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HER CITY

Spatializing Gender Relations in a Cypriot City

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Acknowledgements

Abstract

The thesis aims to investigate women's everyday experiences of navigating the relationships between home and work in order to understand spatial and perceptual boundaries and opportunities that are inherent, constructed and implied within the city's urban form. Boundaries refer to restrictions imposed on women by social structures through constructed space, and opportunities refer to ways in which the built environment either does or could improve women's urban experience. These issues are explored through study of urban development and form, and evolving cultural and gender relations in the Cypriot city of Limassol, a coastal city of approximately three hundred thousand that grew substantially towards the end of the twentieth century. The research considers women's entry into the workforce over the past fifty years as a pivotal moment of transition and seeks to unpack its significance for the relationship between women and the city today. Investigations delved into women's understanding of the relative efficiency of urban space, women's awareness of how gender relations are affected by the built environment, and women's willingness to embrace spatial and social alternatives. Thus, women's experiences become a lens through which to read and understand the urban landscape, as well as an opportunity to consider how the production and consumption of space might further conditions for greater equality and inclusion. Interdisciplinary methods applied involve grounded theory analysis and mappings of qualitative data extracted from interviews, and visualizations of onsite observations. Ultimately, the research uncovers a complex relationship between women and various iterations of privacy within constructed space, and explores its implications in perpetuating women's uneven urban experiences. Since fostering gender equality is a fundamental aspect of good urbanism, the research aims to contribute to the discourses of spatial democracy and social sustainability, in which the need for socio-political considerations to play more decisive roles in urban development processes is emphasized.

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Introduction

Women, the City and Urban Development: Key Ideas and Concepts

A key question at the onset of the research has been how socio-spatial relationships can be defined and contextualized to further the study of spatial and perceptual boundaries. In order to understand the relationship between space and time in the urbanization process David Harvey regards time and place as passive, neutral containers of social action.[1] The containers allow the on-looker to locate and observe where action is occurring. If one considers the city to be the container, then the social processes that take place can refer to contestations of race, gender, class in society etc.[2] Harvey proposes that a radical way to view this is to assume that the city – the container – is constantly under construction and that contestations are over the way in which it is constructed.[3] Consequently, matters of race, gender and class impact the construction of the container in distinct ways. This thesis is building on Harvey's perspective, focussing on how gender relations impact the construction of a city and how, in turn, the city impacts on gender relations, but also where opportunities for contestation lie.

From the outset of this research, I have been particularly interested in how women's presence in the realm of economic activity has been bound up with how the city is structured and organized, but also with the restrictions that constructed space creates. Exploring this premise involves examining a range of intersecting processes, from social conditioning and the preservation of cultural 'norms' or expectations regarding planning and development as activities undertaken predominantly by men, to the ways in which the form of the city establishes relations between domestic worlds and environments of work and production. Thus, through this research, I wish to explore the relation between societal roles and stereotypes and their link to spatial conditions that restrict women's urban experience, as well as possible socio-spatial opportunities that could enhance women's everyday life.

If it is assumed that societal roles and stereotypes constitute an intricate part of a highly complex system responsible for the lack of gender equality in the work force, then how does this condition translate into space and built form? What is the spatial component that acts as a hindrance to this particular aspect of equality? Spatial

equality from a gender perspective can be regarded in terms of accessibility. In an urban space, access to employment has a double connotation. On the one hand, it refers to accessibility in terms of opportunities for women in the employment arena and, on the other, it refers to physical access to the employment setting. In both cases, accessibility is closely intertwined with the notion of boundaries, where boundaries act as virtual and physical forces that need to be negotiated in order to achieve varying degrees of accessibility. At the same time, the notion of access to the city's commercial centre and public realm where most employment opportunities are concentrated, is subject to a temporo-spatial component regulating women's domestic experience, i.e. the spatial distribution and design of the private house need to facilitate women who have the dual role of homemaker and full-time member of the workforce in order to enable them greater efficiency in managing their domestic responsibilities.

The literature that addresses the theme of gender and architecture is interdisciplinary, though much is focussed on Anglo–American and European contexts and development processes. Women's presence in urban development is frequently seen through a male perspective, which is often assumed to be neutral. Urban historian Sam Bass Warner, for example, considers access to employment opportunities and to physical space, i.e. transportation, as key parameters to the growth of the industrialized city of the nineteenth century in the United States and he indicates that the geography of these cities reflects a combination of changes in these two forms of access.[4] He posits that industrialization in the nineteenth century was reflected in the appearance of large buildings that were originally utilized as Counting Houses by merchants and other businessmen, and were gradually subdivided into offices for wholesale and commission merchants, importers, commodity traders, bankers, insurance and real estate offices, lawyers, surveyors and other professionals. These developments, according to Warner, marked the formation of the early nineteenth-century downtown centres in America.[5] Buildings gradually began to take the form of four- to five-storey office buildings. Hotels began to be located adjacent to this concentration, as well as business premises for textile merchants who catered to the wealthier local professionals, shop and business owners. Also located nearby would be a street offering services and goods affordable to the working class.[6] As shops and other commercial activity continued to develop intertwined with family houses, this base grew into what Warner described as a 'pepper and salt' mix of work and residence. Railroads, shipyards, coal yards and gas works required large spaces and were located in the fringes of

the cities.[7] As time progressed, railroad lines became industrial corridors. Gradually, city residents who owned a small amount of capital would lend some of it for a period of five to maybe ten years to local builders and brokers, thus providing the economic setting for the future industrial metropolis.[8]

Warner further describes how women in the early 1800s were traditionally occupied with employed domestic responsibilities, whereas women immigrants would more frequently work in factories.[9] After marriage, he continues, it was quite common for some women to lease houses and run them as boarding houses, where they would offer single rooms and two meals a day. With the turn of the century, women were afforded the opportunity to take on other forms of employment such as working in stores, or as school teachers, or nursing.[10] Nowhere in Warner's account does the issue of access or transportation become crucial in women's employment opportunities; however, it is clear that the integration of residential and industrial land uses had a bearing on family life and gender relations in the late nineteenth century.

Hayden suggests that these historical incongruities result from a lack of consideration of architectural history for social and political issues, in much the same way as social history has developed without considering space or design.[11] Hayden further posits that in order to understand women's contribution in the development of urban space, we must illuminate the significance of everyday landscapes and seek urban history beyond the realm of civic buildings.[12]

Although much of the historical work on industrialization has left out important strands relating to women's role in urban development, there have been some pioneering ideas on how women urban experience could be improved. As industrial cities in the twentieth century continued to grow, they became more populated, polluted and unliveable. In the United Kingdom (UK), the Garden City movement was formed in response to the insalubrity of the industrial city. Ebenezer However, in place of the mixed use form of the existing city, it introduced the concept of zoning, involving a system of concentric rings that were intended to separate different functions of the city with concentric roadways and greenbelts.[13] In spite of the clear disadvantages from a gender perspective that zoning and separation of uses presents, Howard was influenced by late nineteenth century feminist ideas of inclusive urban design and proposed a scheme of garden apartments arranged around a collective kitchen, a dining room and open space, specifically geared for

the single working women, the elderly and two-earner family couples.[14] Although these schemes did not become a standard provision in the Garden Cities constructed in the UK or wider afield, it is important to note that these types of spatial solutions were offered as early as the beginning of the twentieth century as a means of providing opportunities for women to manage their domestic tasks collectively so that they may have greater or equal opportunities in the public arena.

By the middle of the twentieth century in the United States, zoning laws became a key parameter in configuring urban form, where Warner explains zoning practices as a means of protecting developers who owned large, expensive suburban properties or owners of expensive real estate in the city centres.[15] Zoning restrictions ensured that inappropriate uses like petrol stations, cheap houses, bars etc., would not compromise the value of the luxury plot or that large, warehouse-like buildings did not take up marketable office space in the downtown areas.[16] At the same time, the process of reducing inner-city density, suburbanization, concurrent with the appearance of the automobile, began to take shape. Although not directly acknowledged by Warner, the latter development in urban process inevitably contributed to more physical distance between women and their access to the labour market.

By separating residential and commercial activities, division of labour along gender lines become entrenched.[17] Feminist theorists have posited that the residential areas were designed by men to accommodate 'respectable women', and that these women were expected to perform and excel in the feminine skill of homemaking, instead of claiming their place in the labour force.[18] This condition became especially pronounced by the middle of the twentieth century. For Hayden and others, suburban districts gradually came to symbolize the private realm where urban cores – the domain of economic activity – maintained a more public status.[19] A woman's social 'place' came to be regarded and represented as intrinsically private, whereas a man's role was more public. A woman who wished to seek employment in the conventional, white-collar, public realm would have to overcome not only scheduling difficulties in order to manage her domestic responsibilities, but she would have to allocate time to physically access the areas of commercial activity, i.e. the public realm.

According to Franck, the goal of every feminist designer should be to minimize this separation between public and private space and between paid labour work and

home life.[20] The aim should be to connect, through activities and through space.[21] Over the last fifty or so years, spatial connections and integration of activities have been interpreted and executed in many ways. Hayden redesigned an American suburban block of thirteen houses in order create conditions of domestic collaboration and employment opportunities, while in the UK in the 1970s, the Nina West Homes group built and renovated over sixty living units that would accommodate single parents by integrating children's play areas and day centres that were managed by people from the neighbourhood.[22] Similarly, Bradshaw of Matrix, a feminist design collective, interprets integration as a participatory design process that unites the architect or the design with the client and/or the user.[23]

In addition to providing infrastructure that facilitates women's routines and processes of everyday life through childcare and sharing domestic tasks, spatial equality from a gender perspective should also consider infrastructure on a macro scale. Women's needs in the public realm centre on safety, public transportation, access to services and to commercial areas and public toilets.[24] Such progressive planning initiatives can be found in the non-profit education association, Urban Ecology Australia, who state that cities that are good for children are good for everyone. EuroFEM, a Gender and Human Settlements Network founded in 1994 by a group of European women scholars, is also committed to promoting gender mainstreaming in planning policy.[25] The network supports job creation, models of participatory engagement and reorganizing everyday life around housing, drawing from historic ideals of collective living.[26] EuroFEM has also produced a collection of participatory and culturally sensitive methods in the form of a toolkit for collaborative planning.

It is thus accepted that the Western urban typology of the twentieth-century city centre and surrounding sprawl served to express and reinforce differentiated gender roles. To this point, Greed considers town planning and feminism and recognizes them as two of the most important social movements in modern times, where feminism can become a prism through which one can evaluate the built environment and also a driving force for change.[27] How, then, can we enable transitions from the theoretical state to influence processes of decision-making? If the overarching target is to combine the design of the physical realm with the needs of the social world, then it becomes reasonable to assume that this transition has to follow a format based on a bottom-up approach where women become active agents in the making of the socially progressive city.

In spite of the growing momentum in the practice of inclusive design, some of its proponents maintain that mainstream architecture is still in denial with regard to participation and that this denial is equal to a rejection that is brought forth with no obligation for justification.[28] Thus, inclusivity, like gender-unequal cities, is deeply and inherently political because it affects people's lives and it ameliorates relationships of power.[29] Although integrating elements of women's lives into urban form is a gesture that has been evolving for a few decades, the actual integration of gender theories within the multidisciplinary field of urban studies has been a more recent development.[30] This research hopes to contribute to spatial equality from a gender perspective by exploring two axes, access to labour and spatial domestic alternatives, which are contingent to gender equality and are intimately connected to each other. To that point, socially constructed gender relations can be deciphered through the city, specifically through an exploration of boundaries and opportunities that have spatial and/or physical components. While mapping these boundaries, this research aims to consider areas in which it may be possible to create conditions for better access to labour, i.e. physical access to the public realm and access to opportunity.

Research Origins and Development

As set out above, the research began as an all-encompassing exploration of gender and space profoundly inspired by Dolores Hayden's iconic essay, 'What Would a Non-Sexist City Be Like? Speculations on Housing, Urban Design, and Human Work'. Upon completing the literature review, which included research from the disciplines of architecture, urban design, planning, landscape architecture, geography and sociology, research parameters became better defined and the singular aim of the investigation was established. Based on the analytical framework provided by the review, the aim of the research is the investigation of women's everyday experiences of navigating relationships between home and work that will enable the uncovering of boundaries and opportunities that either restrict or improve women's everyday life. Since the concept of experience is as extensive as it is elusive, notions of boundaries and opportunities were the parameters selected to contextualize the research. Boundaries refer to conditions that are prohibitive or preventative in women's daily habitation of the city, and opportunities refer to possible ways in which alternative conditions could enhance and improve their

experience. In this way, Limassol can be examined through the lens of Harvey's city-container, constantly under construction, where social processes happen.[31]

My opening proposition is that women's place within social structure has been influenced by restrictive spatial conditions within the built environment, and conversely, that women's active role in social processes has definitively impacted urban development. The research's analytical framework is based on three aspects: firstly, an acknowledgment of the reciprocal relationship between social order and spatial form and development, secondly, an understanding that the contemporary post-industrial Western city does not provide conditions of equality from a gender perspective, and thirdly, the form of the post-industrial city where the public realm is separated from the private realm of domesticity creates physical and perceptual boundaries for women, as well as possibilities for amelioration.[32] In order to ground empirical research, the coastal city of Limassol in Cyprus is examined as a case study.

Unlike most European cities that have experienced approximately five hundred years of urban growth spurred on by industrial development, cities in Cyprus did not begin to develop until the end of the Ottoman occupation, which occurred in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Consequently, in Cyprus urban development overlaps with international awakenings towards gender equality. Limassol, the island's second largest city, experienced its most rapid growth in the 1960s and 70s, coinciding with the second wave of feminism and women's entry into the workforce across much of the Western world. However, though women did begin to enter the workforce here too, patriarchal norms that were deeply rooted in the agrarian society of Cyprus remained quite prominent.[33] Thus, Limassol is a particularly interesting study of how international socio-political tendencies are manifested in urban development.

