed information about the neighbourhood, they directly thought the cause of the demolished image as a result of municipality's financial problems that cannot maintain the physical structure of the buildings.

When the business owners and employees were asked about their opinions on the general aesthetic and services, they focused on the lack of services especially cleaning infrastructure and street lighting. However, national visitors mostly stated the disturbing images created by the old buildings and the belongings of migrant



inhabitants that create a contrast with the historical composition of the buildings and they did not mention much about the services. This approves Hortulanus (1999; see Wassenberg, 2004, p.12) and Parkes *et al* (2002; see Wassenberg, 2004, p.12) that the built environment, neglect of the buildings are vital factors effecting neighbourhood satisfaction. According to Parkers *et al*, (2002), neighbourhood renewal should at least include housing satisfaction and the general appearance. In Arabahmet eventhough progresses were made on these aspects during the revitalization process, the maintenance of the structures have not been successful according to the both group of respondents.

The difference in the approaches of the business owners/ employees and national visitors has been addressed by Permentier *et al* (2009), as the difference of internals and externals. He stated in his argument that residents know the problems of the neighbourhood better than the externals and they have a more in depth knowledge. The same logic can be applied to here. Due to business owners and employees permanently spend particular amount of time in the neighbourhood they can easily observe the factors that visitors cannot observe. This awareness of business owners and employees is a result of spending more time in the neighbourhood as residents, whereas only a few respondents in national visitors group mentioned about the lack of municipal services and rather focused on the neighbourhood image. When the first group of respondents are considered, this also means that Permentier (et al, 2009)'s argument on the awareness of internals and lack of detailed knowledge of externals, whose opinions usually based on a limited set of objective neighbourhood characteristics, cannot be applied to all non-residential groups. Majority of the respondents among business owners and employees spends significant amount of time in the neighbourhood facing problems as residents do. Therefore in contrast to Permentier (et al, 2009)'s argument, there are also non-residential group that their opinions are based on their personal evaluations.

Tourists had no complaints about the services and they gave the most positive respond about the general aesthetic. But still the majority did not considered it as a nice place, since there wasn't a dominant opinion about the general aesthetic. Some considered it as a clean, well organized neighbourhood, while the others as a destroyed area giving a sense that it is not clean.

### **8.3 Perceiving the Social Factors**

Sub research question 3:

*"How do the different groups of non-residents perceive the social characteristics of a revitalized neighbourhood?"*

When the respondent groups were asked about their views on socio-cultural and socio-economic characteristics of Arabahmet inhabitants, business owners/ employees and national visitors mostly stated the cultural difference between 'them' and the migrants and how the migrants has been unsuccessful in assimilation process. However, while this situation has not been a problem for business owners/ employees, for the national visitors this was more than awareness, it was a disturbing situation that they felt as strangers in the neighbourhood and as a result they decreased their visits in time. The same condition applied for the safety factor. While half of the respondents working in the neighbourhood considered it as a safe place, 90 per cent of the national visitors believed that Arabahmet is not a safe place. Great majority of those considering Arabahmet as a non-safe place have not experienced any incident, but rather effected from the media. Additionally both groups of respondents considered the inhabitants as low income and uneducated families. When the responds from these two groups about the social characteristics of the neighbourhood are considered, it is inevitable to conclude that the reputation is not good. On the contrary to these two groups, for the tourist respondents there was no problem with the social characteristics of the inhabitants rather they considered the residential population as very friendly and the area as a very safe place.

Here the frequency of visiting the area or in other words knowing the area plays an important role in highlighting the differences between the respondent groups. For the first two groups (business owners/employees and national visitors) their knowledge about the history of the neighbourhood and the social characteristics of its inhabitants plays an important role in perceiving the area. First of all, because majority of the respondents from these groups knew both the social characteristics and the physical condition of Arabahmet dated back on 1970s and earlier. We can assume that because these people personally observed or heard and read about how wealthy was Arabahmet in those days, they were highly disappointed because of being able to compare it when the low income uneducated immigrant families invaded the neighbourhood. This was the time when the neighbourhood started to recall with a stigma and as stated above we cannot say for social factors that even today, after the neighbourhood has been experiencing revitalization for 26 years, it has overcome this reputation. This intractable stigma may be the cause of the recent history of the neighbourhood, which become identical with the working class immigrant population. This supports the argument of Hasting and Dean (2003). According to their study, many of the regenerated neighbourhoods cannot escape from their bad reputation because of the stigmatization rooted in their history. This also suggests that due to tourist respondents didn't know the history of the neighbourhood (only the history of structures etcetera but not the stigmatization period) they perceived the neighbourhood very positively.

