Housing and Class Composition: Displaced Greek-Cypriots and the Strovolos II Estate

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Strovolos II, 1979.
Image from Press and Information Office of the Republic of Cyprus.

This article examines the Strovolos II *synoikismos* in Lefkosia, Cyprus, situating it within the wider context of the state-led housing constructed by the Republic of Cyprus to accommodate displaced Greek-Cypriots in the aftermath of the 1974 war.[1] The estates, of which Strovolos II was the first to be completed, were part of an emergency response to the social and political crisis of the war and must be understood within wider trajectories of capitalist development, urbanization, and political contestation. The post-1974 rehousing program that built approximately 14,000 units stands in stark contrast to the minimal public intervention in housing, both before 1974 and after its completion.

Strovolos II is located just north of Spyrou Kyprianou avenue, a peripheral high-traffic road that previously marked an edge to the city but has now been (somewhat) circumvented by urban sprawl. It is just west of the Strovolos industrial area, in the southern part of Strovolos municipality, the largest municipality of Lefkosia. The estate consists primarily of low-rise apartment blocks and row housing typologies, organized around several culs-de-sac, with vehicular access structured through a peripheral ring road. Half a century later, Strovolos II retains distinct morphological and architectural characteristics, visible in its repetitive typologies, spatial organization, architectural articulation, and scale, that clearly differentiate it from surrounding private developments.

The estates addressed an acute housing crisis, while at the same time playing a role in the reactivation of the economy and the reshaping of social relations. Rather than analyzing Strovolos II as a mere housing project, this study positions it within the wider processes of urbanization and class (re)composition. The aim is to frame how and where displaced communities were rehoused within the transformation of a largely rural population into an urban working class. The political, symbolic, and affective dimensions of displacement are addressed, together with the dominant

1 The term *synoikismos (συνοικισμός)* is commonly translated as “housing estate” or sometimes “settlement.” In the Cypriot context, however, it refers more specifically to state-built housing estates constructed for displaced populations after 1974, carrying connotations that are not fully captured by English translations and equivalents. Etymologically, the term derives from syn- (together) and oikos (house or dwelling), denoting a sense of coming together to dwell, a co-habitation.

narratives that shape them. Methodologically, this essay undertakes critical archival and spatial analysis, reading planning and economic reports, architectural drawings, and press material against one another to trace how policy, spatial form, and social relations were co-produced.[2] Planning reports show official intent and economic rationality; architectural drawings reveal spatial assumptions and social norms; press coverage and political material expose conflict, stigma, and contestation. Where these sources align, they reinforce a claim. Where they diverge, the gap itself becomes analytically productive. By juxtaposing state discourse, spatial form, and political practice, power relations and class composition is made visible. The Strovolos II estate is analyzed as a key case study through which these dynamics can be traced.

BETWEEN A ROCK AND A HARD PLACE: THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The twentieth century in Cyprus was marked by violence and conflicts. To understand this history, we isolate two key moments. The first is ethnic conflict between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, related to the geopolitical antagonism between Greece and Turkey but not necessarily defined by it. This began during the period under British rule but escalated exponentially after the independent Republic of Cyprus was established in 1960. The second is the political and class struggle that has been summed up as a clash between nationalism and communism.[3] This was not merely a struggle between a nationalist and a communist faction (which did occur) but more of a clash over the direction of social and political struggle. Nationalism undoubtedly won.

Independence from British rule came with the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960, after a four-year armed, anti-colonial struggle led by EOKA (National Organization of Cypriot Fighters) between 1955 and 1959. EOKA was a Greek Cypriot organization that demanded *enosis* (unification) with the Greek state, the primary claim of Greek nationalism on the island.[4] EOKA was vehemently anti-communist and anti-Turkish.[5] Some of their members were involved in the anti-communist violence of the 1940s, an intense period of labor struggles, as part of Organization X.[6] This political violence, particularly during 1948, led to the consolidation of the main political factions of communism and nationalism.[7] The institution of the Church of Cyprus[8] played an important role in establishing EOKA, as well as in promoting bourgeois and nationalist ideals within the entire Greek Cypriot community, due to its entanglement with the emerging bourgeoisie and its role in land ownership.[9] In response to EOKA, Turkish Cypriots had set up their own organization, TMT (Turkish Resistance Organization). The claim of Turkish nationalism was for

2 Archival material from the State Archive, the Department of Town Planning and Housing, the Press and Information Office, and the personal archive of Theoharis David is discussed.

3 Alexios Alecou, *Communism and Nationalism in Postwar Cyprus, 1945–1955: Politics and Ideologies Under British Rule* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 35.

4 Yiannis Papadakis, Nicos Peristianis, and Gisela Welz, "Modernity, History, and Conflict in Divided Cyprus: An Overview," in *Divided Cyprus: Modernity, History and an Island in Conflict,* ed. Yiannis Papadkis, Nicos Peristianis, and Gisela Welz (Indiana University Press, 2006), 2.

5 Rebecca Bryant, *The Past in Pieces: Belonging in the New Cyprus* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 7.

6 Historian Alexios Alecou has discussed how the nationalist demand for 'Enosis' came from the emerging Greek Cypriot bourgeoisie's interests in being the dominant force in a strong nation-state, using nationalism as a legitimizing force to obtain political control. The peculiarity of demanding union with another nation state, rather than its own, is also acknowledged. The Church was the main institution managing both religious and secular authority within the Greek Cypriot community, and the education system was under its direct control. Its leadership was often involved with anti-communist and nationalist circles. See Alecou, *Communism and Nationalism in Postwar Cyprus,* 9–10, 29, 33.

7 Alecou, *Communism and Nationalism in Postwar Cyprus,* 88.

8 The Church of Cyprus is an autocephalous Greek Orthodox Church and part of the communion of the Orthodox Catholic Church, often referred to as the Greek Orthodox Church or simply the Orthodox Church.

9 Ibid., 10.

taksim (partition).[10] Independence from British rule satisfied neither of the antagonistic nationalisms, while the new state had to balance the opposed interests of the two main ethnic groups. Intercommunal violence flared up in 1963, with Turkish Cypriots facing the heavier losses, leading to Turkish Cypriot communities being enclosed in enclaves throughout the island.[11] The Green Line dividing Lefkosia was drawn up by the United Nations in 1964, and was later expanded across the entire island. Radical Greek Cypriot factions continued to struggle for union with the Greek state, culminating in a coup led by EOKA B in July 1974, backed by the Greek military junta, against Archbishop Makarios, then president.[12] Five days later, Turkey intervened militarily and effectively divided the island: Greek Cypriots fled to the south, Turkish Cypriots fled to the north. It was the Greek Cypriot community that faced the heavier losses this time, with large numbers of deaths, missing persons, and massive displacement of communities previously living in the island's north.[13] Some 200,000 Greek Cypriots, around 40% of the community's population at the time, were displaced. The rehousing of the displaced Greek Cypriots by the Republic of Cyprus is the context within which the housing estates in general, and the Strovolos II estate in particular, were produced. It is important to note that the entire period of 1955 to 1974 was marked by conflict within both ethnic groups, between each community's political left and right. In broad terms, the nationalist right promoted ethnic strife and escalation of the conflict, while the left, perhaps tentatively, strove to encourage communication and collaboration between the communities, facing violence from its own community's nationalists.[14]

View of a temporary camp for internally displaced persons, Cyprus, November 1974.
Photograph from Press and Information Office of the Republic of Cyprus.

This brief summary of events is a critical reading of a few historical events among many. It is important to disclose the position taken by this essay which is critical of dominant nationalist discourses. Within the Greek Cypriot community, in which we live and work, there is an array of approaches to history, of commands coming from the past for the living to follow.[15]

10 Papadakis, Peristianis, and Welz, "Modernity, History, and Conflict," 2.
11 Ibid.
12 Ibid., 3.
13 Ibid.
14 Ibid.
15 Ibid., 8.

They are all intertwined with variations of nationalism.[16] The architectural production of housing we discuss here cannot escape these entanglements. To the best of our ability and based on the work of other scholars as discussed, we try to maintain a critical distance from the dominant narratives of 'our' community, using a materialist lens to analyze and dissect them. Apart from this contextualization, the sequence of events is primarily read through a series of reports focusing on planning, construction, and housing.

DISPLACED PERSONS, CLASS COMPOSITION, AND SOCIAL REPRODUCTION

Strovolos II is the first of the "Estates for Displaced Persons" (Συνοικισμοί Εκτοπισθέντων) to be completed. These projects are colloquially called either just "estates" or sometimes "refugee estates." They are the backbone of the public housing policy that responded to the housing crisis caused by the 1974 war, in the areas controlled by the Republic of Cyprus. The words *displaced* and *refugee* are both commonly used in different contexts. Officially, the Greek Cypriots who were uprooted in 1974 are not refugees.[17] Defining the term "refugee" precisely is a difficult task.[18] The actual differences between internally displaced persons and refugees, in terms of social and physical trauma, are insignificant.[19] However, it is generally agreed that the term "refugee" has an international dimension to it.[20] In fact, a common saying among Greek Cypriots that we are "refugees in our own country" seems to appreciate this contradiction. Roger Zetter, a geographer who extensively studied the displaced communities in Cyprus, suggests that the preference towards the term "refugee" over "internally displaced" has to do with its perceived affective impact.[21] Rebecca Bryant, in her anthropological research with residents of a previously ethnically mixed village, discusses how the use of the term "refugee" by displaced Greek Cypriots emphasizes the foreignness of the place to which they fled.[22] The widespread use of the word "refugee" within the Greek Cypriot community undoubtedly has to do with the highly partisan narratives regarding the conflict and the displacement.[23] Yiannis Papadakis, Gisela Welz and Nicos Peristianis, who work in the fields of anthropology and sociology, suggest that this is part of an interactive process of nationalist construction, both imposed from above and pushed for from below.[24] A similar process occurred in the Turkish Cypriot community. These opposing narratives are heavily policed: a significant break from the state's (and the community's) official position is paramount to treason.[25] As researchers, it is important to understand these nuances around a discourse that has been developing for over fifty years. For the purpose of this paper, the term "internally displaced person" is used, reflecting the original name of the estates. The term "refugee" is used when discussing other material that has chosen it, keeping in mind the above clarifications.

Through the militant concept of class composition, introduced by Romano Alquati and developed by the political and intellectual movement of

16 Nicos Peristianis, "Cypriot Nationalism, Dual Identity, and Politics," in *Divided Cyprus: Modernity, History and an Island in Conflict,* ed. Yiannis Papadkis, Nicos Peristianis, and Gisela Welz (Indiana University Press, 2006), 102–103.

17 Roger Zetter, "Labelling Refugees: Forming and Transforming a Bureaucratic Identity," *Journal of Refugee Studies 4*, no. 1 (1991): 40, https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/4.1.39.

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid. See also: Evanthia Tselika, "State Housing, Social Labelling and Refugee Identities in Cyprus," *The Cyprus Review* 31, no. 1 (2019): 251.

20 Bryant, *The Past in Pieces,* 34.

21 Zetter, "Labelling Refugees," 47.

22 Bryant, *The Past in Pieces,* 34.

23 Papadakis, Peristianis, and Welz, "Modernity, History, and Conflict," 6.

24 Ibid., 9.

25 Yiannis Papadakis, "Disclosure and Censorship in Divided Cyprus: Toward an Anthropology of Ethnic Autism," in *Divided Cyprus: Modernity, History and an Island in Conflict,* ed. Yiannis Papadkis, Nicos Peristianis, and Gisela Welz (Indiana University Press, 2006), 70.

operaismo, class is understood as more than an individual's relation to the means of production; it is a process, tied to struggle and conflict. To put it very simply, the conditions of everyday life and work shape the level and form of political organization. In its initial use by the Italian operaist and autonomist movements, the theory of class composition focused on the 'political leap' from the working conditions, or 'technical composition,' to the workers' organized opposition to capital, or 'political composition.'[26] *Technical composition* is the organization of workers by capital, the organization of labor power into a working class: which sectors and positions workers are divided into, the conditions of their work, their skills and expertise, which managerial and technological apparatuses mediate their work. *Political composition* is the autonomous constitution of the working class as a class, the forms of (self)organization created or used to express demands. More contemporary approaches to class composition include the element of *social composition*, which takes an expanded view of class struggle, influenced by discussions around social reproduction and the inclusion of the unemployed and unwaged work in perspectives of struggle.[27] This leads to an appreciation for the impact of activity outside the workplace on the working class's political composition, which is also influenced by cultures, familial relationships, relationships to the state, and living conditions. Even if underexplored by radical political traditions historically, the home and the neighborhood have always been sites of conflict and struggle.[28] As such, including the third category of social composition means that the 'political leap' takes on a much less predictable and deterministic form. A less explored concept is that of 'spatial composition,' building upon Henri Lefebvre's position that urbanization was becoming increasingly important to capital accumulation.[29] Spatial composition points to the potential of class composition and recomposition within material geographies of production and reproduction.

Painting by Michalis Kkasialos, *They Breed Silkworms*, mid-twentieth century.

