Designing Reconciliation after Urban Warfare

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May 2011

Submitted towards the fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Architecture Degree.

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Acknowledgements

The relationships that have been developed throughout this process have been of significant value for the outcome of this project. I am especially appreciative of Kazi Ahraf, Luciano Minerbi, and Sanford Murata who have challenged and encouraged the direction of this thesis, looking beyond potential results and towards its continuing value.

Moreover, to my Chair Amy Anderson, thank you for your ingenuity, enthusiasm, and invaluable guidance in every step, hop, skip and jump along the way.

I also thank Janine Clifford for coordinating the opportunity to conduct research around the world that has expanded the breadth and depth of the Doctorate Project.

Lastly, with deep gratitude, I would like thank my family who has generously expressed unwavering support in all of my endeavors. Thank you a thousand times over.
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Abstract

The cycle of conflict can repeat itself through a city’s rebuilding. In the most extreme cases where the space of a city has become divided, disconnected, and socially segregated, remnant fear, anxiety, and hostility after years of violence are perpetuated through contested territory. This research is interested in the intersection between spatial practice and reconciliation in the aftermath of war. Divided cities that experience ethnic warfare, specifically Beirut, Belfast, and Nicosia have been affected by cyclical violence and consequential trauma. Physical manifestations that were expressions of conflict have had negative long-term impacts that affect social recovery. By understanding the dynamics of conflict, intervention, and spatial patterns that occur before, during and after war, similarities of challenges that pervade these types of cities begin to emerge. The objective is to build a conceptual framework that serves to engage the architect, planner, and urban designer to activate the healing of social space.

One theme of these three cities is the homogenization that happens during warfare. After conflict, the geography of the city continues to suffer from social segregation of these antagonistic groups who become isolated unto themselves. Isolation in turn causes a snowball of negative effects that proliferate in the political, economic, and social environment. Stability and the quality of life after war in the face of physical divisions/demarcations/security measures become almost insurmountable for those who were the most impacted. This is due to the perceived insecurity that is enforced by the physical barricades that were erected during violence and kept long after the formal end of the war.

To address this social handicap, it is important to understand the effects of physical division related to fear, anxiety and insecurity that has continued an ethos of hostility. If the intentions to increase security with constructs instead perpetuate the cycle of violence over the long term, then reconsideration of the physical environment, its composition and consequences, as well as active engagement towards progress in these environments must be undertaken. Defining reconciliation as a priority in segregated post-conflict cities poses the question of how spatial practice can counter divisiveness that scars these cities. Belfast, Nicosia, and Beirut are case studies that, through their successes and failures, build a process to actively involve the architect with the healing of social space; both action and inaction have resounding impacts.
Recent construction of an Israeli-built barrier—a zone of fences, barbed wire and patrol roads—is dividing Palestinian farmers from their land; some of the most productive in the region. The government of Israel has called this a security measure necessary to keep out attackers. Construction of this barrier over two years has been proving to be a humanitarian, social and political disaster. The barrier, completed in 2005, has an estimated cost of $3.4 billion U.S. and stretches up to 730 kilometers (453 miles).

The barrier does not follow internationally recognized borders, but stretches deep into Palestinian territory, circling some cities, cutting off hundreds of thousands from their livelihoods. The barrier appears to be another act in a history of dispossession. Palestinian perception of this barrier concludes that it is an attempt from Israel to take their ancestral land. Although the barrier has gates, they are patrolled by Israeli armed forces who control access to the farmland. Palestinians fear that this barrier will become permanent and that one day they will no longer be given access to their land. “As the walls and fences that make up the barrier are erected throughout the West Bank, Palestinians feel they are being confined to ever-smaller ‘prisons’ ” (Weaver 2008).

This construction, as “security”, physically isolates Palestinians from one another and makes the movement of access and goods very difficult. The planned barrier, perceived by the government to have successfully reduced armed attacks, includes checkpoints, roadblocks and restricted-access roads. “Poverty levels within the fenced-off enclaves of the West Bank and Gaza have skyrocketed; unemployment is now 60 percent” (Weaver 2008).

...Some Israelis say that their government’s policies of building the barrier and expanding settlements are harming, rather than enhancing, Israel’s long-term security. Rami Elhanan lost his daughter, Smadar, in a Palestinian suicide bombing. "I lost my daughter because there is no peace," Rami says quietly. "There is no peace because there is no security." Na’ama Nagar and Ruti Raz, Israeli Jewish activists, agree that the barrier will not bring peace or security. "I think we have to speak with each other," says Nagar. "That’s the first and foremost step that we have to take."

Nagar and Raz regularly join Palestinians in demonstrations against the barrier, finding a shared commitment to a future of bridges of justice and reconciliation rather than of walls of dispossession and hostility. (Weaver 2008)
Introduction

One pressing problem increasingly seen in the city is, “the dilemma of reconciliation and amnesty where the bloody traumas of history demands forms of forgiveness” (Derrida 2001). In the 20th century alone, there have been 430 violent conflicts in 109 countries, in which most ended with military defeat or police repression, but repeatedly flared up again (Lingis 2008, 45).

...while a lot can be said about what does not work, we need affirmative answers to what might be alternative pathways to peace. Inter-state wars may be declining as a global phenomenon, but local transnational violence and divisive identity politics are more intense, with more impact on non-combatants than ever before (Hironaka 2003). In such a context, and despite the need to say something positive, it is crucial to begin by addressing the quandaries of reconciliation that in the main continue to be either unspoken of haphazardly insinuated by cynics. It is only by taking these issues seriously that we can get beyond high-sounding rhetoric. (James 2008, 116)

Cities are the context in which these violent campaigns are taking place, and these cities, are where people live, work, play, and engage with the built environment on a daily basis. Conflict in cities exists in many forms and produce boundaries that divide “us” from “them.” In less extreme forms these barriers serve social, economic, and political entities; invisibly segregating groups along the lines of social class, income and opportunity. Division caused by conflict, however, manifests in the city through its own typology of spatial forms that consequently compound remnant socio-economic and political rifts. One form that has resounding negative impacts is the physical constructs of barriers that isolate, divide, and perpetuate the psycho-social ethos of war. "The negative impacts of urban division are legion. Even where political advantages accrue to rival communities seeking isolation, voluntary and involuntary partitions have brought death, suffering, disorientation, loss, and social anemia wherever they appear" (Calame and Charlesworth 2009, 12-13).

The divided city becomes a war metropolis and a warren of claustrophobic ethnic enclaves (Calame and Charlesworth 2009, 15). This is the current landscape of an increasing class of cities. Action and engagement have been on the level of basic relief and development models with tenuous results. Polarized cities that have a history of violence and conflict require more than routine response that fails to address its complex dynamics endemic to years of war, fear, anxiety, insecurity, and trauma.

Nations emerging from long periods of conflict have no choice but to make progress on the issue of reconciliation if they are to succeed in breaking the cycle of violence. Even
slow progress will not take place without a serious effort, resources and specifically targeted programming. There are few examples of how to assist in the generation of reconciliation in post-conflict situations. The principles of the CRPs [Community Reconciliation Procedures] hold some valuable lesson: look deeply into local conditions, resources and needs; do something more than just talk; and do not be discouraged by the massive, inevitable difficulties or the critical voices from comfortable armchairs far away. There will be many failures and some successes, even in the most optimistic scenario. The effort required will often seem too much but, when considered in relation to the consequences of inaction, little choice remains. (Burgess 2008, 147)

...Reconciliation is related to conflict. It is borne of conflict situations. [Perceptions about the context of reconciliation and need & difficulty of listening] must be overcome if we are to realize the possibility of conflict as a tool for change rather than an end to itself, where mutual destruction is the officially declared aim. (Sadria 2008, 54)

This thesis is devised into three sections that are reflective of the process of its endeavor. Section I constructs the argument of why this topic is important and how it is connected to space and practice. At the end of Section I, a further round of investigation is set up through its concluding inquiries. Section II is the result of the exploration those inquiries. Each city that is included in Section I as case studies are the setting of the interviews and field work, documented in Appendix A. Finally, Section III is the design project that employs the process that is constructed by the framework in Section II. The design exercise that is pursued follows the principles conceived for reconciliatory space, which this thesis projects can be characterized.

Doctorate Project Statement

*How can the role of spatial practice engage and initiate the process of reconciliation?*

“This is the dilemma of reconciliation: to work with unspeakable suffering and to cajole its utterance. To respect the victims and survivors of atrocity, yet broker their participation...” (Rothfield 2008, 26) In the prolific unbuilding or destruction of our cities, where is the voice of those who will rebuild and who are responsible for its existence? Looking at three cities that face the challenge of reconciliation, this research questions the resulting spatial divisions that have proven to affect the psychology and behavior patterns in them. It is interested in the counter-movement that attempts an act of reconciliation upon the “city.”

Methodology

Through historical interpretive research a general background of conflict and its evolution is analyzed relevant to its current day phenomena. Correlating theories, about the
psychological impacts of violent conflict and its effect on social dynamics, are analyzed to create a stage for comparison of three case studies: Beirut, Lebanon; Belfast, Northern Ireland and Nicosia, Cyprus. These three cities are studied through recorded chronological timelines, current articles, and historical documentation. Next, the case studies are compared and contrasted through space: demographic spatial patterns (through historical urban form development), the dynamics of conflict and response (developed as diagrams), and current impacts (mapping of divisions). These are compared to generate themes that reappear in each city divided by war. Finally, the spatial and conceptual diagrams that have been created to examine each conflict construct a similar visual language. Through these, generative theories about the role of spatial practice challenged by reconciliation have been procured and further questioned.

Phase II of investigation began by formalizing the “further questions” into a standard list for interviews of local designers in all three case studies. Beginning in Belfast and ending in Beirut, practitioners and academics in planning, urban design, and architecture were interviewed (refer to Appendix A) and analysis of noted design projects concerned with cross-community development are assessed. The result of this exploration resulted in: 1. A framework for reconciliation-mediation, (refer to Section II), 2. A site to mediate Reconciliare-space, and 3. Supporting documentation for the ideas conceived in Section I, II, and III. Each phase of this process from initial research to conceptual design builds upon its former. It does not seek to be the “solution” to instability, but aims to engage in a process that can address the physical divisions that attempted to solve insecurity problems. Spatial practice must engage in the conversation where insecurity is derivative of space and territory. In highly sensitive contested cities, to be neutral is an act of disengagement with one’s surroundings. To disengage is isolating: both for professional practice and for those living in segregated enclaves.
Section I: Conflict in the Urban Context
The Terms of Warfare: Defining Scope

Part I: Global Implications

Unlike the past, when disasters in distant lands appeared to have little consequence of implication for those not immediately affected, the forces of globalization now have linked societies and nations throughout the globe in a complex economic, political, social, environmental, and moral web of consequences that cannot be ignored. Today, disasters—whether they are natural or human-made—can alter international political, economic, legal, and military relations. (Marsella and Christopher 2004, 522)

The process of globalization has connected and affected major cities of the world. Where wars were once just heard of and seen as isolated, in a distant land, now they have been ‘accessed’ by modern transportation, technology and media. This accessibility and interconnectedness has affected international stability. “From the global perspective, a serious consequence of complex emergencies [or modern warfare] is the regional instability they generate. This is caused by large numbers of refugees fleeing to neighboring countries trying to escape violence; an upsurge in regional arms trade to support the conflict; increased drug trafficking; the rise of antisocial networks; as means of collecting revenue; and the export of violence to neighboring nations” (Maynard 1999, 8).

Today’s armed violence has evolved over the past century. Modern conflicts lead to complex emergencies that outdate conventional responses, which are rooted in the old concept of war. Responding to complex emergencies requires a deep understanding of the context that produced them. Conventional response by the international community has shown to be ad-hoc and short-term relief aid in long-term political crises. “Sadly, such largely inappropriate responses are draining the diminishing pot of global resources for international assistance. The lack of a comprehensive analysis and global plan of action creates a surge reaction to fight spot fires, rather than a concerted and coordinated approach to addressing the larger configuration” (Maynard 1999, 9). Additionally, international interventions in post-conflict reconstruction are void of effective approaches to war-torn societies. Rather than aiding and assisting these impacted communities, economically and politically driven development can negatively impact the process of social recovery over the long-term.

Part II: The Evolution of Conflict

There have been three distinct evolutions in the nature of violent conflict in the 20th century that deserve attention. The response to modern conflict is inappropriate because it is
largely understood based on the old model of war. The three main types of armed conflict that will be explored are: Trinitarian war, Insurgent movements, and Identity conflict. “Trinitarian war – combat dictated by the state, conducted by military, on behalf of its people presided over international military relations until midcentury, followed by insurgent movements until the end of the 1980s. At the end of the Cold War, these gave rise to identity conflicts, which have dominated the rest of the century” (Maynard 1999, 30). These three categories are general and not absolute; however, they serve as a broader framework to understand the important characteristics of contemporary violence.

Trinitarian war is a model presented by Carl von Clausewitz (1780-1831) in his book, On War, where he states, “…politics is the womb in which war develops.” The foundation of this model lies in the interrelationship between government, army, and citizens. Clausewitz’s model of war is defined as the “extension of national interest as decided by the state and carried out by the military against opposing armies” (Maynard 1999, 31). In this definition there is a rational calculation of the ‘enemy,’ that is fought across borders, exemplified by both World Wars. One critique of this model places the citizens in exclusion from input. “To segregate the people from the mechanism of war, the state often isolated soldiers in special areas. It also kept arms away from the common citizen and maintained legal distinctions between war and domestic crimes for the same offense” (Van Creveld 1991, 40). The important characteristic of the Trinitarian war model is that combat was conducted by professional infantry on battlefields where civilians were not allowed to take part; it is largely dispassionate and strategic, driven by state decision-makers.

The Trinitarian era ended with the makings of nuclear weapons in 1945, which “transformed….the notion that war is rational and seriously reduced its potential as a realistic extension of politics” (Keegan 1993, 391). Moreover, the focus shifted to internal power struggles in the middle of the century, when colonialism ended and the issue of independence arose. Maynard calls this phase “insurgent movements” and Van Creveld labels this and succeeding conflict as “nontrinitarian war”. Insurgent movements “…consisted of independence movements, guerrilla warfare, political rebellions, socialist revolutions, national liberation struggles, counterinsurgency campaigns, and separatist and irredentist crusades” (Maynard 1999, 32). In contrast to Trinitarian war, where civilians were separated from its process, insurgent movements were “based on group conviction generated from mutual experience and
massive appeal to a rational solution” (Maynard 1999, 32). These were generally fought within the confines of national borders and where each side was likely to receive resources from siding superpowers. The combatants were those that shared the conviction of the group, rooted in some ideology, thus requiring an understanding of the larger objective to subject personal agendas.

The end of this era of Insurgent movements corresponds with the end of the communist empire. “International observers watched as the relatively sudden decrease in financial and military support for many third world countries left many ongoing struggles in the lurch, with neither material nor philosophical support. Some conflicts – those in Ethiopia, Cambodia, and Chad, for example – declined rather quickly. Others, such as in Afghanistan and Sudan, continue relatively unabated, though the nature of the fighting and even some of the alliances and ideologies have changed” (Maynard 1999, 33).

The beginnings of identity conflict can be traced before the Cold War era, but its trends of violence have been more apparent in the 1990s. The individual identification with the group marks this type of armed violence. “Identity is first and foremost a function of the individual, not of the group, although it has critical social implications. Unlike the collective agreement and interdependence of the Trinitarian and Insurgent periods...the underlying foundation for modern conflict finds companionship and motivation in others with similar feelings but remains a personal element. Its mutuality, however, becomes the shared pivot point in the execution of collective violence inspired by a sense of group self and its distinction with respect to others” (Maynard 1999, 36). Because individual identity is the elemental foundation of these conflicts, they are driven by human emotions rather than logic, strategy, or the understanding of principles for a foreseeable end. It is logical, then, that identity conflicts do not always appear to have clear goals or objectives, but rather manifest in a fragmented and chaotic nature. “[The] combatants [of identity conflict] are civilians driven by their own personal sense of justice, making it difficult to harness their energy into a well-disciplined and organized fighting force” (Maynard 1999, 37).

The nature of identity conflicts, as modern warfare, is important to understand because of the resounding impacts that affect the lives of those directly involved and that further infect the larger international, interconnected entities. One dimension is the implosion of civilized life that affects internal security, which then in turn, affects regional stability. All social order,
structure, and relationships that are crucial to a stable society completely collapse in the event of chaotic, ruthless, deeply personal and passionate warfare. Where Trinitarian war was calculated and strategic and insurgent movements grounded in principle with specified objectives, identity conflict by nature is based on the individual’s primal internal force. This type “appears to destroy the social framework, bursting it apart from the inside due to its ubiquitous nature and extreme polarization of the population” (Maynard 1999, 38).

In his book, After the Conflict, Sultan Barak notes, “...it is the destruction of relationships, including the loss of trust, dignity, confidence and faith in others that process the most far reaching, potent and destructive problem and the most difficult to address” (Barakat 2005, 10). In this description, the concept of complex emergency arises. This is the current arena in which international intervention faces extreme challenges. “Ironically, despite this evolution in the nature of conflict over the century, much of the world has continued to operate under the Trinitarian model...This outdated worldview, wherein ‘leaders of nation-states amass economic and military power to pursue objectively defined interests in zero-sum contests of material power against other nation-states’ (Saunders 1996, 421), has guided most Western political and military policy-making in to the post-Cold War period” (Maynard 1999, 39). Under this enduring paradigm, traditional responses – specifically ‘cease-fire’, short-term ‘management’ of sorts— are ineffective, as they do not address the issues that identity conflict present. The evolution from international, strategic, ideological conflict to that of identity-based, international, community-based conflict calls for a more complex, long-term response.

**Part III: Ethnic Identities**

Changing demographics and the rapid rate of social change, including huge population increases, are other causes to the emerging global dynamics. These are characteristic causes of ethnic conflict that result in the extreme polarization of cities. “Ethnic identities are widely seen as facilitating and sometimes inducing violent conflict. By one account, conflicts over ‘identity’ account for more than 70% of the civil wars started between 1960 and 1999” (Sabanis 2001). “Moreover, ethnic conflicts are perceived to be particularly conducive to large-scale violence such as ethnic cleansing and genocide” (Humphreys, Posner and Weinstein 2002, 2). Ethnicity is a deeply rooted identity that is closely tied to religion. In it, distinct cultural beliefs and practices are creating the notion of ‘insider and outsider’ and ‘other.’ “Ethnic boundaries are patterns of social interaction that give rise to, and subsequently reinforce, in-group
members' self-identification and outsiders' confirmation of group distinctions” (Sanders 2002, 327). In violent widespread conflict, the idea of ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ governs spatial patterns and movement through the city. These notions are a constructed based on cultural differences that become the premise of ‘ally’ and ‘enemy’.

Ethnic conflict behavior is a cultural phenomenon because culture shapes so many of its key elements, such as the development of specific in-group and out-group identities, and the metaphors and images which distinguish allies and enemies. Through day-to-day primary-process sensory experiences, groups distinguish affectively salient events, around which identities coalesce. Critical differences between groups do not lie in the objective dissimilarities between such experiences, but in the ways in which even small disparities between groups can be infused with high hostility, embodied in the accounts of the conflict all parties render. (Volkan 1988)

“When we speak of ethnic wars, we refer to members of a group distinguished by a distinctive history, culture, and/or language” (Krippner and McIntyre 2003, 5). The encapsulation that ethnic identities create during conflict tends to produce severe spatial and psychological divisions. These barriers in a pluralistic society polarize and divide the society in an observable demographic pattern. For example, in Beirut, there is evidence during the Lebanese Civil War (1975-1990) of this happening. Events compelled ethnic minority in mixed areas to migrate to homogenous enclaves, which seemed to promise greater security. “The disappearance of mixed residential areas, commonplace before outbreak of hostilities, reduced the chances of reconciliation and accelerated the ethnic polarization of the city. In effect its central government was incapable at restraining groups” (Calame and Charlesworth 2009, 47). This demonstrates one of the most lethal aspects of civil war in an ethnically segregated urban environment: “the relative ease of inflicting civilian casualties in a patchwork of homogenous ethnic enclaves…and the tendency of retaliatory killing to spiral upward in scale and arbitrariness” (Calame and Charlesworth 2009, 45).

**Defining Dimensions: Psycho-social and Physical Impact**

*Part I: War Trauma*

“In recent years, at least 90 percent of people killed in ethnic, political, and religious wars are civilian noncombatants” (Kolb-Angelbeck 2000). The nature of today’s conflict is marked by the rabid destruction of every aspect of a ‘communal society’. The effects are deeply experienced on the societal, communal, and individual levels. “Extensively violent conflicts are those in which people on each side (often civilians) are killed and wounded, refugees are
created, and property is destroyed or damaged. Of special importance is killing and wounding, because of the violation of the moral code of the sanctity of life, the deep emotional involvement of the societies in physical violence, the irreversibility of the situation, and the appearance of the will for vengeance” (Bar-Tal 2000, 355). The individual and communal trauma caused by war is a factor in how and if long-term recovery occurs. “Psychological and emotional injuries may be the most enduring effects of war, yet historically, they may be the least addressed in terms of rebuilding a society and preventing future violence” (Olweean 2003, 271).

Long-term recovery is an important factor in preventing further outbreaks of violence, which affects international stability. Unaddressed, war trauma, post-traumatic stress, and deep psychological wounds have negative impacts for the individual, the community, the larger society, its nation, and reaches far out toward the interconnected global arena. “Whether in the Balkans, the Middle East, or elsewhere, in modern times or in the past, regardless of the original motivation of the conflict, unresolved communal psychological wounds are one of the most—if not the most—powerful fuels of war and violent conflicts...Efforts at maintaining peace and avoiding war are seriously handicapped if they do not address such current and historical wounds and create the means to prevent future traumas” (Olweean 2003, 272).

Ethnic warfare poses an extreme case in conflict. If architects and planners have idealized visions of ‘utopia’, one would imagine that urban ethnic warfare is the exact opposite, or extreme ‘dystopia’ where violent destruction and inhumane acts create polarization within the city. “When two societies in conflict each carry the deeply rooted identity of ‘victim,’ there is the greatest danger of blind, brutal treatment toward a dehumanization and demonized ‘other.’ Conversely, such inhumane actions against members of a society can further validate that society’s demonized view of the perpetrators. The cycle of violence contributes to the cycle of trauma” (Olweean 2003, 271).

Though the social fabric is ripped apart, the main response is focused on the reconstruction of the economic and political sectors. “New governments and political figures come into power and, faced with economic and physical rubble, governments often seek to present an image of national prosperity, progress and glory by funding large-scale rebuilding programmes” (Charlesworth 2006, 10). In the shadow of the political arena, those who experience psychological trauma lack the proper attention or funds. “Left unattended, gaping
psychological and social wounds can fester and eventually cause a reversion to conflict, slowing the long-term healing” (Maynard 1999, 125).

Responding to psycho-social needs in the post-conflict environment calls for a deeper understanding of the specific challenges [including trauma] that face a community and its members. International interventions in places like Beirut, Belfast, and Nicosia have been proven to be hasty, short-term security measures turned permanent; physical impediments that divide rival communities. The lack of understanding of trauma, fear, and anxiety that underlies insecurity and pervasive distrust are enforced by these types of inappropriate solutions. Segregation in these environments only intensifies and validates the fear of “the other” and contributes to perpetuating dehumanizing stereotypes.

Part II: Conflict Terrain

Ethnic conflict in the city encompasses many complexities that manifest physically either as temporary solutions to violence or as the result of destruction in the midst of violence. Considering the dynamics of ethnic conflict, where the cycle of violence and trauma can be cyclical, the corresponding physical manifestations and interventions as well can perpetuate and enforce these cycles. "These stereotypes are primarily the result of lack of information and contact between people... [For example,] Macedonians and Albanians speak different languages, practice different religions, and have a variety of different cultural characteristics. These differences leave a lot of room for the kind of misinterpretation and misunderstanding that fuels negative stereotyping and prejudice" (Broughton 2003, 232). The built environment has psychological effects that can unintentionally produce and cultivate antagonistic ideas of "us" and "them."

Ethnic distinctions sometimes coincide with territorial segregation in the host society and with social constructions of racial identity. Widely acknowledged racial differences can sharpen in-group members' self-identification and out-group acknowledgment of intergroup distinctions. Similarly, when interaction between groups is limited and otherwise conditioned by territorial segregation, intergroup differences gain emphasis. Constraints on cross-group interaction contribute to the respective group's ignorance of one another. This, in turn, encourages stereotyping. Race and the segregating tendencies of territorial concentrations are not necessarily components of ethnic boundaries, but when one or both of these elements of social organization obtain, they can play important roles in the maintenance of ethnic boundaries. (Sanders 2002)

During war, ethnic boundaries, delineated pre-conflict, according to demographic habitation patterns, become interfaces where confrontations occur and physical partitions are
constructed. Partitions are intended to decrease violence and increase the feeling of security; however, these temporary solutions conversely affirm perceived persecutions and become a permanent feature in the landscape.

Cities are rarely divided by their own citizens in isolation. They are typically the product of external forces acting on a city with the intent to protect it, save it, claim it, demoralize it, or enlist it in a larger struggle from which it cannot benefit. Lines become walls and walls govern behavior. Total separation ultimately makes bigotry automatic, functional division habitual, and deepening misunderstandings likely. Walls are both a panacea and poison for societies where intergroup conflict is common, but over time it is their toxicity that tends to prevail in social relations. (Calame and Charlesworth 2009, 8)

Physical barriers are intricately intertwined with ethnic polarization during a period of violence. Increasing homogenization occurs where increased feelings of insecurity are experienced. When the governing structure fails to protect, communities are forced to construct their own methods of defense. This is usually in the form of barricades to keep the ‘other’ out. Additionally, international intervention similarly is a construction of formalized partitions, monitored by security units.

Temporary solutions that manifest in ‘security walls,’ serve to further isolate, and psychologically incubate out-group discrimination and defensive collective identities. "In societies that have become deeply divided and in which groups have come to fear one another, the options of leaving one's own group are limited, either because the social solidarity costs are so high or there simply are not other groups readily available to which one can switch" (Smithey 2009, 88). A lasting result of strategies affect the daily movement habits of its citizens and even upon resolution of the violent conflict, these habitual movements are contained by the walls, and even their ghosts. "If it provides a short-term solution to intercommunal violence, it also typically creates a long-term impediment to intercommunal cooperation and normal urban development" (Calame and Charlesworth 2009, 15).

Case Studies

Introduction

There is an emerging class of cities where the confrontation of differing ethnic identities has led to widespread violence. The extreme nature of these conflicts triggered historic segregation patterns of differing ethnic communities and reversed movements toward mixed
residential areas. Extended periods of violence led to emergency responses of physical blockades within the urban context.

Where urban walls were once the device of enclosure that promised stability and security against outside forces, these external walls turned inside out, have become social barricades, dividing communities into homogenous enclaves. In the cities of Beirut, Belfast, and Nicosia, ethnic conflict incited physical interventions that were meant to be temporary solutions to prevent further bloodshed and disorder. Instead, these emergency response interventions promulgated a culture of fear, affirmed local assumptions about persecution, and perpetuated the cycle of antagonisms. These cases prove that physical divides were ineffective as long-term solutions to discrimination and violence. Instead, they have negative psychological repercussions that disrupt long-term recovery.

Despite differing historical backgrounds and variant localized cultural conditions, these three case studies embody a number of common factors. These include: pre-existing ethnic concentrations, critical events that led to confrontation between ethnic groups, widespread violence, and long-term divisions that were intended to be temporary emergency measures. In each case, violence often recurred along the same interfaces, even after conflict resolution. The reprisal of violence proves the inefficacy of its intended application, and moreover, shows that they enforced fear and the perceived need for its existence as a security measure.

These permanent divisions created extreme polarizations within the urban context that consequently has psychological, social and spatial ramifications. This ultimately undermines the progress toward communal healing and toward a collective identity or idea of city. Further understanding is needed to address the causes and effects of physical barriers in the urban context. These three cities are extreme examples of social divides that pervade in a number of less extreme forms in every city, in the interest of security measures that serve to divide “us” from “them”.

**Beirut: General History**

Beirut is the first of three case studies, where the dynamics of ethnic conflict played out for a period of seventeen years of civil war. The major physical manifestation was named the Green Line, but originally was called the “Ligne de Demarcation.” This internal partition, though deconstructed, remains the residual boundary of ethnic groups in the city, where current
demographic patterns are divided along this same line. Beirut is an example where historic patterns of settlement played a part in shaping the events of its civil war.

Beirut traditionally functioned as a pluralistic, but ethnically segregated city. It always faced a certain polarization of confessions. In the private areas these polarizations often led to a demarcation line whenever a political problem appeared. Mixed districts existed in the central commercial zones of Ain Mraisse, Hamra, and Ras-Beirut. These spatial divisions later became the physical partitions in the face of conflict. The eastern wall that composed the 19th century fortification walls of the citadel shaped subsequent phases of the city’s growth. It defined Place des Conon, later named Martyr’s square, and ultimately established the city’s north-south axis, which physically divided the east from west in the event of political strife and violence.

Early internal divisions separated Muslim and Christian residents. Initially dominated by a Muslim population, Beirut started to experience an influx of migrants from rural areas, starting in the late 19th century. Maronite peasants, an Arab Christian group claiming Phoenician heritage, migrated to the city from the mountainous areas in search of jobs. They settled outside of the city center to avoid Ottoman regulations and military requirements. This initiated relatively homogenous Christian enclaves in the eastern suburbs of the capital.

In 1943, when Greater Lebanon gained its independence under Maronite leadership of Archbishop Mubarak, a new governmental system reinforced traditional ethnic identities. Instead of through a party system representing different values, offices were ethnically determined. The President was reserved for a Maronite Christian, the Prime Minister, Sunni Muslim, and the Speaker of chamber of deputies, a Shi’ite Muslim.

Rising tensions in the city occurred when a second wave of migration brought Palestinian refugees to Beirut, who were trying to escape violence in Israel. They were given refugee status, but not full citizenship. This took place in the late 1940s and shifted the demography toward a Muslim majority. Moreover, in the 1950s Beirut experienced an influx of rural communities with great intensity. Rapid urbanization became one source of grievances that created a very fragile environment. The Lebanese government, which showed a continuous lack of engagement in solving societal issues, did not respond with progressive public policies, but gave the city over to a degradation of services and infrastructure. It additionally ignored Palestinian inequities that eventually evolved into a source of destabilization in Middle Eastern politics.
Early manifestations of violence in Beirut had resulted from a separation of loyalties that arose from differing views of external political structures. Alliance with Western powers created an internal conflict for the country within its own political structure, which pitted Chamoun’s government against the Prime Minister, Rashid Karami, eager to see Lebanon support Arab nationalism.

