

## Architecture and oppression: Measuring power mediation levels and pacification potentials in monuments

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### Abstract

The social spaces of the cities which are created by diverse generations are different than architectural spaces as products. Architecture in the later meaning is produced by power, capital and institutional knowledge to control and abstract the 'life-world' of people. Architecture turns to an oppressing instrument through mediating power over space and everyday life of people especially by erecting monuments. Cyprus as a place of long term conflict has a reach collection of these monuments, which work to remind and efface. Creating architectural oppression in the everyday life of people, they act as weapons of psychological warfare. In this article firstly the role of architecture in the militating of space is discussed and respectively the levels of mediation of the power over spaces and their pacification potentials are introduced. Using the modes of power mediation and monumentality, the article introduces an original method of measuring oppression levels for monuments. The six monuments including one monument from each side in the three periods of the Cyprus conflict is explained and evaluated according to the developed criteria. The article finally concludes with explaining how with the changes of modes of power, their mediation over spaces specifically in the monuments are happened.

**Keywords:** architecture and power, architecture and oppression, monuments, memorials, cyprus conflict, cyprus

### 1. Introduction

#### Architecture and Mediation of Power

Paul Weiss introduces architecture as one of the nine basic arts and defines it as the art of bounding space (Weiss, 1961) [6]. However neither can we call architecture as an art, nor did name 'bound spaces' as art works. On the one hand, based on the strong relations between architecture and 'life-world', society appropriates architecture in a different way from arts. As a result architecture hardly carries the iconic status as art (Frampton, 1991: 19) [3]. On the other hand, the oppression of power to bound and frame spaces cannot be prettified as an art work. Introducing architecture as an art work is possible only if the effects of power in spatial organizations and the sociality of spaces are senselessly disregarded.

As it is mentioned by Lefebvre the 'underpinning' of all kinds of social relations is spatial (Lefebvre, 1991) [6]. Architecture has historically mediated power to militate and manipulate these socio-spatial relations, by assigning and opening certain spaces for limited activities and closing them to all other possibilities (Dovey, 1999). The oppressed people resist against oppression in order to liberate their life and correspondingly appropriate their spaces by diversifying the potential events during their dwelling practices.

Lefebvre defines two forms of making spaces by differentiating between the terms 'creation' and 'production'. According to Lefebvre, appropriation of space through everyday activities of people and formation of adequate spaces for these diverse activities is a spontaneous creation and results with unique 'works'. However on the contrary architecture and planning as oppressor arms of power produce spaces to abstract everyday life. While the spaces as 'works' are created according to the needs of diverse generations through collective life of a lot of people during a long period of time, the spaces as 'products' are designed and constructed within the domination of ruling power and as outcomes of

collaboration between the state, capital and institutional knowledge particularly architecture and planning (Lefebvre, 1991) [6].

Cooperation, reconciliation and cultural accumulation arising from spatial demonstration of everyday life are inherent in the creation of space as a work. Lefebvre introduces the concept of *oeuvre* to name this collective creation praxis. The French word *oeuvre* refers to all 'works' created by an artist during her/his life period. Since space as a 'work' is the consequence of a cooperative communal creation of different generations during a long period of time, space as *oeuvre* is the accumulation of all works done by inhabitants of a city during city's history. Thus, space as *oeuvre* embodies peace, co-existence and dwelling. These qualities cannot be found in spaces which are designed and produced in a short period of time by a limited group according to the desires of the power. Lefebvre calls these spatial products as abstract spaces, which are not formed as a result of collective praxis and do not provide equal dwelling and appropriation opportunities for everyone. Limiting access to spaces, abstract spaces are 'underpinning' of the social hierarchical order. Homogenizing the potential use of the spaces by limiting them to particular functions in the bounds of defined architectural forms and accordingly restricting everyday life of people, they are 'underpinning' of social norms. Fragmenting the collective and cooperative practices of people, abstract spaces are 'underpinning' of social factions as the systematic method for controlling over the life of people (Lefebvre, 1968, Lefebvre, 1991, Gottdiener, 1993) [7, 6].

The embodiment of hierarchical order, social norms and factions in the spaces can be described with diverse forms of mediation of power over the everyday life of people, which are classified into three categories by Dovey in his book of Framing Places. According to Dovey, force, coercion, and authority are different types of spatial mediation of power.

While force refers to the unconcealed applications of power to exclude diverse activities, limit access, and avoid any opposition, coercion is the softer form of force which functions under the cover of voluntarism to guarantee docility and preclude any resistance. Dovey differs between three forms of coercion; domination or intimidation, manipulation and seduction. While belittling the human subject by exaggerating scale is the main purpose of domination, manipulation functions by keeping the subject ignorant and resembling the free choice and seduction denotes practices which influences the desires. Authority as the third form of spatial mediation of power is incorporated with the institutional structures of the society and builds upon a base of legitimation (Dovey, 1999) [2].

The above mentioned three diverse modes of power mediation in the spaces are the main methods used by power to occupy spaces and re-produce them in the form of abstract spaces, to control and constrain everyday life practices of people. The separation walls, barricades, check points, city walls and all physical boundaries of public spaces are ways of concretion of force in space to secure the domination of power in space and obstruct the use of 'others'. Designed architectural buildings which act as a makeup to simultaneously present and hide the ugly face of power and dominate, manipulate and seduce people are examples of illustrations of coercion in space which can discourage the public use and access. Property, as a system of demonstration of authority in space and an instrument of power to occupy space, is abstracting the everyday life by restricting the access and producing the legal boundaries which can exclude people and their diverse activities.

Excluded people, the others, with their everyday life dwelling practices try to oppose against forces, resist against coercions and re-appropriation against authority to liberate their 'life-world'. The socio-spatial struggle including opposition, resistance and re-appropriation of people aims to open 'a hole in the wall' and break the force; to vitalize the concrete buildings and discard the hegemony and coercion; to appropriate properties and develop solidarities against authority.

Dovey suggests a set of dimensions of power – space mediations which includes nine dichotomies to read the traces of opposition/force, resistance/coercion and re-appropriation/authority in the created/produced spaces. These are disorientation/orientation, publicity/privacy, access/segregation, nature/history, change/stability, authentic/fake, difference/identity, docile/dominant and place/ideology (Dovey, 1999) [2].

In this article these dichotomies are revised and re-arranged under the three forms of the mediation of power over space and everyday life of people. According to this arrangement, segregation/access, stability/change, and ideology/place are diverse implementations of force/opposition in spaces. Realization of coercion/resistance in spaces includes the modes of dominant/docile, orientation/disorientation and identity/difference. Authority is re-established in spaces through privacy/publicity, history/nature and fake/authentic modes.

When the process of creation of space is occupied by force, coercion and authority, power relations militate space and time by producing and reproducing them. Architecture as a method of spatial production mediates power to control the

everyday life of people, their memories and dreams, namely their today, past and future. Architecture is a force which segregates people, stabilizes accomplishments and ideologizes thoughts and believes. It is a coercion which dominates ideas, orients notions and identifies spaces against all different possibilities. Architecture is an authority which privatizes life-world, historicizes moments and memories and fabricates fake qualities Architecture is contrary to spatial creation which includes collective cooperation, reconciliation and cultural accumulation. In this sense architecture reproduces social divisions, communal conflicts and public disconnections and serves to oppressions, discriminations, inequalities and wars.

## 2. Methodology

### Monument as Weapon

As it is stated by Harries, the written history of architecture begins with monumental tombs which had been built to protect the dead leaders from the 'terror of time', and more importantly to serve those in power, legitimate their power and ensure their possession by idolizing the heroes or victims of wars and terrors (Harries, 1996). Consequently from the pre-historical period, monuments, as frozen terrorscape, have always been the strongest architectural buildings which are muscularly investigated by power. With their huge structures built with the hardest materials and the most evocative decorations, monuments have been erected as immortal representations of power to direct time and space.

More than any other architectural structures, monuments force space and time by their exclusive use to stabilize the supremacy of power and to materialize certain ideologies. They coerce life-world of people by their dominant form and particular meaning to orient the political senses of people and cherishing ruling norms and identities. They authorize ruling power by limiting the collective memories, manufacturing new public realms, producing histories and manufacturing fake images.

