



The urban problems of Gazimagusa (Famagusta) and proposals for the future

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The main aim of this article is to put forward various factors, forces, and decisions which have diversified the tendency of urban growth and which have shaped the urban pattern of the city of Gazimagusa (Famagusta)¹ particularly after the war in 1974, and to offer alternative policy recommendations, some strategic planning solutions including general design proposals. These are aimed at dealing with the major problems posed by the fragmentation of the urban fabric. It stresses the post-war tendency and problems of urban growth and development, by addressing the social, cultural and demographic, as well as economic and physical changes the city has been facing since then.

The paper begins with a brief historical review of the evolution of the urban pattern of the city until 1974 and identifies its urban layout at that time. With the arguments in place, the paper will then provide a framework for understanding and solving the urban problems in the city after 1974 and try to evaluate the positive and negative issues, factors and/or forces which have been shaping its urban structure. Finally, some policy recommendations for planning and design solutions are provided as a basis for the integration of developing, neglected and deteriorated quarters of the city. Particular emphasis is made on the Walled City, Maras (Varosha), Asagi Maras (Kato Varosha)² as well as the newly developed and developing quarters, which are bringing the city towards sustainable development. © 1999 Elsevier Science Ltd. All rights reserved

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Introduction

The internal organization and physical layout of an urban settlement is determined by various factors, including environmental issues, social and cultural values and economic and political forces. The interplay of these factors creates a diversified array of urban settlements, many of which contain a historic core with a vast architectural and urban heritage. Considering the urban settlements in Cyprus — the third biggest island in the north-eastern part of the Mediter-

anean Sea (Fig. 1) situated at the crossroads of the east – west and north – south navigation routes, the impact of these interplaying factors can be felt tremendously, since the island was ruled by many different conquerors throughout the centuries. As cities grow, their historic cores, in time, become surrounded by new formal and/or informal urban developments with different architectural and urban characteristics. As a result of the conflict between tradition and modernization in the urban fabric, the overall internal organization and physical layout of these developing cities reveals no cultural identity, continuity or unity.

Older and historic cities with unique image and identity as well as with a considerable urban and architectural value exist in various parts of the world. The urban fabric of these cities is composed of several fragments — an historic core, colonial quarters, and urban developments built in the post-colonial era —

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¹Gazimagusta in Turkish, Famagusta in English. Turkish version will be used within the text.

²Maras and Asagi Maras in Turkish, Varosha and Kato Varosha in English. Turkish version will be used within the text.

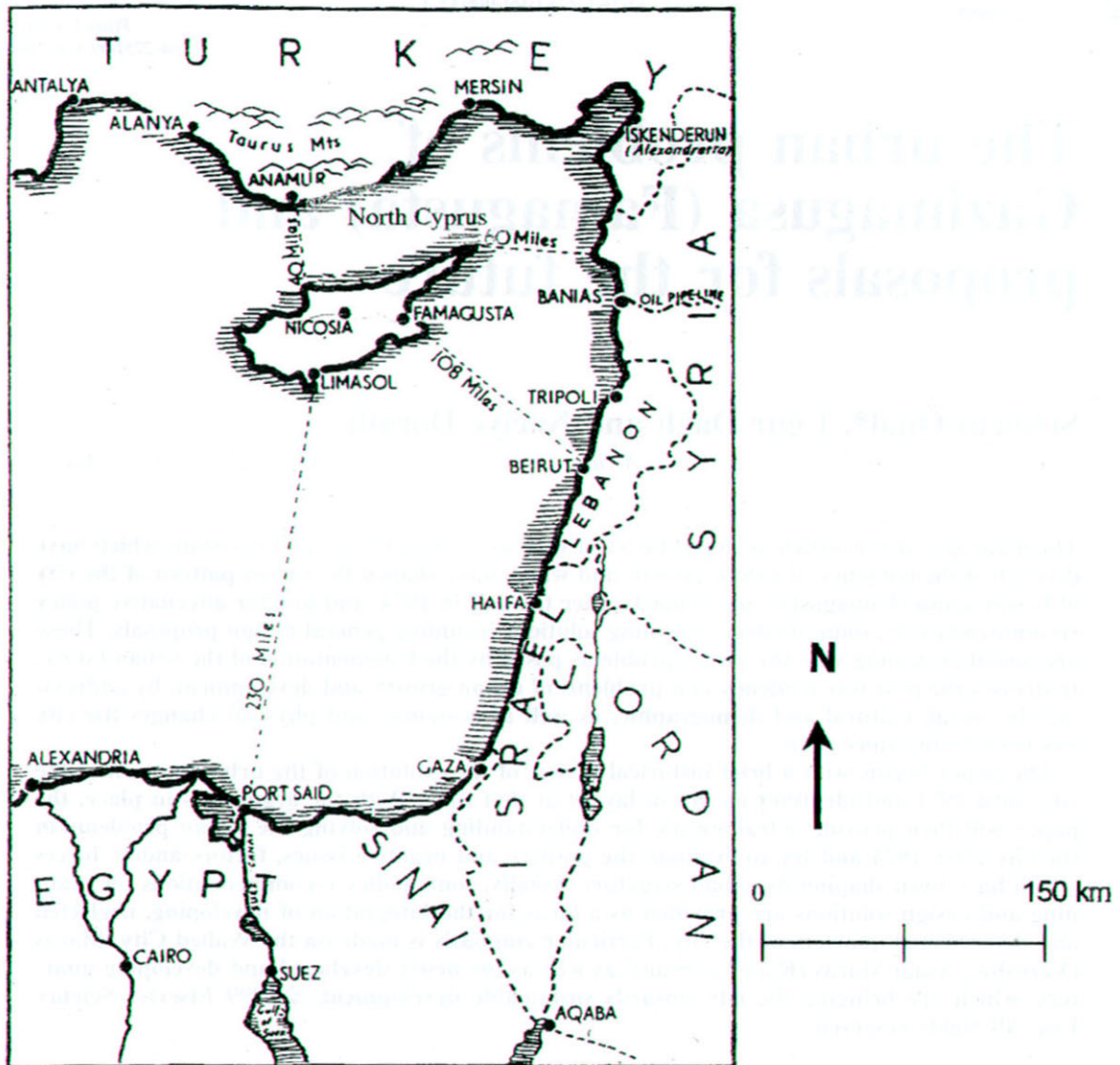


Figure 1 Location of Cyprus in the Eastern Mediterranean

presenting striking physical contrasts and separate economic and social environments which co-exist without much integration. These cities are an important part of the urban and cultural heritage and they have to be appreciated and valued in order to be carried to the future generations as “well-functioning” modern cities.

Gazimagusa, situated on the eastern coast of the island of Cyprus in the eastern Mediterranean sea, is the second largest city of North Cyprus with its nearly 26 000 population and harbor (Fig. 2). Through its long, rich, unique and turbulent history, the city enjoys the opportunity to house many remarkable remains of historical, architectural and cultural heritage of the Island, including the fortifications which are considered to be one of the most precious ensembles of medieval architecture in the world. Over the centuries, the old core of the city has been surrounded by new formal and informal urban develop-

ments which differ drastically from its traditional layout. Based mainly on distinctive physical, functional characteristics, type, rate and development trends, the authors believe that the city of Gazimagusa can be considered to be composed of four main parts:

- (1) The Walled City;
- (2) Asagi Maras region — a district which has been developed mainly by the Greek Cypriots;
- (3) The Maras region — a considerably large district which has been closed to habitation since 1974, lying on the south-east of the Walls; and
- (4) the newly developed quarters to the north-west of the Walls (Fig. 3). With its current form of settlement, Gazimagusa is a unique urban settlement with its closed district (Maras) nearly 25 years old.