The research examines Limassol at various scales, ranging from the city in its entirety and zooming in to a location within Limassol that was selected as a study area where mappings and on-site observations of how women and men inhabit public space. The site under consideration is the neighbourhood surrounding Heroon Square, located in the historic area of the city, which is also part of the city's contemporary public realm. This particular site within the public realm was selected because of its layered history of perceptual and spatial boundaries, as well as its public character and its proximity to residential areas. The Heroon Square

neighbourhood underwent particular transitions and transformations throughout the twentieth century, not so much in its physical character as in the boundaries of social relations. The area has experienced decades of varied expressions of community exclusion, marginalization and segregation both racially and in terms of gender. This site was chosen not only because of its remarkable history, but because, according to participants' responses in the interviews, this is where most women locate Limassol's city centre, and as such, this is the heart of Limassol's public realm for them (Figure (i)). The paradox of the current perception of the centrality of the Square, in spite of its past history as a red-light district, can be attributed to the Technical University's significant efforts in rejuvenating the area by appropriating and restoring buildings and providing incentives for cultural and commercial activities. The transformation from red-light district to an area of economic development signifies a shift in women's place within the space from 'prostitute' serving men's desires, to worker and colleague.

Once owned by a prominent Turkish family with Christians forbidden entrance, the Heroon neighbourhood experienced transformation in the twentieth century as property was gradually bought by the municipality of Limassol to create a public square.[34] By the second half of the century, it became the city's red-light district, as well as an underground hub for artists and intellectuals. Following Limassol's commercial development resulting from municipal efforts and boosted by the purchase of several buildings in the area by the Technical University in the last twenty years, Heroon Square has since become a vibrant centre of cultural and commercial activity surrounded by residential areas. In addition to activity related to the Technical University buildings, the area around the Square is energised by a restored historic theatre, several art spaces, restaurants and tavernas. As a place that has undergone constant change, the Square has a complex identity and reputation for Limassolians, where the women participating in the research are called to reflect on its centrality and its role as a centre of economic growth but also as a more marginal place.

My own connection to the area dates back to my childhood, when I would spend my summers at my grandmother's house, which was within walking distance from the Square. It was made abundantly clear to me, my sister and my cousins that Heroon Square was an area we were not allowed to approach. Shortly after my ninth birthday, a friend of my grandmother's offered to take me and my sister to buy a sandwich from 'somewhere nearby'. Upon our return, she asked us where we had

gone with her friend. When we replied that she had taken us to a sandwich shop in Heroon Square, my grandmother pursed her lips, but said nothing. Years later, I found that she did not speak to her friend ever again. For me and my sister, those few moments we spent at the Square were fairly unremarkable. We were not worldly enough to recognize the signs of the kind of illicit activity that happened behind closed doors, which explained why there were no sightings of scantily clad women or disreputable men.

Figure (i) The drawing above shows how the participants' responses indicate where Limassolian women consider the city centre to be. Each grey layer represents a response, thus the more frequent the reference to the area, the darker the shade of grey[i]

Women's relation to the city is examined in terms of social structures and, specifically, in relation to women's entry into the paid labour force. Social structure refers to the collective cultural conditioning that normalizes women's role as principally domestic and men's role as the provider who is also the de facto head of the household. Research methods were mixed although mostly qualitative and were based on two pillars, (i) a series of interviews analysed through grounded theory methods and spatialized through mappings, and (ii) a set of site investigations and visualizations on Heroon Square and Limassol at large.

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[i] Drawn by Georgia Theokli and Anna Papadopoulou

In aiming to elucidate boundaries that are related to social structures, the research explored the public and private spheres and the following questions were pursued through a grounded theory method that is detailed in chapter 2:

- How do Limassolian women read the city and how do they evaluate their individual urban experience? To what degree does Limassol function equally for all women?
- How are Limassolian women aware of boundaries and opportunities linked to the built environment in navigating their everyday lives? What kinds of alterative areas or thresholds zones are created as a response to tensions in gender relations?
- To what extent do and how willing are Limassolian women to embrace socio-spatial alternatives in domesticity, e.g. sharing domestic tasks with non-family members, in order to facilitate their ambitions and desires?

These questions concentrate on the essence of spatial equality, on investigating how urban democracy and its boundaries are manifested and on identifying parameters and conditions. The research findings, as well as those of the literature review, are laid out via two conceptually and spatially opposite entities: the public and the private. In the first chapter, a review of literature is provided in order to construct a narrative of spatial exploration, starting with gender interplay within the home, gender constructs and perceptions reinforced by spatial conditions. It then proceeds to study the separation of public and private spheres and concludes with an exploration of ways and occasions where women's role in social process has impacted architecture and urban form. The literature review aims to explore gender both as a consequence of space and as a condition of agency towards spatial change.

Research methods and their theoretical underpinning are presented in chapter 2, where the chapter traces the process of formulating and conducting the semi-structured interviews, data analysis and visualizing data through mapping. Attention is focussed on how relevant literature has been employed in crafting questionnaires and in explaining how grounded theory methods are applied to analyse information and synthesize the findings. The next chapter is chapter 3, which addresses Limassol as a case study through the lenses of feminism and urban development on three fronts. Firstly, the chapter explores the conditions that reinforced the

separation of the public and private realms of the city, and secondly, it considers how women have been absent from historiographic and spatial accounts as a consequence patriarchy and of the public and private separation. The third front on which Limassol is investigated is gender presence in the public realm through on-site investigations. Heroon Square, the case study 'within' the case study becomes the focus of a series of site analysis activities where women's presence is documented at different hours of the day, on different days of the week.

Attempting to construct a historiographic account that relates urban development and gendered social process, chapter 3 focusses on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and examines the growth of Limassol through available literature. The narrative of Limassol's history is drawn from studies on the city's sociological, economic and architectural development, and is complemented by exposing the presence of Limassolian women, either through documented data or measured assumptions derived from informal interviews. Thus, the chapter aims to bridge the historical gap in the literature by presenting a historiographic perspective of Limassol that serves as a foundation for the study of the evolution of gender relations and urban development.

Chapter 4 explores women's experience in the public realm and chapter 5 aims to elucidate conditions and parameters that affect women's habitation of the private realm. Both of these draw on the findings from my interviews. The public realm was examined through women's responses on their relation to centrality on a physical and a perceptual level. Some women's experiences of the private realm were framed around the premise that the single-family house typology that is popular in areas around the city centre and in the suburbs is not conducive to facilitating women's domestic responsibilities, whereas other women who live around Heroon Square were called to consider the benefits and drawbacks of living in a mixed-use area. In both cases, women are perpetually burdened with the dual role of homemaker and member of the paid labour force.

Finally, chapter 6 synthesizes and consolidates the research outcomes in an analytical way that addresses the issues set forth through the original intention of the thesis, which was the study of urban boundaries and opportunities with respect to gender relations. The chapter begins by recounting the significance of dualities in the study of women and space and continues with discussion on three types of boundaries that emerge from the research. The boundaries that Limassolian women

negotiate with on a daily basis resulting from their dual role are temporal, spatial and perceptual. Temporal boundaries refer to the challenges women face in managing their time between completing daily domestic chores and fulfilling their duties at work and it is indeed these boundaries that have brought on the most noticeable changes in the city. Spatial and perceptual boundaries appear to have a largely symbiotic relationship and in the private realm, their spatial component is exposed through housing typologies that promote women's isolation and serve to distance women from the possibility of sharing domestic labour with other women in the neighbourhood in order to improve their daily experience. The perceptual component of this particular boundary becomes apparent from the participants' responses that indicate an unchallenged preference for this insular type of house.

The overall argument is that co-existing spatial and perceptual boundaries organize and control gender relations within the built environment, where women themselves assume particular roles in this process. Their role is at times passive in accepting the conditions of their urban experience, and at other times they are culpable in perpetuating boundaries and restrictions by embodying cultural norms and practices. Perceptual conflicts and spatial gestures such as those described above give rise to an assembly of fascinating traces that indicate how the built environment responds to social relations and their constant flux. Similarly, social relations are impacted by the static nature of urban form and architectural design. Does this reciprocal relationship between gender and space produce cities that are spatially more equal, democratically inclined and socially inclusive? Since a city has yet to be designed and built in this way, there can be no definitive response to this question. Through grounded theory methods, the research aims to provide a framework for evaluating urban development from a gender perspective and a qualitative understanding of the processes within that framework that can be applied to other urban settlements outside Cyprus.

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[2] Ibid., pp. 230-238.
[3] Ibid., pp. 230-238.

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[5] Ibid., pp. 50-58.

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[7] Ibid., pp. 50-58.

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[11] Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1995), p. 72.

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[21] Ibid., pp.294-304.

[22] Hayden, What Would a Non-Sexist City Be Like? pp. 170-187.

[23] Francs Bradshaw, 'Working with Women', in *Gender, Space, Architecture, An Interdisciplinary Introduction,* ed. by Jane Rendell, Barbara Penner and Iain Borden (New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 282-294.

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[25] Jarvis, Cloke and Kantor, p.133.

[26] Ibid., p.133.

[27] Greed, *Women and Planning*, p. 6.

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[31] Harvey, p. 249.

[32] Hayden, What Would a Non-Sexist City Be Like? pp. 170-187; Hayden, *Redesigning the American Dream*; Michael Dear and Jennifer Wolch eds., The *Power of Geography* (Boston: Hyman Unwin, 1990) cited in Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscape as Public History* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1995), p. 23; Daphne Spain, *Gendered Spaces* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), pp. 7, 29; Daphne Spain,

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Chapter One

Reviewing Literature on Constructing Gender and Creating Space

> 'Quite like old times,' the room says. 'Yes? No?'
> There are two beds, a big one for Madame and a smaller one on the
> opposite side for the monsieur. The wash-basin is shut off by a curtain. It is a
> large room, the smell of cheap hotels faint, almost imperceptible. The street
> outside is narrow, cobble-stoned, going sharply uphill and ending in a flight
> of steps. What they call an impasse.
>
> Jean Rhys, *Good Morning Midnight*[1]

1.1 Introduction

In the quote by Jean Rhys, the room is an allegory of how objects, and ultimately
space, and can be gendered reflecting ideas of social order, and how the structural
permanency of these gender constructs is unsustainable. Monsieur gets the small
bed and madame gets the big one so that she may accommodate monsieur's
desires during the night.[2] But perhaps the most telling aspect of the account of that
moment in Jean Rhys' book is the symbolic dead end that is met by the uphill road.
Not only is the cobbled road narrow, it follows a steep incline and ends in an
impasse. This suggests to me and perhaps to other readers that Rhys is issuing a
warning or even a premonition that the gender interplay performed inside the room
is onerous and ambitions for its amelioration are futile.

This chapter addresses how space in gendered, involving a review of existing
literature that considers relationships between women's lives and spatial
organization, focusing on how social and spatial boundaries are created. In
particular, I am interested in the tensions and nature of boundaries between the
public and private realms. Throughout the research, I examine the separation of the
public and the private at two levels. First, I consider the public and private duality on
an urban level and examine international literature purporting that this spatial
separation disadvantages women's quality of life. Thus, I search for sites and
territories where this duality is mitigated or compromised. The second way in which
I examine the separation is by zooming in Heroon Square in chapter 3, where I
consider the public and private division on an architectural level. The research

considers the public realm to refer to commercial and administrative areas within the city centre where most opportunities for employment are concentrated, and the private realm to refer to areas where there is a concentration of residential neighbourhoods.

The separation of the public and the private is not one that is ever strictly demarcated on either an urban or an architectural scale. Interstitial spaces, transition zones and thresholds serve to blur boundaries and jurisdictions. For instance, on an urban scale this blurring is manifested in areas of mixed use which function as transitions between the two realms, creating thresholds and zones of evolution. Similarly, on an architectural scale it is experienced in shared spaces encountered in co-housing units, courtyards or balconies.

In some instances of the literature review examined in the chapter gender appears to be a passive presence in space and the chapter considers the preconceptions that maintain this condition. The chapter also examines occasions within the literature where women, in spite of their socially sanctioned role, have been the impetus for spatial changes, adjustments or transformations, in contrast to the situation presented by Rhys. In other words, the chapter tries to climb Rhys' virtual steps and see what lies beyond. The chapter aims to provide tools and a foundation for reading and understanding the built environment from a gender perspective in order to provide a basis for exploring women's everyday experiences of navigating spatial relationships in the city of Limassol which is the case study examined in chapter 3.

The narrative begins by exploring the importance of the physical and perceptual of the separation of the public and the private realms, followed by an exploration of spatial equality through a gender lens in order to uncover conditions that could encourage and empower the influence of Limassolian women in the realms of architecture and urban design. The chapter also investigates how new form has or could evolve from the reciprocal relationship between women's role in social processes and the development of the built environment. When possible, the chapter shifts from the global to the local, by juxtaposing international theories and positions on gender and space with relevant data regarding the case study in order to set the premise for the questions the fieldwork will attempt to answer in later chapters.