Class composition allows us to decipher strategic choices made outside of the notional blanket of a 'national emergency.' While the housing estates did respond to a dramatic social and political crisis, there was more at stake in their construction. Perhaps some decision-making was taken for

26 Steve Wright, *Storming Heaven: Class Composition and Struggle in Italian Autonomist Marxism* (Pluto Press, 2002), 138.
27 Frederick H. Pitts, "Contemporary Class Composition Analysis: The Politics of Production and the Autonomy of the Political," *Capital & Class* 48, no. 1 (2024): 30–31, https://doi.org/10.1177/03098168221139284.
28 William Bunge, "The Point of Reproduction: A Second Front," *Antipode* 9, no.1 (1977): 60–61.
29 Nicholas Gray, "Rethinking Italian Autonomist Marxism: Spatial Composition, Urban Contestation, and the Material Geographies of Social Reproduction," *Antipode: A Radical Journal of Geography* 54, no. 3 (2022): 818–819, https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12803.

granted and not questioned. Why, for example, were the displaced rural communities relocated to urban peripheries? Why was the housing solution to concentrate displaced persons in estates, particularly considering their organic response of dispersing themselves across the island's south when fleeing the war? Why were displaced villages and extended family units scattered across estates rather than housed together? Why, in a period of global capitalist restructuring where the working class became increasingly fragmented, did the Republic of Cyprus choose to house thousands of displaced persons in large estates directly adjacent to industrial areas? By analyzing the project of rehousing the displaced through a lens of class composition and keeping in mind the historical developments of the twentieth century in Cyprus, we can begin to make certain hypotheses. The rehousing of the displaced appears to have been a large-scale project of class recomposition orchestrated by the state. This is an interpretation grounded in specific evidence, discussed below, not an established fact. Rural populations were reconstructed as part of a new urban working class. The destruction-reconstruction cycle of capitalist crisis and war is succinctly reflected through this process, addressed with a spatial fix, as David Harvey has discussed.[30]

Reproductive labor is "the sum of all efforts needed to make life possible."[31] *Social reproduction* is the processes, institutions, and everyday activities that maintain and reproduce society and its structures. Today, social reproduction is the reproduction of capitalist society. Workers need to have necessary knowledge and skills, to be healthy and willing to work, to behave according to the rules and laws set. Social reproduction envelops a variety of spaces, including households, hospitals, prisons, schools.[32] Feminists like Mariarosa Dalla Costa have positioned housework as an important social activity, since the labor within the family and the household is an important part of reproducing workers' labor power.[33] This work, traditionally naturalized and understood as part of a woman's routine, is embedded within design choices.[34] Reproductive labor is a necessary and often overlooked part of the smooth functioning of capitalist production.[35] The family is understood as a provider of care, particularly in the social and cultural context of Cyprus where historically healthcare and the care of children and elderly were heavily entangled with extended family structures. It is also understood as an oppressive mechanism towards women, whose gender role assigns them a disproportionate share of domestic and affective labor—labor that is necessary for the reproduction, at the scale of society at large, of labor power.

READING BETWEEN THE LINES OF THE PLANNERS' REPORTS

From the late colonial period, there was a growing tension due to the rural/urban divide. In his 1959 *Planning Report,* W. Windyer Morris, director of Planning and Housing for the colonial government, identified increased agricultural productivity at a time when employment in the sector decreased, likely due to technological advances.[36] The rural to urban population ratio in 1970 was 1.6:1, while houses built were divided into 1395

30 David Harvey, "Globalization and the 'Spatial Fix,'" *Geographische Revue 8* (2001): 24.
31 Maria Shéhérazade Giudici, "CounterPlanning from the Kitchen: For a Feminist Critique of Type," *Burning Farm: A Journal on Architecture and Domestic Space* (July 2024), https://burning.farm/essays/counter-planning-from-the-kitchen.
32 Tithi Bhattacharya, "Introduction: Mapping Social Reproduction Theory," in *Social Reproduction Theory: Remapping Class, Recentering Oppression,* ed. Tithi Bhattacharya (Pluto Press, 2017): 2.
33 Mariarosa Dalla Costa and Selma James, *The Power of Women and the Subversion of the Community* (Falling Wall Press, 1972), 35
34 Dolores Hayden, "What Would a Non-Sexist City Be Like? Speculations on Housing, Urban Design, and Human Work," *Signs* 5, no. 3 (1980): S170–171, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3173814.
35 Giudici, "CounterPlanning from the Kitchen."
36 W. Windyer Morris, *Planning Report* (Cyprus Government Printing Office, 1959), 11.

dwellings in urban areas and 2076 in rural areas.[37] The rural/urban divide can be read also in terms of living conditions, reflected in the 1971 *Household Survey*. Members of the Greek Cypriot community living in urban areas had, overall, smaller families, larger houses, and more income.[38] Of course, the situation between urban areas was also quite varied, as the population of the district of Lefkosia was financially better off overall.[39] People living in rural areas, many times in extended family units, had to share spaces more often than people in urban areas. Housing was directly tied to social status, linked also to the institution of the dowry.[40] The privatized housing markets excluded certain social groups—land prices were high, houses built were usually large, and there was a gap in financing housing in terms of long-term mortgages.[41] These trends were already identified by Morris, who noted that land prices, the legally and culturally ingrained notion of the free-standing house with open space to either side, and the rising popularity of the automobile had contributed to urban sprawl.[42] The issues of ribbon development, urban sprawl, public transport insufficiency, and car dependency, together with a lack of control and regulation of development, are issues that persisted for years.[43]

Morris noted that agriculture and mining would not be able to sustain the local economy in the future as the population continued to increase.[44] This is read in conjunction with the goals of the *Island Plan*, developed after independence and formalized in the early 1970s. The proposal was to bring 2/3 of the population to cities up from 2/5, leaving the countryside populated mostly by people directly involved in agriculture.[45] Morris's doubts about the agricultural sector's centrality in the future economy were answered by the 1970 and 1971 *Construction and Housing Report*s, prepared by the Department of Statistics and Research of the Republic of Cyprus Ministry of Finance. Between 1965 and 1970, the value added in the construction sector had been increasing at a remarkable growth rate of 18.1 percent per year, compared to 9.5 percent in the economy at large.[46] Housing was by far the economic sector that offered the most capital formation across the economy. By 1971, the construction industry had become "one of the most important sectors of the island's economy."[47] The vital role of construction as a motor of capitalist development, addressing trade deficits, underdevelopment, as well as high unemployment is again underlined in 1974, in the *Current Trends and Policies in the Fields of Housing, Building and Planning,* prepared by the Department of Town Planning and Housing one month before the war.[48] Construction, and in particular housing, in the eyes of the Republic of Cyprus's planners, was not directly managed by policy, but was seen as a macroeconomic engine of growth and modernization. Private housing construction played a strategic role. The wider construction sector was directly tied to both economic and social development—its role "needs not to be over-emphasized."[49] The largest construction enterprises were publicly owned, such as the Public Works Department or the Water Development Department; however the sector was dominated by small, private businesses.[50]

37 Department of Statistics and Research, Ministry of Finance, *Construction and Housing Report 1970 (*Printing Office of the Republic of Cyprus, 1970), 8.
38 Department of Statistics and Research, Ministry of Finance, *Household Survey 1971* (Printing Office of the Republic of Cyprus, 1970), 8, 10, 11.
39 Ibid., 8.
40 Department of Town Planning & Housing, *Current Trends and Policies in the Fields of Housing, Building and Planning: Country Memorandum of the Republic of Cyprus* (U.N. Economic Commission for Europe, Committee on Housing, Building and Planning, 1974), 4.
41 Ibid.
42 Morris, *Planning Report*, 3, 4, 8.
43 Department of Town Planning, *Current Trends,* 19, 22.
44 Morris, *Planning Report*, 11.
45 Department of Town Planning, *Current Trends,* 18.
46 Department of Statistics, *Construction and Housing Report 1970,* 3–4.
47 Department of Statistics and Research, Ministry of Finance, *Construction and Housing Report* 1970 (Printing Office of the Republic of Cyprus, 1970), preface.
48 Department of Town Planning, *Current Trends,* 1–2.
49 Ibid., 10.
50 Department of Town Planning & Housing, *Housing, Building and Planning Problems & Policies in the Less Developed Countries of Southern Europe: Country Monograph Republic of Cyprus* (U.N. Economic Commission for Europe, Committee on Housing, Building and Planning, 1974), 13.

Planning officials inspecting temporary refugee housing
during the transition from tent camps to housing estates, Cyprus, 1974.
Photograph from the Press and Information Office of the Republic of Cyprus.

Before the war, the construction sector was already facing a crisis. The rise in prices of imported materials, together with government measures to curb inflation, had affected the sector, with activity slowing down and unemployment among construction workers doubling.[51] The planners called for measures to avoid the construction sector facing a depression.[52] This was exacerbated by the conflict, due to the destruction of capital and resources.[53] Entire industries stationed in the north were now out of the control of the Greek Cypriot owners, including all brick and many mosaic plants.[54] Twenty-six major industrial units near Lefkosia serving the construction industry closed, making reconstruction more difficult.[55] The impact to the construction industry was massive, with 27,000 persons employed before 1974 "producing 9.5% of the total output and 66.5% of the capital formation of the economy,"[56] while millions were lost in tools, machinery and materials.[57] Agriculture, responsible for around 20% of the GDP, also faced a dire situation,[58] as did the manufacturing industry that employed 37,000 people and was a focus of modernization and investment.[59] The land that was controlled by the Turkish military had been producing over 70% of the gross output according to 1972 estimates, despite making up only 40% of the island.[60] The sharp drop in operations of the construction industry, intensified by the "unfavorable" investment climate, had contributed to a serious unemployment problem.[61] The un-

51 Department of Town Planning, *Current Trends,* 2.
52 Ibid.
53 Planning Bureau, *Economic Consequences of Turkish Invasion and Future Prospects of Cyprus Economy* (Public Information Office, 1975), 1.
54 Ibid., 6.
55 Ibid.
56 Ibid., 7.
57 Ibid.
58 Ibid., 4.
59 Ibid., 5.
60 Ibid., 2.
61 Ibid., 6.

employed were estimated at 86,000, or 39% of the labor force.[62] This early estimate may have been incorrect, with another December 1974 estimate coming in at 46,000 or 22% of the labor force.[63] For reference, in 1973 the number of registered unemployed was 3,314, just 1.2% of the economically active population.[64]

Two approaches to reconstruction and crisis response were recorded. The first, in the report *Economic Consequences of Turkish Invasion and Future Prospects of Cyprus Economy,* focused on a political solution. The project of rehousing and absorbing the displaced Greek Cypriots was said to be "formidable and beyond the financial resources of Cyprus," with a similar conclusion for the Turkish Cypriots that were displaced.[65] This is repeated several times, going as far as to say, "If the refugees are not allowed to go back home and to their occupations the task of resettlement and absorption into the economy will be an impossible one or at best it will take 40–50 years to be accomplished."[66] With today's knowledge, this is a heavily inaccurate and likely politically charged statement. The *Emergency Economic Action Plan 1975–1976* takes a more pragmatic approach. It conducts a very similar report on the direct and dire consequences of war; however, it begins to outline realistic short-term measures for the reactivation of the economy.[67] Its goals were to absorb as many unemployed people as possible, increase production on various industrial sectors that had incurred losses (such as food, basic goods and exports), replenishment of foreign exchange reserves and ensuring a minimum acceptable quality of life for the "entire" population (likely the entirety of the Greek Cypriot community).[68] This would be accomplished through state interventionism "outside traditional frameworks."[69] Apart from discussing approaches to all economic sectors, the plan also highlights important aspects of social policy believed necessary, such as actions taken to better the living conditions of the displaced communities, measures to combat unemployment, policies aiming at economic equity in the given conditions, as well as austerity measures looking to fund the worse-off.[70]

In the *Emergency Economic Action Plan*, the state's role in the social reproduction of the displaced communities was addressed through suggestions to resolve the housing issue through low-cost housing, the offering of food and other goods, and the provision of social services (health, education) free of charge.[71] The reactivation of the construction sector was seen to be "of primary importance."[72] Goals included the completion of unfinished construction work, the construction of new low-cost housing, and the construction or extension of industrial facilities.[73] This was to be accomplished by state-provided guarantees on loans, the relaxation of building regulations, and even direct state involvement in finishing privately constructed apartment buildings when the owners did not take initiative to restart construction.[74] The importance of addressing the housing problem is highlighted, expanding the (already existing but insignificant in terms of scale) low-cost housing program as well as potentially imposing limits on luxury housing construction to encourage privately built affordable housing.[75] Low-cost housing, directly related to the unhoused displaced communities, was set to be built in Lefkosia, Limassol, and Lar-

62 Ibid., 12.
63 Γραφείον Προγραμματισμού [Planning Bureau], *Έκτακτον Σχέδιον Οικονομικής Δράσεως 1975-1976: Αναθεώρισης του Τρίτου Πενταετούτς Σχεδίου Αναπτύξεως [Emergency Economic Action Plan 1975–1976: Revision of the Third Five-Year Development Plan]* (Planning Bureau, 1975), 14.
64 Planning Bureau, *Economic Consequences,* 12.
65 Ibid., 14.
66 Ibid., 16.
67 Planning Bureau, *Emergency Economic Action Plan 1975-1976,* 11–12.
68 Ibid., 12.
69 Ibid., 13.
70 Ibid., 20.
71 Ibid., 20–21.
72 Ibid., 47.
73 Ibid., 47–48.
74 Ibid., 48.
75 Ibid., 48, 50.

naca.[76] State-owned land was offered to the Department of Town Planning and Housing for these purposes, and there was also some expropriation and purchasing of land by the government.[77] The idea was to utilize the private sector's services for design and construction, both to expedite the process but also to offer work to architects and engineers who were also affected by the crisis.[78] The proposed development and construction projects were thought to be of high importance both financially and socially.[79] The role of the state in reconstruction is concisely outlined: "The goals of the Emergency Plan will be met when and if the private sector responds positively to the undertaken initiative by the public sector."[80]

Housing developments for displaced Greek-Cypriots in Strovolos during the 1970s. Photograph from the Press and Information Office of the Republic of Cyprus.