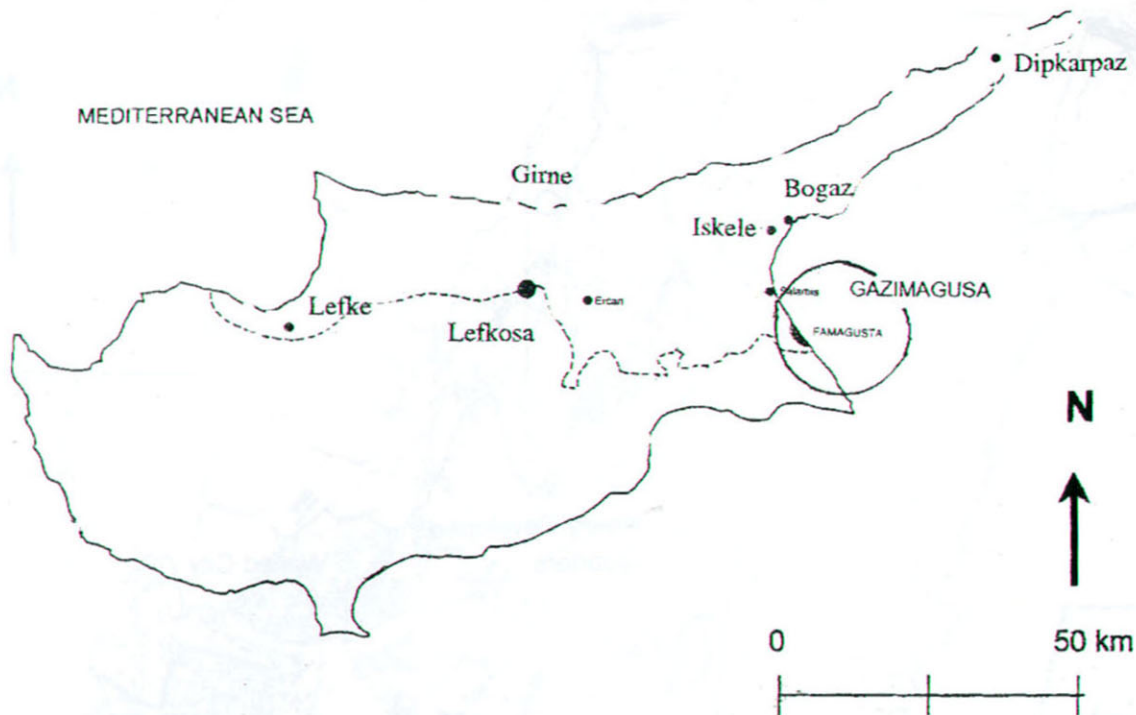


Figure 2 Location of Gazimagusa in North Cyprus

Historic development of the city until 1974

The history and urban development of Gazimagusa date back to the first century AD and the contemporary city has developed throughout seven particular periods: the early periods (648–1192 AD — the foundation of the city); the Lusignan (1192–1489); the Venetian (1489–1571); the Ottoman (1571–1878); the British (1878–1960); 1960–1974; and the period after the war in 1974 (Fig. 4).

Gazimagusa is said to have been built upon the ruins of the ancient lagoon settlement of Arsinoe which was founded by Ptolemy II in 300 BC and named after his sister. For a long while it was nothing but an undistinguished little coastal, fishing town. After the final destruction of neighboring Salamis/Constantia by Arab raiders (Saracens) in 648 AD, the surviving inhabitants moved to the site of today's city and subsequently developed it into a small commercial port. (Parker, 1962, p 23)

In the Lusignan period, Gazimagusa became an important center on account of its natural harbor and because of this, a citadel and a fort were built to protect the city. Thus, originally a small fishing village, Gazimagusa grew in size and importance under the Lusignans in the 13th century, developing into an important trading center between the East and the West (Maier, 1968, p 88). Many religious and public buildings — some of which still survive today — were constructed, including the fine cathedral of St Nicholas which dominates what was one of the largest and richest squares in Europe (Fig. 1).

The Venetians then turned Gazimagusa into a fortified city as a military base. The Walled City (Fig. 2) dating back to the 15th century, is a superb example of a fortified Medieval city with its bastions, citadel (Castella), moat (cut out of solid rock), Sea Gate (Porte del Mare) and Land Gate (Ravelin) (Gunnis, 1936, p 89). At that time the urban pattern of the city developed mainly along the principal axes in the south/north and south-east/north-west directions and the urban center of the city lay within the triangle of St Nicholas church, its square and the Venetian Palace (Fig. 5) (Dagli, 1994, p 187).

The city was conquered by the Ottomans in 1571. In the first two decades following the conquest, population was transferred from Anatolia, and the non-Muslim population was forced to sell properties and move out of the Walled City. Maras ve Asagi Maras — the areas outside the walls towards the south housed this community then. During the Ottoman period, the city was utilized primarily as a kind of station for privileged political exiles and as a military base. Subsequently, the city lost its economic importance since the commercial and economic activities gravitated towards Larnaca — another coastal city to the south of the Island. The attitude of the Ottomans with respect to the city affected the social and economic life as well as the consequent physical and spatial form. They preferred mainly to keep the existing buildings and structures and make use of them with necessary modifications and transformations in order to fit the socio-economic and cultural life of the new