Sert, Leger and Giedion address nine important characteristics of monuments. The first of these features is the role of monument to connect the past to the future. The second one is the representational function of monument to interpret the collective values of people. The third characteristic is the role of unifying consciousness and public agreement in creating lasting monuments. The fourth point underlines the architectural value of monuments in demonstrating collective culture and the soul of the time. The fifth one mentions the multi-scalar dimensions of monuments and the necessity of integration of monuments within urban patterns. The economical function of monument to bring life back to the city is the sixth item which is stated by the authors. The seventh characteristic is related to the potentials of community life which monuments provide and the joy, excitement and pride feelings which they can satisfy. The sites of the monuments and the open spaces surrounding them are significant criteria of developing live urban centres and public activities and it is declared as the eighth point. The ninth and the final characteristic of the monuments is related to the materials, colour and lights which can be used in the construction of monuments (Sert, *et al.* 1943) [14].

By integrating the nine modes of power mediation in space and the nine points of monumentality the below table is generated and developed by proposing the opposite nine

conditions and characteristics which are linked to the pacification of the monuments or turning them to the spaces of everyday life. The developed criteria in the below table

will facilitate the reading of force/opposition, coercion/resistance and authority/re-appropriation in monuments as frozen terrascapes.

Table 1

Related Norm of Monumentality	Pacification Level	Levels of Power Mediation in Spaces		Related Norm of Monumentality	
Place making activities of people, embracing everyday life	Place	Opposition	Force	Representing, interpreting and materializing ideologies and collective values of people	
Accommodating the possibility of change	Change			Stability	Demonstrating the soul of time
Providing community life, joy and excitement to everyone, open access	Access			Segregation	Segregating people and communities
Valuing differences and diverse perceptions	Difference	Resistance	Coercion	Unifying consciousness, (re)producing and cherishing identities, signs	
Encouraging other activities in the city and side functions	Disorientation			Orientation	Discouraging other activities in the city and side functions
Contextuality and harmony with the urban spaces	Docile			Dominant	Multiscalar dimension, dominance over urban pattern
Open spaces surrounding monuments and public	Publicity	Re-appropriation	Authority	Private use	
Using real images, stories, local materials and natural lights	Authentic			Fake	Manufacturing images by using specific materials, colours and lights
Celebrating nature and habitation	Nature			History	Connecting past to future, Producing History

The eighteen characteristics and conditions of mediation of power in monuments, are represented in the below chart to determine the degree of manipulation, and militation of monuments by power or the gradation of pacification of these frozen terrascapes by people through their everyday life practices. While the upper side of the map expresses the

power mediation in the monument, the lower part is related to the pacification of the monument and its relation with everyday life. The right side of the map which belongs to force and opposition includes more hard forms of the power than the left side.

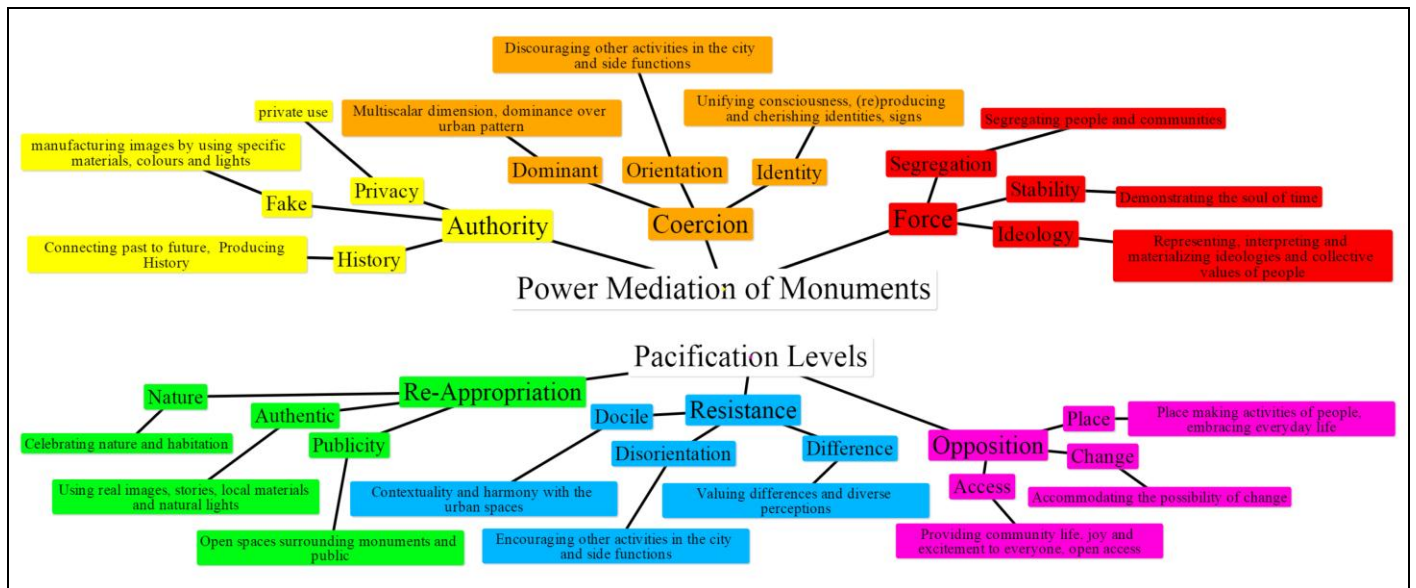


Fig 1

**3. Case Study  
Frozen Terror in Cyprus**

We can divide the history of Cyprus conflict into three main periods:

1. 1960-1974, Inter-communal Clashes: Cyprus granted its independence from Great Britain in 1959. However in 1963 faced with an important crisis and inter-communal

clashes due to the attempts to change the constitution and limit the rights given to the Turkish Cypriots. UN Peacekeeping forces arrived at Cyprus in 1964 and in 1968 the negotiations between Turkish and Greek Cypriots started. In 1974 after the coup against Cyprus government by the military junta of Greece, Turkish military forces entered to the island.

2. 1975-2002, Divided Cyprus: In 1975 Turkish Cypriots established independent administration and in 1983 the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus was proclaimed and recognized by Turkey. In 1998 EU listed Cyprus as potential member. In 2002 negotiations re-started and Kofi Annan, UN Secretary General, presented his peace plan including the reunification of both sides and establishment of a federation with two constituent parts.
3. 2003, 2015, Reunification Attempts: In 2003 borders between two divided parts were open and Cypriots could cross the border after thirty years. In 2004 Annan's reunification plan was rejected by Greek Cypriots while was endorsed by Turkish Cypriots in the organized twin referendums. In 2004 Greek Cypriot Government joined EU. In 2005 new talks between Greek and Turkish Cypriots began. In 2006 a series of confidence-building measures was agreed in the negotiations. In 2007 another

gate was open in Nicosia between North and South part. In 2008 reunification talks started again and the symbolic Ledra street crossing reopened for first time after 1964. In 2011 Greek government of Cyprus and in 2012 Turkey began exploratory drilling for oil and gas which promotes a diplomatic row between Greek Government and Turkey. In 2014 a joint declaration signed by two community leaders and the new talks was started (Mallinson, 2011, BBC, 2014). In 2015 the election of Mustafa Akıncı, a peace supporting politician as the leader of the Turkish Community in Cyprus accelerated the reconciliation talks in Cyprus.

During the above mentioned three periods both by Greek and Turkish Cypriots hundreds of memorials and monuments have been erected. In this article we will evaluate six monuments; one from each sides of the island in the above mentioned three periods.