Literature focussing on international issues of gender and architecture began appearing towards the end of the 1970s and, according to architectural theorist Jane Rendell, since then it has shifted from modern to postmodern in its philosophical orientation.[3] According to architectural theorist Hilde Heynen, the second wave of feminism in the sixties and seventies brought on a cross-disciplinary discourse on gender from which spatial practices emerged that served to advance a critical consideration of architecture as a social art.[4] The broad field of studies relating to gender and architecture can be regarded from three perspectives, or logics of thought, that are loosely chronological. These are described by Heynen as the equality logic, the difference logic and the logic of constructionism.[5] The logic of equality presumes an intrinsic equality between men and women, and exposes women's oppression in power and spatial organization.[6] Theorists of the equality model regard the perceptual dichotomy of men and women and their respective associations with the public and private realm as an instrument of discrimination and imbalance of power.[7] This position is supported by Markussen; Spain; Massey; Hayden; Jarvis, Cloke and Kantor; Wilson; Andrew; and Greed, whose work is further discussed below.[8]

The difference logic recognizes equality between genders but highlights fundamental differences between the genders that ought to be embraced by architectural practices in the production of space.[9] Specifically, proponents of this logic suggest that architecture and urbanism should shift from a masculinist approach of rationality, functionality, control and prestige and focus on what is considered a more feminist design approach that is elevated by the principles of transparency, inclusiveness, flexibility, participatory methods, a reflection of the social reality and respect for the earth.[10] According to Heynen, supporters of this logic include Weisman, Boys and Franck.[11] The third logic regards constructionist thinking as its key paradigm and operates on a recognition that built space is not a neutral platform for gender relations, but a spatial and cultural instrument that establishes and proliferates gender distinctions and hierarchies.[12] Contrary to the equality model, the constructionist model that derives its legitimacy not from a proclamation of oppression, but from its drive to expose and dissolve spatial and perceptual constructions in order to reveal what Heynen describes as their changeable nature.[13] This logic is supported by researchers such as Mirrane and Young, by McLeod and also by Vale who are discussed in this review.[14]

Although Heynen's three schools of logic provide a valuable critique on the evolution of scholarship in gender and architecture, the literature review has not been organized accordingly. Instead, it is separated into two themes, one that explores the relation of women's constructed, Westernized identity in the built environment as a passive participant and the other exploring an opposing perspective where women have acted as active agents of change in architecture and urban design. By juxtaposing these two positions and by applying knowledge derived from examining Limassol as a case study, the research aims to contribute to the positions of Heynen's constructionist logic by approaching spatial democracy through two axes: access to labour and built form. Thus, the study of gender helps to uncover urban conditions and boundaries that can be spatial, perceptual or otherwise.

1.2 Dualities: Separating the Public and Private Realms

Through my research, boundaries are regarded as analytical categories, and opportunities are conditions that are regulated by restrictions imposed on women by constructed space in Limassol or by social norms, and opportunities refer to ways in which the built environment could facilitate Limassolian women's everyday experiences. Boundaries can be physical as well as perceptual. The can occur at the interfaces between public and private spaces, between different land uses, different communities and social and racial strata. They can be political, geopolitical or polemical. Indeed, how they are materialized or spatially articulated is as important as how they are experienced or what they come to mean. This section of the literature review considers the spatial and cognitive components of boundaries by examining international literature that explores the separation of the public and private realms of cities located in Western Europe and the United States, and by considering how this may relate to the context of Limassol. Knowledge on boundaries is drawn from research by Miranne and Young, Semblat, Hendler and Harrison, and also Greed.[15]

Boundaries between Work and Home

According to Heynen, the separation between the home and the workplace in Europe came about early the nineteenth century.[16] Prior to that, the house was a

large structure that comprised workshops as well as residential accommodation for the entire family. As such, it did not present a separation between public and private spaces; thus domesticity, as it is known today, did not become established until the nineteenth century.[17] Madanipour suggests the reason for the separation was the change of attitude towards children.[18] In the Middle Ages, children of all backgrounds were sent away from their families to train or to work as apprentices or to become socially educated, thus limiting the nature of the relationship between parents and children to more of a moral and pragmatic nature, rather than a sentimental one. The home consisted of a large central room, the *salle*, where most activities such as labour and socializing took place with little regard for separation of use or privacy.[19]

As school education began to develop, especially within the middle classes, and theoretical knowledge was gaining ground over the old practice of apprenticeships, parents tended to keep their children nearer to the home.[20] This encouraged a stronger relationship between the parents and their children, thus bringing forth the need for privacy. Also contributing to the tendency to create spaces of varying degrees or privacy within the home was the development of the bourgeois house, which had to accommodate live-in servants and their activities.[21] This further led to the gradual development of different zones within the house that separated areas according to use, users and levels of required privacy. This was the earliest form of public and private zoning within the home that was solidified through the Renaissance and into the early industrial cities.

As described in the Introduction, industrial cities developed as a logistical answer to provide access to employment and as a consequence of the development of transportation.[22] Although Warner writes that zoning separation occurred as a practical solution to protect real-estate values, this position has been broadly disputed explicitly or implicitly by others who maintain that zoning has been a mechanism deliberately installed to keep women away from the workforce, thereby maintaining power within patriarchal norms.[23]

In addition to benefitting patriarchal authority, Wilson posits that town and city planning was purposefully organized in exclusion of women, children and other 'disruptive elements' that include the poor, the working class and minorities such as disabled people.[24] Fainstein suggests that the sharp separation of the public and private spheres of the city has been a method of protecting women from sexual

temptation,[25] whereas Greed suggests the separation might have a more hygienic intent. She explains that since the terms 'zoning' and 'sanitary' are etymologically linked, it can be implied that zoning practices separate the sacred from the profane, the pure from the diseased, the male from the female, in order to achieve an 'uncontaminated' society.[26] Greed's position is overall more measured in that it suggests that the socio-spatial status quo that is detrimental to women cannot be blamed entirely on men, since it is more than likely that there exists both men with egalitarian persuasions and women who are, as she calls it, 'anti-woman'.[27]

In spite of the assertion that separation of uses in the form of zoning is largely responsible for women's exclusion from the public realm, Hayden suggests that women's restrictions do not originate from zoning regulations per se, but can also be attributed to material culture itself. She suggests that women's restrictions towards social equality and equal access to employment can also be located in domestic distribution of space. Hayden describes the American home to be nothing more than a box to be filled with single-purpose, usually energy-consuming commodities.[28] In fact, Hayden, Fishman, Wright and Edwards support that the design of the private house of the twentieth century, its successors, its predecessors and its framework of existence is unsuitable for gender equality and acts not only to separate the single-family house from the world of jobs and public life, but in particular it isolates women from urban economic life.[29] Hayden and Edwards further suggest that conditions of isolation exist even within the house, as women find themselves busy with domestic work usually away from the rest of the family.[30]

Regardless of the motives of the separation of uses within the city and within the home, Miranne and Young, Andrew, and Ainley posit that women's place in the private realm of domesticity and men's dominance of the public arena was enabled and enhanced by the physical distance that separated the two.[31] Consequently, working women were and often remain challenged by temporospatial boundaries resulting from their dual role as homemakers and as equal members of the workforce.[32] This serves as a premise for exploring Limassolian women's urban experiences in navigating their journey between home and work.

Studies exploring that nexus between gender relations and the separation of urban spaces into zones that distinguish between public and private uses, concur that spatial zoning has severely stagnated Western women's role within social

structure.[33] Rendell refers to the separation of spheres as the 'most pervasive representation of gendered space', and further suggests that feminists find this framework particularly problematic because of its evolution as a self-referential system of binary assumptions of gender and space.[34] Such assumptions of opposing dualities aligned with male/female differences found in urban theory and design include inside/outside, work/home, production/reproduction, city/suburb, urban/rural, civilized/primitive etc.[35] Greed provides a comprehensive list of these dichotomies in her book *Women and Planning: Creating Gendered Realities*, and posits that these divisions that she refers to as scientific are manifestations of patriarchy, promoted by the town planning profession and are sustained by forms of spatial separation.[36]

Dismantling Dualities

While the research assumes the persistence of a separation between public and the private realms in Limassol, the research considers the existence of alternative spaces or blurred boundaries – fringe sites or sites of resistance, perhaps - that are organically created as a countermeasure or as a consequence of socio-spatial boundaries such as the public/private duality. Throughout the literature, these sites are referred to as thirdspace, otherness or 'other' spaces. The review examines the theoretical nature of dualities and the factors that perpetuate them, as well methods and occasions in international literature where these dualities are dismantled. This will enable the fieldwork to explore and identify sites of resistance to dualities within the case study.

The simplistic, reductive nature of dualities that disadvantage women because they disregard women's multiple identities is explored by Franck, and in Belenky and others, cited in Sandercock and Forsyth, and also in Kent, and Mirsa.[37] Jarvis, Cloke and Kantor posit that the process of dismantling binary conditions and their enduring fascination by scholars of gender and architecture is by exposing the multiplicity of urban identities, the complex economies operating within and by blurring temporospatial boundaries.[38] They do so by first addressing the origins of the dualities that have assiduously been employed by theorists such as urban/rural, real/imaginary cities, good/dysfunctional cities, civilized/primitive, modernity/post-modernity and collective/individual and attribute the existence of these dual associations to the limiting and persistent reference to male/female as defined by

biological sex. [39] As an example of challenging the veracity of these binary relationships, Jarvis, Cloke and Kantor point out that the common duality of urban and rural is demonstrably misleading, because most settlements are not easy to classify as either urban or rural in the conventional sense. [40]

Theorists have employed the meaning of thirdspace, 'otherness' or 'other' spaces to describe a phenomenon where dualities and binary systems are negotiated by considering alternative entities expressed through complex social engagement that have a dynamic and unpredictable interaction with the built environment. [41] Greed considers 'other' as the theoretical space one occupies when looking in from the outside. In this case, those who are outside are those who are excluded, or invisible, i.e. women in the field of urban planning. [42] Conversely, Soja and Hopper, cited in Boys, consider thirdspace not as an alternative to a single entity as in the case of Greed, but as a reconceptualization of simple dualisms in order to expand and oppose them. [43] Thirdspace, according to Soja and Hooper, allows for 'openness, flexibility and multiplicity' in understanding urban space and negotiating socio-spatial boundaries. [44] Thirdspace was considered in the context of the research as a possible coding mechanism in identifying space bounded by perceptual conditions.

McLeod cited in Petrescu, considers two types of 'other' spaces: spaces of other people, and other kinds of spaces. [45] McLeod discusses the two categories of scholars who advocate in favour of 'different' and 'otherness' and proposes it as an improvement over the status quo. [46] The first category is that of the Deconstructionists, who subscribe to unpredictability and controlled chaos and who identify themselves with the writings of Derrida. The Deconstructionists see 'otherness' as an inversion or a disruption of the formal status quo of architecture. [47] The second category refers to the followers of Foucault's 'heterotopias' who consider 'otherness' as a formal and social 'other.' [48] According to McLeod, Foucault's 'other' places are places that are unusual, or out of the ordinary, and it is at places such as these where disorder, multiplicity or perfection can be observed. [i] These observations are crucial and pertinent to the existing social order and grant an insight into the banality of everyday existence. [49] As discussed later in the chapter,

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[i] McLeod alludes to the platform of public participation on two occasions, firstly when referring to the possibility of other models of architectural production as 'the gap between architecture and what people make of it' (page 25) and further on when she rhetorically asks whether 'other architectures' i.e. buildings and urban spaces can be products that are more engaged with individual's emotional and physical lives as well as sensations of pleasure, comfort, humour and emotion.

women's 'place' in social structure is intrinsically linked to the private realm of domesticity and everyday life.

Soja and Hooper's thirdspace and McLeod's 'otherness' refer to theoretical spaces that must be different, but not entirely detached by the conditions defined in the original binary system and they must function between and within objectivism and subjectivism.[50] 'Otherness', according to Petrescu, is a physical space that exists within urban interstitial spaces which possesses intrinsic value.[51] She calls them leftover spaces that are sometimes created from what is overlooked by the real-estate market and by authorities.[52] These 'other' spaces, according to Petrescu, function as an alternative to more conventional forms of public space that have become subject to surveillance and control, with their rules and codes subject to constant redefinition.[53] They are heterogeneous, fragmented and multiple.[54]

The study of dualities provides the knowledge and the vocabulary needed to investigate the case study and to point the fieldwork to ways in which the margins of the public and the private are mitigated and inhabited. Exploring spatial and theoretical alternatives to the dualities that emerge from the ultimate dichotomy installed by the two genders enables the research fieldwork to look beyond the conventions of the spheres of the public and the private. It engages the fieldwork search for spaces of contention and compromise, as well as conditions where boundaries are blurred or unclear. As Soja puts it, the search for spatial justice is a multiscalar activity, thus, in order to look beyond dualities, it is imperative not only to consider spatiality, but to be able to look beyond it and into systems of social, economic and political interaction.[55]

1.3 Women's Potential as Agents of Change

Towards Spatial Equality: Justice and Participation

In spite of numerous critical studies that explore possibilities of dismantling dualities by considering alternative spatial and theoretical territories, physical realities of separations persist. These realities are exacerbated by urban sprawl and by the densification of administrative and commercial centres.[56] The case of Limassol bears marked similarities: a historic urban settlement that formed adjacent to the seafront in the nineteenth century and sprawled radially in the two centuries that

followed. The commercial and administrative centre remained at the site of the original settlement and the residential developments moved progressively outwards, thus separating the public and private spheres of the city (see chapter 3). Houses that were peppered within the city's historic core fell under two categories: urban palazzos and courtyard houses built in the first half of the twentieth century, and newer buildings including some apartment blocks built in the third quarter of the twentieth century. The houses in the first category became listed under the laws of historic preservation and houses and have either remained private houses or they are currently being used as shops, offices, restaurants, art spaces or for other commercial activities.

