ETHNICITY AND SPACE

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Abstract

Broadly speaking, this paper is concerned with the ways in which different ethnic groups co-exist within a given spatiotemporal framework. More precicely the study investigates the spatial and social relations between the two major ethnic groups in the island of Cyprus, that is, the Greek Cypriot majority and the Turkish Cypriot minority, which existed in the rural area of the country from the time in which the island was under the British colony until it achieved independence in 1960. Spatial analysis and more precisely the "space syntax" method is used to investigate the relations between the ethnic groups. It is suggested that throughout each community and its social groupings, a similar set of spatial characteristics is reproduced and through this repetition we recognise ethnicity is space. Space is therefore, in itself a social behaviour not merely a backloth to social behaviour, and under its material shell encloses logic and abstract rules.

Introduction

It seems that the first cluster of research problems facing the student of intercommunal similarities or differences between the two ethnic groups in Cyprus, will involve the exploration in systematic detail of the forms of ethnic co-existence, through a study of the social behaviour of each group. Against the background of ethnic co-existence, one could then try to trace the process or signs of ethnic differentiation that culminated in ethnic conflict.

Historically the two groups have been co-habiting in Cyprus in different ways; first they lived together in spatial proximity to each other, either in nearby villages or even within the same village or town. This situation changed with time and today the two ethnic groups are spatially and socially separated. What makes the study interesting is that during the period under study, spatially the conflict does not fit into any conceivable pattern of regional concentration nor ethnic segregation on an urban-rural dichotomy. Ethnic mixture geographically, has persisted throughout this period (Papadopoulos, 1965).

Its seems that space was somehow implicated in the relations between the two

groups or at least the social relations between them. It does seem obvious that human societies are spatial phenomena. They occupy regions of the earth's surface and within and between these regions material resources move and people encounter each other. It has been suggested (Hillier and Hanson, 1984) that a society has a definite and recognisable spatial order in two respects: firstly, by arranging people in space and locating them in relation to each other; and secondly, by arran- ging space itself by means of buildings, boundaries, paths and so on, so that the physical milieu of that society also takes on a definite pattern.

Consequently, the spatial patterns of Cypriot society will be the subject of study in this paper, in an attempt to explore any relations between space and cultural diffe- rences or similarities. The area of investigation, that is the study of conflict and collaboration in lifestyle, will then be directed towards the architecture and spatial dimension of the problem.[1]

Although the paper does not attempt to diagnose the problem by considering the origins and the processes leading up to conflict through a historical, political or socioeconomic analysis, the recent history of the island is inevitably sketched in. This is done in a highly selective manner, in order to touch upon issues and problems needed to attain a full understanding of the nature of ethnic conflict in Cyprus.

Society, in terms of its social roles, institutions, group identities and so on, will be studied within each ethnic group, in order to highlight cultural differences at a purely sociological level. On the other hand, the most phenomenally material creation of the social behaviour of the two ethnic groups, the man-made ordering of space will be analysed. The "local" level of domestic space organisation will be analysed first followed by an analysis of the "global" level, the settlement's public space. In addition to possible similarities or differences between the two communities at the local level, the paper will explore whether the two groups also present similarities or differences in their relation to the whole structure of the village; the global level.

Two methods of analysis based on Space Syntax[2] Theory will be used for the purpose of studying the above. The first method deals with the analysis of settlement forms. The method sees a settlement as a bi-polar system arranged between the primary cells or buildings, (houses, etc), and the carrier, (world outside the settlement). The structure of space between these two domains is seen as a means of interfacing two kinds of relations: those among the inhabitants of the systems; and those between inhabitants and those who visit the system, the visitors.

In other words, this method describes in a structured and quantitative way how the continued open space of a village is constructed; this is done in such a way so as to deal with the global physical structure of a settlement without losing sight of its local structure. Based on this, the analysis establishes a method of describing space in such a way as to make its social origins and consequences a part of that description.

The second method adapts the analysis to building interiors. It shows how buildings can be analysed and compared in terms of how categories are arranged and related between the occupants and those who enter as visitors.

It will be of interest to this paper to see how far syntactic analysis might reveal the underlying spatial structures of Cypriot traditional houses and how far it will be possible to show these structures quantitatively.

From Co-existence to Confrontation: Historical and Sociological Background

A selected number of themes and issues which bear continuously on the paper's main concerns need to be touched upon in an attempt to provide a better understanding of the nature of ethnic conflict in Cyprus. The origin and the maintenance of the Turkish community on the island, the attitude of the Turkish and British administration towards the Greek and the Turkish communities and the relationship between the two ethnic groups within this period are the main issues to be dealt with.

Firstly, the nature and extent as well as the diachronic character of the links between the Greeks and the Turks of Cyprus call for an explanation which must start with the origin of the Turkish community on the island.

The conquering expedition of the Ottomans concluding in 1571, is thought of as a turning point in the evolution of the Cypriot society. The conquest brought about three fundamental changes in the Cypriot social structure:

- the destruction of European feudalism (Hill, 1952);

- the restoration of the Greek Orthodox church to its former position of dominance;

- the settlement in Cyprus of a sizable Turkish minority.

The Turks once they conquered Cyprus, either killed or expelled the European nobles. The feudal system was abolished and land was distributed to the former serfs, who were Orthodox Christians and to the newly arrived Moslem settlers (Papadopoulos, 1952). The Turkish conquest created ethnic heterogeneity. Turkish migrants settled in Cyprus and gradually a sizable Turkish Cypriot community was formed, eventually composing eighteen percent of the total population.

Lastly, the Turkish conquest restored the Greek Orthodox church to its former princely status and endowed it with secular and spiritual powers. The church became the central institutional sphere around which the political, intellectual and cultural life of Greek Cypriots revolved (Hackett, 1901).

These three transformations in Cypriot society had respective spatial consequences. Firstly, with the destruction of European feudalism, the distribution of

land changed as it began to be occupied by different social groups: the Greek serfs and the Moslem settlers. The most important spatial consequences were the settlements created by Moslems, which were usually physically separated from the Greek settlements. In other words, these changes in Cyprus, social and at the same time spatial, mark the time when relations between the two ethnic groups start, and suggest that social movements had at least a spatial expression of ethnic co-existence.

Finally, the central position given to the Greek Church resulted in it becoming a key feature in Greek Cypriot villages. The church, and with it the church square, became the spatial centres of the Greek Cypriot settlements, where all the villagers would attend at least once a week. All major occasions, feasts, trade and so on took place in the church square.

In considering the problem of the origins and the process leading up to conflict, it has been argued (Attalides, 1979) that the natural starting point should be the historical and the social situation in which conflict is absent; that is, the stable context of traditional society in which "co-existence" and "harmonious symbiosis" were believed to prevail in the island (Kyrris, 1975).

"Co-existence" was believed to be founded on a *"shared folk piety and a common life style...",* a product of shared conditions of existence and the basic needs of survival set by the land-bound pattern of life in traditional society. The most eloquent testimony to this *"co-existence"* or *"peaceful symbiosis"* has been the ethnic geography of Cyprus which was marked by interspersion of Greek and Turkish settlements all over the island.

It has been suggested by the aforementioned authors, that in the Ottoman social context, oppression from the latter consolidated the conditions of existence at the grassroots; it stimulated common protests in various forms in which religious distinctions subsided before shared claims to the rights of survival. Kitromilides (Kitromilides, 1979) suggests that the dynamics of co-existence nurtured by these conditions could work out unobstructed when an extended period of tranquility and order was made possible in Cyprus in the last fifty years of Ottoman rule.

Against this background of co-existence in traditional society, an attempt is made to trace the process of ethnic differentiation that culminated in ethnic conflict. This transformation is suggested to have begun with the gradual growth of Greek and Turkish nationalism in Cyprus (Alastos, 1960). In other words, the culmination of the process of ethnic differentiation in the consolidation of structurally and culturally distinct and often antagonistic communities, deeply conscious of their premordial attachments set the preconditions of ethnic conflict.

Historians, political and social scientists tackling the "Cyprus Question", identify as the main source that led to ethnic conflict, nationalism, cultivated mainly by external

forces. It seems that political and social history is only crudely spatial; that is, it advances a strategy of escalating "territoriality".

Yet, from what we have observed, social and political movements had at least a spatial expression on physical separation and a more thorough-going construction of different ways of organising space so that even without labelling, the characteristic space patterns of the two ethnic groups was different. In other words, while space seems to be a necessary part of understanding the ethnic history of the island, it is not stressed through the political and social history.