It is possible to imagine both emotional humans and steely technocrats producing these documents, exemplified by the difference in tone of the *Economic Consequences* report and the *Emergency Economic Action Plan*. They were under immense pressure. The displacement crisis affected around 40% of the Greek Cypriot community, a social, political, and national emergency that decidedly marked the twentieth century for Cypriots of all communities. With the icy lens of political economy, we can also see it as something else: part of a cycle of destruction and development. While the events of 1974 are presented in terms of an intense rupture, both in popular culture and in the bureaucratic documents of the time, it is possible to read historical continuity. Walter Benjamin's rendition of the Angel of History sees a single catastrophe where we see

76 Ibid., 49-50.
77 Ibid.
78 Ibid., 50.
79 Ibid., 59.
80 Ibid.

a sequence of events.[81] The ideals of progress and modernization found throughout the aged pages of the reports are part and parcel with violence and destruction. The response to the crisis of 1974 was not a kneejerk reaction. It builds upon the directions and decisions made previously. The Republic of Cyprus was already on a path of modernization, urbanization, and shifting away from labor-intensive agriculture. The construction sector was already a pivotal part of the economy. The events of 1974 of course impacted these processes, some more than others. However, the sober measures proposed in the first Emergency Economic Action Plan are directly in line with the trajectory of capitalist development in Cyprus before the war. The destruction of goods and labor power also created opportunities. This is what the wider state response to the social and political crisis of 1974, and the housing program that followed, are built upon.

HOUSING CRISIS, CLASS (RE)COMPOSITION, AND POLITICAL CONTESTATION

Before the 1974 war, the instances of public/social housing in Cyprus were few and far between.[82] There were exceptions, including the post-WWII municipal efforts to offer housing to veterans and the attempts to provide housing for rural-to-urban migrants.[83] There was also a low-cost housing program initiated by the colonial government in 1957 and continued by the Republic of Cyprus post-independence, following a rent-to-buy model.[84] This was absorbed into the project for housing the displaced persons and discontinued in 1975. The low-cost housing scheme built a total of 344 units, of which 113 were given to displaced families.[85] The scale of these schemes is ultimately insignificant. For comparison, the estates project delivered 14,000 units between 1975 and 1986, across 69 locations.[86] Despite the low public involvement in housing, it is important to note the social and cultural significance of housing and house ownership.[87]

If we examine the effects of the war according to the three aforementioned categories of class composition analysis (technical, social, political) we can understand the materialist connotations of the Republic of Cyprus's housing policy. Of course, we are not suggesting that a group of shadowy bureaucrats met and determined the future of the working class while smoking cigars and laughing maniacally. These processes are not a result of any kind of state conspiracy but rather of an unfolding of capitalist development and the institutional logic that underpins it.

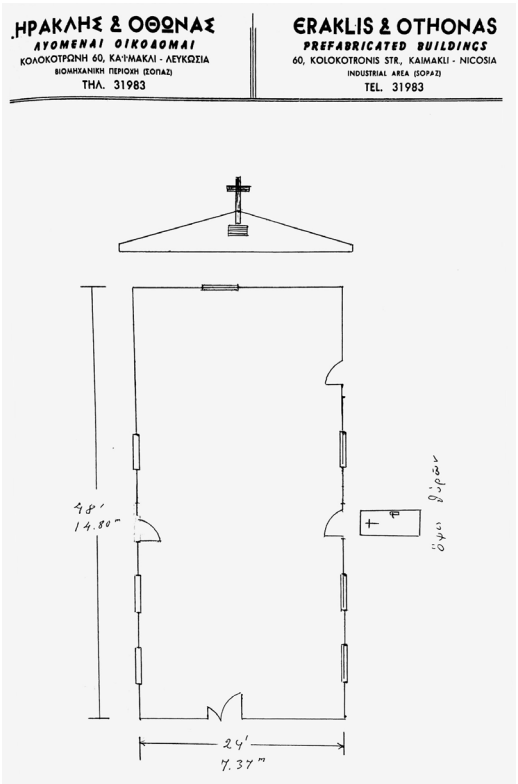
In terms of technical composition, the war accelerated the shift away from agriculture. This process was not just dictated by technological advancement and planning policy but also by the fact that a lot of agricultural land had been lost. For reconstruction, the state had to turn to other sectors and mediate any necessary adaptations that a largely rural population would undergo in order to adapt to the new conditions. The focus was on redistributing people previously engaged in agriculture into the fields of construction and manufacturing. This was an imposed and rapid change of the technical composition of the Greek Cypriot working class.

As made clear in the first *Emergency Economic Action Plan*, the reconstruction of the economy and the reactivation and reintegration of the

81 Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections,* (Schocken Books, 2007), 257–258.
82 Roger Zetter, "Housing Policy in Cyprus—a Review," *Habitat International* 6, no. 4 (1982): 472, https://doi.org/10.1016/0197-3975(82)90080-7.
83 Andreas Savvides, "The Provision of Socially Minded Housing in Cyprus: Examining Historical References and Addressing Recent Challenges from an Architectural Perspective," *Critical Housing Analysis* 4, no. 2 (December 2017): 88, https://doi.org/10.13060/23362839.2017.4.2.389.
84 Τμήμα Πολεοδομίας και Οικήσεως [Department of Town Planning and Housing], *60 Χρόνια Δημιουργικής Πορείας: Όραμα και Έργο [60 Years of Creative Work: Vision and Project]* (Republic of Cyprus, 2010), 84.
85 Department of Town Planning and Housing, *60 Years,* 84.
86 Tselika, "State Housing," 241–242.
87 Zetter, "Housing Policy," 471.

displaced went hand in hand.[88] The displaced communities contributed immensely, both as producers and as consumers, as discussed by Roger Zetter.[89] As he notes, the estates project was catalytic for the economy.[90] The displaced communities offered the labor power necessary to transform the economy from primarily agricultural to an urban-based entrepreneurial economy with a short-term emphasis on construction.[91] The displaced Greek Cypriots provided the labor essential for the housing construction program but also for extending the manufacturing and service sectors.[92] They were also consumers, both of housing and also of relevant light industrial and consumer goods.[93] To oversimplify it: displaced workers built the estates and inhabited them; they worked in the nearby factories and bought the products they were producing.

An anecdote shared with us by Theoharis David, one of the lead architects of CAEC, (Cyprus Architects and Engineers Cooperative) illuminates the social (re)composition happening on the estates. During a visit to the Strovolos II estate shortly after completion, the architects were surprised to find that the high-quality fiberglass bathtubs that they had fought to include in the project were being used as planters, while the residents opted to shower outdoors. Due to the shifts in the technical composition of the class, the forms of life well-suited to agrarian life and work had to adapt into the lifestyle of an urban working class. This shift has also been captured by graphic ethnography via architectural drawing carried out by our students that recorded the plethora gardening practices throughout the estate.[94]



Plan for prefabricated, temporary churches, by Eraclis & Othonas Prefabricated Buildings, c. 1976.
Image from State Archives of the Republic of Cyprus

88 Zetter, "Labelling Refugees," 51–52.
89 Ibid. See also: Roger Zetter, "Refugees and Forced Migrants as Development Resources: The Greek Cypriot Refugees From 1974," *The Cyprus Review* 4, no. 1 (1992): 10–11.
90 Zetter, "Refugees and Forced Migrants," 10.
91 Ibid., 11.
92 Zetter, "Labelling Refugees," 51–52.
93 Ibid.
94 Konstantinos Avramidis, "From Prescription to Description: Using Architectural Drawing as Graphic Ethnography in Cypriot Refugee Estates," *UOU Scientific Journal of Architecture* 10 (2025): 74.

The project of the estates can be read both as state interventionism in economic development and as state mediation of social reproduction, during which it created new social categories and relationships to the state itself. For the agrarian communities to transition into urban laborers, the state needed to ensure certain conditions. Appropriately located housing is perhaps the most obvious. However, social reproduction is not confined to strictly material matters. The provision of education, health, and religious facilities for the residents of the estates is an important part of the reproduction of their labor power, as well as part of their integration into their new urban environments. The plans for the estates included basic shopping centers, community centers, outdoor communal areas, schools, playgrounds, and medical centers.[95] Churches were a high priority. While archival material on the estates is generally disorganized, the State Archive holds a comprehensive folder on the Service for the Welfare and Rehabilitation of Displaced Persons dealing only with churches on the estates. There are recorded pressures both by the church and residents to hurry the construction of a church or to include a church in the plan. In many cases small, temporary churches were built while waiting for a more traditional structure to be designed and erected

ΑΦΕΘΗΚΑΝ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΙ

Οι Σωτήρης Παναγιώτου, 24 χρόνων και Αγγελος Α. Παύλου, 21 χρόνων και οι δυο από το συνοικισμό Στρόβολος 2, που εκρατούντο από την Αστυνομία σχετικά με υπόθεση διάρρηξης σπιτιού στον ίδιο συνοικισμό και κλοπής, κατηγορήθηκαν γραπτώς και αφέθηκαν ελεύθεροι. Θα προσαχθούν αργότερα στο δικαστήριο.

—Ο Μηνάς Ανδρέα Μηναρή, 27 χρόνων, από το Μιτσερό, και τώρα στη Λευκωσία, που εκρατούντο από την Αστυνομία σχετικά με υπόθεση διάρρηξης καταστήματος, στη Λευκωσία και κλοπής, αφέθηκε ελεύθερος.

Δράση βανδάλων

ΛΑΡΝΑΚΑ, 18 (Του ανταποκριτή μας) — Βάνδαλοι επιδίδονται τακτικά στην καταστροφή των τηλεφώνων στους τηλεφωνικούς θαλάμους όχι μόνο στην πόλη της Λάρνακας, αλλά και στους προσφυγικούς συνοικισμούς δημιουργώντας ταλαιπωρίες και προβλήματα στο κοινό. Έτσι, οι βάνδαλοι κατέστρεψαν το τηλέφωνο στον θάλαμο του συνοικισμού Τσιακκιλερής αφού ξεβίδωσαν και κατέστρεψαν το ακουστικό. Σήμερα στο συνοικισμό Τσιακκιλερής υπάρχουν δυο τηλεφωνικοί θάλαμοι και η ΣΥΤΑ προσθέτει και τρίτο αλλά δυστυχώς τα τηλέφωνα και στους δυο θαλάμους είναι κατεστραμμένα.

Δεκάχρονοι «καμικάζι» ανησυχούν πρόσφυγες

ΚΑΙ Η ΑΣΤΥΝΟΜΙΑ ΛΑΜΠΕΙ ΜΕ ΤΗΝ ΑΠΟΥΣΙΑ ΤΗΣ

ΛΑΡΝΑΚΑ, 18 (Του ανταποκριτή μας). —

Οι «καμικάζι» έχουν καταντήσει μια πραγματική μάστιγα στους προσφυγικούς συνοικισμούς Τσιακκιλερού, Κοκκίνων και Αγίων Αναργύρων, όχι μόνο κατά την διάρκεια του Σαββατοκυριάκου αλλά και κατά τις νυκτερινές ώρες ολόκληρης της βδομάδας.

Νεαροί «καμικάζι» συμπεριλαμβανομένων και κοριτσιών ηλικίας δέκα, δεκατριών και δεκαπέντε χρονών, γυρνούν μέσα στους δρόμους των συνοικισμών με ιλιγγιώδη ταχύτητα και επιδίδονται σε ακροβατικές επιδείξεις πότε πάνω στον πισινό τροχό της μοτοσυκλέττας και πότε με τα χέρια πάνω από την κεφαλή τους, χωρίς να έχουν άδεια οδηγού, πιστοποιητικό ασφάλειας έναντι τρίτου εκθέτοντας σε κίνδυνο τόσο τη δική τους ζωή όσο και των προσφύγων των συνοικισμών.

Μερικοί άλλοι εκτός από τις μοτοσυκλέττες οδηγούν και τρακτέρ και αυτοκίνητα τύπου λάντροβερ.