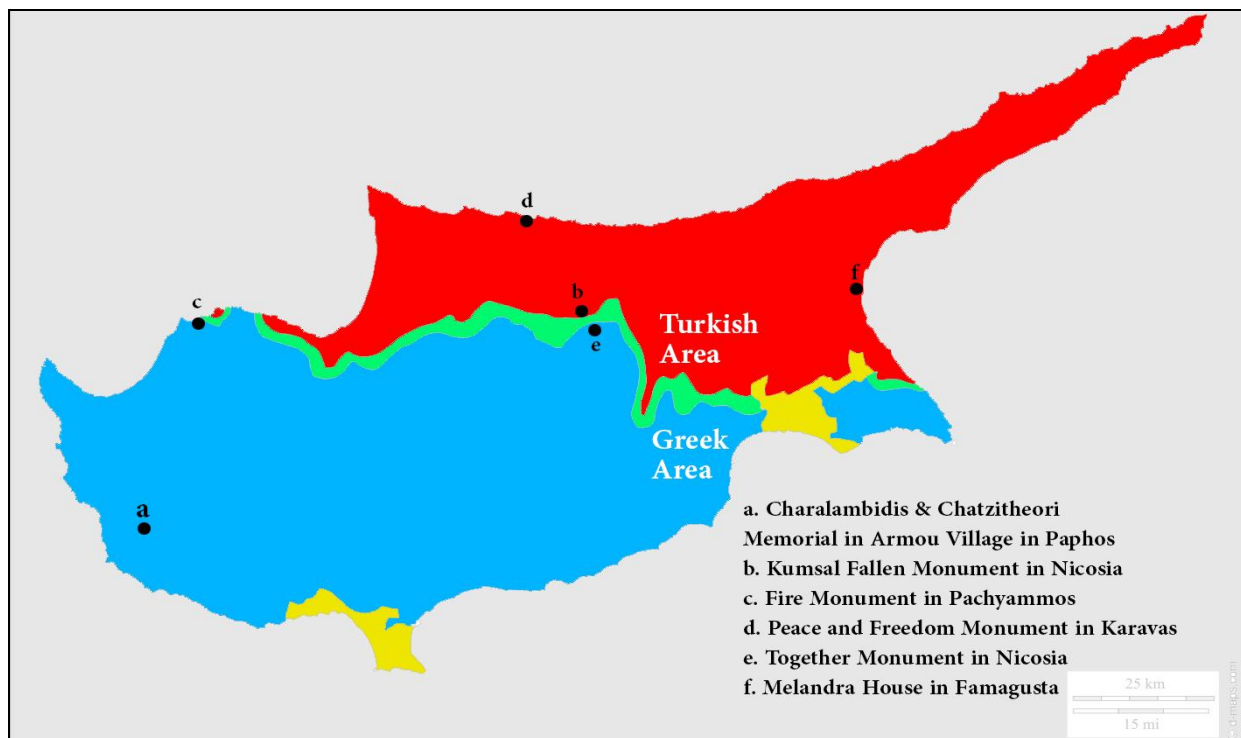


Fig 2: Map of the locations of the six selected sample monuments in Cyprus, map produced by the author

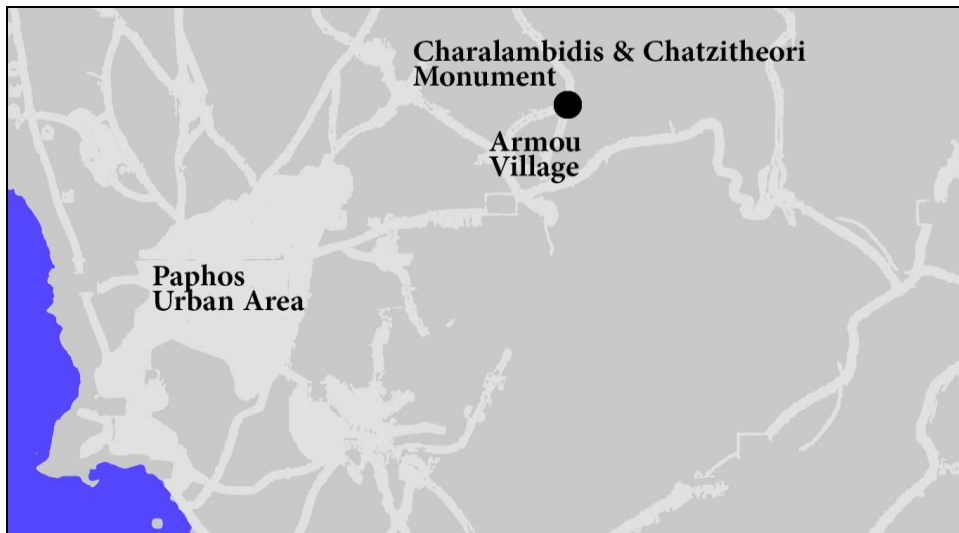
**3.1. 1960-1974**

During the inter-communal clashes, Greek and Turkish Cypriots constructed provocative monuments against each other. The two of these monuments are introduced in this part. a. In 1970 Greek Cypriots built a memorial dedicated to Andreas Charalambidis and Andreas Chatzitheori. The

memorial designed by Marios Garyfalakis and located in Armou Village in Paphos. The memorial placed in the yard of the village church in the shape of a gravestone with the photos of the two martyrs. (Public Art of Cyprus).



**Fig 3:** Charalambidis and Chatzitheori Monument, photo retrieved from the website of Public Arts of Cyprus on 16 June 2015. (<http://publicart.ouc.ac.cy/?p=965>)



**Fig 4:** Map of the location of Charalambidis and Chatzitheori Monument and its relation with the urban area of Paphos, map produced by the author

b. In 1966 Turkish authorities converted the house of Commander Nihat Ilhan into a museum. The house was attacked in 1963 and the commander's wife, their three children, landlord and landlady were killed. At the entrance of the Museum on the right hand side of the ceiling, blood pouring out from the ceiling on the

inscription "Aralik 1963" welcomes visitors. News from foreign newspapers, photos of the fallen people and Ilhan family's personal belongings are displayed in different rooms of the house. And in the last room murder photos are shown.



**Fig 5:** The Museum of Barbarism, photo by the author

In the garden a small marble monument is erected for the memory of eleven Turkish Cypriots who were killed during Kumsal Attack. The Turkish flag on the top, the inscription

“our martyrs” below it, the names and pictures of the eleven victims and the inscription “we will never forget” are placed on one face of the monument respectively.



Fig 6: Kumsal Fallen, photo by author



Fig 7: Map of the location of Kumsal Fallen Monument and its relation with the Nicosia Urban Area, map produced by the author.

The rate of the mediation of power in these two monuments is evaluated according to the developed power related norms of monumentality in the below table.

Table 2

	Levels of Power Mediation and Pacification in Spaces	Explanations	Evaluations	
			Andreas Charalambidis and Andreas Chatzitheori Memorial	Kumsal Fallen Monument
Opposition/Force	Place / Ideology	The both monuments were representing apposite ideologies.	Indirect Ideology	Indirect Ideology
	Change / Stability	Even though they have been built to immortalize the fallen people, however their size and humble structure were containing the potential of the change.	Not close to Change	Not close to Change
	Access / Segregation	Both of the monuments were providing enmities and instructing revenges. The both were segregating Greek and Turkish communities.	Social Segregation	Social Segregation
Resistance/Coercion	Difference / Identity	They include simple signs of identity such as flag and symbol.	Basic Identity	Basic Identity
	Disorientation / Orientation	The second monument was acting beside the house which was transformed to a museum and the first one in the yard of a church.	Disorientation	Disorientation
	Docile / Dominant	Both of the monuments were docile and not dominant over the urban pattern.	Docile	Docile
Reappropriation / Authority	Publicity / Privacy	While the first monument was in a public area, the second one was in the front yard of a house.	Semi Publicity	Privacy
	Authentic / Fake	Both of the monuments were built by marble and stone and natural material and were not coloured.	Authentic	Authentic
	Nature / History	Both of the monuments were evoking a real story of their time.	Nature	Nature

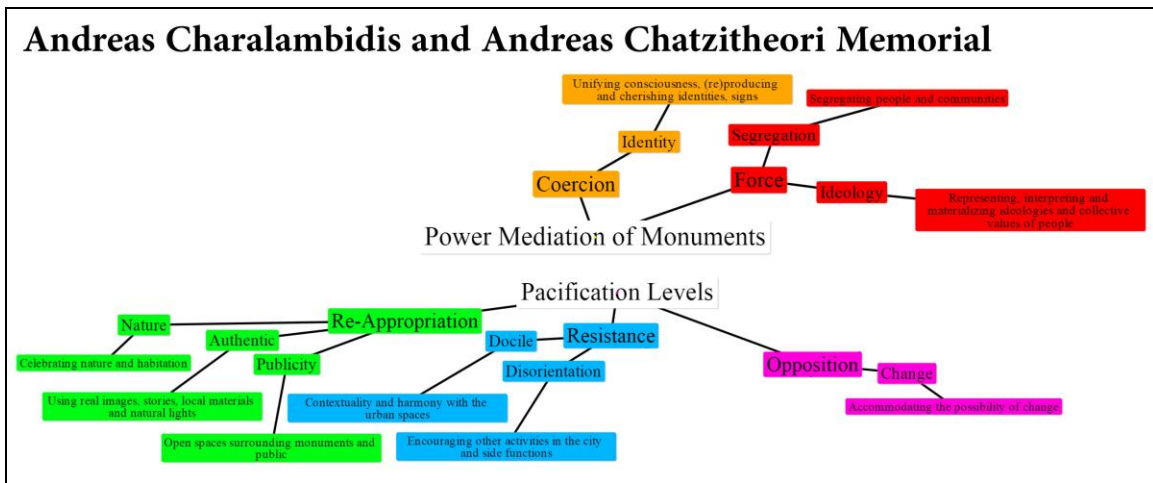


Fig 8: Evaluation of Andreas Charalambidis and Andreas Chatzitheori Memorial according to the Power Mediation and Pacification Chart, produced by author