Studies restricted to "space syntax" accounts suggest clear spatial hypotheses, where space is shown to play an important part in the conflict between the two ethnic groups; in other words, the cultural conflict is already present through space organisation.

In a "space syntax" study of Cypriot villages, Hadjinicolaou (Hadjinicolaou, 1981) suggested that there were more differences than similarities. The Turkish Cypriot public space was shown to be composed of irregular parts which varied in size and shape. The purely Turkish Cypriot villages were also shown to be more "shallow" and easily accessible from the outside than the Greek Cypriot, where the entrances to the settlements were narrow and the approach to the interior more "complicated". Hadjinicolaou argued that these spatial differences derived from cultural differences between the two communities especially the different forms of their "social solidarity".

According to this study, the Turkish Cypriot community achieved coherence as a group by sharing a common ideology, a set of common beliefs similar among all members, whereas in the Greek Cypriot community the activities of its members were more personal, in which achieving coherence as a group was based on the differences between the individuals. The former presented a more 'transpatial" form of social solidarity, closer to what Durkheim (Durkheim, 1964) has called a "mechanical" type, while the latter formed a society for which space was more important in maintaining its coherence, presenting a form of social solidarity closer to what Durkheim has called "organic". Similar observations were made by Pelecanos in the spatial analysis of Nicosia (Pelecanos, 1990).

Spatial Analysis

Domestic Space Organisation

Ethnographic studies of domestic space organisation have suggested that space features in our society in surprising and often unexpected ways as a means of social and cultural identification (Bordieu, 1973). Studies of domestic space arrangement which have concerned themselves with social organisation, have suggested that cultural features are not only present in space organisation but are also prime

movers in a series of changes in patterns of everyday living which occur over the years. These studies have suggested that the household is a "sociogram" not just of a family but of something more: a whole social system (Hanson and Hillier, 1979, 1982).

For example, the different sociological character of three sub-cultures of English society were suggested to be spatially expressed through different spatial relations (in other words the sociological character of variation in domestic space organisation in these sub-cultures could be given precise structural and numerical form). So, whereas space in a fairly standard English cottage built in the latter part of the nineteenth century for the working class, were strongly segregated from each other (spatially and in terms of use), in the conversion of the same house for middle-class occupants in the 1960s segregation between spaces was reduced. These spatial changes were shown to be both influenced by and reflect social change from one social class to the other.

Ethnographic material on the rural life of Cyprus suggests that the household formed the main social and functional unit of Cypriot society (Markides, 1978; Loizos, 1975). All social and most work related activities of the family took place within the boundaries of the household. The agricultural economy of the villages, (both Turkish and Greek Cypriot) led to similar needs for each household to be self-sufficient. Each family attempted *to* produce whatever was needed through the house and work in the fields.

The similar pattern of rural life of the two ethnic groups led to similar "spatial ingredients". Visual inspection of some of the houses' layouts confirms this observation (Figs 1a, b, c). The "ingredients" of each space-code are identical: yards, kitchens, living rooms, bedrooms, storage for animals and goods. Most of the work related activities within the household took place in the yard. Here we find the ovens, sinks, tables for working on, and so on. Around the yard we find the functional spaces of the family like the kitchen, living room and so on and subsidiary spaces for the storage of goods and animals.

However, although we are able to inspect the plans visually and compare broad geometric and locational aspects, it is difficult to ascertain how the Greek Cypriot sample differs or is similar to domestic forms in the Turkish Cypriot sample or to suggest what the dimensions of variability within each sample might be. We could broadly suggest that although all cases are made of the same spatial 'ingredients', it is the way these are configured that brings about ethnic identity. Therefore, it remains to be seen how far a syntactic analysis can clarify these points and demonstrate whether the forms of these dwellings embody patterns of family life and culture which are unique to each ethnic group.

The first step is to transcribe each house plan in order to clarify its spatial confi - guration and permeability pattern. On the basis of the access graphs[3] from the front

door, (whether this is a boundary or entrance to a room) without considering the label of functions, a number of preliminary observations can be made (Fig. 2).

Firstly, it is evident that irrespective of the internal organisation of the complexes, the relation of the interior of the houses to the exterior is made in most of the cases, by a transition. A second striking feature is the tendency of the Cypriot dwelling to get deeper as it gets bigger. The tendency to increase with the number of cells in the complex is clear; in other words, asymmetric relations predominate over symmetric relations.[4]

In addition to the predominance of asymmetric over symmetric relations in the sample, a second striking feature is revealed: the preponderance of non-distributed over distributed schemes. To be more precise, a non-distributed complex or sub-complex is one on which all relations to the carrier are controlled by one cell; a distributed complex or subcomplex is one where there is more than one non-intersec- ting route back to the carrier.

It seems that within a morphologically variable sample, groupings of characteristics can be observed. So far, the plans have been looked at without taking into account the labelling of spaces. The location of particular rooms and the relations entailed in them are vital elements for an understanding of the ways in which space carries cultural information. For example, in some cases labels may become regularly associated with specific positions over a wide range of examples. In some cases, spaces with particular functions may be separated from each other or may be systematically placed near or not to the exterior of the dwelling.

The most striking observation which can be made about the major part of the sample, in relation to the ethnic groups and the ways in which spaces are named, is that in most cases a transition space, the yard, is the shallowest and the most integrating space in the complexes. However, as far as depth is concerned different positions of the yard identifying with ethnic groups are revealed (Table 1).

Table 1 - Summary of Houses' Syntactic Data by Ethnicity & Occupational Class[5]

Ethnic Group	Occ. class	RRA	RRA Funct.	RRA Trans.	RRA Exter.	L	Y	B	K	Integr. Space
Greek Cyp.	Total	1.16	1.34	0.69	1.32					
	C2	1.32	1.48	0.98	1.41	0.26	0.69	1.84	1.22	Y
	C3	1.16	1.34	0.78	1.36	0.09	0.48	1.70	1.20	Y
	C4	1.02	1.19	0.31	1.18	0.18	0.23	1.18	1.14	Y
Turkish Cyp.	Total	1.14	1.20	1.06	1.50					
	C2	1.20	1.22	1.07	1.40	0.87	0.48	1.45	1.10	Y

C3	1.19	1.25	1.06	1.75	0.77 0.64 1.44 1.36 L
C4	1.02	1.12	1.05	1.34	0.68 0 .25 1.17 1.51 Y&L

For most of the Greek Cypriot subset the yard is the shallowest and the most integrating space. It is most of the times at depth 1, that is, it is directly permeable to the carrier; it is the main link between the carrier and the other functions of the complex and it controls all relations between the inside and the outside of the house.

In the Turkish Cypriot subset, the yard seems to have different properties. Out of the 91 cases only in 25 houses is the yard the shallowest space. Most of these cases are found in the smaller houses. As the houses and the graphs get more complex, the syntactic properties of the yard seem to change. It becomes up to five steps deep although it is still the most integrating space. In these cases which form the rest of the Turkish Cypriot sample, the shallowest spaces directly connected to the carrier are either living rooms or verandas and gardens which are only used as a transition to the living room (whereas as we have seen in the introduction to the sample, the yard does not only serve as a transition space).

In other words for most of the Turkish Cypriot sample, the yard becomes an internal courtyard, a "back yard", which serves as a link between the two parts of the split graphs identified in the unlabelled spatial analysis.

Broadly speaking, the different configurational properties of the yard seem to identify with ethnic identity. However, some examples seem to cross the ethnic divide (particularly in the case of the smaller houses), and present variations within the ethnic groups.

Similar observations can be made for the living rooms. Firstly, it should be noted that in the smaller houses living rooms (as separate rooms) are rare, but where they occur they are shallow and integrating. In the bigger examples things are different. In 32 cases of the sample, the living room is the shallowest space and directly permeable to the carrier. It is clear from the sample that most of these cases belong to the Turkish Cypriot subset. In the Turkish Cypriot houses, the living room is shallow and integrating in relation to the rest of the effective spaces; it is usually at depths 1 and 2. In the Greek Cypriot houses living rooms are deeper (at depths 3 and 4), and re- latively segregated.