The frequency of visiting can also explain the difference in the level of negative perception among business owners/ employees and national visitors. National visitors had a stricter negative image about the social characteristics of the neighbourhood

because they got affected from the stigmatized history of the area and since then they avoid to go there unless it is necessary. Therefore they couldn't observe the positive improvements and stick to their negative perception. However, despite the stigmatization, business owners and employees stayed in the neighbourhood, which helped them to overcome their prejudgements about the social characteristics of the inhabitants.

It is also important to question why the current living population of Arabahmet is a matter of negative reputation. As previously provided in section 2.3.2.3(p. 25) there are two distinguishable theories explaining the reasons lying behind the effects of ethnic minorities to negative neighbourhood reputations. The first theory is the "pure race hypothesis" which, in this case, is basically the strong prejudice of Turkish Cypriots against Turkish ethnic minorities. Even though at the first sight it gives the impression that the negative reputation of Arabahmet can be explained with pure race hypothesis, the detailed analysis of the respondent interviews reveals that the reason behind the negative reputation is not pure race hypothesis.

The second theory is "the racial proxy theory", which assumes the neighbourhoods dominated by ethnic minorities are commonly have high poverty rates leading to low-qualified schools etc. , so the negative reputation of these neighbourhoods come from its poverty rather than the ethnic background of its residents (Harris,2001 from Permentier, et al, 2008). This theory is highly applicable to the negative reputation of Arabahmet. The residential population in the neighbourhood was highly uneducated and had low incomes. Low qualified school, high crime rates (as presented in the media), neglected buildings and so on creates the negative reputation of the neighbourhood. So, the stigma is not directly caused from the ethnic minorities but because all these negative aspects were directly associated with the ethnic minorities, at first stage pure race hypothesis could have seen as an explanation as well.

#### **8.4 Main Research Question and Conclusions**

Main research question:

*"How do the different groups of non-residents perceive a revitalized neighbourhood and within this context to what extend urban renewal is successful in changing negative reputation?"*

The responds of the non-residents illustrated that neighbourhood reputation shows variations among different groups of externals in line with the three types of neighbourhood characteristics, each of which was the subject of one of the sub research

questions. These variations were a result of the engagement of respondents with the neighbourhood at different frequencies.

In terms of functional factors, there is not a considerable difference in perceiving neighbourhood among non-residential groups. The overall consideration on location and accessibility was positive, while presence of facilities and attractiveness was rather considered as below the average. The consistency of perceptions continued for the non-residential groups for physical structure (very positive views) and the maintenance (very negative responds from all three groups). However, as an aspect of physical factors, when the general aesthetic and services were asked to the respondents a significant difference is observed in perceiving the neighbourhood. For business owners and employees the major issue was the lack of services including infrastructure, cleaning and street lighting, which was not considered as a major issue by national visitors and was contrarily perceived very positively by the tourists group. For national visitors the image of the neighbourhood, which created by the inhabitants, was the concerning issue within the framework of general aesthetic. So, from these analyses it can be concluded that depending on the time spend in the neighbourhood, business owners and employees were more aware and sensitive about the problems of the neighbourhood, whereas since national visitors spend limited amount time in the area, they rather focused on the exogenous factors that were easily observable. The tourist respondents, who visited the area for the first time there weren't much negative aspects to claim since their observation was based on a specific time period of a specific day, which may not represent the general condition of the neighbourhood (for instance their visits to the area wasn't during the night time, so they couldn't observe the lack of electricity in the streets). As for the social factors, there was a big differentiation in perceiving the neighbourhood between business owners/employees, national visitors and tourists. Both business owners/employees and national visitors agreed that the residential population of Arabahmet should not be the current inhabitants but the Cypriots, who can perpetuate the Cypriot culture in the area. They think that the neighbourhood is losing its cultural value mostly because of the immigrant families residing there and therefore there was a prejudgement of Cypriot respondents upon the Turkish immigrants living there. However, since the business owners/employees spend more time in the neighbourhood and interact with the inhabitants, they overcame this prejudgement and their negative feelings toward Turkish immigrants living in the area were not much strong as the national visitors. When this prejudgement combined with the (mostly negative) news take place in the media, national visitors considered the neighbourhood as an unsafe place, which was not a case for half of the business owners and employees. On the contrary, for tourists it was a very safe place, since they neither got affected by the news from the media nor had prejudgements about the inhabitants of Arabahmet.