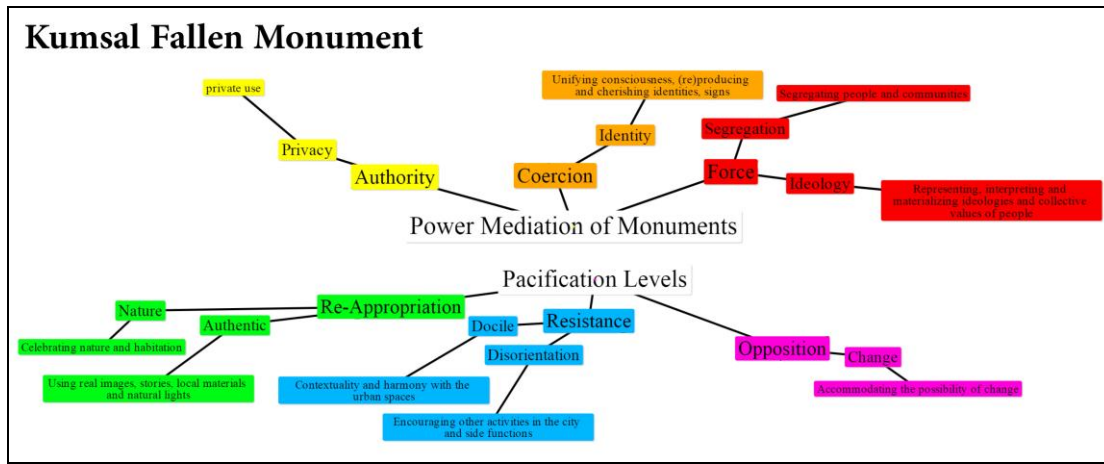


Fig 9: Evaluation of Kumsal Fallen Monument according to the Power Mediation and Pacification Chart, produced by author

**3.2. 1975-2002**

After the division of Cyprus to Turkish and Greek sides, in each part of the island, to cherish the conflict and cultivate hostility in the new generations, different monuments have been built. The two of these monuments are discussed in this part.

- a. In 1994 the monument named fire was unveiled in Agios Rafael Church’s garden in Pachyamos. The monument

have been designed and built by Giorgos Kalakallas to memorialize the fallen Greeks in 1964 by Turkish troops in Tillyria. The monument has two parts. One part which is made by copper is demonstrating fire of the confrontation. The second part is a stone which the names of the people who were killed in the above mentioned conflict is written over it (Public Art of Cyprus, <http://publicart.ouc.ac.cy/?p=1545>)

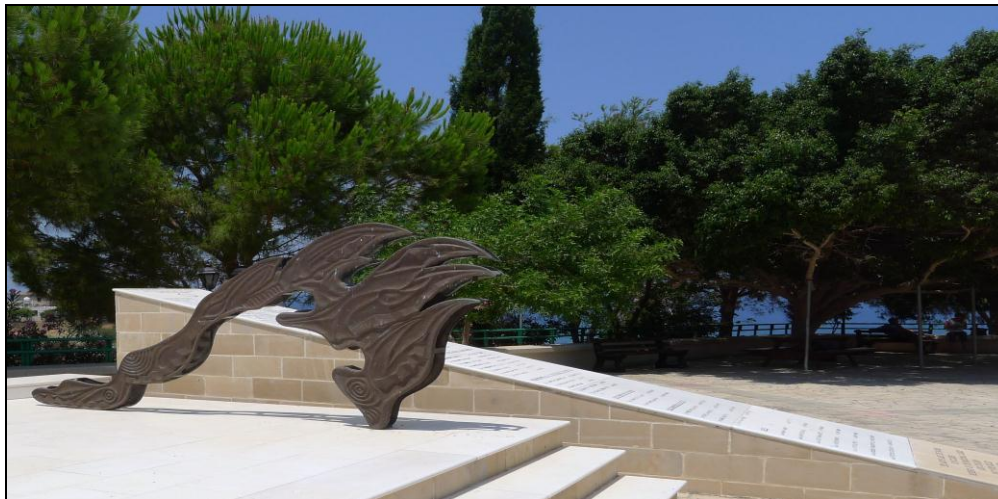


Fig 10: Fire, photo retrieved from the website of Public Arts of Cyprus on 16 June 2015. (<http://publicart.ouc.ac.cy/?p=1545>)

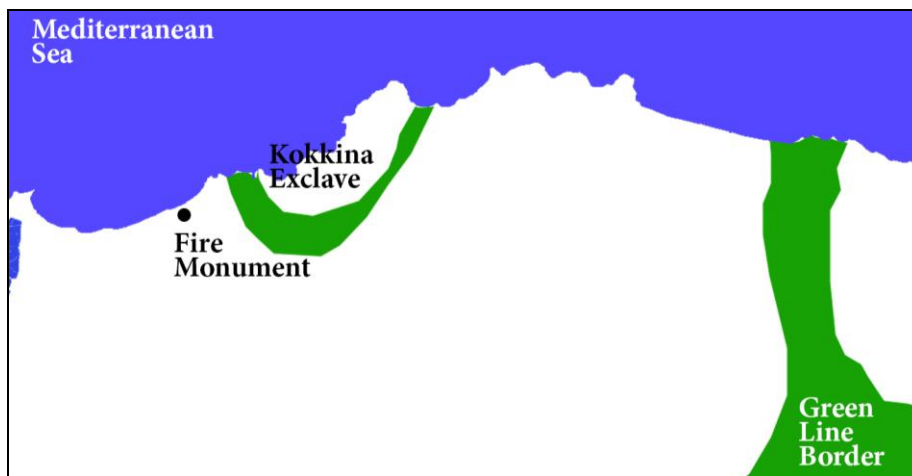


Fig 11: Map of the location of Fire Monument and surrounding areas, map produced by the author.

b. The huge concrete monument of “Peace and Freedom” was erected in 1978 to memorialise the fallen who were killed in the attack of Turkish Army in 1974 by Greek troops. The location of monument, as the first landing place of Turkish troops, is representing Turkey’s support of Turkish Cypriots. For this reason the hole in the structure of the monument is designed as a door opening

to the North where Turkey is located. The monument hosts every year an event in the anniversary of the Turks’ landing in the beach, in which groups of people with flames simulate the hope of people waiting for Turkish troops in 1974 to “free” them from the conflict and bring “peace” to the island, as it is declared in their judgements (Turan, 2014) [15].



Fig 12: Photo: Peace and Freedom Monument, photo by the author

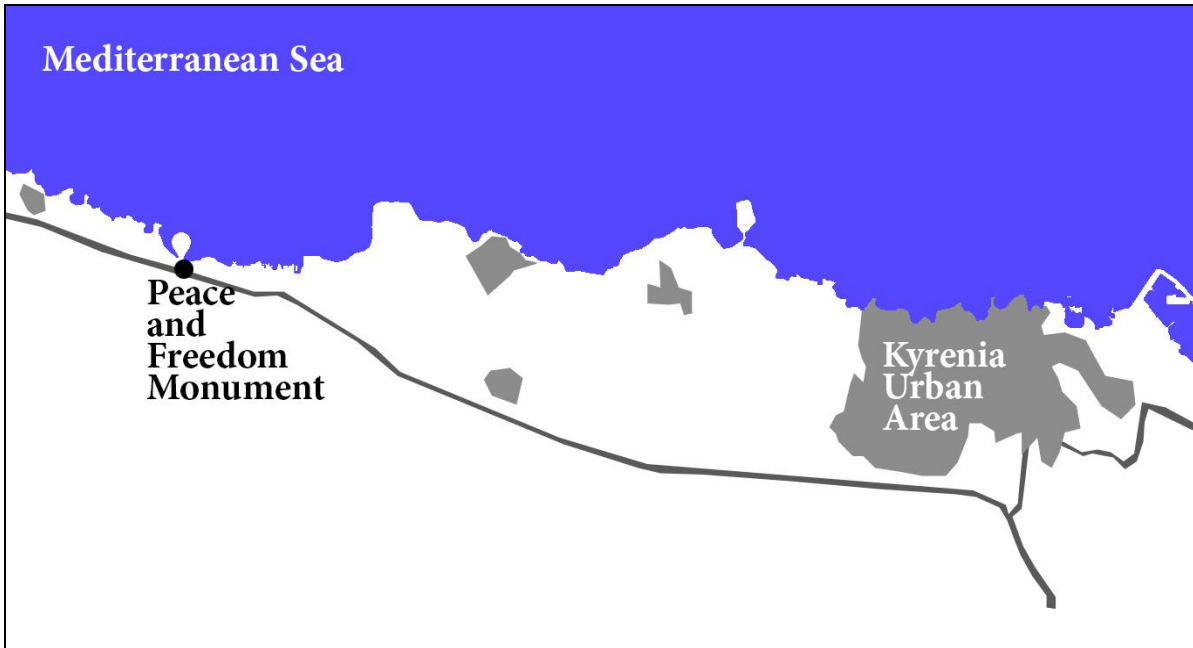


Fig 13: Map of the location of Peace and Freedom Monument and surrounding areas, map produced by the author.