In other words, in the case of the living rooms, as with the yard, although in the smaller houses examples may cross the ethnic divide, differences in the majority of the sample are more than similarities. The same seems to happen within the ethnic groups. In the Greek Cypriot sample, living rooms get deeper and more segregated as the houses get bigger. In the Turkish Cypriot sample, variation is more evident; as the houses get bigger the number of living rooms increases. Most importantly a new type of room appears, called the "guest" room or "oda". This room is shallow, (usually two steps into the complex), but segregated.

Bedrooms are deep and segregated in both the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot sample. Work places like stables and store rooms are shallower and more integrated in the Greek Cypriot sample; it should be noted that work related spaces occur with a higher frequency as the houses get bigger.

We have so far looked at the ways the two ethnic groups organise their space at the level of the internal structures of the dwellings; that is, within the boundary of the house. By its very nature, however, the boundary creates a disconnection between the interior space and the global system around it, the settlement, of which it would otherwise form a part. Consequently the above analysis only accounts for a proporation of the total spatial order in each system: the local level. No reference has yet been made to how the dwellings relate to the rest of the system, the global level of the settlements or how the public space in the settlements is organised. In this way, we can approach the relation of society to space with a more coherent and unified picture.

The Global Level: Analysis of Settelements Layout.

The household formed the main social institution of Cypriot villages. Interaction mainly took place in the neighbourhoods and on special occasions in the Church in the Greek Cypriot villages or the Mosque in the Turkish Cypriot village; around it one usually found the villages' square where all important occasions took place and nearby the local school.

Another important institution in Cypriot life was the coffee shop. This was usually found in the villages' centre and served a multitude of services: it was once the grocery, the place for a drink, the meeting place for friends, an unofficial labour exchange. Strictly for men, the coffee shop was the second most important institution in village life. Around the village's centre, one would find small shops like ba- keries and groceries.

In other words, it is suggested that like the houses, so the villages of the two ethnic groups are made of the same spatial "ingredients", the coffee shop, the church square, the school, the small shops, the neighbourhoods. Visual inspection of the villages' layout maps confirms this observation. Again they seem to enunciate differences which are geometric and have to do with the ways streets or open space is configured.

So, although we are able to study the layouts visually and compare broad geometric and locational aspects, it is difficult to ascertain how the purely Greek Cypriot cases differ or are similar to the purely Turkish Cypriot cases and how both differ or are similar to the mixed villages; or to suggest that although all cases are made of the same spatial "ingredients", it is the way these are configured that brings about ethnic identity and following this, social identity. In order to establish how these

"ingredients" are configured within the villages we need to study first the open space structure of the villages.

The open space in a settlement is where interaction takes place in public, as opposed to the houses where interaction takes place in a private sphere. According to Hillier and Hanson (Hillier and Hanson, 1984) the public space in settlements is seen as a means of interfacing two kinds of relations: those between the inhabitants of the system, and those between the inhabitants and the visitors, people who visit the settlements but do not live there.

Consequently, two levels of analysis will be used to describe the organisation of public space and to capture the spatial correlates of these bifurcating principles. The "convex" analysis or "two-dimensional" organisation of the system, refers to the local organisation of the system from the point of view of those who are already statically present in the system; it can be described by dividing the public space into smaller spaces in such a way that it is divided into the fewest and "fattest" convex spaces.

The second level of analysis, the "one -dimensional" or axial organisation, refers to the global organisation of the system from the point of view of those who move in to and through the system; that is, terms of its lines of access and sight. It can be described by drawing the fewest and longest straight lines which pass through all the convex spaces of the settlement.

Because strangers tend to move in a settlement, while inhabitants tend to have static relations to the various parts of the local system, the axial organisation refers to the access of strangers to the system whereas the convex organisation creates static zones where the inhabitants are more in control of the interface. A key map describing interface is the convex interface map.

By applying the division of space into convex spaces and axial lines, as suggested by Hillier and Hanson, we have a description of the public space of the settlements by their Convex Map and by their Axial Map.[6]

Confirming Hadjinicolaou's suggestion, a study of the syntactic analysis reveals more differences than similarities. The open space maps of the Greek Cypriot villages show how the islands of buildings form a system of open spaces which vary in width and length (Figs 3a, b, c). The "beady ring" structure is revealed; that is, the "fatter" segments of space are knitted together by longer segments, like beads on a string. This property is more obvious through the convex maps of the Greek Cypriot villages; through the length and width of the convex segments and their variety.

In the same way, if we look at the Turkish Cypriot public space we can see both similarities and differences. In the smallest systems we see similar properties as the respective system in the Greek Cypriot case. In the bigger systems, however, the Turkish Cypriot public space seems to be composed of more uniform parts. The buildings are arranged in such a way as to create a flow of open space with sections

of little variation in size.

However, since visual inspection of the maps may suggest similarities between villages crossing the ethnic divide we need to quantify. Firstly, we need to quantify the degree to which open space is broken up into convex spaces. Normally the most convenient and informant way of doing this, is to divide the number of buildings into the number of convex spaces. This will tell us how much "convex articulation" there is for that number of buildings.

These properties are more clearly revealed through the study of the convex interface maps of the villages. In the Greek Cypriot villages, the maps are dense and ringy, suggesting that the interface map will be more or less the permeability map of the settlement. Indeed the interface organisation values confirm this observation. These values give the average number of buildings adjacent and permeable to the open space structure of the villages per the whole number of buildings in the villages. The high values in the Greek Cypriot villages indicate that interface and permeability maps are more or less the same {Table 2). What this suggests, is that the interface in the Greek Cypriot settlements probably takes place in the open, public space.

In the Turkish Cypriot villages, on the other hand, a good many buildings and boundaries are relatively remote from the public, open space of the settlement, as the low interface organisation values indicate. A complete permeability map would therefore, need to include relations of adjacency and direct permeability from buildings to secondary boundaries and from secondary boundaries to each other. This observation suggests that unlike the Greek Cypriot settlements, interface in these villages most probably takes place at the back of the houses and not in the public space.

Table 2 - Purely Greek Cypriot and Purely Turkish Cypriot Villages-Basic Syntactic Data[7]

No	Code	Ethnic Group	Axial Organ.	RRA	Con	Depth	Convex Articul.	Convex Organ.	Axial Artie.	Inter. Organ.
1	Vavat.	GC	0.65	1.38	2.44	6.60	0.89	1.16	0.42	0.96
2	Lefkar.	GC	0.90	1.42	2.50	4.75	0.74	1.53	0.33	0.93
3	Ora	GC	0.73	1.38	2.42	8.34	0.94	1.53	0.43	0.95
4	Psev.	GC	0.69	1.29	2.33	6.94	0.82	1.55	0.28	0.96
5	Menn.	TC	1.26	1.59	2.71	3.94	0.74	1.65	0.24	0.76
6	Klav	TC	1.23	1.90	3.26	4.17	0.71	1.61	0.18	0.82

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| 7 | Kellia TC | 0.98 | 1.71 | 3.03 | 5.18 | 0.86 | 1.67 | 0.31 | 0.66 |
| 8 | Kivisil. TC | 0.98 | 1.00 | 2.97 | 8.05 | 0.79 | 1.62 | 0.29 | 0.73 |

These results account for the local properties of space. A study of the global properties of the settlements, through the axial maps, shows that in the Greek Cypriot villages, the entrances to the villages are "complicated" and segregated; this is clearly shown in the bigger systems. In other words, the outside or carrier in the Greek Cypriots villages is relatively deep and segregated from the centre of the settlement.

As far as depth and axial organisation are concerned, the data shows that the Greek Cypriot settlements are deep and less axially organised (that is, more segregated from the carrier), than the Turkish Cypriot villages (Figs 3a, b, c).

A look at the integration cores[8] of the settlements illustrates further these points. In both cases, the intergration cores include the most public spaces like coffee shops and small shops. However, in the Greek Cypriot cases the integration cores are relatively deep from the outside while in the Turkish Cypriot cases, they are based towards one end of the villages, which is in most cases the centre.

However, if we have a look at the other extreme, the less integrating spaces, we find that in the Turkish Cypriot settlements these tend to cluster towards the periphery; a marked change in integration values is observed in these areas, which are relatively cut-off from the centre. These spaces include the residential areas of the villages. In the Greek Cypriot settlements, on the other hand, the less integrating spaces are clustered as we have already seen, around the entrances to the settlements. The quiet residential areas between the periphery and the centre, are of lower integration values but are achieved without. cutting them off the main structure of the settlements.

