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Articles

Front Pages

EMRE BAYSOY
New-Regionalism: The Slipknot of the Two Rival Trends?

ENVER GÜLSEVEN
Identity Contestations in the Turkish Cypriot Community and the Peace Process in Cyprus

ILARIA GEDDES
Understanding the Mechanisms and Impact of Growth on the Urban Form and Functioning of Cities: An Application to the Case of Limassol

SAID AL GHAWIEL
Implementing Quality to Assess the Performance of the Educational System: A Preliminary Case Study at the Libyan University Al Jabal Al Gharbi
Mission

ATINER is a *World Non-Profit Association* of Academics and Researchers based in Athens. ATINER is an independent *Association* with a *Mission* to become a forum where Academics and Researchers from all over the world can meet in Athens, exchange ideas on their research and discuss future developments in their disciplines, *as well as engage with professionals from other fields*. Athens was chosen because of its long history of academic gatherings, which go back thousands of years to *Plato’s Academy* and *Aristotle’s Lyceum*. Both these historic places are within walking distance from ATINER’s downtown offices. Since antiquity, Athens was an open city. In the words of Pericles, *Athens*“... *is open to the world, we never expel a foreigner from learning or seeing*”. (“Pericles’ Funeral Oration”, in Thucydides, *The History of the Peloponnesian War*). It is ATINER’s *mission* to revive the glory of Ancient Athens by inviting the World Academic Community to the city, to learn from each other in an environment of freedom and respect for other people’s opinions and beliefs. After all, the free expression of one’s opinion formed the basis for the development of democracy, and Athens was its cradle. As it turned out, the Golden Age of Athens was in fact, the Golden Age of the Western Civilization. *Education* and *(Re)searching* for the ‘truth’ are the pillars of any free (democratic) society. This is the reason why *Education* and *Research* are the two core words in ATINER’s name.
New-Regionalism: The Slipknot of the Two Rival Trends?
Emre Baysoy

Identity Contestations in the Turkish Cypriot Community and the Peace Process in Cyprus
Enver Gülseven

Understanding the Mechanisms and Impact of Growth on the Urban Form and Functioning of Cities: An Application to the Case of Limassol
Ilaria Geddes

Implementing Quality to Assess the Performance of the Educational System: A Preliminary Case Study at the Libyan University Al Jabal Al Gharbi
Said Al Ghawiel
# Athens Journal of Mediterranean Studies

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Before you submit, please make sure your paper meets some basic academic standards, which include proper English. Some articles will be selected from the numerous papers that have been presented at the various annual international academic conferences organized by the different divisions and units of the Athens Institute for Education and Research.

The plethora of papers presented every year will enable the editorial board of each journal to select the best ones, and in so doing, to produce a quality academic journal. In addition to papers presented, ATINER encourages the independent submission of papers to be evaluated for publication.

The current issue of the Athens Journal of Mediterranean Studies (AJMS) is the first issue of the sixth volume (2020).

Gregory T. Papanikos, President
Athens Institute for Education and Research
13th Annual International Conference on Mediterranean Studies
6-9 April 2020, Athens, Greece

The Center for European & Mediterranean Affairs organizes the 13th Annual International Conference on Mediterranean Studies, 6-9 April 2020, Athens, Greece sponsored by the Athens Journal of Mediterranean Studies. The aim of the conference is to bring together academics and researchers from all areas of Mediterranean Studies, such as history, arts, archaeology, philosophy, culture, sociology, politics, international relations, economics, business, sports, environment and ecology, etc. You may participate as stream leader, presenter of one paper, chair a session or observer. Please submit a proposal using the form available (https://www.atiner.gr/2020/FORM-MDT.doc).

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Important Dates
- Abstract Submission: 9 December 2019
- Acceptance of Abstract: 4 Weeks after Submission
- Submission of Paper: 9 March 2020

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- Delphi Visit
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Important Dates

- Abstract Submission: 17 February 2019
- Acceptance of Abstract: 4 Weeks after Submission
- Submission of Paper: 18 May 2020

Academic Member Responsible for the Conference

- Dr. Bettina Koch, Head, Politics & International Affairs Unit, ATINER & Associate Professor of Political Science, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, USA.

Social and Educational Program

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New-Regionalism: The Slipknot of the Two Rival Trends?

By Emre Baysoy*

The world’s security structure is facing a qualitative change and there is an ongoing search for achieving equilibrium for global security. There is a need to analyze what the catalytic determinants of the contemporary security issues are. Examining the issue of regionalism may be helpful to reveal those determinants to some extent. The fact that new threats to the new security environment are regional in scope and effect, regions and regionalism can be considered as the prominent unit of analysis level. Especially, regionalism may suggest a theoretical framework for assessing the two main trends of globalization which are consolidation and disintegration. In an effort to widen the scope of regionalism, this study firstly overviews the regionalism studies of the Cold War era. Secondly, the ‘new-regionalism’ and the alternate approaches within the new-regionalism studies are mentioned. Finally, it is offered that how a regional perspective can enrich the inquiry of the catalytic determinants. The purpose of this paper is to introduce and explain the theoretical basis of new-regionalism in security studies and to contribute to the acceleration of the discussions since regionalism can be the slipknot of the consolidation and disintegration trends both in theory and in practice.

Keywords: Global Security, Globalization, New-Regionalism, Regionalism.

Introduction

The issue of security can be studied in three different contexts. These contexts can be classified as: conceptual, structural and geopolitical. Although these frameworks are compatible with each other either one offers different methods. The conceptual framework can be examined in two subfields. At the first subfield, security can be identified as an abstract concept that the “situation of being well” or “being away from fear and threat”. At the second subfield, security is a referential concept. Each dimension of the security becomes meaningful with reference to specific issues. These specific issues are the main problems and threats. As a referential concept, security can be classified as two subfields as functional and object reference. At the functional dimension, there are political, economic, socio-cultural and military issues.

These mentioned referential points change and vary according to the change of the international structure. In other words, the problems and threats are redefined in relation to the new developments. Since every international structure has its own priorities and issues, new threats and new threat perceptions occur according to those priorities and issues. Therefore, in order to identify new threats

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and to take precautions, the qualitative changes in the international security structure should be determined, in line with these changes and developments, every system and/or unit (state-group-organization) endeavor to develop its own mechanism of security perception. At this point, it can be said that since threats and problems are getting a regional character, a regional perspective is needed to generate required precautions.

Secondly, the structural context is consisting of national, global and regional levels. At the national level Europe, Middle East, Atlantic-Pacific axis, Central Asia, Caucasus and the Far East consist the conventional focal points. The geopolitical context is consisting of changing factors such as economic and hegemonic orders. Changing factors can be studied both at global and regional level. Regional theory, although focuses on a regional level, regards other levels as well and designate which level is the main determinant according to the time and space. That is why; regional research level is not only to examine the events and issues of the selected level but also to inquire other levels as well.

This paper mainly focuses on the new regionalism with the assumption that construction of the new political entities or units may be based on regional dynamics, rather than internal dynamics of a state. In reference to David Singer’s (1961) classical text “The Level of Analysis Problem”, this study argues that in contemporary era the regional layer becomes weigh favorably against interstate and domestic levels in conjunction with the global level. But this is not to say that interstate and domestic levels have lost their significance, rather they become meaningful only in a regional context.

It is possible to say that after the Arab Spring, Northern Africa and Eastern Mediterranean is in structural turmoil and this turmoil has not come to an end. In such a situation new regionalism has a potential to provide the needed theoretical base in search for a new political structures and entities. This is not to say this paper is offering that new regionalism is or should be the answer. In contrary, new regionalism has great deficits in terms of democracy and/or people will, regarding how much it considers the peoples’ interests in regard to the stability of energy supply and the security of trade routes etc. However, since new regionalism is a part of the reality it should be considered and highlighted again in such a perspective. Yet, evaluation of a specific region such as the Middle East, Eastern Mediterranean or Far East is out of the scope of this study. Still, although, the article is limited by a theoretical and conceptual framework, it is possible to say that this context is best visible at Northern Africa and Eastern Mediterranean. The relation with the new regionalism and Eastern Mediterranean’s actual politics is another study’s subject. Finally, the article does not assert that it covers all the old and new regionalism literature review, still it will point out some basic approaches and different conceptualizations of regionalism.

**Concepts of Region and Regionalism**

The “region” has no one single definition. Different disciplines and different contexts define region in various forms. A region can be defined as geographically,
functionally (Mansfield and Milner 1999), politically and economically (Fishlow and Haggard 1992, as cited in Mansfield and Milner 1999). However, a very general definition of a region can be defined as a space in which there is an observable interaction between the actors and institutions in a specific geography (Gunnarson 2000). Therefore, in general, a region can be understood as an association of a group of states on the basis of geographical closeness (Mansfield and Milner 1999).

On the other hand, regionalism is defined as a region’s capacity to be a particular actor (predicated on the capacity of the regional cooperation among the regional actors) that act as part at the world stage (Gunnarson 2000). However, there can also be unstructured security regions because of the instability of region states. In such regions, there occurs reluctance of ex-regional states and a strong international configuration that overlays regional powers. In this sense security regions also have their own power centers and sorts of polarity. Thus, there emerges a standard security region in which there are more than one regional actors. These concentric security regions are dominated by a single actor (Yılmaz 2008: 66). Central Asia and the Caucasus can be given as examples to concentric security regions at the era of Soviet Union.

The classification of different regional approaches can be made in various ways. For example, according to economists regionalism refers to the creation of a common economic region which can be by trade and economic relations. However, regarding regionalism only with economic criteria can fail to notice the political dimensions of the issue (Mansfield and Milner 1999). As to international relations and security studies, regionalism is defined as the relationship of a group of states because of geographical proximity. At regional security, security of states is so interconnected that neither one regards its own security separate from the others and security refers to natural, cultural, geographical or historical ties. (Caşın et al. 2007: 113-4)

Regionalism is also a term that contains totally different developments and processes (Hurrell 2007: 130). That is why to dwell shortly on the historical evolution of regionalism may help to classify different conceptualizations and functionalizations of regionalism. Both as a concept and as a praxis, the meanings of region and regionalism are in closely bound to political conjunctures. This arises from the fact that regionalism has a functional and instrumental dimension.

**Regionalism before and during the Cold War**

Before the emergence of regionalism as a theoretical approach and as a systematical way of analysis, regions could only find a place in world politics for practical purposes. Starting from the first political communities, economic and political relations have regional focus because of the technological, commercial and communicational restrictions (Hurrell 2007: 128-9). Also, the regional focus was important in the emergence of every imperial system. Thus, in the pre-modern era, the world system widened region by region until it took its contemporary shape and disconnected regions disappeared (Buzan and Wæver 2003).
With the dominance of the bipolar world system, the regional level was ignored by the Cold War literature (Hurrell 2007: 133). At that era regionalism functionalized only as a part of the containment policy in a militaristic and strategic sense (Mittelman and Falk 2000: 6). Still, at the first part of the Cold War, there were some developments that emphasize regions and regional level. For instance, 24th article of the GATT agreement did not regard tariff unions and free trade zones as commercial discrimination. Again, 52nd article of the United Nations Charter supported regional security practices (Hurrell 2007: 130). However, regions are regarded in the framework of the bipolar system. Although there were local security systems, those systems could not go beyond determining how external powers would affect the region (Buzan 1991, Vayrynen 2003: 28).

With the détente era, international system decreased the pressure over the regions and regional problems started to enter into world agenda. The first wave in the regional studies emerged after the independence movements of the 1960s. With the new regional problems, a search for a new order begun and this process continued in the 1970s (Kelly 2007: 202). Especially with the demands of the “Third Worldism” and with the rise of the “South” regionalism gained a normative character from the very beginning.

Apart from regions were on the front burner, regionalism started to gain importance as a theoretical mode of analysis. However, the general systems theory which was dominant at IR and IS studies, were implemented to the regional level only (Hurrell 2007: 133, Kelly 2007: 204). From Morton Kaplan’s (1957) and Ernest B. Haas’s (1958) “General System” and sub-systems approach has emerged. Sub-systems were understood as structures that carry the general characteristics of the international system but show some specific socio-cultural features (i.e., the Middle East) (Boals 1973: 403 as cited in Kelly 2007: 202).

The general system based by neo-realism of Kenneth Waltz became dominant especially after 1979. But again, regions were accepted as sub-systems only. It is accepted that the specifications of sub-systems were important while connecting with the general system (Kelly 2007: 203). It is possible to say that rather than examining regions and regional studies, the aim was to clarify how sub-systems could be controlled closely by the general system. In this way in times of the Cold War, “super-regions” (NATO and Warsaw Pact) (Vayrynen 2003: 26) were created and the main importance was given to the international system’s stability in theory and in practice.

**New Regionalism**

The political and the economic developments of the 1970s and 1980s transformed the sub-system security studies. The ending of détente, the failure of OPEC and New International Economic Order (NIEO) and the depth crisis; ending of Third Worldism have prioritized the international system once more. These developments have also reflected the security studies. Neither the neo-realism of Kenneth Waltz (1979) nor a political-economic version of Robert Gilpin’s (1981) neo-realism gave importance to regional studies. Nevertheless,
after the end of the bi-polarity, regions and regionalist studies started to find place in the world politics (Kelly 2007: 204). The reason for this can be seen as the regional sub-systems analysis helped to reduce the ambiguity of world politics of the era (Thompson 1973: 91).

During and after the Cold War, three perspectives have started to be shaped including regionalism (Buzan and Waever 2003). These perspectives can be classified as neo-realism, globalism, and regionalism (Caşın et al. 2007: 113). First of all according to neo-realism, although the structure of power has changed at the global level, facts like the balance of power and polarity continue to be effective in the new era too. The polarization of power continues to exist as unipolar, multipolar and sometimes in a mixed way and the distribution of the material power still determines the international structure. Therefore, the international system continues to be state-centric. In the context of regionalism, neo-realism gives secondary importance to regionalism and in terms of actor-system discussion, give the importance to the determinism of the system (Buzan and Waever 2003).

Globalism, on the other hand, argues that international system is not state-centric anymore and world politics is becoming more and more independent from space (de-territorialization of world politics) and as a result of technological developments in communication, a cosmopolitan world society is emerging (Buzan and Waever 2003). However, globalism has two contradictory approaches as neo-liberal and Marxist. Although both approaches explain the international system in terms of the dichotomy of center and periphery, according to Marxism the balance which the bi-polarity had provided fell into decay as a result of West’s growing hegemony by militaristic and economic power over the periphery with the help of organizations like NATO, EU, and WTO. Thus, the vulnerability of the periphery is the biggest threat to international security. In contrary according to neo-liberalism, the articulation of the “non-integrated gap” (Barnett 2005) (Second and Third World countries) to the world society constitutes the main agenda of international security (Barnett 2005). To reach this aim Inter-Govermental Organizations are as important as Non-Governmental Organizations.

The most important characteristic that differentiates regionalism from other approaches is regionalism accepts region as both a level of analysis and also a unit of analysis (Buzan and Waever 2003, Korkmaz 2010: 137). Regionalism has also neo-liberal, neo-realist and the hybrid approach in itself. In other respects, it is possible to classify different versions of regionalism according to the issues they study and methods they use. Thus, it is possible to classify regionalism into four main groups. The ones that emphasize the structural features of the international system; structuralists; ones focus on the state level and the ones who regard region as a governance level (Kelly 2007: 197-229, Hurrell 1995: 37-73, Kubicek 2009: 238 as cited in Korkmaz 2010: 144). Mearsheimer can be seen as representative of the international system approach among regionalism. According to Mearsheimer, every state's aim is to establish hegemony over the international system. However, since this aim is hard to achieve (even for the US), regional hegemony is state's prior goal. To set this goal states to seek power directly or they try to prevent other state's gaining power indirectly (Mearsheimer 2001, Toft 2005). Similar with
Mearsheimer, Katzenstein (2005) also emphasizes the dominance of the international system over the sub-systems and he argues that there are six major regions which are Europe, East Asia, Africa, Latin America, Middle East and South Asia. Katzenstein’s regions also overlap with the US's military zones. This point is compatible with the view that regions do not emerge by themselves but a result of a hegemon (Kelly 2007: 222).

The structuralist approach focuses on how regions emerge with the identification of norms and identities by governments, civilian groups, and businessmen. Structuralism assesses regionalism as a leverage to achieve political and economic ends (Vayrynen 2003: 26-7). According to the ones who regard regions as a governance level, regionalism is an inner part of contemporary multilayered governance (Thakur and Langenhove 2006: 235). According to governance approach, regionalism is a problem-solving understanding (Thakur and Langenhove 2006: 233). For example, with the decreasing importance of the threats at Asia-Pacific region, regional governance notion is coming forward rather than security regions (Dieter 2009).

Regionalist studies can also be classified as physical regionalism and functional regionalism (Vayrynen 2003: 27). Functional studies spotlight the non-state actors by focusing on the non-territorial factors like culture and market. For instance, Newman (1999) emphasizes the processes of identity production in relation to the abrasive effect of globalization. Accordingly, for this perspective, for a creation of a region, it is enough to resemble on any economic, environmental, political or cultural issue. Last but not the least, Bjorn Hettne (2008) regards regions as a totally new political actor and according to him there is a historical transformation is going on and regions replace the states (Kelly 2007: 206): “Regionalism is the key aspect of the post-Cold War Era” (Hettne 2008: 88).

Since regionalist studies are various, it is hard to make a simple classification of them. However, it is possible to argue that the most valid and reliable classification may be made between physical regionalism and functional regionalism. Still, there are different categories within these regional perspectives. For example, Kelly classifies Buzan, Lemke, and Lake as formal-positivist; Haas (1958), Falk and Mendlovitz (1973) as new functionalist and integrationist; Hettne as normative new-functionalist (Kelly 2007: 206). Lastly, Hentz (2003), Marry Farrell et al. (2005) mentions cognitive regions (Kelly 2007: 205).