Το Τμήμα Τροχαίας της Αστυνομικής Διεύθυνσης Αραδίππου λύμπει με την απουσία του για να προλάβει οποιοδήποτε κακό

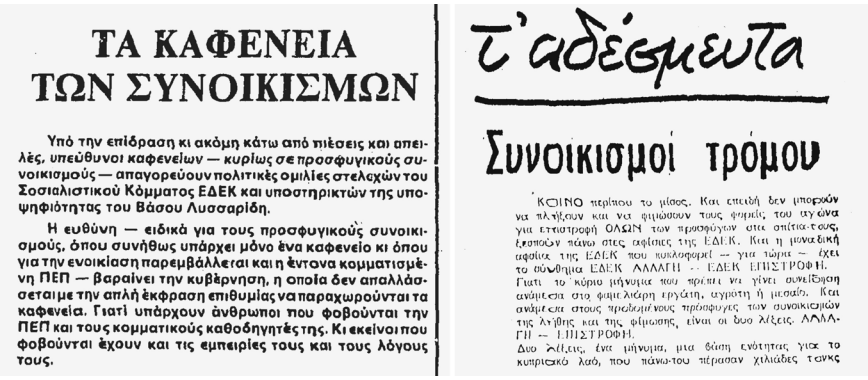
Haravgi newspaper clippings reporting on petty crime on estates for displaced persons
From left to right: 11 May 1986; 19 Dec 1982; 19 Sep 1983; 10 June 1983. Titles: "They were set free," "Vandal action," "Ten-year-old 'kamikazis' are disturbing the refugees," "The young motorcyclists will not learn."
Articles from Press and Information Office of the Republic of Cyprus.

Interestingly, police stations were also often placed within or adjacent to estates. Petty crime on the estates received media attention, which is perhaps linked to the stereotypes they embodied. The estates carried stigma—and continue to do so, to some extent. This can be related to issues of poverty and criminality but also to the issue of labeling and dependency on the state.[96] Part of what made a Greek Cypriot a "refugee" was the housing they inhabited. In the case of the estates, particularly the earlier projects which tended to be larger in scale and density, the inhabitants were spatially and symbolically separated from the rest of the community, and their identity was spatially stereotyped.[97] In terms of the housing itself, the focus on distribution to nuclear, rather than extended, fami-

95 Tselika, "State Housing," 242.
96 Zetter, "Labelling Refugees," 45.
97 Ibid., 48.

lies is an important aspect of this process. Apart from families, village communities were also fragmented in the rehousing process. It has been suggested that this was due to fear of social unrest.[98] This is not officially documented in archival material but extrapolated from the political context. Given the left-wing influence seen across the estates, which will be discussed below, and the labor movement's previous capacity to organize in the conservative-leaning (by a small margin) countryside, this is not outlandish.[99] The focus on family size and income in the distribution of housing is a natural outcome when the pre-existing relationships between displaced (and potentially disenfranchised) communities could pose a threat.[100] Of course, this is tied to the issue of political composition.

This essay approaches political composition in an unorthodox way. The self-organization of the working class is not the central subject of study, due to its marginal and fragmentary nature. Instead, we examine the ways in which the working class expressed itself through the political mainstream, with an emphasis on left wing parties, primarily AKEL. The politics of 1970s and 1980s in Cyprus functioned differently than politics today. Politics were dominated by four political parties (AKEL—Progressive Party of Working People, left wing; DISI—Democratic Rally, right wing; EDEK—United Democratic Union of the Center, center left; DIKO—Democratic Party in Cyprus, center right), which all remain relevant. AKEL and DISI are the two largest parties. Their bases were heavily involved in party affairs and mass rallies were an important part of propaganda and action, which is no longer the case.[101] Political identity was much more solidified, and activism was integral to party strategy.[102] The estates for displaced persons were understandably contested spaces, given the symbolic importance of the "refugee" population to understandings of national and civic identity, as well as the fact that they concentrated disenfranchised and marginalized groups.[103] The political contestation of the estates and the success of left-wing AKEL in organizing around them and the issues they faced is captured in the press of the time. The estates were treated like urban villages and were routinely included in the lists of bus routes to central rallies. In the November 1982 call for the "Pandemocratic Rally" by the "Democratic Collaboration," including AKEL and DIKO (which led the government between 1977 and 1988), there are separate buses for three Strovolos estates located along Spyrou Kyprianou avenue (Kokkines, Strovolos II, Strovolos III). This indicates both the density of the estates in terms of inhabitants and the political influence over them.



ΤΑ ΚΑΦΕΝΕΙΑ
ΤΩΝ ΣΥΝΟΙΚΙΣΜΩΝ

Υπό την επίδραση κι ακόμη κάτω από πιέσεις και απειλές, υπεύθυνοι καφενείων — κυρίως σε προσφυγικούς συνοικισμούς — απαγορεύουν πολιτικές ομιλίες στελεχών του Σοσιαλιστικού Κόμματος ΕΔΕΚ και υποστηρικτών της υποψηφιότητας του Βάσου Λυσσαρίδη.

Η ευθύνη — ειδικά για τους προσφυγικούς συνοικισμούς, όπου συνήθως υπάρχει μόνο ένα καφενείο κι όπου για την ενοικίαση παρεμβάλλεται και η έντονα κομματισμένη ΠΕΠ — βαραίνει την κυβέρνηση, η οποία δεν απαλλάσσεται με την απλή έκφραση επιθυμίας να παραχωρούνται τα καφενεία. Γιατί υπάρχουν άνθρωποι που φοβούνται την ΠΕΠ και τους κομματικούς καθοδηγητές της. Κι εκείνοι που φοβούνται έχουν και τις εμπειρίες τους και τους λόγους τους.

Τ' αδέσμευτα

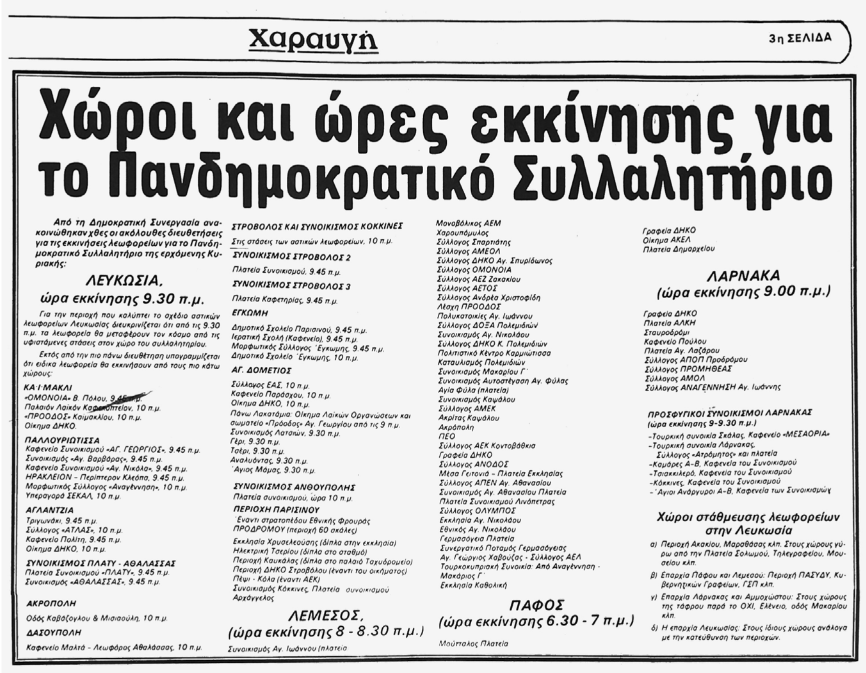
Συνοικισμοί τρόμου

ΚΟΙΝΟ περίπου το μίσος. Και επειδή δεν μπορούν να πληγούν και να φιμώσουν τους φωτιές του αγώνα για επιστροφή ΟΛΩΝ των προσφύγων στις εστίες τους, έστησαν πάνω στις αφίσες της ΕΔΕΚ. Και η μοναδική αφίσα της ΕΔΕΚ που κυκλοφορεί — για τώρα — έχει το σύνθημα ΕΔΕΚ ΑΛΛΑΓΗ — ΕΔΕΚ ΕΠΙΣΤΡΟΦΗ. Γιατί το κύριο μήνυμα που πρέπει να γίνει συνείδηση ανάμεσα στο φιλειρήνη εργάτη, αγρότη ή μεσαίο. Και ανάμεσα στους πρόσφυγες των συνοικισμών της λήθης και της φίμωσης, είναι οι δυο λέξεις. ΑΛΛΑΓΗ — ΕΠΙΣΤΡΟΦΗ.

Δυο λέξεις, ένα μήνυμα, μια θέση ενότητας γιατί το κυπριακό λαό, που πάνω-του πέρασαν χιλιάδες τανκς

Anexartitos newspaper clippings from 17 Jan 1983; 13 Apr 1981.
Titles: "The coffee shops of the estates," "Estates of terror."
Article from Press and Information Office of the Republic of Cyprus.

98 Tselika, "State Housing," 255.
99 Alecou, *Communism and Nationalism in Postwar Cyprus,* 33, 125.
100 Tselika, "State Housing," 244.
101 Yiannos Katsourides, "'Couch Activism' and the Individualisation of Political Demands: Political Behaviour in Contemporary Cypriot Society," *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 21, no. 1 (2013): 100, https://doi.org/10.1080/14782804.2013.766478.
102 Ibid.
103 Tselika, "State Housing," 247.



Χαραυγή 3η ΣΕΛΙΔΑ

Χώροι και ώρες εκκίνησης για το Πανδημοκρατικό Συλλαλητήριο

Από τη Δημοκρατική Συνεργασία ανακοινώθηκαν χθες οι ακόλουθες διευθετήσεις για τις εκκινήσεις λεωφορείων για το Πανδημοκρατικό Συλλαλητήριο της ερχόμενης Κυριακής:

ΛΕΥΚΩΣΙΑ, ώρα εκκίνησης 9.30 π.μ.

Για την περιοχή που καλύπτει το σχέδιο αστικών λεωφορείων Λευκωσίας διευκρινίζεται ότι από τις 9.30 π.μ. τα λεωφορεία θα μεταφέρουν τον κόσμο από τις υφιστάμενες στάσεις στον χώρο του συλλαλητηρίου.

Εκτός από την πιο πάνω διευθέτηση υπογραμμίζεται ότι ειδικά λεωφορεία θα εκκινήσουν από τους πιο κάτω χώρους:

ΚΑΪΜΑΚΛΙ
«ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ» Β. Πόλου, 9.45 π.μ.
Παλαιόν Λαϊκόν Καφεκοπτείον, 10 π.μ.
«ΠΡΟΟΔΟΣ» Καϊμακλίου, 10 π.μ.
Οίκημα ΔΗΚΟ.

ΠΑΛΛΟΥΡΙΩΤΙΣΣΑ
Καφενείο Συνοικισμού «ΑΓ. ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ», 9.45 π.μ.
Συνοικισμός «Αγ. Βαρβάρας», 9.45 π.μ.
Καφενείο Συνοικισμού «Αγ. Νικόλα», 9.45 π.μ.
ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΟΝ – Περίπτερον Κλεόπα, 9.45 π.μ.
Μορφωτικός Σύλλογος «Αναγέννηση», 10 π.μ.
Υπεραγορά ΣΕΚΑΛ, 10 π.μ.

ΑΓΛΑΝΤΖΙΑ
Τριγωνάκι, 9.45 π.μ.
Σύλλογος «ΑΤΛΑΣ», 10 π.μ.
Καφενείο Πολίτη, 9.45 π.μ.
Οίκημα ΔΗΚΟ, 10 π.μ.

ΣΥΝΟΙΚΙΣΜΟΣ ΠΛΑΤΥ - ΑΘΑΛΑΣΣΑΣ
Πλατεία Συνοικισμού «ΠΛΑΤΥ», 9.45 π.μ.
Συνοικισμός «ΑΘΑΛΑΣΣΑΣ», 9.45 π.μ.

ΑΚΡΟΠΟΛΗ
Οδός Καβάζογλου & Μισιαούλη, 10 π.μ.

ΔΑΣΟΥΠΟΛΗ
Καφενείο Μαλτά – Λεωφόρος Αθαλάσσας, 10 π.μ.

ΣΤΡΟΒΟΛΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΟΙΚΙΣΜΟΣ ΚΟΚΚΙΝΕΣ
Στις στάσεις των αστικών λεωφορείων, 10 π.μ.

ΣΥΝΟΙΚΙΣΜΟΣ ΣΤΡΟΒΟΛΟΣ 2
Πλατεία Συνοικισμού, 9.45 π.μ.

ΣΥΝΟΙΚΙΣΜΟΣ ΣΤΡΟΒΟΛΟΣ 3
Πλατεία Καφετηρίας, 9.45 π.μ.

ΕΓΚΩΜΗ
Δημοτικό Σχολείο Παρισινού, 9.45 π.μ.
Ιερατική Σχολή (Καφενείο), 9.45 π.μ.
Μορφωτικός Σύλλογος Έγκωμης, 9.45 π.μ.
Δημοτικό Σχολείο Έγκωμης, 10 π.μ.

ΑΓ. ΔΟΜΕΤΙΟΣ
Σύλλογος ΕΑΣ, 10 π.μ.
Καφενείο Παράσχου, 10 π.μ.
Οίκημα ΔΗΚΟ, 10 π.μ.
Πάνω Λακατάμια: Οίκημα Λαϊκών Οργανώσεων και σωματείο «Πρόοδος» Αγ. Γεωργίου από τις 9 π.μ.
Συνοικισμός Λατσιών, 9.30 π.μ.
Γέρι, 9.30 π.μ.
Τσέρι, 9.30 π.μ.
Αναλυόντας, 9.30 π.μ.
Άγιος Μάμας, 9.30 π.μ.

ΣΥΝΟΙΚΙΣΜΟΣ ΑΝΘΟΥΠΟΛΗΣ
Πλατεία συνοικισμού, ώρα 10 π.μ.