Having in mind that the axial organisation refers to the access of visitors into the system, while the convex organisation refers to the inhabitants, we may broadly suggest that in the Greek Cypriot villages, access of visitors into the settlement is difficult; but once inside, the system ensures that the .natural movement of inhabitants to, from and between the more segregated zones within the villages intersects the spaces used by visitors. This creates a strong, natural "probabilistic" interface between inhabitants and visitors in the settlements.

In contrast, the Turkish Cypriot settlements although easily accessible from the outside, restrict their integration cores and the movement of visitors to well defined peripheral areas and segregate large areas of the villages for the more exclusive use of the inhabitants. The stranger is allowed in the villages but under strong restrictions and control. The dwellings are segregated from both the open space of the village and from the outside world. Consequently, inhabitants do not interface with strangers in their role as inhabitants because of the depth of the open space from the

dwellings, while strangers rarely penetrate into the residential neighbourhoods, because of their depth from the carrier. Even if a stranger does circulate through the residential neighbourhoods, as it happens in the smaller systems, the lack of interface taking place in the public realm shows him/her a very different settlement to the one the inhabitant knows and sees.

In the mixed villages, the two communities seem to occupy either two completely different areas or different neighbourhoods with a scattering of ethnic elements within the villages. The Turkish Cypriot part is deeper with respect to the outside than the purely Turkish Cypriot villages. In other words, the Turkish Cypriot part appears more anti-axial.

Differences. in space organisation, however, are also found within each ethnic group; certain neighbourhoods or areas exhibit different spatial properties than others within the structure of the villages (Table 3). As we have seen in the previous section, certain forms of domestic space organisation seem to identify with different sub-cultures or socio-economic groups within each community. This part of the study explores whether similar trends are found in terms of neighbourhoods or houses' locations within the villages. We will concentrate on the only mixed villages where Turkish Cypriots still live, Pyla and Potamia, in order to have more reliable results.

Table 3 • Summary of Syntactic Data by Ethnic Group and Occupational Class

Ethnic origin	Class	RRA	Depth	Connect
GC	C2	1.14	5.14	2.91
	C3	1.56	4.16	3.16
	C4	1.07	4.86	2.53
TC	C2	1.40	4.70	4.83
	C3	0.96	6.50	2.50
	C4	0.71	6.10	1.83

In the mixed village of Potamia the axial map of the settlement reveals certain consistencies concerning location of houses according to occupational structure. In the Greek Cypriot part, houses of different occupational structures seem to share, more or less similar syntactic properties. In the Turkish Cypriot parts syntactic data reveals a different picture. Houses of higher occupational classes seem to be clustered along integrating axial lines, whereas houses of the lower occupational class are located in relatively deep and segregated locations. In all cases, the lower class is deeper, and both locally and globally, more segregated than the higher class.

A further comment which could be made is that a look at the convex and axial maps of these villages, suggests that wealthier areas in the Turkish Cypriot parts are more convexly organised; that is, axial lines cover a large number of convex spaces, giving a better local - to - global relation. In the "poorer" areas, axial lines are many times as long as the convex spaces.

Although sketchy, the above observations reveal further differences between the two cultures that ethnic differentiation alone cannot explain; differences concerning their system of stratification, social status and power. These issues, along the issues of gender, division of labour and kinship, in relation to spatial organisation will be the subject of the last part.

From Space to Society

We have seen two quite distinct forms of spatial organisation. To account for the social significance of these differences, the paper will attempt to discern possible relations between spatial patterns and sociological elements of each ethnic group.

In the traditional society of Cyprus, the household was the most important social unit (Kyrris, 1975). Familism was the most important orientation in both Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot cultures (Balswick, 1972); (Loizos, 1975). Within the family kinship was implicated in the construction of gender, that is, ideas on maleness and femaleness. In other words, in a similar way as spatial "ingredients" of the two groups identified in the previous part, we could suggest that both cultures are made of the same social "ingredients". Both societies are built of family and gender, that is kinship, but as we will see shortly, in radically different ways.

Greek Cypriot Community

The Household

The household formed, the most important institution of the basic needs of the family. The furniture of the living room consisted of a bed impeccably set with hand made sheets. It is interesting to note that this marital bed was only used by the couple for a very short period after their marriage; soon afterwards the couple would move to the *sospiton* and the marital bed would remain a mere decorative item in the living room. The other articles of furniture were a sendouki (the traditional Cypriot chest) where the few clothes of the family as well as the dowry brought by the bride were kept; a small table with decorative plates and family photographs and finally some straight chairs and stools. Near the ceiling of the room, across the main wall, was located the souvantza. This was a wooden or gypsum carved shelf painted and decorated with colourful plates, vases and lamps. The walls were decorated with family photographs, portaits of EOKA heroes and icons of saints and martyrs of the

church. These pictures expressed the fundamental attachment of the Cypriots to their nationalism and their church.

In the wealthier household, in addition to the traditional decor, modern items were added; a settee in addition to the chairs, lamps and vases on the tables in addition to the family photographs, reproductions of paintings on the walls in addition to the icons; all suggesting a higher status.

In complete contrast to the living room, the yard has the contrary syntactic principles: shallow from the exterior and mostly integrated with the rest of the household. Mostly one step deep in this space, throughout the whole sample, is the key locus of spatial solidarity: it is the space to which all members of the household have equal access and to which they have equal rights. But it is also a space in which all local interaction dependent on spatial proximity - relations with neighbours - normally take place.

However, although the yard door is usually left open for most of the day, neighbours who are involved in frequent interaction outside their houses, seldom enter one another's living spaces. Family life is reserved for the home. Every family struggles through each of its members to defend its honour, this being the expression of its moral heritage and of its social achievement. This situation has been described elsewhere as autogonistic, in the sense of a contest before a chorus. In Greek Cypriot villages success in the struggle for survival and honour, from the constituents of reputation, honour, (time), being the more purely moral evaluation. To protect itself against mocking and gossip, the family conceals the actions of its members in a shroud of privacy (Peristiany, 1965).

The house is considered as the exclusive precinct of the family, closed to outsiders, except kin and under special conditions such as for hospitality. This clearly accounts for the segregation of the living spaces from the carrier.

However, as we are about to see, the sharp differentiation between the nuclear family and the outside world is modified by a number of relations which fan out of the family into the community, linking the family groups in a number of different ways. Therefore, the family/others opposition is partly neutralised by the links woven by the family with the world outside it, each individual and each family being at the centre of a web of relations situated within a wider structure.

Outside the house, within the public space of the villages, the social behaviour of the individual is directly influenced by the social norms of the society. The public behaviour of a man towards his wife is such that it clearly demonstrates to others that he is the master in his own home. The wife always shows respect and submission to her husband in public.

Indeed, at first sight the Greek Cypriot men appear to have a big advantage in terms of spatial arrangements outside the house, which is not available to women;

they have a special place, the coffee shop, where women are not allowed to go. The coffee shop *(kafenio),* is gradually receiving the ethnographic attention it deserves as a core institution in Greek social life (Photiades, 1975). The village coffee shop offers a multitude of services: it is at once the grocery, the place for a drink, the meeting place for friends, an unofficial labour exchange, a clearing house for news, the haunt of the visiting government official, the local parliament which appropriately is at times converted into a cockpit (Papataxiarchis, 1988).

The coffee shop suggest ideas that contrast with those of the household and immediate locality or the neighbourhood. The latter are *"closed units, the sites of reproduction for individual families that exert strong demands over members to commit their energies and resources to family welfare".* Household stands then, in competitive opposition to what is communicated and transacted between men in places of recreation. In such places the dominant ethos *kerasma* (poorly translated as treating), and the creation of open friendship groups that do not recruit through the compulsory moral ties of kinship and affinity but rather through personal choices of *sympathia* (fellow-feeling).

The coffee shop is in this respect openly anti-household and male oriented. This institution and the open space of the villages are the arena for men's social encounters. Women, on the other hand, do not visit the coffee shop where men would gather after their day's work; a woman would rarely be seen passing through the central square of the village where most of the coffee houses lie and where there would be the greater concentration of men.

These observations would seem to imply that a woman's social world was limited to her neighbourhood whereas a man's social world was the coffee house and the open space of the village. However, this is not actually the case; women are powerfully present throughout the local open space of the Greek Cypriot villages, not as a group but distributed everywhere.