Formal and positivist namely physical regionalism (neo-realism) continue to give importance to the relationship between security and space. Geographical proximity is at the heart of the analysis and geography is the main determinant of state’s power projections (Kelly 2007: 205). Physical regionalism emphasizes that states turn territories to account politically and economically (Vayrynen 2003: 27). Agnew and Corbridge (1995) tried to make a synthesis of the approaches. However, it should be noted that the transaction from physical regionalism to functional regionalism is also a political and economic process, and is a result of improvement of the interaction capacity in the system (Vayrynen 2003: 28). At a low capacity (international) system, physical features come forward and a sub-system dominant order is achieved (Buzan et al. 1993 as cited in Vayrynen 2003: 28).
Another alternative approach to regionalism comes from Copenhagen School. According to Barry Buzan geography and spatial proximity is crucial but not adequate in the formation of regions. Copenhagen school argues that if there is no issue of security in any given geography that is to say if there are patterns of rivalry and cooperation (as Africa), we cannot talk about a region there. The intensity of interaction is the main criteria of regions (Kelly 2007: 205).

In the 1960s and 70s, it was relatively easy to define regions and determine their boundaries operationally (Moon 1998: 338, Kelly 2007: 204). New-Functionalism, on the other hand, tries to solve this problem by focusing on the relevant issue in concern rather than being dependent on geography (Katzstein 2002 as cited in Kelly 2007, Vayrynen 2003: 25). According to this view, the main criterion of a region is an intense relationship in a common ground (Kelly 2007: 203). In contrast, classical regionalism tried to create holistic, macro-regions (Kelly 2007: 204). As a synthesis of these two views, Thompson (1973: 98-101) argues that in order to talk about a region there should be regular and intense interaction, geographical proximity, the ability of the sub-regions to be an actor and at least two actors. (Kelly 2007: 204).

One remarkable model regarding regionalism is Barry Buzan and Ole Weaver’s (2003) “Regional Security Complex” (RSC). RSC can be defined as a condition in which group of state’s most important security perceptions and concerns are inseparable from each other (Buzan and Weaver 2003: 12). Decisive structure and dynamics of RSC are determined by the states in that structure. According to the theory, it is normal to have regional security structure in an anarchic system. In other words, RSC is an inevitable outcome of anarchic structure (miniature anarchy). Besides, RSC determines how ex-regional actors’ penetration to the region. The interior dynamics of RSC can be ranged from amity to enmity. If the problems of the region are solved and regional integration is achieved, the power structure of region transforms. On condition that conflict resolutions in a region get permanent and get institutionalized, there emerges a security regime and this (as EU did) leads to a pluralistic security community.

Copenhagen School argues that region is the level at which conflict and cooperation of states are observable (Buzan and Waever 2003). This approach depends on two assumptions. First, the absence of superpower rivalry has changed the character of global power interests and lost its influence. Second, with the moribund of common threat perception of bi-polarity, states’ near environment and their own interior dynamics became more important. That is why the question of “what constitutes the regional level?” became one of the main questions of security studies. However, although the regional level is emphasized, from the notion that understanding theoretical level is a key to global security, global and state levels are also included in the analysis. The question of which level is determinant depends on the time and place (Buzan and Waever 2003).

In general terms, according to Copenhagen School historical stages of regional security can be given like (Buzan and Waever 2003):

1. Modern Era (1500-1945): At this stage, world political system enlarged region by region until it globalized and independent regions disappeared.
2. Cold War and Post-Colonial Era: (1945-1989): New regional relations started to be established among new states. However, bipolar system determined these relations. In this era, Middle East, Africa and Asia emerged as new regions.

3. Post-Cold War Era: The end of the Cold War affected regional security in three ways:

i. Overlay (determination of the superpower rivalry) disappeared and new regions like Eastern Europe, North Eastern Asia, Eastern Mediterranean have emerged.

ii. With the end of ideological rivalries, Third World countries started to unveil their own dynamics but this "freedom" is counterbalanced by the economic dominance of the center.

iii. The security issues apart from military issues started to come into world agenda.

Instead of defining the concepts of region and regionalism in a static way, it could be helpful to think that regions constantly emerge, shape and disappear according to the political, economic and cultural factors (Levis and Wigen 1997, as cited in Vayrynen 2003: 25). In this way, a region can be defined by physically politically, economically (Vayrynen 2003: 26) and also by a combination of all these.

Conclusion

In contemporary era, regionalism is gaining importance in many dimensions. First, it offers a level of analysis that all factors of an issue can be observed. Second, it can be accepted as a confronting area of two contradictory trends of globalization and localization. Third, it is a leverage or a control mechanism in parallel with the widening and deepening of multi-dimensional security structure. That is to say that in order to resolve a conflict and ensure stability (in Syria or in Libya for instance) regional constructions are required rather than interstate and/or global arrangements. Fourth, in relation regionalism has a potential to provide a basis for regional constitutional initiations. That of course would be a new political structuring that barely witnessed through political history.

On the other hand, as being an operational level of revisionist strategies, regionalism provides a legitimacy ground for global actors. Within this framework, regionalism becoming an inseparable part of today’s security notions and practices. In contrast with the previous eras, in addition to states (as main actors), some legal or illegal groups gain importance as much as they are included in geopolitical projects. However, the mentioned legal or illegal groups gain function as a result of ex-regional actors’ policies rather than their own capacity of being an actor. It can be argued that instead of the regional security complexes which were arranged according to the balance of power principle and nation-states as the basic actors; today regionalism is a leverage and a legitimacy ground for the
construction of a cosmopolitan regional security community. Therefore, a regional perspective in all aspects that mentioned in this study may help to analyze today's international security structure. Finally, it can be claimed that new regionalism is the new arena for both pros and opponents of regional geopolitical constructions. That is why, new regionalism may be considered as the slipknot of the two rival trends of integration and disintegration.

References


Identity Contestations in the Turkish Cypriot Community and the Peace Process in Cyprus

By Enver Gülseven*

This paper will explore Turkish Cypriot identity in a historical setting and scrutinize the scope of identity contestations within the community in the context of growing affiliation with the European Union. Highlighting the effects of significant issues such as immigration, demographic change, political uncertainty, isolation and economic transformation, it aims to reveal how different notions of identity shapes the preferences of diverse actors in Cyprus by determining available and legitimate policy options in peace negotiations. Particular attention is paid to the post-Annan Plan period and how consecutive failures in negotiations and enduring political limbo leads to new understandings of identity and the emergence of new political parties and movements with alternative preferences concerning the Cyprus Dispute. The paper will conclude that as long as uncertainty continues on the island, the debates over identity and the tension between ethnic and civic understandings of it will remain high and will continue to shape Turkish Cypriot politics.

Keywords: Cypriotism, Cyprus Dispute, Identity, Turkish Cypriots, Turkish Nationalism.

Introduction

The Turkish Cypriot identity is in a process of re-constructing itself following the division of the island in 1974. In this process, two rival understandings of identity, namely an ethnic identity based on Turkish nationalism and a civic identity based on Cypriotism¹, have been competing with each other. Until recent decades, Turkish nationalism was the dominant conception of identity among the Turkish Cypriots. Nevertheless, its dominance has become increasingly insecure recently, manifested with the rise of alternative identity conceptions. Cypriotist identity became particularly strong after the Europeanization of the Cyprus conflict since 1990s and emerged as the main rival of ethnic nationalism. The election of Mustafa Akıncı, a long-standing advocate of Cypriotist identity and federalism, to the community’s leadership in 2015 elections with more than 60% of the vote was a strong indicator of a shift of identity in Northern Cyprus. Recent surveys also indicate the growing popularity of a more Cypriot-centric Turkish Cypriotness. While only 9.3% of Turkish Cypriots identify themselves as Cypriot in a 2007 survey² this ration dramatically increased and reached to 43% in another

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¹Assistant Professor, Girne American University, Cyprus.
²Cypriotism refers to idea that Cyprus has its own particular character which are different from the motherland’s characteristics (Mavratsas 1998).
²See Psaltis (2012).
survey conducted in 2014\(^3\). Furthermore, other surveys reveal that 80% of the community members support a Cypriot identity, 88% consider themselves as Cypriot first\(^4\) and 86% are willing to accept a bi-zonal, bicomunal federation for resolving the Cyprus issue.\(^5\)

Nevertheless, the rise in Cypriotism in the north does not mean that ethnic nationalism is completely defeated among the Turkish Cypriots. On the contrary, nationalists are making something of a comeback recently, as manifested with the success of Nationalist Union Party (UBP) in 2018 parliamentary elections. Despite emerging as the biggest party in the parliament, the hardliner UBP was ousted from power with the establishment of a four-party coalition government by mainly Cypriotist and anti-status quo parties. The government included the traditional champions of Cypriotism, namely, Republican Turkish Party (CTP) and Social Democratic Party (TDP), as well as moderate nationalist Democratic Party (DP) and the newly-established centre-right Peoples’ Party (HP) which openly disapproves the status-quo. These developments reveal the intensification of the struggle between ethnic identity which legitimizes a two-state solution and civic identity which is associated with federalism whereas some political movements and parties are adopting a light version of ‘Turkish Cypriotism’ in search of a middle ground.

Identity contestations have a significant impact on the legitimacy of Turkish Cypriot leadership as well as its relationship with Ankara and thereby on the preferences of the Turkish side\(^6\) in Cyprus peace talks. Contested Turkish Cypriot identity has been the subject of increasing scholarly attention especially since mid-2000s. Previous studies generally focused on the social and political transformation in the north which enabled alternative identities to challenge Turkish nationalism, (Lacher and Kaymak 2005) and explained identity fluctuations as a response to variations in socialization (Vural and Rüstemli 2006) and in the context of Turkish Cypriots’ transnational position between Turkey, Greek Cypriots and the EU (Ramm 2006). Nonetheless, the impact of a contested identity on the peace process and relations with Turkey has been largely overlooked in the current literature. This paper is a part of this growing academic interest that aims to explaining how identity contestations in the north influence the preferences and position of the Turkish side in Cyprus peace negotiations. It also aims to provide an update for literature on Turkish Cypriot identity by focusing on the effects of more recent developments. Apparently, identities are not the only factors shaping the preferences of the Turkish side in peace talks, yet they determine available options which can be legitimized in the eyes of public opinion. The study has been shaped by data collection, which includes election results, polls and surveys, media sources and literature on Turkish Cypriot identity.

\(^3\)SCORE (2014) Predicting peace: The social cohesion and reconciliation index as a tool for conflict transformation. Nicosia: UNDP-ACT.
\(^5\)2017 Survey University of Cyprus Centre for Field Studies cited in Friends of Cyprus, Issue 61.
\(^6\)Turkish side refers to the Republic of Turkey and the de-facto Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus recognized only by Ankara.
Before analysing contested nature of Turkish Cypriotness, let us first briefly discuss the importance of identity in the formulation of preferences and threat perceptions. The concept of identity is central to the constructivist approach in International Relations theory. According to constructivists, identities are necessary in both domestic and international politics. As Hopf (1998: 175) says ‘they perform three necessary functions in a society: they tell you and others who you are and they tell you who others are’. By doing so, identities suggest a particular set of interests for actors. Even though actors may choose particular identities in accordance with their interests, these interests themselves presuppose still deeper identities. The constructivist account of identity also sheds light on the relationship between identity, power and threat perceptions. According to constructivists such as Risse Kappen (1996: 367) power translates into threat within a certain set of understandings and representations. Although identities are helpful in explaining the formation of interests and threat perceptions, they are not stable and are often contested between different social groups in a society (Barnett 1996: 400-432). To put it differently, no state’s identity is totally secure or stable since identities are always open to contestation. Nonetheless, the identities of some states at certain times may be less secure than others. The scope of identity contestation will depend on many factors such as homogeneity of a society in terms of ethnicity, race or religion, the economic conditions, the political system and international status as well as affiliation to other national or international political entities. In unrecognized states which lack external sovereignty like Northern Cyprus, a secure identity plays a vital role in state consolidation and the maintenance of internal sovereignty (Rodger 2015). Such entities, which are generally established through use of force in a homogenized territory, can draw upon the memory of civil war while fostering the image of a ‘common external enemy’ to achieve national unification and consolidate their statehood (Kolsto 2006). Nevertheless, shifting perceptions of belonging can severely undermine the legitimacy of unrecognized states while reshaping the preferences of political actors in peace negotiations and eventually may lead to their voluntary abandonment of claimed statehood. In accordance with this theoretical framework, let us now focus on identity construction among the Turkish Cypriots in a historical setting and the rising identity contestations within the community in recent decades. Subsequently, the discussion will shift to the effects of important turning points such as the failure of the Annan Plan 7 and how consecutive failures in negotiations leads to new understandings of identity and the emergence of new political parties with alternative preferences for a solution to the Cyprus issue.

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7 A United Nations proposal, named after Kofi Annan, for resolving the Cyprus Problem and establishing a federal arrangement on the island. The plan was revised a number of times before being put to simutaneous referenda in 2004.
Construction of Turkish Cypriot Identity

Turks firstly started to settle in Cyprus following the Ottoman conquest of the island in 1571. During the Ottoman period, they shared the Millet System with the island’s indigenous Greek-speaking Orthodox community under which religion became the crucial visible component of their separate identities (Vural and Rüstemli 2006). Accordingly, the island’s two communities were institutionalized as distinct cemaats (political-religious community) and were able to choose their own judicial and administrative officials. As Yılmaz (2005: 76) stated, the Millet System encouraged the existing tendency towards separation and exclusive political socialization and thus thwarted the construction of a collective Cypriot identity. The beginning of Greek War of Independence against the Ottoman Empire in 1821 accelerated the spread of Greek nationalism among the Cyprus’ Greek community through the guidance of the Orthodox Church. Following the Greek independence in 1832, these sentiments in the community were translated into the idea of uniting Cyprus with ‘motherland’ Greece, known as enosis.

The replacement of Ottoman rule with British in 1878 further encouraged Greek Cypriot demands for enosis while Turkish Cypriots lost their Ottoman legal privileges and feared a possible Greek domination on the island (Yılmaz 2005: 77). For most of the British period (1878-1960), religion remained as the most important aspect of identity for both communities. As Pollis (1973: 591) stated British colonial policies strengthened identification within each community and sharpened their cleavages. The Turkish Cypriot community continued to identify itself as Ottoman or Muslim before the emergence of nationalism in Turkey. Due to lack of ethnic consciousness, most of Turkish Cypriots preferred the continuation of the British rule on the island and did not develop an alternative to enosis.

The First World War (WWI) and the subsequent Turkish War of Independence can be regarded as a turning point in the development of Turkish nationalism in Cyprus. Following the WWI, the axis powers occupied several parts of the Ottoman Empire and the British annexed the island of Cyprus. However, the success of the War of Independence led by Kemal Atatürk and the establishment of the new Republic of Turkey enhanced national consciousness among many Turkish Cypriots. Although they were excluded from the nation-building project in Turkey, many adopted the Kemalist ideology of Turkish nationalism which highlighted secularism and equated modernization with Westernization. Turkish Cypriot elites did not only perceive Kemalism as an appropriate instrument for modernizing their community but also as a tool for resisting Greek nationalism on the island. Consequently, most Turkish Cypriots adopted Kemalist values voluntarily and earlier than many Turkish mainlanders (Bryant 2004: 233). This voluntary and swift adoption was also facilitated with the familiarity of most Turkish Cypriots with Western lifestyle and culture due to the experience of British colonial rule. It was also a reflection of a stronger resistance against enosis demands which took a violent stance after the end of the Second World War (WW2).
When it became clear that the British will eventually leave the island in the process of de-colonization, Turkish Cypriot nationalists started to promote the idea of *taksim*, the partition of Cyprus between Turkey and Greece. Mid-1950s witnessed the peak of Turkish nationalism and the idea of *taksim* among Turkish Cypriots. The community’s leadership initiated some campaigns such as ‘From Turk to Turk’ aiming to promote trade relations within Turkish Cypriots while discouraging trade with Greek Cypriots. Simultaneously, most of the original Greek names of the island’s Turkish settlements were Turkified. In brief, the national consciousness of Turkish Cypriots grew in direct proportion to the rise of *enosis* and acted as the main justification for the preference of *taksim*. (Markides 1977: 23)

Since the tension over the future of Cyprus brought the possibility of a war which threatened to involve the United Kingdom, Turkey and Greece, the concerned parties began seeking alternatives to *enosis* and *taksim*. Eventually, the creation of an independent and consociational Republic of Cyprus (RoC) was agreed in 1960 by the British, Turkish and Greek governments. However, as Markides stated (1977: 25) ‘there was no festivals, no ringing of church bells, no parades, no dancing people in the streets of Cyprus celebrating independence’. On the contrary, some Turkish Cypriots waiving Turkish flags headed to Famagusta port to celebrate and welcome the arrival of 650 Turkish soldiers as part of the Treaty of Guarantee. On the other hand, many Greek Cypriots claimed that Turkish Cypriots were given a disproportionate influence and regarded the constitution as illegitimate and discriminatory.

Unsurprisingly, the republic’s bi-communal system collapsed in 1963 after the Turkish Cypriot rejection of some constitutional amendments proposed by the Greek Cypriot President. The constitutional crisis also triggered the beginning of inter-communal violence and the physical separation of the island’s two communities. Due to security concerns, many Turkish and Greek Cypriots left their properties in mixed villages and neighbourhoods and re-settled in areas where their community members constitute the majority. Nicosia was also divided by the UN into its Turkish and Greek sectors. Furthermore, Turkish Cypriots withdrew their representation from the institutions of the Republic which became entirely dominated by Greek Cypriots.  

As Ramm (2006: 525) stated, three years of common administration under the umbrella of the bi-communal republic was too short to permit a nation-building process on the island. Indeed, the political elites did not have any intention of promoting a common identity between Turkish and Greek Cypriots. Right after the RoC’s establishment, its first President Makarios, is reported to have said ‘the agreements have created a state but not a nation’ (Stephen 1997: 2). Indeed, the lack of a collective identity prepared a suitable ground for constitutional crisis and inter-communal violence. Moreover, geographical separation and limited social interactions after 1963 decreased the chances of inter-communal identification and the formation of a single Cypriot identity. In contrast, the beginning of physical split further enhanced two distinct and antagonistic identities triggering a civil war.