The rate of the mediation of power in these two monuments is evaluated according to the developed power related norms of

monumentality in the below table.

Table 3

	Levels of Power Mediation and Pacification in Spaces	Explanations	Evaluations	
			Fire	Peace and Freedom Monument
Opposition/Force	Place / Ideology	While none of the monuments have any ideological sign in the first look. Their names and their stories are representing the ideologies of their nations.	Indirect Ideology	Indirect Ideology
	Change / Stability	Both of the monuments are demonstrating the soul of the time. They look stable and are not open to any change or transformation, specially the second one.	Close to Change	Close to Change
	Access / Segregation	The both monuments have physically open access. However they are strongly segregating people of the both communities from each other.	Social Segregation	Social Segregation
Resistance/Coercion	Difference / Identity	They do not include any sign of identity and their forms is open to diverse interpretation.	Difference	Difference
	Disorientation / Orientation	Both of the monuments are acting beside the other activities in the area. The first one is linked to the activities of Church and the second one is hosting celebration events.	Orientation	Orientation
	Docile / Dominant	While the first monument is not toughly dominant, the second one with its huge size is a dominant structure.	Docile	Dominant
Reappropriation / Authority	Publicity / Privacy	While the second monument is in a public area, the first one is in the yard of a church.	Semi Public	Public
	Authentic / Fake	The first monument built by copper in a very dark colour in contrast with the environment and the second one from concrete. Both of the monuments are produced in an industrial way.	Fake	Fake
	Nature / History	Both of the monuments are producing history. They are memorializing a big group of fallen people whose names are never expressed. They are trying to manufacture lessons for the future of the communities.	History	History

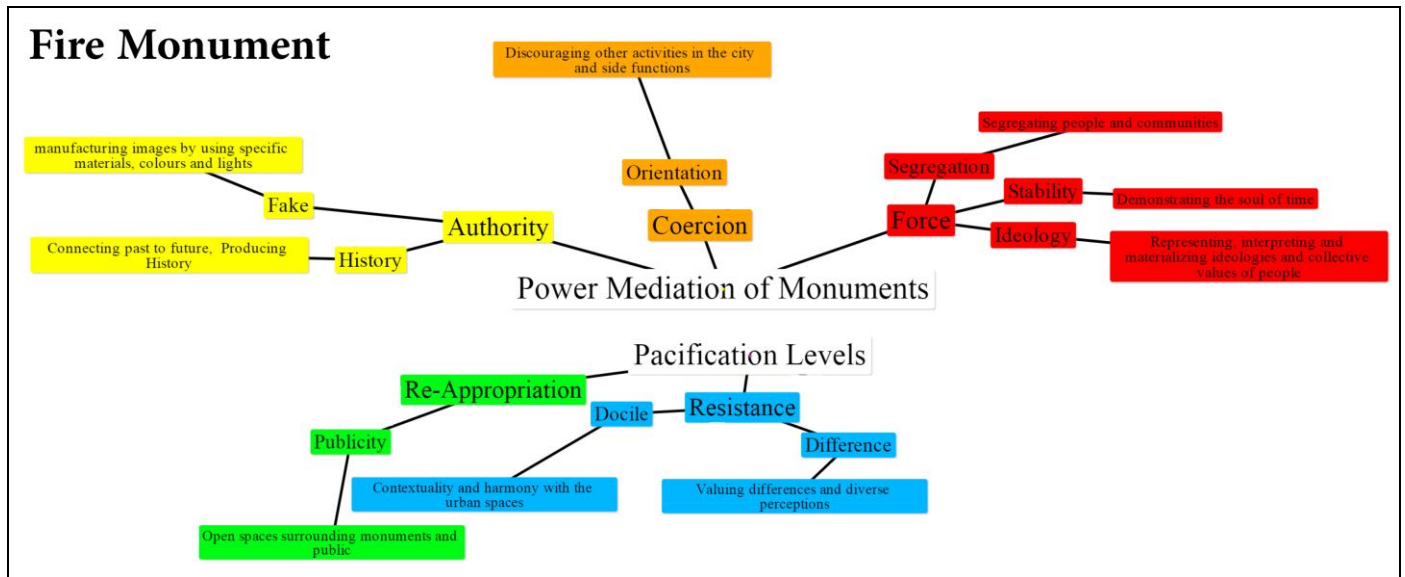


Fig 14: Evaluation of Fire Monument according to the Power Mediation and Pacification Chart, produced by author

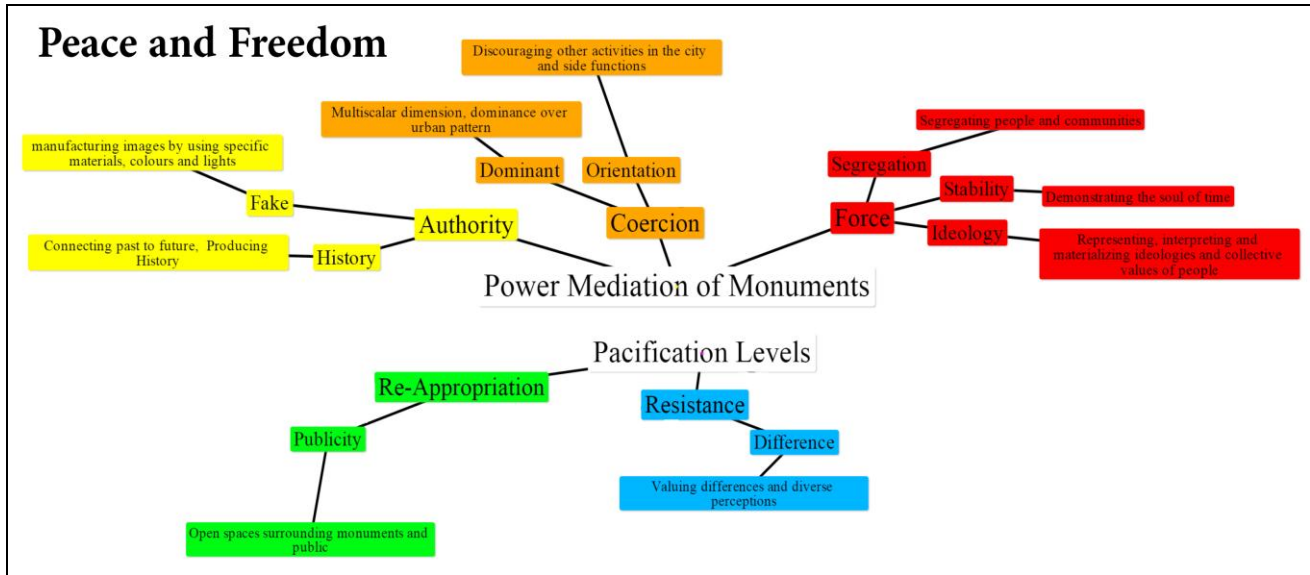


Fig 15: Evaluation of Peace and Freedom Monument according to the Power Mediation and Pacification Chart, produced by author

3.3. 2003-2014

After the re-opening of the borders, both communities got the chance of meeting each other more often. They could have small experiences of coexistence. Parallel to this, the hope for re-unification of Cyprus was also raised. For the above mentioned reasons, communities produced some monuments which surreptitiously were ignoring the inter-communal conflicts. In this part two of these monuments will be explained.