As for the reputation, functional factors especially location and accessibility as well as the physical and historical structure of buildings in the area perceived as positive

characteristics of the neighbourhood. However, general aesthetic and social factors have effected reputation negatively. In agreement with the previous suggestions done by Permentier and colleagues (2008), this study also supports that the objective social neighbourhood characteristics are the most important factors among others that impact neighbourhood reputation. For most of the respondents (except tourists) unless the social composition of the neighbourhood change (Turkish migrants leave the area), Arabahmet will not reach to a complete positive reputation. Because of the stability in the class and ethnicity of social composition, for majority of the respondents the neighbourhood is still under a stigma. In this case the adopted revitalization projects cannot be considered as successful in dispelling the negative reputation of the neighbourhood and creating a 'back to the city' movement, even though it is an inevitable fact that Arabahmet today stands still due to these projects.

Even though displacement of the low income families has always been the cruel side of the arguments on the consequences of the gentrification process, Arabahmet case study proves us that without replacement of the working class population with middle- upper class population, it seems difficult to claim a success in revitalization and changing a negative reputation to positive one. As stated in the theoretical chapter, the main difference between gentrification and incumbent upgrading is the displacement of the lower class and according to some studies, gentrification is more successful than incumbent upgrading in creating new image and a perception related to that. However, there was no considerable detailed study in the academic literature covering the perceptions on the newly created images. The reason behind making gentrification more successful in creating new images is because in gentrification process both physical and social characteristics of a neighbourhood change, which also brings economical changes (improvements such as investments etc.) as well. So in this case, in order to 'save' a stigmatized neighbourhood, displacement of its working -class inhabitants is essential to reach an integrated socio-economic and physical renewal, which is supposed to bring success (Jeffrey & Pounder, 2000, p.91). Apparently, in Nicosia Master Plan socio- economic and physical aspects have not integrated together. The emphasis has rather been given to the physical regeneration and socio economic renewal kept in the background. Even though the literature suggests that the displacement of the working class residents may cause disruption of social cohesion and community conflict (Atkinson, 2004; Doucet, 2009; Slater, 2006), in Arabahmet case, if the planned displacement of the inhabitants (all the inhabitants supposed to placed collectively to the newly build apartment houses and because it would be still the same person on a newer houses there wouldn't be a disruption of social cohesion or community conflict) were implemented, then it could have been a successful urban renewal project, which could have changed the neighbourhood reputation towards a much more positivistic stage.

## *Chapter IX*

### **EVALUATION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

This study suggests that an urban renewal cannot be successful in changing negative reputation without addressing physical, social and economical regeneration. As mentioned in the previous chapter, in Arabahmet it is believed that such a success in revitalization process would only be reached in case of a displacement of low-income ethnic minorities. Once such a displacement is implemented than the most important factor keeping Cypriots unwilling to visit the neighbourhood would be eliminated. Then in order to attract investors, entrepreneurs and middle- upper class people to the area, subventions should be provided by municipal authorities, which would address the economical aspect of the urban renewal. However, when such a replacement is implemented, government and local municipality should pay more attention to the neighbourhood in terms of services (infrastructure, cleaning, etc.) and the maintenance of the structures. At this point, during the maintenance or restoration of any historical structure, Department of Ancient Monuments should apply strict policies in order to be sure that every step is done by staying loyal to the original structure and inspect those processes frequently.