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8Whether Turkish Cypriot withdrawal was voluntary or whether they were forced out by the Greek Cypriots is still a major source of debate between the two sides.
and the events of 1974 when the Turkish army intervened in the wake of a Greek military coup. This intervention resulted in the partition of the island and the establishment of two separate administrations in homogenized territories. In 1975, the exchange of population was agreed in Vienna between the two sides of the conflict and Turkish and Greek Cypriots were transferred to the north and the south of the island respectively. A homogenized territory guarded by the Turkish army allowed a state-building process in the north accompanied by the consolidation of ethnic identity and a preference for two-state solution although Turkish Cypriot leadership unwillingly continued to negotiate for a federal agreement. As Kolsto (2006: 737) stated, ‘in peace talks between unrecognized states and their parents a federal solution is accepted by both parties in principle, yet one or both generally pretend to accept such an arrangement’.

The events of 1974 deeply influenced the identity perceptions of the island’s communities. The physical division did not only halt the interaction between the Turkish and Greek Cypriots but also ended the visibility of the ‘other’. However, the effects of the division were felt differently in the south and the north of the green line. In the south, military defeat revealed dangers of extreme nationalism and enhanced Cypriotism as an alternative ideology. In contrast, Turkish nationalism was strengthened by the euphoria of the military victory in the north. The establishment of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) in 1983 by Rauf Denktaş, although recognized only by Ankara, enhanced the institutionalization of ethnic nationalism among Turkish Cypriots. The unrecognized state’s nationalist ideology portrayed ‘motherland’ Turkey as the liberator of Northern Cyprus which was designated as yavruvatan (babyland). Likewise, Turkish Cypriots were depicted as an indivisible part of greater Turkish nation. Accordingly, Cypriotness was only a geographical definition and did not form a basis for a common Cypriot national identity.

Although Cypriotness was defined only as a geographical feature, Turkish nationalism aimed to fix Northern Cyprus as a ‘home’ for Turkish Cypriots. As Özkırımlı and Sofos (2008: 103) stated ‘nationalism is almost invariably haunted by a fixation on territory, the quest for a “home”, actual or imagined’. Nevertheless, this reconstruction has been an uneasy task for the Turkish Cypriot leadership. Firstly, the borders of the TRNC were not corresponding with the conventional perceptions of ethnic, linguistic and religious boundaries on the island. In order to tackle this problem, the Turkish Cypriot leadership immediately changed the Greek names of all settlements in the north. The landscape was also turkified with the construction of new mosques and the paintings of Turkish flags and symbols on the mountains. Another important aspect of the construction of a Turkish ‘home’ in the north was encouraging migration from Turkey. The Turkish migrants were granted abandoned Greek Cypriot properties as well as Turkish Cypriot citizenship almost upon arrival. Most of those who arrived during 1970s and 1980s were farmers from various parts of Turkey and were mostly settled in isolated areas such as the Karpaz peninsula which was considered less desirable by Turkish Cypriots (Hatay 2005: 12). Subsequently, Turkish Cypriots who used to

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9 Green Line refers to the UN controlled demilitarized buffer zone between the northern and the southern parts of the island.
live in a multi-cultural environment together with Greek Cypriots founded themselves in an ethnically homogeneous territory together with Turkish migrants. Gradually this new environment prepared a suitable ground for the rise of an alternative identity to ethnic nationalism by providing an ‘internal other’ to the indigenous Turkish Cypriots while justifying and empowering federalist preferences.

Rise of an Alternative Identity to Turkish Nationalism: Cypriotism in Northern Cyprus

During the 1980s, Cypriotism has emerged as an alternative identity to Turkish nationalism among some Turkish Cypriots. Cypriotist discourse was originated from the Marxist ideology and depicted ethnic nationalism as a case of false consciousness serving the interests of the bourgeoisie in both sides. Accordingly, it highlights the differences of Cyprus from both Greece and Turkey while stressing and promoting a common Cypriot culture and identity. This ideology was particularly popular among younger Turkish Cypriots who embraced leftist ideology while studying at Turkish universities during late 1970s\(^\text{10}\) and believed that the ‘internationalist’ tradition of the left could facilitate the peaceful co-existence of Turkish and Greek Cypriots in a re-united Cyprus (Vural and Rüstemli 2006: 339). Cypriotists supported a civic identity which would allow diversity, while preserving a sense of geographical location and this is associated with the preference of a united and federal Cyprus. Accordingly, the consciousness of ‘mother Cyprus’ as opposed to Turkey as ‘motherland’ was proposed by the Cypriotist circles in the north.

Nevertheless, this camp which included the leftist political parties, most trade unions, teacher’s organizations, and some civil society organizations remained as a minority and Turkish nationalism upheld its dominance in the north until late 1990s. Nevertheless, the end of Cold War triggered the rise of identity politics in the world and Northern Cyprus was also influenced by this global trend. Turkish Cypriot leftist political parties abandoned their pro-Soviet stance and adopted a Western European style social-democratic identity. Indeed, they emerged as the strongest supporters of Cyprus’ EU membership and perceived it as the only possible framework within which a common Cypriotness can be constructed (Ramm 2006: 531).

While the leftist parties quickly and eagerly welcomed the involvement of the EU in the Cyprus Dispute, the parties on the right perceived it as a threat and promoted even closer ties with Turkey. In 1991, the TRNC government led by UBP’s Derviş Eroğlu abolished the passport requirement for Turkish citizens when entering the country. Indeed, this was one of the factors which caused a dramatic increase in the number of Turkish migrants in Northern Cyprus. Rising

\(^{10}\)During late 1970s, educational system was highly politicized in Turkey and a deep polarization emerged between extreme right and left groups in the country. Turkish universities particularly became the loci of ideological violent clashes among various political groups supporting conflicting political, economic, and religious ideas.
interaction between Turkish Cypriots and the migrants had made differences more noticeable, mainly concerning the latter’s conservative lifestyle and lower socio-economic status (Lisaniler and Rodriguez 2002: 184). Indeed, the government’s attempt to encourage migration was also economically motivated due to the transformation of Turkish Cypriot economy following the imposition of EU’s economic sanctions in 1994. In order to reduce the negative effects of trade restrictions, the TRNC authorities implemented an economic re-structuring based on neo-liberal privatization, promotion of small business enterprises and the growth of tourism industry. Consequently, the Turkish Cypriot economy grew during 1990s despite the restrictions and the Turkish migrants were seen as the source of urgently needed cheap labour. Nonetheless, the unintended consequence of these developments was the polarization of the north’s population into two main groups namely Turkish Cypriots and Turkish migrants. Despite their lower economic status, migrants especially those who are naturalized citizens of the TRNC, were seen as a threat to Turkish Cypriot identity and political will by Cypriotists.

Apart from a class-based distinction, cultural and ethnic differences between the Turkish Cypriots and the new migrants also increased hostility between the two groups. Many of the new-comers were of Kurdish or Arab descent from the impoverished South-eastern Anatolia and settled in old Nicosia, which increased their visibility. The socio-economic inequality also dramatically increased crime rates in the north creating a perceived or actual relationship between crime and Turkish migrants. Indeed, non-stop immigration from Turkey and rising crime rates greatly contributed to the defeat of UBP in 1993 elections which brought a coalition of CTP-DP. The new government immediately took measures to lower migration and limited citizenship rights to persons who lived in Cyprus for at least five years. Meanwhile Cypriotist ideas continued to grow particularly among younger generations who felt increasingly alienated from their unrecognized state and the nationalist approach of the right which appeared as self-isolationist and old-fashioned. (Hatay 2008: 162)

The intensification of RoC’s institutional links with the EU and economic downturn in the north in the second half of 1990s, further intensified identity debates among Turkish Cypriots. On one hand, many expected that the EU membership process will facilitate the solution of the Cyprus Dispute and all economic ills of the north. On the other hand, the emergence of Cyprus’ EU membership as a solid possibility enhanced the attractiveness of Cypriot identity which is understood as part of a greater European identity. As Ramm (2006: 524) put it ‘Turkish Cypriots have entered into a new process in which a new identity is constructed in connection with their trans-national position between Greek Cypriots, Turkey, the Turkish migrants and the EU’. Turkish Cypriot civil society organizations activated interaction with European institutions and entered into a process of social learning and Europeanization. Hence, supra-national European identity acted as a model for the consolidation of civic Cypriot identity while European norms provided a normative framework for the struggle against ethnic nationalism. This process also transformed dominant attitudes among many Turkish Cypriots, especially regarding how they define their own identity and an
ideal solution to the Cyprus Dispute. Moreover, it constructed an attachment for the EU when combined with the political, economic and identity insecurity of the community due to its decades-old isolation.

Despite these sentiments, the nationalist leadership in the TRNC called for closer integration with Turkey as a response to the beginning of RoC’s accession talks with the EU and the Union’s exclusion of Ankara’s candidacy in 1997. Denktaş also declared that he would negotiate for a confederal solution only after the recognition of the TRNC which revealed growing divergence between Turkish Cypriot masses and elites. However, the political climate started changing after the approval of Turkey’s EU candidacy in 1999 which forced Turkish Cypriot leader to abandon its insistence on recognition and confederalism. Some other factors also restored interest for the re-unification of the island which included the beginning of Greek-Turkish rapprochement following the so-called ‘seismic diplomacy’\(^\text{11}\), growing economic concerns in the north and a legitimacy crisis.

The banking crisis in 2000 which has resulted in the liquidation of ten banks and the following Turkish financial crisis of 2001 were particularly destructive for the unrecognized states’ internal legitimacy. Consequently, a growing number of north’s population began questioning the competence of the TRNC to represent Turkish Cypriots’ political will (Lacher & Kaymak 2006). In this context, Denktaş initiated another round of negotiations in 2002 with his Greek Cypriot counterpart Glafcos Clerides with the aim of finding a solution before the island’s EU entry. Meanwhile, Turkey’s new Justice and Development Party (AKP) with its anti-establishment tradition and roots in political Islam came to power in the general elections of 2002. The new Turkish government signalled a radical change in foreign policy, adopted a pro-EU approach\(^\text{12}\) and prioritized transforming Ankara’s Cyprus policy (Kınacıoğlu and Oktay 2006) even if this would require overcoming hardliner Denktaş who was a traditional ally of the secularist Turkish parties as well as the army. The AKP leader Erdoğan immediately started a public fight with Denktaş, blamed him for the lack of solution and began cooperating with Cypriotist parties. In brief, the EU process weakened dominant secularist/ethnic identities in both Turkey and the north while empowering suppressed identities and enabling their cooperation.

Despite growing pressure from the Turkish government, Denktaş maintained his hard-line position and the negotiations soon became deadlocked. To revive the talks, the UN’s Secretary-General Kofi Annan visited the island and submitted the two sides a blueprint agreement. The negotiation process was a turning point for the Cypriotist camp in the north and solution was portrayed as a way to defeat Turkish nationalism, secure the Cypriot identity and extend its ‘self’ to the European identity. Accordingly, Cypriotist leaders highlighted the unified fate of all Cypriots and emphasized the commonalities between the two Cypriot

\(^{11}\) A diplomatic initiative following successive earthquakes in Turkey and Greece and an improvement in their bilateral relations.

\(^{12}\) The transformation of political Islam is still a major debate among political scientists. While some argued that this change was merely for tactical reasons with the aim of reducing the army’s influence in Turkish politics, others explained the transformation with a social learning process following the latest intervention of the army in 1997. For a detailed discussion see Dağı (2005).
communities. The term ‘Turkish-speaking Cypriot’ was also presented as an alternative identification to the more common term of ‘Turkish Cypriot’. Some Cypriotists also promoted the usage of Turkish Cypriot dialect rather than standard Turkish as a marker of a separate identity and a symbol of resistance to Ankara’s socio-political influence in the north.

During the negotiations, some leftist activists criticized Turkey and its military forces on the island openly to the extent of calling Ankara a colonial, occupying power. Cypriotist discourses demonized the status quo and particularly highlighted the demographic threat posed by immigration and a fear of the potential extinction of Turkish Cypriots. Such discourses also included xenophobic and discriminatory elements against the Turkish migrants which were justified with linking migration from Turkey with allegations of a political colonization by Ankara (Hatay 2008). In this context, four massive demonstrations were organized between late 2002 and early 2003 to call for the resignation of Denktaş and an immediate solution to the Cyprus Dispute. The period witnessed the greatest domestic challenge to the legitimacy of the TRNC since its establishment in 1983.

This political climate eventually triggered the surprising opening of some checkpoints at the green line on 23 April 2003 which brought a limited freedom of movement between the north and the south. Subsequently, all Cypriots gained the chance to cross from one side of the island to the other which allowed them to interact freely and construct their own images irrespective of the official discourses. Access to south, which experienced a steady economic growth since 1974, provided Turkish Cypriots with a re-confirmed image of Cyprus’ principal ‘European’ character. Many were particularly impressed with the cosmopolitan environment of the south as well as the availability of an abundant range of consumer goods carrying global brands and began highlighting the Cypriot or self-affirmed Western aspect of their identity. This climate unsurprisingly brought the victory of the Cypriotist CTP in 2003 parliamentary elections, bringing the party’s leader Mehmet Ali Talat to premiership.

Re-unification rallies and the election results were portrayed by the Turkish and international media as a sign of the erosion of Turkish nationalism in Cyprus. Turkish sources particularly highlighted the abundance of European and proposed Cypriot flags during the demonstrations. The Turkish media coverage of the pro-unification rallies, election results and rising anti-Turkish activism in the north gradually undermined the traditional perception of the Cyprus problem as a ‘national cause’ in Turkey and weakened the public sensitivity on the issue. This gave the AKP government an opportunity to push for new negotiations which firstly began in Cyprus and later moved to the city of Bürgenstock in Switzerland. Although, Mr. Denktaş rejected to participate, Mr. Talat and the leader of his coalition partner Serdar Denktaş represented the Turkish side in the talks.

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13Star Newspaper 16 December 2003. In the nationalist discourse anavatan (motherland) refers to Turkey while yavruvatan (babyland) is used for Northern Cyprus. However, the headline of Star newspaper intentionally used Yav-rum which might have a meaning like half-Greek in Turkish.
Eventually, the UN submitted the final version of the so-called Annan plan which suggested the establishment of the United Cyprus Republic under a federal system. The two parties conceded to run simultaneous referenda on the plan in both sides. As the date of referenda approached, the Cypriotist discourses became increasingly popular while reaction to Turkish nationalism reached its peak. Nationalist rhetoric ‘How happy to say I am a Turk’ was changed into ‘How happy to say I am a Cypriot’ (Hamit 2009). Despite the opposition of Denktaş, the Turkish government and Cypriotist parties in the north promoted a strong ‘yes’ vote whereas the Greek Cypriot leadership and most political parties encouraged Greek Cypriots to reject the plan. The rejectionist camp in the south even included the Progressive Party of Working People (AKEL) which was seen as the strongest advocate of Cypriotism. Ultimately, most Greek Cypriots (75%) rejected the Annan Plan while Turkish Cypriots overwhelmingly accepted it with 64%. Despite the failure and enduring division, Greek Cypriots entered the EU on 1 May 2004 representing the entire island and the European *acquis* is suspended in the north until a comprehensive solution.

**Cypriotism in the Post-Annan Plan Period**

Although bitterly disappointed with the Greek Cypriot rejection, most Turkish Cypriots celebrated the ‘yes’ vote due to expectations regarding the end of their isolation. The EU’s efforts to ease the isolation of Turkish Cypriots remained limited to financial assistance, trade across the green line and some high-level meetings with Turkish Cypriot leaders, yet Cypriotism sustained its popularity in the north and brought the victory of Talat in 2005 presidential elections. Enduring support for leftist parties stemmed from hopes concerning greater engagement with the world if not recognition and an economic boom in the immediate aftermath of the Annan Plan through the penetration of global and Turkish capital. Through controlling both government and the presidency, CTP monopolized interaction with the EU and emphasized the importance of compliance with European norms (Kyris 2012). Nevertheless, Cypriotism was transformed into an opposition against Ankara’s certain policies on Cyprus and unilateral Europeanization rather than an emphasis on solution and bi-communality.

Despite Cypriotism’s transformation in the north, 2008 witnessed a revival in unification talks following the victory of AKEL’s Dimitris Christofias in Greek Cypriot presidential elections. Christofias’ Presidency had finally brought two Cypriotist leaders to power in both sides of the green line and was regarded in the north as an attempt by Greek Cypriots to correct their ‘mistake’ in 2004 (Loizides 2015). Soon, an indirect negotiation process was re-launched through technical committees. Considering the disappointment with the AKEL’s position in 2004 referendum, Talat was more cautious during the talks. However, most of his supporters were still optimistic that Cyprus Dispute could be solved shortly considering AKEL’s long tradition of bi-communal engagement with Turkish Cypriots. During the indirect talks, the two leaders agreed to open a new pedestrian crossing on the capital’s main shopping thoroughfare, Ledra/Lokmacı
Street, which was once symbolizing the island’s division while agreeing on the concepts of single citizenship and single sovereignty. Aside from these issues, the two leaders’ have remained far apart on even how to recommence formal negotiations. Later developments such as the Greek Cypriot oil exploration in the Mediterranean Sea and the decision of the European and British courts about the Greek Cypriot properties in the north, the Oram’s case,\(^\text{14}\) caused tension during the negotiation process.

Meanwhile, the disillusionment among Turkish Cypriots over the lack of progress in the talks, internal governance problems and stagnating economic conditions, undermined the popularity of CTP. The first blow would come in 2009 general elections in which the UBP won the largest percentage of the vote with a light Cypriotist slogan of ‘I am Cypriot, I am Turk, I am democrat, I am UBP’ (Hamit 2009). One year later, the nationalist parties established an alliance and unified their forces against Talat in the presidential elections for the first time since 1990s. Furthermore, conditions in Turkey did not enable the AKP government to support Talat and Cypriotist parties unlike the Annan plan period. According to Ankara, intervention was not only hard but also worthless considering the Greek Cypriot alleged inflexibility in the negotiations (Loizides 2015: 87). Talat was eventually defeated by UBP’s candidate Derviş Eroğlu who became the third President of the TRNC.