Escalation toward the Lebanese civil war of 1975-1990 could be traced to the expulsion of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) from Jordan. Its operational outposts took root in Lebanon and in Beirut; PLO presence grew within sympathetic Shi’ite communities and flanking Palestinian refugee camps. Along with increasing the Muslim demographic in Beirut, the PLO increased external tensions with Israel. These factors compounded with rising urban grievances escalated Beirut’s vulnerability toward conflict. When Israeli Special forces attacked and killed four PLO operatives without detection, the resulting Palestinian feeling of insecurity erupted into subsequent public protests and civil unrest.

1975-1990 Civil War

The Lebanese Civil War has been said to have begun with the attempted assassination of the Kata’ib Party Leader, Pierre Gemayel who was attending a church dedication ceremony in East Beirut. As a result, four Phalangists were murdered by what was assumed to be Palestinian radicals. Quick revenge was taken when Phalangists attacked a bus carrying Palestinian passengers through a Christian neighborhood, on their way back to the Tall al-Za’tar refugee camp. Approximately 27 were killed and 20 were wounded. When news spread about this event, violence erupted in nearly every quarter throughout the city. Days after, steady fighting between Phalangist and Palestinian paramilitaries spread in increasingly well defined and ethnically homogenous enclaves.

During this period, multi-confessional quarters were replaced by homogenous ones. This first wave of conflict between paramilitary units and heavy fighting transformed the city in significant ways. Barricades and road blocks multiplied as fortification measures of each side. The downtown was eradicated of any commercial or residential activity. What were once the most thoroughly and consistently mixed areas in Beirut became uninhabited and divided. The North-South axis was etched into the landscape as a boundary line, called the Green Line, after its precursor in Jerusalem. The line began at the old harbor and Martyr’s Square and continued southward along Damascus Road and into the suburbs. The land in between was a no man’s
land, filled with rubble and was nearly impassible because of permanent paramilitary positions along its length.

In December of 1975, the type of violence evolved into one that used civilians as targets and as leverage. December 6th was named “Black Saturday” because of the unprecedented scale of civilian murders by Phalangist paramilitary that captured 350 Muslims at newly created road blocks. Subsequent attacks and reprisals, targeting civilians happened shortly after. This new wave of hostility increased further migration of minority ethnic groups into homogenous ones. Large-scale coordinated population transfers occurred wherever the security of ethnic minorities was compromised. This accelerated polarization in the city.

The Lebanese Army, which was largely inactive, finally entered the struggle on behalf of Christian Paramilitaries to aid in the consolidation of the Allenby Street Frontier to avoid total Palestinian victory with a no man’s land in between. This happened after Muslim troops broke ranks in March 1976 under Lieutenant Ahmed Khitib to form the Lebanese Arab Army. From this point forward, the Green Line was relatively stable and completely set the permanent divide between factions. No major military campaign sought to gain or regain territory on the opposite side.

There was a continuation of violent clashes and a general breakdown of civil order that pervaded Lebanon. Outside intervention proceeded with Syrian troops entering Lebanon, and brought relative stability. The Lebanese government took advantage of the relative success of Syrian forces by initiating a peace conference and a formal ceasefire agreement in October of 1976. The United Nations followed suit and deployed an interim force in Lebanon that assisted the government in reasserting its authority.

During these diplomatic ventures, Palestinian paramilitary factions shifted their emphasis towards Southern Lebanon, continuing organized raids on Israeli settlements along the Lebanese border. To the Israelis, this created a general assumption that the Lebanese government was collaborating with Palestinian forces. As a response, in May 1982, Israel launched a full-scale attack designed to eradicate Palestinian paramilitary in one forceful sweep. Israeli forces surrounded West Beirut and other PLO operative sites. This campaign resulted in the negotiation for Palestinian capitulation and evacuation of Beirut. In effect, it formed a vacuum among Muslim and Christian paramilitary rivals. It additionally marked a second
evolution of conflict, leaving Muslim and Christian fighting de-coupled from the Palestinian cause. New waves of violence causing total anarchy spread throughout the landscape.

On September 14th, 1982 President-elect Bashir Gemayel was assassinated and another foreign occupation in West Beirut by Israeli forces secured opposition against Palestinian advantages. Phalangist paramilitaries took the Israeli occupation as an opportunity to attack Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in the West. Following this event, for the next six years, routine violence deconstructed the formal functioning government in Lebanon. In 1988, a second failed attempt to appoint a war cabinet opened the door for self-appointed paramilitary leaders to exercise authority in the Muslim West and the Christian East.

A final attempt for any formal governance was made in October of 1989 at the Lebanese National Assembly in Saudi Arabia. The Charter of National Reconciliation was approved, which transferred significant power from the Presidency to the Cabinet. For the first time, it gave an equal number of seats and representation for both Muslims and Christians. These reforms, coupled with the ejection of the Maronite commander-in-chief from power on October 13th, 1990 marked the end of the civil war. The Green Line dividing Beirut was dismantled.

The burdens of the Green Line as urban partition, though deconstructed, left its mark on its citizens long after the violence had been resolved. Anxiety and resentment lingers among adjacent communities, as ethnic polarization continues to create physical, psychological, and cultural divisions among its residents. Political settlement is a pre-requisite of social reconciliation and recovery. It must also be followed by the deconstruction of physical barriers that symbolized the violence of the conflict, sustaining perceptions of fear and the need for security.

**Beirut, Lebanon Timeline**

*Pre-Civil War*

18th Century

Early Christian settlers mostly in the East; Muslim sects settle mostly in the southern and western sections

Always a certain polarization of confessions

19th Century

SUNNI Muslim dominated

25% Greek Orthodox, living and working in well defined quarters.

1870
Migration of Maronite peasants from mountainous areas-
Settle outside city in eastern suburbs

1920s
French mandate government, sympathetic toward Christian groups
Give prominent positions

1943
Under the National Pact of 1943, Lebanon gains independence
Under Maronite leadership, Archbishop Mubarak
Ratio of Christians to non Christians is six to five

Late 1940s
Influx of Palestinian refugees fleeing violence in Israel and the West Bank

1950s
Migration of rural communities to the suburbs intensifies
Beirut experiences rapid urbanization, without parallel infrastructure growth

1958
Early conflict between Camille Chamoun’s government – allies with anti-Nasser western powers – and Sunni Muslim Prime minister Rashid Karami (supporting Arab nationalism).
Results in insurrections, protests, and strikes – beginning of demarcation line
US intervention by Eisenhower “Operation Blue Bat”
Karami reconciliation government follows close of Chamoun’s regular term along with the dismantling of barricades along early demarcation line.

Escalation to Civil War (1975-1990)

Early 1970s
September: Expulsion of Palestinian Liberation Organization
Migration of PLO operational outposts to Lebanon
Presence grew in Beirut among sympathetic Shi’ite communities and flanking Palestinian refugee camps.

10 April 1973
Raid by Israeli Special forces, killing 4 PLO operatives

May 1973
Palestinian protest against poor security conditions

26 February 1975
Labor Protest in Sidon: Fisherman’s union protest against the creation of Protein Company leads to violence.
28 February 1975
Second demonstration to protest against Sidon incident occur in Beirut, violence swells among militant factions, signals for all paramilitary to enter the fray.

Civil War (1975-1990)

13 April 1975
Assassination attempt on Kata’ib Party leader, Pierre Gemayel, four Phalangist murdered by paramilitary gunmen.

Shortly after: Phalangist quick revenge – attack bus carrying Palestinian passengers through Christian neighborhood, killing 27 and wounding 20, news spreads and violence erupts in almost every quarter.

Days after: Steady fighting between Phalangist and Palestinian paramilitary forces from increasingly well defined and ethnically homogenous enclaves

May 1975
Attempt to develop a military cabinet (ultimately failed), causing Palestinian paramilitary to fortify positions.

Barricades and road blocks multiply, dividing city into Eastern and Western sectors with increasing deliberateness.

2nd half of October 1975
Heavy fighting transforms downtown into battleground – divides and established the north-south boundary line named “Green Line” after its precursor in Jerusalem.

New wave of hostilities – noncombatants used as leverage

6 December 1975
“Black Saturday”: Phalangist paramilitary set up new road blocks, capture and kill an estimated 350 Muslims.

23 January 1976
Christians conquer strategic site, Karatina slum, 1,000 civilians murdered comprised mostly of Armenian and Kurdish low-income families.

25 January 1976
Reprisal: Palestinian paramilitary attack Christians in Ad Damur, South of Beirut, killing between 200-500 residents.

March 1976
Muslim troops break ranks in Lebanese Army, under Lieutenant Ahmad Khitib, forming Lebanese Arab Army.
May 1976
Lebanese Army finally enter struggle on Christian paramilitary behalf, helping to fortify Allenby Street against Muslim assaults and avoid total Palestinian victory.
Stabilizes Green Line against territory gains

July 1976
Series of violent clashes between Phalangist and PLO paramilitary in Palestinian Camp of Tall al-Za’tar and elsewhere.
General breakdown of civil order
Syrian troops enter Lebanon

October 1976
Formal ceasefire agreement accepted at a peace Conference in Saudi Arabia, resulting in relative stability

19 March 1978
UN interim Force in Lebanon, assisting Lebanese government
Palestinian paramilitary factions shift emphasis to Southern Lebanon, organizing raids on Israeli settlements near the border.

New period of Hostilities

May 1982
Israeli invasion of Lebanon, full-scale attack on Palestinian paramilitary, surrounding West Beirut and other PLO strongholds.
Palestinian forces negotiate their capitulation quickly and agree to evacuate the capital
Departure creates vacuum among Muslim and Christian paramilitary rivals, left to fight amongst themselves for the territory and communal loyalties that were de-coupled from the Palestinian cause.

14 September 1982
President-elect Bashir Gemayel assassinated, creating public outcry
Israeli army occupies West Beirut to prevent Palestinian advantages
Phalangist paramilitary units launch new attacks on the Sabra and Shatila Palestinian refugee camps in West Beirut.

Next 6 years:
Routine violence between paramilitary forces using civilians as targets, with no significant resistance offered by the Lebanese government.

1988
Last remnants of democratic system in Lebanon cease to function, outgoing President, Amine Gemayel, appoints an ethnically balanced, six-member interim military government. Muslims appointees refuse to serve, second attempt at war cabinet fails.
Shift from formal government to informal, Lebanon governed by self-appointed paramilitary leaders, exercising control over mainly Muslim West Beirut and mainly Christian sectors of East Beirut.

**October 1989**

Lebanese National Assembly in Saudi Arabia approves the Charter of National Reconciliation, transferring significant executive powers from the presidency to the Cabinet.

Gives Christian and Muslim representatives an equal number of seats in the National Assembly for the first time.

**13 October 1990**

Syrian and Lebanese Army units eject Maronite commander-in-chief, General Michel Aoun, from power. Auon’s removal and constitutional reforms mark the end of the civil war and the Green Line dividing Beirut is dismantled.
Green Line: Damascus Road

Christian v. Muslim paramilitaries
Lebanese Front v. Lebanese National Movement
Nationalist v. Pan-Arab factions
pro-Government v. rebel factions

Constituted of a near perfect cross-section of the city, cutting through its historic core and the Phoenician archaeological ruins before passing through prominent commercial and residential zones and continuing through refugee camps and semi-autonomous suburbs.
Parasitic Explosion

Although dismantles, the Green Line still has a resounding impact on the lives of Beirutis. The psychological impacts of war, especially one of extreme violence over a lengthy period of time has long-term trauma that is invisibly carried by its citizens. Physical partition has a lasting effect on the memories and habits of everyday life. Some still are influenced by fear and limit their movements across the former Green Line. Though their has been political settlement, their needs a greater consideration to initiate social reconciliation and recovery.
Belfast: General History

Belfast is the second case study in which internal barricades that were constructed as security measures between rival groups have become permanent in its landscape. What was intended to be a temporary solution has evolved, grown, and continues to separate Protestant and Catholics in this present day and age. Despite being “peacelines,” these walls were intended as “placeholders” for a more appropriate solution that would address the perception of insecurity of both communities.

Since the early 17th century, Northern Ireland has faced social divisions between its Catholic and Protestant population. The history of this problematic relationship can be traced back to the period where Protestants were given ownership of land that was cultivated by native Catholic farmers. Tensions from this appropriation reached its culmination in the Battle of Boyne in 1690. It led to the defeat of Catholic King James II by William of Orange, head of the English forces. Later, in 1697, attempts to suppress Catholic rebellion resulted in Penal Laws instituted by Protestants that barred Catholics in Northern Ireland from secondary education and the professions. These policies were legalized and persisted for the next 250 years.

Disputes and violence in the form of riots regularly occurred stemming from sovereignty and social injustice antagonisms. The demographic character in the 19th century mirrored this divisive relationship in Belfast. Voluntary segregation bred localized interface riots, which in turn increased residential homogeneity.

On June 4th, 1886, riots amongst the working class in Belfast broke out in the shipyards in anticipation of the Home Rule Bill. “This Home Rule Bill provided in a separate legislature for Ireland, while Great Britain reserved many powers, such as taxation, for the British Parliament” (Peters 2007). After its defeat, the violence spilled into the city where Catholic and Protestant neighbors fought amongst themselves as well as against the police. This led to a series of attacks and reprisals in West Belfast and became the precedent to sectarian violence. The political process that failed to create an independent Irish state made Belfast the pivotal point of resistance and struggle for sovereignty and territory in Northern Ireland.

In the early 20th century, tensions continued to rise in the city and paramilitary recruitment on both sides of the ethnic divide was quick. In the wake of World War I, internal struggles were overshadowed until after the Governance of Ireland Act of 1920, which gave Ireland Independence, but excluded the plight of the Catholic citizens, residing in Northern
Ireland. Inter-ethnic violence persisted in chain reactions throughout the city. Between the years of 1920 - 1970, community conflict and religious divisions brought changes to Northern Ireland, which compounded its existing problems.

One of the changes occurred in the mid 1920s, where Belfast faced unprecedented densification. The population increased tenfold in a short period of time which caused grievances for lack of sufficient infrastructure. Competition for scarce jobs and sectarian prejudice added to the atmosphere of hostility. Another change was in policy. Attempted reforms were sparked by the Education Act in 1947, which allowed Catholics equal access to secondary public education. After centuries of legal disenfranchisement, Catholic citizens began to seek reforms and this eventually led to a civil rights movement in the 1960s.

Leading up to the period of the “Troubles” from 1968 - 1969 were the bombings at the Unionist headquarters, followed two days later by the bombing of a nearby Catholic school in 1966, as well as the creation of the Northern Civil Rights Association in 1967. Due to the Catholic Civil Rights movement, Protestant security was perceived to be jeopardized and increased the intensity of ritual marches through sensitive Catholic communities. On August 14th, 1969 fighting emerged along Falls Road in West Belfast. This led to a sequence of reprisals and spread to violence in Ardodyne neighborhood near a major interface, killing several rioters. After numerous house burnings, barricades were constructed, appearing along the perimeters of several Catholic neighborhoods. Civil disorder disabled police control, who then transferred authority to British Army units to secure areas of violence.

During this period, the British army added new partitions to the pre-existing residential barricades that would obstruct pedestrian movement along neighborhood interfaces where sectarian violence was concentrated. Initially, these partitions were temporary, prefabricated “knife rests” that were sturdy iron frames running parallel to interface roads. They were later replaced by more permanent walls of corrugated iron and barbed wire. Residents typically followed suit, reinforcing makeshift walls. These walls served as temporary security measures, but became locations of riots and attacks. In effect, manifestations of violence heightened fear and insecurity, which increased the homogenization of ethnic communities.

In Belfast, ritual marches that turn violent continue to enforce perceptions of insecurity, added to attacks that occur near residential interfaces. The permanence of the “peacelines” has become so ingrained in the consciousness of its citizens that more formalized barricades are
constructed by the government, through a petition process. Though some of these were
disassembled when violence decreased, many evolved into a current day security process that
divides rival Catholic and Protestant neighborhoods and at the same time, create markers for
cyclical violence, fear, anxiety and trauma.

_Belfast, Northern Ireland Timeline_

_Pre-Troubles_

_17th century_

Protestants given ownership of land cultivated by Catholic farmers

1690

Battle of Boyne

Defeat of Catholic King James II by English forces led by William of Orange

1697

Penal Laws enforced by Protestant governors of Ulster

Laws barred Catholics in Northern Ireland from secondary education and the professions, formalizing legal
disenfranchisement that would persist for about 250 years.

4 June 1886

Riots in the shipyards of Belfast in anticipation of the Home Rule Bill between Catholic residents and
Protestant neighbors.

Series of attacks and reprisals follow

Precedent to sectarian violence

Belfast becomes pivotal point of resistance in the struggle for sovereignty and territory

_Early 20th Century_

Tensions rise, paramilitary recruitment on both sides

1905

Creation of radical reform party under Arthur Griffith on behalf of Catholic rights

WWI

Overshadows struggles in Belfast

1920

Government of Ireland Act of 1920 created, excludes the hopes of N. Ireland Catholic citizens

1920-1970

Continuing conflict and religious divisions, compounding existing problems

Mid 1920s

Migrations to city, unprecedented densification causing grievances for lack of sufficient infrastructure
Mid 1940s
Potato Famine

1947
Britain passes Education Act allowing Catholics in Northern Ireland equal access to secondary public education.

Mid 1960s
Attempted reforms for Catholic citizens promised, but fails to produce, creating the resolve for Catholics to carry reforms themselves

1960s
Catholic Civil Rights movement

February 1966
Bomb detonated at Unionist headquarters

2 days later: bombing of Catholic school nearby

“Troubles”:

1 January 1967
Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) Created

NICRA was created to work peacefully toward eliminating outdated laws that discriminated against practicing Catholics, a legacy of the Unionist-dominated government of the U.K. during the 1800’s.

12 August 1968
Civil Rights Marches Begin

On the 24th of August 1968 NICRA and a number of other civil rights groups held the first Catholic civil rights march in the county of Tyrone. The marchers demonstrated peacefully despite being officially banned from marching after Loyalist opponents protested the event.

12 August 1969
Battle of Bogside

Catholic nationalists protesting a Protestant parade in the city of Derry began to riot after police officers from the RUC (Royal Ulster Constabulary) were ordered to disperse the crowd. The riots continued for three days in a lower-class area of town known colloquially as the “Bogside” until British Army troops were deployed to restore order.

9 August 1971
Internment Introduced

Under public pressure to respond to escalating terrorist activities from paramilitary organizations like the IRA (Irish Republican Army) the British government implements Operation Demetrius, a joint effort by the RUC and British army to arrest and detain Irish citizens suspected of having paramilitary ties. After two
days an estimated 350 people are captured and held without evidence or trial, and 10 civilians are killed during either the internment operation or the protests that followed.

30 January 1972

“Bloody Sunday”
A NICRA march in Derry turns violent and 27 protestors are wounded or killed by the British Army after the demonstrators converge on police barricades set up in the center of town. Whether or not the military was at fault in the shootings is still being disputed, but a huge surge in republican paramilitary enrollment among organizations like the IRA was recorded after the events of Bloody Sunday were published in the international press.

8 March 1973

Direct Rule Imposed
In an effort to put a halt to rapidly escalating violence from the IRA and other republican paramilitary groups the British government abolished the Northern Ireland parliament at Stormont and returned to a policy of direct rule. Though the people of Northern Ireland still sent members to the U.K. Parliament, direct rule under the British government meant that all significant policy decisions (including healthcare, policing and employment issues) were decided by the Northern Ireland office.

29 November 1974

Prevention of Terrorism Act
A growing British presence in Northern Ireland drove members of the IRA and other republican paramilitary groups to step up their attacks and after a devastating series of bombings the British government passed the Prevention of Terrorism Act in an effort to bring peace to the region. Police forces operating under the new laws were able to arrest and detain citizens suspected of terrorist connections without charge.

1 March 1981

Fatal Hunger Strikes
Protests by incarcerated republicans began after the British government refused to recognize them as political prisoners, beginning with blanket protests in 1976 (in which the inmates refused to wear clothes) and escalating to a series of hunger strikes during which former IRA commander and newly-elected MP Bobby Sands died of starvation. Despite the deaths of nine other protestors and severe rioting following Sands’ death the prisoners were never granted political status, and the strike ended.

15 November 1985

Anglo-Irish Agreement
Weary of conflict, the leaders of the U.K. and Ireland meet at Hillsborough Castle to discuss an end to the Troubles. Taoiseach (leader of Ireland) Garret Fitzgerald and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher sign into law the Anglo-Irish Agreement, under which the Irish government accepts that Northern Ireland
will never join the Republic until a majority agree to do so but accedes to an advisory position on the governance of the region. The treaty fails to bring an end to the violence.

15 December 1993

Downing Street Declaration

The Downing Street Declaration proclaimed that the citizens of Northern Ireland were free to join the Republic of Ireland contingent on a majority vote. The Declaration (issued jointly by the leaders of the U.K. and Ireland) further acknowledged the need for a peaceful settlement and invited political parties linked with paramilitary groups to take part in the peace process (contingent on their rejection of violent activity.) Paramilitary groups on both sides (including the IRA) declared a ceasefire.

1 January 1996

Peace Talks

Peace talks involving all major political parties began, led by American senator George Mitchell. Mitchell proposed a system of non-violent disarmament and advocated for immediate compliance, should begin but disagreements over the process led to the talks being abandoned and the renewal of terrorist activities by the IRA and other paramilitary organizations.

10 April 1998

Belfast Agreement

The Belfast Agreement marked the peaceful resolution of political struggle between the British and Irish governments. Signed on Good Friday in Belfast by leaders of both countries, it was further endorsed by the major political parties of Northern Ireland and the voters of the Republic. A major victory in the peace process, the agreement stipulated a number of conditions including an immediate ceasefire by all paramilitary groups, the release of all political prisoners.

15 August 1998

Omagh Bombing

A car bomb detonated on a busy Saturday morning in the shopping district of Omagh, County Tyrone killed 29 people and wounded 220 more, the largest body count of any single violent incident in Northern Ireland. A police investigation found a splinter group of the IRA known as the “real IRA” to be responsible for the attack, and worldwide condemnation for the massacre by the leaders of the IRA, the British government and many world powers is believed to have been a major factor in maintaining lasting peace.
Occur almost exclusively in the less affluent parts of the city, specifically the western and northern sectors. They generally follow the streets and function as traditional boundaries between ethnic residential areas, though they sometimes split residential streets along alleys or back lots. Some block streets running perpendicular to the interfaces in order to block or regulate traffic between ethnic communities.
The past forty years have been plagued with patterns of violence, suffering and insecurity. Class and physical location are the strongest factors of this ethnic conflict. The interface areas of concentrated ethnic groups in working classes were the most sensitive and vulnerable areas. This may be spawned out of the early segregated industries that were divided by religious groups. The cycle of intimidation, reprisal, homogenization of residential areas, antagonism, riot, violence, attack and, again, reprisal occurred more frequently along interface areas. These locations, with high levels of violence, became the places of informal barricade construction, and eventually formalized due to the corresponding cycle of anxiety, fear and insecurity. More than thirty peacelines still exist in the city and more are being planned by the government responding to popular petition.
**Nicosia: General History**

Nicosia is the final city of the three case studies that continues to be affected by physical partitioning. In this case, foreign intervention that had pitted two ethnic communities against each other for their own motivations eventually became involved in demarcating a permanent and enforced line of separation. It is currently the last divided city with a double-walled bifurcation of two ethnic groups: Turkish-Cypriots and Greek-Cypriots. This is a prime example of social division that has been forcefully imposed.

From 1571 onward, the Ottoman Empire ruled in Cyprus for a duration of 300 years. During these times, early ethnic distinctions were based on religious and cultural affiliations. There was a privileged minority Muslim group and a traditionally Hellenic non-Muslim population that defined living quarters in Nicosia. Turkish-speaking Cypriots generally lived in the north and Greek-speaking Cypriots resided in the south. These two groups were joined by a mixed commercial zone in the center of the city. Under the Ottoman rule, an open and active commercial system and social relations existed.

During the late 19th century, Britain made its presence known with motives of securing a strategic location in the Middle East. Their occupation culminated in the annexation of Cyprus in 1914 and subsequently, in 1925, it was declared a Crown colony. Upon the exit of the Ottoman Empire, two dynamics emerged in response to British rule. One was the Greek campaign for unification, called *enosis* and the other was the Young Turks’ revolution in 1908, which simultaneously responded to *enosis*. These shifting nationalistic aspirations polarized Greek and Turkish-speaking Cypriots under British authority.

After World War II, British colonial authorities’ strategic interest in Nicosia was reinforced and began to pursue policies that emphasized and formalized ethnic divisions. Anti-British sentiment among Greek-speaking Cypriots intensified due to the transfer of their Middle-Eastern headquarters from Egypt to Cyprus. This signified the unlikelihood of Cyprus’ unification with Greece. At this point, Greek and Greek-speaking Cypriots concentrated paramilitary forces to disrupt British colonial administration through a campaign of bombings and assassinations. These activities caused the exclusion of Cypriot leaders as British authorities met with Greece and Turkey in the London Conference of August 1955. During this period, Turkish concerns in Cyprus’ future and for the safety of Turkish-speaking Cypriots increased. The conference framed the crisis in Cyprus in terms of Greek – Turkish enmity.
In May of 1955, the paramilitary forces of Greek-speaking Cypriots attacked police stations in Nicosia and Kyrenia, killing 14 people. This caused alarm for British authorities, feeling a loss of control, as the paramilitary forces’ willingness to attack civilians seemed ruthless. After this event, British authorities viewed enosis as a threat and the British actively began to support Turkish causes, in order to counterbalance and redirect anti-colonial sentiment. Their tactic was the physical separation of these two groups that successfully resulted in suspicion and hatred between the rival groups. Another tactic was the recruitment of Turkish-speaking Cypriots into the police force which was used to contain Greek-speaking paramilitary forces (EOKA). This act of containment created a spiral of attacks and reprisals that became viewed as interethnic hostilities, instead of official security measures. The violence catalyzed the formation of VOLKAN, a paramilitary group which would later reconstitute as the Turkish resistance organization, or TMY.

As riots turned into violence, the British military constructed barricades as a response. The resulting interface started in the commercial artery and ran east-west through the center of the old city, following the original course of the Pedieos River. It was named the Mason-Dixon Line and was the first in a lengthy series of steps leading to the permanent, physical division of Nicosia. Following this construction were increasing tensions, worsening violence, bombings, riots and further separation along the Mason-Dixon Line.

In February of 1959, temporary conclusion in interethnic military disputes allowed for the removal of British forces in the signing of the London and Zurich agreements. However, the newly formed Cypriot government was short-lived because of its return to a divided nation. The Cypriot constitution that was drafted also initiated the darkest period of civil strife in Nicosia. An amendment to the constitution that called for separate municipalities put forward by President Makarios caused Cyprus further destabilization. The destabilization caused increasingly homogenized residential quarters and widespread rioting. The violence worsened to the point of pushing British intervention. British security recommended the construction of barricades along the seven year old ethnic interface. On December 29th, 1963, a double-layered partition was etched into the map, formalizing the Green Line. Although it lowered the intensity and frequency of violence, tensions between the two groups remained high in the 1960s. The partition served to create further segregation and increase animosity and by 1974, a breaking point was encountered. A coup against President Makarios instated former paramilitary Leader
Nicos Sampson in his place. This event caused the Turkish military intervention on behalf of the welfare of Turkish-speaking Cypriots.

The homogeneity of northern and southern sectors of the Green Line, where Turkish military forwarded their positions, were near-perfect. The Green Line was fortified by various foreign military groups, as well as UN peace keepers. Although a ceasefire was attained, the ethnic partition still remains and a durable settlement has yet to unify Cyprus.

**Nicosia, Cyprus Timeline**

**1571**  
Ottoman Empire conquers Cyprus  
Nicosia develops distinct ethnic neighborhoods  
Turkish-speaking primarily north  
Greek-speaking primarily south  
Two residential quarters joined by a mixed commercial zone in the center

**1914**  
Cyprus annexed by Britain, after more than 300 years of Ottoman rule.  
Britain had occupied the island in 1878, although it remained nominally under Ottoman sovereignty  
Declared a Crown colony in 1925

**1955**  
Greek Cypriots begin guerrilla war against British rule. The guerrilla movement, the National Organization of Cypriot Combatants (EOKA), wants enosis (unification) with Greece.  
British authorities arm a paramilitary police force made up of Turkish Cypriots.

**1956**  
Archbishop Makarios, head of enosis campaign, deported to the Seychelles.

**1959**  
Archbishop Makarios returns and is elected president.

**1960**  
Cyprus gains independence after Greek and Turkish communities reach agreement on a constitution.  
Treaty of Guarantee gives Britain, Greece and Turkey the right to intervene.  
Britain retains sovereignty over two military bases.

**1963**  
Makarios raises Turkish fears by proposing constitutional changes which would abolish power-sharing arrangements.  
Inter-communal violence erupts. Turkish side withdraws from power-sharing.
United Nations peacekeeping force set up.
Turkish Cypriots withdraw into defended enclaves.

1974
Military junta in Greece backs coup against Makarios, who escapes.
Within days Turkish troops land in north.
Greek Cypriots flee their homes.
Coup collapses.
Turkish forces occupy third of the island, enforce partition between north and south roughly along the "Green Line" ceasefire line drawn up by UN forces in 1963.
Glafcos Clerides, president of the House of Representatives, becomes president until Makarios returns in December.

1975
Turkish Cypriots establish independent administration, with Rauf Denktash as president.
Denktash and Clerides agree population exchange.

1996
Increased tension, violence along Buffer zone.

1997
Failure of UN-mediated peace talks between Clerides and Denktash.

1997 – Present
Series of peace talks and negotiation are initiated, mediated, and terminated.
Little progress made, however, some crossings between the two sides have been established:

2007 January-March - Greek and Turkish Cypriots demolish barriers dividing the old city of Nicosia. The moves are seen as paving the way for another official crossing point on what used to be a key commercial thoroughfare.