In contrast to the suggestion of replacing the current residential population with middle- upper class residents, the emptied structures would be used as non-residential purposes. When the respondents were asked whether they are willing to live in Arabahmet in case of the displacement of current inhabitants and physical revitalization of the structures, the ones, who stated that they would really want to live there under such conditions, were above 50 years old and younger respondents didn't want to live in Arabahmet even under such conditions. Therefore for a proper gentrification process as suggested in the academic literature where the 'gentry' class is the residents of a neighbourhood, it might be considered late for Arabahmet. This is because the generation willing to live in the neighborhood is over 50 years old. They are the last generation which had personal historical bonds with the neighbourhood, knew the past and lived in those days, when the area had a great reputation. Therefore it is easier for them to imagine the neighbourhood again as a residential place hosting upper class population. However, the younger generation has difficulties in seeing the neighbourhood as an upper class residential place and they think an attempt trying to bring wealthy population for residential purposes is rather an unrealistic effort. This might be caused by their matching the area with a bad reputation and not wanting to live there even after revitalization. Therefore when these opinions are considered, it could be a better investment to plan the urban area in accordance with the younger generation. If such a gentrification process would have started 10-15 years ago, it could have been more feasible in terms of attracting people who is willing to live in Arabahmet.

Because of the reasons stated above, it could be more beneficial to use the neighbourhood for non-residential purposes such as tourism and entertainment businesses once rehabilitated (including all of the three aspects). The emptied buildings (as a result of displacement) could be used as restaurant, bar and cafés but also workshops providing artistic activities such as art galleries, ceramic art, wood carving, which is a cultural art etc, as well as small shops selling cultural accessories.

In the long run it is believed that the most beneficial situation for the neighbourhood would be the unification of both nations (Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots) in Cyprus that would not only increase the population of neighbourhood by means of tourism and entertainment but also dispel the illegal immigrant population that transferred from Turkey<sup>13</sup>, which would also increase the reputation of Arabahmet.

In order to improve this study, further steps can be taken for future studies. As given in appendix A, B and C, which provide a demographic data about the groups of interviewees, the respondents over 50 years old were over represented that could cause the overrepresentation of a particular opinion. Both an increase in the total number of respondents from all three types of groups and in younger respondents would provide more informative results in terms of representing the opinion of respondents from variety of ages. Another limitation from this study was the time constraints of the tourist respondents. Since they visited the area with a group and a guide, they had a schedule they were supposed to follow; therefore the interviews with these respondents were conducted while walking from one destination to another, which forced them to respond questions with short answers. It could have been more beneficiary to conduct interviews with a group without such a restricted time constraints. Another recommendation to improve this study could be its comparison with its twin project Chrysaliniotissa (locates in the Greek side of the island), since it is considered as more successful project by Nicosia Master Plan professional team. By comparing them, the differences and the reasons behind making Chrysaliniotissa a successful project and Arabahmet as an unsuccessful project can be revealed and the missing factors can be applied to Arabahmet in further revitalization projects.

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<sup>13</sup> According to the Article 1 and Article 2 of Zurich Agreement (or also known as Garanti Agreement, 11/2/1959) that signed by Cyprus Republic, Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom, it is againts to the agreement to transfer population to the Island (Source:Ministry of Foreign Affairs; [www.mfa.gov.tr](http://www.mfa.gov.tr))

## **APPENDICES**

### **APPENDIX A**

Questions asked to respondents from group category A, consisting from business owners or employees in Arabahmet neighbourhood.

#### **Section 1**

Name:

Sex:

Age:

Nationality:

Place of Residency:

Educational Status:

#### **Section 2**

1. What is your employment status? Owner/ Employer?
2. Full time / Part time
  - 2.1 How many days of a week do you work?
  - 2.2 How many hours a week do you work?
3. How long you have been working in this neighbourhood?