ΠΕΡΙΟΧΗ ΠΑΡΙΣΙΝΟΥ
Έναντι στρατοπέδου Εθνικής Φρουράς ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΥ (περιοχή 60 σκάλες)
Εκκλησία Χρυσελεούσης (δίπλα στην εκκλησία)
Ηλεκτρική Τσερίου (δίπλα στο σταθμό)
Περιοχή Καυκάλας (δίπλα στο παλαιό Ταχυδρομείο)
Περιοχή ΔΗΚΟ Στροβόλου (έναντι του οικήματος)
Πέψι - Κόλα (έναντι ΑΕΚ)
Συνοικισμός Κόκκινες, Πλατεία συνοικισμού Αρχάγγελος

ΛΕΜΕΣΟΣ, (ώρα εκκίνησης 8 - 8.30 π.μ.)

Συνοικισμός Αγ. Ιωάννου (πλατεία
Μονοβόλικος ΑΕΜ
Χαρουπόμυλος
Σύλλογος Σπαρτιάτης
Σύλλογος ΑΜΕΟΛ
Σύλλογος ΔΗΚΟ Αγ. Σπυρίδωνος
Σύλλογος ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ
Σύλλογος ΑΕΖ Ζακακίου
Σύλλογος ΑΕΤΟΣ
Σύλλογος Ανδρέα Χριστοφίδη
Λέσχη ΠΡΟΟΔΟΣ
Πολυκατοικίες Αγ. Ιωάννου
Σύλλογος ΔΟΞΑ Πολεμιδιών
Συνοικισμός Αγ. Νικολάου
Σύλλογος ΔΗΚΟ Κ. Πολεμιδιών
Πολιτιστικό Κέντρο Καρμιώτισσα
Καταυλισμός Πολεμιδιών
Συνοικισμός Μακαρίου Γ΄
Συνοικισμός Αυτοστέγαση Αγ. Φύλας
Αγία Φύλα (πλατεία)
Συνοικισμός Καψάλου
Σύλλογος ΑΜΕΚ
Ακρίτας Καψάλου
Ακρόπολη
ΠΕΟ
Σύλλογος ΑΕΚ Κοντοβάθκια
Γραφεία ΔΗΚΟ
Σύλλογος ΑΝΟΔΟΣ
Μέσα Γειτονιά – Πλατεία Εκκλησίας
Σύλλογος ΑΠΕΝ Αγ. Αθανασίου
Συνοικισμός Αγ. Αθανασίου Πλατεία
Πλατεία Συνοικισμού Λινόπετρας
Σύλλογος ΟΛΥΜΠΟΣ
Εκκλησία Αγ. Νικολάου
Εθνικός Αγ. Νικολάου
Γερμασόγεια Πλατεία
Συνεργατικό Ποταμός Γερμασόγειας
Αγ. Γεώργιος Χαβούζας - Σύλλογος ΑΕΛ
Τουρκοκυπριακή Συνοικία: Από Αναγέννηση - Μακάριος Γ΄
Εκκλησία Καθολική

ΠΑΦΟΣ (ώρα εκκίνησης 6.30 - 7 π.μ.)

Μούτταλος Πλατεία
Γραφεία ΔΗΚΟ
Οίκημα ΑΚΕΛ
Πλατεία Δημαρχείου

ΛΑΡΝΑΚΑ (ώρα εκκίνησης 9.00 π.μ.)

Γραφεία ΔΗΚΟ
Πλατεία ΑΛΚΗ
Σταυροδρόμι
Καφενείο Πούλου
Πλατεία Αγ. Λαζάρου
Σύλλογος ΑΠΟΠ Προδρόμου
Σύλλογος ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΑΣ
Σύλλογος ΑΜΟΛ
Σύλλογος ΑΝΑΓΕΝΝΗΣΗ Αγ. Ιωάννης

ΠΡΟΣΦΥΓΙΚΟΙ ΣΥΝΟΙΚΙΣΜΟΙ ΛΑΡΝΑΚΑΣ (ώρα εκκίνησης 9-9.30 π.μ.)
-Τουρκική συνοικία Σκάλας, Καφενείο «ΜΕΣΑΟΡΙΑ»
-Τουρκική συνοικία Λάρνακας, Σύλλογος «Ατρόμητος» και πλατεία
-Καμάρες Α-Β, Καφενεία του Συνοικισμού
-Τσιακκιλερό, Καφενεία του Συνοικισμού
-Κόκκινες, Καφενεία του Συνοικισμού
-Άγιοι Ανάργυροι Α-Β, Καφενεία των Συνοικισμών

Χώροι στάθμευσης λεωφορείων στην Λευκωσία

α) Περιοχή Ακακίου, Μαραθάσας κλπ. Στους χώρους γύρω από την Πλατεία Σολωμού, Τηλεγραφείου, Μουσείου κλπ.

β) Επαρχία Πάφου και Λεμεσού: Περιοχή ΠΑΣΥΔΥ, Κυβερνητικών Γραφείων, ΓΣΠ κλπ.

γ) Επαρχία Λάρνακας και Αμμοχώστου: Στους χώρους της τάφρου παρά το ΟΧΙ, Ελένειο, οδός Μακαρίου κλπ.

δ) Η επαρχία Λευκωσίας: Στους ίδιους χώρους ανάλογα με την κατεύθυνση των περιοχών.

*Haravg*i newspaper clipping from 27 Nov 1982 detailing buses to central rally.
16 estates across the Republic of Cyprus are included in the bus routes.
Article from Press and Information Office of the Republic of Cyprus.

Smaller rallies were held on the estates, however there were limits to who could organize within them. In May 1981, the right wing DISI party attempted to hold a rally at the Anthoupoli estate in Lefkosia, addressed by Glafkos Clerides, a liberal right-wing politician who had served as interim president of the Republic in 1974 during the war and who was elected to two five-year presidency terms in 1993 and 1998. Clerides was booed and his followers were chased off the estate, as EDEK aligned newspaper *Anexartitos* reported. Riot police had to intervene, while the residents of the estates called the right-wing supporters “fascists” and “traitors.” The same newspaper reports on the difficulties EDEK faced in carrying out propaganda on the estates. In April 1981, it lamented the tearing down of political posters. In January 1983, noting that usually there is only one coffee shop per estate, *Anexartitos* condemned the banning of speeches supporting EDEK-backed candidates in elections. According to *Anexartitos*, PEP, the Pancyprian Committee of Refugees, was responsible, implying that the Committee was aligned with AKEL. It also suggested that PEP and its political leadership employed thuggish tactics to sow fear. *Anexartitos* suggested collusion between PEP and the government for political control over the estates. PEP did have AKEL ties, with key members such as its co-founder Christos Kourtellaris, who served as MP between 1970 and 1991, belonging to the party, and consistently lobbied for the interests of displaced communities and estate residents. Another member of the Committee, Hambis Michaelides, penned an article published in the left-wing newspaper *Haravgi* in May 1981, explaining why the “προσφυγιά” (*prosfygia*, colloquial term for refugee communities) would vote for AKEL. It is perhaps more of a call to do so than an explanation. The reasoning focused on the fact that AKEL would contribute to a political solution benefiting refugees, the important role AKEL played in PEP, the lobbying of AKEL MPs in parliament for issues such as housing and taxation assistance, alongside a deconstruction of right-wing rhetoric around refugees.

Ανεπιθύμητος είναι ο Κληρίδης σε προσφυγικούς συνοικισμούς

Γιουχαΐζεται και προκαλεί επεισόδεια

Την άγρια αποδοκιμασία των προσφύγων του συνοικισμού της Ανθούπολης συνάντησε προχτές βράδυ ο πρόεδρος του ΔΗΣΥ κ. Γλ. Κληρίδης, ενώ χρειάστηκε να επέμβουν άνδρες των ΜΜΑΔ για να κατασπείλουν τα επεισόδια που σημειώθηκαν και να αποτρέψουν σοβαρή συμπλοκή, που απειλήθηκε μεταξύ των οπαδών του ΔΗΣΥ και των προσφύγων του ρεύσε να συγκρατήσει την ταραχή-του από την «υποδοχή» που συνάντησε μίλησε μέσα σ' ένα πραγματικό πανδαιμόνιο που δημιουργήσαν οι άγριες αντεγκλήσεις και τα γιουχαΐσματα μεταξύ των «κουβαλητών» οπαδών του και των προσφύγων του συνοικισμού.

Οι αποδοκιμασίες των προσφύγων κορυφώθηκαν, όταν στο τέλος της ομιλίας-του ο κ. Κληρίδης και οι οπαδοί-του άρχισαν να τραγουδούν τον «Εθνικό Ύμνο» διασύροντας τα εθνικά σύμβολα, στα πλαίσια της τακτικής της ψηφοθηρίας.

Στη πρόκληση αυτή οι πρόσφυγες απάντησαν με γιουχαΐσματα και συνθήματα όπως: «Είσαστε φασίστες», «Έξω οι προδότες», «Κληρίδη μ... ήρθα με για πλάκα».

Στο τόπο των επεισοδίων κατέφθασον ο Αστυνομικός Διευθυντής Λευκωσίας κ. Νίκος Θρασυβούλου και ο Διοικητής της ΜΜΑΔ κύριος Παπακώστας, οι οποίοι κατέβαλαν επίμονες προσπάθειες για την επιβολή της τάξης και τη διάλυση των συγκεντρωθέντων.

Ωστόσο, οι αστυνομικοί παρέμειναν στην περιοχή μέχρι αργά το βράδυ για επιτήρηση.

Anexartitos newspaper clipping from 16 May 1981.
Title: "Clerides is unwanted on refugee estates: He is booed and causes scuffles."
Article from Press and Information Office of the Republic of Cyprus.

χάραυγή — ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ, 10 ΜΑΙΟΥ 1981

ΓΙΑΤΙ Η ΠΡΟΣΦΥΓΙΑ ΘΑ ΨΗΦΙΣΕΙ ΑΚΕΛ-ΑΡΙΣΤΕΡΑ

Του ΧΑΜΠΗ ΜΙΧΑΗΛΙΔΗ, Γ.Γ. της ΕΚΑ, μέλους της ΠΕΠ

ΟΧΙ ΣΤΟ ΞΕΣΤΡΑΤΙΣΜΑ

Η ΕΝΟΤΗΤΑ ΤΟ ΙΣΧΥΡΟΤΕΡΟ ΟΠΛΟ

ΟΙ ΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΕΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΚΕΛ ΠΡΩΤΟΣΤΑΤΗΣΑΝ

Η ΠΡΟΣΦΥΓΙΑ ΘΑ ΨΗΦΙΣΕΙ ΑΚΕΛ — ΑΡΙΣΤΕΡΑ

Haravgi newspaper clipping from 10 May 1981: "Why the Refugees will vote AKEL-left."
Article from Press and Information Office of the Republic of Cyprus.

What is clear is that the Left, primarily AKEL, was very active on the estates, and many residents were involved in its political processes. Residents participated in rallies, conferences and meetings were held, and issues were raised in the parliament. PEO, the labor union affiliated with AKEL, had even built clubs within estates with the help of the residents. Potential collusion between government and AKEL regarding the political representation of the estates, as reported by the disgruntled journalists of *Anexartitos*, is not far-fetched. DIKO's Kyprianou was elected in 1983 with the support of AKEL, the larger of the two parties. When AKEL supported Vasiliou in the 1988 election, Kyprianou lost and Vasiliou was elected. In the period after 1974, AKEL managed to rally support and perform well in mainstream politics and elections, encouraged by the fact that the political Right was discredited in the years following 1974.[104] The

104 Peristianis, "Cypriot Nationalism, Dual Identity," 104.

hypothesis is that AKEL's organizing on the estates was permitted or even encouraged, provided this did not turn against the government coalition that it was part of. This cannot be empirically proven but is drawn from a critical analysis of the archival material and a reading of the political context, in line with the consensus-based politics in the aftermath of 1974. The political institutions of the Republic of Cyprus promoted unity in the face of national emergency and, to some extent, continue to do so. Scholars have noted how this consensual trend in Cypriot politics obstructs protest.[105] The global tendency of left-wing politics, expressed through the official labor movement, to play a positive role in capitalist development, has also been discussed.[106]

ΠΛΑΤΙΕΣ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΕΣ ΓΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΑΝΕΓΕΡΣΗ ΟΙΚΗΜΑΤΩΝ ΠΕΟ ΣΕ ΠΡΟΣΦ. ΟΙΚΙΣΜΟΥΣ

Δεκάδες εργαζόμενοι προσφέρουν εθελοντική εργασία

Το Τ.Σ. ΠΕΟ Λευκωσίας ανακοίνωσε ότι στους χώρους που παραχώρησε το υπουργείο Εσωτερικών για την ανέγερση συντεχνιακών οικημάτων άρχισε η προπαρασκευαστική εργασία. Στους προσφυγικούς οικισμούς Ανθούπολης, Κοκκίνων Στροβόλου, Στροβόλου ΙΙ, Στροβόλου ΙΙΙ και Λατσιών έχουν εκλεγεί πλατιές επιτροπές, που σε συνεργασία με το Τμηματικό Συμβούλιο ΠΕΟ Λευκωσίας παίρνουν όλα τα πρακτικά μέτρα για την οικοδόμηση των Γραφείων της ΠΕΟ.