2008 April - Symbolic Ledra Street crossing between the Turkish and Greek sectors of Nicosia reopened for first time since 1964.
Green Line : Attila Line: Mason-Dixon Line

Greek Cypriots v. Turkish Cypriots

An international boundary between the recognized sovereign state and the self-proclaimed but unrecognized Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. It runs mostly through agricultural land, encountering urban communities of significant size in Nicosia and Famagusta. The course through Nicosia follows the natural path of the Pedeios River through the center of the city, later diverted and paved over to create commercial arteries. The Green Line severed about twenty streets running perpendicular and five parallel streets. The buffer zone engulfed hundreds of buildings within or adjacent. It is now flanked by low-income residential neighborhoods, light industrial, and a red light district.

1963 - 2008 Green Line Buffer

2008 April - Symbolic Ledra Street crossing between the Turkish and Greek sectors of Nicosia reopened for first time since 1964.

1963 - 1964 Cyprus Civil War

Turkish-speaking Cypriots predominantly Muslim
Greek-speaking Cypriots predominantly Christian

Post Civil War
Imposed Combustion

The double-layered partition drawn onto a map along the lines of the old river, and imposed Mason-Dixon Line, still cuts through the old center where commercially mixed areas are now a buffer zone. The official Green Line was a temporary measure placed along the ethnic interface, becoming an impermeable partition in 1974. It was meant to halt violence during ceasefires, however, has remained now for forty years without a negotiated settlement.
Terms and Themes Running through Belfast, Beirut, and Nicosia

The following are themes that were found running through each case study. They are general findings that were procured through chronological events, personal testimonies, and general histories that have been recorded over the years. Each theme has specific causes that are contextual according to culture and history. Similar patterns give a better understanding to ethnic conflict, its cycle and impacts on each city.

Pre-existing demographic patterns:

Beirut: Muslim West, Christian East
Belfast: Catholic, Protestant residential quarters
Nicosia: Turkish-speaking Cypriots in the North, Greek-speaking Cypriots in the South

Early segregation: voluntary movements during rising tensions

Informal battleground:

Beirut: Along constructed barriers of the Green Line; within ethnic enclaves, attacks and reprisals, leveraging civilians
Belfast: Along constructed barriers at interfaces; along interfaces of ethnic enclaves
Nicosia: Targeted institutions; along Mason-Dixon Line/Green Line

Perception of anxiety/insecurity:

Beirut: Increasing civilian massacres and reprisals between paramilitary forces limit movements, increase homogenous neighborhoods
Belfast: Episodes of violence during riots and marches initiate construction of barricades; increase homogenous neighborhoods
Nicosia: Riots turn into violence; ethnic groups pitted against each other, increasing near-perfect homogeneity in residential quarters.

Physical construction as temporary security devices to reduce violent episodes:

Beirut: Demarcation Line turning into Green Line during its civil war
Belfast: Constructed informal barricades turned formal by British intervention, present-day “peacelines”
Nicosia: Barricades by British authorities, ruling at that time; Mason-Dixon Line turning into formalized, mapped, present-day Green Line

*Shift of hostilities into new waves and evolution of violence:*

Beirut: Riots, paramilitaries, coupled with Palestinian-Israeli conflict, civilian targets/combatants, de-coupled of Palestinian occupation

Belfast: Riots, marches, civilian vs. security, breakdown of security, foreign security

Nicosia: Foreign annexation, anti-colonialism, inter-ethnic strategic violence imposed by external motivations, inter-ethnic violence de-coupled from foreign authority

*Civilian Targets/combatants*

*External intervention:*

Beirut: Israeli, Syrian, U.S., Italian, French

Belfast: British

Nicosia: British, UN

*Defined territories/transitions*

*Recurring episodes of violence*

*Isolated residential enclaves:*

Beirut: Muslim/Christian

Belfast: Catholic/Protestant

Nicosia: Turkish-speaking Cypriots/Greek-speaking Cypriots

*Political failure of security measures:*

Beirut: Inaction of Lebanese authority for fear of ethnic retribution, resulting in foreign interventions

Belfast: Breakdown of security, transferring authority to British army

Nicosia: Breakdown of government structure, British army intervention

*Hostile stereotyping/discrimination:*

Beirut: Ethnic homogenization, Palestinian refugee grievances
Belfast: Early Catholic disenfranchisement
Nicosia: Forced divisions and specific security positions given/sides taken by British authority

**Interface riots:**

Beirut: Muslim/Christian demarcation line
Belfast: Catholic/Protestant residential interfaces
Nicosia: Turkish-speaking Cypriots/Greek-speaking Cypriots imposed division line

**Rapid urbanization/insufficient infrastructure/grievances compounding hostility:**

Beirut: Migration to the city by rural, mountain populations and refugees
Belfast: Migration rapidly increasing population tenfold in a short period of time
Nicosia: Population growth and migration into walled city

**Civil unrest/breakdown of governing authority:**

Beirut: Lebanese government total breakdown/dysfunction
Belfast: Security breakdown, giving authority to British army
Nicosia: Removal of British authority/Collapse of newly formed Cypriot government

**Relative deprivation in relation to economic hardship and sectarian violence:**

Beirut: Insufficient infrastructure, Palestinian insecurity/ grievances
Belfast: Catholic and working class grievances: disenfranchisement and insufficient infrastructure
Nicosia: Turkish-speaking Cypriots/Greek-speaking Cypriots limited positions of authority and resources by British authorities

**Interfaces/partitions expression of conflict:**

Beirut: Green Line and barricades
Belfast: Catholic/Protestant: "peacelines" and informal barricades
Nicosia: Turkish-speaking Cypriots/Greek-speaking Cypriots: Green Line barricades
Reconciliation: Defining Role

Part I: Restoring Community

The importance of reintegration of the community and its members is the first step toward a long-term, sustainable society. The idea of peace must be established to reach the ‘ideal’ state of human society: harmony among its members (Voutira and Brown 1995). To fit the nature of identity conflicts, peacemaking is to go beyond technical negotiated settlements, and include the rebuilding of trust, equality, and participation. Among all the various definitions of peace, the most constructive concept is “that of genuine relationships among people engaged in mutual contemplation and cooperation. In this from, conflict is not absent, but it does not descend to a level of mutual abuse, and structures exist to help transform disagreements into achievable solutions” (Maynard 1999, 126).

To help restore order and balance to a society, Maynard proposes a methodology of conflict intercession as a multidimensional approach to rebuilding a community. Traditional methods employed in identity conflicts, such as the leadership approach (technical process) or the relationship approach (process prove unsuccessful for a number of reasons that help to further conceptualize the nature of identity conflict, and the need for a comprehensive approach.

First, mechanisms may not be well developed, or they may not fit the specific conditions of the conflict and culture... Second, those conducting the intercession may be inappropriate, biased, of otherwise unfit.. Third, intercession itself may be construed as interference in domestic affairs and therefore be unwelcome to certain parties... And fourth, intercession may be the wrong tactic altogether for the particular situation; there may be situations that require absolute noninterference. (Maynard 1999, 127)

Key characteristics of a multidimensional intercession of rebuilding incorporate all sectors of society. Accordingly, the approach is centered on the needs of those impacted by the upheaval. These needs include, but are not limited to selfhood, security, and physical comfort. Furthermore, psychological healing aspects for both the victims and the victimizers must be attended to or else any intercession at all would be superficial and ineffective.

If healing is of primary importance to the restoration of a community, then the question of how and to whom the responsibility lies arises, where trauma has produced great tension and a state of fragility. “The experience of deteriorating, improving, or stagnating conditions understandably significantly affects the general outlook for reintegration and rehabilitation.
These conditions include the state of the economy and the status of physical infrastructure, as well as the level of tension among members” (Maynard 1999, 130). Reintegration and rehabilitation, as afore said, are elements that are necessary for rebuilding a war torn society for the health of individuals, for the conflicting groups, as well as regional stability. Although designers are mainly concerned with the physical state of place, agency of design in such complex dynamics, if unconsidered, may negatively impact the psycho-social environment.

“The process of decision-making a community employs in reconstructing destroyed structures, for instance, will tend to influence the overall revitalization. A gathering of diverse members to set community goals and attempt to meet the needs of society and its marginalized members, for example, will result in an overall sense of cooperation” (Maynard 1999, 130). The process of design has clear benefits when it is inclusive, integrative, transparent, communal, and a tool to heal by discourse and mediation. As scholar Peter Sollis puts it, “Reconstruction should not mean a return to the status quo ante, with emphasis placed solely on the repair of damaged physical infrastructure and production capacity. Reconstruction is an opportunity to address those inequalities – political, social, economic, and gender – that together were the root causes of the humanitarian emergency” (1994, 11).

There are five phases for community healing that are reviewed. In each phase there are practical applications for the design professional that can be adopted in the process of designing in the post conflict environment to be effective. Important considerations of time (due to the healing process), and the principle of participation, with every sector of society will increase the opportunity for greater healing in these phases for rebuilding community cohesion. They are: “(1) establishing safety, (2) communalization and bereavement, (3) rebuilding trust and the capacity to trust, (4) reestablishing personal and social morality, and (5) reintegration and restoration of democratic discourse” (Maynard 1999, 131).

The condition under which safety is able to exist is under a sustainable ceasefire that needs to be procured internally by those who have reached their threshold of suffering. According to Helena Meyer-Knapp, an expert on ceasefires, suffering is the key ingredient to motivate a voluntary end of hostilities. Each culture has a different threshold to suffering, however when it has endured more than it can bear, violence is no longer viable. Under identity conflict pain and anguish is pervasive, affecting every part of society at the community level. A demand for an end is most likely to be found at this level.
For the designer, physical security is essential and may help build a sense of a common future. Therefore, “freedom of movement within the community, absence of personal or group threats or attacks, property security, and access to community resources are necessary first steps on the path to recovery” (Maynard 1999, 132). Failure to repair the physical destroyed physical infrastructure may serve as a constant reminder of the issues that are at the root of its destruction and instability.

The second step to the process of rehabilitation is communalization and bereavement. “Communalization – the act of sharing traumatic experiences, perceptions, resulting emotions, and responses with other people in a safe environment – together with a period of mourning over the losses, are essential beginning of the healing process” (Maynard 1999, 134). Communalization is usually ignored in the rush to move on, to rebuild, and to forget about the atrocities that may have occurred. However, without the processing of traumatic events and violations, healing in the individual and community level will be stalled, and rehabilitation of the population will not be realized. If reconciling a fragmented society is overlooked, the intensity of animosity and grievances will linger. Any physical reparation, although intended to restore the place, will symbolically be reinterpreted as divisions, walls that are meant to divide and enclose rather than provide shelter and safety.

Thirdly, reestablishing mutual trust across identity lines and redeveloping interdependence is an important step to long term cohesion. “After identity conflict so mercilessly tears the fabric of society, faith in others is fundamentally shaken and suspicion prevails. In the absence of any modicum of mutual confidence, however, the community will likely remain unable to function effectively” (Maynard 1999, 136). Rebuilding trust across lines of contention includes “reestablishing a relationship based on fundamental knowledge of the other, considering his or her cultural values, fears, hopes, perceptions, wounds, and historical experience” (Saunders 1990, 17).

A design process that is integrative and inclusive can be a tool to foster these latter two steps by facilitating a conversation and interaction across identity lines. By a structured discourse, a foundation based on safety and security and the common good can begin to open the doors for mutual understanding and the building of relationships. Saunders suggests that it is “a cumulative and generative process of continuous interaction at many levels that can gradually change perceptions and create opportunities for solutions that did not seem to exist.
before” (Saunders 1990, 18). Physical reconstruction as a shared goal is a powerful tool to begin to restore a community on these levels. “As two [groups] recognize the interdependence of their interests through interaction, the quality of their interaction may change, and they may find more ways to communicate, to change perceptions of each other’s motives, and eventually work together on problems that affect them both” (Saunders 1990, 19).

The fourth phase of community building is reestablishing personal and social morality. “Social ethics include acceptable standards for appropriate contact and communication among each segment of the population, standards of honesty, forbidden grounds, responsibility to family and community, personal accountability, the role of loyalty and obligation, and methods for handling emotions such as anger, injustice, betrayal, and jealousy” (Maynard 1999, 139). A moral code can help place boundaries as well as deter behavior that would escalate tension and resume violence. Facilitating a community design process coincides with community building by adapting its principle to be applied as interaction is ensued. Likewise there should be “rules of engagement” when involving both groups so that miscommunication and misunderstanding does not lead to deeper hostility. If both groups are willing to end the conflict and communicate shared interests for the common good, the designer needs an appropriate structure under which democratized discourse is able to yield positive results.

“The final phase in rebuilding social cohesion is the process of systematizing a diverse contribution to community affairs, which restores community spirit and helps ensure its sustainability” (Maynard 1999, 140). The goal is to be able to resolve conflict in a peaceful manner that does not lead to violence. According to the Voutira and Brown model, “the approach to developing democratic discourse should be integrative and inclusive and encourage democratic discourse as much as possible; the underlying mechanism should encourage parties to seek common ground rather than vie for position of dominance” (1995, 141). Alongside this approach, divisive operations should be avoided. Instead of the majority rule, Assefa’s reconciliation politics employs the method of “interest negotiation” (1993, 26-27). This is a problem-solving tool where continual interaction results in mutual agreeable solutions to issues such as reconstruction, relief, development, etc. (1993).

Part II: The Dilemma of Reconstruction

The role of the architect in the process of reconstruction of post conflict areas is an increasing concern. Moreover, the role of reconstruction has been questioned because of its
significance in the post-conflict environment. Reconstruction of what has been destroyed is not a one-dimensional process, but can be considered as a multi-faceted tool in post-conflict environments, if its correlating agency is broadened. Understanding the underlying causes of the resulting disaster, coupled with the unobservable psychological impacts upon its citizens, are factors contributing to effectiveness of response. Looking at recommendations for a process of reconstruction provides a framework of the issues facing physical redevelopment in areas of high vulnerability. Long-term recovery is at stake during the process of rebuilding a society that has been torn apart. The steps to social, economic, and physical recovery can be thwarted by many opposing factors, of which outside intervention may be included. Undoubtedly these complex environments breeds complex processes that can be illustrated by Barakat’s seven pillars for reconstruction, “namely, ‘vision’; ‘participation’; ‘security’; ‘reconciliation and justice’; ‘equity’; ‘reconstruction and development’ and ‘capacity to reconstruct’, emphasizing their synergy and the need for collaborative effort for the restoration of war-torn countries” (Barakat 2005, 5).

Recent research places the use of architecture as a peace-building tool. Charlesworth uses case studies to map the relationship between sectarian conflict and design responses after war. The key issues that inform her investigations are:

1. The myth of the unitary city – recognizing patterns: random vs. sustained civil conflict in apparently healthy cities (i.e. New York vs. Belfast).
2. The need for planners and architects to work within an interdisciplinary framework.
3. The need to test architectural and planning theories through on the ground projects. (2006, 12)

Additionally, research has sought to define holistic post-war reconstruction, in which only a fraction belongs to the built environment (Barakat 2005). “Because housing and landed property offer multiple opportunities to rebuild livelihoods and peace, reconstruction in this field can best be conceived in terms of an assets-based approach (Sanderson 2002) – rebuilding material and capital assets as well as social and political assets” (Zetter 2005, 156). Physical reconstruction is traditionally project-driven. However, to build alongside the overarching goals of holistic reconstruction of a society, there must be a fundamental change in how physical reconstruction is conceived. The shift from project-based to program design within a strategic framework can aid in the rebuilding of peace and livelihoods.
Physical response models that attempt to respond to post-conflict demands show the complexity of the environment as well as the extreme fragility of the social network. In the aftermath of unforgivable acts of violence, mistrust and hatred that are generated from deep rooted identities procure perceptions of insecurity and fear (especially in isolation) that ultimately affect every man and every woman, child - every person. Even though there may be conflict resolution that formally ends the acts of violence it does not rectify antagonistic ethnic groups or produce peace between them. Development after conflict in a fragile environment poses a multitude of challenges for the design professional. Decisions that are made could potentially catalyze more destruction or, on the other hand, be a tool for peace building and moreover, a facilitator of healing in a war-torn society. If physical reconstruction, architecture, design, urban design: spatial practice can be informed by the complexities of war, to what extent can it initiate greater outcomes that promote peace and security? What are other challenges that can be addressed by space and the idea of deconstructing internal dividers in the city?

**Part III: Spaces of Reconciliation**

Misperceptions, lack of conversation, absence of trust and understanding are all ingredients that underlie ethnic identity conflict. Without the deconstruction of physical and social barriers, demarcations and dividing lines, the rebuilding of the city is pointless. It may be a waste of time and resources that resets the stage for another wave of ethnic conflict to ensue when tensions escalate and reach a breaking point. The challenge, then, is how to position spatial practice to be an effective process in changing the *conflictive ethos* that was built up during conflict. One such position is to create opportunities for conflicting groups to meet and reconcile. By providing opportunities for interaction, the power of the encounter can initiate a process for spatial practice. This process can structure a shared or negotiated space in the city, catalyzing the breakdown of mental interfaces through continual interaction.

“From the psychological perspective of conflict analysis, outbreaks of conflicts are dependent on the appearance of particular perceptions, beliefs, attitudes, and motivations, all of which must change for conflict resolution to occur. But because this article focuses on intractable conflicts, which are characterized by their violent viciousness and durability, greater emphasis is given to reconciliation than to conflict resolution” (Bar-Tal 2000, 352). The challenge of reconciliation for the design professional, upon consideration, poses a responsibility, in
environments that have experienced cyclical violence and cyclical trauma. As Beirut, Belfast, and Nicosia have demonstrated, physically divided societies lack integration and communication across dividing lines. Psychologically, these boundaries compound into negative stereotyping, and long-term divisions are ripe for increasing misperceptions that precedes conflict.

Of crucial significance for understanding the reconciliation process is the outcome of the conflict resolution-specifically, whether the result of formal termination of the conflict is that the two adversary groups must continue to live in one political system (e.g., South Africa, Bosnia, Rwanda, El Salvador) or will live in two separate states (e.g., Israelis and Palestinians, French and Germans, Poles and Germans). It can be assumed that these two differing outcomes of conflict resolution require different forms of reconciliation. In the first form, there is a need to establish one political, societal, economic, legal, cultural, and educational system that will incorporate the two past rivals; in the second form, the past adversaries live in two separate systems. The first form thus requires the establishment of the new system as part of the construction of the peaceful, cooperative, and trustful relations in a society. Reconciliation in the second form concerns the bilateral relations of two societies living in two different states. (Bar-Tal 2000, 355-6)

Of space and practice, the idea that divided communities are to exist under one political system, or even in the case of Nicosia, within the same fortification walls, suggest that proximity of habitation and the sharing of resources requires some foundational collaboration and shared understanding. Conflict that spirals out of control into widespread violence and homogenization – that is internally partitioned – is vulnerable to a legacy of fear, insecurity, and trauma. Engagement is not required on the part of the design professional, however the physical interventions that occur during conflict as well as the physical reconstruction that is called for post-conflict, have inherent risks and corresponding repercussions that directly affect not only physical conditions, but also psychological conditions. If the built environment indeed has psycho-social impacts on behavior and perception, then how can the designer effectively engage reconciliation in war-torn societies?

**Part IV: Perspectives of Reconciliation**

Reconciliation is when you are ready to sit down with your enemy under the same tree.’ I thought of the countless olive trees that Israel has uprooted in the occupied territories. With our own hand, we have cut down that potential meeting place, along with the hope it might have represented. In its place, we increasingly erect walls and build roads on confiscated Palestinian lands, where Palestinians are not allowed to go. (Golan-Agnon 2008, 159)
The challenge of reconciliation in segregated, rival communities is to create a meeting place where the process of reconciliation can be initiated. Reconciliation is a process that takes time and is not merely an objective goal. There are many different perspectives on how reconciliation can be approached, and these perspectives provide similar principles. These subsequent themes are generated from various theories and practices.

**Principles, Goals, and Challenges of Reconciliation (Bold face my own emphasis):**

1. **It is a process that takes time.**
   
   **Reconciliation is a process, not a state to be achieved or a goal to be reached.** It can contribute to consolidating peace, **breaking a cycle of violence**, restoring justice at personal and social levels, bringing about personal and social healing, reparation for past injustices and building non-violent relationships between individuals and communities. It can help recreate and confirm people’s sense of being and belonging (Bloomfield et al. 2003, 77). **In the process it can utilize many vehicles, from the arts to economic forms of cooperation.** Which objectives are relevant and which **practices are likely to be effective depend on local conditions.** However, a key question is always **how to establish and maintain the process of communication**, which may be fraught and requires **sensitivity to local possibilities and limitations** (Komesaroff 2008, 5).

2. **There are many different vehicles that can initiate this process.**

3. **Objectives must be locally and culturally rooted for relevancy and effectiveness.**

4. **There needs to be a long-term contact that is continuous between rival groups.**

5. **It is concerned with enabling dialogue that generates new meanings and understanding.**

   **Reconciliation is concerned with dialogue,** understood in both a broad and a specific sense. On the one hand, it involves a **sharing of meaning-generating perspectives,** to use Habermas’s expression. As explained by Bohm, it also entails an open, creative process that stimulates ‘a stream of meaning...among and through us band between us...out of which may emerge some new understanding’ (Bohm 1996, 6). On the other hand, this open dialogue occurs between discrepant discourses and the **meanings are produced are different from the pre-existing meanings within each of them.** The process of communication, or dialogical contact, is not one of pure translation, and the result may be novel and fruitful, or partial and unsatisfactory (Komesaroff 2008, 5).

6. **Needs to construct shared meaning and deconstruct misconceptions of each group about the other.**

7. **Mutual identification is a goal, where groups could not initially indentify with the other.**
It is an alternative to the continuation of distinct and hostile identities. If perpetrators are unable to identify with victims, they can only fear and hate them, and many consequently dread retaliation. Belief in retribution fuels ongoing aggression. It signifies the projection of fear and hatred upon possible perpetrators who are then experienced in persecutory terms. The difficulty with ongoing divisions of this sort is that the war can never be over, for retaliation is always around the corner. Mutual identification (where we are all survivors) is in the national interest, allowing for joint acknowledgement that victims did suffer abuse of trauma. It is a means by which the nation can take responsibility for past wrongs but also stop them continuing (Rothfield 2008, 21).

8. Mediation must broker participation of rival groups as well as have a method of translation.

9. It is related to conflict.

Reconciliation is related to conflict. It is borne of conflict situations. [Perceptions about the context of reconciliation and need and difficulty of listening] must be overcome if we are to realize the possibility of conflict as a tool for change rather than an end to itself, where mutual destruction is the officially declared aim (Sadria 2008, 53).

10. It enables past realities to be processed in a way that makes a different future possible.

The emergence of truth and reconciliation commissions, from Africa to Latin America, has lent a new formality to such discourse, with the intent of enabling former enemies to come to terms with the past in a way that makes a different future possible. Interestingly, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in South Africa included explicitly religious and inter-religious dimensions (O.P. 2008, 68).

11. It structures physical and abstract spaces of meeting, for face-to-face engagement as well as in mass communications.

Positive reconciliation is defined here not as the final resolution of difference not as a process of forgiving and forgetting – this can be called negative reconciliation – but rather as a never-concluding, often uncomfortable process of remaking or bringing together (from the Latin – reconciliare) of persons, practices and meanings in ongoing ‘places of meeting’ (from the Latin – concilium) (James 2008, 117).

...in summary, reconciliation needs to be built from the ground up while being supported from the top down. Reconciliation conducted a face-to-face testimony and acknowledgement is fundamental, but unless it is at once re-embedded in the continuing moments and projects of the everyday and lifted to a level of more abstract engagement (usually as a series of institutionalized practices) with a larger community or civil sphere then it is likely to fail. In other words, reclaiming the face-to-face as one level of engagement is crucial, but it needs to be held in a clear and negotiated relation to more abstract levels of integration, including the institutionally-extended and disembodied or mediated level of mass communications (James 2008, 120).
...the concept of ‘places of meeting’ of concilium, introduced earlier, is used here across the layers of meaning of spatiality from its expression as designated ‘places’ to meet face to face and negotiate over differences, to abstracted institutionalized or technologically-extended ‘spaces’ where communities and polities negotiate over differences (James 2008, 121).


Nations emerging from long periods of conflict have no choice but to make progress on the issue of reconciliation if they are to succeed in breaking the cycle of violence. Even slow progress will not take place without a serious effort, resources and specifically targeted programming. There are few examples of how to assist in the generation of reconciliation in post-conflict situations. The principles of the CRPs hold some valuable lesson: look deeply into local conditions, resources and needs; do something more than just talk; and do not be discouraged by the massive, inevitable difficulties or the critical voices from comfortable armchairs far away. There will be many failures and some successes, even in the most optimistic scenario. The effort required will often seem too much but, when considered in relation to the consequences of inaction, little choice remains (Gamberale 2008, 148).

13. Stability is a desired result.

...has led me to believe that economic and business development activities can encourage tolerance, mutual confidence and cooperation across entrenched ethnic divides. These activities provide an incentive to act on a deeply held desire for stability in post-conflict communities (Gamberale 2008, 157).

Every city faces conflict and conflict can be transformative in many positive ways. However, in the face of widespread, violent conflict, the process of reconciliation is crucial in building trust, which is foundational in establishing security and stability. “When people in a contested society are brought together with those they have had no real relationship with, or have experienced only in terms of societal conflict, they readily see them as a danger, as someone to fear. A secure relational environment can be empowering for both parties if it is established with the intention of assisting people to understand the dynamics at work, and enables them to become subjects shaping their own lives, not mere objects of others’ manipulations and narrower cultural constraints” (Wilson 2008, 182). Even for less extreme cases, which do not produce complex emergencies, these themes are helpful in understanding how spatial decisions, motivated by social, economic and political segregation can have resounding impacts. Decisions that are motivated by insecurity and the intent to divide “us” from “them” may not lead to widespread conflict, but will indelibly leave its mark on the land and upon subsequent perceptions about the “other.”
Concluding Inquiries

The role of reconciliation in the “reconstruction” of post-conflict cities...

What is the effective role of the architect, practicing in post-conflict cities that are socially and spatially divided? Every city faces conflict and segregation along some confrontational line. The purpose of studying polarized cities that have faced ethnic conflict which resulted in physical partition is to ask the question of engagement and initiation. Where does the challenge of reconciliation inform design practice in places where interaction has been cut off and engagement ceases to exist? What are the consequences of neglect?

In Beirut, Belfast and Nicosia, the dividing walls have had resounding impacts on the social fabric psychologically and geographically stemming from physical barriers. Since the repercussions of conflict have high costs where lives are at stake, the involvement of a ‘reconciliatory’ project, or at least the intention that counteracts underlying motivations driven by fear and anxiety, is necessary for any kind of progress [even slow and failed attempts] to take the place of the stagnation of continual acts of violence.

What is the proper response that counters the physical intervention of division that was intended as a security measure, but has ultimately divided and isolated two rival groups based on ethnicity/identity? How can one initiate a meeting place that is perceived as secure to engender interaction of rival communities that may serve to deconstruct misperceptions? These are all questions that ask for direct experience. Moreover, it is the conversation that is incited by these questions as well as direct engagement in these conflict sites that would activate critical engagement.

Questions for Investigation:

1. What is a working definition of reconciliation for spatial practice?
2. How is this concept being realized/not being realized through the physical reconstruction projects and/or other attempts to bring communal healing?
3. What are common themes of ethnic conflict that are applicable to other cities facing similar polarization patterns?
4. What is the main challenge that architects face when engaging the local cultural context?
5. What are key areas of influence/roles that the design professional can assume?
6. How has trauma affected or manifested in the city through space and movement?
7. What have been the effects of physical partition that can need to be addressed?
8. What is the current atmosphere and feelings of fear/anxiety/security, and how do they physically manifest in the landscape?
9. How can the ‘outsiders’ become involved in reconciliation of post-conflict cities?
10. What are measurable outcomes of reconciliation in post-conflict cities? Can demographic patterns and integration measure increased perception of security?
11. What are the current levels of segregation of residential communities/commercial activity and how are they related to hostile tensions?
12. What have been some effective ‘acts of non-violence’ in the city that have sought reconciliation between differing communities?
Section II: Reconciliare Framework
Introduction

The second phase of research work developed out of the questions that were posed at the end of Section I. The topic of inquiry evolved to “How can the role of spatial practice engage and initiate the process of reconciliation?” and was taken abroad to practicing designers in Belfast, Nicosia, and Beirut. A standard list of questions around this inquiry was formed to initiate conversations that would probe local perspectives and personal experiences. The interviewees were determined through referral according to their personal work and involvement in this subject matter. The result of this investigation is a framework of a process that engages the concept of reconciliation through the practice of design. This framework is developed out of an international casting, grounded by local experience and insight.

Statement

In conflict that comes down to territory, space is central. Therefore spatial practice: planning, urban design, and architecture [Design] has a role that cannot be neutral. Where two populations co-habit one city yet occupy parallel universes, Design has the potential to occupy a “reconciliatory” role that addresses social interfaces; those that exist in the mind and are manifest in the landscape. The constructed process aims to answer how design can incorporate reconciliation and guides the decisions that follow in the conceptual model exercise of the design project in Section III.

The term “reconcile” comes from late Middle English: from Old French, reconcilier or Latin, reconciliare; from Latin re- ‘back’ (also expressing intensive force) + conciliare, ‘bring together’. To be reconciliatory and thereby have an effective role, Design must bring back together divided groups. In places where social networks have been severed, physical divisions induce interfaces, walls, and/or buffer zones. These scars in the landscape can be identified and reinterpreted. Re-designing interfaces to become Reconciliare-space creates opportunity in its reformation, which allows associational relationships to occur. The space itself does not guarantee cross-communal relationships to develop; however, the impetus of its conception is foundational to impede the proliferation of segregation.