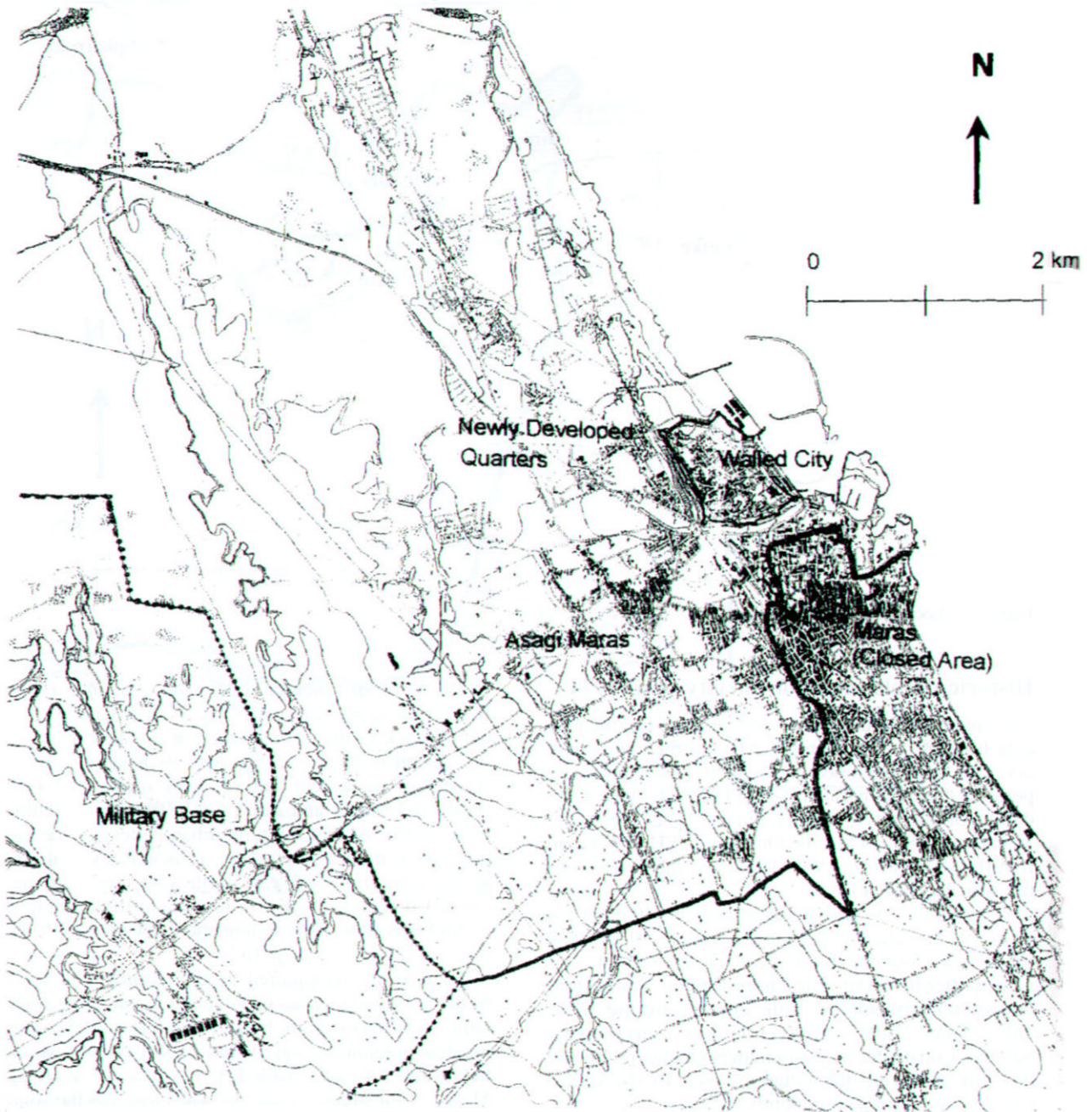


Figure 3 Districts of Gazimagusa

inhabitants, while constructing new structures. In that sense, the significant cathedral was converted into a mosque through an addition of a minaret; a *bedesten*³ and *arasta*⁴ were developed to fulfill the requirements

³*Bedesten* is a typical dome-covered commercial building of the Ottomans, lying in the center of the market area where, usually, luxury goods were sold and stored.

⁴*Arasta* is covered market-place, in the Ottoman cities, usually associated with a mosque.

of merchandise activities; a *medrese*⁵, baths and fountains were built to complete the physical infrastructure in order to meet the basic daily needs. Concentration of population was mainly in the southern half of the Walled City, and the organic urban pattern (Fig. 3) was enriched through the introduction of cul-de-sacs

⁵*Medrese* is an official institution for the teaching of Islamic theology; a theological school.