#### **Section 3**

1. Do you know what was the situation of the neighbourhood 10-15 years ago (in terms of its reputation)?
2. What do you think about the current condition of the neighbourhood?
- 3.a Business Owner: Why did you chose this neighbourhood to locate your business? (is it owner occupied, or rented)
- 3.b Employee: Why did you choose this neighbourhood to work?
4. Do you know Nicosia Master Plan (NMP)?
5. How does this revitalization projects affected your business / the business you are working?
6. Has there been an increase in the rent or in value of the property/ land since the NMP?
7. Have you observed any differences in your customer composition (economic status, ethnic background)?
8. Have you observed any differences in Arabahmet since NMP? What are they?
  - 8.a Has it become a safer place?
  - 8.b Has it become a cleaner place?
  - 8.c Has there been improvements in the infrastructure?
  - 8.d Has there been increase in pedestrianization?
  - 8.e Have you observed any differences in land use?(changes from residential to mix land use?)
  - 8.f Have you observed any changes in ethnic composition among the residential population of Arabahmet neighbourhood?
  - 8.g Has the neighbourhood become a more popular place to visit? (increase in no. tourists visiting the neighbourhood?/ increase in no. of natives visiting the neighbourhood?)
9. Would you live in this neighbourhood?



## APPENDIX B

Questions asked to respondents from group category B, consisting from local visitors, who visit Arabahmet neighbourhood as customers of bars, restaurants, art galleries, cinema etc.

### ***Section 1***

Name:  
Sex:  
Age:  
Nationality:  
Place of Residency:  
Educational Status:

### ***Section 2***

1. How often do you visit this neighbourhood?
2. What is your purpose of visiting this neighbourhood?
3. Do you enjoy spending time in this neighbourhood? Why?
4. How long ago this neighbourhood become a destination for you for .... ( answer in Q2 eg. shopping/night life etc) ?
5. Has the level of your visits to the neighbourhood increased over time? If yes, why do you think so?

### ***Section 3***

1. Do you know what was the situation of the neighbourhood 10-15 years ago (in terms of its reputation)?
2. What do you think about the current condition of the neighbourhood?
3. Do you know Nicosia Master Plan (NMP)?
4. Have you observed any differences in Arabahmet since NMP? What are they?
5. Do you feel safe in this neighbourhood?  
If No; 5a. Have you experienced anything?  
If No; 5b. Then why do you think it is not a safe place?
6. Is it a clean place?
7. Have you observed improvements in the infrastructure of the neighbourhood? ( e.g. pedestrianization, electricity )
8. How would you describe this neighbourhood to someone who has never been here?
9. Would you recommend this neighbourhood to someone to visit?
10. Is it a good neighbourhood for residential purposes?
11. Would you like to live in this neighbourhood? Why?
12. What do you see in the future of this neighbourhood?

## APPENDIX C

Questions asked to respondents from group category C, consisting from tourists, who are interviewed during their visit to Arabahmet neighbourhood.

### **Section 1**

Name:

Sex:

Age:

Nationality:

Place of short-term residency:

Educational Status:

### **Section 2**

1. Is this the first time you are visiting this neighbourhood?

If not

1.a How many times you have visited this neighbourhood?

1.b How long ago was your previous visit?

1.c What is the reason bringing you back to this neighbourhood?

2. Has someone else recommended you to visit this neighbourhood?

3. What are the main attractions triggering your visiting purpose to this neighbourhood?

4. Did you like the neighbourhood?

5. Do you think it is a safe place to visit?

6. Do you think it is a clean place?

7. Would you come here again to visit?

8. Would you recommend this place to someone to visit?

## APPENDIX D

### Group A

Business owners or employees of businesses locating within the borders of Arabahmet neighbourhood.

Resp.	Interview Date	Business	Interviewee	Sex	Age	Profession	Education Status
1	18/04/12	Misirlizade Cinema	<b>Ayhan Avsar</b>	M	26	Counter Clerk	Secondary School
2	18/04/12	Dervish Pasha Mansion (Ethnographical Museum)	<b>Cuma Gunalp</b> <b>Nilgun Gunalp</b>	M F	50 53	Civil Servant at Ministry of Tourism	Secondary School
3	18/04/12	Art Gallery	<b>Osman Atilla Keten</b>	M	50	Artist	University
4	19/04/12	French Cultural Association	<b>Heran Ciftci</b>	F	51	Academician	Grad School (master)
5	19/04/12	Oldies Bar	<b>Tamer Arslan</b>	M	44	Statistician	Grad School
6	20/04/12	Plater Print Press	<b>Zilen Ovgu</b>	F	47	Pressman	High School
7	20/04/12	Plater Print Press	<b>Erdem Cavus</b>	M	39	Pressman	Secondary
8	20/04/12	Kani Market	<b>Aslihan Kanioglu</b>	F	33	Cashier	High School
9	25/04/12	Rock&Roll Bar	<b>Kemal Mehmet</b>	M	30	Barman/Bar Owner	High School
10	26/04/12	CTP Clubhouse	<b>Yiltan Oneri</b>	M	58	Manager?/ Politician?	High School