- a. The monumental art work with the title of together was specially made for the commemoration of Cypriot

presidency of the European Union in 2012. The monument was located in the entrance of the Filoxenia conference centre in Nicosia and was designed by Nikos Kyprianou. Representing 27 EU members, the artist used 27 wheels in the monument. These wheels are interconnected strongly to each other and they have been placed in a base which filled by water. (*Public Art Of Cyprus*. (n.d). Retrieved from <http://publicart.ouc.ac.cy/?p=3954>)



Fig 16: Monument of the Presidency of Cyprus in the European Union.

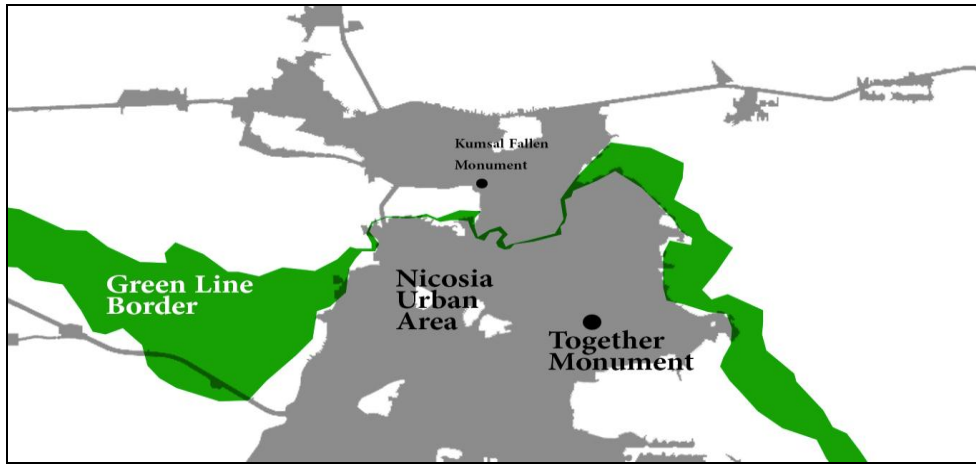


Fig 17: Map of the location of Together Monument and the urban Area of Nicosia City, map produced by the author.

b. In 2010 a project of architect Mustafa Kıralp was launched in North Cyprus. The project's name was Melandra House, a house which was a prototype of the original family house in Melandra village in the Southern Cyprus which was built on 1922 by the architect's family. The copied house is located in Famagusta and

includes furniture and household from 1950<sup>th</sup> and 1960<sup>th</sup>. The house is used as a museum and also a café-restaurant and represents the life of reach Turkish Cypriots before the division of the island, as it is told by the architect (Sadri, 2013 and Melandra House Website).



Fig 18: Melandra House, photo by author.

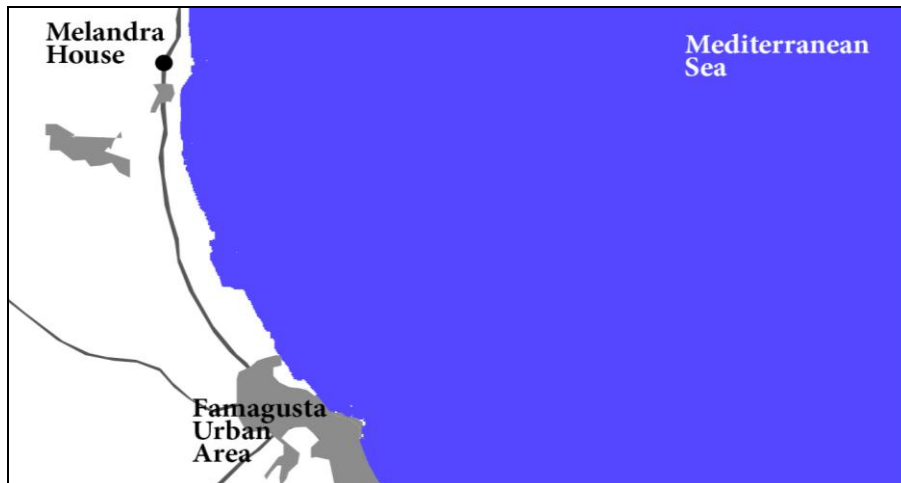


Fig 19: Map of the location of Melandra House and the urban Area of Famagusta City, map produced by the author.

Table 4

	Levels of Power Mediation and Pacification in Spaces	Explanations	Evaluations	
			Together	Melandra House
Opposition/Force	Place / Ideology	None of the monuments have any ideological sign. However both are acting in a liberal manner. The second one could make also a place.	No Ideology	Place
	Change / Stability	Both of the monuments are demonstrating the soul of the time. They look stable and are not open to any change or transformation, specially the second one.	Close to Change	Close to Change
	Access / Segregation	While the first monument has physically open access, the second one has a controlled access. Both of the monuments do not act for social segregations.	Access	Controlled Access
Resistance/Coercion	Difference / Identity	The both monuments have strong identities; the first European and the second Turkish Cypriot.	Identity	Identity
	Disorientation / Orientation	Both of the monuments are acting beside the other activities in the area. The first one is linked to the activities of conference hall and the second one acts as a museum and also a restaurant. Both of the monuments are trying to orient the attention of people to somewhere other than the conflict.	Orientation	Orientation
	Docile / Dominant	Both of the monuments are not toughly dominant.	Docile	Docile
Reappropriation / Authority	Publicity / Privacy	While the first monument is in a public area, the second one is in the yard of a church.	Publicity	Privacy
	Authentic / Fake	The first monument built by steel and with the base of water and the second one from stone. However the first one with symbolizing forms and the second one with manufacturing the prototype are fake products.	Fake	Fake
	Nature / History	Both of the monuments are producing history. While the first one is commemorating the EU presidency of Cyprus, the second one is demonstrating the pre-conflict life of Turkish Cypriots with ignoring the conflict time of 1963-2003.	History	History

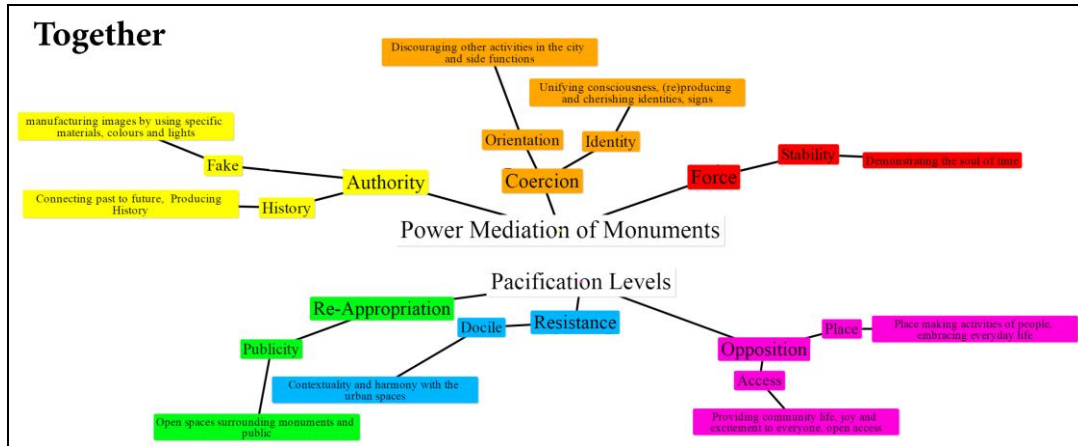


Fig 20: Evaluation of Together Monument according to the Power Mediation and Pacification Chart, produced by author