Despite nationalist comeback in elections, Cypriotists endured their resistance against Ankara’s policies on the island. Indeed, the signing of an economic protocol with Turkey to re-structure north’s economy caused great resentment among Turkish Cypriots and was utilized by the opposition. The resistance was not merely against proposed austerity measures and the flow of Turkey’s ‘green capital’\(^\text{15}\) but also against Ankara’s attempts to enhance the role of religion in the north. Measures taken in the above context included the construction of several mosques, legalizing Quran courses, the opening of a Theological School, and the establishment of the Faculty of Theology. Such developments were perceived by many as a threat to Turkish Cypriot’s secular identity and lifestyle. Public upheaval soon became manifest with a series of rallies in 2011 with the participation of thousands of Turkish Cypriots who held banners calling for peace while waiving European and Cypriot flags. As a response to growing public discontent and revival of Cypriotist movements, Eroğlu declared his consent for a federal solution, shifting from his earlier stance. Moreover, the discovery of gas in the Eastern Mediterranean Sea increased pressure for a solution on the Greek side as well who began feeling the destructive effects of the Euro crisis. Since solution could speed up economic recovery by easing the transfer of natural resources to outside markets, the appeal of reunification was boosted in both sides of the island.

\(^{14}\)The courts decided that although Greek Cypriots does not have effective control in Northern Cyprus, the decisions of the courts in the South regarding Greek Cypriot properties in the North are applicable through EU law. The decision came a big blow to Turkish Cypriot economy especially to the construction sector and tourism.

\(^{15}\)The Green capital refers to the capital resources owned by the religiously conservative bourgeoisie in Turkey.
The economic crisis in the south also led to the defeat of Christofias in Presidential elections by Nikos Anastasiadis who had supported the Annan Plan back in 2004.

In his victory speech, Mr. Anastasiadis said ‘I sincerely wish to find a solution to the Cyprus Problem so that both sides can live together in Europe’\(^\text{16}\). After the elections, the negotiations were expected to commence on October 2013. Nonetheless, the Greek side insisted on a joint declaration before the beginning of official negotiations. The declaration was achieved in February 2014 and highlighted the unsustainability of the status quo, set the framework for the new negotiation process and confirmed the main principles for a settlement. The adoption of the Joint Declaration was followed by formal negotiations with a new momentum for the settlement of the Cyprus Dispute. Nevertheless, the talks were suspended when Turkey sent a warship to the Eastern Mediterranean Sea to monitor Greek Cypriots unilateral exploration of natural gas reserves off the island’s coast. Mr. Anastasiades rejected to attend the meeting on 9 October 2014 and the talks were only resumed following the triumph of Cypriotist leader Mustafa Akinci in the north’s 2015 Presidential elections.

The elections between two polarizing candidates, incumbent Eroğlu and Akinci, reflected a conflict of identities comprised by Turkish nationalism versus Cypriotism. Akinci referred to Turkey and the north as two ‘sibling countries’, while rejecting the conventional ‘motherland- babyland’ rhetoric and emphasized the importance of Turkish Cypriots’ self-sufficiency, change and solution in his campaign\(^\text{17}\). Whereas, Eroğlu’s campaign emphasized maintaining Turkey’s guarantee in Cyprus and promised a solution within two years\(^\text{18}\). Another candidate was Kudret Özersay, a former negotiator and academic, who highlighted domestic issues and promised to combat corruption and nepotism while following an active diplomacy in negotiations\(^\text{19}\). The triumph of Akinci can be explained by his ability to gather the support of the pro-solutionist Turkish Cypriot electorate who wanted to secure their Cypriotist identity through a solution and the EU membership.

Consequently, the election results gave the negotiations a new breath of fresh air as Anastasides returned to the table, beginning a new round of talks. Soon, the two leaders agreed working on confidence building measures. Akinci announced the abolition of visa slip requirement for Greek Cypriots when visiting the north, while Anastasiades submitted the locations of minefields in the region that had been planted by Greek Cypriots during the conflict. Subsequently, the two sides achieved a certain level of convergence on governance and citizenship yet disagreed on territory and security issues. During late 2016 and 2017, several rounds of talks were held in Switzerland, first in Mont-Pelerin and then in Crans-Montana. Nonetheless, the leaders were not able to achieve necessary further convergence on territorial adjustments, security and guarantees, ending the process fruitless one more time.

\(^{18}\)Kibris Postasi Newspaper, 8 March 2015.
\(^{19}\)Kibris Postasi Newspaper, 14 April 2015.
Following another disappointing failure at peace talks, 2018 has been a year of intense political developments in the north. In January Turkish Cypriots head to the polls for parliamentary elections in the political landscape of disillusionment and fatigue with the peace process. Hence, Cyprus Problem was relatively low on the agenda of Turkish Cypriot parties’ electoral campaigns. Even Cypriotist CTP and TDP refrained from instrumentalizing the EU and federal solution while highlighting economy, citizenship and asymmetric relations with Turkey. The right-wing parties’ campaigns also focused on economic promises and strengthening ties with Turkey. The newly-established HP of Özersay capitalized on the widespread frustration of the disenchanted electorate with the established parties and status-quo, put the issues of corruption and malgovernance at the center of its electoral campaign and promised ‘clean politics’.20

Fading solution prospects coincided with a nationalist comeback in the elections in which the UBP returned as the largest party by gaining 35.6% of the vote and 21 seats, while the CTP had a dramatic decline in its share of vote and gained only 12 seats, revealing the importance of Cyprus problem and the EU for the party. With an unimpressive electoral campaign focusing on domestic issues, most Turkish Cypriots who swung to CTP since mid-2000s, voted for the new HP whose centrist approach and anti-status quo rhetoric appealed to many who desire change but are pessimistic about a Cyprus solution. The party’s remarkable success for a new party indicates a deal fatigue concerning the Cyprus Dispute among a considerable number of Turkish Cypriots and prioritization of domestic issues. In the end, the election results disabled any party to establish a majority government. All parties which passed the 5% threshold ruled out any coalition talks with UBP which they saw as the main architect of the status-quo. Eventually the largest party in the parliament was ousted from power with the establishment of a 4-party coalition government by the CTP, TDP, HP and DP. The growing consensus that the status-quo is breakable with domestic means brought these parties together despite their ideological divergence on the Cyprus Dispute. Particularly, DP’s decision for not extending its partnership with its previous partner UBP manifested a shift in its identity from Turkish Cypriot nationalism to a light version of Cypriotism. This brought the party closer to Cypriotist parties as well as the HP which promised a more balanced relationship with Turkey. DP’s resistance against religious pressure from Ankara and emphasis on secularism has been particularly important in the establishment of the coalition.21

The success of UBP in the elections and the determination of other parties to exclude the nationalist party from the coalition reveal that Turkish Cypriot identity continues to be contested between different notions. Nonetheless, inertia in peace negotiations and declining hopes for peace after Crans-Montana, shifted the source of this contestation from Cyprus Dispute towards domestic politics and relations with Turkey. Having said that, the views of Turkish Cypriot coalition government resonated with those of Akıncı, which facilitated efforts in restoring trust and a comprehensive settlement (Grigoriadis 2018). Recently, the leaders announced new confidence building measures including mobile phone network link to

20HP Election Manifesto, 2018.
facilitate greater interaction, further demining and the exchange of works of art belonging to the respective communities. Nonetheless the future of fragile coalition government remains ambiguous considering its deep divergence with the AKP and the delays in transfer of financial support from Ankara which is viewed as an instrument of political pressure. Turkey’s attempts to bypass Akinci and negotiate directly with Greek Cypriots over alternative models of solution including a ‘loose/ decentralized federation’ also raises prospect of tension with Ankara in the foreseeable future.

Conclusion

As a conclusion, the Turkish Cypriot identity is in the process of reconstructing itself following the events of 1974. In this process, two rival notions of identity are contesting with each other to shape the preferences of the Turkish side in Cyprus re-unification talks. Several factors especially after 1990s strengthened the Cypriotist identity favoring federalism vis-à-vis Turkish nationalism which upholds a two-state solution. First of all, Turkish migrants provided an ‘internal other’ to indigenous Turkish Cypriots and were perceived as a threat to their identity, values, norms and lifestyle. The focus on the ‘other’ is an essential part of identity construction process. However, as the Turkish Cypriot case reveals the group which will be put in the category of ‘other’ can change depending on the circumstances and does not always reflect ethnic or religious differences. Regardless of their ethnicity, any group can be regarded as ‘other’ if it is considered as a threat to the identity of the indigenous population. As the above discussion demonstrated, the split between Turkish Cypriots and Turkish migrants is not only limited to cultural differences but indeed reflects a growing class distinction in Northern Cyprus.

Another important factor which accelerated the rise of Cypriotism is the Europeanization of the Cyprus Dispute after 1990s. The approval of Cyprus’ EU candidacy in 1994 made the Union’s membership a strong possibility and reinforced the appeal of Cypriot identity which is now perceived as part of the greater European identity. Cypriotism was also strengthened through rising interaction of Turkish Cypriot civil society with European institutions which enabled a process of social learning and Europeanization of preferences. Finally, the re-structuring of Turkish Cypriot identity is also linked with the rising conservatism in Turkey since the end of the Cold War and especially after the beginning of AKP period in 2002. Although Cypriotist parties initially welcomed the anti-establishment and anti-status quo approach of the AKP which enabled their cooperation during the Annan Plan period, they later emerged as the strongest opponents of the party’s policies on Cyprus. Indeed, some policies of the AKP were perceived as an existential threat to the secular lifestyle of many Turkish Cypriots including some who traditionally supported nationalist parties. Such policies were also used to justify the view that the only way to secure idiosyncratic

22 Although the exact meaning of the term remains uncertain, the two parties have totally different interpretations on the concept of a ‘loose federation’.
Turkish Cypriot identity is the re-unification of the island. This perception boosted the popularity of Cypriotism which reached at its peak level during the Annan Plan period. Decline of ethnic nationalism alienated many Turkish Cypriots from their self-declared state and jeopardized the legitimacy of the TRNC. On the other hand, it undermined the perception of the Cyprus Problem as a ‘national cause’ in Turkey which enabled Ankara to pursue a relatively conciliatory approach during the Annan process without a strong reaction from the Turkish public.

Although disillusionment following the referenda and the feeling of rejection by Greek Cypriots threatened Cypriotism in the north, its strong opposition to status-quo and ethnic nationalism remained relevant and continued to grow especially among younger generations. Augmented interaction with the EU and limited rewards of the ‘yes’ vote also led to a gradual softening of Turkish Cypriots’ relations with the international community and justified Cypriotist discourses. However, the bi-communal character of Cypriotism was undermined by consecutive failures in peace talks in the aftermath of the Annan Plan. Recent years witnessed the emergence of a ‘light Turkish Cypriotism’ which concentrates mostly on domestic issues and promises ‘home cleaning’ in the north. It also disapproves asymmetric relations with Ankara while questioning the appropriateness of a federal solution. Newly-established HP is currently championing this new identity although it’s also shared by certain circles within DP and even leftist parties. On the other hand, Denktas’ ethno-nationalism is still shared by a significant number of Turkish Cypriots as revealed by the success of UBP in 2018 elections. Indeed, some circles within the party even support an increasing transfer of power to Ankara and integrating the TRNC to Turkey as an autonomous entity.

In brief, fatigue with consecutive failures in peace negotiations in the post-Annan period and the current standstill transforms identities in Northern Cyprus once again, enabling the raise of alternatives to federalism and two-state solution. Nevertheless, such alternatives are still in their embryonic stage and are not widespread among the political elites. Collective rejection of Anastasides’ recent references to a ‘loose or decentralized federation’ by all Turkish Cypriot political parties reveals their uneasiness to revise the traditional parameters of Cyprus peace talks. All in all, different notions of identity suggest different preferences in Cyprus peace talks. Dominant identities in the Turkish Cypriot community fluctuate depending on several domestic and external factors. Considering the continuance of uncertainty on the island, the contestations and tension over identity is likely to remain high in the politics of Northern Cyprus and shape Turkish Cypriot preferences in peace negotiations.

23In 2017 Turkish Cypriot foreign minister Tahsin Ertuğruloğlu from UBP said ‘Monaco-style’ autonomy is an option for TRNC. Hürriyet Daily News, 4 October 2017.
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Understanding the Mechanisms and Impact of Growth on the Urban Form and Functioning of Cities: An Application to the Case of Limassol

By Ilaria Geddes*

In the great majority of cases cities have been steadily growing and becoming increasingly complex. Growth may have occurred at different times and its characteristics may vary depending on the geographical location of the city and its socio-economic context. However, it remains that common features, growth mechanisms and regularities are persistently found. These must be understood and exploited in our attempt to sustain better living environments. A key problem in our ability to analyze the complexity of the urban form is the long-standing isolation of analytical approaches developed in different countries and research environments. Even harder is to devise and agree on a system of analysis able to capture the universal mechanisms through which cities change and assess how such changes impact on the functioning of cities, providing the evidence base to manage, mitigate and exploit the impact of growth and urban transformation. This paper presents a transdisciplinary approach to urban analysis, which enables the deployment of multiple methods under a common framework. The approach is taken from the field of philosophy, specifically assemblage theory; within this, a combination of social research methods and urban analysis tools are integrated to provide a comprehensive methodology for diachronic analysis of city development, enabling the understanding and assessment of growth patterns. The approach was tested on Limassol, Cyprus: a diachronic analysis was carried out using historical research, interviews, space syntax, block size and land use analysis, mapping of contemporary census data, and illustrative case studies. The aim was to identify the mechanisms of growth which led to Limassol’s specific urban form and identity. This paper presents the key research findings and discusses the extent to which the proposed approach enabled the identification of causal pathways of development and of how the growth processes led to specific morphological and functional characteristics of the city.

Keywords: Diachronic Analysis, Growth, Limassol, Relational Theory, Urban Development.

Introduction

Over the centuries Mediterranean cities have fascinated travelers, historians and geographers along with architects and urban scholars. They sometimes come to symbolize a concept and end up being the focus of romanticism and exoticism; they often ignite strong feelings of belonging as well as rivalry between them. However, while as citizens, residents or visitors we might love them or hate them,
as scholars, once we try to explain them, we are still challenged by their complexity. The array of elements that make up a city, the relations between them, and the causal pathways that give a city its identity or characteristics, remain difficult to describe, map and analyze coherently.

This problem is intensified in contemporary cities which are frequently characterized by new forms of closure and exclusion (Wacquant 2008), increasing social, economic, political and spatial fragmentation. In particular, the modern city has seen a shift in its physical form and has moved from an urban fabric which was dense and continuous to one that is more diffused, discontinuous, open and atomized (Levy 1999). Southern European cities, coastal and port cities are currently more exposed to such rapid physical and social changes and the experience of migratory influxes and ephemeral settlement by transitory groups. This socio-economic diversification of cities may also emphasize or challenge key spatial elements of the urban fabric and patterns of coexistence between urban communities (Maloutas and Souliotis 2015).

This is why the problem of understanding the mechanisms and impact of growth is of renewed importance in light of ever-increasing complexity, because it is vital to our ability to develop tools and skills to ensure a successful, sustainable and equitable future for our urban environment. While the factors influencing growth and the characteristics of each city may vary depending on the geographical location of the city and its socio-economic context, it remains that common features, growth processes and regularities are persistently found. A renewed understanding of the nature of cities is key in advancing appropriate tools and methods of analysis that take into consideration the multiplicity of the physical and social aspects of a city, as well as the elements and actors that play a role in their transformation. Such tools are needed to ensure that contemporary cities are equipped with the ability to understand the possible impacts of rapid or simultaneous changes and developments (Marcus and Colding 2011).

A key problem in our ability to understand the complexity of the urban form is the long-standing isolation of the analytical approaches developed in different countries and research environments. Such approaches are characterized by specific national trends and have seen the emergence of separate schools of thought. There are essentially four main approaches to the study of the urban form: the configurational approach, the historical-geographical approach, the process typological approach, and the spatial analytical approach. Each of these tends to be associated with a main research center or with individual researchers, and all have traditionally been applied in isolation. However, in recent years a number of studies, initiatives and events (Kropf 2009, Oliveira et al. 2014, Zhang 2015, Scheer 2016), have explored bridges between the different approaches to assess the viability of a common framework and of a multidisciplinary analytical approach. However, there are still limited analyses and elaborations of how the approaches are interlinked and how they can be brought together within a comprehensive framework.

Furthermore, the advancement of such comparative and multidisciplinary work is fraught with the difficulty of analyzing urban growth and the human intervention in such growth that has occurred throughout centuries of
urbanizations. Attempts to embed the temporal process in theorizations and methodologies for the study of cities’ transformations are discussed in theoretical debates and do exist in empirical studies, but remain limited and are still not fully developed and exploited.

This paper proposes that using a relational approach, specifically assemblage theory (DeLanda 2006), as a broad framework to construct a comprehensive analytical approach to enable the encompassing of the multifaceted elements and processes that lead to the emergence and transformation of cities. It reviews key ontological issues and trends in urban theory to establish a theoretical framework for analysis. The focus remains on the form of the city and on constructing a comprehensive analytical approach. Therefore, the literature review is limited to the perspectives put forward by the scholarship of urban studies, while acknowledging that urban theory and practice are widely influenced by the field of sociology. Specifically, how different sociological and urban morphological approaches can be combined to address the problem of understanding city development is discussed.

Within the scope of this study is the identification of the need for enhancing the research on the relationship between the physical elements of a city and social changes that occur in the urban environment over time. The extent to which the material and social spheres, and the impact of the one onto the other, should be considered and analyzed within the field of urban morphology is discussed as part of the literature review. A theoretical framework is then set and a methodology for analysis developed based on the key elements of the various analytical approaches. The aim is to establish an effective way of identifying the key processes that lead cities to display their common as well as their specific urban characteristics. The methodology is then applied to the case of Limassol, Cyprus, in order to answer the research question: what are the key mechanisms operating to shape Limassol’s form and functioning?