The engagement of spatial practice has a definitive role in post-conflict areas as it acts on physical space that was central to the conflict itself and is additionally at the center of the continuation of contest. The framework that has been developed is the result of this
investigation: how practice can be engaged effectively to provide the possibility for co-presence and co-awareness,

...the raw material for communities to develop. Spatial configuration influences patterns of movement in space, and movement is by far the dominant form of space use. Through its effects on movement, spatial configuration tends naturally to define certain patterns of co-presence and therefore co-awareness amongst the individuals living in and passing through an area. Co-present individuals may not know each other, or even acknowledge each other, but it will be argued that this does not mean to say that co-presence is not a social fact and a social resource. Co-present people are not a community, but they are part of the raw material for community, which may in due course become activated, and can be activated if it becomes necessary. However, even without conversion into interaction, patterns of co-presence are a psychological resource, precisely because co-presence is the primitive form of our awareness of others. Patterns of co-presence and co-awareness are the distinctive product of spatial design... (Hadjichristos 2006, 18)

The Greek word for forgive is “synchoro”. The word synchoro is made up of the verb choro, meaning to occupy a space or place and the prefix syn, which simply means together; to exist in the same place is to forgive. Forgiveness, rather, syncharesis means together in the same place, in the heart, which cannot be readily measured because of its intangibility (Vasiliki 2009). However, the ability to configure space where two unforgiving groups can potentially exist together at the same time is the quantifiable objective of this framework: the role of spatial practice is to initiate reconciliation (bring together again) in spatially and socially divided, post-conflict cities. The act of reconciliare can be initiated by the Designer and the outcome of synchoro can additionally be measured through its use. Spatial practice can play a reconciliatory role through the engagement of design where divided groups are given the opportunity to forgive.

Urban Reconciliatory Framework

This framework was constructed after visiting each of the studied cities: Belfast, Nicosia, and Beirut. It was developed as a process for Design(ers) to be effective in societies torn apart and divided by war. A combination of interviews & analysis, conversation & observation, project assessment & comparison (documented in Appendix A) determine its guiding principles. Reconciliation space is measured in each city by the level of integration, mixing, and co-existence that was achieved between opposing groups as an outcome of “intervention” in areas where separation and segregation were preeminent. (Refer to “Project Analysis” in Appendix A)
From the research conducted in these post-conflict cities, evidence supported the statement that physical space can be an actor of mediation in the city, where different social initiatives proved to effectively integrate segregated communities into one locale. These interventions directly address the barrier that is formed in the mind and its consequential isolating effects. The following is the extracted framework of these interventions and interviews that serve to guide practice in an engaged process toward Reconciliare-space.

**Framework I Process I Practice**

**F1. Understand the conditions**

Cities are intricately unique and each has its own set of challenges that can be lucrative when approaching the process of design. Being situated in the context of the city poses a greater vantage point when assessing its existing conditions, especially after conflict. Understanding these impacts affords a stronger capability to address its challenges. As discussed in Section I, it is vital to understand the complexity of its divisions, through its past and present in order to aptly envision its future. With the superimposed layer of identity conflict (ethno-territorial conflict), these cities are in critical need of an informed diagnosis which considers:

F1a. Urban patterns: historic development

F1b. Conflict dynamics: impacted communities

F1c. Scars of war: existing divisions and segregation

(Refer to Section I: Case Studies, 12-36 and Section III: Process, 61-65)

**F2. Identify physical locations and relationships that are "strategic" for the development of shared spaces**

In each case study city, segregation is still prevalent in its current fabric. In Belfast, Peacewalls are the physical interfaces of segregated pockets that become reminders of the past. They also reinforce the perception of insecurity and are physical places where sectarian violence continues to occur. In Beirut, though the division of its former Greenline has been erased, its resulting development on a larger scale continues to act as a buffer zone in its social makeup. And finally, in Nicosia, the concretized buffer zone is a physical North-South division of Turkish-
speaking Cypriots and Greek-speaking Cypriots. In each of these cases, identifying the physical and social interfaces in the landscape is a strategy for locating intervention that is motivated by reconciliation. As a strategy, the context of the city is evaluated on this level, whereas F3 concerns the level of the project or intervention at a specific site. (Refer to Appendix A, Emphasized Themes and Project Analysis)

Considerations on the Urban scale: there may be levels of priority of areas that are more sensitive or hostile or more accessible depending on location and context. When assessing the local conditions, as an overall strategy, these priorities may be assigned and noted for future reference.

F2a. Bi-communal initiatives: Cross-communal relationships already taking place that can be supported or that can support engagement. By locating existing partnerships, their involvement may aid in cross-community progress building upon groundwork that has taken place.

F2b. Identifying interfaces in the landscape
   i. “Blight” – open areas causing disconnection, unsecured areas, or areas acting as buffers
   ii. Physical barriers – intended for security measures which consequently isolate and reinforce segregation
   iii. Interfaces of segregated areas

F3. “Reconciliare-dynamics”: dimensions towards merging space and process

From the themes originated through learned experience of Designers practicing in post-conflict cities (in Appendix A), characteristics were drawn out that were relevant to each city visited to describe the type of intervention that composed successful integration of antagonistic groups. Reconciliare-space constructs the opportunity for ‘encountering the other’, serving to mediate co-existence where separation formerly took place.
Considerations on the Project scale: characteristics of an engaged and shared space are not mutually exclusive, but through the process of design should incorporate both dimensions (F3a. and F3b.) where evidence of the former can be measured through the social outcome of the latter.

F3a. Social-Conflict Transformation

i. Cross-community initiative: where the process of design crosses boundaries between antagonistic communities to construct mutual meaning between the two. Seeks active participation from both parts, not singularly motivated.

ii. Mutually beneficial: As a cross-communal initiative, the project or intervention itself should benefit both communities in function, need, etc.

iii. Neutral activity: the program or activities of the intervention should be “neutral” where perceived sensitivity has already been assessed of what is deemed exclusive, stemming from hostility of the other.

F3b. Urban Landscape Transformation

i. Public /common space

ii. Equally accessible

iii. Adaptive territory: the re-interpretation of divisions that reinvents space for bi-communal occupation, becoming an important factor of a new identity that can be appropriated by both sides.

F4. Implementation:

The active implementation of Reconciliare-space (to bring back together) of the intervention is for *synchoro* – to forgive, to exist in the same space, to be activated. (Refer to Project Analysis in Appendix A)
F4a. Observations/Revelation: Through a period of investigation or analysis with drawings, models, making, etc. the revelations that are gained through making and evaluation are offered and its implications are assessed.

F4b. Envisioning Links to Social Behavior: Each scheme or strategy that is devised is linked to how it will be played out if implemented. The responsibility of the designer is to identify the players and visualize each scenario.

F4c. Engagement: The process of design can be inclusive and integrative, through conversation and communication. Each operation has the potential to build upon the social network, involving others in the discourse, vision, etc.

F4d. Construction: Seeing the physical project to completion or to the beginning of construction is a visual marker of the progress made and precludes the measurement of its success: whether or not the constructed space is shared and valued.

An Intervening Note on ‘Intervention’

The design initiative will not tear down walls of hostility that exist in the mind, however, without an act of intervention, negative perceptions resulting from intractable violence are reinforced and passed down; left alone. This framework is to engage a process where physical space becomes the mediator between severed relationships. It is meant to guide an intervention that will be a stabilizing force within the city where physical separation has perpetuated insecurity of the other. By addressing the divisions and barriers that isolate and segregate, space becomes an actor in reconciliation, no longer a mere stage for separation.

Reconciliare, meaning “meeting” or “encounter” is the action and where synchoro happens (“to exist in the same space”). For design to be effective, there are the outlined characteristics that were mentioned for reconciliare-space, and it should be noted here that the underpinning of the intervention is for conflict transformation. Intervention that is one-dimensional: concerned with only one community’s needs counteracts the overall security of that society. Inter-communal violence is a consequence of post-conflict divisions. Therefore,
spatial practice is challenged to create synergy with space, intent, process, and affect. The end goal is for the walls of hostility to be torn down – that which exists in the mind and, without the space where relationships across the divide can germinate, isolated perceptions of “other” will continue to propagate.

Summaries of Urban Analyses

Belfast

During the experience overseas, a period of two months was spent in Belfast as a research associate through Queen’s University School of Planning, Architecture, and Civil Engineering department. Multiple interviews with faculty, researchers, and local practitioners were conducted. Selected conversations were transcribed and coded. Referred cross-community project initiatives were visited. (Refer to Appendix A) Additionally, during this time a broad range of events were attended and a general exploration of the city, culture, and context was qualitatively explored.

The first impression of the division between Catholic and Protestant communities was the vivid visual markers in colors, flags, murals, clothing, and territorial markings that created a deep sense of community exclusion of adjacent neighborhoods. Personal observations of the multi-layer and leveled fencing made the streets and sidewalks feel desolate and disconnected. Moreover, the feeling that was picked up through these visual cues and the built environment was that of “defensiveness” and being left-behind (mainly in the Protestant areas). These feelings were reinforced through various conversations about the politics and resentment that is ongoing and expressed through contested territory. One theme discussed was the unsustainable “duplication of services,” that is an increasing concern because of funding-cuts that are currently occurring in Belfast. The contest between the communities is to “one-up” the other, for the sake of contest, if one community receives any type of service, the antagonistic group will demand the same service. To the frustration of planners, this democratic process of petitioning is very counter-productive to implementation of development projects.

One example is the drop-out of investors of a project to develop an historical site in the central location of the city. The Crumlin Jail project could have been mutually beneficial to both Catholic and Protestant groups in terms of function as well as integration of both communities. For the Catholic community, housing is especially needed, as the population continues to grow
and land is difficult to attain since much of the open, developable land is owned by Protestant constituents. There were plans to develop the old Crumlin Jail into a multi-use development, including public civic space and housing. However, the location in an interface area was petitioned relentlessly by Protestants, an activism that halted the project completely. Since there was no resolution or agreement in public discussion, the process that was meant for inclusion was counterproductive as it was used instead as an avenue of contestation. Arguments and complaints from both sides stalled the process and eventually caused the whole project to be withdrawn. Where prime location and opportunity would be capitalized in any city, in Belfast, the continuation of “us vs. them” as well as the structure of its planning process, disables any forward momentum that would create shared spaces of mutual benefit.

What is the role of design in post-conflict cities marked by spatial division? There are endless opportunities that seem to be lost in the shadow of politics and sectarian contest. In Belfast, there are various perceived limitations and numerous political obstacles that stifle progress. Mark Hackett is co-founder of Forum for Alternative Belfast. FAB is a not for profit organization that offers an independent forum for the analysis and development of ideas about buildings, spaces and the city. Forum for Alternative Belfast aims to facilitate the development of workable ideas to develop Belfast can be developed for all its citizens as well as for visitors.

FAB aims to facilitate the development of workable ideas about how Belfast can be developed for all its citizens as well as for visitors. It hopes to encourage debate about how we can influence and affect changes to the built environment. It wants to explore how the mistakes of the past can be addressed and it wants to look imaginatively at opportunities for the future. (See Appendix C)

From the overall experience in Belfast, FAB is an exemplary Forum that works out the thoughts and aspirations that have been expressed. The role that it has defined is to take a look at the city of Belfast and the spatial divisions that exist and begin to connect isolated communities to the heart of the city: to its services and assets. As urban designers they analyze the spatial divisions not specifically targeting the Peacewalls, but the main areas that are physically disconnecting the city and project design options that could begin to integrate them. Their aim is to reconnect them to the city center with “good” design and needed services. They do active research of space and sustainability of an area so that if investment comes in, possibilities have been developed for that area.
This work is not funded, thus the projects that result may not be realized. This is a drawback, but their work is viewed as indispensable because of the holistic review of Belfast as one entity, which is currently divided as patchwork, and the motivation for reunifying the pieces into a whole. Another benefit of their work is to open the discussion of what, where, and who benefits or gets priority in a regressing economy that will no longer be able to sustain its current framework of services. When difficult, immediate decisions are going to have to be made since Belfast has a very large public sector dependent on government funding. Concerning cuts, development and sharing, the proactive work that FAB takes on the city could be of significant use.

_Nicosia_

The purpose of the visit to this city was to conduct interviews and to gather information about the site for future use. Eight days was the duration of time allotted to complete fieldwork in this area. There were many challenges, including language barriers and access into the buffer zone that inhibited the breadth of information. Nicosia is bifurcated through a buffer zone that runs east-west. The main difference from the Belfast experience was this bi-cultural inhabitation, distinction, and separation. Ethnic difference is the barrier between Turkish-speaking Cypriots to the north and Greek-speaking Cypriots located south of the Buffer zone. The complete division coupled with high levels of security that actively patrol the buffer zone, create a tense environment near it. The sensitivity of this division was discussed with another researcher in the area, who related that conversation with locals is difficult because of their fielding and defensiveness of certain questions/terminology.

In Belfast, identity is displayed in labels, colors, flags, and religious background affiliated with names and sport. In Nicosia, however, the complete separation of two different cultures seemed to breed a different type of condition, manifested in the environment as one sweep of a line on a map to divide the whole island. In the walled city of Nicosia, both proximity and concentration of each culture is physically contained, isolated, and controlled. This condition is breeched at one point: at Ledra Street crossing. It is not an integrated, shared space, but a check point with its own set of rules, which controls traffic from north-south and vice versa.

The formal entrance into each community is a striking difference from Belfast. From the south Greek-speaking side of Nicosia, Ledra Street is lined with shops, restaurants and cafes. It is a fairly straight north-south street leading to the check point near the buffer zone. It is patrolled
by Turkish officers, rather than Cypriot, as the north of Cyprus has been under Turkish occupation since 1974. Upon entrance into the north side of Nicosia, there are commercial “Bazaars” reminiscent of those in Old Istanbul. Cafés and other restaurants are found in this area as well. The street divides into smaller ones that lead into other areas of the city. On this side there is a walking path that is painted on the ground mainly for tourists to follow.

The “tourist path” is more than a painted line and signifies a bi-communal initiative that resulted in the Nicosia Master Plan (See Appendix B). The NMP has effectively engaged both sides as well as the United Nations and has resulted in city-wide regeneration of buildings and neighborhoods in disrepair. The identified success of the Nicosia Master Plan affirms the theme that was reoccurring in the interviews from Belfast: cross-community relationships are important to identify and develop. It is also an example of the reconciliation process that can be utilized through spatial practice. The hope of reunification of the north and the south had created discussion and through planning both entities engaged in a conversation which had been severed through conflict and division. In this instance, the built environment was the avenue for reconciliation: meeting the ‘other’ and envisioning how to regenerate the city by creating a common language of what city meant. The NMP provides the main collaboration that is taking place. Yet within the context of its political environment it is still a private undertaking.

Considering the design project of this thesis, Nicosia has qualities stated in the Urban Reconciliatory Framework with the NMP as the existing bi-communal relationship. They are interested in creating a common vision for the whole city for both communities. If and when international pressure opens the door on the reunification of the city, many actors will be interested in the space in between. Development in light of reunification could negatively impact a city that has been physically divided for decades. Though the bi-communal initiative has resulted in action by allocating funds towards historical preservation in both the north and south, it is limited in its progress to create shared, integrated spaces. The current regeneration within the walled city has no physical manifestation of reconciliation. It is only seen in the relationship of its creators. This thesis is concerned with the process as well as the implementation of a reconciliatory space: re-defining a buffer zone. Thus, to engage in this discussion the design project takes the existing conditions in context of its violent past and looks forward to a counter proposal that redefines what the buffer zone stands for. Today it
segregates, but the potential through design under the developed framework is to bring together again both groups through this mediatory space.

Beirut

The major development after conflict was the reconstruction of Beirut’s business district. Solidere was formed under the government to acquire and redevelop the land that is geographically central in the city of Beirut and also the area that marked the beginning of the Greenline. During its civil war, the Greenline divided the Christian east from the Muslim west. There were constructed barricades and a no-man’s land to divide the east from west.

Today the Greenline has been erased by development, barely discernable at its northern most part. Heading south along the Greenline from the Central Business District, it is not fully noticeable as development continues to appear haphazardly in the once abandoned land. Interestingly enough, the CBD is the first project in Beirut that follows design guidelines, being created specifically for its development. Throughout the city, the lack of guidelines makes pedestrian circulation extremely difficult in congested areas. Public/civic space is also very limited within the city. The most generous area is its seaside promenade, a 2-3 mile stretch of sidewalk where different activities take place. Beirutis can be seen with their own fold-out chairs and coffee mug looking out to over the Mediterranean, marking their temporary spot of sidewalk.

Solidere is an example of a successful implementation plan, where large scale development was achieved in a relatively short time frame. Many well-known international architects have been teamed with local designers to create modern interpretations of historic uses. For example, the Souks by Rafael Moneo and Hashim Sarkis incorporate an innovative use of space through an elegant design. Yet the greatest impact of the whole development was not motivated by the reconciliation of the divided groups, nor meant for the majority of the city’s population, in its most central location. It has become a commercial display for the richest few appealing to an international audience and those who can afford to enjoy the luxury of high-end retail.

Because it is economically driven, the results are beautifully preserved historic buildings, unique modern architecture, and a wide variety of public spaces, all of which lack the vitality of a densely populated city – it feels empty. The CBD acts like a buffer zone in between the east and the west. In contrast, Hamra, a neighboring district of a diverse mixture of people and
activity, feels vibrant throughout the day and night. The American University of Beirut is north of
the neighborhood and the main street is lined with retail, arts, and services. However, there is
little space for sitting, standing or even walking because of its lack of design guidelines and
public areas. On this street, there could be civic space that would inherently integrate all groups
of people. Locating these potentials within the city with the lens of bringing together
antagonistic groups could potentially engage design and reconciliation.
Section III: Design Concepts
Process

The design project of this thesis is an intervention that aims to implement the principles outlined in the Urban Reconciliatory Framework (URF) of Section II. The constructed framework incorporates a process where physical space mediates severed relationships. By addressing the divisions and barriers that isolate and segregate, space becomes active in reconciliare. The following investigation tests the values that were formulated in the URF through design and through its feedback.

The outcome of four conceptual models work as schemes of intervention in the urban context. Each model uses different materials to represent spatial relationships alongside an approach of reconciliation. The level of articulation and abstraction of these models allows diverse interpretation of what is implied and how it can be implemented. The analyses that are generated through the making of the models can be appropriated and projected onto the physical space of the city. Design’s role in contested territories emerges simultaneously through the production of each scheme and by fostering engagement in the space of its discourse.

From the three case studies that were investigated in Sections I and II, Nicosia was chosen as the site for design intervention due to the extremity of division and segregation that it currently faces. Moreover, the scale of the walled city provided the opportunity to formulate thoughtful propositions about approaching the conceptual idea of Reconciliare-space in the time allotted for the thesis. The process begins with understanding the urban condition of Nicosia, continues through formulating a strategy for intervention, and then creates conceptual approaches that are characteristic of Reconciliare. Finally, these approaches are reflected in conceptual models that illustrate the varying levels of intervention that look at space no longer as a divisive entity, but one that allows “encounter” to occur. Expressing in model form was preferred because of its ability to transfer and harvest ideas to varying audiences. These ideas of how to address Nicosia’s physical barriers can be postulated, appropriated and re-interpreted by those interested in sharing its evolution.

Guiding Structure

Urban Reconciliatory Framework (URF): Summary

F1. Urban Conditions

F1a. Urban patterns
F1b. Conflict dynamics
F1c. Scars of war

F2. Strategic Relationships
F2a. Existing bi-community initiatives
F2b. Urban interfaces

F3. Reconciliare-space
F3a. Social-Conflict Transformation
F3b. Urban Landscape Transformation

F4. Implementation
F4a. Observations/Revelation
F4b. Envisioning Links to Social Behavior
F4c. Engagement
F4d. Construction

Urban Conditions (F1)

F1a. Urban patterns

Nicosia, Cyprus is a testament to the Island’s rich urban heritage. It has been the capital of Cyprus for the last ten centuries. Its Venetian walls are a prime example of medieval town planning and contain the oldest part of Nicosia. The walled city is composed of eleven Bastions and three gates. Through its construction, the entity of its urban form (the whole of the walled city) was solidified, which was of more concern than its internal structure. During the Ottoman Period (1570-1878), Nicosia went through its first transformation into a modern capital with major improvements to its infrastructure and residential areas. During this time there were no physical divisions, but two distinct communities were emerging: Greek and Turkish. There were centered and developed around either mosques or orthodox churches.

1878-1960 marks the British Colonial Period defined by a vast increase in urban density. It is during this period when suburban growth outside the city walls occurred, along the main roads. This new growth is attributed to the economic boom occurring after the Second World War. In 1960, Cyprus gained its independence and Southern Nicosia experienced rapid urbanization and old buildings were cleared away for modern developments and skyscrapers. (Florence, Weltens, and Hansen 2008, 31)
F1b. Conflict dynamics

Nicosia’s urban structure is still unconsolidated due to the haphazard spread of the city. Since the division of the city by the 1960s intercommunal violence, the buffer zone constructed in 1974 caused expansion to occur along its North-South axis. Prior to 1974 development was toward the east and west. Nicosia is identified in four parts, according to the Nicosia Master Plan:

1. Walled City
2. Buffer Zone
3. The Core Business Areas
4. Residential Areas around the CBAs

Figure 1: Nicosia Urban Organization
The Buffer Zone composes the area in between two “forward defensive position” lines which bifurcate the medieval city through its center and further cut through the whole island. It is a de facto international boundary between the southern portion of Cyprus that is a sovereign state and the self-proclaimed but unrecognized Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. Within the walls of Nicosia, there has been an evolution of its existence.

Timeline

Natural Origin: Pedieos River

Prior to 1955: Paphos and Hermes Streets
   During this period, the Pedieos River was diverted and paved over to create the main commercial streets of the city

1955-1963: Mason Dixon Line
   This became the voluntary threshold between the Turkish and Greek quarters of the city

1963-1974: Green Line
   The threshold expanded to include a cordon sanitaire. Literally translated from the French, a sanitary cordon is a barrier, administrative as well as actual, between a potential source of infection and a susceptible population. (Encyclopedia of Public Health) This was generally open for pedestrian crossing and vehicle crossings through checkpoints monitored by police and British personnel. Fortification of this dividing line was only in especially sensitive areas or during violent episodes.

After 1974: The Buffer Zone
   Heavy fortification takes place, monitored by the United Nations peacekeepers with only one crossing point within the walled city on Ledra Street, opened in 2008. Since the ease of restrictions of Turkish-
Cypriot civilian crossing in 2003, there have been millions of unprecedented crossings.

Size

The length of the buffer zone within the city walls is approximately 1.5 km, and varies in width from 4 m to 20 m, including the structures within. Its edges are composed of walls and fences that also vary, but typically are 4.5 m high and 1 m wide at its base. It severs about 20 perpendicular streets and 5 that are aligned east-west along it. (Calame and Charlesworth 2009, 123)

Impact

Destroyed the most valuable commercial property in the city, the now empty buffer zone has engulfed hundreds of building adjacent and within it. It is now framed by low-income residential neighborhoods, light industrial facilities and a red light district. (Petridou 2003)

Strategic Relationships (F2)

F2a. Existing bi-community initiatives

The Nicosia Master Plan is a bi-communal planning initiative funded by the Bi-Communal Development Programme (BDP), funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) with additional funding from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and the management support of the United Nations Office for Project Support (Florence, Weltens, and Hansen 2008, 38). It is an initiative that works cross-border between Turkish-Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot planning departments aimed to regenerate the fabric of Nicosia. This relationship is a prime example where spatial practice has created the opportunity for meaningful dialogue by using the space of the city for mutual understanding. Their joint research and common concerns for Nicosia as a whole are exemplified in the resulting Nicosia Master Plan (Refer to Appendix B).

As a part of the process towards reconciliatory design, the developed strategy illustrated in Figure 4 and Figure 5 sequential to the urban analysis shown as diagrams
in **Figure 2 and Figure 3** takes the goals and vision of the NMP and considers the regeneration projects on both sides to inform complementary north-south links.

**F2b. Transformative Space**

Mediating the vision of the NMP, sites within and adjacent to the Buffer zone are identified as strategic for stimulating shared and integrated space. By addressing the severance and re-visioning its function, associations can be renewed through a connective swath. Interfaces that are described by the framework (F2b: i, ii, and iii) are embedded in the landscape in Nicosia and consolidated into the Buffer Zone. It currently segregates, divides, creates blight and isolates both Turkish-Cypriots to the North and Greek-Cypriots to the South. Furthering the urban conflict and strategic reconciliation analysis, a swath of *impulse sites* are identified where potential stimulus could be inserted and inscribe the characteristics of *Reconciliare-space* (Figures 4 and 5).
Reconciliare-space (F3)

F3a. Social-Conflict Transformation: addressing mental barriers

“From the psychological perspective of conflict analysis, outbreaks of conflicts are dependent on the appearance of particular perceptions, beliefs, attitudes, and motivations, all of which must change for conflict resolution to occur. But because this article focuses on intractable conflicts, which are characterized by their violent viciousness and durability, greater emphasis is given to reconciliation than to conflict resolution” (Bar-Tal 2000, 352). The barriers in a conflicted city that exist in the mind are developed from years of violence. The homogenizing effect that occurs during war have been concretized in Nicosia by walls and reinforced through additional patrolling military. Short-term security measures have become long-term segregation of a city further encircled by its Venetian Walls. This dilemma of segregation coupled with feelings of insecurity challenges the notion of an integrated space. Earlier identification of where stimulus would be most strategic is the result of F2 analysis. The sequential matter is how to charge these impulse sites and what to charge them with. The characteristics of Reconciliare-space answer these concerns (refer to Section II, p. 56):

F3. Reconciliare-space

F3a. Social-Conflict Transformation

i. Cross-community initiative: where the process of design crosses boundaries between antagonistic communities to construct mutual meaning between the two. Seeks active participation from both parts, not singularly motivated.

ii. Mutually beneficial: As a cross-communal initiative, the project or intervention itself should benefit both communities in function, need, etc.

iii. Neutral activity: the program or activities of the intervention should be “neutral” where perceived sensitivity has already been assessed of what is deemed exclusive, stemming from hostility of the other.

Finding social stimulus that magnetizes both sides into a common ground is an essential part of this process due to the resistance of integration that these post-conflict cities face. If shared space is a primary goal, then shared interest in using that space
must be mutual. The *stimulus* can either attract or repel potential users and if
misdiagnosed, it will not ameliorate feelings of insecurity that serve as a repelling force.

As an exercise to incorporate these characteristics into the design process, the
concept of *hybrid programming* was explored. **Figure 6** conveys the idea that each side
would be anchored in a beneficial singular program that would be coalesced through its
approach to the Buffer Zone. The range of elements that could potentially be shared
(due to similar spatial requirements and function) incited the exploration of how they
could be shared and to what degree.

The types of program that were chosen fall under the characteristics of
Reconciliare-space in order that the function would set up social-conflict
transformation. The concept of hybridization is the driver of a two program approach:
initially of single benefit and then merged to create a hybrid of shared activity. This is
the main avenue through which specific programming is assigned. The act of locating
where the program has the most benefit within the site of the city produced a general
focus area in the greater *Reconciliare territory*, previously defined as a strategy at the
urban level. Consequently, this step triggered the spatial exploration of how these
stimuli (programmatic activities) would address the physical divide through different
approaches and growth over time, drawn as a set of diagrams following Figure 6.
Figure 6: Programmatic Exercise
Shear Diagram

The Shear Diagram approaches the divide by growing from the outside into the Buffer zone. Program on each side that is beneficial to its community would anchor each community and retain a degree of that community’s identity. As it enters the zone over time, circulation patterns would begin to merge together, linking the north and south while programmatic activities would “shear” and eventually share spaces that are similar in dimension and need.

Passing Diagram

In the Passing Diagram, development occurs alongside the walls of the Buffer zone. In this scheme, the Buffer zone is preserved for public use, connecting the city on its east-west axis. Development is adjacent to and within the Buffer zone, creating access points from outside in. The space between is unbroken: preserved for generative integration. Initial “passing” views are shared and over time the site is ascertained for personal use and advantage.

Bridge Diagram

The Bridge Diagram shows a direct approach to development. By using architecture and programming, this scheme addresses the division by providing development to marry function and form that would be mutually beneficial for both communities and have separate access points into a shared space. Later phases (II and III) would replicate the process in the Buffer zone when and where appropriate.

Infect Diagram

In this scheme, the Buffer zone is “infected” with a type of development or stimulus inside of the walls and directed to grow along the north-south axis to affect each community over time. In this case, there would be a shared infection that spreads from the inside out, drawing both communities into the space within. It is also a strategy where the injection creates common ground that spreads into each side and fluid exchange takes effect.
Through the posing of varying relationships across the divide and subsequent growth strategy to enter, cross over, or share space within the Buffer Zone, a critical discussion commenced with respect to how these avenues would affect reconciliation between the North and South communities. A further assessment of different alternatives and their impact concerning reconciliation followed this discussion to show a range of intervention that could be initiated. The discussion directed a closer examination of the typology of the intervention considered and ultimately resulted in four conceptual design models that differ in their approach to the Buffer Zone. The value of producing alternates in lieu of ascribing a singular method with design is in the generation of critical analyses of the nature of reconciliation itself and how varying schemes of intervention might achieve or elude mediation. To conceptualize a single approach as the “solution” and then prescribe a physical space as “shared” disengages the discourse of reconciliatory design from the process of design.

The decision to construct conceptual models was due to their ability to represent local conditions alongside a proposed intervention. At the heart of these models is the fusion of theory and urban typology. Concepts of design are advanced by revelations that are procured in the models’ making. In turn, an analysis of the intervention’s implications upon the site is generated. By envisioning how each decision might unfold in current scenarios, the methods of intervening can be tested as they are tied to Nicosia’s context.

Through representation, the materials and how they are articulated are able to be interpreted, appropriated, and the ideas associated with the models be transferred into the local conditions of Nicosia. This mode of comparison additionally facilitates critical assessment of the impact of design through the discourse of reconciliation. One example of reflective responses that were facilitated by these models illustrated the subjective nature of reconciliation and the difficulty of how to define a “solution” in the existing contest of territory. Interestingly, each personal experience that was shared defined reconciliation on different terms and at different levels. This reintroduced the ideas previously mentioned: \textit{synchoro} vs. \textit{sychoresis} and \textit{reconciliare}. 
It is important to reiterate that physical outcomes of design are not the “solution” to divisions after war since it cannot force individual forgiveness (synchoreisis) that takes place in the heart. However, it can play a reconciliatory role when it addresses physical barriers in the landscape. In the active implementation of a mutually beneficial, accessible space, it strategically brings together again (reconciliare), the segregated communities. It creates the opportunity for both sides to co-exist, synchoro (forgive), while counteracting the effects of isolated perceptions.