As Limassol's administrative and commercial centre coincides with the city's historic core that falls under laws of historic preservation, Limassol's urban form presents a paradox. While most Western cities' administrative and business districts are comprised of a dense urban fabric with high-rise buildings, Limassol's administrative and commercial area is characterised by narrow streets, low buildings and historic streetscapes (Figure 1.1). Newer building complexes and high-rise buildings housing tertiary services are located in sporadic locations, along Makarios Avenue, Franklin Roosevelt Avenue and other major arteries that developed in the fourth quarter of the twentieth century (Figure 1.2).
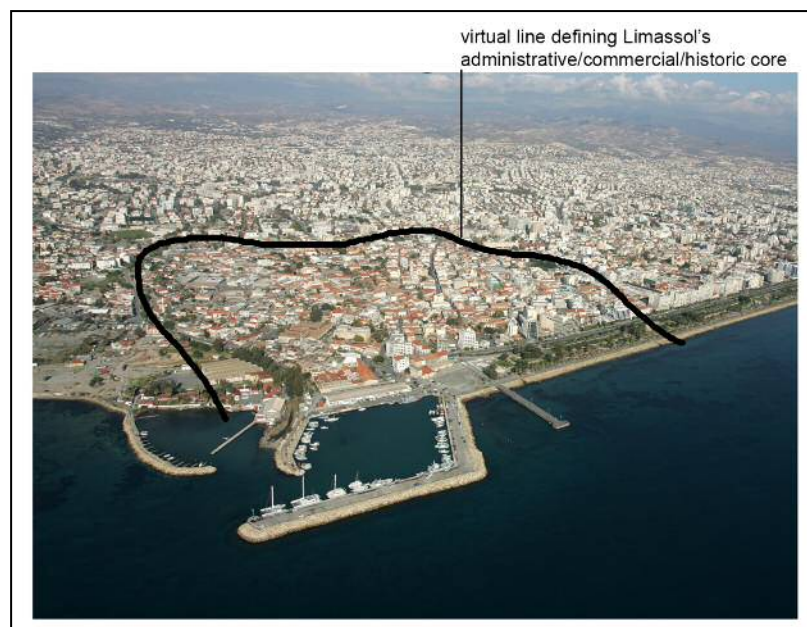
Figure 1.1 Areal image showing Limassol's low-rise city centre[ii]

[ii] Source: Patticheion Municipal Museum, Historical Archives, Research Centre of Limassol
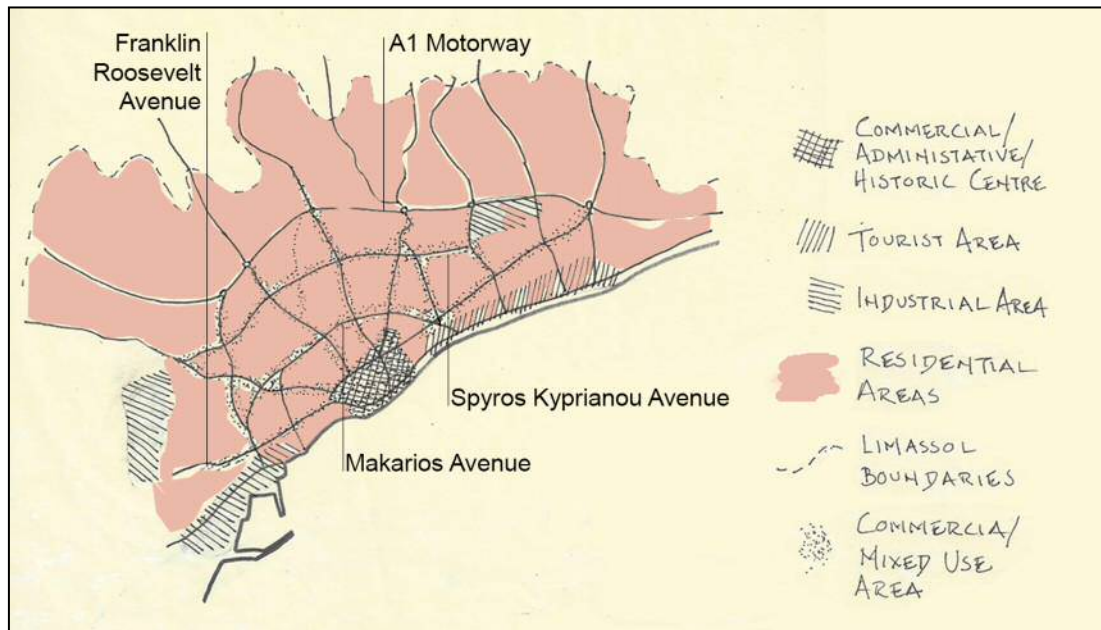
Figure 1.2 Limassol: roads and uses [iii]

If urban zoning and separation of the public and the private realm is a discriminating fait accompli, then what is the instrument that instigates it and under what conditions is it regulated? While exploring the endurance of systems of socio-urban dualities, the mechanics and parameters of the design and planning of the built environment reveal their complicity in perpetuating women's urban boundaries and restrictions. One argument advanced within the literature that explores Anglo-European and American paradigms, is that the planning discipline has been dominated by generations of male professionals is that the planning discipline has been dominated by generations of male professionals.[57] This is indeed the case in Cyprus, where town planning has always been practiced from a top-down perspective. Cyprus' Town Planning Authority was founded by the British around the middle of the twentieth century and was staffed by men until the fourth quarter of the century.[58]

Jarvis, Cloke and Kantor ask: to what extend has androcentrism in urban design been a conscious act on behalf of male planners and designers?[59] Is this bias conscious or cultural?[60] Jagger, cited in Greed, suggests that men pursue planning strategies not to consciously marginalize women, but because their strategies appear fair and logical to them, based on their cultural understanding of the world.[61] Nevertheless, if we are to assume, as Heynen suggests, that the built environment is the hardware of architecture and social institutions and discourses are the

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[iii] Sketch by Anna Papadopoulou

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software, then prejudices in urban planning can be traced to planning theory.[62] Sandercock and Forsyth suggest that planning theory lacks awareness of the location and movement of women within urban spaces, the links between public and domestic life, women's own awareness of urban networks, and which forms of communication women are most comfortable with.[63] Reasons for this lack of awareness can be attributed to the disconnect between urban studies and gender studies, whereby neither discipline appears to engage the other.[64] Throughout the fieldwork, and in particular, through the interview process, the research delves into issues of awareness the part of participants who are laypersons and on the part of those participants who come from the architectural professions in order to identify possibilities for spatial improvement from the perspective of both professionals and laypeople.

The research not only aims to investigate boundaries, but also to explore opportunities in terms of enhancing women's urban experience of economizing time in accessing places of employment, as well as how women themselves can become agents of change towards spatial equality in the city thus participating in improving their quality of life. The literature review considers international examples of mechanisms women can employ towards effecting change, conditions necessary for gender spatial equality to transpire in the public and in the private realms, as well as paradigms and examples where new form has materialized as a result of women's agency. Women's influence in the process and product of constructed space is explored by research studies that include Hayden, Spain and Greed who explore ways in which women have carved a journey towards spatial equality.[65] According to Faistein, de Graft-Johnson and Greed, aspects of justice, diversity and sustainability emerge while framing notions of spatial equality.[66] In this context, sustainability is considered beyond its environmental component and is regarded by the research as the social engagement that enables social process to play a more decisive role in the development of urban form. The importance of diversity and inclusivity in spatial equality for women is explored by Hayden, Hillier, de Graft-Johnson, and Greed, who suggest that participation is a means of enabling women's needs to be on the foreground of design decisions.[67]

Helgesen, cited in Gould and Hosey, finds interconnections between diversity, sustainability and participation by conceptualizing vision and voice as opposing forces, where diversity is a key component to sustainability and, as such, she proposes that the sustainable design movement is a condition that includes many

voices.[68] In considering the notions of vision and voice, Helgesen regards 'vision' to have a masculine persona and assumes 'voice' to have a feminine form of representation. She furthers the metaphor by suggesting that 'vision' belongs to the 'master architect', the genius, the hero, clearly representing the presence and stature of a tyrant. 'Voice', on the other hand, represents the collective, collaborative efforts that resist attempts to impose the vision of one man and supports that 'non-hierarchical organisation and collaboration are deeply subversive to the visionary'.[69]

Sandercock and Forsyth, and also Greed posit that women, as historically marginalized members of the community, possess the sense of urgency to act as facilitators in the participatory process.[70] Greed further asserts that women planners, in spite of their small numbers, have been pioneers in public participation processes.[71] However, although many women tend to be influential in community politics, their presence is generally ignored on a decision-making level in the urban arena.[72] Although methods of community participation and participatory design can offer an antidote to these inequalities by being a vehicle of transferring opinions to the decision makers, Greed and also Petrescu suggest that in order for it to be effective it must be executed as part of a gradual, long-term approach of local networks and community programmes instead of a 'hit and run', singular activity.[73]

Although women can be effective on the level of architectural and profession planning, Greed argues that where a woman is trying to establish herself in the professional arena so that she may become influential in the planning profession, she must first operate as a professional and not as a woman.[74] In order for a woman planner to establish herself she must first conform to the belief system of the professional subcultural group, which Rydin, cited in Greed, posits, is the foremost mechanism that translates patriarchal norms to constructed space.[75] Greed proposes that in order to effect change one must understand the forces that influence urban development, that is, one must first understand the nature of the beliefs and personal attitudes held by the members of the subcultural group and then trace the micro-level personal attitudes and interactions at a private level and deduce *how* these are channelled into the meso-level and enable the establishing of group identities on a macro-level.[76]

While Greed argues that women, and indeed any marginalized group who wishes to create conditions of agency towards spatial equality, must approach the system of

beliefs governing personal interactions, Fainstein warns that change can only be a circumstance of incremental progress.[77] Similar to Greed, Fainstein explores conditions of change within existing operating systems, but instead of existing social structures, Fainstein considers the socio-economic framework of capitalist urbanization.[78] As such, she posits that proposals regarding "just" cities must be feasible within current economic models.[79] To that point, she has been criticized by Harvey and Potter for attempting to mitigate the consequences of an established unjust system, thus avoiding struggle and conflict.[80] In response, Fainstein counters that the potential of conflict is nonetheless present and she further suggests that change towards a system of humane capitalism can occur through continued pressure for justice.[81]

For women's potential as agents of change to begin to materialize, certain social aspects have to be engaged. These conditions were explored by Stratigakos in her case study of Berlin where, at the turn of the twentieth century women began to claim Berlin by introducing physical interventions, erecting structures, and creating and occupying spaces as they were searching for an urban existence to support their developing identities.[82] For this to occur, four conditions had to be met. The first condition is attributed to the remarkable growth spurt experienced in Berlin at the time in question.[83] The second condition is dependent on the emergence of a notable population of single, independent women who became the instigators and the impetus for considerable experimentation in the architecture of the built environment.[84] This condition is also in accordance with the work of Friedman, whose study on women's impact on domestic design in the United States in the first quarter of the twentieth century, found that single women had the potential to reshape domestic design by creating well-designed, compact spaces that would, in a way, validate their decision not to marry.[85]

Regarding the latter point posited by Stratigakos and Friedman, Cypriot women of the same period, i.e. the middle of the twentieth century, were at a disadvantage. According to Persianis, at the beginning of the marked urbanization process in Cyprus, the strongest perception of women's position in society was that her ultimate purpose was to make an early marriage. Consequently, Persianis concludes that women's abilities, both physical and mental, were destined to be dependent and compared negatively against those of men.[86] As part of the contract of marriage as it was understood by the Cypriot society at the time, a woman's realm was clearly the private domestic one and her self-worth was closely identified

with her performance as a 'good' housewife and a 'good' mother. This social expectation allowed little room for women (single or married) to innovate. Single women who presented what Persianis referred to (but not explained) as 'revolutionary' tendencies, were threatened by their mothers that these propensities would make then undesirable to men.[87] Because of their early commitment to marriage, Cypriot women of that time had less potential to become instigators or leaders of domestic design in the way that the women of Stratigakos and Freidman were.

Another condition, according to Friedman and Stratigakos, necessary to enable women to effect change in architecture is linked to the role of higher education and professional careers that are unconventional in the traditional nuclear family.[88] The new independent woman was finally in a position to break away from traditional domestic spaces as had been previously defined for her by patriarchal structures and was in search of an entirely new infrastructure to accommodate her new lifestyle. Women lacked offices, places to entertain clients, places for them to relax with friends, dining areas where a lone woman could feel welcome and lastly, schools, clubhouses, exhibition venues and finally, a place to call home. In order for this infrastructure to materialize, women employed the support of wealthy women patrons, including rich widows.[89] Legal structures were also being installed at that time, affording professional women a crucial safeguard in materializing these projects.[90]

Further to Friedman and Stratigakos, during the second quarter of the twentieth century, the significance of higher education in women's claim towards gender-equal spaces is also coupled with improved employment opportunities and decreasing birth rates.[91] However, Betty Friedan argues that women's access to higher education may have afforded them an opportunity to claim their space in the city, but for those women trapped in suburbia, particularly after World War II, their awareness of their own potential through their exposure to education made them feel increasingly unhappy.[92]

Friedman further explores two groups of women of reformers who innovated architecture through domestic design. The first group comprised women who dedicated their lives in expanding the influence of women by extrapolating on the traditional values of the home.[93] They did so through public speaking and event organizing, helping women come together to share experiences and develop new

skills. The second group of women, who were generally younger than the previous group, focussed mainly on promoting higher education and concentrated on political activism and on creating professional opportunities.[94] The women described by Friedman discovered the pleasures and challenges of the city, thus constantly drifted further from the traditional sphere.[95] For a number of these women, the housing conventions of their time were becoming too restrictive and so they began looking for alternative ways to live freer, more useful and more modern lives.[96]

Similar to the issue of marriage discussed earlier, Cypriot women were disadvantaged compared to their Anglo-European and American counterparts regarding the issue of education. An overview of Cypriot women's education in the first half of the twentieth century is remarkably similar to Aristotle's position as it was presented in his Politics, which was thought to have been written in the fourth century BC: women were educated in 'extraneous', decorative elements that aided their prospects in being wed.[97] Educational concerns for women during the time of Limassol's intense urbanization, in the second half of the twentieth century, included being better mothers and wives, which located the pedagogical focus on religious and moral elements rather than scientific knowledge of better hygiene, nutrition and better upbringing. According to Persianis, women's education was regarded as a luxury that society could indulge in once local economic prosperity was reached by economic activities driven by the male segment of the population.[98] This lack of concern for the presence of women in education implies an expectation that economic, social and cultural progress achieved by institutional education lies solely in the hands of men. [99] However, women's educational standing improved dramatically towards the end of the twentieth century, at which time most women from urban, and sometimes rural backgrounds can have access to higher education. This is largely due to the founding of four universities throughout the island during the 1990s.