The main findings ensuing from the space syntax analysis, the historical research and interviews are then presented. The analysis is specifically concerned with key physical elements of the city and their properties (the street network and its configuration), key socio-economic factors, and the reasoning behind planning decisions. This approach aims to produce new insights into the complex relationship between the spatial and social dimensions of the city and into the processes of change displayed in the patterns of the city through time. The results are discussed with regards to the extent to which the framework enables the identification of causal pathways of development, and how the growth process impacts on the form and functioning of the city.
Literature Review

There are many ontological questions regarding the nature of cities, probing whether they are whole discrete entities, if they have generic properties, or what constitutes their identity. Ontological concerns are reflected in varied debates ranging from relatively mundane comments about the economic and social value of being a city (Bevan 2014), interpretation of place (Seamon 2015), and theoretical discussions about the definitions and meanings of the variety of terms that identify urban settlements (McGrath and Shane 2012). Such ontological questions have implications for the way cities are conceptualized and thus the way we approach their analysis.

This paper addresses essential ontological concepts: the dichotomies of universals and particulars, and of determinism and indeterminism by proposing a theoretical and analytical framework which aims to enable the identification of the processes of emergence and transformation of cities. Universals are those elements and processes – the invariants – which are identifiable across all cities, the morphogenetic rules which are said to give cities their universal characteristics. Particulars are those processes and features which are only identifiable in one or a number of cities and which give them their ‘peculiar’ individual nature. One aspect of the deterministic debate in urban studies focuses on whether there are and what are the causal pathways that lead to specific features and forms of cities. The other aspect debates whether and how the elements that constitute a city have an impact on the city as a whole and, in turn, whether the city an impact on its constituting elements, in particular its population.

The author maintains that looking to philosophical approaches, such as Actor-Network Theory (ANT) (Latour 2005) and Assemblage Theory (DeLanda 2006), which address ontological issues and build upon scientific and empirical facts, provides the theoretical framework to deploy a trans-disciplinary methodology to analyze cities diachronically and to make inferences about the causal pathways that lead to the physical and social form of cities and to how cities perform (Charalambous and Geddes 2015).

Theoretical Premises: Relationality, the Social and the Physical

Cities are invariably a collection of material entities, but they are also a system of human activity and interaction. Whether the two are separate dimensions where the material and the spatial, and their organization, act as a background and a context to human relations, or whether the two are inextricably linked and influence each other is still an open question in the scholarship on cities. Spatial organization and structuring as a reflection of social relations, cultural trends and economic factors, is a long-established idea which spans the work of urban sociologists from diverse backgrounds, such as Simmel (2004), Lefebvre (1991) and Logan and Molotch (2007). What is still highly debated is whether the organization of space and the physical form of the city has an impact on society. The analysis of the relationship between urban space and society was initiated by Charles Booth (1897). Many of the issues identified by Booth’s study
on the distribution of social classes in London informed urban sociological studies developed by the Chicago School in the 1920s. This body of work, analyzing the distribution of various social characteristics within cities, remains pioneering in its view of urban contexts as structured in time by habitual social practices (Charalambous 2018). Despite the criticism of stereotyping social groups, such social approaches continue to be the foundation of socio-spatial theorizations of the city and of understanding the role of the urban environment in producing social outcomes (Tonkiss 2005).

When analyzing cities’ historical evolution, urban theorists have tended to focus on physical aspects, while sociologists have highlighted the impact of population groups on the form of the city and the significance of prosaic and routine social activities in shaping the identity of a city (Charalambous 2018). The focus of urban scholars on physical aspects is particularly evident in the various approaches of urban morphology, which persist in setting the physical form (street, buildings, plots, areas, lines, etc.) as the key feature for analysis. While all urban morphological approaches have invariably included, to different extents, socio-economic aspects in their frameworks, analyses and interpretations, the view remains that the physical form should be used as a common reference in urban analysis (Kropf 2009). The question remains as to whether this is enough to deliver fruitful findings and understanding of the processes of urban development.

The author takes the view that, as Hillier and Vaughan argue, the city is one single entity where the physical and the social “act conjointly to produce significant outcomes” (Hillier and Vaughan 2007) and that a way to address this issue is to bring the different perspectives and combine the tools used by different approaches under a common framework based on relationality. This offers the opportunity to put the physical and social aspects of cities on the same par.

Relational theories, such as ANT and Assemblage Theory, highlight a number of key issues in the knowledge domain of urban development, in particular regarding the mechanisms of emergence and transformation of city forms. They effectively argue how both material and human elements play an ‘equal’ role in emergence, how the connections between these define the nature of assemblages and how multiple scales and relations determine transformation processes. Both these relational theories suggest that to develop a research approach which can respond to the challenge of analyzing the processes of urban development which shape the city, it is necessary to:

1. Assess the relationships between material and human components.
2. Account for historical processes.
3. Analyze different scales of relationships between parts and the whole.
4. Understand how groups are formed and redistributed.
5. Construct a narrative where the variety of actors is represented.

Assemblage theory is a philosophy offering a holistic understanding of the city which is able to overcome the traditional divisions of specialization of the various fields which deal with urbanity. The points above provide the theoretical basis and general guidelines to respond to the problem of the city and its key
ontological issues. However, the fact remains that relational theories tend to be highly generic in proposing analytical approaches: exactly what elements, scales and interactions should be taken into account for analysis remains open for debate. This is not necessarily a shortcoming, but something that should perhaps be viewed positively as enabling those with specific information and skills to develop analytical approaches best suited to the study of the urban form and to specific case studies (Batty 2013, Bettencourt 2013). In order to develop an analytical approach, it is therefore necessary to draw from the specific approaches that have so far been used for the study of the urban form.

Urban Morphology: Understanding City Development

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

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

Furthermore, assessing how cities have developed requires both accurate cartographic records as well as historical and current sources of information on their demographics, their history and their land uses. Many historical records and data, even within a short time span, are not easily comparable to current ones. At the same time differences in the quality and detail of cartographic records means that analytical tools able to capture specific properties of cities, regardless of the information available, are needed in order to assess changes in the built form, identify what processes enable such changes and relate these to the ways in which cities function.

Despite these barriers to the analysis of city development, the scholarship in the field of urban morphology is vast. Different methodologies have been implemented to approach the analysis of the evolution of cities, but have often been applied in isolation and are characterized by specific national trends which have led to the emergence of separate schools of thought. The main approaches and their related schools of thought are: 1) the historical-geographical approach of the British school of town plan analysis initiated by M.R.G. Conzen in the 1960s; 2) the process typological approach of the Italian school based on the work of S. Muratori in the 1940s; 3) the configurational approach developed by Hillier and Hanson (1984) and the space syntax community based at University College London (UCL) and now applied by different scholars across the world; and 4) the
spatial analytical approach which is applied through a variety of methods by
different scholars within the wider theory of cities as complex systems, but is
mostly associated with the work of the Centre for Advanced Spatial Analysis
(CASA). These are comprehensively reviewed in other publications (Kropf 2009,
Oliveira 2016, Scheer 2016, Charalambous et al. 2019), therefore, here only a
description and comparison of their main characteristics relatively to using a
relational framework for analysis is given.

All approaches offer certain analytical benefits, but also have shortcomings,
mostly relating to their ability to account for wider structural factors in their
analysis of form. This is perhaps understandable as all the approaches which
specifically deal with form tend to originate from the field of urban studies – more
concerned with local processes – than from the field of sociology – more
calncerned with global processes. However, all also seem to be open to the
possibility that inferences can be made with regards to wider factors influencing
the evolution of form. All the approaches can be applied ‘statically’ to analyze the
urban form at one specific point in time, but their basis can be used as the
foundation for diachronic analysis.

To give a clearer overview of the commonalities and differences of the
approaches, the key physical and social elements and the way they view
relationality is summarized in Table 1.

Clearly, there is no single aspect of either physical form or social feature
which is common to all the different approaches, although different components
and relations tend to recur through two or more approaches. Function and use are
clearly the social aspects that are consistently adopted for
analysis.

Temporal relations seem to be the most consistent across the approaches
(though using somewhat different semantics): cyclical/continuous processes and
change, modification, diversification or readjustment are compatible descriptions
of emergence and transformation. However, different scales and degrees of
determinism are clear in the variety of views of the human-physical relationality
offered by each approach.

This is why an overarching theoretical framework which establishes the
extent to which local and global processes should be given consideration in
analytical attempts is needed: assemblage theory provides such a theoretical
framework. It sustains the argument that the physical and human aspects of cities
are inextricably linked and should therefore be analyzed together as they jointly
define the identity of a city. It also makes clear that an analysis that is devoid of
historical processes or of the distribution of variations across a population cannot
fully explain the emergence of cities and the processes of persistence and change;
which physical and human elements, how to identify interactions, how to measure
connectivity, what scales, variables and historical processes should be considered
have to be informed by the various morphological and social approaches
mentioned above.
Table 1. Components of the Urban Form and their Relationality Identified by the Different Urban Morphological Approaches

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Approach</th>
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<th>Social Features</th>
<th>Spatial Relations</th>
<th>Human-Physical Relations</th>
<th>Temporal Relations</th>
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<td>• Function</td>
<td>• Street Pattern</td>
<td>• Social and Economic context</td>
<td>• Cyclical Change</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Town plan (Street, plot, building)</td>
<td>• Land use</td>
<td>• Plot Pattern</td>
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<td>• Use</td>
<td>• Network Structure</td>
<td>• Perception</td>
<td>• Cyclical Growth</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Route</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author.
Methodology

Assemblage theory affirms that social entities are constructed through very specific historical processes, which indicates the need for diachronic analysis. This need was met by building a systematic spatial history of the city, an approach concerned directly with the relationship between spatial and locational factors at specific times in the past as described by Baker (2003), and by contextualizing such history with a narrative.

The analytical requirements and the related tools selected to perform the analysis from the various sociological and urban morphological approaches are summarized in Table 2.

**Table 2. Summary of Methodological Tools Used for Each Analytical Requirement**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Analytical Requirement</th>
<th>Qualitative Tools</th>
<th>Quantitative Tools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Historical Processes and Temporal Aspect</td>
<td>• Historical Narrative</td>
<td>• Spatial History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Review of Secondary Sources on Development</td>
<td>• Space Syntax Analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Spatial History</td>
<td>• Block Size Analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Space Syntax Analysis</td>
<td>• Land-use Analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Different Scales and Relationship of Part-to-Whole</td>
<td>• Illustrative Case Studies – How They Relate to the Whole City</td>
<td>• Space Syntax Analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Space Syntax Analysis</td>
<td>• Assessment of Fringe Belt Formation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How Material and Human Elements are Connected Together</td>
<td>• Fabrique Urbaine</td>
<td>• Statistical Correlations between Physical and Social Factors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Analytical Linkages between Historical Sources and Physical Development</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How Groups are Formed and Redistributed</td>
<td>• Historical Analysis of Events that lead to Group Formation</td>
<td>• Basic Statistical Analysis of Historical Social Factors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Analysis of Groups’ Expressive Characteristics within Case Studies</td>
<td>• Details Statistical and Geographical Analysis of Groups’ Distributions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Analysis of Primary Sources in Relation to Case Studies’ Developments</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Narrative where the Variety of Actors is Represented</td>
<td>• Conversations with Stakeholders</td>
<td>• Quantitative Information Relating to the Nature of Groups in Different Areas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Author.*

Based on the analytical requirements discussed in the literature review and the available tools, a research strategy was developed proposing to deliver two parallel accounts of Limassol’s development. On the one hand is a narrative which describes, through historical research, how the city has grown and changed; on the other hand, is a spatial history of the city, which focuses on systematically and
quantitatively analyzing the development of the city’s street network and its built form at specific points in time. This spatial history attempts to build a timeline of the city’s development to identify how the sequence of physical events in the growth of the city affects its spatial and physical properties at different scales. At the same time, accounts of the actors involved in decision-making, the reasoning and forces behind certain planning decisions are reported and discussed through conversations with a variety of stakeholders. The research strategy including methods and tools is summarized in Figure 1.

**Figure 1. Research Strategy**

![Figure 1. Research Strategy](image)

*Source: Author.*

### Spatial History

The spatial history was composed of three layers of information relating to the material components of the city: an analysis of the spatial properties of the street network, an analysis of a physical property of the built form (block size) and an analysis of a socio-economic property of the built form (land use). The first analysis was carried out through a configurational, space syntax approach (Hillier and Hanson 1984, Griffiths 2012, Hillier 1996), while the second two analyses were carried out through a historical-geographical approach (Whitehand 2001, Oliveira 2016) focusing on the timeline and distribution of specific land uses of a large size. The spatial history comprises seven points in time (1883, 1933, 1960, 1974, 1987, 2003 and 2014). One further layer of information relates to the social components of the city: an analysis of distribution of social groups across the city was carried out through a geographical approach typical of the Chicago school, whereby contemporary census data (from 2011) were summarized and mapped according to administrative areas. Of the spatial history, only the configurational - space syntax - analysis is presented within the scope of this paper.
Space Syntax Methodology

Space syntax methodology provides an analysis of the city at different scales and has the ability to highlight how the main structure of the city changes over time by quantitatively describing patterns of spatial layout and by measuring the accessibility level of all elements in the system. The most important measures of space syntax are integration, representing ‘to-movement’ or the accessibility of a specific element within the system, and choice, representing ‘through-movement’ or ‘betweenness’ (the number of times a segment falls on the shortest route between all pairs of segments within a specified radius). Measures can be calculated at the city-wide scale or at any given radius; the city-wide, ‘global’ measures taking into account all elements in the system and the ‘local’ measures taking into account all elements within the given radius. The specific analysis used in this study is angular segment analysis (Hillier and Iida 2005), which takes into account the relative straightness of a route. The measures used are normalized angular choice (referred to here as NACh or ‘choice’) and normalized angular integration (referred to here as NAIn or ‘integration’). The normalized measures allow for comparison between systems of different size (Hillier et al. 2012).

NACh values range between 0 and 2, where values above 1.3 are considered to be in the top range of accessibility, and values of 1.5 or above being extremely high. NAIn values also tend to range between 0 and 2, but can reach much higher values at the local level. All the segments in the system with values of 1.3 or above are considered here to be part of the core structure of the city – the global structure when considering the whole system or the local neighborhoods’ structure when considering a specific radius. These two cores can be matched to identify the multi-scale core of the city (Versluis 2013) – all the segments which have both the highest global and local values, constituting areas which are likely to have the highest levels of both vehicular and pedestrian movement, as well as the greatest mix of uses and.

Another property of these measures is that maximum values tend to be representative of what is known as the foreground structure of the city – the network of linked centers at all scales, while mean values tend to be representative of the background structure – the network of residential spaces. (Hillier 2002, 2012)

Narrative

Narratives are a main tool of historical research, but they are not commonly used in urban analysis, especially for contemporary times. In the context of this study’s framework, the meaning of ‘narrative’ as a research method is taken from ANT, which requires to provide a description where all the actors involved in the process of emergence are accounted for and their actions are outlined. The aim of the narrative is to fully depict the state of affairs of an assemblage (in our case the city) by being specific and accurate while capturing the broad-ranging connections and capacities exercised by different agencies and components. However, here, the author is not using ANT methodology to construct a narrative, which would
involve the tracing of a network. Instead, a combined approach is taken, where the narrative is only one of the many analytical elements required by the theoretical framework. For this reason, a combination of tools, typical of more ‘classic’ social and historical research using narrative as a qualitative method is employed. The narrative itself was developed by the researcher (as according to ANT), but through the collation, description, interpretation and communication of existing knowledge of the city. This was collected through researching primary and secondary sources, including photographic and cartographic material, and press archives, as well as through holding interviews with expert stakeholders; the methods used for each of these actions are described below. Within the scope of this paper a brief version of the narrative relating to the impact of historical and recent developments on the current functioning of the city, is presented here. The full historical narrative, and more detail about the methodology, is reported elsewhere (Geddes 2019, Geddes and Charalambous 2017).

Historical Research

The historical context within which Limassol developed was investigated through a literature review of secondary sources. Substantial research on its urban history has been compiled by Serghides (2012) in a book which focuses both on the growth of the city and the development of specific areas and architectural landmarks, but in particular, its industrial development. Primary sources which describe the city were found in a small number of historical tourist guides and historical travelers’ diaries from which the information regarding Limassol was collated by Severis (2006). Other primary sources used were the newspaper archives of the Cyprus Press and Information Office and the online archive of the newspaper Cyprus Mail. Information which could not be found in written sources and further detail about the reasons behind each development was discussed in interviews with selected expert stakeholders.

Interviews with Expert Stakeholders

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

A total of six in-depth interviews were held with the experts; these were semi-structured. A set of questions was prepared in advance of each interview; probes and additional questions were brought up during the conversation as a result of
what the interviewee said as and when the researcher estimated it to be relevant. The remainder of questions related to themes relevant to each expert. All interviewees were also asked to suggest at least three priorities for the future development of Limassol; this was the more open session, requesting the expert’s personal opinion on the current planning system, recent developments in Limassol, the city’s current situation and its needs for the future. The material was embedded in the narrative, used to aid the identification of the mechanisms of the city’s development and to make inferences about the relationship between the physical and the social spheres.

Findings from the Spatial History of the City

Previous spatial analyses of Limassol’s growth have pointed out that uncontrolled urban development led to an uneven expansion of the city, creating a fragmented structure and leaving many gaps in the urban fabric (Kritioti 1988). This state of affairs may perhaps be attributed on the one hand to the leapfrogging of suburban growth and on the other hand to development that favored extensive vehicular access and abundant parking spaces.

The space syntax analysis provides us with an array of information about the overall structure of the city and its development through time. Figure 2 shows that as the city develops, its core (highlighted by the thick black lines) shifts towards the ring roads and new areas of nearby villages. This core is measured as the relations between different scales of accessibility: all the street segments, which are highly accessible at both a local radius and at the whole-city scale. The core also becomes more scattered and includes more of the distant areas in the northern edge of the city. As time goes by, the seafront seems to lose its importance and at present it no longer belongs to what is deemed the ‘spatial’ center of the city.