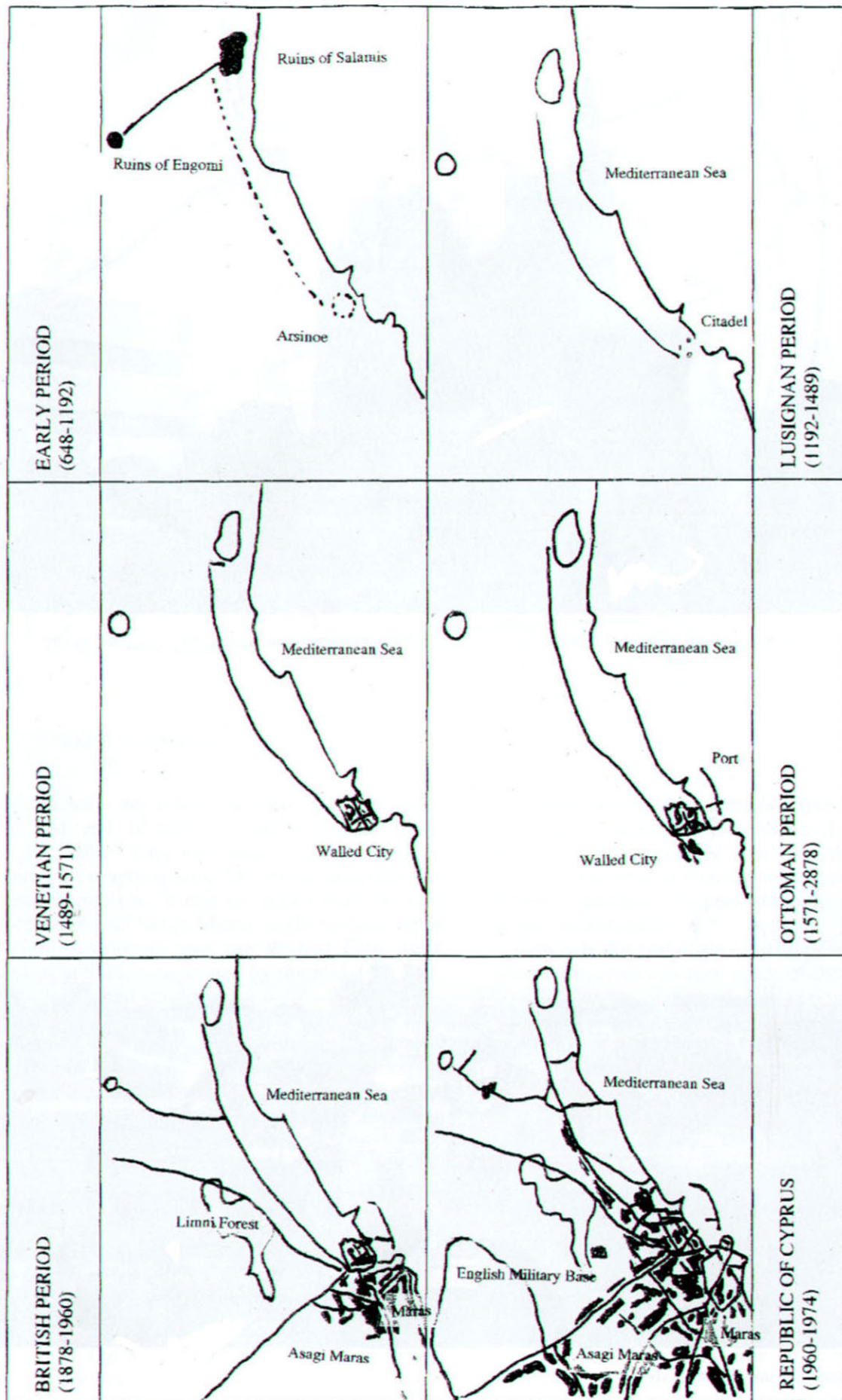


Figure 4 Evolution of Gazimagusa until 1974

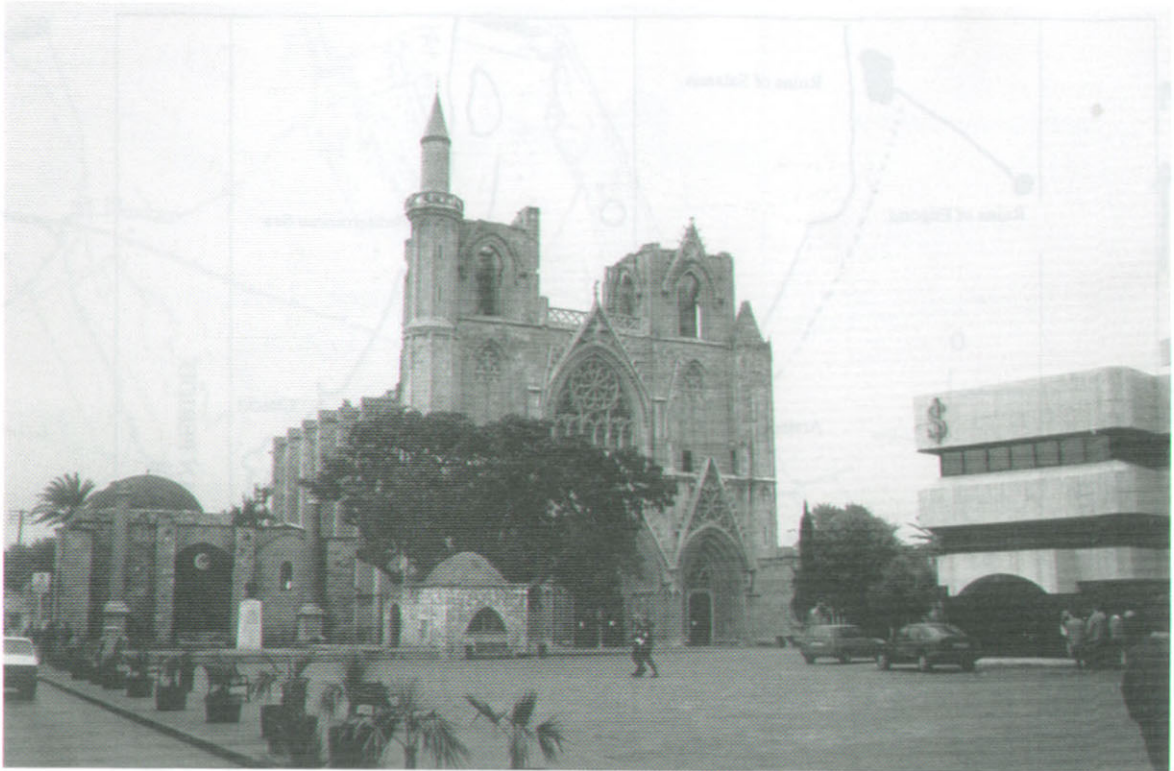


Plate 1 General view of St Nicholas cathedral (today's Lala Mustafa Pasa mosque) and its recently restored square



Plate 2 General view of the Walled City

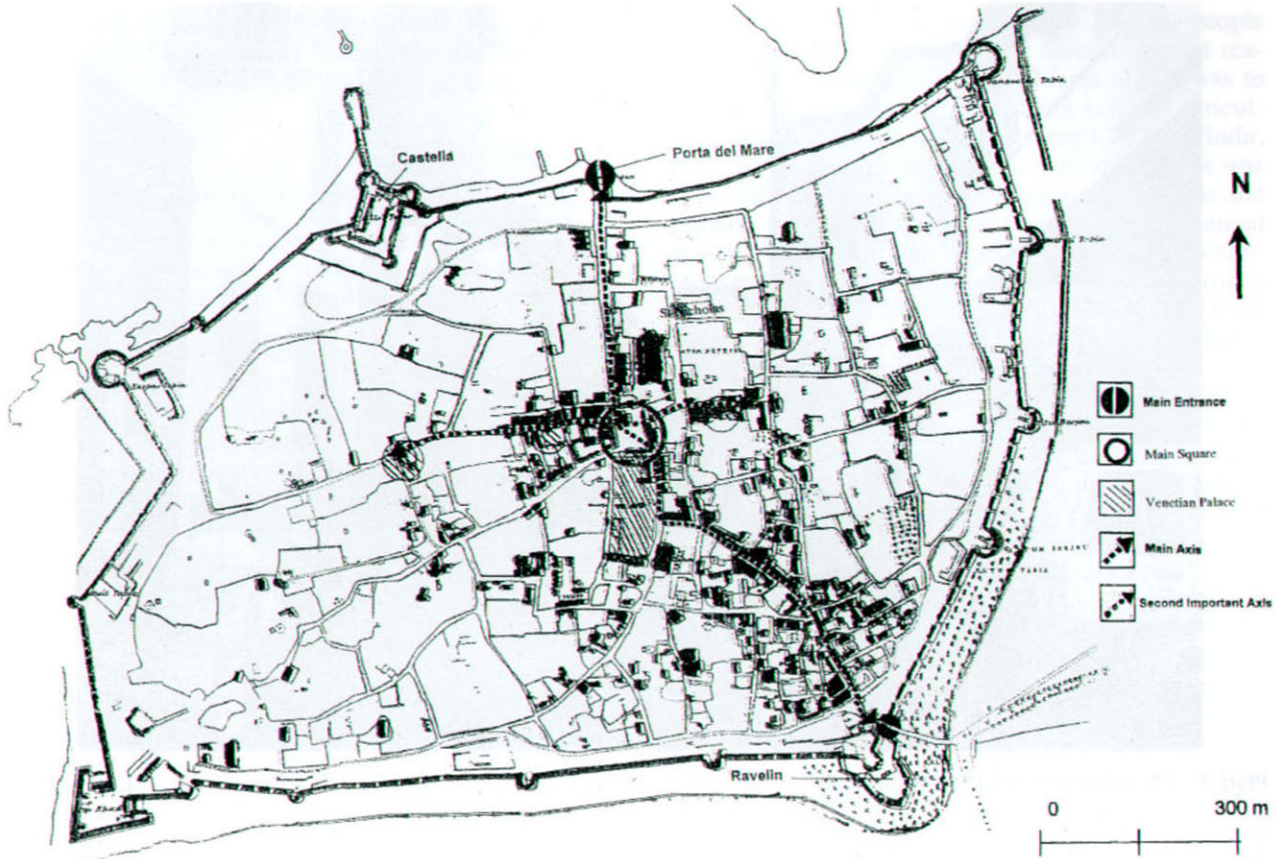


Figure 5 Walled City of Gazimagusa

which fitted well the Islamic culture and life style. Towards the end of this era, according to Luke (1969), the Walled City was extremely low densely populated with empty spaces. Moreover, according to the consular archives, it can be stated that the two suburbs, Maras and Asagi Maras ought to have been much more developed than the Walled City itself then, and were thickly populated by the mid-19th century with many fruit gardens.

In 1878, the Ottomans leased the Island to the British and in 1910 it became a true colony of the British Empire. During the British administration, in which the two ethnic groups in the city — the Greeks and the Turks — were living together, the port of Gazimagusa was expanded and gained importance as a port. Expansion of the city outside the Walls towards the south — which already started during the Ottoman period, was then accelerated.

Thus, the two ethnic groups were distributed around various parts of the overall city: the Turkish Cypriots were living mainly inside the Walls and the Greek Cypriots outside the Walls in the Maras and Asagi Maras districts (Fig. 6). In addition to these living quarters, the British also constructed an administrative center between the Walls and Maras, as a part of their colonial experience. The intention was, then, to develop an alternative city center which

would include mainly administrative and additionally commercial activities. Expansion of the city in this period was dominantly towards Maras, since the major economic activities were controlled by the Greek Cypriots in this part where there existed appropriate opportunities to house them.

Towards the end of the British period, due to modernization, contemporary needs of the community and social changes, new residential, commercial, tourism and recreational areas were also established outside the Walls of the old city as an extension to the Asagi Maras district, as well as in some other parts outside the Walls.