Firstly, through church attendance on Sundays and through work in the fields; a woman's domestic role can also extend to services that she may offer to the agricultural and sheep-raising activities of the family. In poorer families where the head of the family is a shepherd, the woman's activities are also extended to helping her husband in his work or to make cheese for sale in the open market. In middle class fa- milies, women tend to work at home usually as an extension of domestic work, such as sewing, embroidery and so on. In upper class families women tend not to work. In the main, the need for women to work is much greater in households that start married life with little land. In fact, as Loizos observes, in the house where the wife worked the status of the man slightly diminished.

Secondly, through neighbourhood life; the latter is well developed and like the house, is the particular domain of female activity. In the wider context of social life, the fundamental dichotomy of the "house" and the "road", the inner and outer realms,

is the point of orientation and interaction between women in the neighbourhood. As we have seen, the doors of the front yard are usually left open and afternoon gatherings take place facing the street. In this way, the sharp distinction between the interior of the house and the road is temporarily reduced and interfaces between both inhabitants on one hand and inhabitants and visitors on the other take place.

In a similar way in the mornings, women can be found standing in small groups on street corners or neighbourhood shops, discussing domestic matters or village gossip. Thus, social contact takes place under the disguise of some other activity, such as buying bread and shopping at the local grocery. Women, therefore, far from being in total seclusion, manage to combine a high degree of social interaction outside the home with their primary obligations as housewives.

The house and family would exist in potential isolation were it not for the clearly defined code of neighbourhood conduct, emphasising sociability, openness and requiring frequent interaction from residents in the locality. This way of life accounts for the dense interface pattern both between inhabitants and between inhabitants and visitors, found in the Greek Cypriot settlements.

However, visits do not only take place within the neighbourhoods. The village family, apart from being a nuclear family, also seems to opt for neolocal marital residence expressing the villagers' wish that a married couple start life in a separate household from their parents (see Fig. 33) which shows kin within the village of Potamia. As in the community of Roussilon, so in our case the practise of setting up separate households has important effects on the nature of the community.

Firstly, there is no chance for one family to build up its numbers (or amass capital), by concentrating living and working arrangements. Secondly, it tends to diffuse people within the settlement; it is rather rare (although it does occur), for related households to occupy contiguous houses. This encourages visits between kin that are not restricted to the immediate vicinity of the neighbourhood.

Micropolitics: Status and Power within Greek Cypriot Society

In every human group some members are more, some less admired and respec - ted; some more, some less able to impose their will on others. Description and discussion of this hierarchical arrangement relies heavily on the word 'status'. It is used to mean both a place on a scale and a social position. In this wider sense, the first meaning is partly a matter of an individual's place in a hierarchy of power. In practice the two scales sometimes largely coincide, sometimes not. A man may exercise power yet be despised for the ways he acquired it, while another may be admired for moral qualities yet exercise little power. The way this happens varies, depending on the particular society.

One of the major challenges that confronts students of Greek Cypriot society is the delineation of its stratification system. The fluidity of Cyprus' social structure and the relative absence of dire poverty, renders the study of social class difficult or at best problematic.

The apparent lack of class crystallisation was vividly manifested in the Greek Cypiot villages, where there were no clusters of families with clearly defined characteristics such as place of residence, mannerisms, clothing and style of life that one may encounter in other developing societies. This does not of course mean that there were no economic differences among the villagers. As we have already seen from the first part, there are some wealthy as well as some relatively poor and there is the great majority in the middle. To that extent, there are social classes in the villages, if we restrict the concept "class" to the economic position of the individual within the economic sphere.

In other words, the aim of this part is a traditional one, to distinguish the econo - mic, status and power situations of different actors in such a way as to identify key social categories.[10] To run ahead of the argument, as we have already seen, there are three major categories to be distinguished which, however do not correspond to any clear distinctions maintained by the villagers.

The latter do not use any percentages and tables to describe land or wealth. They use a few basic distinctions - I *phtochi,* the poor, I *metrii,* middling people, and finally I *plousii,* the rich. Such terms do not have sharp boundaries and how they are used depends on who is speaking and his/her relation to the person being discussed.

So, as far as occupational status is concerned, those men with little land, who earn their living by heavy labour for others, whose wives and daughters must also work, are at the bottom of the village status scale. At the top are the men who, for one reason or another, depend on no one for their prosperity, who employ labour, whose wives and daughters do nothing outside the house; these men have large land holdings and are fully occupied with them. Between these extremes are a number of possibilities, each with slightly different status implications; these include workers, builders, carpenters, craftsmen and so on.

Economic class in Greek Cypriot villages was, however differentiated from "power" and "social status". The villagers granted high status to the educated like teachers and doctors; the most powerful and highly regarded individuals were hardly rich men. The mukhtar, for example, the village's headman whose main duties include the registration of births and deaths, the collection of number of taxes, meetings with visiting officials and so on, was not always a rich man. The main reason why men would take this position is because it offers prestige through the notion of giving service to the village.

In other words, in Greek Cypriot society, the honour-prestige hierarchy does not

correspond to social classes. For example, as we have seen, the office of the mukhtar was a role in the administrative system which provided opportunities for skilful men to become patrons to their fellow villagers. However, it is likely that only a "big man" could turn the mukhtar's office into an important patronage position; it is not the case that the office itself inevitably brings much power.

At this point, we could suggest that a similar paradox appears, as the one noted by Bailey in "Gifts and Poison". In the Cypriot society people compete to remain equal; as Bailey puts it in the community of Valoire, people remain equal because "each one believes that every other one is trying to better him, and in his efforts to protect himself, he makes sure that no one else ever gets beyond the level of approved mediocrity". Equality then, is in fact the product of everyone's belief that everyone else is striving to be more than equal. Equality comes about through the mutual cancellation of supposed efforts to be unequal.

Turkish Cypriot Society

Village and Household

Village and household are also the main social units in Turkish Cypriot society. Only through a membership of a household does an individual take part in the economic, political and social life of the village. Within the household the most intimate and emotionally important social relations are played out; what goes on within it is a major part of village social life. As in the Greek Cypriot households men form the permanent core of any household; they do the heavy work in the fields, control all transport and conduct all relations with the outside world, including almost all buying and selling. They make all major decisions and defend the household and its honour. Women carry out all domestic tasks including cooking, cleaning and raising the children, in a similar way as in the Greek Cypriot culture.

However, the spatial structure of the house in the Turkish Cypriot sample carries a great deal more social information embedded in its layout and the labels which are attached to spaces. There are special places where visitors are entertained; men and women are allocated specific spaces and there is an obvious attempt to enforce a strong boundary between the interior of the dwelling and the public street. In other words, the main difference between Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot households seems to be that they are not built into the bricks and mortar and are not institutionalised in such a way as to create structural inequalities.

Many houses in the villages, that can afford it, have separate living rooms, one for men and one for women which serve to further separate the two sexes. So, whenever the villagers are relaxing, the men are in the men's room which as we have seen is syntactically integrated and relatively shallow from the exterior and at the same time a strong point of control; most routes from one space to another in the

system as a whole (and certainly those leading in and out of the women's domain located around the back yard) will pass through this living room. Women come into this room rarely, usually to clean it when the men are away in the fields or only when the immediate family is present. The main living room, the *ev,* is the province of the wife of the household, where she sleeps with her husband and usually with her young children. No man enters the *evof* another's household, unless he is very close kin - even then he might hesitate.

Within this general scheme of things, however, differentiation is revealed among the three subsets identified in the previous part. While in the poorer households only one living room exists for the rare entertainment of guests and most often kin, the wealthier households have a special room for the men of the household where they sit in the evenings and entertain neighbours and guests. These rooms are more luxuriously furnished and are called "guest" rooms or *misafir odasi* or simply just *oda,* (room). These are in fact more than just entertainment rooms, as we shall see soon.

In contrast to the main living room (ev) the guest room belongs to the men and should preferably stand apart from the rest of the house, or have a separate entrance so that male visitors see nothing of the home at all; in other words, the guest room should normally be strictly segregated from the rest of the household. The syntactic values of this space express these requirements; it is shallow from the exterior but deep from the rest of the spaces in the house, it is segregated and non-distributed. These properties are immediately referred to the concept of transpatial solidarity, like the living room in the wealthy Greek Cypriot house. However, unlike the latter, the guest room is solely for the realisation and strengthening of male solidarity.