This configurational analysis tells us how continuous or fragmented, and how accessible, are the foreground and background structures of the city (Hillier et al. 2012). The relationship between these two structures can be visualized as a star diagram (Figure 3). This diagram is a diachronic adaptation of the same type of representation used synchronically to compare cities in Hillier et al. (2012) and has the capacity to compare the relative importance of the foreground, main circulation system of the city, and the background residential network. It shows that the city constantly has a longer horizontal axis, which tells us that the foreground system dominates the city. It also shows that the background, residential system loses its continuity and integration more sharply than the foreground system, and that the latter has a clear peak in integration in 1960-1974. Furthermore, it is evident that change in these properties seems to stabilize after 1987, with less dramatic changes, but a small improvement in the integration of the background network matched by a small decrease in that of the foreground network is visible in 2014.
**Figure 2.** Multi-Scale Accessibility Analysis of Limassol (Left to Right and Top to Bottom: 1883, 1933, 1960, 1974, 1987, 2003 and 2014)

**Figure 3.** Star Diagram of the Changing Properties of Foreground and Background Structures of Limassol from 1883 to 2014
A brief comparison of the spatial properties between the city as a whole and the historical town center (Table 3) reveals a somewhat similar pattern of spatial change. There are, however, important differences in the relationship between the town center and the whole city. Firstly, the background structure within the town center is more continuous and more resilient to change as the lower decrease in mean choice shows, while its integration, despite some decrease over time, especially in 1974, has a striking continuity and is now back to the levels of the late 19th and early 20th century. Secondly, the decrease in both continuity and accessibility of the town center’s foreground network is much sharper than for the whole city. This indicates that its strength is more susceptible to the impact of growth and that its role in distributing and attracting long range movement is more effectively diminished by the incorporation of new routes and new areas in other parts of the city.

If we look at local to mid-range measures for the whole city and the town center (Table 4) we will notice that, after initial development, integration values drop from 1933 onwards, which indicates that local neighborhoods on average become less and less integrated even within their local area. The picture is different for the town center taken as a separate unit – values here are more variable over time and are generally high, meaning that while shifts do occur in its properties as an attractor of movement and a to-destination, it steadily functions well as a local neighborhood. The values drop somewhat in the years during which it is known to have decayed, but have recently risen again.

**Table 3. Comparative Table of Mean and Maximum Global Choice and Integration Values of the Whole City and the Town Center Over Time**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>mnNACn</th>
<th>mnNAIn</th>
<th>maxNACn</th>
<th>maxNAIn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>1.24</td>
<td>1.26</td>
<td>1.09</td>
<td>1.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>1.24</td>
<td>1.08</td>
<td>1.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>1.08</td>
<td>1.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>1.06</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td>1.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>1.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td>1.09</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>1.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>0.93</td>
<td>1.10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Author.*
Table 4. Comparative Table of Mean Local Choice and Integration Values of the Whole City and the Town Centre over Time

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>mnNAIn WC 800</th>
<th>WC 1200</th>
<th>WC 1600</th>
<th>TC 800</th>
<th>TC 1200</th>
<th>TC 1600</th>
<th>mnNACh WC 800</th>
<th>WC 1200</th>
<th>WC 1600</th>
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<td>1.13</td>
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<td>1.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
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<td>1.23</td>
<td>1.17</td>
<td>1.33</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>1.37</td>
<td>1.19</td>
<td>1.19</td>
<td>1.21</td>
<td>1.15</td>
<td>1.19</td>
<td>1.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>1.17</td>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>1.37</td>
<td>1.37</td>
<td>1.38</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>2014</td>
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<td>1.11</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>1.18</td>
<td>1.19</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author.

Through the historical process, the global structure of the city has shifted from the historical centre outwards. As indicated by previous studies in similar contexts (Shpuza 2009), the city’s overall integration tends to decrease with growth. However, this is not necessarily an endless or irreversible pattern. The spatial analysis highlights the two key problematic patterns of the city: the domination of the foreground structure over the background one and a lack of sub-centers. More importantly, it shows that the recent redevelopment focus on the waterfront has not reintegrated it within the spatial core of the city and the fact that the array of recent developments has not altered the dominance of the foreground structure or significantly improved city-wide accessibility levels. Small improvements have occurred in the localized area of the town center, but certainly, no significant positive impact has occurred across the city.

Findings from the Narrative of the City

Limassol was little more than a village in 1815, when the traveler William Turner states that Limassol “is a miserable town consisting of 150 mud houses of which 100 are Greek and 50 Turks” (Turner 1820). During the second half of the 19th century Limassol began to grow and expand substantially. This was reflected in the construction of the earliest functional space outside the edge of the city: the Greek cemetery of Agios Nikolaos. A Muslim cemetery at the western edge of the city is also visible in the 1883 map, but much nearer to the urban area. These larger peripheral land uses were followed by the construction of the Commissioner’s house in 1875 in the east of the city and the Commissioner’s depot in the north. By the end of the Ottoman period geographical divisions related to ethnicity had become more and more spatially defined along with other social factors, such as social class (Pilavakis 1977).

With the end of the Ottoman period, Limassol developed as a city of proto-industrialization, as the economy benefited from the stationing of British troops in the district, with consequent development of establishments and retail facilities in the town. During Ottoman times the bazaar and the main commercial street were in the western side of the town (Severis 2006) and on the coastal road (Serghides
However, as the British settled in, the commercial center started shifting towards the east. The reasoning – if any – behind the location of these various components of the city remains unknown and an official masterplan of any kind to refer to was not drawn by the British (Interview 1). Although much infrastructure was built and the city started expanding once British administration began, development moved slowly. From the beginning of the 20th century, however, physical and social change in the city sped up with the Government providing financial assistance to the municipality in order to support certain public works, especially those relating to improvements for the shipping industry. A concentration of industrial land uses along the coastline to the west of the old port, a somewhat separate industrial area, was formed during these years and to a great extent still remains in place.

At the same time, the first promenade along the coastline was constructed. The houses along the seafront that formed a ‘wall’ against the sea were removed – this is the time when Limassol first ‘opened up’ to the sea. The purpose of this was to support shipping, with loading and unloading being the main activity taking place along the promenade. However, this area was quickly turned into a social and recreational space during quiet times for the industry and during holidays (Serghides 2012).

On the one hand, shifts in global political affairs, such as the oncoming of the British rule, relate to development in the periphery of the city, the establishment of specific land uses and shifting of the commercial center. On the other hand, a local physical change in the urban fabric, such as demolishing a series of buildings, leads to a reframing of the relationship of the city with the sea and the functioning of its coastal area.

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

During the colonial period and in the years following independence up to the 1974 war, Limassol’s urban population grew ten-fold. Although there was a steady population increase in the whole island following British infrastructure works in all towns, the relative distribution of population between town and country did not change drastically until the 1920s. This was a period of depression in agricultural prices, which saw migration into towns leading to an increase in the urban population at twice the rate of the rural population between 1921 and 1946 (Kritioti 1988).

Severis (2006) gives a variegated view of Limassol’s cosmopolitanism in the first decades of the 20th century. The variegated social life was matched by wider, more structural socio-economic changes, as well as physical, material changes to the city that took place between the two World Wars. The increase in population in the 1920s, coupled with industrial development also led to the establishment of other uses and facilities in the city. Serghides sustains that socio-economic changes and building activities were putting pressure on local authorities to
produce a comprehensive plan (Serghides 2012). It is at this time that the bye-pass (Figure 4) was planned and then constructed at the beginning of World War II.

This is a key piece of road infrastructure which will permanently influence the form and further development of Limassol’s street network. The reasoning behind the development of the road is, however, unclear. It has been stated to the author that the road was planned for military purposes during war times (Interview 1) or simply as a ring road to avoid traffic in central Limassol due to its expansion (Interview 3), or rather that it was built with the intention of avoiding having to circulate British military vehicles through the city thus causing increased congestion, but ultimately quickly became used for common traffic purposes (Interview 4).

Again, the narrative above highlights how the relations between global (fall in agricultural prices) and local factors (public regulations), as well as the relations between cultural (Europeanisation) and material (the construction of a ring-road) factors, conjointly act to shape the social and physical form of the city.

**Figure 4. Tourist Map of Limassol 1947**

In 1947 Sir Patrick Abercrombie took part in a planning event where he gave his opinions about the current state of the city, as well as its present and future needs. He stressed the need to carry out a study of the city and to build up the empty areas within it; he suggested that construction should be remodeled in order to set a commercial center for the city, which should be pedestrianized. Furthermore, he stated that the road network should be reorganized with long-term views. The contemporary local newspaper Observer supported his statements, further highlighting that a plan of action was needed, while Serghides (2012)
points out that similar problems remain evident to the present day. In fact, it is not until 2014 that pedestrianization of the center is implemented, while empty areas within the urban environment remain common. Moreover, there is still no long-term masterplan with regards to the road network, a problem which is partly generated by the fact that many municipalities lie within the urban area. This is a long-standing issue in terms of the viability of a masterplan (Charavgi 1979a).

From the 1950s the expansion of the city continued radially, the second ring road of the city is planned, but will not see the light of day until the 1990s. At this time, the road of Gladstonos, bounding the historical center had started becoming a focal point of entertainment. This seems to indicate a shift of the leisure area from the coastline towards the north as the city expanded and a new boundary was created by the new ring road. Residential densification sped up in the 1960s. Much of this took place through the development of small detached homes by the middle classes, a trend different from that taking place in contemporary Europe, although the first few apartment blocks also appear at this time in Limassol. A few more industrial developments take place during this decade, but most of the development is residential until 1970. A tourist map of 1974 (Figure 5) poignantly shows the densification of the city following independence.

The establishment of a formal planning system at this time became more pressing than ever. The Town and Country Planning Law was published in 1972, but it will not be enacted and local plans not drawn until 1990. Because of this, development continued to be dispersed and unregulated.

At this time, the ring road (by-pass) of Makariou starts competing with the center and coastal area as a business, retail and recreation center. This was partly because works were taking place on the coastline to construct the beach and expand the promenade, but also because of the growth of the city to the north. This indicates a further shift of the center towards the north, as commercial activities also appeared on the main routes connecting the historical center with Makariou. Residential development continued to follow a model of detached homes and ‘garden city’ neighborhoods, which, according to Serghides (2012), failed to acquire a specific character due to the large number of empty spaces within them.

Following the 1974 war Limassol saw an unprecedented population growth with an almost 30% increase between 1973 and 1976. Most of this was due to the influx of Greek Cypriot refugees. The greatest portion of development during this period was constituted by residential construction to accommodate the refugees, and included housing estates in peripheral areas of the city, as well as much construction by the private sector. A true building explosion commenced around 1979; the city expanded significantly and finally engulfed nearby villages – the growth of the city during the 20th and 21st centuries is summarized in Figure 6.
Figure 5. Tourist Map of Limassol 1974


Figure 6. Growth of the City 1927-2016

Source: Lianou and Christofinis (2016).
Despite the great need for housing, density did not particularly increase; in fact, the city sprawled as housing estates were placed in very peripheral areas where the Government already owned the land or was able to purchase it cheaply, while the private sector, within a loose system of building regulations, was concerned with meeting market demands for detached homes. The problematic issue of the relationship between the whole city, the historical town center, the city’s neighborhoods and sprawl identified by the spatial history is not only reiterated by the narrative, but also characterized by the varying scales of influence of local legislation and international struggles.

Because of the great expansion of the city in the 1980s, local authorities had to concentrate on addressing various problems which had come along with the drastic increase in population. The problems were widely debated in the press in the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s, which reveals a variety of issues relating to shipping, tourist, industrial and agricultural development, as well as housing supply (Simerini 1988, Charavgi 1979b).

The road infrastructure works of the 1980s and 1990s included the construction of the motorway and the second ring road, completed by 1987 and 1990 respectively. Why priority was given to the motorway remains unclear, though national-level policy would have played a significant role; one suggestion is that it was because of the influx of refugees into Limassol and its consequent expansion (Interview 2), another that private and economic interests played a role (Interview 1). The year 1990 was also a turning point as planning legislation was finally enacted and the first local plan was produced.

During the 1990s attention shifted back to the town center and the coastal area, which had decayed during the 1980s because of the focus put on new development in other areas of the city, and economic constraints affecting its commercial and entertainment establishments. During a strong local leadership from the middle of the 1990s to the middle of the 2000s, which thoroughly engaged in the regeneration of the town center, coupled with activism from local residents (Rakoczy 2007), the city has undergone much renewal. However, there remains some criticism that this is prioritized towards temporary, visitor, recreational and tourist uses, rather than focusing on a long-term, more sustainable regeneration aimed at bringing back permanent residents into the town center.

A piece-meal system of planning was in place until fairly recently, a factor which has greatly contributed to the sprawling nature of the city and to the continued existence of large empty areas within its form. Structural factors clearly played a role in how the city developed as did the local economy and the balance of power between institutions and private interests. While the economic situation does play a role in development, this narrative does not seem to show a strict link between certain economic conditions and the development of specific uses, especially in the early stages of development.

Throughout the city’s growth, the local administration has given priority to maintenance, improvement and widening of existing roads, as well as construction of major new routes. Certain necessary establishments, such as slaughterhouses, the hospital, markets and the like were also prioritized by the local Government at certain stages. However, while zones are designated for specific uses, the
development of residential areas and their road infrastructure has been left to the private sector, with public facilities being added on at a later stage, once the population and the density increased enough to justify the effort and the cost. The relations between market interests and public sector planning seem to have led to a situation where the creation of long routes associated to some large land uses tends to lead the expansion process. Residential developments then follow, producing ‘patches’ of compact grids between and along major routes.

Regeneration and development projects in the center and along the waterfront since the 1990s aimed at addressing this issue. As mentioned above, these have brought renewal and vitality to the center, but criticism to the priorities set by the recent projects has also being raised. Despite changes and improvements made to public consultation processes in 2007, the feeling remains that a proper dialogue between citizens and planning authorities does not yet exist (Interview 1) and that often the requests and interests of land owners are met to the detriment of the public good (Interview 2).

Only environmental assessments are required in the case of large developments; traffic or commercial impact assessments are not compulsory under the current system (Interview 5). A variety of assessments is often sought to evaluate planning applications, however, these are not carried out by the authorities or independently, but by the developers themselves (Interview 3). Aside of guidelines set by local plans, there is no system in place to assess the impact of a single development on the whole city (Interview 3) and there are opinions that in many cases decisions are made which do not reflect the requirements of the plans or the views expressed in public consultations (Interview 2).

The widespread feeling about recent development in Limassol that came clearly across through all the interviews is that the flurry of activity is a highly positive trend. The redevelopment of the promenade was seen as particularly successful (Interview 5) and regeneration efforts as bringing Limassol to its best developmental phase (Interview 4) with its historic center blooming and booming once again (Interview 1). The Limassol Marina and the regeneration of the old port were also seen as positive interventions, but these were also fraught with reservations and discontent about their design, in particular the connections made between various redeveloped areas (Interview 1, 2 and 5), as well as criticism toward the architectural design of the old port (Interview 2 and 4). Regeneration of the town center also provoked mixed feelings with some seeing it as highly positive and successful (Interview 1 and 4), some thinking the effort was minimal (Interview 2).

When questioned about the balance of regeneration and development between the coastal area and other areas of the city, few were aware of any projects taking place outside the historical center or the coastline. Some thought that projects outside of the center, such as the linear park along the river, were positive (Interview 1); others thought that nothing of particular significance was taking place beyond the coastal area (Interview 2). At the same time, while all expressed generally positive views about the regeneration of the coastal area, when asked about future priorities for Limassol almost all answers included the need to focus
on local neighborhoods, mentioning the need to: make each neighborhood self-
sufficient (Interview 1); build squares and green spaces (Interview 2), something
that would make any city’s neighborhood prettier and healthier (Interview 3);
embellish the neighborhoods (Interview 4); strengthen other areas (Interview 5).
Improvements in public transport coupled with solutions for parking problems also
featured quite prominently in the conversations as to the priorities for the city.

Cumulatively, the interviews give the impression that the recent developments
were beneficial to their own local areas and that due to their central and coastal
location, the wider population benefits from them. However, the general view
remains that these have not addressed the broader problems of the city and have
not significantly altered either its problematic structure or local neighborhoods’
access to better facilities. The tensions in the relations between the whole city and
its different parts, and between the various agents and scales which structure the
form and functioning of the city still remain in place.

Discussion and Conclusion

The quantitative spatial history of the city provided the basis to identify
certain characteristics of change in the city through a long time span, in particular
with regards to the nature and functioning of the street network (presented here)
and to the location of specific land uses at certain points in time (Geddes and
Charalam-bous 2017).

The centrality of cities has been shown to be a process (Hillier 1999) and it is
certainly not surprising that in Limassol this has shifted over time to ‘relocate’ to a
more geographically central area characterised by higher accessibility. The
decrease in the extent of the multi-scale core was also to be expected as this is in
line with previous research showing that global accessibility and legibility tend to
decrease over time as the city-system grows, and that this is the case for many
Mediterranean port cities that have grown rapidly in recent years (Shpuza 2009).

The configurational analysis highlighted two key problematic patterns which
were validated by the qualitative analysis:

- The domination of the foreground structure over the background one,
  which is validated by literature and experts’ observations that the city
developed radially and with a ‘fan-shaped’ pattern causing commercial
uses to be dispersed along major roads;
- A lack of subcenters which have the spatial potential to sustain local
  activity, which is validated by experts’ comments that attention needs to be
given to local neighborhoods, that local public spaces were never
constructed and that a concentration of commercial uses was directed
towards the center and vehicular roads.

The widespread feeling about the recent development boom in Limassol is
highly positive. The redevelopment of the promenade is seen as particularly
successful and regeneration efforts are generally being viewed favorably,
especially with regards to the historical center becoming lively again. The Marina and the regeneration of the old port are also seen as positive interventions yet are also fraught with reservations and discontent about their design.

The discrete benefits of developing the narrative were that it described the wider context within which the case study is set and gave an historical overview of Limassol’s development from a variety of viewpoints. Furthermore, the various tools used to build a narrative provided information where more objective data gathering was not possible or viable. However, the narrative was itself a useful tool because it revealed different perceptions of the city and different interpretations of its development.