In 1960, the British left the Island and the Republic of Cyprus was founded as a partnership between the Turkish and Greek Cypriots. The administration of the city was separated into two municipalities, the Turkish one being dominant in the Walled City and the Greek one in all other districts. The city grew in size and population to the south-east of Asagi Maras towards Maras district as a tourism center. With the war in Lebanon/Beirut in 1969–1970, the new tourism center in Maras became popular tourist centers. This fact resulted in a dominant change in the overall development pattern of the city of Gazimagusa, which had formerly exhibited a haphazard fashion. The Walled City and the areas outside the Walls, in the



Plate 3 The urban pattern of the Walled City

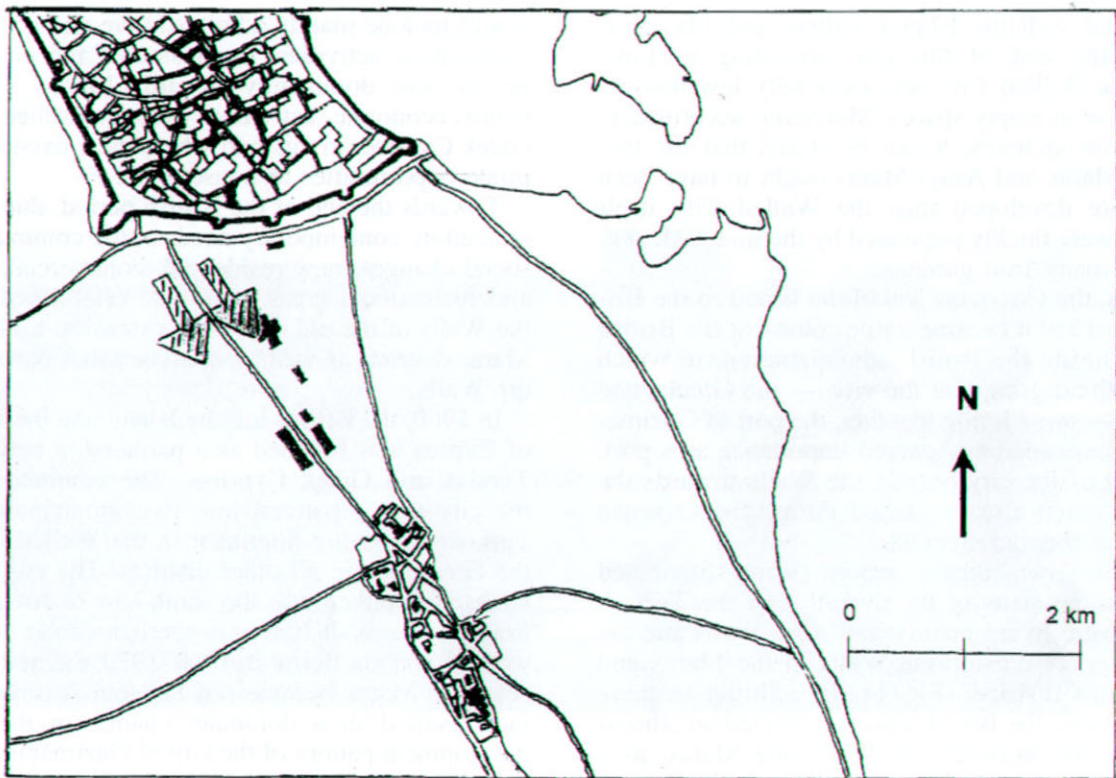


Figure 6 Expansion of the city outside the walls in the British Period

south-west, west and north-west of the Walled City in which the Turks mainly lived, were neglected and fell behind in status with the urbanization of the Maras district.

Urban problems of the city after 1974

Gazimagusa was touched by different kinds of political, socio-economic and cultural determinants which inevitably affected its development, growth and consequent urban form. Before the war in 1974, the city was an important trade and tourism center with a population of 41 000. It was a regional center serving about 120 000 people including its own inhabitants, with its commercial, administrative, educational, and recreational activities. The major source of income was the harbor, commerce and tourism. In addition, citrus groves distributed throughout the city played an important role in the economics of the settlement as a whole.

Turkish intervention is one of the important turning points for the city of Gazimagusa, just as for all Cypriot settlements. After the war in 1974, until the early 80s, the thresholds and constraints were dramatically changed, and urban development was also affected negatively. With the establishment of the High Institute of Technology in 1979 (later the Eastern Mediterranean University), the overall economic and social structure of Gazimagusa has undergone a rapid growth. Therefore, the urban development and growth of the city after 1974 should be studied in two major periods — the city after the war in 1974 until 1986 and the city after the establishment of the University in 1986 — as the major forces, threats, constraints and opportunities responsible for these changes show different characteristics:

The city between 1974 and 1986

Following the war in 1974, after the separation of the Island into two regions (Turkish in the north, Greek in the south), Gazimagusa lost its dominant position. The city has turned out to be one of the rare examples of war-torn cities. Rare in a sense that, on the one hand, the Maras region (which was evacuated by the Greek Cypriot population of approximately 4469 families since then) was left uninhabited due to UN decisions. Without any population and thus any urban activity, the most dynamically developed quarter of the city became a ghost settlement. All prevailing trends of growth and development were terminated. Besides, major income generating activities, tourism and commerce ceased. On the other hand, since Maras was out of use and habitation, the traditional core in the Walled city showed development and growth tendencies; the Walled City, and also the residential areas, including those with large vegetable and fruit gardens (Fig. 4) in Asagi Maras which were left by the Greek Cypriots, were occupied by the Turkish Cypriots who had migrated from the south of the

Island. There was also an influx of Turkish people from the Turkish mainland. The most important reason for settling people in Asagi Maras region was to provide efficient care for the already existing agricultural area and citrus orchards. (Dagli and Bayindir, 1997, p 95). For this purpose, an individual house was allocated for each family while agricultural fields and gardens were distributed. Moreover, new residential quarters (limited in number) developed to the south-west and north-west of the Walls. Thus, the broken social structure started to reorganize and reshape itself under this influence of regeneration in order to function as a city again (Fig. 7).

However, the number of buildings evacuated by the Greek Cypriots created a considerable access to housing stock which was far beyond the demand generated by the natural growth of the Turkish inhabitants of the city. (For information about the Turkish population of the city right before the war of 1974 see Table 1). According to research and studies carried out by the Town Planning Department in 1981, the population of Gazimagusa was increased to 20 000, through the exchange of population between the two communities right after the war and through migrations from Turkey in the following years. Turkish Cypriot refugees were mainly settled in Baykal, Canakkale, Dumlupinar, Namik Kemal, Sakarya, Tuzla, Canbulat and Lala Mustafa Pasa-districts (Fig. 8) and refugees from Turkey were settled in Asagi Maras. The survey showed that approximately 70% of the excess housing stock was used by the local refugees. Moreover, only 30–35% of the population were residents of the city before 1974 (Table 1). Thus, the demographic composition of the population became much more heterogeneous than ever.

Additionally, the termination of the flagship tourism development (which once put Gazimagusa as one of the most important tourism centers of the Island as well as the whole Mediterranean region) degraded the position of the city to a regional center providing commercial, administrative and educational services for its newly defined hinterland. Although being restricted to a certain extent due to the new circumstances, the harbor still kept its important position in trade activities of the northern part of the Island. In addition to the existing physical thresholds — the military area to the north, the Limni forest to the west, the low land which is liable to flooding to the north, and the closed, uninhabited area (Fig. 5), which was once the most prosperous — a new specific constraint was generated as a restriction to the development of the city after 1974. Furthermore, the free-zone located next to the harbor to the north, can also be considered as a constraint for development as well as a barricade that closed the city towards the sea (Fig. 8).

Accordingly, the studies show that, until 1981, the rate of development remained at a very limited level. Due to the surplus housing stock, the variety of the composition of families and the economically active population, and the reorganized and regenerated econ-



Plate 4 General view of the Asagi Maras district: housing within the fruit gardens

omic activities, unadjusted land and property ownership issues influenced the urban growth and development pattern of the overall city and exposed a completely different image and identity to the city than that before 1974. This can be considered as a natural result of the uncertainties in political circumstances and that of the unsettled socio-economic conditions. Following a very stagnant period (it was gradual after the community had started to adjust itself to the new circumstances), the Walled City, and the newly developing residential quarters (Karakol and Baykal districts, where land and property ownership patterns did not create a constraint against development, Fig. 6), showed some growth and development tendencies. The establishment of a High Institute of Technology in 1979 and development of social housing projects by the central authorities (initiated in 1982) also played their role in shaping these tendencies.