Unlike most Cypriot women around the middle of the twentieth century, Friedman propounds that the single-by-choice, educated, independent, employed women whose lives she explored looked to modern architecture and to architects to provide spaces for them where they could live out their alternative lifestyles.[100] Friedman's women had two particular concerns. Firstly, they faced the conflict between the expectation of marriage and their chosen independent lives and since they were the head of their household, they were in a key position to make radical changes in the definition of domestic space to create room for their alternative lifestyles.[101] Their

second concern, according to Friedman, was their re-examination of the separation between community and house, enabling them to replace traditional divisions with other alternatives.[102] This led to a more fluid approach between public and private space. Friedman notes that these women, who were mostly European and North American, often sought a balance between family and privacy, or they chose to live alone.[103] Whereas Freidman's women innovated domestic design through their non-conventional lifestyles while mostly living in self-imposed isolation, Berlin women, as described by Stratigakos, chose to enable architectures of co-housing and communal living.

As with all Western patriarchal societies, Cypriot men and women are conditioned to socialize into different roles with different values, where each sex behaves according to constructed stereotypes and expectations.[104] Although it is broadly accepted that each sex is also expected to exist in a space that is socially pre-determined, i.e. women are associated with the private sphere and men with the public one, Hatzipavlou also suggests that within Cypriot society, when one gender moves from its designated realm into the other, this causes a profound social disturbance. In fact, when children exhibit signs of anti-social behaviour, popular theory is quick to diagnose this as a consequence of women leaving the private realm by joining the workforce and the increasing numbers of divorce. Other signs of the perceived disturbance are manifested in the belief that divorce and spousal infidelity are a consequence of women's economic independence.[105]

Global feminist ideas throughout the twentieth century have been closely linked to political action. Although there are many disciplinary approaches to feminism, such as liberal, socialist, Marxists, ecological, cultural, existentialist, post-modern, etc., they are all motivated by similar agendas: to illuminate women's presence throughout cultural history and to enable women to act as agents of change towards a more gender-equal society. The second international wave of feminism in the 1960s coincides with the emergence of various academic programmes in Western tertiary education and this concurrence is, according to Hatzipavlou, a profoundly political act.[106] Since the emergence of academic feminism delved into issues like 'the personal is political', the misconceived duality of private and public spheres, as well as the diversity of women's experience within race, ethnicity, sexuality, class, age, etc., Hatzipavlou regards academic feminism and political feminism as intrinsically connected.[107] Nevertheless, Cypriot women's role in social structures throughout the first three quarters of the twentieth century remained in a transitory

phase, between by the patriarchal, rural traditions and a desire to attain independence and self-worth in a post-patriarchal urban setting.

Everyday Life and Domestic Alternatives

Just as women are connected to the private realm through a socially constructed bond, domesticity and everyday life are connected through spatially defined activities. Everyday life occurs in the private realm of domesticity, and women, as primary homemakers, are the principle actors performing daily, everyday tasks that support human life.[108] In studying women's everyday experiences in navigating relationships between home and work in order to construct a gender understanding of the case study, the research considers the significance of everyday life within the home in shaping domestic space and in enabling gender roles. The research argues that reciprocal relationships between women's role and the development of the built environment are linked to the spatial and perceptual norms of domesticity. Thus any adjustments, improvements, or innovations in the intrinsic working of the home, such as the development of units of co-housing, would affect the operating framework from a gender perspective on the city scale. Co-housing is significant to the research because it is based on a design practice that intentionally blurs boundaries between public and private areas within constructed space.

Although there is a considerable volume of literature on life in Limassol's public realm (Figure 1.3), the research was not able to uncover meaningful, early twentieth-century accounts of Limassolian women's domestic lives and habits. Therefore the literature examined in this section considers socio-spatial design from America or Europe. This absence of accounts of Cypriot women's daily lives in the private realm can be explained by Heynen who suggests that because of women's long-standing connection to the private realm of domesticity and everyday life, the idea of the latter entering architectural discourse would signify a 'feminisation' of the 'high culture by an infection with ideas from popular culture'.[109] Further to Heynen, the degrading of everyday life and women's role within it is explored by Vale and also by Hartsock, cited in Franck, where it is suggested that male identity has evolved to assign value to abstraction which is also unattainable, and to discount everyday life in spite of its usefulness and necessity.[110] Vale posits that it was during the Renaissance that rational and abstract thinking were valued beyond craft

making, thus the experiential approach of everyday life was shifted to those intellectually less capable.[111]

Figure 1.3 Men in Limassol's public life[iv]

In the United State, however, awareness of the significance of everyday life was considered by women innovators as early as the nineteenth century. In aiming to elevate everyday life and domestic work, and thereby elevate women's role in the social structure, American nineteenth-century educator, Catherine Beecher, advocated the perception of home as a haven.[112] According to Hayden, Beecher proposed to enhance the effectiveness of the isolated housewife and to glorify her role in the traditional sphere of work by arguing that if women embraced and identified more closely with their gender, they could even minimize class distinctions.[113] Similarly, Friedman propounds that some women at the beginning of the twentieth century decided to take control of the domestic realm by claiming all expertise on the matter, assuming that this will grant them a measure of independence.[114] It is this sense of independence that became a crucial parameter to their identity, as women were coming to terms with the fact the men were firmly lodged in the seats of urban, economic and political power.[115] At the around the

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[iv] Source: Patticheion Municipal Museum, Historical Archives, Research Centre of Limassol

same time, feminist Melusina Fay Pierce posited a different approach to women's domestic isolation. She proclaimed an early occurrence of collaborative housing that offered a unique perspective on the labour of everyday life on a neighbourhood level. Her strategy was to socialize housework under women's control through neighbourhood networks.[116] According to Hayden, Pierce advocated that women should firstly be paid for their labour and secondly she proposed that they reorganize their labour so that they may benefit from new technologies, specialization and division of labour.[117]

Franck further suggests that women's constructed identity has been one that values and embraces everyday life and experiences.[118] Under that premise, Franck's spatial theories for gender equality are based on a desire to achieve inclusiveness, a desire to overcome opposing dualities, an innate sense of responsibility towards the needs of others, an acknowledgement of the value of everyday life and an expectance of subjectivity as a strategy for development.[119] Franck argues her case by first explaining how women inherently adhere to connectedness and inclusiveness and explains how these principles allow women to design space based on the ethics of care and the value of everyday life. She also advocates for subjectivity, complexity and flexibility in the making of good design as well as the need of spatial connectedness for better social interaction.[120]

According to Franck, women's role as advocates for an 'ethic of care' for everyday life was exhibited in the New American House Competition from 1984, won by Troy West and Jacqueline Leavitt, emphasized the special needs of different kinds of parents and children with strong consideration on community relations.[121] Similarly, Franck continues, Eileen Gray and Lilly Reich in the first quarter of the twentieth century, designed spaces that were especially considerate to mundane needs.[122] Specifically, the first coloured bed sheets were designed by Eileen Gray, in acknowledgement of various non-sleep related activities that might happen in bed, such as eating or reading.[123] Also remarkable, according to Franck, were Gray's ingenious designs for better storage and draws that pivot.[124]

Co-housing or communal buildings were developed as a means to encourage shared services pertaining to everyday life and to achieve spatial connectivity and, according to Stratigakos, they represent a strong presence in gender-related social reform.[125] As early as 1915, a building in Berlin was designed to house female students who could not afford to commute.[126] Designed by Emilie Winkelmann, the

Victoria Studienhaus was novel in Berlin not only in its intended use but also in the typology it introduced. Stratigakos describes it as resembling the American style of contemporary college campus by accommodating a wide range of functions while incorporating an element of open landscape.[127] It accommodated a large number of single rooms, a library, dining areas, gym, art studios and a dark room. Although it was furnished with a wide range of modern conveniences, such as an elevator and central heating, it was not intended to be utilized by the rich and privileged, in fact, its clientele was intended to be the educated middle class.[128]

Since that early example of communal living, co-housing complexes have increased in number and in form. What remains constant is the principle of sharing of everyday life and collaboration of domestic tasks that afford women greater time flexibility in participating in the labour market. Sangregorio argues that co-habitation should offer a sense of community, the opportunity of privacy and a living environment based on collaboration rather than service.[129] She documented the collaborative activity of a group called BiG which consisted of ten architects, researchers and journalists with a keen interest in environmental issues, who set out in the 1970s to create a housing model that would be desirable for women and based on collaborative and ecological living.[130]

In discussing BiG's priorities, Sangregorio puts forth the assumption that women are more inclined and more interested in the idea of co-housing than men, thus they are more inclined to want to solve problems of everyday life collaboratively.[131] The three principles on which BiG materialize their ideas of collaborative living was to provide better living solutions offered beyond the small nuclear family, conservation of energy through sharing of household appliances and a stronger community as a result of active collaboration.[132] Additionally, Sangregorio posits that collaborative habitation promotes equality, since by removing housework from the picture, traditions of inequality tend to disappear.[133] BiG's purpose was to create living conditions where facilities are to be shared and practical solutions would be provided for issues of cooking and childcare based on the assumption that the small nuclear family is not equipped in solving the practical problems of contemporary, everyday life.[134]

Co-housing or communal living is not a domestic model that is considered to be gender-specific, although it appears to facilitate more women's lifestyle and obligations than men's. As mentioned in the beginning of this section, Limassol

does not have contemporary examples of co-housing design that are comparable to the international examples discussed here. There is, however, an example in Limassolian architecture where diversity and developing social processes instigated new form in the first quarter of the twentieth century. At a time when Limassolian industries were flourishing in the western side of the city, large numbers of rural migrants arrived in Limassol from surrounding villages hoping to find work. This prompted the mayor of Limassol, Ploutis Servas, to initiate the construction of Limassol's first Public Housing project (Figure 1.4), comprising of seven buildings that were to accommodate rural migrants and their families.[135]
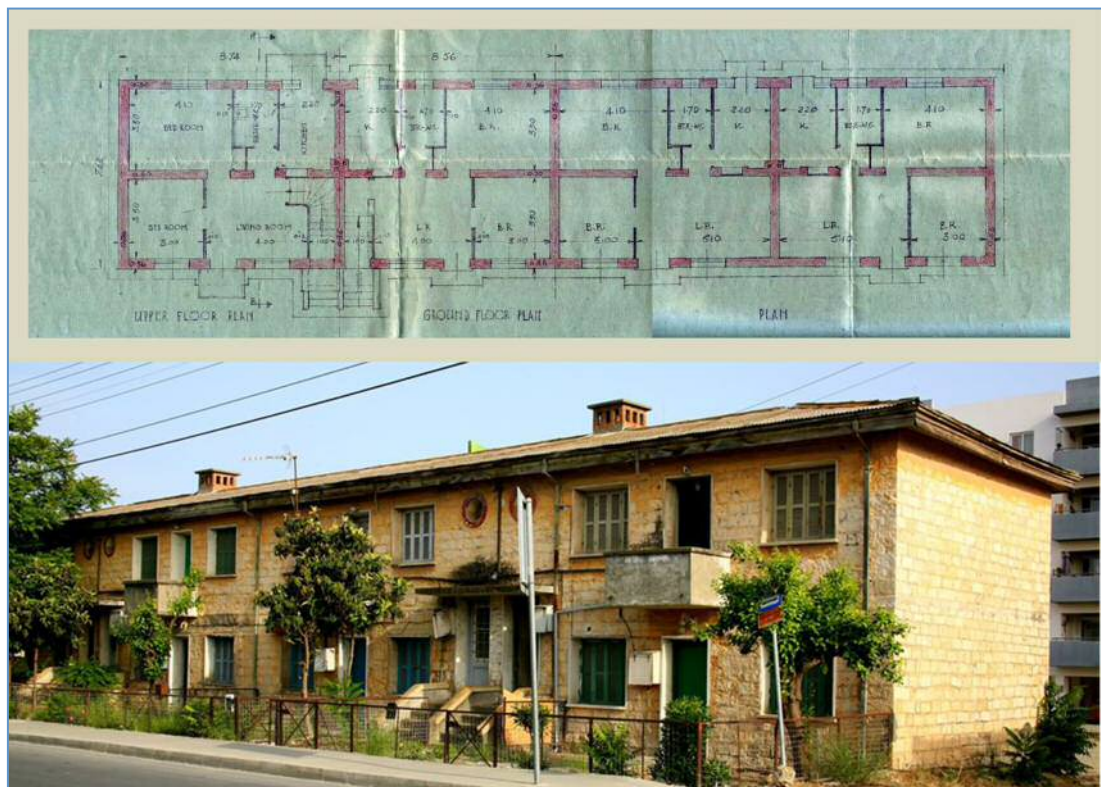
Figure 1.4 Limassol's Public Housing[v]

The seven, two-level buildings were made of local stone, a construction habit that was proliferated during the Colonial period, and were the first local structures intending to incorporate a large number of housing units. Their value in the Limassolian socio-spatial landscape is twofold. First, Limassol's pioneer Public Housing project became a symbol of solidarity and modernization, as well as a physical reminder of architecture's reciprocal relation to social development.[136]

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[v] Source: Patticheion Municipal Museum, Historical Archives, Research Centre of Limassol and Alexandros Papadopoulos

Second, the architectural language employed is unique in its double rejection of Garden City typologies that were prevalent in Limassol at the time and international archetypes of public housing projects such as Pruitt-Igoe.[137] Instead, the design reflected a timid embrace of Modernism framed by local architectural paradigms.