F3b. Urban Landscape Transformation: addressing physical barriers

Within the walls of Nicosia, the West entrance is connected to the greater arteries, which connect into the transportation network of Cyprus, identified in Figure 7. The focus area in the sequential diagram, Figure 8, is lodged between existing NMP regeneration and rehabilitation projects, signified by different colors. Its position in the Buffer Zone between each side makes it equally accessible; a characteristic on Reconciliare-space. Moreover, its location near the main commercial crossing, Ledra Street, to the east, and its direct access to main circulation arteries to the west feed it with a critical density, which is the target of bi-communal conflict transformation.
Urban Concept Models

The four schemes that follow are: Preservation, Breach & Bridge, Urban Spill, and Coalesce. They are a set of options that reinterprets the current dividing swath of the Buffer Zone into a vision of Reconciliare-space. Each is evaluated according to its Description, Intent, and Implication. These fields intend to explain the ideas driving each scheme and how they are represented, developed and applied. Upon further integration, the re-introduction of stimulus or program that would benefit both Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot communities could induct another round of exploration that is appropriate to Nicosia’s context. The program (or lack thereof) would inform the typology of space envisioned and affect the method of implementation. Notably, further progression of these ideas is for the reintegration of the separated communities through the design process and outcome.
Preservation

Description

Materials / Representation

Base: Foam core

Holder and container of focus area

Layer 0: Mirror and copper wire

Originating form of Buffer Zone: Pedieos River, reflecting historical layers built on top

Layer 1: Wooden loom, foam core and plastic mesh

City walls, engulfed grid of streets and urban density

Layer 2: Steel wire, metal alloy and corrugated plastic

Layer of conflict and division, density pressure directed into the streets and streets of limited access abutting the Buffer Zone

Layer 3: Resin

Preservation of history, memories and nature

North: Turkish-Cypriot

Density adjacent to the walls, pressuring access and use of the space in between.

Reflecting the historical development of the Buffer Zone, going back to nature.

Using the same material composing the North and South sides of the city to anchor the preservation of the Buffer Zone.

South: Greek-Cypriot

Direct and linear streets on the west side of the Buffer Zone.

Implication

New meaning and value is ascribed to the Buffer Zone by preserving its natural state. Cultivating a unique function, where memories have been overgrown by wildlife is a dramatic contrast to the lives lived inside a much planned urban entity. Entrance into an unplanned internal environment dramatically changes how ”other” is viewed and related to through this new conception of space. Furthermore, connection to nature with historical significance embedded underneath serves in the healing process with views of new life taking over what had been a place of destruction.

An aim of Reconciliare-space is to transition both communities to integrate back together again. By setting the stage for new relationships to develop, simultaneous co-use generates a collective idea of city. When division exists, there are two different worlds psychologically occupied, allowed through physical isolation where one side never has to encounter the other. Through the preservation of this new ecology in between, both sides could encounter this nature zone that has been restricted for the past 30 years. To enter for the first time, at the same time, advances a progressive encounter with the ”other” where the outcome is indeterminate, but hopeful.

The preservation of an area that has been cut off from the city coupled with access not only will offer a sensory experience, but will also serve to validate those impacted by trauma. For both sides to co-exist within previously dividing walls is a revolutionary step toward shared psychological space.
Breach & Bridge

Description

Materials / Representation
- Base: Foam core
- Urban pattern and cut boundary of Buffer Zone
- Layer 0: Fiber glass tape
- Infrastructure/ connections through history
- Layer 1: Copper wire, metal wire and corrugated plastic
- East-West connectors, program and development
- Layer 2: Wire in plastic tubing
- North-South program anchors entering into Buffer Zone
- Layer 3: Steel nails
- Urban densities and patterns

Intent

The approach of bridging the North and South communities come out of an exercise of “hybrid” programming. The concept anchors each side with a beneficial program that enters the Buffer Zone through development over time. As each crosses the Buffer Zone, programmatic elements that share similar spatial needs negotiate its use at different times and integrate its circulation as a shared path.

Tubing and wire breach the walls and are woven in the Buffer Zone (east-west). Through intervention, a vertical layering of spaces allow for program to co-exist and through its co-presence, transform each other in a psychological hybridization.

Implication

Considering the context and demographics within the walled city, an elementary school was chosen as an anchor for the North community and a Wellness center for the South. The Turkish Cypriot demographic is composed of a larger percentage of families compared to the Greek Cypriot demographic that has a larger elderly population. In the chosen focus area, these two programs would develop in blight areas adjacent to the Buffer Zone and breach its walls as entrance into the territory. This strategy allows access for each side while maintaining control levels through the use of the program. A further analysis of programmatic activities that could be hybridized within the Buffer Zone is based on similar space requirements and “rhythms”. Rhythms, as an example, are waiting or walking and could share similar circulation routes or visual space.

Learning as an activity with the same spatial needs could share classrooms.

Through this concept, there is an acknowledged benefit as well as a strategy to cross programmatic needs to be of use to each other and engage both sides of the divide. The focus area was chosen where there were opportunities of connecting density and points of interest running North to South.

In this scheme access and control would be monitored. Its audience would be acclimated over time: first, by use of the new program; then by its growth into the Buffer Zone. Circulation paths and links could be crossed as they are established. Sharing and negotiation would occur cross-community for development to grow. Ultimately their crossing would bridge the divide.
Urban Spill

Description

Materials / Representation

Base: Foam core and resin
Urban matter (various components of the city)
Layer 0: Corrugated plastic
North-South street patterns
Layer 1: Wire mesh
Buffer Zone boundary (immost) and North-South development patterns
Layer 2: Steel wire and alloy wire
Funneled connections into the Buffer Zone and collectors of matter from the inside, spilling out

North: Turkish-Cypriot
Lower levels of control, more secure right against the walls of the Buffer Zone

South: Greek-Cypriot
Higher levels of control at streets running into the Buffer Zone

Making walls porous so that matter can affect adjacent areas, not necessarily at the cross streets, but at any point along the Buffer Zone

Program, path, development: new discovery of uses to be created from inside out.

Implication

In the representation of the urban conditions, the issues surrounding control and security were revealed and brought to the surface. Each side not only has a different density pattern adjacent to the walls, but also have different levels of control. From this observation, differentiating each side in its articulation of materials created a further progression from the previous models.

The considerations of having the material spill from the inside out is two-fold: 1. considering the levels of control and how the inside could affect the outside and vice versa and 2. the process of approach from each side, according to its context. First, since there is already a crossing point where control monitors entry and exit, this could be where people or development begin to spill into the West side (chosen focus area) of the Buffer Zone. Creating a way to view, remember, and traverse what has naturally come to life over the past three decades could charge a new internal environment: memorial, research laboratory, green space, restoration project, etc. These different "discovered" uses, by activation could begin to dialogue with existing control points that run east-west along the Buffer Zone. These could be initial exit points, where access is funneled by Ledras street crossing. Over time they could become entrance points as well, especially for the surrounding neighborhoods. For areas without control points, free, fluid discovery would be enticed and their spontaneous uses integrated.
Coalesce

Description

Materials / Representation

Base: Foam core and resin

Block footprints affected by the Buffer Zone

Layer 0: Fiber glass tape

Existing shared water and sewerage system

Layer 1: Wire mesh

Boundary lines of the Buffer Zone in focus area

Layer 2: Metal pins and copper wire

Connecting density forms through Buffer Zone

Layer 3: Steel wire and alloy wire

Coalescing and redefining the space of the edge

Implication

The formation of this model conceptualizes the network of existing relationships, represented by the unbroken grid in its base. Its foundation allows connections to run through to the additional layers. In Coalesce, the material is intended to reveal and make transparent function, necessity, and possibility.

A wire mesh edge becomes new territory, redefining its space by new stitching to be inhabited. The "border" thus creates new pockets adjacent to each community where appropriation can occur, through interventions that guide its occurrence. The energy is formally and informally channelled into these "pocket" zones and are ultimately coalesced in a cross-stitching of its patterns.

In the fabrication of this model, reflection on the condition of Nicosia and its opportunities led to the consideration of systems that are already networked. The water and sewerage system has survived through the city's bifurcation and the intention to expose not only its function, but also its ability to exist as a unified infrastructure system across the divide initiated the transparency of material operations. These moves make visible the existing connections throughout the city, showing their necessity and value.

Building upon this network, each side would plug into the systems differently according to its respective involvement. Upon this system lay an urban formation that differs from north to south. For the northern side, this could mean implementing a design process of aiding density development in the neighborhoods and from the southern side, a process of directing commercial and civic development along the cross streets. Inhabiting a new edge condition in pockets could be a strategy into the Buffer Zone, which could "bubble" inward over time. These pockets form new spaces where each side retains ownership and identity, while making decisions to move closer to the "other."

A third strain within the Zone is a common thread that intertwines these pockets together. This might be green space, circulation, etc., where movement is coalescing and integrating each part.
Conclusion

Thesis Inquiry

How can the role of spatial practice engage and initiate the process of reconciliation?

Progression

The endeavor of this research was to uncover the role of the architect and of design in the most extreme environments where social and psychological factors could not be ignored. In the aftermath of violent conflict the fabric of the city is destroyed; ethnic segregation takes its place and the physical landscape is left to a defensive construction of security measures. Every city has social boundaries caused by less extreme forms of conflict. In addition to these, the divisions resulting from identity war causes a psychological rift of two separate worlds that antagonistically define itself against the other, keeping the stability of its region at stake. With the “other” literally across the street, cycles of reprisal continue to be a high probability because of the perceived insecurity that is passed down from generation to generation. Furthermore, levels of control and walls that partition serve to perpetuate historical feelings of hostility, mistrust, and fear.

Spatial practice: planning, urban design, and architecture [Design] has a role that cannot be neutral. It can make social divisions better as much as it can make them worse. The engagement of spatial practice in post conflict cities can have a reconciliatory role when it addresses the barriers that are isolating and segregating. The process of design has the potential to be inclusive and integrative as it acts on physical space that was central to the conflict itself and is at the center of contest. Its influence is able to traverse interfaces: both those that exist in the mind and those that are manifested in the landscape.

The investigation into how space could engage reconciliation in war-torn areas, commenced with historical interpretive research, followed by an extraction of themes and concepts from three case studies: Belfast, Nicosia, and Beirut. Dynamic –interpretive mapping of these cities tracked the psychological and physical effects of conflict that continue to impact their current demographics, including reprisals of violence across the divides. For the second part of the inquiry, interviews were conducted in Belfast, Beirut, and Nicosia with local practitioners involved in conflict transformation through design. The Urban Reconciliatory
Framework (URF) was derived from these interviews and aims for a more relevant practice where its methods and outcomes mediate reintegration through space and impetus. “A lot of these design solutions are very partial. Anybody can come in and Sketchup and Photoshop these places and to be something nice. Whereas what’s underpinning, that has to be a process of conflict transformation” (Murtagh 2010).

Status of Exploration

As the design exploration of this thesis, the URF was utilized in the production of four design schemes in Nicosia, Cyprus. Urban Concept Models were crafted to show urban conditions and intentions of approach, the models were evaluated in terms of its impact of a mediating intervention through space. These models afforded revelation of the city through the process of reflective making. The material itself and its articulation in each scheme provided the opportunity for diverse interpretation that was documented by Description, Intent, and Implication. The Description separates each layer of the model and defines each material through the urban condition that it is representing. The Intent explains the concept that is driving the decisions that lead to its composition. Finally, the Implication tells of the models’ findings, which include the observations revealed through its craft and how these schemes would play out in the local context.

The four schemes represented in the Urban Concept Models serve as a point of “strategic beginning,” a period of investigation through design that is discursive and critical. The value in exploring more than one option is the expansion of the breadth and depth of implications through the progression of tactile knowledge and envisioning each scenario in context over time. Though these different approaches have generated a survey of alternatives that could be implemented as a design strategy, spatial and formal moves alone cannot create reconciliation between two groups/individuals. Conflict cannot be solved by creating a theoretically integrative design. The intention of constructing a process is to engage in a way that builds social networks that have been destroyed, isolated and antagonistic. Design is opportunistic because its practice can be inherently inclusive at each level, and facilitate the restructuring of how to understand the city and the reinterpretation of its relationships.

Physical-Psychological Landscape
Divisive barriers intended as temporary security measures during conflict have become permanent in the landscape even after the war has ended. Left alone, these works decay on two levels. The first level is physical: blight and abandonment cause social, economic, and environmental problems. For example, in Belfast Peacewalls are adjacent to open land, graffiti and housing in disrepair; in Beirut, areas along the Greenline are less valuable and hard to restore to its previous economic benefit. In Nicosia, the Buffer Zone engulfs many buildings and old streets, completely disconnecting the north and south halves of the walled city. Both cities have disconnections from the city center, vacant commercial, office and housing units, and poor structural conditions along social interfaces. While this trajectory towards entropy takes root in cities worldwide, most architects remain silent.

This is even true when they are directly involved...even when chances to analyze this destruction and enter public debate of when opportunities to act constructively to repair or reconstruct are right in front of them, any and all architectural engagement with this subject has remained at the level of incidental intervention. (Bouman 2007)

The second level is psychological. Barriers, barricades, boundaries, buffer zones, partitions, and dividers all have inscribed in them the perceived need for their existence. During conflict, it was due to the failure of the governing structure to provide protection from violence, thus the constructed barricades mark the need for separation from the hostility of the "other." Consequently, ethnic enclaves perpetuate an isolated misperception of the "other" that in turn is visually reinforced. In this extremely fragile environment, to achieve shared space across the divide where both communities can encounter the other and co-exist, is a complex endeavor where space is a factor, but not the only solution. The responsibility and obligation, then, of the designer is to consider also the behavior tied to the use of space and envision the transformation of proposed intervention against the unknown factors.

Applying the ideas of the four schemes toward intervention, not one is proposed as the solution for creating shared space, but they act as initial strategies of approaching and transforming the Buffer Zone from being a dividing entity into a new territory where integration is allowed to occur. The ideas that were generated in this process would ideally be taken to an implementation stage in the local context, socially engaging both communities that have been impacted: through conversation, interdisciplinary involvement, etc. Yet, the way this is
structured would have to vary from place to place, according to the room given to maneuver in these cities.

After the conflict those relationships are very hard to put back together again. It’s because of cycles of hurt and mistrust and, so my, what I’ve learned in this work, is that I call it, is what margin of maneuver do we have as planners and designers or social workers, whatever you’re doing in this work and its many ways the margin of maneuver. You have shifts with the political context. When the political context works a little better and widens out then you have more room to do things. Then you have more room to kind of create opportunities for the communities to talk to each other, to work together.

I think there is a cultural element that you got to get a hold of in some ways, and then there is this notion of how much room do you maneuver, do you have to do something based on the larger local context, if you don’t have a lot of official room to maneuver, then the room you’re maneuvering in is personal. It’s the good relationships in good working, and that’s when you see small effective good leadership come out at the local level to do something, it’s that brave soul who says I’m going to go work on that... (Driscoll 2010)

Lessons: the role of the architect

Design has a role in post-conflict cities that are physically and psychologically divided through years of violence. It may not be a prescriptive role, but one that proactively uses tools to communicate a better vision of the current state of the city. If the encounter is able to deconstruct the walls of hostility that exist in the mind (allowing a reconstruction of misperceptions of the “other” as well as associational relationships to develop), then devising a strategy through the use of space assumes a transformative role in these places. The Designer is set up to have an active voice where the language of its profession is the seed of new life and a new way of thinking about the city: what it is, what it should be, and what the possibilities are through spatial relationships.

An underlying principle to be transferred into situations where multiple factors are unknown is that the Designer can employ a process that speaks to the problem at hand in ways that reconfigure a premise in order to be productive in an outcome. One can approach the givens through professional tools and utilize a language in effective ways that build relationships across boundary lines. Those who will engage in this practice can affect the way space is understood, building on existing connections and beneficial relationships, as well as create new effective proposals. The role is not only to structure a proposition that addresses the design problem through critical analysis and vision, but also to construct the conversation and involve
those willing to be taken through its process. In extreme environments, the relationship between the physical, social and psychological is exposed. There is a discernable effect of one on the other and vice versa. If less perceived, spatial divisions along the lines of class, status, and opportunity become isolating and destructive, then as practitioners in the built environment there is an ethical prerogative to redirect trajectories even in “peaceful” cities.
Epilogue: Personal Statement

The role of the Designer in the midst of chaos (conflict or other), through practice is not to ascribe to hopelessness, but to engage in a process that is transformative, even in its outcome. This pursuit commenced with the ambition to establish that the Architect can improve hostile conditions through the process of design. I believe that the built environment impacts the psychological, emotional, and spiritual ethos of society where design (the practice of and the practitioner) can incite progress, change, and beauty.

The nature of chaos and “disaster” has silenced the profession especially in regions that face chronic instability, shifting political rifts, and prolific cyclical destruction of architecture + city. This research has been the groundwork of a grander hypothesis of how to understand this world beyond the physiological and effectively operate despite forbidding circumstances. The urgency to reposition the role of professional practice was intensified through the experience of post-conflict conditions and through interaction with local design professionals practicing in these fragile environments.

If on the smaller scale, addressing physical division resulting from perceived insecurity can affect reconciliation and thus improve the lives of those critically impacted then spatial practice has an ethical responsibility to consider that role. Notably, there are multiple unknowns and limitations, however, I believe that the architect, urban designer, and planner (as skilled practitioners) is to be conscious (+ engaged) of the critical thresholds and counteract chaotic and hostile conditions with design.
the role of the architect:

*a condensation*
**Glossary**

**bi-communal/ cross-communal** – The inclusion of two distinct communities across the apparent or constructed differences.

**Buffer zone** – The United Nations Buffer Zone in Cyprus runs for more than 112.2 mi along what is known as the Green Line and has an area of 134 sq mi. It partitions the island of Cyprus into a southern area effectively controlled by the government of the Republic of Cyprus (which is the *de jure* government for the entire island save for the British Sovereign Base Areas), and the northern area controlled by the Turkish army.

**complex emergency** – A type of modern conflict that causes the destruction of relationships, including the loss of trust, dignity, confidence and faith in others that process the most far reaching, potent and destructive problem and the most difficult to address.

**conflictive ethos** – A clear picture of the conflict, its goals, its conditions, requirements, and images of one's own group and of the rival that is formed during intractable intergroup conflicts, and enables a society to adapt to the conflict situation, survive the stressful period, and struggle successfully with the adversary.

**conflict terrain** – During war, ethnic boundaries, delineated pre-conflict, according to demographic habitation patterns, become interfaces where confrontations occur and physical partitions are constructed. Partitions are intended to decrease violence and increase the feeling of security; however, these temporary solutions conversely affirm perceived persecutions and become a permanent feature in the landscape.

**conflict transformation** – The process by which conflicts, such as ethnic conflict, are transformed into peaceful outcomes.

**co-presence/ co-awareness** – The raw material for communities to develop; Co-present people are not a community, but they are part of the raw material for community, which may in due course become activated, and can be activated if it becomes necessary.

**[Design]** – The professional practice of urban planning, urban design, and architecture dealing with space and design.

**design schemes** – In the design project, different alternatives of interventions in Nicosia.

**Dynamic-interpretive mapping** – A way of understanding the dynamics of civil war in Belfast, Nicosia, and Beirut through the merging of historical analysis in space and diagramming.

**encounter** – In reconciliation, the physical meeting of the other previously isolated from.

**Enosis** – The Greek campaign for unification: the movement of the Greek-Cypriot population to incorporate the island of Cyprus into Greece.
ethnic enclaves – or ethnic neighborhood is a neighborhood, district, or suburb which retains some cultural distinction from a larger, surrounding area.

ethnic identity – The members of a group distinguished by a distinctive history, culture, and/or language.

ethnic war – or ethnic conflict is a type of identity conflict between ethnic groups often as a result of ethnic nationalism.

Greenline/ Green Line – Green Line (Cyprus), a cease fire line between the Republic of Cyprus and the Turkish Occupied Zone. Green Line (Lebanon), a line of demarcation in Lebanon between Christian and Muslim militias in Beirut during the Lebanese Civil War

homogenization/ homogenizing effect – During conflict, a process that involves breaking apart from mixed neighborhoods and moving into neighborhoods with the same ethnic identity.

Hybridization – In genetics, the process of combining different varieties or species of organisms to create a hybrid.

Hybrid-programming – In the design project, combining two different programs to create a hybrid.

identity war/ identity conflicts – Conflict where individual identity is the elemental foundation, driven by human emotions rather than logic, strategy, or the understanding of principles for a foreseeable end. They do not always appear to have clear goals or objectives, but rather manifest in a fragmented and chaotic nature. The combatants are civilians driven by their own personal sense of justice, making it difficult to harness their energy into a well-disciplined and organized fighting force.

Impulse sites – Sites delineated in Nicosia’s Buffer zone as areas to catalyze activity, motivated by cross-community integration.

insurgent movements – Consisted of independence movements, guerilla warfare, political rebellions, socialist revolutions, national liberation struggles, counterinsurgency campaigns, and separatist and irredentist crusades.

interface riots – Riots that occur along the interfaces of two different communities caused by historic hostility of the other.

intervention – An action that intervenes on the current state of the site.

Mason-Dixon Line – A barbed-wire fence dividing two communities, the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots built by the British security forces; a precursor to the Green Line.
mediating intervention – An intervention on a site that is a physical partition to become a site that can be occupied by the separated communities.

mental barriers – hostility that exists in the mind against the other, preventing integration and mixing of the demographics.

Peacewalls – or peace lines are a series of separation barriers in Northern Ireland that separate Catholic and Protestant neighborhoods.

Pocket zones – In the design project, a part of the Coalesce scheme, are areas along the Buffer zone appropriated for adjacent community use and transitioned safety zones precluding the sharing of the Buffer zone.

psychological divide – Beyond physical division, the divide that occurs between two ethnic communities after conflict that allows their separation to continue. It is a mixture of psychological responses: memories, emotional hurt, etc. that result from intractable conflict.

psychological hybridization – The creation of a unitary experience of space with the “other” through co-presence of two previously isolated communities.

psychological space – The non-physical space that is occupied by one’s mental state.

reconciliare – The term “reconcile” comes from late Middle English: Latin, reconciliare; from Latin re- 'back' (also expressing intensive force) + conciliare, 'bring together'. To bring back together.

Reconciliare-space – The psychological-physical site of an engaged and shared nature employing the process outlined underneath the Urban Reconciliatory Framework with these characteristics:

Social-Conflict Transformation
i. Cross-community initiative
ii. Mutually beneficial
iii. Neutral activity

Urban Landscape Transformation
i. Public /common space
ii. Equally accessible
iii. Adaptive territory: the re-interpretation of divisions that reinvents space for bi-communal occupation, becoming an important factor of a new identity that can be appropriated by both sides.

Reconciliare territory – The physical site(s) incorporating Reconciliare-space.

reconciliation – to meet again.

reconciliatory role – The proposed role that design and the Designer can assume to be effective in post-conflict environments. A role that uses tools to bring back together divided groups.
reconciliatory space – see Reconciliare-space.

social stimulus – Something external that influences social activity.

spatial practice – The professional practices: urban planning, urban design and architecture that address the critical understanding of spatial design by examining progressive space/place (re)generation strategies.

stimulus – In physiology, something external that influences an activity.

synchoresis – The Greek word for forgiveness: means together in the same place, in the heart.

synchoro – The Greek word for forgive; made up of the verb choro, meaning to occupy a space or place and the prefix syn, which simply means together; to exist in the same place is to forgive.

Territorial conflict – Violent conflict between two or more organized groups one or more of which claims to represent part of the state itself. The struggle is for control of state institutions and/or territory within sovereign boundaries (though there may be outside intervention).

Trinitarian war – Combat dictated by the state, conducted by military, on behalf of its people presided over international military relations until midcentury, followed by insurgent movements until the end of the 1980s.

Urban Concept Models – In the design project, conceptual models + design scheme + urban conditions. The design models that combine the conditions of the city with ideas about design intervention to achieve Reconciliare-space.

urban matter – All of the components that make up a city, within its boundaries.

Urban Reconciliatory Framework – The developed operational framework for spatial practice to engage reconciliation concepts in divided cities.

war trauma – The individual and communal trauma caused by war: including psychological and emotional injuries.
Figures Sources


Figure 2  Petridou, Agni. *Policy of intervention* [map]. Scale not given. “Nicosia Master Plan: A bi-communal initiative to change the image of the divided city of Nicosia.” Workshop on sustainable and healthy urban transport and planning, Nicosia, Cyprus, November 16-18, 2003.

Figure 3  Petridou, Agni. *Rehabilitation Policy* [map]. Scale not given. “Nicosia Master Plan: A bi-communal initiative to change the image of the divided city of Nicosia.” Workshop on sustainable and healthy urban transport and planning, Nicosia, Cyprus, November 16-18, 2003.

Figure 4  Takara Tada - Author

Figure 5  Takara Tada - Author

Figure 6  Takara Tada - Author

Figure 7  Takara Tada - Author

Figure 8  Takara Tada - Author
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Appendix A: Alternative Experience
1.0 Introduction

1.1 Thesis Statement: Doctor of Architecture I

At the end of the Spring semester of 2010, the question that remained was: What is the role of design in post-conflict cities where segregation and isolation has been manifested in spatial divisions? The result of research posed that the built environment has impacts and to be ignorant of the historic and current context would have negative implications that could affect the perceived vulnerability of social divisions left by the impact of violence and war. In addition, non-action would have destructive implications.

1.2 Professional Studio: Alternative Experience

The role of the Alternative Experience project would fill the void that remote research could not explore. The content of this research project is focused on interviews with local planners, architects and academics from Belfast, Northern Ireland aimed to document their: 1. Involvement in their city as designers, 2. Their perspectives and views of the roles they assume, 3. The impact and potential of how design can foster reconciliation, 4. Views of the primary social issues in Belfast, and 5. Assessment of current design projects that are ‘successful’ and ‘unsuccessful’ within a developed framework. Select interviews were transcribed and different reoccurring themes were highlighted. Personal thoughts and notes were interjected as transcription was taking place to track the evolution of this thesis.

1.3 Methodology

A standard list of questions was prepared pre-interview as a guide. These questions were asked, but not generally followed. The interviews that took place were conversations around current and previous work that each person was involved with, therefore, not all questions were relevant or addressed. Summaries of some of the interviews occur when the details were not pertinent to the research and summaries would be sufficient to record themes and views. From the interviews a main analysis chart that sorted through reoccurring themes was organized. The chart is meant to highlight similarities across interviewees as well as discuss similarities and differences of the thesis of the Doctor of Architecture I research document. This serves as a development piece as D. Arch I progresses alongside the Alternative Experience research project. Design projects serve as illustrations to the themes in accordance to the themes that were discussed.

2.0 Contents

3.0 Timeline of AE
4.0 Profiles and Interviews [key: themes, insight, context, resonance]
5.0 Emphasized Themes [theme, definition, interpretation]
6.0 Project Analysis
3.0 Alternative Experience Timeline

Prior to arriving in Belfast, a first round of interviews were scheduled in Boston, U.S., with Harvard Professor Hashim Sarkis and the directors of the Institute of International Development. Through the IIUD, a research post at Queen’s University was coordinated in the School of Planning, Architecture, and Civil Engineering. The following is the schedule of interviews that were conducted up until the end of the two months that were spent in Belfast, Northern Ireland.

September 2010

13: Arrival in Boston
15: Meeting with Hashim Sarkis
20: Meeting with John Driscoll and Francois Vigier
21: Arrival in Dublin, bus to Belfast, Northern Ireland
23: Dinner with Karen Keaveney and Planning Department
24: Lunch with Karen, Eileen, and Joanna city walk about
25: City bus tour
27: Meeting with Karen Keaveney (Mentor)
29: Meeting with Professor Ken Sterrett/ Skype Spencer
30: Tour of Peacelines

October 2010

1: Present to Karen’s Urban Design studio
4: Meeting with Brendan Murtagh
6: Meeting with Frank Gaffikin
7: Meeting with Karim Hadjri
8: Skype
18: Teach Block Design workshop
19: Block Design pt. II
20: Meeting with Trisch Morgan
21: To Armagh for ICLRD Dinner
24: Meeting with Mark Hackett
25: Meeting with Stuart Lavery

November 2010

2: Suffolk tour with Stuart Lavery
3: To Londonderry
4: Londonderry self-tour
8: Skype
10: Meeting with Gavan Rafferty
16: Leave Belfast for Dublin Seminar
17: Dublin Seminar on Sustainability issued of Ireland/N. Ireland
4.0 Interviews

The following interviews are organized in chronological order. Those included in this document were based on relevant credentials (practicing professionals) and their involvement in advancing cross-community collaboration. Each interview has been color coded based on themes that were recurrent; lessons from experience; differences of conflict and results; and finally, comments that were of personal resonance, which correlated to prior research (Section I). These interviews are a large component of the developed framework (Section II).

After the duration in Northern Ireland, the time spent in Nicosia and Beirut is included as summaries. The contacts in these areas have been considered, however the main goal is to assess the major developments that have occurred in both cities.

4.1 Hashim Sarkis:

Hashim Sarkis received his B.Arch and B.F.A from the Rhode Island School of Design in 1987, his M.Arch with distinction from the Harvard University Graduate School of Design (GSD) in 1989, and his PhD in architecture from Harvard University in 1995. Prior to establishing his own practice in 1998, Sarkis worked for several design firms, including for Rafael Moneo on the souks project of Beirut. He was also programs director of Plan B, a non-profit organization involved in improving the quality of the built environment in Lebanon and the Middle East.

Since 1995, Sarkis has been on the faculty of the GSD, where he teaches design studios and courses in the history and theory of architecture. In 2002, he was appointed the first Aga Khan Professor of Landscape Architecture and Urbanism in Muslim Societies at the GSD. Sarkis also directs the GSD’s Aga Khan Program. In the past, Sarkis was a lecturer at MIT’s Department of Architecture and a research associate in MIT’s Department of Urban Studies and Planning. He has taught studios at RISD and Yale University and has been visiting lecturer at the American University of Beirut and the Metropolis program in Barcelona.

He is the author of several books and articles including Circa 1958: Lebanon in the Pictures and Plans of Constantinos Doxiadis (Beirut: Dar Annahar, 2003), co-editor with Eric Mumford of Josep Lluis Sert: The Architect of Urban Design (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), editor of CASE: Le Corbusier’s Venice Hospital (Munich: Prestel, 2001), co-editor with Peter G. Rowe of Projecting Beirut (Munich: Prestel, 1998), and executive editor of the CASE publication series (GSD/Prestel). Sarkis has served on several international juries and has lectured extensively throughout the world.