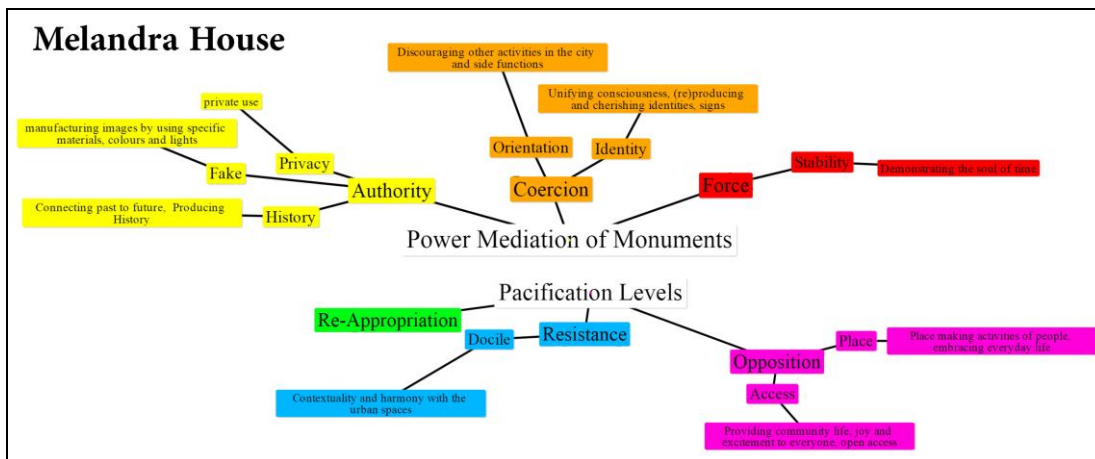


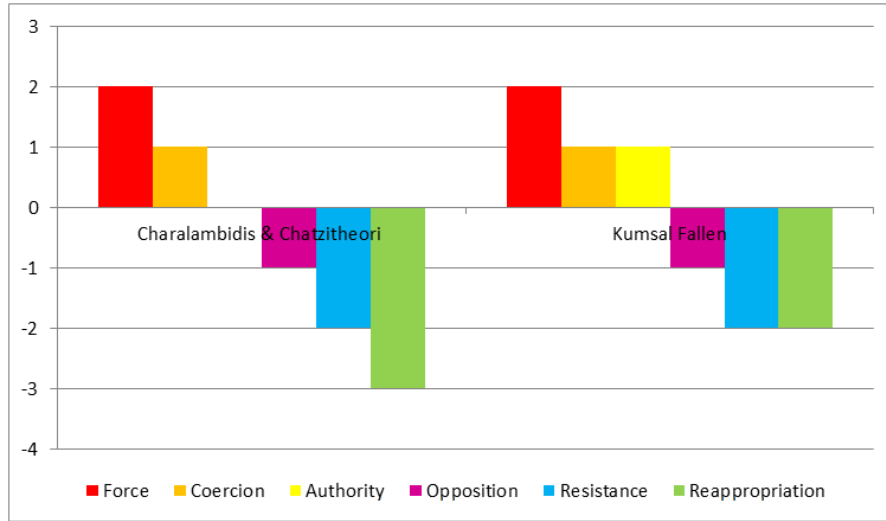
Fig 21: Evaluation of Melandra House according to the Power Mediation and Pacification Chart, produced by author

**4. Results and Discussions**

The results of the evaluations of the two monument built between 1960-1974, according to the power mediation levels and pacification potentials, are transferred to the below chart. In the chart below and the other similar charts each of the norms related to the force/opposition, coercion/resistance and authority/re-appropriation modes counted as one. For example in the evaluation chart of the Charalambidis and Chatzitheori Memorial the ideology and segregation norms were founded under the force mode. These two norms are

presented as number two for the force mode in the below chart for this monument.

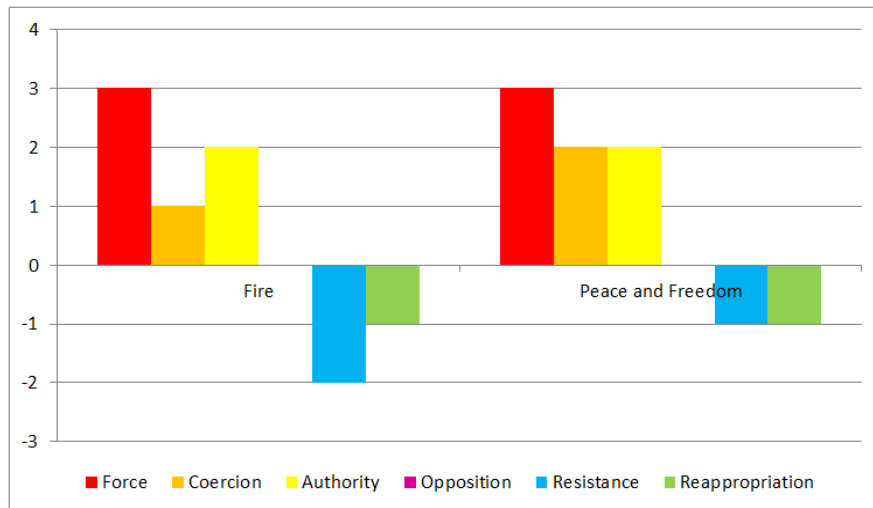
As it can be seen in the below chart, the results of the measuring of the power mediation levels and pacification potentials for the first two monuments show a strong level of force and weak level of authority modes in the both monuments. Parallel to this the pacification potentials especially the re-appropriation potentials of the two monuments are very high.



**Fig 22:** The details of Power Mediation Levels and Pacification Potentials in Andreas Charalambidis and Andreas Chatzitheori Memorial and Kumsal Fallen Monument, produced by author

In the second period of the Cyprus conflict, between 1975-2002, as it is represented in the below chart, very strong power mediation levels and very weak potentials of pacification can be observed. The two sample monuments

represent high levels of force along with authority and coercion. However any opposition potential is not witnessed in any of these monuments and only resistance potential and very low re-appropriation potential could be found.



**Fig 23:** The details of Power Mediation Levels and Pacification Potentials in Fire and Peace and Freedom Monuments, produced by author

In the third period which includes post 2003 period of the Cyprus conflict, together with the power of authority, the potential of opposition also is increased in the evaluated sample monuments. This shows that the oppression in architecture is turned mostly to the legal mode by authority

and to the psychological level of coercion. While the level of force is reduced in the monuments the potentials of the pacification especially the potential of opposition is consolidated.

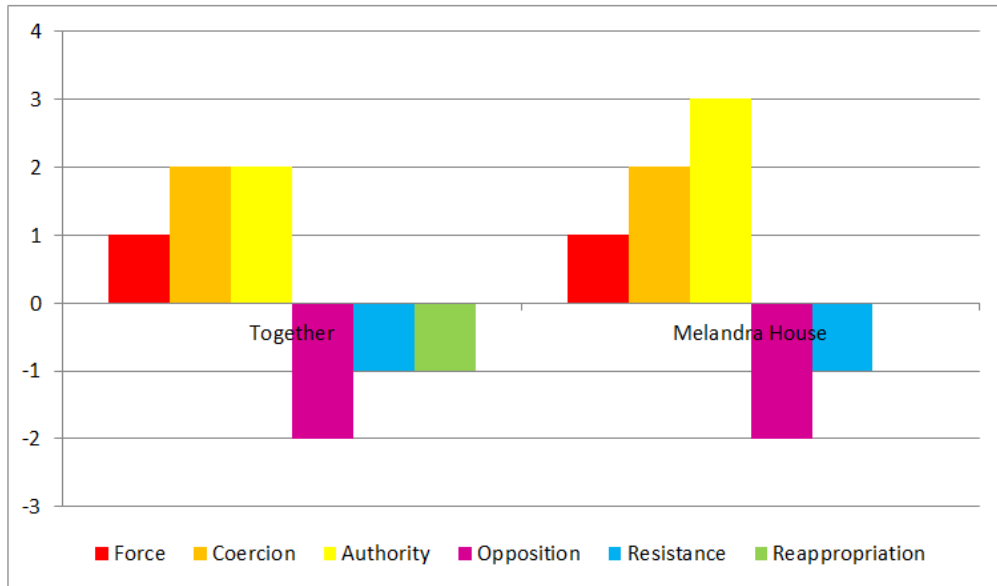


Fig 24: The details of Power Mediation Levels and Pacification Potentials in Together Monument and Melandra House, produced by author

Looking at the selected and evaluated three monuments built by each community shows the difference between the modes of the oppression of the monuments in the three different periods of the Cyprus conflict. The below two charts show separately the transformation of the monuments of Greek and Turkish Cypriots in the three periods according to their power mediation level and pacification potentials. The first chart presents the transformation of Greek Cypriot Monuments in

the three periods. While the fall of force after 1975 and the rise of authority after 1960 and coercion after 1975 is obvious in the chart, both of the potentials of resistance and reappropriation are declined during the time. However the potential of opposition is fallen and then raised after the second period in the Greek Cypriot Monuments. The similar results for the Turkish Cypriot monuments can be observed in the below chart.