Τα σχέδια των οικημάτων ετοίμασε το Τμήμα Πολεοδομίας και προνοούν αίθουσα συγκεντρώσεων, δύο γραφεία, σκηνές για θεατρικές και πολιτιστικές εκδηλώσεις, κουζίνα κλπ.

Η ανέγερση των οικημάτων στους πιο πάνω οικισμούς θα κοστίσουν περί τις £60 χιλιάδες και θα γίνουν με εθελοντική εργασία. Η δαπάνη θα καλυφθεί από έκτακτους εράνους των εργαζομένων του κάθε ενδιαφερομένου οικισμού και από εισφορές που θα δοθούν από την ΠΕΟ και τις συντεχνίες της. Ήδη το λαϊκό κίνημα του προσφυγικού οικισμού Ανθούπολης με μεγάλο ενθουσιασμό και με επικεφαλής την τεχνική του επιτροπή έχει ολοκληρώσει τη θεμελίωση του οικήματος.

Σύμφωνα με τα στοιχεία του μητρώου εθελοντικής εργασίας 30 περίπου τεχνίτες και εργάτες κατά το περασμένο Σαββατοκύριακο πρόσφεραν εθελοντικά την δουλιά τους, η αξία της οποίας έφτασε τις £250. Αναμένεται ότι κατά τη διάρκεια των προσεχών δυο εβδομάδων του Νιόβρη θα αρχίσει η οικοδόμηση και στους άλλους οικισμούς. Στη φωτογραφία μας, στιγμιότυπο από τις εργασίες για την ανέγερση του οικήματος στην Ανθούπολη.

Haravgi newspaper clipping from 11 May 1982: "Broad coalitions for constructing clubs of PEO on refugee estates." Strovolos II is among the estates included.
Article from Press and Information Office of the Republic of Cyprus.

Another aspect of the estates' position vis a vis politics is their symbolic value in both local and international politics. The press of the time is full of references to visits by local politicians of all levels as well as foreign diplomats. In fact, it seems that the estates were just a part of the tour for anyone coming from abroad. This could be understood as an attempt by the Republic of Cyprus to strengthen its position in international politics by displaying its victimhood and thereby rallying support from other countries. Urban legend has it that the initial delay in the construction of the estates was linked to a political decision to have the temporary encampments, which after a point housed mostly the marginalized poor of the displaced communities, on display as part of the Republic's narrative.

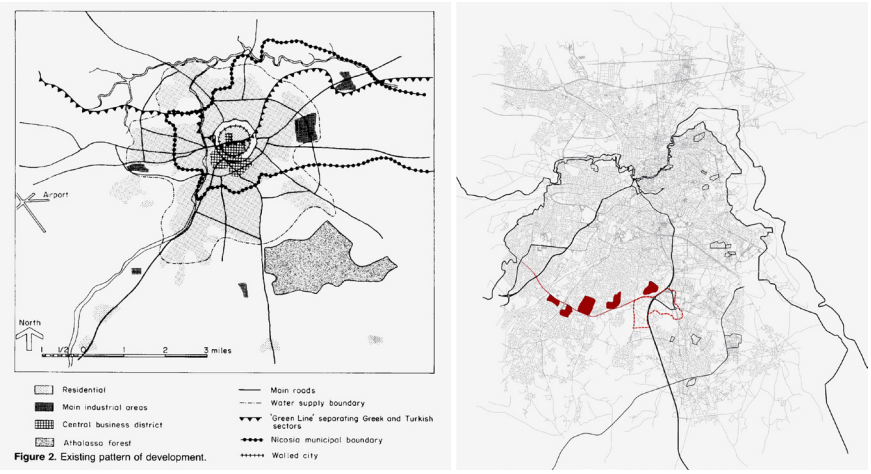
105 Giorgos Charalambous and Gregoris Ioannou, "Party Systems, Party-Society Linkages, and Contentious Acts: Cyprus in a Comparative, Southern European Perspective," *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 22, no. 1 (2017): 104–105, https://doi.org/10.17813/1086-671x-22-1-97.

106 Endnotes, "A History of Separation," *Endnotes, October* 2015, https://www.endnotes.org.uk/issues/issue-4.

The estates are "ethnically charged spaces," as their use by politicians as a reminder of war and trauma re-affirms both collective memory and national identity.[107] This connection to national identity is well-represented by the choice of street names for the estates, combining religious, historical, and political elements that allude to a national identity as it shifted due to the political weakening of the Right. Hellenocentric and religious symbolisms are clear, but there are also references to the ideals of democracy, freedom, and resistance.

PAYING CLOSE ATTENTION: A REPORT ON STROVOLOS II

The Strovolos II estate, designed by the Cyprus Architects and Engineers Cooperative (CAEC), was one of the first to be completed. It belongs to the first phase of the estates project, where large, higher density estates were built to house those most in need. It was built on what was then southern edge of Lefkosia, the divided capital city. Since its construction, its wider context has been integrated into the urban core, as the UN Buffer Zone to the north has pushed the city's expansion southwards. The placement of the Strovolos II estate is indicative of the wider strategy: it functions as a satellite to the city, situated near a peripheral industrial area and connected to the center by high-traffic roads. The traffic and distance would make the trip unfavorable for pedestrians.



Left: Map included in 1985 article City Profile: Nicosia by Roger Zetter.
Right: City plan showing the current condition with Strovolos housing estates in red and industrial zone with dotted outline, drawn by Eirini Gregoriou as part of her 2024 diploma project at the University of Cyprus, modified by authors.

The document *Strovolos II Housing Development: Case Study by the Republic of Cyprus* was prepared in October 1977 by the Department of Town Planning and Housing of the Ministry of Interior. It was presented at the eighth meeting of the Group of Experts on Housing, Building, and Planning Problems and Policies in the Countries of Southern Europe, part of the UN Economic Commission Europe's Committee on Housing, Building, and Planning. We located it on the shelves of the Town Planning and Housing's library, in an inconspicuous stack of UN-related reports. It is doubtful that its authors would have believed anyone would complete

107 Tselika, "State Housing," 247.

an analysis as thorough as that below. The version we perused is in A4 format, and it is spiral bound. We are unsure if this is a later reproduction or a first printing. The report is a one-of-a-kind, lucid, and transparent outline of the Strovolos II project, one of the first housing estates to be completed, from the perspective of governance. It is a particularly interesting document, somewhere between a bureaucratic report and a press exposé on an architectural project. Given the bilateral aid coming into the Republic of Cyprus to support the construction of the estates, it is reasonable to assume that the authors of the report wanted to present a positive outcome. It contains six pages of written descriptions and reflections, six pages of drawings—all signed by CAEC apart from the city-wide plan which includes plans of the estate's housing typologies—and finally six large photographs in landscape orientation, occupying a full page each. The report is organized in sequential blocks of material, as described. There is no interaction between text and visual material or between drawings and photographs. There is also no reference in the written segment to any of the drawings or photographs. This hierarchy of organization implies the perceived importance of the various aspects of the project: first, the technocratic logic of management; second, the efficiency of design and construction; and third, the everyday life of the buildings and their inhabitants. It also implies a division of labor between bureaucracy and construction. The material is examined in the sequence in which it is presented.

ΖΗΤΟΥΝΤΑΙ ΕΡΓΑΤΡΙΑΙ

Ὑπὸ τῆς Ἑταιρείας Στρωμάτων ΓΕΒΟΡΕΣΤ ΛΤΔ

Ζητοῦνται ἐργάτριαι εἰδικευμέναι καὶ μή, διὰ τὸ νέον ἐργοστάσιον στὴ νέα Βιομηχανικὴ περιοχὴ Λευκωσίας (Στροβόλου).

Πολὺ καλὴ εὐκαιρία ἐργασίας διὰ ἐργάτριες ποὺ διαμένουν εἰς τοὺς παρακειμένους προσφυγικοὺς συνοικισμούς.

Μισθὸς πολὺ ἱκανοποιητικὸς καὶ ἄλλα ὠφελήματα.

Οἱ ἐνδιαφερόμενες δέον ὅπως ἀποτείνωνται προσωπικῶς εἰς τὸν διευθυντὴν τῆς Ἑταιρείας:

Κύριον,
ΧΡΙΣΤΑΚΗ ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ
Νέα Βιομηχανικὴ Λευκωσίας (Στροβόλου)
Τηλ. 26522,
μεταξὺ τῶν ὡρῶν 8 π.μ. καὶ 5 μ.μ.

Clipping from *Haravgi,* 25 Aug 1978. Title: "Workers wanted." Workers is in the female conjugation. Gevorest, a company making mattresses located in the Strovolos industrial area, ran a targeted ad for displaced women. The ad explicitly mentions this is an opportunity for women residing in the nearby estates.
Article from Press and Information Office of the Republic of Cyprus

The written part of the report is divided into seven sections: introduction, types of housing units, infrastructure and open spaces, central functions, the people accommodated, envisaged problems, and state of completion. We are informed that government officials with backgrounds in different disciplines, including architecture, engineering, town planning, economics, sociology, and housing management were involved in selecting the appropriate site for what can be perhaps considered a pilot project.[108] The factors that influenced this decision were the price of land, the cost of infrastructural provision, the availability of services within reasonable distance, and, last but certainly not least, the employment opportunities

108 Department of Town Planning & Housing, *Strovolos II Housing Development: Case Study by the Republic of Cyprus* (UN Economic Commission for Europe, Committee on Housing, Building and Planning, 1977), 1.

near the site.[109] The chosen area was near an existing industrial estate and a secondary school, and an additional parcel of land was acquired by the government to construct an elementary school.[110] Construction began in February 1976 and was concluded in July 1977.[111] Strovolos II, together with the other early estates, were designated to accommodate the most destitute of the displaced, still living in tents and sheds three years after the war. In line with the prevalent rhetoric of the time, the report on Strovolos II mentions that the families would be "temporarily accommodated in these houses until a permanent solution to the Cyprus problem can be reached, in which case they may return to their homes in the presently occupied areas."[112] The report discusses the collaboration between the Department of Town Planning and Housing which delivered the estates, and a "group of private architects and engineers"—CAEC.[113] The priorities of the design were cost efficiency, the provision of services and amenities, availability of open space, safety of movement, and the aesthetic appearance of the buildings, while pedestrian and vehicular traffic were organized separately as much as possible.[114] Six domestic typologies are seen throughout the estate:

1. The one-story, two-bedroom terraced house, 80 m^2 (Type A, 111 units)
2. The two-story, two-bedroom terraced house, 81 m2 (Type B1 and B2, 242 units)
3. The two-story, three-bedroom terraced house, 102 m2 (Type B, 154 units)
4. The one-bedroom flat, 50 m2 (24 units)
5. The two-bedroom flat, 70 m2 (124 units)
6. The three-bedroom flat, 97 m2 (50 units)

The flats are housed in blocks of Type C and Type D, both of which are three-story buildings. Type D has two variations, with its ground floor having either four apartments or six shops. The report outlines the spatial logic of these typologies, with distinct entrance halls, dining-sitting rooms, and kitchens, while mentioning that the houses were designed so that future extensions could be made.[115] The construction standard of the units is appraised as "fairly high,"[116] but it is admitted that they are not of equal standard to privately constructed houses in terms of size, materials and fittings.[117] The estate was considerably denser than the wider urban fabric of Lefkosia, while the density of occupation was at 1.16 persons-per-room, significantly higher than the average of 0.7 persons-per-room for Lefkosia.[118] Services such as a small clinic, a new elementary school, and seventeen shops (including grocery shops, butchers, barbers and hair salons, cafés) were constructed alongside the housing to accommodate everyday necessities, while it is noted that for more specialized needs the inhabitants could visit the city center.[119] The report makes a special mention regarding the community center built at the eastern entrance to the estate, noting that it is a multifunctional building that would bring together the inhabitants of the estate, an initiative of planning and welfare authorities in order to address the social and psychological problems in the aftermath of the war.[120] This is in conjunction with the more traditional locus of so-

109 Ibid.
110 Ibid.
111 Ibid.
112 Ibid., 2.
113 Ibid.
114 Ibid.
115 Ibid.
116 Ibid., 3.
117 Ibid.
118 Ibid., 5.
119 Ibid., 3–4.
120 Ibid., 4.

cialization, the *syllogos*, a male-coded and usually politically aligned coffee shop. Certain functions described in the original plan were never built.