Interview Summary:

Harvard GSD, Gund Hall 311  
2:30 pm – 2:50 pm  
Wednesday, September 15, 2010  

I met with Hashim, who was meeting with a student when I arrived about the same topic: post-conflict cities and reconciliation.
Hashim is from Beirut and worked on a project there while he was attending MIT. He also worked on a project in Berlin.

Q: Was there any similarities of Beirut and Berlin that was unique to their environment, being a post-conflict city?
Hashim: None.

In Berlin, the similarity was the scale of the plan and the goal to create a common space in hopes that peace would come. For Berlin, they measured its ‘success’ by “they built it, and the people came.”

For Beirut, the difference was in the dynamics of economy – at the time of the project in Beirut, Dubai was growing and Beirut’s economy was decreasing. What carried over to the challenges in the planning of Beirut was the division of the wealthy and the poor, which was a problem before the war.

Hashim worked on the reconstruction of housing for rural areas, and he talked about the issues of access to common areas and the dichotomy between the rural and urban areas – “the haves and have not’s.”

The current environment in Beirut still carries the dilemma of perception, where one group will not go into a certain neighborhood because of one’s perception of vulnerability.

“The war was not initially about ethnic groups...but politics?”

Q: What was unique to the environment in Beirut?
Hashim: The spatial division and the new concept of the real-estate environment that resulted (as a boost), called the Big Plan.

Division lines are currently about wealth.

Q: what potential does the built environment have in envisioning a common idea of city/space?
Hashim: Access to common areas.

Q: What is the necessity of involving the community in the process of design?
Hashim: Beirut does not have participatory planning. The importance of getting the community involved is not about design, but to create an awareness of entitlement to public space, that people do not have.

Q: What is the potential of the profession to be a reconciliatory tool?
Hashim: Social problems not solved by architecture, but the content of architecture has to expose that the conflict is over territory /turf. There is a tough relationship between identity and architecture and its influence and impact.

[** I think he was saying that maybe his writings create awareness of the issues, but the projects, maybe not. He teaches, writes, lectures, and he couldn’t make the connection in his work and the issues, as an architect. There is no participatory planning in Beirut.
He directed me toward: London school of economics – Beirut Normal, writing about the last question. He also suggested that I should contact the American University of Beirut: Mona Harp and Mona Fawaz in the planning department.

** Potential goals in design, D.ARCH II (own notes/analysis): creating access to common areas/...creating awareness to the entitlement of urban space.]
François Vigier is the president of the Institute for International Development, a not-for-profit research group specializing in urban development in developing and transitional economies. He is also a founding Director of the International Centre for Local and Regional Development.

A member of the Harvard faculty since 1962 and Chairman of the Department of Urban Planning and Design from 1992 to 1998, he is the Charles Dyer Norton Professor of Regional Planning emeritus at the Harvard Graduate School of Design where he directed the School’s Center for Urban Development Studies from 1987 to 2005. He has been responsible for numerous planning and design projects in the United States, Europe, the Middle East, North Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean. His international activities have focused on building local capacity to manage a sustainable urban environment. Professor Vigier is also an expert in the preservation of the non-monumental cultural heritage, notably the rehabilitation of the medina of Fez, medieval Baku and, most recently, Old Damascus. He has also pioneered the creation of an inter-active database on the Old City of Jerusalem. In 1995, he was made a Knight of the National Order of Merit (France).

John Driscoll is a vice president of the Institute for International Urban Development and serves as Director of the International Centre for Local and Regional Development in Armagh, Northern Ireland. He is also a research fellow at the Harvard University Joint Center for Housing Studies. As a planner interested in housing, urban management and community development he has worked with central and local authorities and community groups in transition societies and economies in Albania, Bulgaria, Egypt, Jordan, Kosovo, Poland, Romania, South Africa and the United States. He is actively engaged in developing and teaching professional education programs for urban planners and managers and has been involved in courses at the Harvard Graduate School of Design, the World Bank, the Central European University and the Soros Foundation funded Local Government Initiative in Budapest.

Affiliated with the Harvard Graduate School of Design since 1989, John Driscoll was a Lecturer in Urban Planning (1997-2001); a Senior Research Associate of the Center for Urban Development Studies (1989-2005) and its Assistant Director (1997-2005). Working closely with local teams in different cities, he has assisted in the formulation of city development, planning and local economic development strategies, community based development projects and large-scale neighborhood regeneration projects, and he has conducted numerous urban program policy reviews and research studies.

**Shared Interview Transcription:**

Frank: the civil war has left a lot of scars. What is interesting is that historically Beirut has always roughly roughly half between Christians and Muslims and maybe a little more because of Palestinian refugees on the outskirts of the city. But what happened with the civil war, is that you, the northern part of the city became 100% Christians and the southern part became 100%
Muslim. And each of them, because of the length of time that the city was divided, each of them built a city center. So you have two city leagues now and the area in between which they reconstructed quite elegantly, actually, lots of restoration of French colonial cities, which is quite handsome, but it's dead because it used to be the CBD...(enter in John Driscoll)

Frank: Talking about Beirut... and uh, it was never able to re-mend, to reconnect, and the old CBD, is quite delicate, is really dead. And that’s an interesting situation and once you break a system apart it’s very difficult to knit it back together, particularly when the two halves of the city have been divided for so long. And the civil wars in the 90s, early 90’s, I think 95, civil war...as far as reconnection was not until the early 2000s, at least ten years that the city was divided.

John: There's also something which goes beyond the physical issue, and that is the social network that allowed it to work the way it did before doesn't exist anymore. Orders or it shifts dramatically, so in the case of Ireland, (I) remember that wonderful community worker that, (at) our conference, got up and talked about the lost generation, so it was a generation that knew each other informally, or through, kind of third space context – shopping through the market together. But then after the Troubles, because of the huge distrust that begun to solidify between opposing groups, it’s very hard, very difficult to go back and it takes time, so I think, that's in the small connected towns work, Caroline was leading, that was the interesting part of it. Romantically people say, well they would like to go back to the old pre-Troubles days, but interestingly, now the issue at a regional level is that small towns don’t have the same role to play anymore. You know, while the war goes on in Beirut, meanwhile, off the growth goes in the suburbs and why do we need the center anymore? So, I mean these are kinds of, it’s much more than the physical nature of reconnecting.

Q: So how have you incorporated the two, I guess in planning or design, and also that aspect of reconciliation, or what is the potential, in your experience?

Frank: We haven’t done it at that interesting level...

John: No, we haven’t done it at that level.

Frank: It would be very interesting, I would love for us to get involved in that, particularly at the neighborhood level, I mean, as you will see in the sort of lower end, working class neighborhoods, a lot of which are rather quaint, uh, I guess early 20th century pre-WWI definitely, uh a little bit after WWI social housing which is row housing, brick, ....very tight 2 story, very small streets, which are odd, and then, go down the street and then there’s a hiatus, and there’s burnt houses and no man’s land, there’s even these walls...

John: Peacewalls, if we’re speaking of Belfast...

Frank: ... we’re talking of Belfast. And then on the other side...it’s no longer the same thing. It’s still divided. And uh, I would love to see if there would be ways to sort of reconstruct that, but you would have to do it, it’s not a design problem it’s a political and social engineering problem that you’d have to work with the communities have an interest on the part of the communities before you could start to knit it back together. And it’s the, um, the same thing in Beirut, yeah, you do have the sort of the Christian and Muslim elite that have dinner at separate tables and Four Seasons hotels, which is still sort of the neutral ground in a way, your very sort of luxurious hotels, but the two CBDs - go shop on their side...and go that way, it’s a habit that’s been locked.
John: Well, that’s true. In terms of what you’ll find, I mean the good thing about you going to Queen’s is that you have people there, Brendan Murtagh, and a few others I mentioned to you in the email are actually trying to, and also given your background and interest in design, are working at that scale, or trying to. So, I think I can just talk to you and email you and Frank along, after I’ve been to a studio review of the classes, of three classes looking at three different neighborhoods, maybe it was four because everything you do is even, you know, two Catholic, two protestant, and I can’t quite remember, but, the students were playing with these ideas about connectivity between the two and how do they link into the city center, so some, many of the issues are the same issues that you would face here in south Boston, if I took you downtown. There is the layer of the Troubles on top of that. The violent side is hopefully gone, although there is still things that happen now and then, so it’s interesting now that in Ireland, I think, you’re almost talking about trying to knit, if you’re talking about reinventing neighborhoods, regenerating neighborhoods, dealing with conflict, you’re almost using the same techniques you would be here, if you were trying to deal or reconcile two tough neighborhoods together in Boston.

Frank: Well, I mean there were, ten years ago, what was the name of that shopping center they built in no man’s land between the African community and the Irish community,

John: Great Bay, or,

Frank: Back Bay...

John: Every time I come back here from Armagh, I forget everything here in Boston...it takes me about two weeks

Frank: ...and it was built and...it was a remnant...it was a very interesting mood because both communities lacked the stores that sells stuff more cheaply, which are sort of the box, and the big box and uh, so from food to clothing, and they sort of built this shopping center in between the two communities and the two communities went there, a great deal cheaper.

John: That was probably the most mixing that ever occurred between, in the south end of ...in South Boston.

Q: Do you think there’s, could you describe the type of environment that is layered with the Troubles, and with other post-conflict cities? Because I have been researching, but I can’t really get that sense of uniqueness of, and intervention or design when you have another layer of post-conflict, maybe in their mindset or their perception of the other group or, is there anything definable about that type of environment? Working and practicing?

John: You mean the Troubles, you mean after conflict? Well, it goes back to what I think, what we were saying earlier, that there are relationships before the conflict. After the conflict those relationships are very hard to put back together again. It’s because of cycles of hurt and mistrust and, so my, what I’ve learned in this work, is that I call it, is what margin of maneuver do we have as planners and designers or social workers, whatever you’re doing in this work and in many ways the margin of maneuver you have shifts with the political context. When the political context works a little better and widens out then you have more room to do things. Then you have more room to kind of create opportunities for the communities to talk to each other, to work together, interesting question, when I ask this question to community workers one Catholic, one Protestant
community social worker in Stroke City, Stroke City is Derry or Londonderry, and I asked the Protestant one and the Catholic will you be cooperating, because there’s two interface areas between them, they said, well it’s actually our work at the community level that creates the allows the politicians to work together. If there wasn’t the acceptance on our side then nothing would have happened. But this is where, I think if you’re going back to, kind of the issues, it’s hard to generalize, but for example, in that area that I’m talking about in Derry, there’s the Catholic neighborhood, the Protestant neighborhood, the shopping center in between, in an old school site up here. The really interesting thing is that the minister, because the, who’s in charge, has housing under her portfolio wanted to do a shared futures project here for housing, so 50/50 or whatever proportionate housing. Now, you would think there would be you know, a politically very nice idea, well the problem was, the Protestant population is declining, the Catholic population is increasing over here, middle income neighborhood is growing over here. The only trouble with the shared housing is that they actually work well in neighborhoods that are already integrated and fairly tolerant. They don’t work as well here because all of a sudden people on both sides are going to be making sure that there’s an equal number of units for each of them. So all of a sudden what is supposed to be a project that helps to bring people together actually creates the opportunity

[**thoughts: the post-conflict environment is further complicated by broken relationships/mistrust with a unique reorganization of its city fabric (sometimes in homogenous patterns) that have their own sensitive minefields that can rehash anxieties that were formed from violence and the breaking of social networks. The resultant society that is spatially divided, for ‘security’ measures will be places that continue to operate in mistrust and by nature have ‘buttons’ that can be pushed from outside and inside pressures. The way needs and ‘problems’ are met in these communities, as well as the ways decisions are made that affect more than the individual, but multiple people can help to ameliorate or as well disturb and cause new problems for the divided groups. Thus any decision about space/territory, planning and architecture that affects those living in its vicinity will have effects that can potentially add fuel to the ‘fire.’ Thus one cannot be neutral or ignorant, but in context know the issues, know the ‘buttons’ and know where the thresholds lie economically, socially, and politically if he or she wants to cause a positive effect. Design cannot be devoid of context but, its underpinnings may be destructive, or ‘progressive’ or rather useless.]

...for them to be...and so really what we are suggesting them is that this project, we were reinforcing what other people were saying, it should be about creating learning centers, sports grounds, whatever it is that brings together, creates opportunities for these kids to be together and have contact. Because the other issue, which will change depending where you are, is in Ireland you have this ridiculous system that these go to one school and these go to another school. And it will change because, I’m sure they won’t be able to support it.

Frank: Yeah, and that, I think is the, what really makes the situation in Ireland particularly difficult.
John: I've been trying to work with Queen’s, and create opportunities to work with them, around these issues, which um, more at the neighborhood level. University of Ulster is our main partners. Their focus is much more on property.

[John on what to involve me in …projects: (if get funding to go into a town and do some planning to address the issue of shared space – one of the border cities that are researched – Caroline heading the project.) Belfast will be a living laboratory – Belfast view) in Ireland, big walls with nets on walls – it’s a class issue (outside of Belfast. John did a study in housing – in the border region has a different manifestation...]

...border cities, class division, in Belfast is still the group division.

Frank: Planners did what they did, and you put up walls and unfortunately they become permanent.

John: There are large civic projects which have the capability of playing a catalytic role, to get neighborhoods to talk to each other, and the issue of open space…you sense now that things are changing in Belfast. If you know the name, you know the religion...where he’s from...there is the jersey...The larger political climate has gotten better, so the discussion can happen on the neighborhood scale. There are larger civic spaces – Crumlin jail, sitting right smack...

Frank: Symbolically important: that’s where the IRA were incarcerated

John: That’s where the hang man worked

Frank: And it was always a contentious space because, it’s a civil prison which was run by the military and the IRA prisoners claimed they were prisoners of war, subject to the Geneva convention. A very complex issue.

John: There’s two jails: if I remember, there’s one in the city, surrounded by older working class neighborhoods. And then there’s one a little further out, which is the one where the IRA guys, where they would throw poop on the walls and would claim they weren’t prisoners: they were political prisoners. That one was supposed to be, I think the second one was supposed to be turned into a stadium site. There was a lot of controversy over that. So it was interesting because it ended up, the debate, the public debates were around the same issues you would find here, like when Boston wanted to build a stadium in the town, there was a huge debate in the neighborhoods. There is a little bit, in Northern Ireland an unspoken way that you get through things now, it’s almost the way that families live together in a small town, like where my wife is from, there are certain things you don’t say. So they get along, you know? In some ways, some of these issues between, the underlining of it, there is a political dimension, there is an eth. Well, really politics and religion go hand in hand. But it’s not always set. And only a few brave souls can...So I think what you can, the practical side for you, depending on your own kinds of interest, chat with Queen’s, and work with them on development issues, and you’ll see things that could be interesting projects for you.

[We were doing case studies of projects in the North and South...studies...
Q: What do you think the role is of participatory planning, and the role of getting the community involved? I heard in Beirut they don’t have that? Aiding in the process of design and possibly addressing the problem of social division? Do those two...creating a meeting place for the community that might be divided to be involved?

Frank: I think that, one way that you could abstract it, is to forget about religious, forget about independent from Britain, it's the same thing in Beirut, you forget about if you're Muslim or Christian, which Christian are you, and if your Muslim, are you Sunni or Shi'a, if you know, Shi'a, you are very much descendants... ...but I think that before you can sort of knit a community together [36 min.], **first of all you have to find out whether they are at all interested, or and then the second is what are the neutral activities from which each would draw some benefits and which they would not have without it.** That’s the question. I think the problem with the Solidere Plan of Beirut was that it was a plan; it was driven by wanting to maximize real estate value. And therefore sort of picking activities which were only of interest for a very small segment of the population on each side of the divide. If you build a Hermes store, who could afford it? Top 2%, 5% of the population, and they prefer to go to Paris, to go to the real thing. So, it's very difficult to find activities which are desired, which there are no other location.

John: There are a couple of tiers of projects and ideas that come to mind. Frank’s familiar with this one too, it was part of the peace process. The right provost, or whatever his formal title was, a gentleman we met, who was trying to help us in the early days, was trying to build a community center or a community college in the buffer zone between Shankhill and Falls road where the Protestant and Catholic communities are and it had the potential to go somewhere, because it was a third level institution as they call them, a university, and that’s really, in Northern Ireland, where the two Catholics and Protestants finally meet up, schools of higher education are integrated. And, so it had a lot of interest, but I think what happened was there was change in the provost leadership at the University of Ulster and the new Provost got nervous, and was essentially killed. Which also goes to show that you have to be really careful with these large projects, good advice from Patty Heart, who works for the international fund for Ireland, who’s been very supportive of our work, when we’re talking about these two small towns of Strovon and Lifford, who are across the river from each other. When he first started working there, he came up with a great saying, “We realized that we had to build the pillars on each side of the bridge before we could build the bridge.” And a lot of I think the problem with the reconciliation projects which by donors are being done in the time of crisis want high visibility, they want to kick the brick they want something that says, “everything’s fine,” and yet they are not really projects that are based on trying to find mutual meaning, real demand, something that’s out there that’s necessary...

Frank: (summary) Urban landscape, it can range from a soccer pitch to a baseball diamond, it’s almost always good to create some order ...there is a clear need for orchestration...we did this project, between 3 conflicting areas...the first consensus, clean up the canals, build a nice railing, then create open spaces – in the 60s, and 30 years later, they survived and were beautiful, it survived, so I think **there are interventions that sort of, they should be the first step to something else, it’s not an end of itself, they may be the first pillar that you use to anchor your bridge...**

John: There’s a, you’ll see when people take you around in Belfast, there’s some interesting projects. Groundworks has been doing a lot of work on landscape, but unfortunately, in essence
what they’re doing is a little bit of a rear guard action, because as the Protestant population, inner city population declines, rather than opening up these units to Catholics, what happens is that there are more or less boarded up, left to decline, and then at one point, you say, well, we'll just take this down and make it a nice landscape garden. So, it almost becomes a buffering exercise rather than an integrated exercise. And they will admit that, but they also have done some very interesting work going into the communities uh, which are, you know, you can imagine a place like Belfast, you get many neighborhoods, large areas of public housing, you’re dealing with a tough, really tough groups. And they went in and they started work on murals, and you’ll see lots of murals and to repaint the murals from the provocation (Frank: celebration)...yeah, well said, and if the housing executive who was the landlord is the largest landlord in Europe now, they have 70,000 units. If they went in there, it would have been a confrontational situation. But here, groundwork is an NGO largely lead, largely with, they’re largely Anglican, you know, so they can move around in the Protestant community and the Catholic community, anyways. Been able to introduce this program with community leaders to change the murals, so, and now they’re doing work, and that’s why we’re interested in, we’re going to be doing this, hopefully if we get the funding to do this work with them, in the border region. So going back to the earlier conversation with Frank there is a real interest on our part in trying to work more at the neighborhood level. We just haven’t necessarily had the skill set, among ourselves, some of us do have it, but the work hasn’t been in that direction. So...

Frank: I think another area which we’re thinking about, is what age do children choose sides, certainly by drinking age, because it’s a choice to go up...

John: Yeah but it’s the smoking band that caused them to be outside all together on the bottom of the street...

Frank: That’s true, but I was thinking about the whole issue, it’d be done very successfully in neighborhoods, particularly in Brazil, is the new nature internet café equivalent, where they can sort of have access to internet, because they don’t necessarily have access at home. And at the same time it’s a way to learn new skills, and if it’s acceptable to both, it’s kind of neutral ground. And where do computer games start to do things together.

John: That’s interesting, you can see, some of those internet cafes, when I was in Bulgaria, where there were 12 stations, you walk in and there’s 6 guys on this side and 6 guys on that side and they’re all battling each other.

Frank: But they’re doing it in cyberspace

John: And they’re all wearing black jackets...

Frank: I think this whole issue of common activity is

John: That’s what it’s pointing to. Which can change in scale...

Frank: Change in scale, change in neighborhood, I think it should be age oriented, because I think the most distressing aspect about the Irish situation is the religious segregation of the school system. I know that there are problems outside of the schools ....and so forth, it’s not the ideal environment, but it’s still a place ....where you have to perform for, not for your friends, but for ... ... and I think that’s good.... (? 49 min)
John: In Ireland there are a lot of programs to try to address some of these issues that Frank’s raising, but they’re actually probably dying out in terms of funding because European funding is moving away from that and it’s still this whole issue, fundamental issue of the kids being in two separate schools.

Q: How did you get involved? What are your goals for next 5 years?

[Summary…]

Frank: Gentlemen from Ireland were interested in promoting, in biomedical research, both at Harvard. Talked in South of Boston. Interested in Spatial planning. In the beginning used the name of Harvard.

John: It was an asset, but had to manage asset carefully. Over emphasized…promoted, instead, serving an internal need…to much of an emphasis…the role, as an institute, as an outside, insider…have a margin of maneuver that others might not.

Frank: And it’s interesting, to get on board, and took 4 years, they were very suspicious.

John: Small projects, in the border region…how do rural areas work in economy, border regions could learn from others. Helped local governments move forward.

The underpinning, you have to find mutual benefit…to me, how the space is being used and taken care of is a measure of success…that’s the hard slogging work, identifying what is that mutual need. Part of the work we’re doing academically is to talk about issues such as functional territories, now this is more at the planning side, but it’s really expected issue that you’ll come across, I think you’ll be thinking about it at the city scale side, you know, you create functional, you start to find functional territories because they move, whatever the function is, it could be water, it could be retail, or catchment areas, it could be geography shaped by landscape, it moves beyond administrative boundaries. The same issue that you might be interested in at the city scale, at the neighborhood scale. You’re talking about finding uses that are of interest to both neighborhoods. Then, depending on the scale of the intervention, if you are talking about a big stadium, that’s integrating the whole city for ten matches a year, or whatever. Depends on what, if it’s a concert, then, there’s Irish football, there’s soccer, and then there’s traditional sports along religious lines. But anyway, there’s convention centers that bring people together, things have changed a lot in N. Ireland, and this is maybe the larger issue I think if you are comparing Beirut to Ireland or even to post- apartheid in South Africa. I think there is a cultural element that you got to get a hold of in some ways, and then there is this notion of how much room do you maneuver, do you have to do something based on the larger local context, if you don’t have a lot of official room to maneuver, then the room you’re maneuvering in is personal. It’s the good relationships in good working, and that’s when you see small effective good leadership come out at the local level to do something, it’s that brave soul who says I’m going to go work on that, you know, from South Boston, that says I’m going to go work with that group in Dorchester.

Once, in Boston, when Mayor Flynn came in, it kind of broadened the discussion a little bit and people felt that this guy from South Boston had an understanding and a broader interest in all the neighborhoods then all of a sudden, I think that changed the discussion that occurred on the ground and the administrative officers could then become more involved. A little bit of what we...
do through our conferences is try to create a policy dialogue in a room, a safe place where these
types of discussions can occur and that language becomes acceptable.

When we started ICLRD, we began to run things, there’s terminology you know, such as, gosh, I
even wrote this up and I can’t find it, just even spatial planning, cross-border planning,
collaborative framework, non-statutory planning, these are all terms people use more openly
now than they used to before. And as we learn ourselves, going back to personal things about
how are things going...I mean in Europe for example, you find the same kinds of issues. So that’s
helpful because I think what happens is when you, you look at some places in isolation, Northern
Ireland or Beirut, it starts to take on its own special dimension which isn’t necessarily helpful. You
know while you need to accept it, and I’ll give you an example: Mona, you know, and I was
teaching with her, doing a training for counselors and officials in South Africa, she asked me to do
Albania. I worked a lot there in urban and rural migration, and squatter areas...so, why Albania,
Mona? And the same reason she used Brazil to talk about corruption. Because if you can
somehow show people that they’re not as unique as they think they are, then they can begin to
kind of think outside the box. So, because there’s, this area is a very interesting area, you know,
and it hasn’t, going back to the personal reflection for interest in the future, it’s an area that the
whole peace and reconciliation process has been dominated really, by the political dialogue. It’s
more about human rights, it’s more about voting, it’s more about kind of democratic processes,
and all these things which...(Frank: poverty too)...and it’s about poverty, but no one really looks at
it from that point of view. If you look at peace and reconciliation programs, they aren’t too
focused on political structures/political processes. There’s no one really, kind of, there aren’t that
many people that are taking a systematic look at what’s the role of local and regional
development, of economic activities, and how space and planning and design can contribute to
that. There’s not that many people doing it systematically. So that, when this all kind of started,
and Frank and I had an interest in it, it, you know, for me, personally, I can tell you, it’s why I get
on a plane, you know, every three weeks to a month. I don’t necessarily want to be on a plane
every three weeks to a month. It’s a really interesting area. And you have people over there who
in Ireland and elsewhere who are interested in this.

Now, we’ve talked about could we take these lessons and apply them elsewhere? It’s a little
trickier...we’re thinking about how to do that. You have to be really careful in this work and you’ll
find out in the future not to do the cut and paste...

Frank: Yeah, it’s not a question of cloning what worked, it’s a question of learning from what
worked and therefore devising a new option that would work elsewhere

John: And there’s a, what I find interesting is that a lot of our work, when we’re writing proposals,
I find that people are not talking about the peace and reconciliation side, it’s gone on to, how
we’re going to solve the institutional issues that hamper cooperation, it’s not about peace and
reconciliation, so in other words, the book end, in the Irish context, have moved. (Frank: which is a
good point,) which is very a good sign.

So I think the interesting part, when you go into a place is try to understand it. We, were meeting
with some Cypriots in Ireland, and my colleague said, to the reconstruction and reunification
ministry, and he goes, how many people do you have working in cross border cooperation site,
and he said, well, when we started just after the Troubles, probably 10, now there’s 2000 or more
that are classified as cross-border workers in formal roles, what are called cross-border bodies,
like Inter-trade Ireland, Waterworks Ireland, Food Ireland, or smaller NGOs like...so all that evolved and changed and grown. **Now you can’t just take that and use it in Cyprus because they’re very different.**

Q: You’re still answering that question of...the one, the lessons you take elsewhere...you’re still pondering that?

John: Yeah, that’s something you’re constantly working on...

Q: Because I think for research, that’s always one of, not the goals, but that question of taking something that works, or the lesson, or the lesson of something that hasn’t worked and applying it to someplace else. It seems like it’s always, a unique, a case by case, because of history, and...

John: Well, I think in some ways it is, but I think that’s where **you look at are there principles that you can begin to pull out.** Yeah, comparative work is tough because you’re hoping for some symmetry and it doesn’t always happen in terms of the findings, but maybe if you remove that expectation, it’s okay. Not everything has to line up.

Q: Not everything ever lines up...

John: No, I mean, academics like it to line up, they like it to be neat and tidy. But, you know if you’re doing three cases they all don’t have to line up. But what will be interesting, as you dig around, that maybe some things for you begin to say, well these are common threads. You know, when Mona had me show young, poor, white, Albanians living in squatting camps in South Africa (show in presentation), what she was trying to do was to get the South Africans in the room to understand that even though apartheid contributed to the urban poverty, and even in some cases, the special nature of it, because it was predominantly men, but now, **drawing from the world that both families were moving to urban areas, by showing Albania, they begin to see, oh, this isn’t necessarily because of apartheid this is because of the fact that there are now jobs in urban areas and there are no jobs in rural areas.** And we’ve all now moved full scale into the city hoping to find a job, so that creation of the squatter area, the underlying dynamic is similar in Albania as it was in Egypt, as it was in South Africa. **By showing that, it helped, in our discussion, to the South Africans, who were saying to us, you don’t understand, you haven’t went through apartheid, you know, we’re poor because this is what has happened...**

My very good friend and colleague from roaming, when I lived in Ushie(?), who Frank knows quite well too, when he and I used to teach in Budapest every summer, he’d get up and he’d say, okay, here’s John over here, when he used to come work with us in Romania, he’d come and tell us about different places and how there conflict was, and we’d all say to him, oh well, you just don’t understand Romania, you know, we just came out of the 40 years of Chochesku, we’re just so unique and he said by the time John left we began to understand that we weren’t as unique as we thought we were, in terms of the pressures they were facing with globalization or the...you know all these different things... **that’s where when you’re doing the comparative piece, that’s what you’re looking for in some ways, those types of...the principles of the bigger things that are pushing people to be together. The specificities will vary by location and opportunity.**

[**Some thoughts: what Frank said about the initial cause of the Troubles, or divisions that were splitting people, from the economic side (trying to attract light industry?)...social agency? Education. Themes that people talked about...]**
4.3 Frank Gaffikin:

Frank Gaffikin is Co-Director of the Urban Institute. He has been involved in community development and urban regeneration for a number of years and is the author of several books on the theme of urban regeneration. He is currently carrying out work on the Belfast City Region, Belfast Partnership and the Belfast European Partnership and is doing work with Belfast City Council on economic development.

Frank Gaffikin is Professor of Spatial Planning, at Queen's University, Belfast, one of the UK's leading universities. His research interests include: Planning in Contested Cities; Integrated Planning at Urban & Regional levels; and the Engaged Urban University.

Currently, he is Director of the Institute of Spatial and Environmental Planning (ISEP) in the university's School of Planning, Architecture and Civil Engineering. In addition, he is Director of a major international research project on Contested Cities and Urban Universities (CU2), which has long-standing research links with the Great Cities Institute, UIC. Previously, he was Director of the Urban Institute at the University of Ulster. As part of his engaged research, he has been a senior government adviser on urban regeneration, regional planning and employability. Before being awarded the Stukel Professorship, Frank was a senior research fellow at the Great Cities Institute on several occasions. His long-term comparative research work on urban policy in the US and UK attracted an award of visiting scholarship from the MacArthur Foundation, and of distinguished international scholarship from Kent State University, where he has been a Visiting Professor.

Interview:

Meeting: Wednesday, September 29th, 10:30 a.m.