Potentials for New Form: a Global Perspective

New architectural form that is responsive to women's needs was hypothesized as early as the late 1800s by design innovators and social critics such as Frederick Law Olmsted Jr. and Ebenezer Howard. [138] According to Hayden, Olmsted supported spatial democracy not as an abstract concept, but as it pertains to specific requirements for women's equality and assimilation of immigrants, and furthermore, he understood the realm of public landscape as a form of 'human social evolution and social service programmes'.[139] In a speech made by Olmsted in 1870 in Boston at the American Social Science Association titled 'Public Parks and the Improvement of Towns' he argued that women should seek their liberation in the city.[140] He postulated that women might in fact be more 'townward drift' than men, as he believed that women's 'tastes and dispositions' were becoming more influential to the 'course of civilized process'.[141] According to Hayden, Olmsted believed that the public nature of infrastructure and employment opportunities could provide women with an escape from the private, patriarchal household. [142] Influenced by socialists and feminists, Olmsted discussed the possibilities of public laundries, bakeries and kitchens and he considered suburban sprawl an appalling urban development.[143]

Howard, according to Greed, was 'one of the good guys' when compared to other town planners who promoted patriarchy through their strategies and design.[144] Similarly, Jarvis, Cloke and Kantor considered him a social reformer with innovative ideas, who had been fascinated by feminist ideals and inclusive design.[145] Hayden describes Howard's 'cooperative quadrangles' that were proposed in 1898 to enable women to share domestic tasks in order to facilitate their everyday life were influenced by the ideas of American feminist Charlotte Perkins Gilman.[146] Inspired partly by her ideas, Howard proposed a scheme of garden apartments arranged around a collective kitchen, a dining room and open space.[147] Several of these 'cooperative quadrangles' were built between 1911 and 1930 and were geared specifically for the single working women, the elderly and two-earner family couples.

Although, according to Greed and Hayden, his prototypes did not become a standard provision in the Garden Cities, Hayden supports that they were a successful alternative to conventional housing.[148]

In spite of these early initiatives, a significant gender perspective on domestic architecture and urban design did not fully propagate. Many research studies attribute the pervasiveness of the public and private separation of spheres and the proliferation of the single-family house to the prevalence of patriarchy.[149] Nevertheless, for women, the body, the home and the street have been an arena of conflict and examining them as political boundaries, i.e. bounded spaces with some form of boundary enforcement, helps analyse the spatial dimension of what has been described the 'woman's sphere'.[150] If politics is a game of relationships of power, and if women pursue their potential as agents of social and spatial change, then new constructed form will have to emerge. To that point, Hayden argues that the only viable solution to the working woman's acute frustration with the physical, social and economic restrictions imposed by current spatial conditions is the development of a new paradigm for the home, the neighbourhood and the city.[151] The following section looks at how urban form could, or has, responded to new conditions resulting from women's evolving role within the social structure. Exploring these architectural artefacts enables the research fieldwork to recognize and document relevant examples as they are manifested in the case study that can lead to a critical perspective on the case study.

Spatial equality for women in urban environments in Limassol and abroad requires that women and men have equal access to facilities and opportunities concerning housing, employment, infrastructure and services, such as public transportation and public toilets and that provision is made for other women-focussed facilities like women's shelters.[152] Safety in public places is a key component in enabling women to have equal experiences in the city.[153] Some of these needs have materialized as a consequence to women's entry into the labour force. Hayden, Spain, and Jarvis, Cloke and Kantor, and also Greed, posit that this particular evolution in social process has brought on a host of new urban developments such as creation of childcare centres, assisted living facilities, launderettes, and eateries, such as fast-food chains.[154] Further to Hayden and Spain the gradual entry of women into the workforce in the Anglo-European and American, post-industrial city led to the transfer of traditional domestic tasks such as caring for dependants and preparation of meals from the domestic sphere to the urban scale.[155] According to Hayden and

Spain, this was a consequence of women having less time at home to cook and also increased family budgets with two earners within the family.[156] Hayden further declares that the physical manifestation of this condition has been that buildings with fast-food logos are now unabashedly lining the highways of most First World and developed countries.[157] One of the research's aims is to identify and evaluate how Limassol has been impacted by women's entry into the workforce and by looking for clues and traces such as those discussed by Hayden and Spain as well as other evidence that maybe specific to the case study.

According to Davis, new form resulting from women's entry into the labour market has emerged from the formation of gated communities which occurred as a response to gender, racial and class prejudice and fear of crime.[158] Spain supports Davis' position that fear of crime is an impetus for people moving to gated communities but is also critical of Davis' position that a key component of carceral cities are social housing complexes, because, according to Spain, the majority of the population of social housing are women.[159] Spain adds that increasing crime rates were indeed a consequence of women joining the workforce, as working women now spend less time at home and are unable to provide a form of 'informal security' in the neighbourhood.[160] In Limassol, the presence of gated communities is a relatively recent occurrence and their existence is not connected to gender relations or to women's daytime absence from home. Gated neighbourhoods exist in the periphery of the city and are primarily communities of residential units built for and sold to tourists. Consequently, safety is a concern because of the seasonal nature of their occupancy.

Women's contribution to informal security is also explored by Jacobs, who describes the activity of homemakers staring at the street outside their home as keeping 'eyes on the street'.[161] Jacobs further posits that neighbourhoods that are high-density and mixed-use are likely to be safe as the 'eyes on the street' act as a self-policing mechanism that deters crime and anti-social behaviour. They are also more likely to succeed socially and economically because of increased street traffic.[162] Social historian Agni Michaelidou's descriptions of old Limassolian neighbourhoods from the first quarter of the twentieth century mention the habit of women sitting outside their front door to socialize and inadvertently offer informal policing.[163] Women would occasionally sit outside and embroider or engage in other activities that were tangential to domesticity, thus blurring conditions of privacy and public life (Figure 1.5). This phenomenon, however, has almost extinguished in

recent years. Contemporary women occupy their time by ways other than people-watching and socializing happens in more formal settings.

Figure 1.5 Women sitting outside their front door and embroidering[vi]

The importance of mixed-use zones and neighbourhoods and the need to create conditions of greater connectedness between different types of activities have enabled strategies for redesigning residential units to integrate home and work.[164] Hayden proposes schemes whereby typical suburban blocks can be retrofitted and spatially redistributed to accommodate a new model community for both men and women, providing employment opportunities and facilities for a bi-gender work force, eliminating class, age and race segregation and minimizing energy consumption.[165] Taking a typical suburban block of ten to fifteen houses, her design calls for a unification of backyards to simulate a park, with front and side yards acting as more private gardens, and some private spaces such as porches, garages, utility rooms or sheds that can be converted to common areas to provide facilities such as children's play spaces, laundries, etc.[166]

Hayden's research and designs are inspired by similar collaborative housing projects in Copenhagen by Otto Fick, constructed in 1903, in Sweden by Alva Myrdal and architects Sven Ivar Lind and Sven Markelius in 1944, the Steilshoop Project in Hamburg in the 1970s and the Nina West Homes in London established in 1972.[167] According to Franck, the most prominent feature of such prototypes is the integration of housing and services as a means of bridging the public and the

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[vi] Source: Patroclos Stavrou, Cyprus, The Sweet Land

private realm, as advocated by Gerda Wekele, Susan Saegert, Jacqueline Leavitt, and others.[168]

A notable example of a town created to accommodate working women was Vanport City in Oregon.[169] According to Hayden, and also McDowel and Van Leeuwen, cited in Jarvis, Cloke and Kantor, Vanport consisted mainly of public housing and was hastily constructed in 1943 to accommodate around forty thousand people working at Kaiser Shipyards.[170] Since men were at war, women were effectively the sole employees of the Shipyards. Thus, housing had to be positioned in relation to the childcare centres and the job sites.[171] In fact, the childcare centres and the job sites had to be located in a straight line from each other, so that parents would lose as little time as possible while dropping off and picking up their children.[172] Childcare centres were opened twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, just as the shipyards, and were even equipped with child-sized bathtubs so that the mothers did not need to bathe their children at home and cooked food services so that mothers could pick up food as well as their children.[173] According to Hayden, the most important features of the childcare centres were the large windows that offered views of the river so that children could watch the launching of the ships.[174] As a result, Henry J. Kaiser, owner of Kaiser Shipyards and founder of Vanport, Oregon, made a veritable fortune largely from women's labour power.[175] Van Leeuwen, cited in Jarvis, Cloke and Kantor, reports that Vanport was destroyed by flood shortly after World War II.[176]

Jarvis, Cloke and Kantor note that reaching spatial equality from a gender perspective is a condition of gradual transformation that hinges on social process, governance and legislation.[177] For instance, women's only access to baby changing facilities has shifted towards unisex facilities. These kinds of adjustments require not only legislative changes but also time and money for the remodelling to be executed.[178] Similar conditions and restrictions apply to other spatial elements that facilitate women's urban experience of safety and accessibility, such as adequate lighting, fewer steps, wider doorways, etc.[179] Because of the unwieldy nature of the built environment that requires considerable momentum to change, several research studies explore gender equality through temporal adaptations instead of spatial innovation. In Italy, 'time planning' has been instigated by pioneer women planners whereby the opening and closing times of shops, schools, factories and public offices accommodate women in their efforts to complete their daily errands.[180]

This rescheduling of commercial activities improves traffic congestions and facilitates both women and men in their tasks.[181]

In conclusion, women's ability to effect spatial change is dependent on advances in social process that are fuelled by increased opportunities for education and financial independence. However, Weisman advocates that for change to occur, women must be their own architect in a conscious and political way, by creating spaces that can serve predominantly women (in particular, under-privileged women) such as day-care centres, women's resource centres, battered women's shelters.[182] She described urban settlements that provide these types of spaces as 'the new architectural setting' for a fairer society.[183] In spite of the obvious advantages of women asserting their rights, needs and desires in architecture, McDowell and Sharp, cited in Jarvis, Cloke and Kantor caution that women-only spaces may do more than empower women, but might, in fact, trap them in a 'ghetto of special needs'.[184]

1.4 Analytical Framework of Research

Understanding the reciprocal impact between gender relations and urban development requires observing, documenting and analysing women's habitation and impact in the city of Limassol. To achieve this, gender roles are examined both as passive elements in constructed space, and as active participants in the evolution of urban and domestic space. This chapter has explored the aspect of gender construction as a result of spatial realities and it has investigated women's potential and agency in effecting spatial alternatives.

The research is framed by three aspects that have emerged from the literature. Firstly, architecture and social process are systems in constant flux and impact each other in dynamic and reciprocal ways. This is supported by Hayden, by Spain, and by Miranne and Young.[185] Secondly, the contemporary city presents an asymmetrical and undemocratic nature that tends to privilege men, both in the public realm[186] and in the private one.[187] The third aspect refers to women's confinement to the private realm that evolves into a physical and virtual form of bounded space. These boundaries refer to ways in which the built environment and social order restrict women's urban experience of everyday life.[188] By acknowledging the conditions of this bounded domestic space, the research

explores opportunities through design that can enhance spatial equality from a gender perspective. These opportunities are inspired by alternative forms of domesticity, some of which have been explored by Hayden and Spain.[189]

Through the narrative that has been set up by the review and framed by the three aspects that have emerged from it, the exploration of the case study will aim to explore women's everyday experiences navigating relationships from home to work in order to uncover boundaries and opportunities that can be inherent, constructed or implied. The research aims to examine the city and its efficiency from a woman's perspective by exploring spatial and perceptual boundaries. It also examines women's awareness of these boundaries and their willingness to embrace socio-spatial alternatives. After laying a theoretical foundation from the literature review, the research proceeds with an examination of the separation of the public and private realms of the case study, Limassol.

The research explores two levels of separation: a broad notion of separation that considers the public and private spaces on an urban scale defined by commercial/administrative and residential uses respectively, and a separation that occurs at an architectural level that considers how blurred boundaries and other thresholds evolve as a response public and private margins. While Chapter 1 has considered global theories on the urban separation of the public and private realms, chapter 3 argues how this separation has been enabled and intensified in Limassol. Chapter 1 has also considered how women in Europe and America have been attempting throughout the twentieth century to effect spatial transformations to improve their quality of life. The research has not been able to identify Limassolian women who have made substantive spatial contributions as a result of evolving gender relations, hence, continuing from chapter 1, chapter 3 aims to expose Limassolian women's conditions of physical and historiographical marginalization.

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[6] Ibid., pp. 159–162.

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[13] Ibid., p. 165.