Just as the living room is the most powerful space governing inside to outside relations, so the back courtyard is the most powerful space governing inside to inside relations. The back yard in the Turkish Cypriot house becomes the hinge which separates the two different areas of the household, it is mainly a place for the realisation of women's solidarity, strongly segregated from the outside world. Within these observations, we could suggest that in the Turkish Cypriot house, space and social activities are split into pieces; exactly the way in which life in Turkish Cypriot society is.

It seems reasonable to press the argument concerning this male-female separateness to its extreme conclusion, so that marriage may be considered as one moment of tangency of two worlds which are organised as to meet for only brief encounters without trespassing on each others domains.

Outside the house, within the open space of the villages, this is even more strongly emphasised. The world of men is the public world of the street, the place of business, the mosque and above all the *Kahve,* the coffee house. Men have normally less to do with the actual life inside the household than the women. Although they eat and sleep in the house, most of them spend as much of their time as possible

away from the actual house. When they are at leisure, they prefer to talk in groups out of doors, in guest rooms or in the coffee houses. The men's avoidance of the house, except for the specific purposes of eating and sleeping reflect their wider social relationships and their clear superiority in Turkish Cypriot village society.

Women are not excluded from the street or the mosque; they pass along the streets or do business in the shops or markets, but for them it is foreign soil, entered by necessity; they move through it briskly, well covered and when possible in groups. Only a few women attend the mosque on special ocasions - during the month of Ramadan and on other Muslim Holy days, but they are separated from the male congregation behind curtains in a balcony.

The world of women in Turkish Cypriot villages is the private world of the house and the back courtyard. Very often the houses have passageways leading from courtyard to courtyard which allow one to move between houses without a public lane or street. The physical setting of lanes and courtyards awards the maximum amount of seclusion to women and the round of domestic activities which consumes the household.

That reflects how rules of residence have affected the proliferation of family segments over time. This is clearly seen in the sparse interface maps of the Turkish Cypriot villages; a consequence of these properties is that visitors experience a different settlement than the inhabitants know.

The creation of inequality is largely strengthened by the tendency of the usually extended Turkish Cypriot family to patrilocal or virilocal postmarital residence. Virilocality and the requirements of male co-operation in trade or family agriculture promoted an agnatic emphasis in kinship. The special value put into maleness and male-male relatedness makes equality between husband and wife the norm. Men dominate at least in appearance and usually in reality too. Property, names and re-putations are basically under male control and are transferred from father to son.

Every village is divided into a number of quarters or *mahalle* which have no clear boundaries and which as we will see shortly are spatially clear. Because close neighbours often intermarry, and as we have seen above close agnates and some times other close kin live near each other, these quarters often have some kinship unity as well. Households belonging to a lineage usually formed local clusters; the separate dwellings of married sons tended to be located adjacent to the natal house; it was rare to locate a married son outside of his mahalle, thereby resulting in a high degree of residential solidarity within mahalle limits.

This tendency, to set up households adjacent to the natal household had important effects on the nature of the Turkish Cypriot community. In contrast to the Greek Cypriots, a family had the chance to build up its numbers (or amass capital) by concentrating on living and working arrangements. In fact, this was a common

way of acquiring wealth and power within the village, as we shall see shortly. This is clearly revealed through the different, if not inverse, syntactic properties of the poor and the wealthy households within the villages.

Secondly, people were concentrated into local clusters and it was a common phenomenon for related households to occupy contiguous houses, even sharing the same courtyard. The maximal extent of domestic relations therefore, was limited by mahalle boundaries.

Micropolitics: Wealth, Status and Power within Turkish Cypriot Society

Inspite of the difficulties, already described in the study of the Greek Cypriot society, arising out of the study of status scale in the communities, it is possible to establish a rough overall hierarchy among the village men. In the guest rooms, in the mosques, at wedding feasts, people arranged themselves publicly according to a more or less generally accepted scale.

As we have already seen, as far as occupational status is concerned, there are three major categories to be distinguished although as in the Greek Cypriot sample, there are no sharp boundaries between them. The poor of the villages are those who have little or no land and who make all or most of their living by unskilled labour; these include shepherds and agricultural workers. At the other end of the scale were households which owned plenty of land and on many occasions combined agriculture with other skilled or commercial activities. Between these extremes, it is difficult to sort out a significant order of rank for the majority of the villagers in the middle of the scale. A number of possibilities exist including skilled labour, craftsmen and so on.

In other words, occupation and wealth can be treated as a single scale. But, unlike Greek Cypriot society, economic power, (a publicly accepted right to a relatively large scale of the community' s resources) and political power (the ability, publicly accepted or not, to get other people to do what one wants them to do) are closely related. The one generated the other and no one could hold one without some of the other; in most villages examined for example, the mukhtar was one of the wealthiest men in the village. It is a case in point where this position becomes a patronage position.

In order to elaborate on this issue, we need to reconsider the domestic cycle in Turkish Cypriot society. Sons were an asset for the household; the latter was usually virilocal and in many cases joint, patrilocal. So, a particular family had the chance to concentrate living and working arrangements, grow wealthier and usually establish direct political control over the co-villagers; in other words, the domestic cycle entailed an economic cycle. Of course, this kind of empire building was rare but nevertheless, it did happen.

The assymetrical relationships within every aspect of the Turkish Cypriot

community are promising seedbeds of inequality, patronage and patron/client relations. This was experienced both at the local level of the domestic interior and the global level of the village. In the former case, as we have already seen, every household contained a living room but only the better off could afford a guest room. In other words, to have a guest room is a mark of wealth and standing; the wealthier houses had one, the humbler and poorer ones on the whole did not.

This room is more than an entertainment room; the interpretation at this point overcomes the limits of cultural entities and enters into the area of political interpretation. Attendance in one of those rooms, implied political submission to and support of its owner; no one would enter a guest room of a man he regarded as an enemy.[11]

At the global level of the village, as we have seen above, due to the domestic cycle described above, wealthy households tended to cluster in particular locations while poorer houses were located in different mahalles. Each group exhibited different syntactic properties; the poorer were isolated within the segregated areas of the villages while the wealthy were concentrated in the centre of things, occupying the most integrating areas.

In other words, both the local and the global level of the Turkish society can be seen as a spatial mapping of a strong hierarchy in terms of social status and wealth within the villages.

In a similar way, different social groups within this community were spatially se - parated. "Poorer" households were shown to be located in deep and segregated areas, while "wealthy" households were found in more integrated areas. So, while "poor" people were isolated and both locally and globally weak, wealthier people were both locally and globally strong; locally through the neighbourhoods and glo- bally through their political power over the whole village.

In other words, the Turkish Cypriot community is spatially fixed and territorially runs on a correspondence model and tends towards a deterministic model with a space full-governed encounter system.

In the Greek Cypriot community we find an endogenous model organising relations within and between the households, which are spatially stable but non- territorial. Separation between the sexes is not built into space as in the Turkish Cypriot community. Within the household, men and women occupy similar spaces, so do inhabitants and visitors. The relation of the interior to the exterior allows interaction to take place in the public space of the village. Although the exterior was found to be relatively segregated from the living functions, the relations between neighbours and especially women, overcomes this segregation.

Interaction between men and women, inhabitants and visitors, inhabitants and inhabitants, took place in the open space structure of the villages and across space.

Men interacted in the coffee shops and the open space of the village while women interacted in groups, in the neighbourhoods. In other words, men are globally strong in non-distributed way but are internally split; women are locally strong but in a distributed way and do not encounter each other in large numbers; more non-correspondence for women.

Interaction between visitors and inhabitants also took place in the open space structure of the villages. Residential neighbourhoods, although more segregated, were not cut off from the villages' centre and encounters between inhabitants and visitors took place throughout the villages. In other words, the Greek Cypriot community is non-correspondent with a fluid arrangement of people in space, runs on a short model and tends towards a probabilistic system with a pattern of dense and probabilistic encounters within the villages.

After examining if spatial differences between houses and quarters were associated with social class differentiation between different social groups of the two communities, it was shown that at the level of the domestic interior spatial differences within each ethnic group were indeed associated with different occupational classes.

In the Greek Cypriot houses *loggias* and in general transition spaces were added in the higher occupational classes, making the exterior more segregated and therefore marking a move from the spatial to the transpatial; in a similar way the living rooms became deeper and more segregated. However, at the global level of the villages it was shown that within the Greek Cypriot community social differentiation resulted in minor changes in the form of their spatial organisation.