Second half (after discussion about space and conflict relationship)

Frank Gaffikin, Research Director at Queens University
Planning Department

...we’ve got a conflict, comes down to territory, comes down to space. And planning is about the social ordering of space. So, by deduction, planning cannot...(be neutral) cannot contend that this has nothing to do with us, conflict has nothing to do with us. And planning is going to be central to the conflict, in many ways. And therefore it’s better...for planning and design and all these related issues to say, plainly, we are at the center of the whole, and that puts a challenge out to us about how we address it. It doesn’t mean we have simple answers to it, doesn’t mean the answer to the whole conflict can be found in planning space at all, but it means that there can be ways that you plan that can add or subtract to the trauma of the whole country. And that basic proposition is the one that we try to look at different ways, perhaps to reduce it to one hypothesis if you ask for one, it is: planning can accentuate as much as ameliorate conflict discussed, that’s the basic proposition. That planning inadvertently, not intentionally, can either make the thing worse as much as make it better. But it very rarely has a neutral effect, and therefore it should get away from its neutral pose posture, and become more engaged with the nature of the context in some of...(these days)—the conflict and, so, that may sound obvious you know, to you, right,
but for us here, that, even getting to that argument has been a journey because for a lot of decades, if you picked up old, planning documents here for Belfast, until very recently, you could be forgetting or believing that they’re talking about almost anywhere. They don’t want to acknowledge the nature of certain geography, the nature of divided cities, and so on. They think, we don’t want to get ourselves into controversy here, and at the end of the day, what can be contributed? We’re not skilled to contribute, so why get ourselves into controversy and discourse that we don’t have expertise on it or that we don’t have responsibility for and so on. No, better to contend, we can operate a bit differently. And so, getting to the point where they now more acknowledge that there is an issue, it benefit...and now, once you get to that stage, it still begs the question, okay, now we say, planning is at the heart of it and design and all that goes with it, all of that is directly relevant, you know, how do we respond? Because we went through planning courses and design courses and we were never taught anything about this per say, it’s only more recently in these last courses that these things are being addressed. So what do we do about it? That’s that problem that we’re asking now. Now, I’ll say one last thing, and I’ll show you some more, but one of the things that’s happening in Europe, and maybe to a lesser extent than the United States, for example, where planning has zoning is still very delicate, we have... ...departments out here we refer to as land use plan and it really meant that the job of the planner was seen to be in a situation where they would have a map of the place they were planning, Belfast really, and they’d be looking at you know, the land, and saying you know, what was available here to develop, because develop, I think we are developing, how can we try to ensure its efficient and we got transport corridors, so this plan here might be better then, for industry, and this plan would be better for recreation. How can the proper use of land from something of rational

4:30 **thoughts: what are the questions being asked? This is more about the approach to planning, design, space ordering. In an economically developing society, efficiency and land use has dominated, but now in a conflict society, there a different questions being asked because the nature of conflict and in the most extreme cases, because to the possibility of violence and upheaval that can re-erupt/erupt. So this is also relevant in all cities, because all have conflict. Not to depend on design to solve social issues, but especially in a very socially divided and sensitive (even politically, places on the brink of war) areas, internal violence can erupt, where space, land, territory is at the very heart of either the contested issue, or will be manifested in the fight over areas...causing physical divides, etc. Therefore, more than the political structure, the ‘social organizing of space’ has a role to play, and ethically is responsible to be informed about the historical conflict, immediate context, and the social issues that will be engaged/ignited with the ordering and organizing of space. I.e. Doncairn road – reduction of violence – Groundworks report -Brendan M.]

coherent things, and that’s what planning was thought to be about. Now you’re, there’s an emerging model, haven’t taken full hold, but there’s an emerging model of what’s known as spatial planning. And spatial planning says, no, the problem with the whole style land use plan is: A. it was very political, you know, tentatively that all you need to do is to build things right, the built environment things, right; B. is often reactive. You know is basically out of the potential use of somewhere, but then its kept back and let other agencies come in and decide whether they wanted to take up housing here, it kind of, didn’t look at the whole issue of development in an integrated way, But you can’t look simply at the issue of good housing without thinking about you
know what ... ... for good economic opportunities, good education, good quality of life, good transport, etc. You know often those sides of planning, more than... ... didn’t take that seriously, what we’re looking at here is a comprehensive integrated approach to the developed place, building community is more than building houses. So spatial planning, now says we want something that is more, integrated, more proactive, more about the lighter issues, beyond the physical, more inclusive about the various voices we want to be a part of that, we want participating. And something that is at the end more about creating sustainability, in every sense of the word. Now, if you say to yourself, well, that’s great, where’s that happening? Well, you know it’s not happening in lots of places, but if you pick up European documents about regional development, about urbanism, you start to see that kind of language and argument used. It doesn’t mean you can point to somewhere and say, well there in Paris for example, we’re starting to see, you know, still slowly moving off the ground. But it makes that framework for discourse, that idea of spatial planning, that is different and extremely useful when you’re trying to address these kind of issues. Because it’s more integrative, inclusive, and accepts that there can be real argument and disputes about how land is used and to what affects and so on, then it’s already in that terrain of conflict, and so... But I think, and some people are approaching it you know, you see now in development and things referred to as collaborative planning and the idea of what you got to do when you’re approaching this kind of spatial planning is to get collaboration amongst all the stakeholders from the start. And that it’s not about producing great plans and then saying to everybody, well if they like this or not, but right from the start, building up the plan from that kind of engagement, education and so on, collaborative planning. But on the other hand, I think that there are some problems with collaborative planning, in what we talked about before, you know the assumptions about [things.] the fact they find conflict, [8 min.] difficult to deal with, they find the issue...difficult to deal with, and so on, so, there’s still problems with how that...(follows through?) ... Now there’s some of this framework out there, like global planning, spatial planning, which provides some new space for a more realistic discourse about how we deal with difference. So, anyway that’s sort of a quick intro to some of these issues.
Brendan Murtagh:

Brendan Murtagh is a Reader in Urban Planning at Queen's University Belfast. He is a chartered town planner and has researched and written on spatial planning, urban regeneration and social economics. He has written extensively on Northern Ireland and Belfast.

He has researched and written widely on urban regeneration, conflict and community participation. His recent books include, The Politics of Territory, Segregation, Violence and the City, and Understanding the Social Economy and the Third Sector. He was involved in the development and evaluation of a number of urban regeneration programs in Northern Ireland. Dr. Murtagh is currently the Director of Research in planning at Queens.

Interview:

(On Derry)

It’s one of those complete, fantastic set-ups, 17th century walls anywhere in Western Europe, but it’s a very strongly protestant colonial history, and that being a Catholic-Republican city, they have difficulty coming to terms with that celebration of you know, failure, victory, of what they consider the British conquest. So even though it’s an old busty town, planned and all, very much plantation mined, and has all this fantastic history to it, it’s not something that appears in the city of culture narrative very strongly. Whereas the Republican narrative, where are wall murals, and free Derry coroner, does appear and they’re having difficulty coming to terms with what their culture and what their identity and the design point of view, how you make the best of these walls. There are really, really good. And it’s very, very ...the plan that was used whenever they, Ulster plantation started in early 1608, they had this guy called Oglethorpe who did the plan and Oglethorpe based it on again, very much principles of, you know give me a sec. I’ve been trying to get this research going for a long time, to no effect... ...now, the plantation of Ulster, the original plan for Derry was, ... was the same as they used for Pennsylvania and this guy Oglethorpe, then used it for Savannah and Charleston, and I’ve been trying to do a bit of work ... ... to look at the relationship of Derry and its past and the relationship between Savannah and its slave past. Cause they’re both colonialist cities, they’ve both used the same plan, and they both have awkward things in their history that they find difficulty coming to terms with. There’s a really good book, ... the Garden of Good and Evil, it’s about Savannah and about its murder slave past there’s a whole range of things there, that’s actually Derry there (pointing to map), that’s the old town they call a city, and those are the walls and the ... and they got this peace monument that some would say that the hands never touch. Got so far, and not going any further. And then they got this, I think it’s here, that statement, Derry’s walls you know, how the protestants celebrate the walls and the siege of Derry was just protestant conquest of Ulster and the British conquest of Ulster and then you got these other walls here and they spend their time rioting with one another, it’s really a bit...yeah, they got this new bridge, supposed to be these arms crossing, it’s called a peace bridge. I’ll point out that there’s nothing at one end nothing at the other, but they got a bridge. I’m getting... ...

Q: So Derry is spread across the river...

Brendan: Yeah, it’s...
Q: Yeah, okay, because I think John, his project that he wanted me to look at is in Derry. It’s called Londonderry too, right?

Brendan: Yeah, it’s originally called it Derry, which means place of the oak, and, County Derry, their emblem is the oak, and then, the plantation of Ulster, it was like any town, it was like Virginia, the plantation of eastern ... America, it was funded by London, by the Liberty companies, the 12 companies, so you go to places here, the drapers, there’s a thing called Draper’s Town, and Salt town, the salters, and things like that, they financed the plantations, so the financed the, stop me if I’m confusing you, by distant narrate history, it is complicated, so when they in effect turn it into what was, a British colonialist city, they changed the name after the Londonderry company, east of Londonderry, so Catholics call it Derry, Protestants call it Londonderry, now there’s, the Republicans now call it Daire, which is the Irish, the Gaelic for Derry. I used to work on Derry quite a bit and you have to say this name three times, it’s not like, it’s the German, Italian, and French all together, it’s just crazy. But that’s the religious map of Derry. That’s the study, you know that Catholic city side, Protestant water side. I can give you the pdf. It was about a research we did about Derry and planning, and particularly the experiences of marginalized Protestant communities, ... (for planning) ... It’s residualizing, the more capable employed and employable had left. Leaving a very residual social housing, public housing project, very independent...

Q: Where are they going?

Brendan: Correign, be the nearest, but depends, what Protestants generally tend to do is move away from the border. They tend to urbanize, the Protestants will tend to move to Correign. ... or Ballymena, they would move away towards, more traditional Protestant areas. This is looking at different attitudes and different policies...

Q: Is it because the Protestants are mobile? Even here, the Protestants are moving...

Brendan: Yes, they have, Protestants have more land. There’s more available spaces for them to move into and Catholic territory tends to be very traditionally locked into certain, really well historically defined geographies: West Belfast, parts of East Belfast, parts of North. The problem with Derry, the work that we were doing in Derry, was just saying that, actually, when you survey the Protestant population, they haven’t been directly threatened. They haven’t experienced violence of any level. They just feel that the place has become cold for them. That their history, their identity isn’t recognized, it’s not validated, they’re in the process of changing the name of the town to Derry. They already had changed the name of the council, the administrative area to Derry. And the Protestant traditions, like the Apprentice boys’ march isn’t traditional Orange order marches which all started in Derry and all were linked to, going back to 1680, to a siege of the city, this is how far this stuff goes. It became something about cultural and iconic space, that they no longer feel they own or control. And in the 1950s, right up to the 1960’s, Derry was a Catholic majority area, yet the council was majority Protestant and there’s a process of (jerry mandarin?), which really started in South Africa, to make sure the way they organize their electoral boundaries return to Protestant majority for an overwhelmingly Catholic city. So a lot of it is Protestants held political power, economic power, they ran the economy; they ran the security forces and the police. And all that power is now dissipated, so as well as feeling this is a cold place for them, they’ve also lost a lot of their power of the city, this has now turned into a Catholic city that tends to form east, towards the south, the Republic tends to be very strongly, you’ll see when you go there, very, very strongly identified with Catholic Gaelic culture, you know,
it’s very much about, the narrative’s of Republican resistance during and resilience during the Troubles and now the memory: the walls, the tradition that, the whole histography of the place, based on plantation and their form of resistance has just been airbrushed out, which is why

[**thoughts: this post-conflict geography in N. Ireland, not only in Belfast is a sovereignty issue, that goes back before the troubles, of siege, conquest, and now they are being asked to share the land? Or the question is who owns what, which the Protestants seem to own more of, thus have more mobility to move out when the environment turns ‘cold’ towards them, and can migrate to places that feel more welcoming, which would probably continue ‘homogenization’ at least for the more rural areas...the feeling is that the protestants, though they have more land than Catholics, feel they are on the defensive, and left out of the benefits or support that Catholics seem to have (politically, globally, etc.) and that they may not be grasping for or holding on tightly to what they have left in Northern Ireland, while the cultural prosperity of Catholics rise. Each community seems to be given a certain amount of power that allows for rivalry to still exist manifesting in duplication of services and demanding for equal privileges, like culture facilities, instead of sharing. Thus, it goes more than them giving up things, which would have to be taken by force, but points toward a validation of their history and their culture and their identity.]

[16:25]

…which is why City of Culture is interesting to look at, and the built environment is interesting to look at. This is a really different town, designed on a great square, like Savannah, designed around squares, the planning typical of the day, if you like. But it’s something that the city really finds not that comfortable celebrating, because it’s now run by Republicans and they don’t want any part of it. Colonialists have straightened the surface in a significant way, but I can send you that article. It’s a bit long article and has a detailed research in it. The group that we did it for is looking for an update, but I don’t know why, nothing’s changed…

...(Me talking about my own involvement with John in connection with Derry)...

That bridge is quite interesting because it’s designed to link two sites, there’s a big plan called heart of a city, and they try to find these key shared sites, sites that could be used for Catholics and Protestants, neutral sites, if you like, one was an old army base, here called Evington. Well, they have done some initial design concepts for it. And part of the problem with Derry is Protestants don’t generally like going to the city center because mainly Republican/Catholic, even things like, you see a lot of Irish flags, green, white, and orange flags, around the place, you know which is signaling this is ours, it’s our territory we own it, we control it, you keep out. With colorization, making sure the Protestants know that this is not their city anymore. And they’ve been trying to do a lot of the public realm work; they’ve done a big scheme in front of the guild hall, which is the town hall in Derry. They’re trying to make it a more mutual, mixed environment and they’ve tried to build a bridge to make it easier for protestants to get into the city or at least get knocked down when they arrive in this 4 lane river way, you know, there’s a road they have to cross this road to get into the turning square. But at least they’re trying, they’re thinking around those sorts of things and they produced a good relations plan that was sort of saying we need to expand the amount of public space that’s mixed and neutral that both sides can use and have access to and they’ve been doing that right across the city. The problem is that the property economy, here, like everywhere else, but particularly in Derry has collapsed. So the best one of
the ... the sort of plan their, the heart of the city, I think is just one part of it. You know, the
phantom stuff, it’s fantasy, it’s not going to actually happen or it’s not going to...

Q: For the Culture City, is there funding from that?

Brendan: There is some, but there’s massive economic multipliers because all the Cities of Culture,
I think, Gary, here has done work in Liverpool, and I know there’s a paper on Cork, which was also
a European city of Culture, and you’re talking about massive economic multiplier affects, because
each city of culture gets a certain number of events to hold. Millions of tourists visit, you know,
they’ve already done some projections about this, about jobs, investments, tourism, the multiplier
effect of it, I mean it’s far from contested, because, Protestants are start to feel that their culture,
what is culture, and it’s going to be a narrow sense of Irish, Catholic culture, with this other
history, you know the walls and the protestant memory of the place pushed to one side. There’s
lots of other community groups saying, well this isn’t really authentic culture, I mean, Derry
doesn’t have an orchestra, it doesn’t have a concert hall, it doesn’t have an art gallery, it barely
has a library. So what do they mean, and what forms of culture are going to be represented in
this? There’s a very strong musical history, but it’s not, finding culture and promoting it and trying
to develop a particular type of culture and yet it’s history, it’s built culture, is as important here,
which are really around the city walls and what they’ve been doing with them, is as important
here, I don’t anything, but represent the literature or music, or the normal arts of culture [21:36]
...they have a website, but I know if you are interested...but I don’t want to discredit them,
because it’s such a major achievement.

...(looking at website)...

It’s heavily criticized because it’s quite elitist...it’s really about money making, wealth production,
it’s not really about culture, it’s selling, commodifying culture in a way that will make you money
in a global world and trying to compete with other cities for the narrow base of tourists who go to
these sorts of things. You know, I can see Derry struggle, because it’s not an easy place to get to.

... it will be interesting to see if it attracts the level of tourist that you think. And I think they
wouldn’t say this, but I think they did a very good job of papering over a lot of very deep cracks
and getting people on site for the bid, that may well unravel when they actually start to look at...

Q: So do you think it could have an adverse effect?

Brendan: Um, I think it might surface a lot of deep hostilities that have been there for hundreds
and hundreds of years, but you know, I’ve, I think it could, but I don’t think it will have an adverse
effect, I think it will reveal a lot of quite negative sectarian anxieties, that won’t be comfortably
put away, or won’t be dressed up by cities of culture ceremonies and all that sort of parafamelia,
yeah it’s not going to be the one way economic street that people think it is. And already there’s a
lot of very, very serious, if you google it, criticisms of the city of culture you know see......it might,
one it comes down to defining culture, and does say it in the document, a bit, but what I think it
tries to do is say that this is a post-conflict city, we’ve got over the violence, this is about culture
and renaissance and about looking forward, and that will carry you so far, what does that mean,
who won, who lost? I think that might bring to the fore, a range of contested and contentious
issues that maybe weren’t there before. I think that’s where some of the problems might be. It is
a tremendous success that the competition wasn’t....at least...whatever the equivalent of Detroit
is, is an economic wasteland. So I wouldn’t minimize the effort and the success and the impact and interestingly, [26:50] did you hear that much about Bloody Sunday?

In 1972, there was a civil rights march and the British army come, the Para-regiment come in and shot ...people, I think 14 of them dead, and it was a civil, civic protest, were unarmed. The army just weren’t experienced on this type of conflict, thought they were in a war zone, start shooting all around them, was really ...that was bad enough, but what happened was a massive cover up, as there is with these thing, and even held and independent tribunal what happens, you got a wagery tribunal, which found that the soldier acted lawfully and that everybody that dies were armed, including, there were teenaged children that were there, kids there who were shot. And this was all held, seen as an injustice, not just that they were held, but the way in which the British covered it up. And just before, as they were going through the decision making process, they mainly through the Irish government, campaigned for a new inquiry called, is lead by Norsavol, it cost something like 200 million pounds, to hold this thing, an incredible amount of money to hold this thing. And it exonERATED the protesters and blamed the army for everything. And everybody knew this was coming. Or had a good idea this was coming. And this was sort of came out around the time that Derry won the bid. Or might, just before Derry won the bid. And so there was a certain political momentum around that post-conflict we’re at more now ourselves now type narrative that helped, I think prepare the decision more towards Derry. And whether or not everybody joined in on that or felt the same way about it, I doubt, and I think that’s something that’s going to surface again because you’re already seeing this issue about, there was a very famous, infamous bombing in a small village near Derry called Claudic. It was an old warring bomb and both Catholic and Protestants were killed including some children. And it turned out later, the guy who’s now dead was, he was the priest, he was in the IRA who was responsible for planting the bomb and so protestants are now saying well, are we going to get an enquiry out of this, so one side’s going to out enquiry the other and a 200 mil ago, I don’t think that’s going to go anywhere, and you know, it in a sense it captured the zeit geist of post-conflict city the Sablon enquiry exonerating the people of Derry, you know, it became something of a very important signifier of just how Derry was understood and understood themselves. And you know, the whole modernization of society here, and the hands across the river and the new peace bridge and whether it was real, and whether it was actually experienced by ordinary individuals who live in the housing space around Derry, I don’t know. I don’t think that will start to build around in terms of how this thing then moves forward and in the future. But there’s a really, some contested sites got from a design point of view, the Utherton Barracks, the old army barracks, a lot of new public realm stuff, which I think is awful. Cause it doesn’t really respect the walls, but Derry never has respected the walls. When you get there, you’ll see, right beside one of the walls, some of the most horrible buildings, Brutalist, not even concrete, a maze of buildings, right beside these historic walls. ...this wouldn’t happen in France, Italy, or Germany just would not be let away without sort of vandalism to the built environment.

Q: So are these walls under conservation?

Brendan: They are, they are conservation area and the walls are listed, but there’s a very, well you would know more about it than me, there’s a very now liberal interpretation of what conservation area means, it’s not to conserve anymore, conserve or be authentic to the design history of the place, it’s just given permission, it starts with a cultural corridor ...and it’s just weird looking. But I was saying conservation areas and to morph them and it’s fair to allow them to
grow and let them breathe and change. It shouldn’t be there just to say that every building has to be from the 19th century. But this is just, what’s the point of it, if you’re letting any sort of design and you know, architecture, I could explain that, if I was an architect could explain that filing cabinet in the conservation area as being aesthetically harmonious, you know? You could come up with anything. And in a sense, it’s a weakly protected conservation area, you get a lot of, particularly around the walls it’s better the old town, the old city inside the walls would be kept more intact because commercial pressures. It's the poverty of Derry that's more likely to eat away at the physical fabric than the planners and poor planning decisions but around the city, around the outside of the walls, there’s a horrendous shopping center...... it sticks out right at the foot at the most iconic parts, because it’s on a hill. So you actually go up and look at this on this hill, it’s a citadel, and now this ... thing is built right beside it. It’s horrible. So even from that point of view, you have the historic heritage industry which is not totally anchoring...the bid but it is, I think it’s our system ... ...

...(talking about history, landscape, culture)...

We’re all good at selecting parts of our own history commemorating it in the built form, then outside marginalizing things we aren’t familiar with...so there’s all sorts of issues around there which is quite, quite interesting from the point of view of history, conflict, cities of culture, and the built environment and what we do with it and it would be interesting to get your take, especially coming in with a fresh pair of eyes to see what you make of it. The bus goes every half hour. Don’t go on the train.

It’s an interesting place and I have some contacts there. It’s an interesting place; I really like it as a place. (... ... unless you were born there, you are never from there)

You really sense that outsider/insider perspective.

Q: And how about the Groundworks projects you were looking at? I was talking to Karen and a lot of her projects and she was saying that a lot were single-community, and I was wondering if that these projects are cross-community?

Brendan: These ones are and, people here talk a lot about single-identity projects, I mean I know what that is, it’s just working with a single community. Or even what the value of that is? Because a lot of that is counterproductive. All you’re doing is legitimizing one side, fairly narrow isolated view of the word, and interestingly in some of these areas, is that what makes them function... (looking at website) this is the project, here...you know, if you’re at the bottom of the Falls, and the bottom of the Shankhills, I know Ken brought you around, or if you’re in this place in North Belfast, and Protestant housing estate or Catholic housing estate there’s no difference in your level of poverty. There’s no difference to your level of isolation [37:22] So why, anything that actually treats these places as somehow separate, self-contained from a set of economic forces that make them pure, is just a waste of time, in my point of view. You know, when you’re stating the legitimacy of, I heard a guy on today, ‘this will not work in my community,’ you know, I felt like calling the radio station and saying ‘who are you? It’s not your community’ you know ‘my community.’ You get all these quickset carrying gatekeepers, decided what their community is, what their community’s permitted to do, who’s going to come into their community. No one’s voted for them, no one’s elected them, they speak for no one, yet stand there, this guy on the radio saying ‘this will not work in my community.’ He’s some jumped up community worker, he’s
been paid for by the state anyway, and it really just angers me. A lot of this stuff that comes across will, this is single-identity work, what is that? This is a project that’s slightly different. It’s mainly to do with, it started off with mainly Loyalists. The reasoning North Belfast prisoner’s aid, is a Loyalist, and ex-prisoners, ex-combatants as they call themselves. They came together to look at where Protestant communities were and where they wanted to develop. And in this part of North Belfast, which is, Ken bring you around Duncairn Gardens? Duncairn, New Lodge, Tigers Bay...

Takara: Yes.

Brendan: And he would have brought you to what is known as Tiger’s Bay. This is where this project is. We’re here, up near university, you live here, and this space is up here. Essentially here, this is the protestant, here...which is called Tiger’s bay, and this is the Catholic here, which is called New Lodge, place near the New Lodge road. And they were just, there’s a peaceline, there’s Duncairn Gardens, the place you were at. Right away, along, there are these interfaces, and right through the Troubles, a really dangerous area in which the deaths during the Troubles occurred around here, and that’s the, became a, for planners, and as a design solution, became as involved in this, just basically took out the interface area and put an industrialist here, soft, soft, not heavy industrial, light industrial, offices and retail parts, just to divide the two communities a part. But more recently, particularly in this community, it’s from the UDA or was run by the UDA, (....talking about sectarian issues and corruption).

...(The point: Loyalist and ex-paramilitary, did not have as much support, and started to get involved)...

[44:40] The project in run by an ex-IRA man and an ex-UDA man on both sides, they built up a certain level of trust and personal relationship that has allowed them to create new types of contacts, particularly amongst young people. There was a riot there every year, this North Queens Street Junction, there hasn’t been a riot there for......there’s a big shopping center here, now called city gate, or city side, they keep on changing the name of it because of pure reputation. What they noticed there was shops were closing, cars were getting damaged, there wasn’t, football was declining, rental levels were going down, and now it’s at full occupancy, there’s an extension to the car park, all the shops are filled, because they started to do work on this interface: no rioting, no violence, no police... the marching season, which is traditionally the most violent, there’s hardly anything in this part of Belfast, where routinely it would have been on the international news, the rioting was that bad...

There has been in this area a remarkable transformation in terms of the relationships between the two communities.

Q: How did that start? How did the initial contact...

Brendan: Well, I don’t know enough about the actual detail of it. The project that I’m loosely involved in is looking at the whole history of it. A lot of it started on the Loyalist side, with this idea, we are really losing out here, look at the Republicans and the Catholics and Nationalist are really, Jerry Adams, was in the White House, we’ve been demonized as criminals, the fact that they were, what do you want me to do, kind of thing... it very much marginalized over range political processes. And a sense particularly among a small elite, that the UDA and the UDF, the Loyalist party had not been IRA, if the IRA says we’re going to cease fire, that’s it, they act and
operate more like a professional army, who were pretty well organized, very ruthless, but behaved, looked, and acted……as a credible paramilitary force, not like these, bunch of head bangers, some of them. And they’re a still a bit like that. You’ll get people here who are progressive, who will try to take the Loyalist identity further, and people who are quite happy to make money out of drugs and cigarettes and all the other rackets their involved in but one of these guys in the area through a process locally, started to build up a bit of a rapport with community sector on the Catholic side. It started over this place here, what was happening were a lot of sites were coming on and developers during the …times, to the early part of 2000-2005 developers were actually building apartments, and taken each side for its local use, they felt, and building apartments that weren’t for Catholic or Protestants, they were for yuppies, they were building shopping centers, or building rental spaces or stuff like that. All this claim about it’s our territory, no it’s our territory, quit, the market came around and said, no it’s ours. We decide who owns it, not you. So they started to start a bit of a conversation locally, I think and sense that a big propellant of it was the Irish government who, though the President’s office, the Irish President is not like the President of the United States, it’s more an assembly office. The president of the Republic of Ireland became involved, … ….she’s from here, did try to open links to the Loyalists in particular who were very much outsiders, marginalized, victimized all this sort of stuff. And they were saying, look, if you want into the States, if you want American money, if you want to get the investment you’re talking about over here, you going to have to behave, and you’re going to have to talk to those people on the other side of the fence. So it was a bit of push and pull if you into the political space and you want the other rewards that the Catholics and Republicans have got, you’re going to have to behave differently. A genuine pull effect and that some people within these communities are saying they share our economic position, they share our housing problems they share our concern with young people, neither of us want to see people die at the interface. A lot of these guys have been in jail, some of them for 15 or 20 years. Some of them did pretty nasty things, who genuinely had that (…goes on to talk about the connections in prison and about individual political reform and Loyalist feeling duped by the Unionist).

[51:30] (on Loyalist feeling) We’ve been through this mess, our communities are falling apart, our houses are not in good condition, our young people are taking drugs and dying, ‘the biggest problem in this area among young people is suicide, massive suicide kills young people here, it’s the biggest reason why people die, just that fatalism, poverty, disillusionment, that some people share on either side of the fence, and apparently you get that consciousness that it is the economics of these problems, not whether you are green or orange, Catholic or Protestant that matters most. I think it’s expanded out into this space. It’s quite interesting that the work that we’re doing is I think called social return and investment, whereby, it’s saying that this little group here that got 100,000 pounds worth of money, see a police bill of something near a million pounds, if no riots, you don’t need police. See 500,000 pounds worth of fire service time, because places would be set fire, and it’s now maximized the occupancy of the shopping center, which is a good investment multiplier, so the argument here is not just to tell the story of conflict transformation, it’s delicate emerging… as it is, but also to say, actually this saves you money, this place makes it more investment ready, this gives us a better hope to getting to the jobs, getting to the employment sites that are emerging…. … and attracting investment into ……(talking about a popular location and how it is safer, and the reduction of risk barriers, and increase investment factors). So what we’re doing is looking at this group, looking at this project trying to explain
what happened and how that dynamic played at a new sense of relationships around a problem. Now, it happened, I wouldn’t overstate it. And I wouldn’t overstate the impact of these types of initiatives. The peaceline is still there and still will be there. These places are still very divided, they’re still violent. There are still people who don’t trust each other, but it’s a hell of a lot better than it was before, and what will change here is a slow process of change, it will be long and painstaking, it will be full of risks, mistakes will be made, it will draw back, but at least something is starting to happen. Where, single identity work to me is just a waste of time.

It’s not a waste of time in that them maybe doing good things in those communities, but don’t pretend it’s cross-community in its content.

[1:00:15] (Phone call and talking about plans of Doncairn Gardens and social return on investment work)

(Summary...you can look at creating negotiated sites of sharing- an old shirt factor that fell through, both would use and work out when they would use it. Paramilitary workers stepped in and said this isn’t going to happen...they both lost the development opportunity. A lot of projects are not looking at the design, and the biggest problem is the disconnection to the city center. How connectivity and porosity with these communities can be connected more with the opportunities that’s in the city, talking about Groundworks projects)

Q: Do they (Groundworks) structure cross-community meetings, to talk about these issues?

[*thoughts - maybe more about the strategy of where, the location and places that need to be addressed, where future sites of shared spaces should be priority, and prioritized according to access and proximity]

Brendan: Very, very carefully, there isn’t like public meetings, because you would never have public meeting, it would never work. They are very good now, understanding what works and when it works. And how, you almost have to engineer the spaces around which people will talk to each other, so it might be about the environment, it might be about young people it might just be about a parade and it might only involve a very undemocratic number of elites who they know need to be in the room to talk to practically about what they’re going to do.

(Summary of the decommissioning of paramilitary connected to funds from international community. Again, how the IRA and UDA practice differently.)