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Chapter Two

Methods: Uncovering Boundaries and Perceptions

2.1 Introduction

In recent decades, increased momentum in gender-sensitive urban design has been largely responsible for revealing aspects of women's agency as patrons, designers and activists in shaping urban form. The process of revealing these conditions of agency regards gender as an mechanism that furthers spatial knowledge, whose ever-evolving nature enables a deeper understanding of urban mechanics and supports the act of designing better places. The literature review considered women's relation to space and to cities through two lenses. Firstly, attention focussed on how women's identity shaped by social constructs and constructed form. The second lens concentrated on women's capacity to effect change in the city. Thus, the literature review provides a foundation for the study of gender relations within dynamic urban space; the city of Limassol, as well as the case study within it, are regarded as the testing ground through which theories extracted from the review can be evaluated and appraised.

This chapter presents the research methodology developed in order to address my research aims and examine women's presence in Limassol's public and private realms. Fieldwork consisted of a two-part process: a series of semi-structured interviews and a set of spatial investigations that included mapping informal data and recordings. Interdisciplinary analytical methods provided spatial mappings of qualitative data that were extracted from the interviews, and visualizations of onsite observations. The field analysis has contributed to the overarching objective of the research that investigates women's everyday experience of navigating relationships between home and work in order to elucidate spatial and perceptual boundaries that are inherent, constructed or implied.

The research was intended to:
1. Address the research questions which, in part, arise from the literature review, where women's place within social processes in contemporary, post-industrial cities largely hinges on the separation of the private and public spheres.

2. Construct a spatial and perceptual narrative of women's experiences of navigating relationships between home and work.

3. Encourage awareness of the gendered nature of urban design from the perspective of the women participating in the fieldwork process.

4. Evaluate the willingness and possibility of women undertaking the role of active agents in urban space.

As the research aims to identify how Limassolian women's entry and presence in the workforce has impacted the city and at the same time evaluate women's experience navigating the city, the research is framed around issues of perceptual and spatial boundaries where spatial boundaries and domestic alternatives are investigated as they pertain to space and time, connectivity and access, perception and awareness. Where grounded theory analysis offered the means to tackle volumes of text extracted from the interviews, visualizing data refers to the process connecting participant responses particular places, routines and the like. Similarly, mapping informal observations and spatial explorations followed a process of site analysis and focussed on a smaller area within the city (Heroon Square). Observations documented the physical presence of women in what has been determined by the participants' responses to be the centre of the city during working hours, after-work hours, weekdays and weekends. Mappings aimed to complement (or contradict) the participants' responses, thus contributing to a deeper investigation of women's awareness of their place in societal structure and their relation to the public and private realm. For the purposes of this study, the centre of the city is considered to signify the city's public domain. Although this simplified association might carry precarious nuances, it proved necessary because participants found it easier to understand the concept of 'city centre' rather than the term 'public realm'.

According to Strauss and Corbin, Martin and Turner, and Suddaby,[1] grounded theory methods are appropriate only when theory related to a phenomenon does not exist. Furthermore, grounded theory is intended to be applied without any preconceptions derived from the literature review. While shaping the framework of the fieldwork and indeed throughout the fieldwork's entire course, I frequently questioned the appropriateness of the grounded theory method because of the distinct influence of the literature review to my research design. However, according to Charmaz, grounded theorists 'evaluate the fit between their initial research interests and their emerging data'.[2] Charmaz also discusses how her position on the

relation of initial research interests and emerging data is by no means widely accepted among all grounded theorists, and refers to Glaser's caution against methods that preconceive the data and, consequently, preconceive the analysis. The methods he lists include interview guides, samples, received codes, etc. However Charmaz counters this position by suggesting that open-ended interviews cannot be equalled to an imposition of received codes.[3]

In trying to stay in line with initial intentions, I returned to vital questions referenced from Charmaz, such as, to what degree does data reveal what lies beneath the surface, whether the views being collected can address multiple views of participants' opinions and experiences and whether comparisons can be made between the data that would generate and inform ideas.[4] Thus the fieldwork was structured to provide evidence of how women regard their place in the social structure, whether they regard themselves and their value in society as marginal or fundamental, how the social process of women joining men in the workforce has matured and the active or passive role the built environment has had during the process. The interview part of the fieldwork attempted to identify whose actions or perspectives are responsible for constructing these conditions and how Limassolians perceive this implied responsibility, by enabling women to address their place within the process and by observing what they emphasize and what they omit.

Ultimately, the interviews, mappings and spatial investigations contribute to a qualitative understanding of gendered realities in Limassol. Grounded theory methods used to address the research aim of elucidating patterns by making them visible and understandable, while affording the flexibility of going back and forth between data collection, coding and memoing while not pre-empted by an outcome. According to Groat and Wang, a grounded method can be inductive as well as deductive,[5] thus allowing the research to uncover, discover as well as validate a hypothesis or theoretical premise. Although Strauss posits that the grounded theory approach enters the development of a theory without 'commitment to specific kinds of data, lines of research, or theoretical interests',[6] the fieldwork, particularly the structure of the interviews, is undoubtedly influenced by the findings of the literature review. More inductive in spirit is the process involving informal observations of how Limassolian women inhabit public space, where observations can lead to a pattern and consequently, to a theory.

2.2 Asking the 'Right' Questions: Women's Perspective on Spatial Realities

Realms, Boundaries and Perceptions

The following subchapter concentrates on the study of physical and perceptual boundaries and investigates relations between the two. These relationships provided a theoretical foundation for the structure of the interviews. The fieldwork aimed towards an understanding of boundaries, thus the purpose of the semi-structured interviews was to evaluate degrees of awareness of boundaries within women by uncovering social processes and conditions of spatial confinements underpinned by roles within the family, location, or work and home and others. This understanding of boundaries is explored in the public and private realms of Limassol, as well as in Heroon Square. The interview process not only served as a vehicle to acquire data for a grounded theory study, but aimed to inspire in participants a different kind of awareness which can help stretch and break spatial and perceptual boundaries, as they have been explored by Miranne and Young, Semblat cited in Andrew, and others.[7]

The physical and the perceptual boundaries of urban spheres are deeply intertwined. This aspect provided the three pillars of the investigation on realms and boundaries: time, space and social process. Although the broader concept of boundaries should not be limited to a delineation of the public and private realms of the city, for the purposes of this investigation, boundaries are regarded as conditions of separation or distinction between these two urban spheres. Since Semblat, cited in Andrew, suggests that women's usage of space is largely dependent on time parameters, such as managing domestic schedules as a caretaker and keeping within work deadlines, the interviews examine boundaries that are space-defined and time-defined as well.[8]

A key element of the investigation centred on how Limassolian women locate themselves within the city's public and the private spheres; an understanding of these terms was explored through the work of Madanipour, who not only examines the distinctions between public and private, but also it highlights the nuanced distinctions between terms such as 'space', 'place', 'sphere' and 'realm'. According to Madanipour, the terms public space and public place are considered to be parts of the physical environment pertaining to public meanings and functions, whereas the term public sphere or realm refers to a larger range of activities, places and

people that constitute human social life. Consequently, public space is an element within the public sphere and the same applies for the relationship between private space and the private sphere or realm.[9]

Broadly, public space can be defined as an open area provided and often managed and controlled by the state, where access and activities are open and available to the people and can be used or shared by all members of the community. Within this framework, any number of differentiations and gradations may apply. For instance, in a public area, authorities may or may not serve or represent the community, space may be available under rules and conditions, and it may or may not be available to users on its entirety because of functional, symbolic or other reasons.[10] Conversely, the private sphere is assumed to be under the control of the individual, where he or she claims territorial ownership or exercises enough control to keep the public out. The private status may be established through social norms or through legislation.[11] Madanipour suggests privacy to be a condition of 'limited accessibility' related to three components with overlapping values: (i) secrecy, where information is kept from public knowledge, (ii) anonymity and (iii) solitude, which addresses issues of physical access.[12]

Although the notion of privacy alludes to an individual's control over his or her environment because it is not subject to external influences, in the dimension of built space, the opposite is true. The private space is in fact the space of freedom of choice and the public space is one where scrutiny and control are being exercised with impunity. Nevertheless the private sphere continues to be defined in spatial dimensions and protected by physical means.[13] Madanipour's examination of public, private, and their physical and perceptual accessibility sets the foundations for a universal understanding of a Western city's breakdown into the two distinct realms, but does not explicitly address intrinsic differences in perception and accessibility between the two genders. Using Madanipour's definitions as a starting point, the research attempted to address these disparities that set the parameters for gender relations in the city.

Gender differences within the two realms are indirectly approached by Ben and Gaus, cited in Madanipour.[14] As a way of grasping the ambiguities that characterize the public-private distinction, they consider the degrees of public and private conditions with space as being dependant on three dimensions of social organization: access, agency and interest. Access is considered to be a physical

condition or a condition of access to activities where access to resources is important as it brings into relevance the matter of agency. Agents' motives, whether they are acting privately or representing sectors of the community, or even the community at large, are elements that need to be calculated in evaluating the agents' presence and actions. By the same token, interest is important in the public-private distinction because it determines the beneficiaries of a particular action.[15]

Andrew posits that urban boundaries (of the public and private) are regulated by the public policy process, i.e. planning laws, and by economic forces.[16] Also present, however, are perceptual agencies such as those described by Wilson who argues that men impose social boundaries in an effort to impose control on women who are seen as unruly, unpredictable, immoral and sexually perverse, or as virtuous and endangered.[17] Wilson, however, purports that women, in fact, do not create or delineate boundaries, but negotiate and navigate along their margins of social limitations in ways that serve to connect between spheres while thriving at the contradictions.[18] Andrew believes that boundaries are 'constructed, reconstructed and/or transformed' in complex ways where gender plays an important role and women have the potential to emerge as political agencies.[19]

Conversely, Madanipour's perspective of boundaries suggests that at the core of the relationship between the public and the private realm is not a distinction between access, agency, interest or gender, but a relationship between the individual and society.[20] Further to Madanipour, this tension can be traced to distinct political persuasions, such as the libertarians who argue in favour of stricter protection of the private realm and communitarians who promote the expansion of the public realm. Madanipour suggests examining this tension between the two spheres while being diligently aware of the constantly readjusting relationship between society and the individual.[21]

In conclusion, an examination of terms such as 'public' and 'private' reveals many layers of nuance, and numerous perspectives of defining them or differentiating between them. One such perspective distinguished the differences between public and private spaces by the varying degrees of control and regulatory conditions imposed, while another perspective considers access, agency and interest. The fieldwork assumes that the established conventions of public and private spheres encountered in post-industrial cities are pertinent to the city of Limassol. In fact, the questionnaires do not engage in verifying the existence of the city's public and

private spheres, but instead focus on identifying and understanding spatial and perceptual conditions that separate them. These conditions may be interpreted as boundaries, thresholds or contested regions. Since urban space can be understood physically as well as conceptually, it seems reasonable to assume that those conditions that separate urban realms or regions of similar geographies can equally exist in a similar duality. Thus, physical and perceptual boundaries can be expressed by investigations in spatial, temporal and social dimensions. The questionnaires provided topics of discussion to the participants that sought to unveil conditions of awareness of the city's socio-spatial realms and their related boundaries, and uncover experiences navigating within and between them.

Structuring the Questionnaire

While ensuring key issues were addressed, an informal, relaxed conversation style was promoted by discretely navigating the conversation but encouraging the participant to expand on any tangent related to her experience in the city. Through a set of twenty-four questions, separated into two sections with three sets in each section, the interviews aimed to establish spatial experiences and issues of identity on how women are constrained in the dual roles of homemaker and waged worker (appendix E). The interviews were semi-structured, combining flexibility with a certain amount of control. The overarching target was to engage the participants and the interviewer in an interactional space to discuss ideas and to follow-up on additional issues that might arise.[22]

The interviews aimed to evaluate perceptions that suggest women are more expected to be in residential zones and less expected to be in public or industrial zones.[23] Thus the questionnaires began with the premise, or 'sensitizing' concept, that urban space is divided into public and private spheres. According to Charmaz, sensitizing concepts are points of departure that provide initial, and perhaps tentative ideas that may guide the questions, providing a loose framework of study, but they themselves do not command a focussed inquiry.[24]

Since the priority of the research was to evaluate how women experience the urban space they perceive to be the city's public realm, the first set of questions was designed to expose time- and space-defined boundaries of public space, as discussed by Semblat, cited in Andrew.[25] This section of the questionnaire was titled

'Space- and time-defined boundaries of public space' and dealt with physical and perceptual boundaries using the public realm as a point of origin. The second section focussed on social identity and its relation to space. Questions sought women's opinion and understanding of what a city centre is and why its physical presence in any city is important. They were asked to describe where they believed Limassol's centre to be located and they were also asked to evaluate the centre (as they had already defined it) for its privileges and shortcomings as well as to evaluate whether men and women are present in equal numbers, at all times of the day, including weekdays and weekends. While talking about the city centre, they are also asked whether they believe women and men have equal employment opportunities. This question was aimed at addressing the issue of social roles and perceptions of equality in the employment market and in extension, within the private realm.

The second set of questions from the section on space- and time-defined boundaries addressed issues of access and connectivity and aimed to expose how residential zones and the development of a central business district serves to exacerbate the division of home from work, while ignoring potential connections and interconnectedness between the two spheres.[26] The third set focussed on issues of (pedestrian) safety, first in the public realm and then in the private, thus introducing the next two topics that deal with issues within the private realm.

The fourth set of questions concentrated on matters of identity and how they are negotiated in the domestic sphere. The questions were based on the assumption derived by Semblat, cited by Andrew that there was a segmentation of social relations and division of gender roles as they are played out within the home[27] and focussed on the degree of role distinctions. Division of gender roles within the home is approached by asking questions such as who takes care of the family's dependents (whether children or elderly relatives) and how domestic chores are distributed.[28]

In the fourth set, participants were asked questions regarding residential design in an attempt to evaluate and challenge perceptions of zoning within the house and how that impacts the identity of both genders. Although the research focusses primarily on the urban scale, some aspects of residential design were also considered. Gender zoning within the house is largely a response to the status and substance of the city street, which Edwards considers predominantly public.