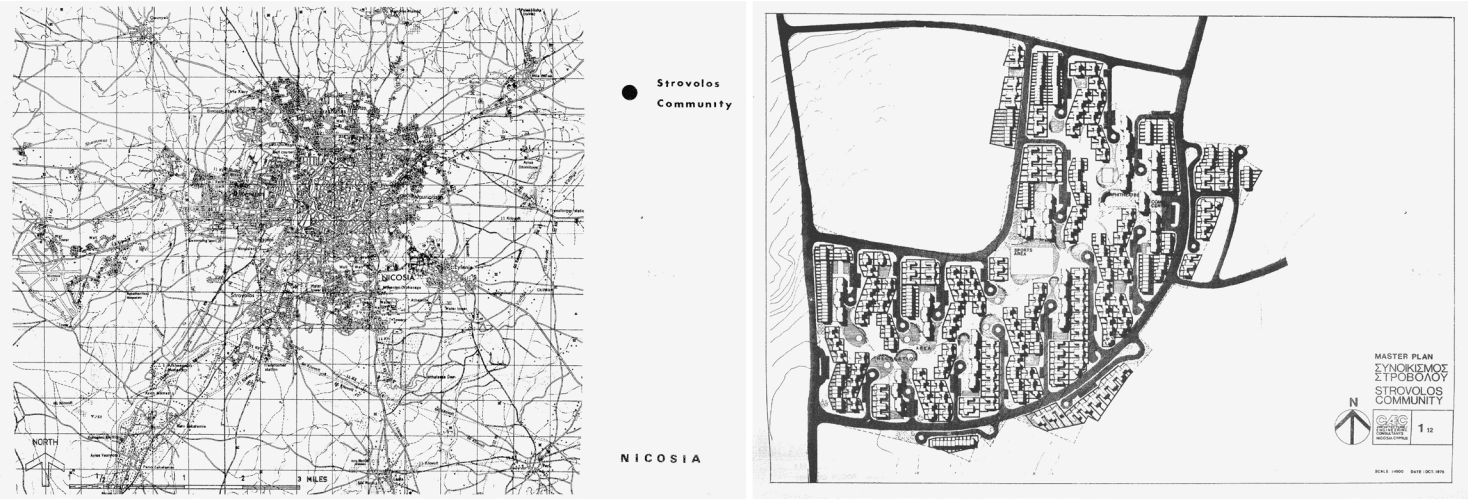
The report also discusses the people housed in the estate, exclusively made up of displaced *families*. "These families constitute possibly the weakest section of the displaced population" due to their economic difficulties.[121] According to the report, 95% of those re-housed in Strovolos II were originally from rural areas.[122] From this overwhelming majority, over [20] percent, "particularly the elderly," were formerly working in agriculture and were employed either as "unskilled" manual workers or were unemployed.[123] Many of the other inhabitants fall under the "skilled and semi-skilled" categories of manual work.[124] As the report highlights, the absence of "white collar workers" is a "striking characteristic," as the estate is "inhabited by purely working-class people."[125] Of course, this technocratic understanding of class is far from precise; however, it is insightful as to the expected function of both the estate and its inhabitants. In terms of family size, the average family re-housed in Strovolos II was 4.94 persons, substantially higher than the average family size at the time, which was just under four persons.[126] This difference is explained due to the fact that "the proportion of extended families is higher and, also, working class families are larger in size than those of the upper social classes."[127] The report mentions that the units are offered free of rent, however it also notes that nominal rent could be charged in the future to cover maintenance costs, or that the houses could be sold to residents unable to return to their original homes.[128]

The report continues by speculating on potential issues that could arise within the estate. The "unbalanced" structure (entirely working class) of the community is mentioned as a potential root of social problems.[129] The lack of "natural leaders" that could encourage social interaction and cohesion, as well as the potential of the estate being isolated or labeled as a "refugee ghetto" are also mentioned, which could interfere with the assimilation of the inhabitants into the wider social fabric.[130] The report concludes with some comments on the level of completion of the project. At the time of writing in October 1977, Strovolos II was still under construction, yet the estate already housed 3,486 inhabitants.[131] Roads and pavements were not fully complete, and the report mentions that construction of various elements such as paths, play spaces, and landscaping was expected to begin soon.[132] The reasoning behind this was that housing the displaced persons was the biggest priority, so the actual housing was the first to be finalized.[133] The report also mentions an amphitheater, which in the plan is located behind the community center and which was never constructed.[134]

The written report is followed by the drawings. The first of these is a city plan of Lefkosia, also displaying the north of the city, de facto no longer under Republic of Cyprus control. In contemporary maps the north of the city and of the island is seldom displayed in official documents. The legend to the right erroneously tells us that the estate is marked on the plan with a black dot. The black dot was not, in fact, drawn. This is followed by a site plan of the estate, a presentation drawing. The estate is represented through a roof plan with 45-degree shadows facing south-

121 Ibid., 4.
122 Ibid.
123 Ibid., 4–5.
124 Ibid., 5.
125 Ibid.
126 Ibid.
127 Ibid.
128 Ibid.
129 Ibid., 5–6.
130 Ibid., 6.
131 Ibid., 5.
132 Ibid., 6.
133 Ibid.
134 Ibid.

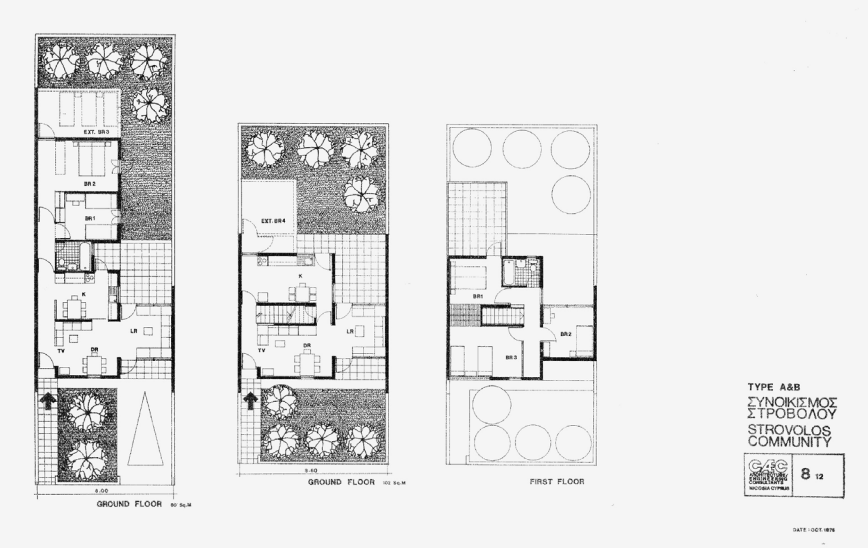
east—a physical impossibility. The plan is drawn to 1:1000 and dated to October 1975. In contrast to the construction drawings accessed via the Department of Town Planning and Housing, here we see no diagrammatic reference to the building types. Hatches are used sparingly, and there is no annotation other than four spaces which are labeled: the community center, the amphitheater (which was never built), a large space marked 'sports area,' which is occupied by a large church in reality, and a 'recreation area.' Buildings are arranged in linear and staggered formations, around a number of culs-de-sac for vehicular traffic, which are usually combined with tangential parking spaces. The culs-de-sac connect the buildings to the road that runs around the estate and marks its limits. Some small building arrangements belonging to the estate are positioned on the other side of the road. Generosity in regard to communal spaces is immediately legible, as the limits of gardens and outdoor spaces belonging to individual houses and apartment blocks are clearly delineated. Large amounts of space remain empty and without apparent use.



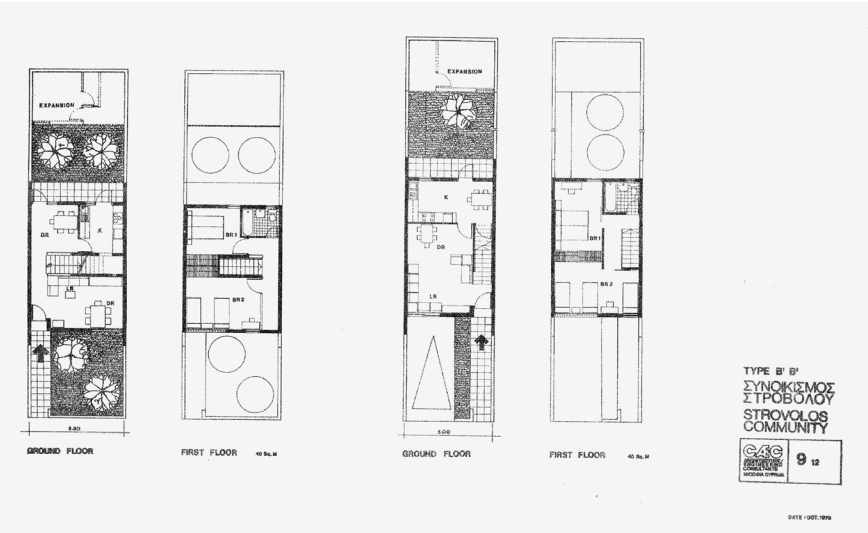
Left: City plan of Lefkosia. Author unknown.
Right: Neighborhood plan of the Strovolos II estate, 1975. Drawn by CAEC.

The architectural drawings of the typologies in the next pages are also of presentation standard: there are (almost) no dimensions, the structural system is concealed in poché, while the prescribed functions of rooms are noted in text—LR for living room, DR for dining room, K for kitchen, and BR1, BR2, BR3 for bedrooms. The drawings are sharp, with detailed, hand-drawn hatches and trees. Potential extensions are shown by dotted lines and are either assumed to be bedrooms attached to the main house, marked with EXT. BR, or marked EXPANSION on the edge of the plot, most likely to offer storage or workspace. The following reading of the housing typologies approaches architectural drawings (and architecture) as instruments in the production of social relations, as active moments in the process of class composition rather than neutral technical solutions or aesthetic outputs. As outlined, class composition entails the technical organization of labor, the social forms through which labor power is reproduced, and the political forms it chooses to express its demands. The typological operations observed in these drawings (standardization, repetition, spatial segmentation), alongside the calibration of domestic units, are thus read as a top-down attempt to reorganize everyday life in accord with the needs of a rapidly transforming capitalist economy. The spatial arrangements proposed by the drawings are active components of disciplining labor power, structuring the rhythm of social reproduction, and enforcing the nuclear family structure and gendered division of labor. The drawings and the project do not just resolve the housing shortage. They

contribute to the recomposition of a displaced population into an urban working class through a historically specific subject: the displaced dweller, a figure followed by emotionally and politically heavy connotations of both temporality and permanence. Of course, this frames the top-down production of space. The displaced residents have the final say in both their social reproduction and in the process of class composition: their everyday practices of care and repair are key moments of this.[135]



Types A&B. Drawn by CAEC.



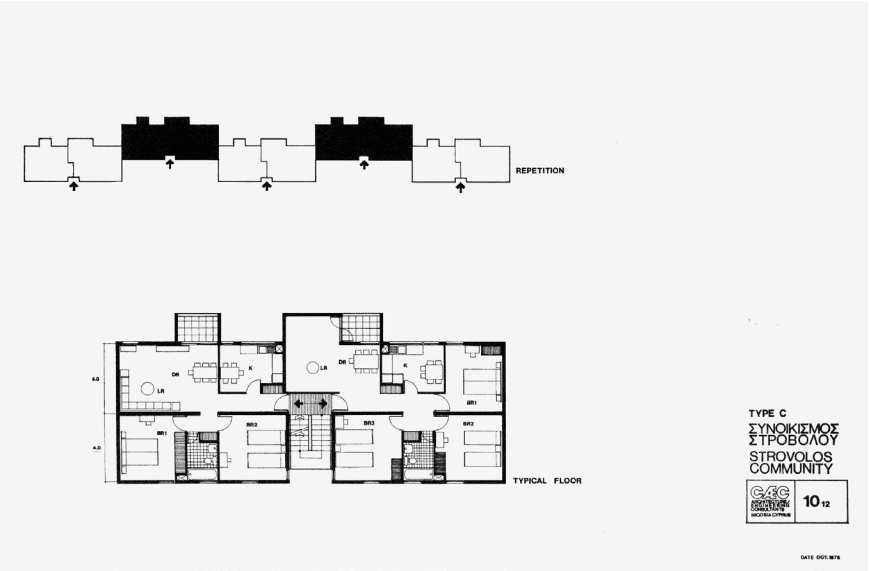
Types B1, B2. Drawn by CAEC.

The three house typologies follow a similar logic: access filtered through front gardens, while back gardens border either another's back garden or empty, communal space. The report calls the houses 'terraced'; however, their frontages are more stepped back from the street than one would expect under that term. Type A is a one-story linear structure with two bedrooms, organized along a long corridor. Upon entering, the spaces are sequentially distributed, with TV/dining room, kitchen, bathroom,

135 Konstantinos Avramidis, "Taking Care of Refugee Estates, Refugee Estates of Care: Design Scenarios in Nicosia," in *Mess of a Planet: Theorising Terrestrial Politics,* ed. Andrea Mubi Brighenti, Anna Gonin, and Martin Kärrholm (Edward Elgar, forthcoming).

and two bedrooms arranged in that order. The linearity is broken only by the living room protruding from the rest of the structure, which frames a private veranda that connects also to the kitchen. This typology was deployed in mirrored, continuous arrangements, which are sometimes very slightly staggered. A closer reading of Type A's plan highlights its spatial but also representational linearity. The drawing represents the typology in a way that prioritizes a linear sequence of movement and use, reinforced visually by the sequential path which directs the eye along a clear sequence from entrance to bedrooms. The corridor is the primary ordering device, maintaining a consistent and economic width equivalent to the door frame, strictly cementing its role as a circulation space. Most rooms are designed with roughly equal dimensions, with minor differences in size between living room, kitchen and bedrooms. This reads as a domestic hierarchy that has been somewhat flattened, articulated by the ordering and positioning of spaces rather than by their scale. The semi-segregated kitchen is placed at the heart of the house, maintaining a connection both with the private veranda and with the living and dining room. This connects to the gendered labor it was expected host. The protruding living room stands out, both due to its position but also due to its permeability both visually and in terms of movement, connecting the public-facing veranda and the private veranda. Furniture placement hints at hierarchies of use, as well as to expected density, with little residual space. Privacy is achieved primarily through sequencing. The drawing constructs a domestic and visual order demonstrating efficiency of movement, density, and generic spatial qualities, allowing for various inhabitations and adaptations by future residents.