The city after 1986

In 1986, the more or less settled economic and social structure of Gazimagusa was subject to a completely different impact. The transformation of the High Institute of Technology to a university — Eastern Mediterranean University (EMU) (Fig. 7) initiated new growth and development trends in the city. Due to the lack of any physical plan, the city has been unprepared to accommodate the increasing number of students together with academic staff and to house all the activities that have been required by the new “guest residents” of the city. Thus, the city, which was once

a great pole of attraction for tourism development before 1974, and was afterwards degraded to a simple regional center, has undergone completely different dynamics which were generated by a new flagship sector: the University. This fact can be considered as a result of a natural process: cities may survive and grow long after their original reason for existence has disappeared or been destroyed (Spreiregen, 1971, p 23). The critical issue here is to find out how the new opportunities should be evaluated to promote a well-balanced, appropriate growth and development of Gazimagusa.

The main change in the overall structure of Gazimagusa was in the diversion of the direction of growth — which was mainly towards the south before 1974 — towards and beyond the University in an opposite direction. Thus, in general, the changes occurred in the city should be studied individually, first, in terms of housing developments, and second, haphazard sprawling development of the service sector, which are both responsible for the existing urban development pattern of the city.

- (1) The housing development in the city was mainly in terms of horizontal expansion — one or two storey residential buildings — with only a few exceptions until 1986. Since the provision for accommodation for the students and staff offered by the University was far beyond the real requirements, trends in housing development have undergone remarkable changes. Between 1986 and 1990, vertical expansion in the newly

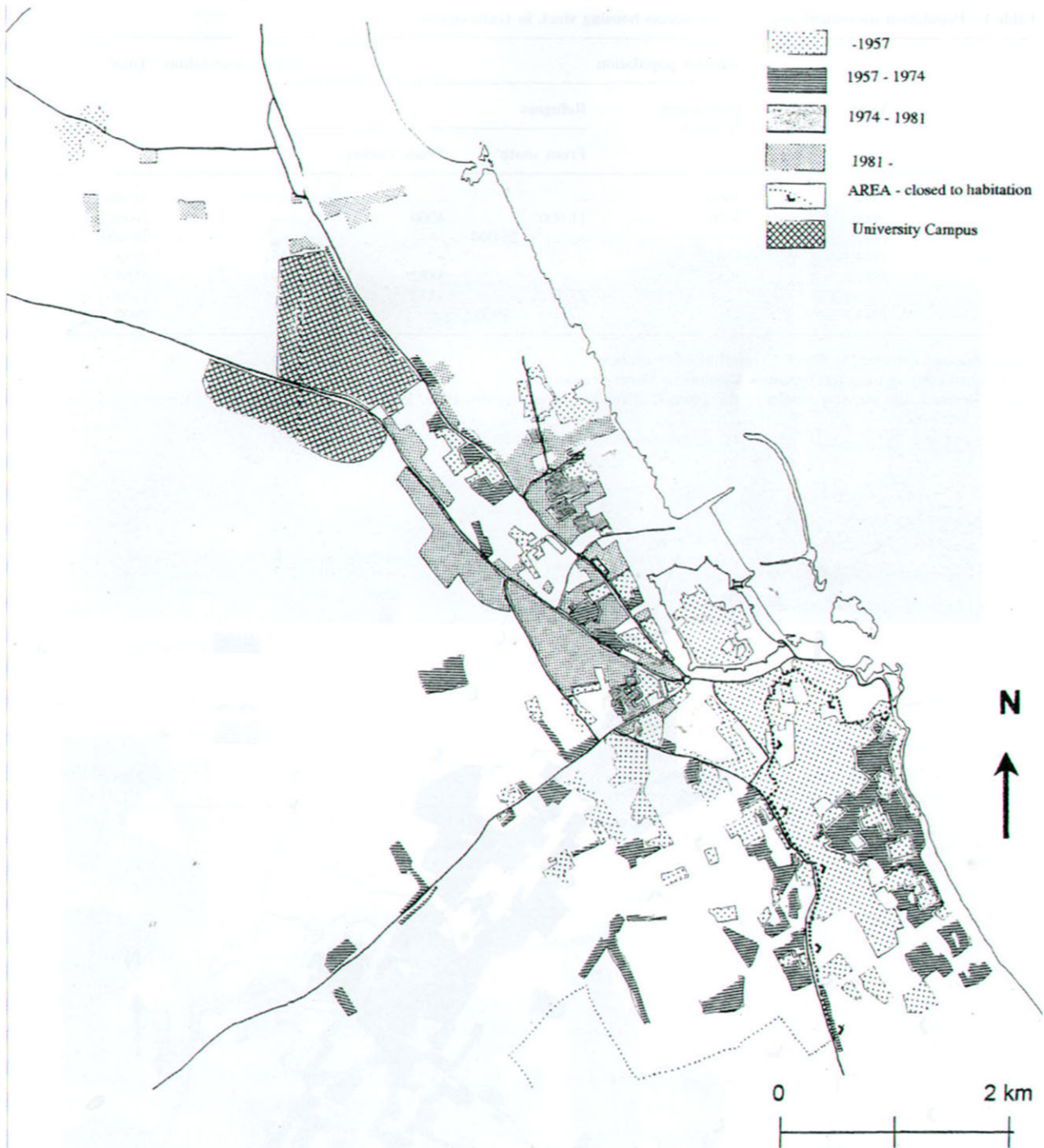


Figure 7 Development of the City

developing quarters became preferable. Thus, in the Baykal district, for example, beside the construction of multi-storey housing blocks, floor additions to the old residential blocks became a natural trend. A similar trend applied to the Sakarya district where there were almost no apartment blocks before. The Karakol district, which was once almost an empty area within the city with

its orchards, gardens, and grain fields, had most of its share from these new trends due to its proximity to the University campus. Additionally, Dumlupinar, the Walled City and other districts of the city — with the exception of Asagi Maras district — have also been affected by the new wave developments. In the Asagi Maras district, due to the proximity to the uninhabited area of

Table 1 Population movement and re-use of access housing stock in Gazimagusa

	Year	Turkish population			Greek population	Total
		Permanent resident	Refugees			
			From south	From Turkey		
Inhabitants	1974	5000	–	–	36 000	41 000
	1981	5000	11 000	4000	–	20 000
	1997		26 000		–	26 000
Housing	1974	1282	–	–	8531	9813
	1981	1282		3882 ^a	4649 ^b	5164
			2770	1112		
	1997		8900		–	8900

^aExcess housing units left by Greek Cypriots in other districts.

^bUnoccupied housing units left by Greek Cypriots in Maras (Varosa).

Source: Research and planning studies of the Town Planning Department (1984, 1995, 1997).



Figure 8 Physical thresholds



Plate 5 General view of the uninhabited Maras district



Plate 6 Urban pattern in Karaköl: a newly developing district



Plate 7 Eastern Mediterranean University

Maras and consequently due to the uncertainties in the political situation, no new housing developments, nor any additions to the existing ones occurred. Moreover, a distinctive feature in the development in the housing sector which should also be emphasized is the initiation of mass housing projects to increase the supply of dwellings in order to catch the gradual increase in demand. Unfortunately, these efforts resulted only in increasing the provision of housing units — just simply as units laid out in relentless repetition — without any deep concern for the generation of “quality living environments”.