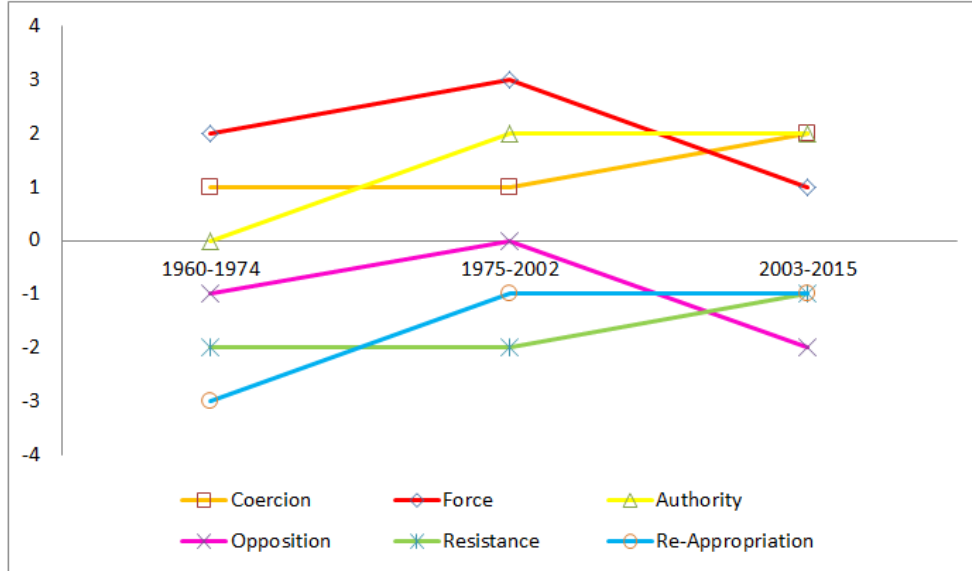
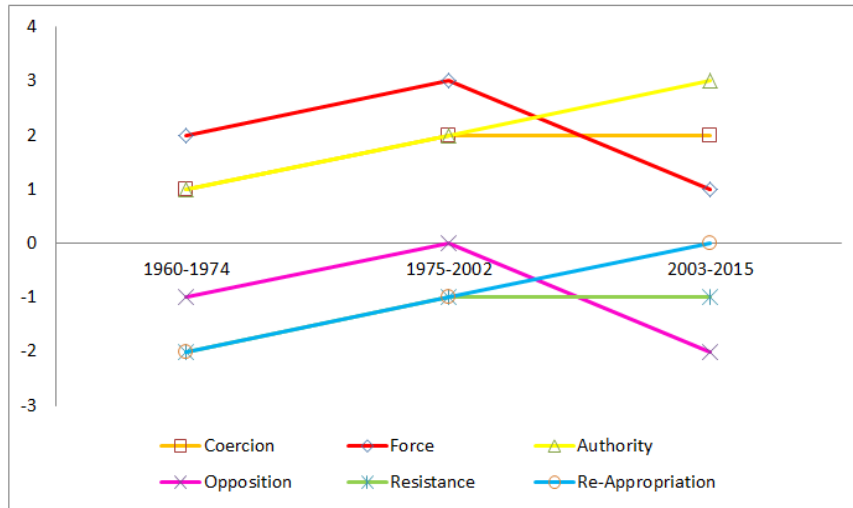


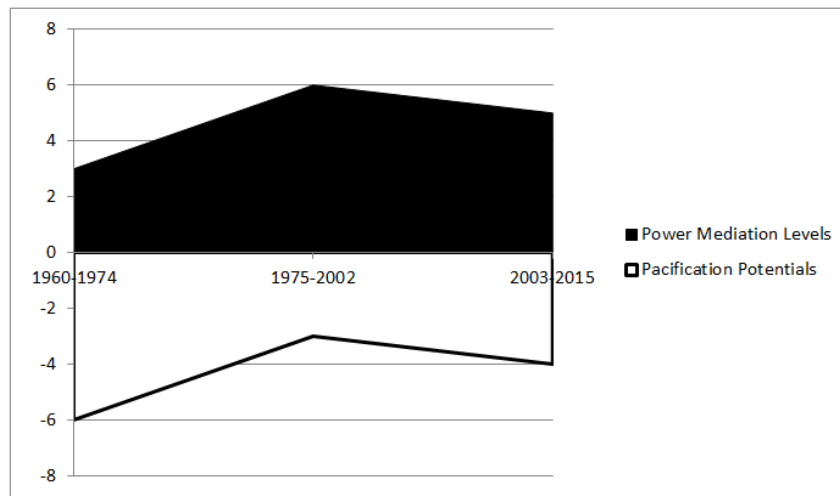
Fig 25: The Details of the Transformation of the Power Mediation Levels and Pacification Potentials in the Samples of Greek Cypriot Monuments in the Three Periods of the Cyprus Conflict, produced by author



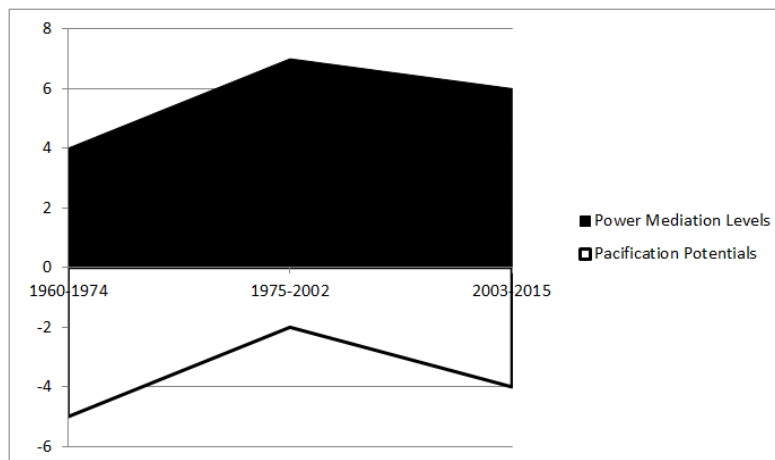
**Fig 26:** The Details of the Transformation of the Power Mediation Levels and Pacification Potentials in the Samples of Turkish Cypriot Monuments in the Three Periods of the Cyprus Conflict, produced by author

The two below charts, summarised the transformations of the oppression in the architecture of Greek and Turkish Cypriot monuments. These charts visualised the breakpoint of 1974 as the highest power mediation level and the lowest pacification

potential and presented the decline of power mediation level and the rise of pacification potential in the monuments of both communities after 1974.



**Fig 27:** Transformation of the Power Mediation Levels and Pacification Potentials in the Samples of Greek Cypriot Monuments in the Three Periods of the Cyprus Conflict, produced by author



**Fig 28:** Transformation of the Power Mediation Levels and Pacification Potentials in the Samples of Turkish Cypriot Monuments in the Three Periods of the Cyprus Conflict, produced by author

## 5. Conclusion

The monuments of the three different historical periods in Cyprus, in the both communities, reflect the political will of the power and act as instruments of oppression. However the results of the evaluations of these six monuments, according to the developed methodology based on the nine power-related norms of monumentality which are identified in this article, show us the oppression of diverse modes of power over space in different periods.

While in the first period, 1960-1974 and, in the second period, 1975-2002, the monuments are mostly under the rules of force in the monuments of the third period, 2003-2015, the power of the force is replaced by the oppression of authority. Parallel to these results, the pacification potentials of the monuments decreased before 1974 and rose after that time and the new monuments carry the highest level of potential of opposition in the last 50 years, which is strongly related to the high level of hope for peace and reconciliation and re-union in Cyprus.

Another outcome of the evaluation is related to the function of the monuments in the three different periods. In the first period of the conflict when the conflict is alive and active the monuments act as public media to publicize and cherish the conflict. In the second period of the conflict when the conflict is suspended, however is new and reproducible, monuments function as the frozen terrascapes which are refreshing the enmity and producing the ideological history in a way that satisfy the state. In the third period when the conflict resolution is in the agenda, the monuments are ignoring the conflict and engaging other issues without the presence of conflict time.

The third result is related to the stories of the monuments. In the first period, monuments represent the chapters of the real story of the real people. But in the second period they embody the abstraction of the real story. In the third period they ignore the real story.

Architecture and design as it is seen in the six diverse case studies in this article is more engaged with the second period, the period in which the monuments are frozen terrascapes with the most oppression power. Architecture as the arm of force and coercion, as it is seen in the examples, can constitute oppression. However everyday life practices of people, their opposition, resistance and re-appropriation always perform to defunctionalize oppression and tyranny. This is possible if human beings can occupy their life-world, remove architecture and replace it with a habitat.

## 6. Acknowledgments

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