It mightnot be too far-fetched to suggest that the strong adherence to rules in the Turkish Cypriot society splits space and social activity into pieces, largely reflecting the actual pattern of life within Islamic law. The generalised principles within it, allow a visitor to have a literal grasp of their world. Society is expressed directly through the way in which the space pattern is lived; it is a fact, a reality.

In the Greek Cypriot society, the weakening of rules and the randomness characterising the spatial patterns has the potentiality to invest in space many relations and structures that may show the tendency of the whole system towards a more symbolic representation of reality. In other words, what a visitor experiences might exist precariously in the particular layout due to the numbers of unstructured events ta- king place, and be merely a symbolic representation of reality.

NOTES

1. The sample used for the analysis consists of fourteen Cypriot villages: four purely Greek Cypriot, four purely Turkish Cypriot and six mixed villages. At the local

level, the sample is made up of 184 houses taken from the above villages: 93 Greek Cypriot houses and 91 Turkish Cypriot houses.

2. "Space Syntax" is a set of techniques for the representation and quantification of spatial patterns.

3. This pattern is represented by the justified or access graph. In this graph, each effective space (room), is represented by a circle, each subsidiary space (stable, stores) and transitions (stairs, verandas) by a point and each permeability (door, opening) by a line. The exterior (in this case the open space of the village) is selected as the "root" and the rest of the spaces are then aligned above it according to how many spaces one must pass through to arrive at each space from the rest. The number of spaces that need to be crossed to move from one space to another is defined as the Depth between two spaces. The relative depth of the space taken as the root from all others in the justified graph is used in this paper as the quantified form of depth, the Real Relative Asymmetry, ARA. Low values of RRA indicate a space from which the system is shallow, that is a space which tends to integrate the system, and high values indicate a space which tends to be segregated from the system.

4. To make this observation more precise, a symmetric complex or subcomplex is one in which the relation of cell *a* to cell *b* is the same as that from cell *b* to cell *a;* an asymmetric complex is one in which one or more cells control permeability to at least one other cell, thus in the case of *a* and *b,* they are asymmetric components with respect to each other but both are asymmetrically related to *c.*

. 5. All values are the mean values of total ARA, ARA of living rooms, yard, kitchens, bedrooms, functional spaces, transitions and exterior. Careful study of the information obtained from the Department of Statistics and Research, Ministry of Finance in Cyprus led to the differentiation of occupations in four occupational classes. Guidance was also given by the village's headman. Information on Turkish Cypriot houses is based on informatin provided by local people and headmen familiar with the village's history. It should be noted here that the apparent lack of class crystallisation was manifested in the Cypriot villages where we could not find clusters of families with clearly defined characteristics such as mannerisms, clothing and style of life that one may encounter in other developing societies. There are to some extent some wealthy and some poor and there is the great majority in the middle. To that extent there are social classes in the villages if we restrict the concept "class" to the economic position of the individual within the economic sphere.

6. The Axial map of each settlement is represented in its quantifiable form; that is, in terms of its Real Relative Asymmetry, RRA. This value measures the integration of the system, it compares how deep the system is from a certain axial line with how

deep it could theoretically be. Low values of RRA indicate axial lines with "low integration" or "segregated" and are shown in dark black lines.

7. Convex Articulation is given in average number of buildings per convex space. Convex Organisation is given as the axial integration of convex spaces (average number of convex spaces per axial line). Axial articulation is given in average number of buildings per axial line. Axial organisation values are given in RRA values from the outside. RA3 is the integration value within three steps of the local system under study.

8. The integration core of a settlement consists of the 10% most integrating lines.

9. A label grouping is called here transpatial because it does not depend on spatial proximity.

10. The presentation of social structures is by no means exhaustive. Themes are selected in relation to the paper's main concerns and are to a large extent generalised. Differences in social organisation also exist; however, villages were chosen from the same region in order to avoid possible regional variability, and themes were carefully selected in order to give a clear picture of the prevailing social structures.

11. Stirling (1965) has gone so far to argue that the existence of a very roughly agreed scale or rank in the villages became clear from the seating arrangements in the guest room; the position nearest the fireplace was that of the greatest honour.

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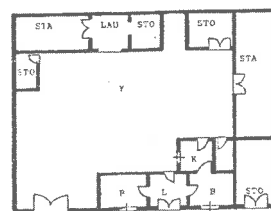
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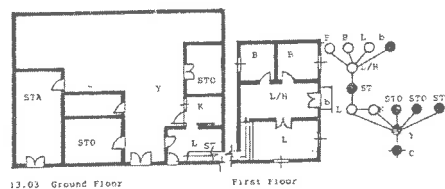
village 13 - Potamia
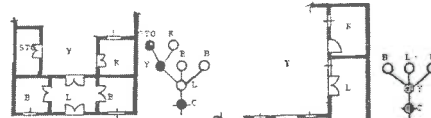Ethnic Origin: Mixed

Greek Cypriots
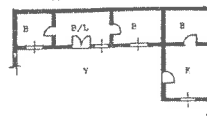
13.01

13.02

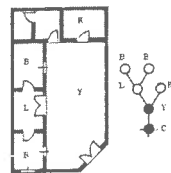13.03 Ground Floor   First Floor

Village 11 - Pyrga
Ethnic Origin: Mixed

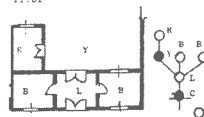Turkish Cypriots

11.01

11.05

11.02

11.03

11.04

Fig. 1a. Example of house plans

Fig. 1b. Example of house plans
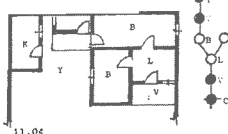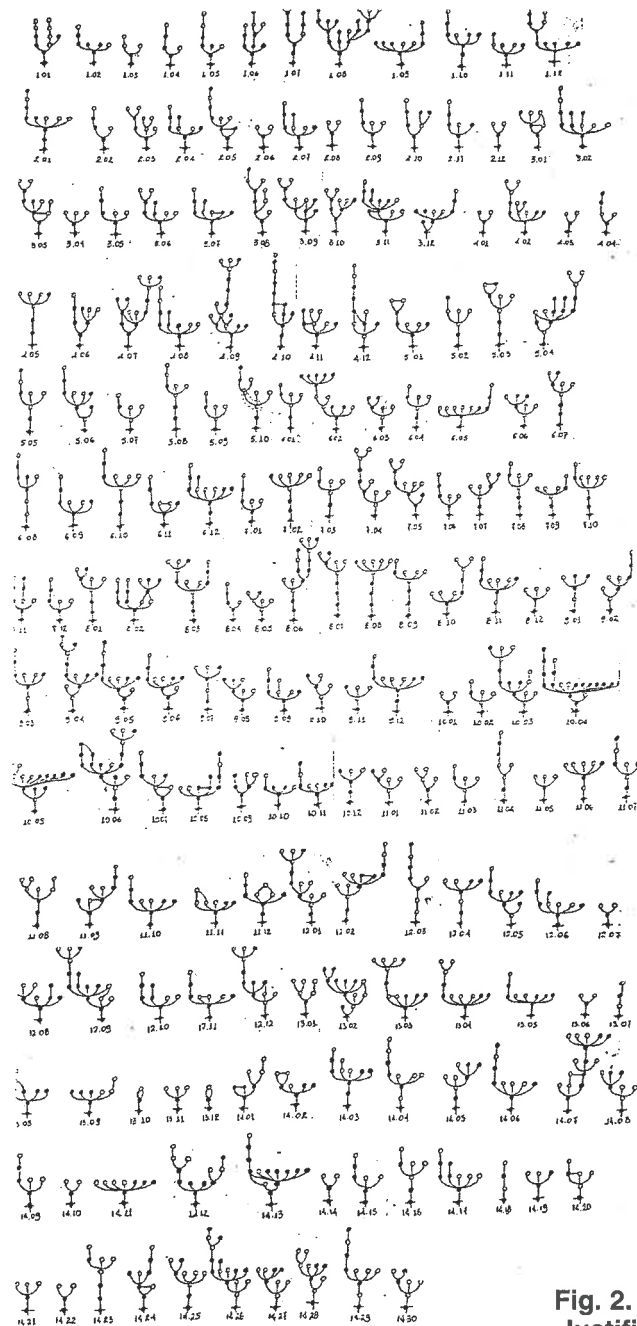
Fig. 2. Unlabelled
Justified Graphs