[1:09:33] A lot of these design solutions are very partial. Anybody can come in and Sketchup and Photoshop these places and to be something nice. Whereas what’s underpinning that has to be a process of conflict transformation. That can use the environment. Groundworks are very interesting because they’ve used the environment, the vast majority of people in these places want decent, orderly, humane lives, they want nice houses and they want nice environments. So it’s a very much a common cause issue, it’s space where they can really start to negotiate some sense of cross-community. We’d not live together, not hold hands together, not worship together, but we both want this place to look nice, so it tends to be a fairly un-contentious issue. It’s not contested in terms of the way in which other aspects of culture are, but you can then start to focus on what’s doable, and Groundworks had been very good on using the environment and using the built environment, the public realm, the aesthetic of the public realm as a way to try to
get people to work together. So that interplay between a design solution or design ideas or design options and processes of conflict transformation might be interesting to marry.

Q: And what process do they use...

Brendan: It’s not a process, yeah, it’s mainly relationship building, what we’re trying to do is explain what they’re doing, using conflict transformation.

[1:11] Quote from British architect, coming from London’s slave past: “There’s no magic bullet, there’s no effects...all you got to peace here is the engineering of endless possibilities, it’s working at that micro-level, building trust, it’s acknowledging failure, and it’s just getting on with pragmatic things that people are prepared to work on and not working with those who aren’t…”

Which is dangerous and unstable, but that’s where you are. So there’s a pragmatism in what they do that I quite like, but I wouldn’t say or they’d say that they follow a model, or that there even is a model out there that you simply blindly apply, there are certain dynamics at work, but it’s more nuance than that.

(Summary of how Groundwork works. Have failures, and such and mistrust and momentum is hard to come by.)

Q: A lot of these programs, does it go through a political process and the government?

[1:20-26 Example of Crumlin and Carvill sites]

(Summary: Yes, funding comes from the government, and now trying to get some American funding. But it’s very, very difficult, and has had some success in some very good projects. [Q: Crumlin Jail Site] – It’s not going anywhere, the designers came up with this. Basically, in a segregated area. And if they had housing on it, it would be Catholic, and the concern would be if you get more Catholic housing, it would displace Protestant. The Protestants didn’t want housing, and Catholics wanted housing. But the pretense of consultation, it wasn’t the way to do it, they should have gone ahead and do it. It was a veneer of consultation, but it was a stalemate. The participatory exercise, passed off as democratic, but needs aren’t to be looked at. It doesn’t matter if there was benefit for Protestants, land and ownership, drives the discourse.)

Built by Carvill, (Next to Alexander Park) progressive, Dutch housing, private, just built it, and it’s successful, but mainly Catholic. Initial studies said there would be violence, but who’s going to bring the violence? So they built it, and nothing happened, it’s a very successful, people like it, there’s Protestants living there, and it works.)

[** thoughts - facing economic urgency...in there opportunity? There’s no political momentum to sharing of space at the moment]
4.5 Karim Hadjri:

Dr. Karim Hadjri is a Senior lecturer in Architecture at the School of Planning, Architecture & Civil Engineering, Queen’s University Belfast. He is an affiliate member of the Royal Institute of British Architects and a fellow of the UK Higher Education Academy. He is a reviewer for Engineering Sustainability journal, Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers and Open House International journal (OHI). His research interests embrace architectural design, housing and CAD. His current research work is concerned with ageing, dementia and the built environment.

Interview:

We looked at Nicosia, including the center of the city. We did a design project in the middle, which... We only focused on the walled city, the Venetian walls. And luckily we only had 12 students. What we did, is just we, sliced it up and, the no man’s land, into 12 areas and one to each student, but they had to work together. They had to do an urban strategy, and then they did design their own schemes. But it had to be bi-communal, in line with the Nicosia masterplan. I have some of my previous students from Cyprus; they are working on the Nicosia masterplan, so they gave us a copy to all the information. Because we had to follow the masterplan of Nicosia, we couldn’t just come in and say, we know better than you, so we had to really base...

Q: So did you work with each side, the leaders?

Karim: Yes

Q: Did you talk to them together?

Karim: No, separately. Definitely it wasn’t easy.

Q: Did you go through a process with the community as well, from both sides?

Karim: Yes, because the Nicosia masterplan, they say, whatever is proposed must be neutral, not say that I am Greek or I am Turkish. ....So, we worked in the blight, in the core area, ....So they divided that into schematic groupings. ....And we went in and we took the pictures, and we got unprecedented access, which is amazing...and scary as well. It was very exciting, you know.

Q: Do you think it was a small step for them to actually look at,

Karim: Yes, I think so, they were very keen and lots of negotiations took place, for them, because we were coming from Ireland and the division in Ireland, and most of our students, the 12, only one was Canadian. ...So they knew about the division and separation, bi-communal things, but...

Q: Did they seek you out, or did you present the idea to them?

Karim: No, we did, we approached them, but what happened is once we went and met the United Nations, ... they realized that some of them had been here. They were coming here to get training from Northern Ireland. It’s so amazing, I can’t believe it, so all of a sudden, in 2008, it was Northern Ireland having a major contribution in peace building. So they were training journalists and diplomats and so on. So the United Nations was very nice in all. So, very few people have it (the masterplan). This is the vision for Nicosia, the core of it. So this is the core of it.

So there’s lots of planning stuff, not all relevant, but I think it will give you a hint. If you go to Cyprus, don’t show anybody, because they are very sensitive and they don’t share information, you know, this was final by UNDP, and UNDP don’t have a copy.
Q: Because they can’t put it on their public records or anything...

Karim: The Cypriots they, kept it, kept, kept it. ...So if you go there, say that you are aware of what is happening, because you arrived here, but don’t say you have the document. That should be okay. Because they are very sensitive. But, if you are doing divided city, you must see Nicosia. I would say it’s more important than Beirut.

(Summary: how to get there from Belfast. Go through Larnaca, get a bus to Nicosia, and contacts while in Nicosia, and crossing the north and south. Look at architecture types.)

And there is a difference. When you cross from south to north, you will notice a difference, because this is quite more developed than the north, the north ...but people are very lovely, so they don’t care, they just want to move on ...

Q: On your personal views of design within the two communities, your personal or role of design?

Karim: I think there is, no trust, no confidence in people, you won’t have it. So that’s the problem in Cyprus, they don’t trust each other. Because they were hurt and their parents they’re telling them never trust the Greek and the Greeks, never trust the Turks. So this is the problem, but however, there are unique marriages, you know, Turkish and Greek Cypriots, which was not encouraged long time ago, there is hidden, there are now I know, cases. I know a case of very good friends from north and south. But this is only in the middle and upper class. Not in the working class. So if you are educated, sophisticated, you are more open to sharing and talking and breaking the boundaries and so on, but if you are not educated, and depressed, you will always hate whoever is next door, so I think that is one thing to do. If you look at the case here, of Northern Ireland, is because the middle class got through, yeah, they say we don’t want this warring, we don’t care. But if you do to the popular neighborhoods, the rough ones, they’re not competent, so it’s really about class, wealth, about education, about culture, about many things, so I have seen it. For me, I think, I’ve seen it at the two levels. I’ve seen it professional educated levels, who I know there because we’re colleagues...they talk to each other. The projects I have done, I’ve done with the Turkish Cypriots, architect and academic...and a Greek Cypriot. So I had one from each community with me, so that’s why it was very credible, what we did.

[**thoughts - the way he talks about the project make me assume that two people talking from different side is a huge deal. Probably it is here as well, but there is some mixing and especially at the higher education levels as well as middle and up in class, etc.]

And then foreigners.

Q: did they talk before, or ...

Karim: Yes, they know each other.

Q: Was that through the education system? College, or university system, or how did they know each other?

Karim: They know each other because they are both architect so it’s from the network of architects. And both of them have studied in the United Kingdom, they did their PhDs their, one in Sheffield, and one the university, college of London, so they have similar education system, but one studied in the North the Turkish Cypriot studied in the North, his high school as well and first degree. And the Greek person studied in a British school in the South. Which is like the top British
school and his University, he did it in Lebanon I think or somewhere. But the beautiful story in here is that the Turkish Cypriot, his father was killed, but he is not bitter. He’s very cool. It’s amazing. ...Because he could hate big time. He has never seen his dad, as a kid. Not only him, his dad, his uncle, several working the same day, and they only found their remains about 3 and a half ago or something. The time we were working. He was nothing, he didn’t say anything. So it is amazing and a bit cool story and I really admired him.

So, I think you should really see it. ...It’s very fascinating, but it is a true pain ...for us to contribute to something like that.

(Summary, talking about the political, many countries ‘interfering’)

Q: Is there a younger generation that will, through technology, or is there any type of shared space?

Karim: Yeah, they do, they do through the United Nations. They have the youth program. So one of the student did the youth, it was a very good scheme, they did a youth thing. Yeah, there are, and now what the United Nations told us is that, you know in 2004 there was a referendum, for unification. If you read about that, that the Greeks rejected 70%, and the Turkish Cypriots approved 70%. So Turkish Cypriots wanted reunification, they were fed up with the isolation. The Greeks Cypriots said, no we don’t trust them and they’re going to take over, and we want our land back, blah blah blah, so they were brainwashed by the president at the time. So the United Nations failed miserably then and even the EU failed miserably. So what happens is 2004 they say, EU and the United Nations say, okay now we have to help the Turkish more because they really want peace.

[**thoughts: willingness to work out needed]**

So lots of money started to flow...and the UN thought, maybe the Turkish, what they were doing at the time was wrong, so they need to work with the civic side more. They have to to tell the children don’t hate ...

The text books, you know the children’s’ textbooks are very bad, they tell them to hate ...so one of them tell them they have to change the textbooks.

It’s very deep, so I think that’s a chance and they’re hoping that a solution will come very soon. But I think it will take more time. ...And the President of the north change too, will slow it down. I think it will take another four years, five years, when Turkey is about to join the EU, I think that is the crunch time.

Yes, I think you could, but you have to remove the brainwashing from the books, you need to make people more confident and more trustworthy, you have to show them a shared values, you could in a sense, for me, they are the same people. It’s just their religion is different. So, there are a lot of things. Us, as, maybe built environment, we could contribute, like what we did, for example, because we involved, the students had clients so they had to talk to the Greek Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots... we couldn’t take it further, because of funding. I wanted to make an exhibition, and a talk, but there are bi-communal groups that they meet regularly and they talk. Those are, as I said, very elite, educated, not everybody.

So I think it has to be from the grassroots, schools, primary schools, and that’s why I’m saying it’s going to take time. Maybe another decade or so.
But for you it’s going to be fascinating because you will see the last divided city in Europe, by the way. Because Berlin’s no more, the other ones are not real, maybe Kosovo, I don’t know, maybe Mostar? But they are not divided because they can move freely.

But this is an iconic city and it goes beyond it... (the divide...)

(Summary, talking about the contacts and to make plans, and then figure it out.)

(Nicosia international airport was closed in 1974, UN base is there.)

[22:14] Q: Is there development going on, any construction?

Yeah, there’s lots of demand, in a terrible state, because the owners near by the buffer zone, because the owners they are just sitting on them, they know that they, the wall is removed, it’s going to be a very expensive place.

(Talking about checkpoints and passports, and crossing, only Turkish at checkpoint, on Ledra Street. Greek does not recognize it, so they don’t have a person there. Stamp goes on a paper, so there can be fluid travel through other places without problems.)

Q: Do you think the politics are so strong that design itself doesn’t have a role or a very minor role, to build a shared space?

Karim: No, it has a role, otherwise the Nicosia masterplan would be obsolete right now. They have a history that, when they closed off here, Nicosia had sewage treatment plant, you know, and one part ended up on the Greek side and the other one, in the north side. And the gravity take the sewage to the north. So the Greeks needed the north to collaborate so that the sewage is needed, so that’s how the Nicosia masterplan started. And they have been working since. There was war, they always have been working and they recognize each other. The two municipalities, they recognize each other, so it’s not like the South government of the Republic does not recognize it. Because it has common...but the two municipalities, they acknowledge because they were the... since the British.

I believe that planning has a bigger role to play than architecture. Because we know that architecture, the iconic architecture can pull people together and make them feel special and so on. I think that planning, because it’s much more hands on and it involves people more than architecture can, it really has to. And the Nicosia masterplan is planning focused, when you read that document, planning jargon... so I believe, (Frank and Mark Anderson work does too)... It was a combination of architecture and urban design. There was a strategy here, an urban design landscape strategy because this is becoming a green, because nature has to take over, and the buildings are gone...and then there were the architecture, sometimes iconic, a nice scheme.

Like I was saying we were growing, you know stitching the city together...(continues about the project and the discontinuation because of politics.)

Q: But you had the opportunity to have those conversations with both sides, and involve a lot of people...

[**thoughts - it’s much like this, an awareness, to engage the conversation about the design problem...and the design problem is about conflict transformation. In any image, that anyone can do, but we talk about the underpinning of what is driving, what is the context? Here, there are so
many limitations that to fuel discourse, or engage in a conversation about space, through the image, through the design of space has the opportunity to meet with words, for those who are willing to speak. One situation is there were already groups communicating, and it’s coming alongside those groups to continue their momentum…]

Karim: Yeah, we had, there were lots of people involved. There are bi-communal groups one called, …they want to know more about the histories and their shared history, and the two inform the future. And they have a building and they are doing workshops and confidence building workshops, you know…lots going on there.

But as I said, it’s at a certain level. In terms of architecture, the work that’s happening is funded by the United Nations, and they and the European Union, so if you go to UNDP-ACT, ……TFF…spending millions of Euros in conservation. They have a list of projects on the ground that will make the people feel they are moving on.

Q: How do you think designers could facilitate grassroots movements that are going on?

Karim: We can do it in the discourse of architecture…

(Mentions that the local architecture school has turned their back on the dividing lines.)

Apart from the text books, they really are a problem, but for us, the architects, I think it’s the architecture education part, debate around this building how can we change the architecture and how can we contribute to the built environment, or improving the environment, particularly around the this, (the dividing walls…)

Definitely you could argue that architecture education should take part in this.
5.0 Emphasized Themes

5.1 From the coded interviews the following themes were extracted according to repetition across interviewees. These created the foundational principles of the developed framework in Section II. Each theme is labeled, defined and interpreted as it correlates to the topic of this thesis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cross-community</td>
<td>“Single-Identity” work exists because of the unwillingness to meet the “other.” Cross-community projects seek to engage both sides of the divide to negotiate a shared space.</td>
<td>Since it is extremely difficult to get both sides of the community to meet and talk to each other, bi-communal negotiations seldom occur. However, single-identity projects are seen as counter-productive especially in a place where each community will demand to receive the same benefit and justification. One consequence of single-identity projects lead to the duplication in services. With the economic downturn and fiscal cuts to come, duplication cannot be a positive outcome would result in less power given to the community (where stagnation of action is due to disagreement) and more decision making to the governing powers. The role of design would be to identify strategic places where both identities can access, benefit and ultimately share.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Not alone”</td>
<td>There is a tendency to feel unique in the aftermath of deep division. To communicate understanding of the situation with similar examples create openness.</td>
<td>This is a tool expressed by those working in conflict communities all over the world, where isolated communities that have gone through a certain level of trauma will reject outside or even the idea of taking steps toward broader perspective because of the unique trauma endured. This tool to bring outside examples of similar issues is a step to break down walls and create an openness and willingness to listen and communicate, and ultimately begin to look outward instead of remain insular in negative thoughts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust Breakdown</td>
<td>At the heart of Post-conflict division is the lack of trust and a broken network of relationships that affects the idea of community and the effects are seen as irreversible.</td>
<td>Broken relationships and lack of trust, vulnerability and perceived insecurity are widespread in post-conflict generations. These feelings are also passed down to the next generation and serve to keep divisions, isolation, and a new environment of distrust and misperception of the other a perpetuating cycle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethno-territorial Conflict</td>
<td>The type of conflict over territory that Belfast has endured.</td>
<td>The additional layer upon pre-existing conflicts and divisions of social-economics where territory is central to war. What remains is an environment where land and space is still controversial and contested.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Room to Maneuver</td>
<td>The political, historic, and social environment that a singular person/entity can objectively affect while working within given constraints.</td>
<td>Another way to look at a process. At the deep core network, support, and relationships are vital to designers especially in Belfast where funding and support are not available from the governing body. Politics make progress more difficult and complex, and therefore individual relationships that build trust are at times more beneficial.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral Program</td>
<td>Without reference to identity or culture of either antagonistic community.</td>
<td>Architecture types, schools, religion, colors, names, sports, markings, flags, etc. are all tied to identity (in Belfast). Anything that is for one or the other faces negative reactions. Neutrality is seen as important to moving forward, or gaining support from opposing groups. For the role of designers being sensitive to these things that are cultural in context, will determine how the outcome is received and used or even how successful it is.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blight</td>
<td>Abandoned places left to decay and not visually welcoming.</td>
<td>In Belfast, there are many open areas that will not be given to the other community because of hostile feelings. These unused open areas are seen as blight. There is a gridlock in the use of the land, even though the need to develop it (mostly for housing) exists.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shared Values</td>
<td>Intrinsic humanistic values that are shared.</td>
<td>There are overwhelming statistics of suicide rates and depression, as well as illiteracy and unemployed people. These issues speak to a shared sense of concern and hope for a better future for the next generation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class differences</td>
<td>Pre-existing and current divisions of class that adds to the complexity of social division caused by war.</td>
<td>Class – identified in Belfast as working class or middle class, plays a big role (as in any city) in where people live, the education received, and the level of isolation that is faced.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.0 Project Analysis

6.1 During the interviews in Belfast, there were a number of initiatives that were mentioned in which the interviewee defined in terms of success. From these examples, success was measured to the degree in which the cross-communal initiative of antagonistic, segregated groups achieved integration. These projects are listed and analyzed to construct a wider measure of success for design interventions, both spatial and programmatic (which needs space). Reconciliation, as concerned with this thesis is in the encounter, to bring together again. Design has the potential to create spaces that foster this concept. The Project Analysis serves as the foundation of the characteristics of Reconciliare-space found in Section II.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Level of Integration</th>
<th>Measuring Characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Duncairn Shopping center</td>
<td>At the end of an Interface along Duncairn Street</td>
<td>This shopping center has experienced continuous acts of violence and vandalism. It has a high turnover rate of businesses for this reason and perceived to be dangerous, although in a very central location, near to the city center.</td>
<td>Medium: It is more integrated than a few years ago, but the integration level is slow, though both sides use it.</td>
<td>The violence level has dropped significantly after a community resident took the initiative to talk and engage the youth in the neighborhood with neutral activities like sports. His work and presence in the area has proved effective.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duncairn Street</td>
<td>Central Belfast: an interface between Catholic and Protestant communities.</td>
<td>Once a Middle-class residential area, many of the former residents migrated to outer suburbs because of the frequency of violence that was taking place.</td>
<td>Low: The buffer in the middle of the two communities was once in negotiation to have a facility that would be used by both communities at different times: negotiated space.</td>
<td>The high level of antagonism derailed the progress of appropriating the lot. Therefore the communities are still segregated but the violence has decreased because it has become a buffer of business/light industrial.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elderly care center</td>
<td>Interface between Catholic and Protestant neighborhoods, near the Indian community center.</td>
<td>As an adaptive re-use building, the elderly home is located between Catholic and Protestant neighborhoods.</td>
<td>High: Contains a mixture of both the Catholic and Protestant elderly community.</td>
<td>The location is equally accessible by both communities and is functional/mutually beneficial. In addition, the singularity of services provides for the need of this facility and location to achieve integration that is seemingly peaceful and tolerant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Integration/Programming</td>
<td>Community Impact</td>
<td>Housing Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>Groves Wellness Center</td>
<td>Directly alongside main arterial route of the Shore Road, Belfast.</td>
<td>A new facility that incorporates a modern design and neutral/beneficial programming: including health practitioners, physical activity, a library, and event space.</td>
<td>Though located on a derelict arterial, interface road, the wellness center is used by both Protestants and Catholics.</td>
<td>The need of general practitioners, (needed and beneficial) is one reason to the successful integration. The building is fairly modern and disassociates with traditional building types indicative of the distinct communities. It is also in a mutually accessible location where neutral activity is enjoyed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffolk Center</td>
<td>A very segregated community in close proximity, Southwest of Belfast city center.</td>
<td>Suffolk contains a pocket of Protestant unionist community surrounded by a larger Catholic loyalist community. It was characterized by high levels of inter-community violence, especially along the interface of Stewartstown Road.</td>
<td>Mid - High: considering the levels of previous violence the newly built center that includes a non-profit community organization, market, and daycare, the services are used by both communities and the violence has significantly decrease.</td>
<td>The center is the interface after 9 p.m. The windows act as gates, shutting at a certain time and continuing the interface Peacewall that separates the community. Through the ongoing efforts of Suffolk Lenadoon Interface Group, the Peacewall that was a location for continual violence was recreated to become a space that is now integrated and used by both sides. However, after 9 p.m. it resumes its former role as separating.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carvill housing development</td>
<td>Adjacent to Alexander Park- an interface that has a post-Troubles Peaceline constructed because of continual violence</td>
<td>This plot was bought by a private developer and the project was contested by both communities, to the point of receiving anonymous threats. It was eventually finished, characteristic of Dutch housing typology.</td>
<td>Moderate: the demographic of residents is more Catholic than Protestant, however this is due to the need of Catholic housing is higher. Though it is seen as transitional housing, of working families the development has been kept “un-marked”.</td>
<td>Most communities are identified as either Catholic or Protestant, and marked as such by colors, flags, murals, etc. This housing development breaks from traditional housing types and is unmarked by flags, etc. There has not been recorded violence in this area and it is integrated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Integration</td>
<td>Petition Outcome</td>
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<tr>
<td>Crumlin Jail Site</td>
<td>A symbolic building adjacent to the center of the city, connected by main arterials of the city. It acts as an interface between Catholic and Protestant communities. It is no longer used and there were project proposals for its re-use and preservation due to the history of the building.</td>
<td>No integration</td>
<td>The petition of both communities caused stagnation of its progress and eventual fallout. Though in a central location that would be of great benefit to both, the high levels of contest and process of petition handicap its development.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicosia Master Plan</td>
<td>Nicosia, Cyprus</td>
<td>High: Integration levels of the Master plan are high, involving both groups sharing the same vision in the space of the conversation.</td>
<td>Regeneration has occurred in the walled city due to the NMP. However at its most critical point, due to the political environment, the walls of the buffer zone have not been able to be addressed.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solidere, Central Business District</td>
<td>Central Beirut, Lebanon</td>
<td>Low: Pre-conflict, this area was well-used, vibrant and integrated, yet due to the development that has been economically driven and programmed for high-end retail, the development lacks vitality and the everyday services/space for the Beiruti resident.</td>
<td>Projects in this area have attempted to return the place to its original, perceived status pre-war. High levels of development and preservation has been achieved, and continues, yet, its underpinning driver is not for healing and reconciliation, but motivated by economic growth and global status.</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B: Nicosia Master Plan
NICOSIA MASTER PLAN
A Bi-Communal Initiative to change the image of the city
Bi-Communal Projects

Building bridges between the two communities

Aim: To improve the existing and future living conditions of all the inhabitants of Nicosia

• 1978: Agreement for the preparation of a common sewage system
• 1979: Agreement for the preparation of a common physical Master Plan
The Nicosia Master Plan Team

1981: A bi-communal multidisciplinary team was formed in order to prepare a common planning strategy for Nicosia.
The Nicosia Master Plan

A Flexible Plan Adaptable to Changing Circumstances

First phase: 1981-84
- Formulation of a general planning strategy for Greater Nicosia

Second phase: 1984-85
- Preparation of a detailed operational plan for the City Centre
THE HISTORIC CENTRE

• Constitutes a common heritage for all the communities of Nicosia
• Is considered by the NMP team as the most precious part of the city
• This area was subject to physical decay and socio-economic decline for many years
Preservation and rehabilitation as a multi-dimensional process

REHABILITATION POLICY
Architectural objectives:

- Preservation and restoration of individual historic monuments and of groups of buildings, with significant architectural and environmental qualities.

Rehabilitation Policy
REHABILITATION POLICY

Planning objectives:

- Balanced distribution of mixed use areas,
- Planning objectives:
- Density of development in harmony with the scale of the historic centre

The buffer zone considered as the most important “gluing area” for the functional integration of the city.
Planning objectives: Traffic Circulation

Rehabilitation Policy

Pedestrianisation schemes
Pattern of one-way loops
REHABILITATION PROCESS

Bi-Communal Investment Projects: A common tool of implementation between the two sides

- Stimulate private initiative to act as catalyst and provide the opportunity to the public sector to contribute directly to the revitalisation of the historic centre

Twin Priority Projects:

- A common tool of implementation between the two sides
The overall objective:

- Attract new residents in the old city
- Increase of available housing units
- Improvement of the quality of facilities
- Provision of community facilities

Actions:

Projects funded by USAID through UNHCR & UNDP

Housing Rehabilitation Programmes

CHRYSALINIOTISSA - ARAB AHMET
PEDESTRIANISATION SCHEME

Commercial activity in the walled city was gradually declining. The aim of the project was to allow it to compete with the new business centres of the modern city in order to improve the commercial axis in order to allow it to compete with the new business centres of the modern city.

Aim of the project:

1. The environmental improvement

The project was funded by the European Union.
Projects funded by the European Union through UNDP/UNOPS

Omerye - Selimye Projects

REHABILITATING HISTORIC AREAS:

Aim:

To rehabilitate and upgrade the environment of two of the most important historic areas of the walled city.
The projects are funded by the European Union through UNDP/UNOPS.

**Aim of the projects:**

To restore the urban fabric of two socially, economically and physically neglected areas.

- **Phaneromeni-Samanbahce Projects**

**RESTORING THE URBAN FABRIC**

To restore the urban fabric of two socially, economically and physically neglected areas.
The buffer zone area is suffering from an accelerating deterioration process. The project was funded by USAID through UNDP/UNOPS.

Targets of the project:

- The creation of a record regarding the architectural heritage
- The preparation of an architectural survey of the facades of 265 buildings
- The proposal of emergency intervention measures to save collapsing buildings
- The preparation of the architectural heritage of the buffer zone area

The project is a joint initiative between the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Housing.
BI-COMMUNAL COLLABORATION

Nicosia Master Plan:
Twenty two years of fruitful technical collaboration

New goals:

- To develop a new common vision for the city centre
- To promote more effective mechanisms of implementation
- To stimulate the active involvement of all interested parties
- To raise citizen awareness regarding the need to preserve and rehabilitate the core of the city
Appendix C: FAB Pilot Project
FORUM for alternative belfast
Belfast is our city; it's our environment. It is essential that we create and develop a city that is accessible, connected, and safe; a good place to live in and a good place to invest in.

The Forum seeks to affect change to Belfast’s built environment. We want to do this by raising awareness and by demonstrating alternative ways that our city can be developed. We are a ‘think’ tank and a ‘do’ tank. We offer an independent forum for the discussion and development of ideas about buildings, spaces and the street infrastructure we use every day.

Address
11 Lombard Street
Belfast
BT1 1RB
Northern Ireland

e-mail: info@forumbelfast.org

www.forumbelfast.org
The Forum includes

Ken Sterrett
Leontia Flynn
Ciaran Mackel
Martin Barrett
Sarah Lappin
Declan Hill
Mark Hackett

Forum for Alternative Belfast is open to collaboration with other organisations and individuals
Introduction – Why do we need a Forum for Alternative Belfast

The Belfast we now live and work in has been shaped in recent years by a relatively unconstrained development market and by an approach to infrastructure that privileges the car over the pedestrian. We seem to be losing our city, our streets and our spaces to the imperatives of profit and functionalist regulation.

How can we start to create and envision a city that we can all enjoy; a city that is connected; a city that is open to all; and a city without barriers? We seem to be almost obsessed with barriers and boundaries; not just barriers between the ‘traditional’ communities, but barriers between the rich and the poor, the city centre and neighbouring communities, and between the institutions of government and the people.

FAB aims to facilitate the development of workable ideas about how Belfast can be developed for all its citizens as well as for visitors. It hopes to encourage debate about how we can influence and affect changes to the built environment. It wants to explore how the mistakes of the past can be addressed and it wants to look imaginatively at opportunities for the future.
The grey doughnut of blighted space surrounds almost the entire city; Dublin Road to the south offers a tenuous connection between neighborhoods and the centre. A long planned completion of the ‘Inner Box’ road, the Bankmore link, threatens this last connection for people on foot.

The city is held on a thread.

To the west huge areas of vacant land are retained unbuilt to accommodate the Wesklink, between this and the ‘Inner Box’ small pockets of housing and buildings feel isolated, like islands in a sea of grey roads.

To the east of the city the river forms a natural break – some cites use rivers and bridges as vital connections, the heart of the city, Belfast however has few bridges and these generate impassable junctions at each end to the pedestrian.

There are no shops or windows in these areas, advertising billboards provide the only visual relief.
The urban blight of the Westlink can be overcome by a design strategy that is essentially self funding. The slip roads and intersections can be calmed and brought into a humane city scale by building active frontages on the wasted publicly owned ground. Projects such as this, we believe, should be the priority initiative for the city in recessionary times - essentially free but affecting huge improvement to the vitality of the city.

We would suggest similar linkages for many parts of the city. To the east the cross city traffic snarls at a few bridges, the walk from the east is windswept and the recent riverside development offers little in the way of shops, cafes or public buildings that one might call into. We need more bridges - small bridges for local traffic with pedestrian and cycle priority.
For the last 40 years Belfast has been shaped and re-shaped by both the ‘troubles’ and by major population shifts. We now have a geography of communities that are disconnected from each other and from the wider city. In addition, a process of change is underway around the inner and central city. New gated communities are emerging with many sitting cheek by jowl with longstanding working class communities. How do the notions of an open city; a connected city; and a sustainable city sit with all of this?
Berry Street is in the heart of Belfast’s commercial core. Except that it’s not really a street – the brick wall enclosure of Castle Court’s rubbish compacting yard stamps across the street removing all commercial vitality. But, with an enquiring imagination and with view to reconnect such lost streets a whole area can be re-invigorated.
Reducing vehicle speed is the single most important factor in creating living streets. Project 20 aims to bring down traffic speed to 20mph outside schools and further across our city. A movement is currently spreading across Europe and the UK. We aim to draw inspiration, work with and share knowledge with other organizations.
The ‘Inner box’ road has been restyled as a Boulevard. Belfast Boulevard is a nine minute film circling the city and looking at both sides of the road.

Belfast Boulevard is about four kilometres long and has about fourteen shops.

A film by Seamus Harohan and Mark Hackett.