Type B is a two-story house with three bedrooms. The living room operates in a similar way to that of Type A, and the ground floor is dedicated to family uses while the first floor is composed of the separate bedrooms. Only one bathroom is provided, on the first floor. It appears as if the bedrooms are separated only by the carpentry of the closets; however this was not the case in the constructed units. The potential extension shown would also offer the master bedroom a private terrace. In many of these drawings, bedrooms are shown with more than one bed. Given that the average size of families was nearly five persons and that the typologies offer up to three bedrooms, it is certain that rooms were shared between family members. Also, even in the case of bedrooms seemingly drawn for the couple/parents, the bed is not drawn as a double but rather as two twin beds connected. This may seem peculiar now but was in line with cultural norms of the time, where couples did not necessarily share a bed. Type B houses are built in continuous, mirrored pairs, in staggered arrangements. Type B1 and B2 are variations on the same theme. B2 is slightly more elongated. In contrast to Type A and B, they are both made up of a coherent volume with no protrusions. Similarly to Type A and B, for both Type B1 and B2 family uses are on the ground floor and individual rooms on the first floor, while bathrooms are on the first floor. Type B1 is divided by the staircase, with the living room in the front of the house and the kitchen in the back. Eating areas are designated both adjacent to the living room and to the kitchen. This is typical of local culture, with an informal eating table and a formal eating table, which often goes unused for months at a time, draped with protective plastic sheets in between guest visits. Type B1 houses are built in continuous strips of three, which then follow staggered layouts. Type B2 has the staircase facing the entrance, on the edge of the structure. The living room is by the entrance, separated from the kitchen by a wall and a door. Eating areas are again drawn both adjacent to the living room and the kitchen. The second bedroom is shown with three twin beds. Type B2 houses are built in irregular continuous groupings (ranging from two to ten), which are then staggered.



Type C. Drawn by CAEC.

Type D. Drawn by CAEC.

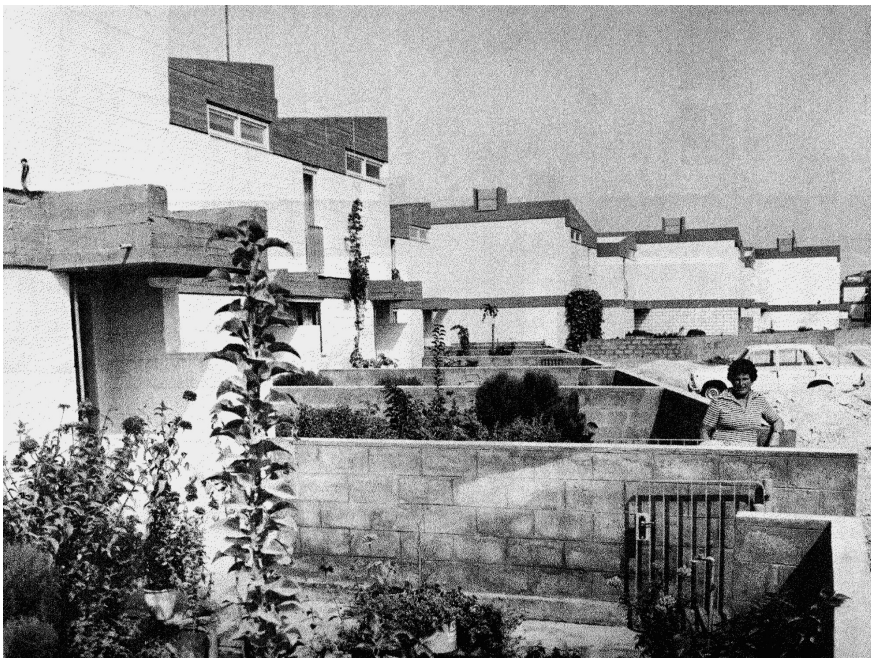
Type C apartment blocks had two apartments per floor, one with three bedrooms and one with two. Vertical circulation was managed through a centrally placed staircase, and a very small hall offered access to both apartments. Both apartments have a semi-enclosed balcony connected to their living/dining area. The kitchens of both apartments are separated from the living room by a wall and a door, and bedrooms are again drawn with twin beds. Type D apartment blocks had two variations, as mentioned, with either four apartments or six shops on the ground floor. The floors above were the same across both variations. The plan is mirrored along a central access and divided into strips to accommodate the shops. The two shops nearest the axis have an additional room. All shops have a bathroom that seems to be uncomfortably small. The shops accommodated butchers, barbers, hair salons, workshops, and storage units among others. Vertical circulation is handled by a staircase jutting out of the building volume that leads to an open-deck access corridor. Access to the shops is offered on either side: one for public use facing the street and one for use by the owners and employees as an informal, outdoor

back-of-house. The apartments are one- and two-bedroom flats. One of each exists on either side of the central axis: the two central apartments are both one-bedrooms, while the apartments on either side are two-beds. Both apartment types have balconies on the opposite side of the deck access. It is interesting to note that the kitchens of these typologies are less segregated than the others seen across the estate. The kitchens are divided from eating and sitting areas by means of carpentry only and are positioned near the apartments' entrances, giving them a much more central role in the organization of the domestic space. This typology seems to be ahead of its time, when compared to typical apartment blocks of the same period or the other typologies found on the estate.

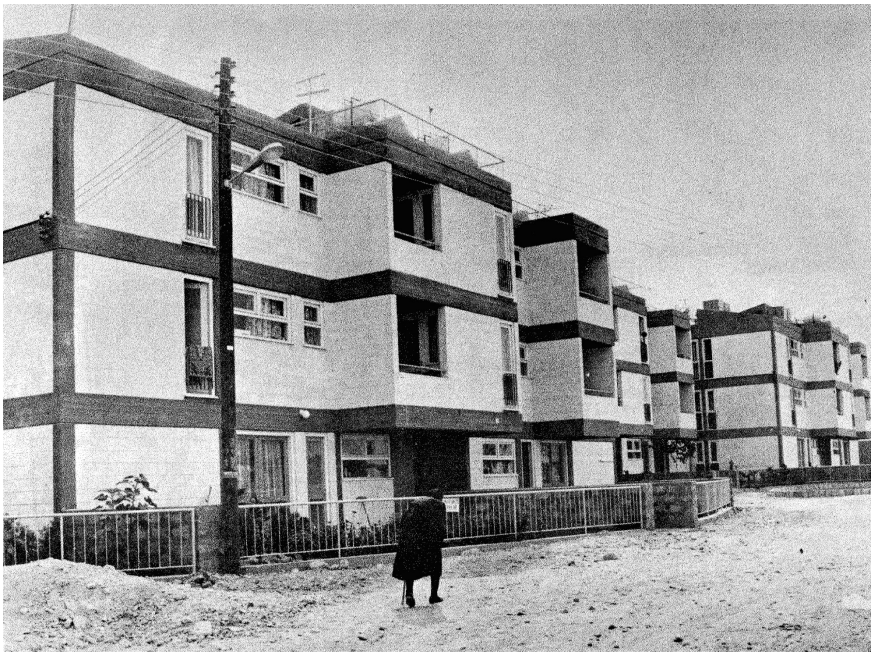
The photographs that follow seem out of place. You would expect them to be from an architectural magazine perhaps. In fact, a Greek translation of the report was published in the scientific periodical *Πολεοδομικά Θέματα* [Planning Issues] of July 1976–December 1977. The style of the visual material makes much more sense there, as does the interplay between text and visual material. The photographs, however, were originally produced for the UN report. The buildings are captured in a heroic manner, with careful attention paid to views and angles in order to capture various elements such as the protruding, semi-enclosed balconies of the apartment blocks, or the contrast of darker, in-situ concrete angled roofs and the concrete-block facades. This is in stark contrast to the piles of dirt in the unfinished roads—it is quite possible that someone involved in the process, whether the architects or the photographers, appreciated this poetic contradiction. People are almost entirely missing from the photographs. When present, they blend in; their figures are not centered in the compositions. A child and a man walking, an older woman clad in black, hunched over. Only one woman looks at the camera lens, posing at the edge of her garden. The photo is much more about the interplay between gardens and architecture than it is about the person standing, somewhat awkwardly, near the edge of the frame. Upon closer look, we notice the meticulous design details—the precise concrete-block construction and the rhythm of openings, the spindly metal gateways and balustrades with curved edges, the concrete canopies over entrances. It is difficult to say how many of the estate's inhabitants had moved in when the photos were taken. Signs of inhabitation are few and far between: a car parked on the street, a towel hanging from a balcony.

The gardens are often the only solid confirmation that people do, in fact, live here. They are an interesting feature, a recurring topic of conversation throughout our research and teaching. As mentioned above, the urban conditions of the estates carried heavy traces of the rural communities that came to inhabit them, which can be traced to the present. Anthropologist Anne Jepson has commented on how the gardens across the estates mark an attachment to a new place but also an externalization of memory.[136] In what was supposed to be a temporary condition, residents planted trees that would take years to bear fruit.[137] Some brought plants and cuttings with them and others procured them from family members or directly from their original homes after the crossings opened in 2003. The tending of the gardens is tied to ideas of territory and home, a transformation of the present much less self-conscious than acts of memory expressed through decoration or politics, located in abundance both in the physical space of the estates, as well as the political propaganda and press of the time.[138]

136 Anne Jepson, "Gardens and the Nature of Rootedness in Cyprus," in *Divided Cyprus: Modernity, History and an Island in Conflict,* ed. Yiannis Papadkis, Nicos Peristianis, and Gisela Welz (Indiana University Press, 2006), 165.
137 Ibid.
138 Ibid., 169.



Exterior view of the settlement, garden.
Photographs from Republic of Cyprus, Department of Town Planning and Housing,
Strovolos II Housing Development: Case Study
(Nicosia: Department of Town Planning and Housing, 1977), 13.



Exterior view of the settlement, facade.
Photographs from Republic of Cyprus, Department of Town Planning and Housing,
Strovolos II Housing Development: Case Study
(Nicosia: Department of Town Planning and Housing, 1977), 17.

Together with the drawings, the photographs contained in the report present an architectural project, as such. The relationship between technocratic management and design behind the estates is succinctly summed up in this report, even if not explicitly stated. It informs the reader (and the audience at the UN committee): we had a problem; we solved this problem by producing architecture; the inhabitation of that architecture is less of a concern.

Today, nearly fifty years later, the estates look significantly different from their original form. The houses, whose residents received title deeds earlier than those living in apartments, have in many cases been transformed. This could be a reaction to the uniformity and the perceived stigma. A program by the Department of Town Planning and Housing called "Ktizo" looks to improve the quality of life and housing on the estates. It does this primarily through the demolition and replacement of apartment buildings. Apartment buildings, due to a lack of maintenance and title deeds handed out much later, together with the cheap and supposedly temporary nature of their construction, faced various issues. The social composition of the estates has changed dramatically, as original residents have moved out and others have moved in. This includes migrant communities—a poetic reflection of the changes in class composition and social perception that the Republic of Cyprus has seen over the past decades.

Rooftop view of the Strovolos II estate, showing the completed buildings and unfinished road infrastructure, c. 1977.
Photographs from Press and Information Office of the Republic of Cyprus.

Reading the housing estates for displaced Greek Cypriots through the lens of class composition and social reproduction reveals them as far more than an emergency housing solution. Projects such as the Strovolos II estate crystallize a moment when an acute crisis intersected with longer-term processes of capitalist restructuring in the Republic of Cyprus. The estates functioned simultaneously as welfare interventions, sites of labor power reproduction, engines for economic reactivation, as well as terrains of political contestation. They were instrumental to the state's effort to restabilize after the war, while at the same time instrumentalizing significant changes to the technical and social composition of the working class. Rural forms of life were disrupted and reconfigured, giving rise to a (historically delayed) mass worker subjectivity. New patterns of everyday

life developed accordingly, centered around the nuclear family, gendered labor, and dependency on the state. Everyday life on the estates thus became a crucial site where social reproduction was reorganized in line with the requirements of post-war recovery and long-term urbanization. At the same time, the estates became highly politicized and contested spaces. Their symbolic value, tied to refugee identity, made them an important site of mobilization and political contestation. The mainstream Left's presence on the estates was part of the post-1974 approach to consensus politics under national emergency.

The Strovolos II project, as documented in the 1977 case study report, offers a particularly revealing window into how these processes were articulated at the level of planning discourse as well as architectural practice. The emphasis on cost efficiency, proximity to employment, and access to social services highlights the connection of housing policy to economic recovery and social management. Planning and decisions have assumptions on labor, family structure, and social reproduction embedded within them, translating economic imperatives into built form. The estates should be understood as products of historical continuity as much as children of crisis. They are a concrete result of a cycle of destruction and reconstruction. While triggered by the crisis of displacement, they followed pre-existing trajectories of urbanization and construction-led development, introducing an intense level of state involvement in social reproduction. Paying close attention to their spatial, social, and political logic allows us to dissect them as a central component of class formation, statecraft, and urbanization in the Republic of Cyprus.

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