The spatial history was clearly able to pick out a variety of problems in the functioning of the contemporary city, highlighting how these relate to the impact of growth, the nature of the expanding street network and recent interventions in the urban fabric. However, identifying the causal factors of such growth, aside of the specific spatial relations of various physical elements of the city, would not have been possible solely through quantitative analysis. Many of the characteristics and processes identified through the configurational analysis could only be contextualized through the historical narrative and verified through the interviews with expert stakeholders. In particular, the various global and local scales of causality which initiated specific phenomena of growth and development could only be identified through the narrative. On the one hand, at the global scale, is the impact of international relations and world economic changes on urbanization, population influx into the city and location of residential development; on the other hand, at the local level, is national economic resources and needs, planning legislation and policy, as well as corporate and individual private interests in real estate. The interaction of macro-level political processes with specific physical and human components, the destabilizing events of conflict interacting with other destabilizing processes of shifting land values, the national and local level planning policies, and the micro-level properties of the street network and the built fabric all conjointly led the specific form of the city.

These findings point to the fact that stark dichotomies between critical views of structural factors and the historical process being the fundamental causal determinants of urban characteristics, or, at the other end of the spectrum, the bottom-up view that urban form is shaped by everyday life and routine activities, is perhaps neither useful for the understanding of form and functioning, nor for the identification of causal factors. Using a broad framework, informed by assemblage theory, can be more productive in revealing the complexities of causal pathways. This has provided us with the ability to identify when and where structural properties and the temporal aspect influence city form. It allowed us to understand and interpret how human and physical components are connected together and it enabled us to identify the scales at which causality is initiated and mediated.

The narrative provided a baseline for reading, interpreting, validating and making inferences about the findings from quantitative analyses. Without the implementation of a comprehensive framework to understand the relationality of the city, it would have been impossible to empirically verify the existence of problems and developmental characteristics and processes identified solely
through the application of an individual approach. The framework was key in understanding the contemporary socio-physical identity of the city and what caused this identity, as well as informing the identification of issues, potentials and priorities which can aid planning.

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Geddes: Understanding the Mechanisms and Impact...
Implementing Quality to Assess the Performance of the Educational System: A Preliminary Case Study at the Libyan University Al Jabal Al Gharbi

By Said Al Ghawiel*

This article proposes an overview of higher education systems that have adopted a performance-based evaluation model. Our theoretical approach offers some primary concepts related to the field of evaluation and performance. A particular emphasis is placed on the idea of quality that is realised through increased research into quality control and compliance with quality standards within higher education. We have based this on a qualitative survey carried out in Libya, where this evaluation model has been implemented in higher education and which is aiming for an improvement in the academic success of students and a better standing in international rankings.

Keywords: Evaluation, Higher Education, Libyan Educational System, Quality.

Introduction

Higher education is currently recognised internationally as a fulcrum for research into economic prosperity, with strong effects on population development. According to an opinion from the Québec Conseil supérieur de l’éducation (Higher Council for Education) in 1994, higher education is now considered a pillar of not only economic growth, but also overall societal development. In their study of higher education and research in the Mediterranean, Fouchet and Moustier (2010: 26) came to similar conclusions: “The World Conference that was held from 5-8 July 2009 at UNESCO headquarters in Paris focused on the theme “The New Dynamics of Higher Education”, meaning its pre-eminence on the development of the education system in general, on sustainable development on a national and international scale and on the establishment of societies founded on knowledge”. An evaluation tool appears to be strongly required in order to promote higher education. Rueda and Diaz (2005: 3) are in line with this opinion and state that “evaluation has become the preferred tool of government organisations for directing the actions of the higher education system”. The context of higher education has changed considerably over the course of recent decades. According to Lanarès and Poteaux (in Berthiaume and Rege Colet 2018: 9), “these changes have altered views of the role of university and its objective”, which can be seen in Europe at the same time through “a significant change in the means of governing higher education institutes with a distinct emphasis on autonomy”. However, this gradually granted autonomy is not without benefit for universities: “As a general rule, this autonomy allows institutes to have much more

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Looking more specifically at training methods in higher education, we have here opted for several additional thematic entries that focus on the quality approach. Poteaux (2013) explains that the Bologna declaration made it possible to create a real European space for higher education, with diplomas recognised using ECTS credits (European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System), and to simplify the mobility of students and teachers who are able to complete part of their course or training in a partner country: “These requirements are uniform across European universities and it is also through this that, for example, the establishment of “quality approaches” and the evaluation of teachers has spread. This has been followed by new challenges for institutes and research professors in economic terms, in terms of governance and in terms of structuring programmes and, as a result, teaching methods” (Poteaux 2013: 5).

Higher education also appears to constitute a strategic tool on which is based the development of society, the solutions to society’s problems and its future. Azaryeva et al. (2008: 425), clearly explain that “the development of the intellectual, scientific, technical and economic potential of the state is to great extent determined by the universities”. However, Perrenoud (2002: 1) provides a more nuanced opinion: “recent international studies draw attention to the difference between what education systems want to do and what they actually do”. Therefore, education is an investment that necessitates mobilisation of resources and skills. This mobilisation requires a justification process and presentation of accounts that are controlled by decision-makers, which are then examined by all those who have responsibilities in the political, economic, legal etc. sectors. In keeping with this, Perrenoud (2002: 1) specifies that “in an economy affected by budget deficits in public finances and a culture of evaluation that is both simplistic and invasive, it cannot be a surprise that the efficiency of teaching has become a major concern”. In fact, all spending has to be justified in relation to objectives that have been set in advance by public institutes and all those involved in the education process.

In addition, the weight of economic factors currently plays a major role in how the efficiency of the education system is viewed. This economic priority invites us to look at the education system as a societal project that has to meet a range of both financial and scientific limitations. Although the concept of the education system, especially in creating programmes and questions of didactic transposition, falls under the jurisdiction of experts in pedagogy, the involvement of various political, socio-cultural and economic actors must also be taken into account because this makes it possible to measure the effects of policy being carried out by implementing a supposedly objective evaluation of the education system that has been developed.

Our article aims to address the theoretical approaches that make it possible to create a model for evaluating performance on the premise of these analyses. We then use all conceptual supports for an empirical study conducted over two years in the context of Libyan education. We have designed the empirical section by creating a questionnaire that is aimed at different actors in higher education while
drawing on a case study of our own creation focusing on the University of Al Jabal Al Gharbi. The methodology chosen for this research is nevertheless separate from the quantitative data collected and is primarily focused on the qualitative approach.

**Study of a Selection of Performance Evaluation Concepts**

Our aim here is to concentrate on the concepts and trends of evaluation that question the increase in quality and, in this way, to research increased performance.

**The Priority of Evaluation**

According to Rege Colet (2005: 84), “the vocabulary being used for evaluation is both complex and polysemous”. Inspired by the work of Van Damme (2004), Rege Colet (2005: 84) takes another look at the categorisation that he established between the processes, the procedures and the different levels of action. This classification makes it possible to clarify the concepts used and organise ideas into a hierarchy that we represent in the following diagram (Figure 1), partially reproduced from Nicole Rege Colet’s work:

**Figure 1. Evaluation of University Teaching and Management**

According to Rege Colet (2005: 85), evaluation concerning higher education applies to all processes that make it possible to measure performance. The author divided them into three levels: the individual level, the curriculum level and the organisational or institutional level.
The first, the individual level, consists of evaluating student performance (evaluating teaching) and teachers’ pedagogical performances (evaluating the teacher).

The second level deals with educational “products”, which include the teaching or programmes provided by a teaching centre. In this case, the measurement focuses on the quality of an education or a programme.

Lastly, the third level concentrates on institutional structures and examines teaching and research activities in departments, units, faculties or even universities as a whole. The level of institutional division varies from case to case.

According to Rege Colet (2005: 85), the level of institutional division varies according to the situations faced. In addition, Van Damme (2004) explains that the term quality assurance “refers to processes that aim to evaluate, follow, manage, maintain and/or improve the quality of programmes in training and higher education institutes”. According to his analyses, in order to improve teaching, the process of quality assurance has a regulatory role. Furthermore, quality assurance is “at the service of institutional management. It is based on a method organised by institutions to ensure high-quality performances and to direct their strategies and decisions”.

Huguette (2011: 10) established six principles to improve the practices of evaluating teaching:

- Linking the evaluation, improvement and development of teaching to be indistinguishable.
- Analyse and discuss the quality of a programme being taught using information collected from evaluations.
- Evaluate teaching in an exhaustive manner by taking into consideration all aspects of teaching and all actions by teachers.
- Use multiple sources of information and different means of evaluating teaching.
- Establish rigorous and approved processes for evaluating teaching.
- Train new teachers in teaching before carrying out an evaluation.

Impact and Direction of Evaluation

There is clear evidence that “the evaluation of teachers is a complex subject” (Tidiane 2009: 218). Martuccelli (2010: 28-29) also questions the complexity of evaluation, stating that it cannot be considered solely a simple management tool, but that its impact is such that it should be an “actual governance philosophy”. He separated eight major explanatory principles (Table 1).
Table 1. The Principles of Performance Evaluation

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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Everything can be measured and eventually be evaluated – an exercise that makes it possible to transform endless ideological debates into technical affairs, thanks to the creation of potentially competitive sets of indicators.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Everyone has to be evaluated and put in competition with each other – this is in keeping with greater democratisation and greater objectification of exercising power in our societies.</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Evaluation, insofar as it is based on common frames of references, a high level of credibility and irreproachable technical criteria, ensures a more transparent management of power.</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Evaluation as a means of management ensures the best possible use of economic and human resources.</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Evaluation increases efficiency as it enables the emergence, in comparison, of good practices that are made possible by providing recommendations that are more or less universal (thanks to the logic of benchmarking).</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Evaluation creates motivation and consistently involves both organisations and individuals as they aim to continuously improve in light of the next evaluation.</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>By making authority more efficient and transparent, evaluation is a powerful mechanism for legitimising organisations.</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>By drawing on the consequent limitations of old types of organisational rationalising, thanks to the reactivity that it ensures, evaluation brings in a new era of rationalisation to our societies.</td>
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Source: According to Danilo Martuccelli (2010).

These eight principles (Table 2) pose a challenge for the researcher and Martuccelli (2010: 28-29) explores the idea of evaluation by bringing in a critical element.

Table 2. Criticism of the Philosophy of Evaluation

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Not all practices can be measured equally.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Evaluation is not the same depending on the actors.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Evaluation is not information, but ability.</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Evaluation has a cost.</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Evaluation is a new kind of performance-related power.</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Evaluation is not isomorphic between organisations and individuals.</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Evaluation feeds a particular type of legitimacy crisis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Evaluation is a collective ideology.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: According to Danilo Martuccelli (2010: 29, 41).

Belloi et al. (2012: 113) add that evaluation choices put in place in an academic environment are closely linked to “intense production of discussion with properties that are both very homogenous and established on several levels”. Taking this into account, what does the term evaluation mean and, more precisely, in what context does it develop a particular aspect? Belloi and his colleagues identify four key elements that they analysed in the context of Belgium:

- A quality measurement process is regulated by a combination of directives, various protocols, analysis grids and means of presentation.
The logistics put in place in institutes and at different regional and national levels are sometimes established as “support cells” that provide technical assistance and various recommendations and sometimes as external quality assurance organisations, such as the Agency for assessing the quality of higher education (AEQES) in francophone Belgium.

An institutional measure that is increasingly often overseen by a specific department within institutes or an authority created for this purpose (the University of Liège has a dedicated “Quality Management and Support Service”).

A national and international policy that encourages these approaches following the logic introduced by the Bologna process and that defines challenges on a European level and on a global level, in terms of international rankings for universities.

Alongside functional and organisational aspects linked to the implementation of an evaluation policy, a question is asked about the purpose of the evaluation, ethical principles that underpin it and the consequences that it can bring for individuals and work groups. Mialaret (2004) defends the education process in place and warns against deviations that could trigger an evaluation. He raises three sets of problems in particular:

- Problems of a philosophical and moral nature: Do we have the right to evaluate and judge someone?
- The problems with evaluation methods and scientific foundations to which these methods refer (here, all docimological works and contemporary statistical analyses).
- The aspects that appear to us to be the most important are those caused by considering evaluation within the education process itself, meaning the role played by the evaluation, as well as the level of student-teacher relations in the organisation of the education process. (Mialaret 2004: 103-104).

For de Gaulejac (2005: 63), performance is defined as the “measurement of results obtained by an individual, a team, an organisation or a process”. This measurement of results either penalises or rewards performance. In keeping with this, Saldago (2013) confirms that the notion of performance is combined with the principle of achievement. It is manifested in the effective results of actions, rather than in their planned programme. Chinta et al. (2016: 990) precise that “Performance measures are of a wide variety and are used to evaluate, control, budget, motivate, promote, celebrate, learn and improve”.

Managing performance consists of the primary objective of the quality process. Above all, a definition of the notion of performance in a managerial context, then more specifically in the context of teaching, should be agreed upon. However, according to de Gaulejac (2009: 154), “the culture of performance has its pitfalls. Excellence generates exclusion, a fortiori when it is used to sideline some in order to help others to better accept the increased demands of profitability.
Violence becomes commonplace, as do deteriorating working conditions and developing insecurity, in the race for performance”. Researching performance is undoubtedly beneficial, for both the individual and the organisation, because it is a sign of progress. However, obsession linked to the always unsatisfied objective of increased performance must be taken into account and not minimised with regard to the negative effects that it can create.

According to Chinta et al. (2016: 992-993), “Evidently there are many more inputs, processes and outputs than shown above for a higher education institution, and that condition itself calls for use of several metrics in performance management for higher education institutions”. We contend, however, despite the extensive diversity of possible metrics, the categories of inputs, processes and outputs provide adequate gestalts for performance management” (Figure 2).

**Figure 2. Systems View of Higher Education Institution**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inputs</th>
<th>Processes</th>
<th>Outputs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>Curricular programs</td>
<td>Graduates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faculty</td>
<td>Extra-curricular Programs</td>
<td>Research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff</td>
<td></td>
<td>Alumni</td>
</tr>
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Source: Author.

**Research into Quality**

The concept of quality that was discussed during the UNESCO Conference on Education held in October 1998 is defined as follows: “Quality in higher education is a multidimensional concept, which should embrace all its functions, and activities, such as teaching and academic programmes, scientific research, students, buildings, facilities and services, providing social services, internal self-assessment and defining norms in comparison with the quality adopted on a global level”. In addition, “the improvement in the quality of teaching and research becomes an increasingly large concern for all involved, especially after the efforts made on a quantitative level: developing the offer and diversifying training plans” (Kaaouachi 2010: 409). According to Mizikaci (2006: 44), “Quality systems recognized by the higher education institutions view the whole organization as a system. Quality approaches suggest that organizations are the systems which essentially consist of input, transformation and output components. Higher education institutions embracing quality systems are viewed in the framework of a systems approach”.

Program evaluation suggests a systematic and comprehensive evaluative approach viewing the school organization as an entire system with its programs and functions in practice. Both quality and program evaluation theories are based
on a holistic approach that incorporates all aspects: functions and forces of a higher education organization, which have interactions and impact on each other. Mizikaci (2006: 45) follows a similar approach, based on the main notion of system: “There are two main points that need to be considered when approaching an evaluation model for quality systems: (1) an evaluative approach should be adopted in the quality systems regarding higher education as a system, and (2) definitions of program evaluation and implementation should be done with quality concepts”.

**Quality Assurance**

The quality dimension challenges the progress of education. Indeed, Hakkun et al. (2018: 6) notes that: “Quality culture is the key to effective and efficient improvement for educational institutions as an effort to satisfy stakeholders.”

According to the European Commission’s Tempus programme (2009), quality assurance has been highly developed in European higher education since the 2000s. According to Détourbe (2014), quality assurance in higher education refers to “the collection of methods that are systematically and institutionally put in place to guarantee and improve the quality of activities within institutes of higher education”. Détourbe states further that “these methods include regularly publishing reliable and transparent information, systematically applying processes, implementing different levels of evaluations and also systematically diffusing the results of these evaluations or taking them into account in accordance with a quality control loop” (Détourbe 2014: 51). Furthermore, quality assurance refers to processes that aim to evaluate, monitor, manage, maintain and improve the quality of programmes for training or at higher education institutes (Berthiaume and Rege Colet 2018). In 2007, according to Martin and Stella (2007: 34), UNESCO defined quality assurance as “an all-embracing term referring to an ongoing, continuous process of evaluating (assessing, monitoring, guaranteeing, maintaining and improving) the quality of a higher education system, institutions, or programmes”. Moreover, according to Tam (2001: 49), “Quality assurance is a system based on the premise that everyone in an organisation has a responsibility for maintaining and enhancing the quality of the product or service. When put in the university context, quality assurance requires a whole-institution approach for a complete transformation to quality involving top-level commitment, followed by substantial and comprehensive re-education of all personnel. The transformation requires time, effort, and willingness of everyone in the institution to change to a culture which is quality-driven and ever-improving”.

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1 Tempus is one of several programmes created by the European Community to facilitate the process of economic and social reform and/or development in partner countries. Visit the following website for more detailed information: https://eacea.ec.europa.eu/sites/2007-2013/tempus-programme_en. The aim of the Tempus programme is to develop higher education systems in these countries through cooperation between institutes in Member States of the European Community.
However, the operationalisation of the concept of quality assurance differs from one country to another and can also reveal significant differences between the United States, Europe and the United Kingdom (Table 3).

### Table 3. Implementation of Quality Assurance in the United States, Europe and the United Kingdom

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>Characteristics of implementing the concept of quality assurance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>European Union</td>
<td>Comparability (equivalence), diversity of training offers, student mobility, ENQA (European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education)/SGQA (Standards and Guidelines for Quality Assurance), need for homogenous quality.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>The Dearing report (1997) focused directly on the quality of training in higher education, QAA (Quality Assurance Agency), references, verifying the value of diplomas, programme specifications, accredited external examiners, centralised control, quality code for higher education, conforming to national standards, control of funding councils, and audits by universities.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Inspired by Détourbe (2014).