- (2) In addition to provision of relevant accommodation facilities and the need generated by the new socio-economic composition, other facilities in the service sector should also have been provided. For a long time after 1974, the traditional core and the retail activities relied on the main arteries. Due to the increasing number of students (from 1000 in 1986 to about 10 000 in 1997) which forms more than 40% of the total population of Gazimagusa, not only has the need for existing retail and service activities increased, but also a considerable diversification in activities in accordance with the new socio-economic structure has occurred. Since no plan exists, these emerging activities show an accelerated sprawl by means of shops, restaurants, cafes, bars, discos, laundry service shops, etc. throughout the city. Thus, this kind of development has resulted in several forms of deficiencies which can be summarized as follows:

- (i) since their positioning is completely dependent

on the decisions of private investors, it is very often that the physical environment is negatively affected;

- (ii) inadequacy of parking provisions generates unfavorable conditions on one hand, and contributes to the chaos of traffic on the other;

- (iii) the private entrepreneurs are mainly focused on offering a particular service without focusing on the quality of the physical environment;

- (iv) as a result of this general development in the service sector, apart from the traditional core within the Walls, it is almost impossible to define an identifiable city with a center or focal points in the form of activity nodes for congregation and social intercourse.

Whether in housing or in any service sector, all kinds of developments are generated in a sporadic haphazard fashion. Consequently, the existing road network in highly developed and/or developing districts is almost blocked at specific nodes.

Policy recommendations for the future of the city

Based on the main urban problems which the overall city of Gazimagusa has been faced with throughout history, there is an urgent need to initiate design and planning solutions for the future development and growth of the city. However, the authors felt that it was necessary to summarize the existing situation and operational legislation of Town and Country Planning in Turkish Republic of North Cyprus (TRNC) in general and, in particular, to emphasize the problems of the city today before any solutions are proposed.

Existing operational legislation for physical development

In Northern Cyprus (in the TRNC) physical development is controlled through two main legislation rules:

- (1) The Streets and Buildings Regulation Law (enacted in 1946 during the British Colonial Period and revised in 1969): development control is exercised under this law, and it applies to the control of buildings and construction only. Although having some provisions (power to define Zones) for town and country planning purposes (section 14 for this law), these provisions are quite inadequate for planning purposes.
- (2) Town and Country Planning Law: enacted in 1989 aiming to empower the Town Planning Department with appropriate authority for the preparation and implementation of Physical Plans of different contents and scales through which the development could be effectively controlled and this control enforced. However, due to multi-dimensional constraints (administrative, organizational, technical, financial), comprehensive plans for separate urban settlements are either not finalized or not fully in operation. Physical development is still mainly taking place in accordance with the old legislation which results in a haphazard, sporadic sprawl of development. The city of Gazimagusa under discussion is no exception to this general trend.

The urban problems of Gazimagusa today

As has been discussed above, the city of Gazimagusa has been faced with a number of unique urban problems, which can be discussed separately (yet knowing that they are all intermingled) for each four districts — the Walled City, Maras, Asagi Maras, and the new developing quarters. The contemporary situation in each of these districts and their relation to the whole city will be further discussed.

The Walled City, fortunately, still keeps its historic urban character and identity today with its monumental structures and with its organic urban pattern. The problems of decay and deterioration that are seen in many historic settlements has not reached a dangerous critical level in this historic quarter of Gazimagusa. This is mainly due to the restriction of building heights which has been applied since the 1960s. However, the Walled City might lose its character in the near future due to the fast development. The main problems which are threatening the Walled City today are, the neglected areas which have a great potential, the vacant historic buildings and the public spaces around them; the incompatible uses given to these spaces, such as repair shops, depots, etc. which do not fit the characteristics of the historic environment; the inappropriate repairs, interventions and restorations especially to the facades of historic buildings; the new developments which are in contrast to the

form, volume, scale, proportion and identity of the old buildings which make up the historic environment; the chaotic use of advertisement boards or commercial writings on the facades.

The problems occurring in Asagi Maras region, where the architectural environment shows mostly rural characteristics, are different. The first generation immigrants from Turkey who settled down in the area after 1974 have been facing severe problems of adaptation, not being able to pursue their lives in favorable conditions, mainly due to the unadjusted land and property ownership issues as well as the uncertain conditions in the political arena. Consequently, no investment or developments have been made in the area, and the physical characteristics of the region remain quite the same as it was before. Having a border to the uninhabited Maras district can also be considered as a negative impact on the developments in the area. Moreover, due to the lack of means of public transport, even after the establishment of the university, the district did not show any signs of development.

Having been closed to habitation and any urban activity for more than 20 years, Maras itself sets a major problem for the overall city. Once being the most dynamically developing quarter of the city, the district housed 45 hotels consisting of 10 000 accommodation units, 60 apartment type hotels, about 3000 commercial units, 99 recreation centers, 143 administrative offices, 4649 private houses, 21 banks, 24 theaters/cinemas and 380 unfinished constructions (Kibris; 1997; p 4), all left empty and unused since 1974. It has become too expensive, if not impossible, to repair, restructure and/or restore these buildings since they are considerably under the threat of destruction and decay. Additionally, due to the problems of environmental hygiene occurring because of being uninhabited for a very long time, the overall architectural environment of the district is heavily under physical and aesthetic obsolescence. Whatever the political solution will be in the future, the integration or non-integration of the region with the overall city will create a considerable amount of problems for Gazimagusa. In order to minimize these problems, some alternative planning solutions (see proposals for the future) within particular strategies should be introduced so that Maras gains back its importance while creating minimum problems to the whole city of Gazimagusa.

Finally, the newly developing quarters in Gazimagusa show a completely different structure to the character of the city. Due to the lack of a master plan for urban development and growth, physical developments take place in accordance with the legislation enacted in 1946 during the British Period, which regulates only individual buildings within unified (overall) plot ratio limits. As a result, these new quarters show a random development without any architectural identity and image. Lack of defined open spaces and green areas, as well as lack of unity; uncontrolled

constructions; undefined public spaces in these new quarters, all help to create an environment without character. Rapid developments in the housing sector is still in an increasing trend. The Baykal district approaches the state of being almost fully developed, followed by Karakol district which looks like a huge construction site. Tuzla, which was once a quiet village within the boundaries of the Municipality, also shows similar characteristics. Furthermore, construction companies in the private sector have also started to develop duplex-type mass-housing projects around the Tuzla village core.

To sum up, the city is under the threat of negative development with unique problems, urgently requiring healthy planning principals and some design solutions for the near future.

Proposals for the future

Planning is the process of gathering knowledge about the resources and need — both existing and future — and setting goals as well as preserving the urban heritage. Thus, it is about determining the future environment and looking after our cultural heritage. Considering all districts — the Walled City, Maras, Asagi Maras and the newly developing quarters to form a well-functioning sustainable city, the future of Gazimagusa relies on the most critical indicator, that is “political awareness and will”. Therefore, four different scenarios can be identified based on four alternative political solutions:

- (1) What will happen to the city if the uninhabited Maras district is opened up to the common use of both the Greek and Turkish Cypriots under the ruling of the United Nations?
- (2) How will the city evolve, if Maras is opened up to the habitation of the Turkish population only?
- (3) What will happen to the city if Maras is given to the Greek Cypriots?
- (4) What will happen to the city if today's existing situation continues further?

According to Scenario 1, the uninhabited Maras district will be opened up to the common use of both the Greek and Turkish Cypriots under the ruling of United Nations. In that case, it is, first of all, assumed that the economic base of the overall city will improve and dominance of the university will have to be shared by the rising tourism sector. Consequently, Asagi Maras will act as a service sector to Maras with its labor power and agricultural potential, whereas in the new developing districts, the existing trends will prevail. Accordingly, development of tourism facilities should be encouraged; the university should be integrated into the city; the agricultural areas in the Asagi Maras district should be utilized as a potential area for development and also as an open land for sustainability in the area. As for the new districts, priority and future development areas should be identified in order to facilitate and support consolidation

and a well balanced development, in the case of Scenario A, as well as in all other scenarios.