Convex Break-up Map

Axial Integration Map

Syntactic Properies		
Syntactic Properties		
Synt. Prop.	Values	Rank
Convex Articul.	1.53	2
Axial Organis.	0.73	11
RA3	1.38	10
Connect.	2.42	10

Open Space Map

Interface Map

Code: Village 3
Name. Ora
Ethnic Group: Greek-Cypriots
Population: 335

Convex Break-up Map

Axial Integration Map

Syntactic Properties		
Synt. Prop.	Values	Rank
Convex Articul.	1.16	1
Axial Organis.	.65	13
RA3	1.38	10
Connect.	2.44	9

Open Space Map

Interface Map

Code: Village 1
Name: Ayii Vavatsinias
Ethnic Group: Greek-Cypriots
Population: 397

Fig. 4a. Global Analysis - Greek Cypriot Villages

Convex Break-up Map

Open Space Map

Interface Map

Axial Integration Map

Syntactic Properties		
Synt. Prop.	Values	Rank
Convex Articul.	1.65	7
Axial Organis.	1.26	1
RA3	1.59	8
Connect.	2.71	7

Code: Village 5
Name: Melnoyia
Ethnic Group: Turkish-Cypriot
Population: 143

Convex Break-up Map

Open Space Map

Interface Map

Axial Integration Map

Syntactic Properties		
Synt. Prop.	Values	Rank
Convex Articul.	1.61	4
Axial Organis.	1.23	2
RA3	1.9	5
Connect.	3.26	5

Code: Village 6
Name: Klavdia
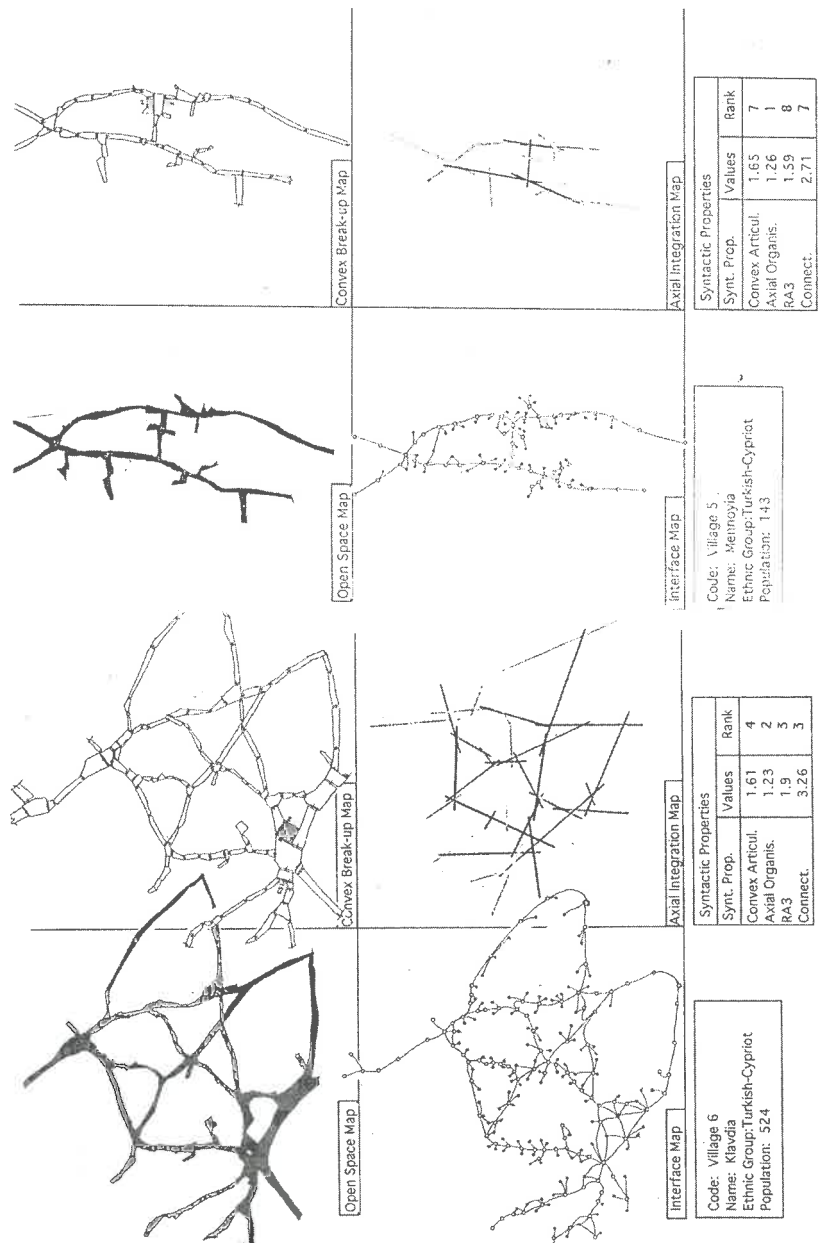Ethnic Group: Turkish-Cypriot
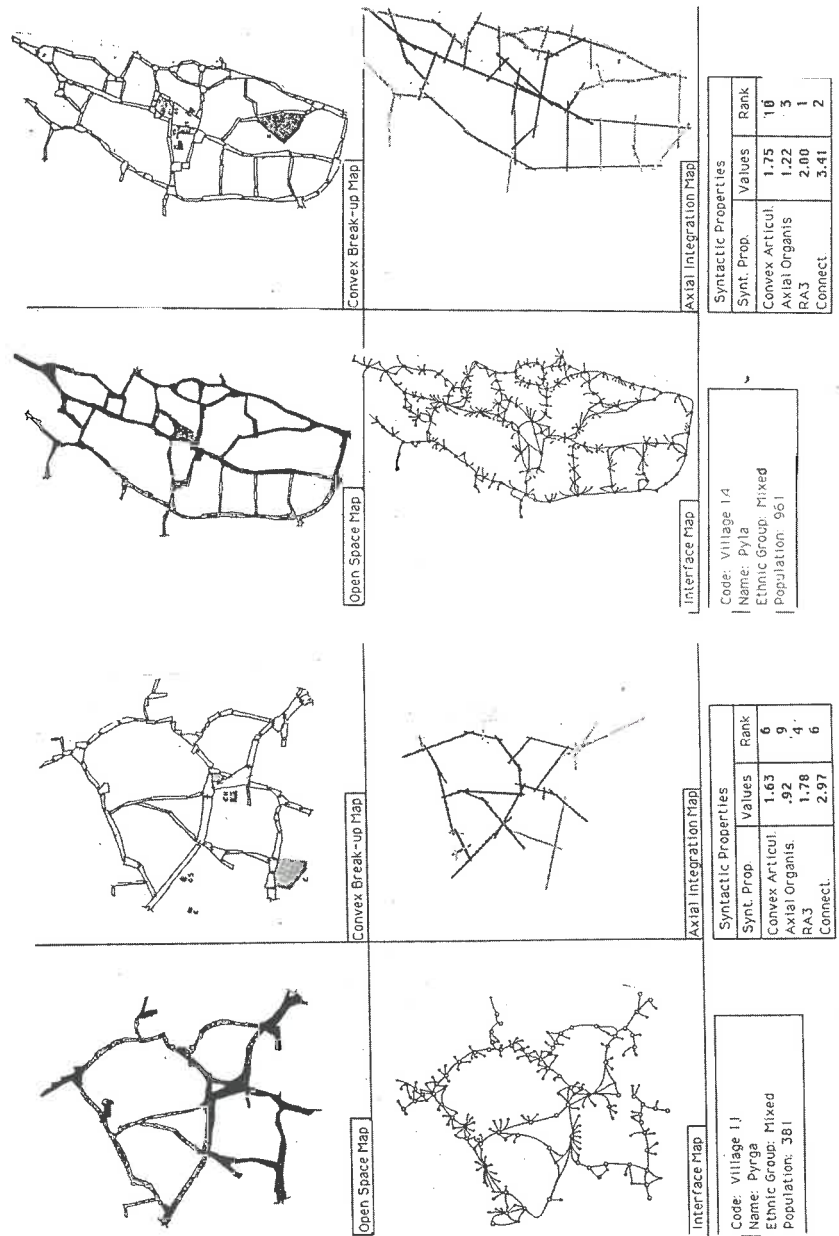Population: 524

Fig. 4b. Global Analysis - Turkish Cypriot Villages

Fig. 4c. Global Analysis - Mixed Villages