The analysis of characteristics of implementing quality assurance in higher education shows that operationalisation refers to an economic logic in the United States, a transnational, institutional, governmental logic in the European Union (in connection with the Bologna process and the development of a common cooperation network) and a mixed logic that combines the financial and institutional aspects in the United Kingdom. According to Berthiaume and Rege Colet (2018), the notion of quality assurance is theoretically presented as polysemous and requires clarification in terms of definition. In fact, Van Damme (2004) identified four approaches to the concept of quality assurance in higher education, each of which, refer to a type of measure:

- ✓ Measuring excellence.
- ✓ Measuring the consistency between the methods and the objectives (*fitness for purpose*).
- ✓ Measuring the presence of minimum criteria.
- ✓ Measuring client satisfaction.

### Quality Standards in Higher Education

A variety of researchers have demonstrated the importance of using management tools to study the efficiency of the education system. As Golberg (2002) points it out, “More recently, education leaders have begun to organize the potential for Total Quality Management applied to educational organization”.
Ketele provides a relatively similar analysis (2018: 23): “The management and regulation of education systems have been affected by changes in a range of contexts, which translates notably into an evolution in the way we think about education and training”. In line with this, evaluation has gained popularity on an international scale as an indispensable tool of both public management and regulating educational policy. The objective of evaluation is to produce sufficiently measurable and visible results so as to provide a report on the functioning of education systems and their quality. However, the development of evaluation has seen some major criticisms over the course of recent decades. In addition, de Gaulejac (2009: 291) confirms that “a management ideology kills policy. By recommending a demand for results and efficiency, it shifts the policy into the territory of performance and profitability”.

“Evaluation practices and implementing a “quality management”-type approach cause major changes in the management of academic institutes” (Charlier and Vangeebergen 2014: 158). According to Debailley and Pin (2018: 179), “the development of certain evaluation practices and the recent proliferation of rankings have been analysed as a turning point for national higher education and research systems”.

On the basis of this, we observe that the notions of quality and efficiency have become reference elements used by international organisations to justify their proposals for reforms and evaluate the degree of modernisation achieved by education systems (Agulhon and Didou-Aupetit 2007: 268).

**Practical Study: Local Quality Standards for Evaluating Performance in Higher Education in Libya**

Since the Bologna process, Libya has undertaken a quality management process aimed at increasing the performance of its education system. In addition, the success criteria concerning the quality of diplomas, to which the university must subscribe, enable students to be competitive and perform well on the national and/or international job market and to respond to the needs of the country’s human, social, economic and cultural development. However, since 2004, Libya has been involved in a similar process of spreading a culture of quality and devising methods of internal and external evaluation in order to improve governance within its institutes, while encouraging harmonisation with international changes to higher education systems.

**The Libyan Educational Context**

The administration of the Libyan education system strongly depends on its complex history and remains closely linked to the existing political system and economic developments. Therefore, the education system has to cope with the numerous and fluctuant challenges the society is facing. Libya has its own education system that reflects its history, identity and regional or global geopolitical transformations. Thus, the education system is taking part of an evolving dynamic. The study presents the evaluation process in higher education
through the quality approach implemented at the Djebel Al Gharbi University. The quality process began with the promulgation of the Libyan government’s decision (official Instruction n°141 – Year 2004) dedicated to the organization of the administrative apparatus of the Ministry of Higher Education. One can observe this commitment with the creation of the administrative structure for research management and quality control in higher education. Thus, the phase of the quality assurance application in Libya education has developed gradually since accreditation is no longer limited to higher education institutions, but is including all educational institutions – primary, secondary and technical school systems.

Study Methodology

We used the theoretical foundations and basic principles of the quality approach in our study. This proved valuable for understanding the tools and design techniques (software) of performance measurement indicators. Based on this theoretical development, we have designed the empirical section by creating an initial questionnaire that is aimed at different actors in higher education. We then move on to semi-structured interviews and created a case study relating to University of Al Jabal Al Gharbi.

The primary methodology chosen for this research is a qualitative stance. Qualitative analysis enables us to better understand the mechanisms of applying the quality approach. Researchers agree that there is no single scientific way to answer our research questions with the necessary scientific rigour. Indeed, the methods need to be adapted to the studied subjects. Research methods are classically divided between qualitative and quantitative perspectives (qualitative approach in opposition or in complementarity to the quantitative approach) (da Silva and de Sousa 2016: 172). The methods choices depend on the research question and the associated objectives. As da Silva and de Sousa (2016) point it out: “depending on the initial questions, some research requires a description of the studied phenomena; others need an explanation of the existing relationships between phenomena; or else, the prediction or control of phenomena. Thus, the selection of methods of analysis must take into account the nature of the questions asked”. Livet (2005: 229) explains that “the expression ‘reasoning by case’ may cover very different methods, many of which have not yet been fully explored. The case study qualitative methodology consists, as indicated in the following definition, of "a detailed account of an ongoing phenomenon that arouses interest. It may involve individuals, institutions, events or processes”. According to Collerette (1997), the case study can show particularly useful in situations where the aim is to describe how and why sociological phenomena occur, such situations where researchers have little control over the events studied, and at specific moments when attention is focused on real-life context.

To conduct the research, four types of actors in higher education were consulted; they constituted the master data for carrying out this case study: students, professors, employees (administrative staff), scientists.

The data collected in the questionnaires and through the interviews are organised around four main topics, specifically:
1. The definition and perception of the idea of quality.
2. Infrastructure, accommodation and restaurants and sociocultural activities.
3. Scientific activities, training programmes, job market.
4. National socioeconomic implications and international cooperation.

The Interview Guide and the Selected Population

The choice of Al Jabal Al Gharbi University can be justified by the security stability in this region of Libya and the easy access to information and logistics (close to the Tunisian border). The purpose of this study is to explore the practices of quality management in a Libyan university.

Lying on the state of the art, I developed a modular interview guide for interlocutors involved in university policy, with different status and functions. This interview guide consists of five to seven questions, depending on the interviewed person. The questions are summarised in the Table 4.

Table 4. Similar or Specific Questions according to the Status of the Interviewed Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Common Questions for the whole interviewed population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q1 According to you, what are the main needs of the Libyan society and its economy?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q2 How could you define the quality in higher education?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Common Questions asked to the president (and to the professors)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q1 Are there specific recruitment criteria for new teachers? What are these criteria?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q2 To what extent is the teachers’ participation in scientific events encouraged by the university?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q3 Do you have a cooperation strategy for agreements to bring in professors from other universities on a national and/or international level (visiting professors)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q4 How do you rate the benefits in kind granted to teachers in order to improve their performance?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deputy Director of Scientific Affairs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q1 Who builds training programs? Who decides on the training offer/degrees? How to define training needs? And who identifies them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q2 Is there cooperation between the university’s research centre(s) and socio-economic institutions? What is the strategy behind these cooperations?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q3 Is there a strategy for scientific production, and how does the university motivate the members of the research centre(s) to invest in this direction?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q4 Does the university follow internationally adopted programs in higher education?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deputy Director of Administrative and Financial Affairs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q1 Is the university financially independent? Or does it rely on state support?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q2 Is there an explicit or even implicit strategy that takes into account the needs expressed in the labour market regarding the skills required?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q3 How do you rate the amount of the budget allocated for the needs of the university library?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q4 How do you rate the amount of the budget allocated for scientific research within the university?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Head of Tuition**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q1</th>
<th>Is the agreement for the enrolment of new students based on very specific criteria? What are these criteria? (Competitions, exams, score...)?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q2</td>
<td>Are there any university scholarship students abroad?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q3</td>
<td>How do you rate the evolution of the number of students over the last three years?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q4</td>
<td>What are the measures offered to the students who obtained high scores in their university studies?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Director of the Quality Bureau**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q1</th>
<th>Do you meet difficulties in applying the quality approach? What is the nature of these difficulties?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q2</td>
<td>To what extent does the application of the quality assurance system matches with your objectives?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q3</td>
<td>Does the university develop action plans to improve quality?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q4</td>
<td>What are the measures offered to the students who obtained high scores in their university studies?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q5</td>
<td>Does the university develop evaluation plans? And what are the criteria for such an evaluation?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q6</td>
<td>Does the university adopt a communication strategy with students, educational leaders and society regarding these action plans?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Director of the Housing and Restoration Office**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q1</th>
<th>What are the criteria adopted for granting student accommodation?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q2</td>
<td>Is there a proposed system for university catering?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q3</td>
<td>Does the university conduct medical examinations for catering staff?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q4</td>
<td>Is there any annual maintenance and rehabilitation work for the university residences?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Director for Training**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q1</th>
<th>Are there programs to improve the skills qualities of public servants abroad?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q2</td>
<td>Are the training courses offered according to the needs of the university, in terms of developing the skills of civil servants? What are the methods used to evaluate the skills adopted?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q3</td>
<td>Does the university use its training records as a guide for future programs?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q4</td>
<td>Is the training built in such a way that qualified civil servants can take on responsibilities?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Director of the Office of Cultural, Social and Sports Activities**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q1</th>
<th>What are the proposed activities?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q2</td>
<td>Who is the target audience for your activities?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q3</td>
<td>Does the university support these activities?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q4</td>
<td>Is the quality of these activities assessed by the university?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Questions for Students**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q1</th>
<th>Do you consider that the university’s infrastructure is conducive to the development of your scientific, cultural and sporting capacities?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q2</td>
<td>How do you rate the quality of housing and catering services?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q3</td>
<td>What do you think about the link between training programs and labour market needs?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

79
A Context Favourable to the Quality Approach

In light of recent global changes, the Libyan Ministry for Higher Education is committed to creating a National centre for quality assurance and accreditation in teaching and training institutes. This organisation is dedicated to the development of standards for performance in universities and monitoring the performance of institutes. This is the body that confirms the approved standards for higher education (Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research).

The education system in Libya has seen considerable development over the course of recent years. New decisions were made to establish accreditation standards for higher education institutes, which are now issued by the Centre for quality assurance and accreditation of teaching and training, institutional and programmatic institutes (institutes are accredited by ministerial decree no. 647 of 2016).

The role of accreditation, both institutional and programmatic, is to monitor general reform processes in the sector of national and international education and training in order to improve the quality of education results and to provide education and training opportunities for each citizen that are proportional to his/her individual needs, aspirations and abilities.

This all then ultimately leads to responding to the needs of the State and the prosperity of its economy. Academic accreditation has become the main tool for this. In a policy that aims to improve institutes of education and training, the key objective is to continue development and improvement of the education and training sector. In effect, this is a matter of ensuring that a minimum level of standards are carried out to give students, parents, employees and other countries confidence in a strong and consistent education system. As part of this, accreditation must respond to the needs of all parties concerned.

In 2016, institutional accreditation centres were based on nine standards (Table 5).

Table 5. Institutional Standards of Accreditation for Institutes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standards of institutional accreditation for institutes in 2016</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Leadership and good governance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Teaching staff; Support staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Teaching programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Infrastructure and support services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Student affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Scientific research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Social and environmental services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Quality assurance and continuous improvement</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: National Center for Insurance and Accreditation Quality in the Libyan Higher Education System. Adapted by the author.
Table 6. Standards to be adopted in Local Academic Programmes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standards to be adopted in academic programmes in 2016</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Teaching staff and support framework</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Teaching programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Infrastructure and support services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Student affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Scientific research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Quality assurance and continuous improvement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Social and environmental services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Planning and administrative organisation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: National Center for Insurance and Accreditation Quality in the Libyan Higher Education System. Adapted by the author.

According to Gustin (2001: 32-33), “these are clearly all the indicators selected in the context of institutional evaluation that are requested if you want a report on the quality of teaching or the institution. However, their abundance does not indicate that the evaluation approach borders on the impossible or even the irrational. In terms of training, certain criteria or indicators are of such an importance that their realisation leads to others in their wake. If an institution is satisfied with the implemented training logics (consistency, relevance, value, foundation), it will, in all likelihood, be in agreement with the methods that it develops for achieving good results. However, the choice of a limited number of significant criteria remains a crucial point to be resolved. The same goes for the standards and thresholds to be reached in their realisation. In addition, the use of expert and professional judgements appears here to be an essential approach. The choice of criteria and norms to achieve, develop over time and space depending on contexts, cultural values and people”.

These standards are dedicated to the advancement of academic institutes, their pedagogical efficiency and their quality management. Therefore, the efficiency of education is used as a support for high-level scientific activities, both in research and in passing on knowledge and technologies. This results in a field that makes it possible to evaluate the quality of teaching in higher education institutes and the level of the education’s efficiency.

Discussion

At the end of the interviews conducted with the students (4 in number), professors (2 in number), the Assistant Director of Scientific Affairs, the Assistant Director of Administrative and Financial Affairs, the Head of Tuition, the Director of the Quality Office, the Director of the Faculty, the Director of the Housing and Restoration Office, the Director of Training, and the Director of the Activities Office, the obtained results seem likely to help us to improve our research questions and feed the theoretical framework.

The results of this pre-survey can be structured around four main areas:
1. The Perception and Definition of the Notion of Quality according to the Actors of the University

We can approach quality according to a number of key words: approach, tool, improvement, performance, skills, procedures, scientific production, efficiency and objectives.

The analysis of these keywords shows that the word "improvement" is the most frequent in defining the concept of quality according to the different interviewees. This is in line with the concept of quality control assurance, according to which, "Continuous improvement is a key concept of quality". The organization must constantly improve its operations to improve quality. In our opinion, continuous improvement is an approach that corresponds to Deming's wheel, which is structured in four repetitive phases and tends towards infinity in a continuous process. These four phases are planning, execution, verification and action.

Each category of interviewed actors also emphasizes a few specific key words such as tool, approach, performance, scientific development. This shows that the empirical definition of quality also depends on the objectives of the actors involved in the educational process. According to Sallis (2002), this fact is in line with the multiple approaches to the definition of the notion of quality developed by Deming (1986), Juran and Godfrey (1988), Crosby (1979) through a set of general principles.

From the above, quality in higher education, particularly in the case studied, can be defined as "a process of continuous improvement based on an approach aimed at achieving superior performance". Without claiming to generalize this definition, it can nevertheless be considered as a starting point.

2. Scientific Activities, Training Programmes and the Labour Market

The results show that since the events of 2011, the situation has become complex in terms of scientific activities, the quality of training programmes and the ability to satisfy the employability of graduates. Scientific productions and activities, seminars, colloquia, and conferences take place at the university, but below the expectations of the various actors. However, according to the Deputy Director of Scientific Affairs, "The university integrates internationally adopted programmes on higher education to be in line with contemporary scientific development". Although the current situation is difficult due to the country's political instability, the university is turning towards the integration of training programmes at the international level. Thus, it appears that the political and economic situation had an impact on the ability to develop training programmes through the university's own pedagogical means.

However, the university has kept its socio-economic role since the events of 2011. The Director of Quality himself confirms that "the university plays a social role by disseminating information from scientific culture for the benefit of different societal categories through the organization of conferences and seminars". As regards coordination with the labour market, it seems that, despite
the crisis, this approach has been taken into account as indicated in the analysis and interpretation of the above data. On the other hand, the country’s political and economic instability has led to an imbalance in the administrative system. Thus, the situation should improve in the near future as confirmed by the manager interviewed.

3. Infrastructure, Housing, Catering and Socio-Cultural Activities

We note that the university’s infrastructure is generally insufficient. This situation develops a feeling of discomfort observed during direct personal observations, which hinders students' ability to be creative and concentrated. Concerning housing and catering, we can notice that the university offers, overall, a range of housing and catering services that meet students' standards and expectations, resulting in an acceptable level of satisfaction. As for socio-cultural activities, the university organizes cultural and sports activities that create a positive dynamic even involving actors outside the university. Thus, the university plays a role of social responsibility, especially in that time of crisis.

4. National Socio-Economic Involvement and International Cooperation

The system of scientific research and technological innovation in Libya has undergone significant changes in recent years, both in terms of structures, programmes and objectives. Thus, according to interviewees, educational programs at the university level made it possible to:

- Contribute effectively to the country's overall and sustainable development.
- Diversify industrial production activities.
- Strengthen the competitiveness of companies.
- Establish a new economy (knowledge-based economy).
- Create better employment opportunities.

However, international cooperation in the fields of education, culture and scientific research appears through bilateral and unilateral agreements. However, since 2011, the situation in Libya has been worsening, following events leading to instability and a difficult financial situation for the University of Djebel in Al Gharbi, the subject of our case study.

Conclusion

The quality approach has been implementing in a number of countries, including Libya. The theoretical foundations are based on several scientific studies conducted by international researchers in a variety of fields that all originate from management, philosophy and education. The designs of these studies differ, with some strongly highlighting the quality approach insofar as it can advance the organisation and growth of a country’s economy, based on performance indicators.
Others place emphasis on the by-products that this approach can offer in terms of respect for the individual and his/her development.

Our study, centred on the Libyan context of higher education, also shows that minimum conditions are required in terms of internal organisation, financial support, training and room to manoeuvre given to supervisory staff and research professors. The quality approach requires, of course, a political willingness, but this needs to be supported and backed up by a collection of means that make it possible to implement this approach optimally.

The analysis and interpretation of data allows us to produce some initial findings. These research findings show that the quality approach is partially applied in the University of Al Jabal Al Gharbi. In fact, on a formal level, we observed that the university created a post dedicated to quality (Quality Office Director), which indicates that legally, the State has a formal framework for adopting the quality approach within the Ministry of Higher Education. However, on a practical level, we noted that there was a lack of application when it came to these tools and quality principles. In addition, the two most significant points regarding this lack are summed up in the absence of specific training programmes for teaching the application of the quality approach and the lack of a culture of quality. The political crisis in Libya seems to have an impact on the running and quality of teaching, as well as on scientific research. This is partially caused by the lack of resources and funding, which are necessary for cultural and scientific activities and consequently have an impact on the motivation of various actors within the university.

The results of our analysis lead to present some recommendations requiring the creation of study programmes for teaching quality:

- Setting up centres for social development and leisure.
- Better coordination with the job market.
- Increase in remuneration (financial motivation).
- Funding scientific research.
- Creating small projects (linked to research, but also for professional purposes).
- Promoting continuing education.
- Developing infrastructures.

References