Moreover, in any of the four scenarios, the assumption is that the historic identity of the Walled City will have to be emphasized and a need will arise to conserve the area through revitalization which would integrate the functional and economic base of the area with the whole city. Thus, appropriate improvements and enhancement should be done for a cultural and recreational quarter which will function actively for 24 h with mixed-uses. Besides, a conservation plan and area schemes for specific points in the Walled City should also be prepared.

Scenario 2 proposes that Maras will be opened up to the habitation of only the Turkish population. Thus, the development trends within the overall city will change completely; Asagi Maras will develop as an attractive residential area; and the direction of growth of the city towards the north will be terminated. Accordingly, provisions should be provided for the proper integration of the Asagi Maras with Maras and the other districts in terms of both functional and physical characteristics. Besides, the University should integrate itself into the city on an educational, social and cultural basis, and additionally, tourism facilities should be encouraged. Moreover, the road network should be reconsidered and improved in order to provide well accessibility throughout the entire region of the city.

Considering the last two scenarios, it is assumed that, in Scenario 3 Maras will be left to the Greek Cypriots and will be definitely separated from the city of Gazimagusa, and in Scenario 4, today's existing situation of uncertainties will continue further. Although the two scenarios are conceptually different, the development trends for the overall city, as well as for the new districts seem to be identical. Thus, for both cases it is believed that, the identity of the settlement as a University city will be strengthened and development trends will be distributed to all districts; and the existing trends will continue for the new districts. Consequently, as in Scenario 2, the University should integrate itself to the city on educational, social and cultural grounds; tourism facilities should be encouraged; and transportation/road network should be improved in order to provide well accessibility throughout the entire region of the city. Moreover, for the new districts, in order to facilitate and support consolidation and a well-balanced development, priorities and future development areas should be identified.

On the other hand, the two scenarios vary for the development trends of Asagi Maras. Due to the termination of political uncertainties, according to Scenario 3, the area will become attractive to the private developers, and the district will have to be given an opportunity to develop functionally (through the introduction of a Faculty of Agriculture) while keeping its physical characteristics (scale, greenery, etc.). However, the existing trends will prevail in Scenario

Table 2 General framework of planning solutions and proposals for the future of Gazimagusa based on four scenarios

Specific areas	Possible outcome/proposal	Scenario A	Scenario B	Scenario C	Scenario D
Walled City	Possible outcome	Historic identity of the area will be emphasized and a need will arise to conserve the area through revitalization which would integrate the functional and economic base of the area with the whole city			
	Proposal	Appropriate improvements and enhancement should be done for a cultural and recreational quarter which will function actively for 24 h with mixed-uses. A conservation plan and area schemes for specific points in the Walled City should be prepared.			
Asagi Maras	Possible outcome	The area will provide service sector to Maras with its manpower and agricultural potential	The area will develop as an attractive residential district	Due to the termination of political uncertainties, the area will become attractive to the private developers	The existing trends will prevail
	Proposal	The agricultural areas should be utilized as a potential area for development and also as an open land for sustainability in the area	Provisions should be made for good integration of the district with Maras and the other districts in terms of both functional and physical characteristics	The district should be given an opportunity to develop functionally — through the introduction of a Faculty of Agriculture — while keeping its physical characteristics (scale, greenery, etc)	The agricultural areas should be utilized as as potential area for development and also as an open land for sustainability in the area
New districts	Possible outcome	The existing trends will prevail	The direction of growth of the city towards the north will be terminated	The existing trends will prevail	
	Proposal	Priority and future development areas should be identified in order to facilitate and support consolidation and a well balanced development			
Overall city	Possible outcome	The economic base will improve and dominance of the university will be shared by the tourism sector	Development trends will completely change	The identity of the settlement as a university city will be strengthened and development trends will be distributed to all districts	
	Proposal	Development of tourism facilities should be encouraged and the university should be integrated into the city	The university should integrate itself into the city on an educational, social and cultural basis, and additionally, tourism facilities should also be encouraged. Transportation/road network should be reconsidered and improved in order to provide good accessibility throughout the entire region of the city		

4, and thus, the agricultural areas will have to be utilized as a potential area for development and also as an open land for sustainability in the area.

Having discussed the possible outcomes of each of the four scenarios mentioned above, the planning solutions and proposals within each scenario are also analyzed and summarized through a matrix (Table 2). Examining Table 2, one will realize that, no difference in the development trends of (nor in proposals for) the Walled City can be seen in the four scenarios; whereas Asagi Maras fully, and new districts partly, reflect the conceptual differences of each scenario.

However, regardless of any variations in these scenarios, it can be argued that planning solutions and proposals should be considered as an integral part of an overall Structure Plan (Master Plan) for the city. The Master Plan which should be prepared by the Town Planning Department (Planning Authority

under 55/89 Town and Country Planning Law), has to be a “flexible plan” adaptable to changing circumstances (adaptable under each scenario).

In addition to these planning proposals in accordance with the specific conditions, one should also realize that the University creates a potential as well as a threat to the overall city. On the one hand, unless the University and the Planning and Local Authorities work in collaboration with each other then the University might easily become a threat for the overall development of Gazimagusa. On the other hand, the planning and local authorities could easily use the potential of the University as an educational and cultural organization to develop the city as a regional cultural center.

Moreover, regardless the political decisions on Maras and the influence of the University on the overall city, some general recommendations for the future



Plate 8 Contemporary housing within the city

of Gazimagusa at planning and design levels, based on the overall identity of the city, can be listed as follows⁶:

- (1) The central government must give greater priority to the physical environment and the long-term future of the city. Hence, every effort should be given to finalize the planning studies for the declaration of a master plan for the city.
 - (2) The central government must also promulgate clear design advice in ministerial circulars and policy statements for the city in order to improve the physical and functional quality of the new developments.
 - (3) Local planning authorities, that is the municipality, have a duty to recognize the importance of urban design, reorganize the existing building permission procedures and appoint appropriate personnel at all levels of seniority to handle urban design tasks.
 - (4) The overall objective must be to create a rich, vibrant, mixed-used environment which is visually stimulating and attractive to its residents as well as visitors.
 - (5) Conserving the best of the past, looking after the present needs and devising an appropriate future for the city must be the main task. In that sense,
- (6) Unique characteristics of the Walled City, which derive from the uses; the height, scale, and bulk of buildings; the color, materials and texture; edges; roof profiles; landmarks; etc should be preserved and should be taken into account in devising development and rehabilitation proposals, with a view to emphasizing the uniqueness of not only the city, but also each of the constituent parts thereof, underlying the differences from the adjoining ones.
 - (7) More sensitive, friendly developments in which color, pattern, texture and materials as well as technological excellence and innovation combine to create enjoyable places and attractive buildings in all parts of the city.
 - (8) Open sites and spaces should be enhanced by tree-planting to re-establish the building lines and/or to create more attractive urban areas.
 - (9) Development and urban design briefs should be prepared for all, and particularly, key sites; action plans for specific areas where physical, functional and aesthetic characteristics call for urgent interventions; and a strong control mechanism should be established for them to be applied correctly.

⁶It is legally possible to bring to life in great proportion these recommendations. In order to use this potential effectively it is important that political and organizational arrangements should be made.

Conclusion

Over the history of any development, several specific factors — environmental, social, cultural, economic, political — have contributed to growth and development. Today, the rate of recent changes — in social, physical, economic, political conditions, in the society coupled with shifts in population patterns of cities, should be met by a wide array of legislative tactics which maintain a tight gasp on the development of our environments.

Gazimagusa, which has been struggling between being a grown and partially planned settlement since its foundation, exhibits a great deal of dynamism in terms of growth and development potential. However, due to the extremely high and multi-dimensional uncertainty (which is inherent in any planning activity), there is an urgent need to determine a flexible course of action in order to utilize the potential before they endanger the sustainability and development of the city in favorable dimensions.

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