## APPENDIX E

### Respondent Group B

Local visitors, who visit Arabahmet neighbourhood as customers of bars, restaurants, art galleries, cinema etc.

<b>Resp.</b>	<b>Interview Date</b>	<b>Interviewee</b>	<b>Sex</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Profession</b>	<b>Education Status</b>
<b>1</b>	23/04/12	<b>Kivanc Esener</b>	M	39	Shop Assistant	Secondary School
<b>2</b>	23/04/12	<b>Bahar Sokmez</b>	F	23	English Teacher	University
<b>3</b>	24/04/12	<b>Dudu Hallacoglu</b>	F	54	Retired	High School
<b>4</b>	25/04/12	<b>Esat Soner</b>	M	33	Soldier (Army)	High School
<b>5</b>	27/04/12	<b>Mehmet Ceylanli</b>	M	53	Electrical Engineer	University
<b>6</b>	27/04/12	<b>Erdogan Sorakin</b>	M	54	Math Teacher	University
<b>7</b>	27/04/12	<b>Huseyin Ozok</b>	M	54	Consultant	University
<b>8</b>	27/04/12	<b>Mustafa Hasturk</b>	M	51	History Teacher	PhD
<b>9</b>	27/04/12	<b>Ahmet Bacin</b>	M	56	Teacher / General Secretary of Turkish Cypriot Confederation of Trade Unions	University
<b>10</b>	20/04/12	<b>Arzu Guchan</b>	F	24	English Teacher	University

## APPENDIX F

Respondent Group C

Tourists, who are interviewed during their visit to Arabahmet neighbourhood.

<b>Respondent</b>	<b>Interview Date</b>	<b>Interviewee</b>	<b>Sex</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Nationality</b>	<b>Education Status</b>
<b>Interview 1</b>	20/04/12	<b>Ruth Portier</b>	M	58	Dutch	University
<b>Interview 2</b>	20/04/12	<b>Gim Burton!!!</b>	F	28	Dutch	University tourist guide
<b>Interview 3</b>	20/04/12	<b>Rita</b>	F	64	Belgium	Information N/A
<b>Interview 4</b>	20/04/12	<b>Pedra</b>	F	51	Dutch	Information N/A
<b>Interview 5</b>	20/04/12	<b>Sonia</b>	F	44	Dutch	Information N/A
<b>Interview 6</b>	20/04/12	<b>Aurelia Elzemord</b>	F	50	Dutch	University(Nurse)
<b>Interview 7</b>	20/04/12	<b>Soha Owerkampf</b>	F	52	Dutch	University(nurse)
<b>Interview 8</b>	20/04/12	<b>Floor Van Baren</b>	F	20	Dutch	University student
<b>Interview 9</b>	25/04/12	<b>Zanna Durong</b>	F	58	French	Phd Academician

## APPENDIX G

<b>Week</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Visited Department/Location</b>	<b>Visiting Purpose</b>
Week 1	09/04/12- 13/04/12	-TRNC* Department of Land Registry and Cadastre - TRNC Department of Urban Planning - Map Department of TRNC	-Land division information -Unpublished NMP reports -Detailed map of Arabahmet neighbourhood
Week 2 & 3	16/04/12- 30/04/12	Arabahmet	Conducting Interviews with non-residents of Arabahmet
Week 4	01/05/12- 04/05/12	Nicosia Turkish Municipality	Nicosia Master Plan diagnostic reports are analysed.

\*TRNC: Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

## APPENDIX H

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