According to Edwards who writes about the Scottish urban perimeter block, by the early nineteenth century the planned street had become the realm of 'masculine display' of 'middle-class men strutting in their frock coats'.[29] Thus women were confined to kitchens, basements and attics that faced the rear of the housing unit.[30] Consequently, the front of the house was of a distinctly more public character, whereas the rear of the house was more private.

Other questions in the fourth set examined issues surrounding women's entry in the paid workforce, which in Limassol occurred most notably in the 1970s, and relations between home and work. Fainstein and Servon argue that women leaving the home to enter the workforce would bring forth the decline of social capital in urban communities because women would no longer be available to energise neighbourhoods.[31] Fainstein and Servon further propose that an increase of women working outside the home would impact land use and as well as residential design. They suggest that further adjustments would have to be made to provide linkages between childcare facilities, schools, grocery stores, dry cleaners and work, and house layouts would have to be reconfigured to accommodate room for ageing relatives or live-in nannies. Thus, provided that Limassol's working women also have duties and obligations in managing the home and taking care of dependents, the questionnaire aimed to evaluate women's access to facilities and services.

While the previous set of questions acted almost as a form of virtual mapping of women's experience, the next set asked women to identify urban transformations that occurred as a result of women entering the workforce. Questions also provoked the participant to consider whether municipal authorities take women's needs into consideration when designing public spaces and employs research by Greed[i] and others on the significance of public toilets in cities that are gender-equal and walkable.[32] In fact, Wigley-Asante, cited in Greed, suggests women's inability to access adequate public toilets restricts their participation in the public realm, limiting their employment opportunities and their subsequent contribution to the economy.[33] At this point of the interview, the participant was also encouraged to respond to theories that suggest that since women are associated with repetitive processes such as housework, this might render them more competent in extending these skills to the city, towards a 'municipal housekeeping'.[34] Further to this theory, women's propensity to carry out repetitive labour is contrasted to men's tendency to

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[i] Greed draws on the work of Wigley-Asante, as well as her own work in collaboration with Bichard and Hanson.

work towards professional and personal milestones, such as promotions, or the purchase of land or a car. According to the literature, both these stereotypical associations are a consequence of socially constructed identities that originate from women's confinement to the private sphere.

The last set of questions, entitled 'Participatory Potential' investigates women's participatory potential as active agents in urban planning and in the community. It was added after the first few interviews took place as it became apparent that the original sets of questions did not offer an opportunity for the participants to consider alternatives in their lifestyle that would empower women, by allowing more free time and by forging strong connections to the community. The questions posed to the participants urged them to consider whether boundaries between public and private could be configured differently. According to Fainstein and Servon, if gender became an active agent in urban planning, 'all individuals would be entitled to realize their capabilities'.[35]

According to Starks and Trinidad, cited in Cho and Lee, theoretical sampling requires 'recruiting participants with different experiences of the phenomenon so as to explore multiple dimensions of the social process under study'.[36] The participants of the interviews were Limassolian women of all ages, but excluded women who had never been formally employed. Participants included women who lived in and around the (commonly accepted) city centre, i.e. the public realm, as well the centre's periphery, suburbs, refugee estates, and two women who live in surrounding villages but are employed in the city. Also included was a woman who lives in city centre but works in a surrounding village. Participants included women who were currently and formerly employed in a broad range of professions, single and married, with and without dependants. The participants were mostly Cypriot nationals, with the exception of three Greek nationals and a woman who grew up in the United States.

On average, interviews lasted between twenty and twenty-five minutes and most were conducted over the phone. Although some researchers believe that note taking is a more efficient way of coding because the interviewer is in better position to eliminate clutter and reach an initial code,[37] for the purpose of this research, the conversations were recorded and then transcribed. Having the interview at hand in its entirety offered much-needed assurance that I could revisit issues and related strings that transpired in later coding. Although there were times when I sensed

participants felt somewhat inhibited in expressing themselves in the presence of the tape recorder, I decided that the efficiency of recording interviews with respect to the accuracy of information far exceeded the possible moments of awkwardness.

The questionnaire continued to evolve throughout the interview process but without compromising its original integrity. It seems not only acceptable, but necessary within accepted grounded theory, to be willing to alter or adapt research questions and collection methods according to field findings in order to elaborate on discoveries that prove to have a greater significance over others.[38] Some questions regarding relations within the home were omitted because it was observed that women were made uncomfortable while other questions were gradually bypassed because it appeared that they shifted the questionnaire's balance towards a social study, rather than a study that is concerned with the social related to the spatial.

The Participants: Considerations and Challenges Relating to Local Culture

The two-part process of fieldwork yielded useful data, but it was limited in some of the following ways. The semi-structured interviews involved participants who are Greek speakers, although the city is inhabited by a substantial percentage of foreign women who do not speak Greek. Although the study did include three Greek-speaking women who are not Cypriot, there was no participant from the approximately 20,000 women from Third World nations (mainly from the Philippines and Southeast Asia) who work as domestic helpers, housekeepers and nannies. While it was possible for interviews to be conducted in English, these women did not seem willing to participate. One woman suggested that she did not see the value of such a study. Their presence is, however, documented through the spatial component of the fieldwork, because these women are notably present in public spaces by their interactions on the days when they are not working.

The majority of participants were quite willing to contribute to the research and some were keen to provide contact details of other women who would be willing to participate. I decided, with my supervisor's permission, to avoid asking for signed consent because I felt that it would create an atmosphere of apprehension at the onset of the interview. My decision was reinforced by the fact that none of the participants belonged to vulnerable groups and it was not anticipated that the questions asked would lead to socially or psychologically sensitive issues.

The use of the Cypriot dialect added to moments of self-consciousness observed in some of the participants who were keenly aware of the recorder. Culturally, Cypriots have struggled with the pervasiveness of the Cypriot dialect and its relation to the Greek language. Greek serves as the formal, printed language, in literature, news broadcasts and official encounters. However, everyday life and relationships are expressed in the Cypriot dialect, which has no official script and on the rare occasions when it is written, it is done so phonetically and with no spelling or grammar rules. Cypriots have the ability to switch between the dialect and the standard Greek language almost effortlessly, depending on their level of education. One or two participants asked whether they should respond in Cypriot or in Greek and it was suggested they respond in whatever language they were most comfortable in. They chose to respond in Cypriot.

The agency that transcribed the interviews also enquired as to whether they should transcribe the text phonetically in Cypriot or whether they should convert the recordings in Cypriot to standard Greek. Interview texts were typed up in Greek for two reasons: firstly, since texts written in Cypriot are so infrequent, reading and processing them would add an unnecessary level of difficulty, and secondly, interview texts written in standard Greek would be easier to compare to planning documents and other official texts studied in the scope of the research.

The first ten interviews were conducted with women I know either socially or professionally. Subsequently, these women contacted other women from their social circles who they thought would be interested in participating in the research and provide me with their phone numbers. Although this method of locating participants does not ensure that participants represent all social and income classes, I believe a good range was achieved. Most women are or have been mid-level employees in the tertiary sector,[ii] e.g. education (secondary and tertiary), finance, legal services, etc. Participants included lawyers, bank employees, civil servants, shop-keepers, office clerks and an artist. From the 32 participants, six are trained as architects, although only three work in architectural offices, and one woman is employed as a draftsperson.

[ii] According to the World Bank, Cyprus' economy is predominantly built on the tertiary sector, which accounts for 75% of employment. (http://www.cyprusprofile.com/en/economy, accessed March 2018)

Ages ranged from 23 to 69 and most women's age ranged from 30 to 45. Four women are in their twenties, and four women are in their sixties. Out of the latter four, three are retired. All participants completed secondary school and approximately half have had some post-secondary education. Three women have doctoral degrees and are employed at the Technical University. Most participants work in the city's commercial and administrative centre, i.e. historic core. Four participants live in the city's center and the remaining 28 live in suburban residential areas and in some areas of mixed use. At the time of the interview, 17 women were married, 15 of them have children and four have elderly dependents. One participant is a widow and two are single mothers.
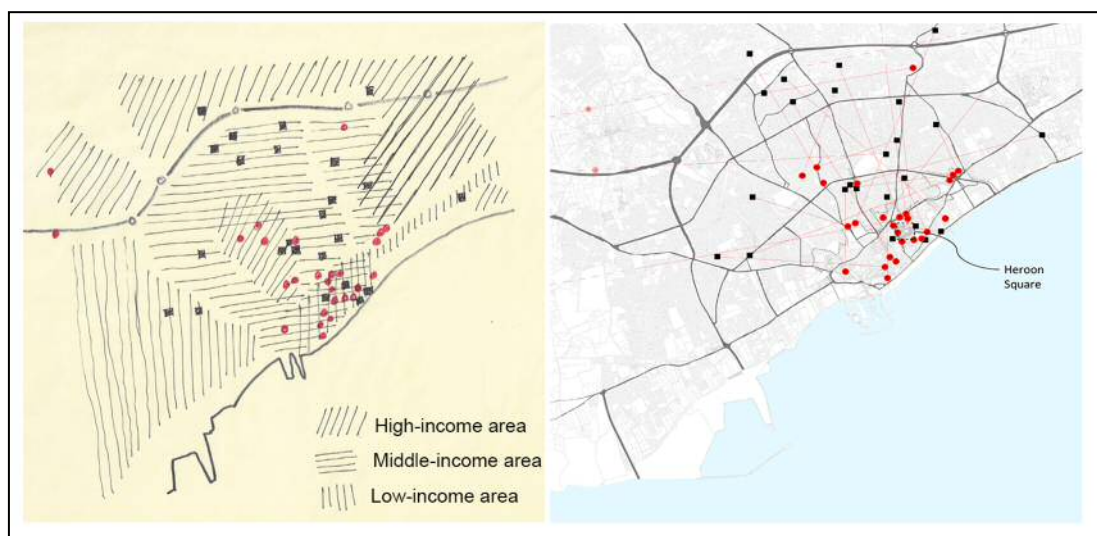
Figure 2.1 Overview of participants' location of home and work (black squares signify the location of the participants' home and the red dots signify place of work)[iii]

Analyzing the Responses Drawing on Grounded Theory Methods

The data analysis process applied was one that combined the principle guidelines derived from Strauss and Corbin's method of open coding, axial coding and selective coding and Charmaz' three stages of initial, focussed and theoretical coding. Initial codes were conducted, then a form of axial coding took place where categories with other subcategories were created, while testing data and theories against each other in order to produce a coding paradigm. The third stage was to select the most appropriate coding and employ it in formulating theory. Regarding the processes of Strauss, Corbin and Charmaz as interrelated has proved helpful as

[iii] Source: Elli Papalouca sketch by Anna Papadopoulou, mao by Georgia Theokli

each of the stages of the process assumed a less rigid yet transformative role in exploring the process and in deriving theory. Thus the prescription of each stage was more a way of framing the process, rather than a solid element.

After all interviews were transcribed in Greek and filed as separate electronic documents, a rigorous process of coding began. Each interview was examined individually and each response received a corresponding number. All subsequent processing of data was done in English. Early data analysis led to a series of initial codes that served as a condensed version of points that were considered important either because they provided a socio-spatial insight into the participant's experience or because they exhibited a unique point of interest. Initial codes appeared on the right margin of each transcribed page and were expressed in an active sentence by use of verbs. All responses were numbered in ascending numerical order and each participant's name was replaced by an alphabetical letter whose ascending order corresponded to the order with which the interviews took place. For example, the participant of the first interview was labelled participant A, the second B, etc.

Two examples of initial codes:

> Feels unsafe in Anexartisias Avenue, at all hours of the day (D.18, D.20).

And

> Participant supports that urban problems are rooted in lack of interest on behalf of the municipality (D.22).

In the examples above, the letter D in brackets denotes the alphabetic code used to replace the participant's name, and the numbers 18, 29 and 22 signify the number of the response from which the code is extracted. In chapters 5 and 6 which examine the findings as they relate to the public and private realm respectively, the participants' annotated letters were replaced by fictional (Greek) names that start with the particular letter. For instance, participant D was (re)named Dafni.

Responses that did not provide significant material with respect to the research's aim did not receive an initial code. Initial codes also included the number of the response associated with them, in case it was needed to refer to the source of the original code while examining initial codes taken from all interviews, after they were separated from the interview texts.

Initial coding was done on a paragraph-to-paragraph basis, instead of a more intensive line-to-line one. While, according to Urquhart the degree of detailed coding is key in determining whether the coding practices applied can be regarded as grounded theory instead of another method of data analysis,[39] Charmaz regards paragraph to paragraph initial coding as an efficient and legitimate method of initial data analysis.[40] In a sense, the initial coding applied in the data analysis can be described as thematic[41] because emphasis was given to responses that pertain to spatial relationships and issues of gender. I believe this position is justified because, ultimately, this is primarily an architectural dissertation.

The next phase of the analysis involved collecting all initial codes extracted per interview and placing them in a separate document. Then the essence of the initial code was further refined. For instance the focussed codes of the above initial codes are expressed respectively: 'Anexartisias Avenue unsafe', and 'lack of faith in governance'. Focussed codes served as the threshold towards the development of themes, i.e. topics that are important to the interviewers vis-à-vis the research. The format of the focussed code was also helpful in the process of mapping participant responses that followed grounded theory analysis.

Focussed codes were grouped and categorized as themes, which then provided the basis for memoing. Memos were short texts that were written based on the data analysis and later synthesized into chapters 4 and 5. As memos led to an understanding of conditions of the reciprocal relationship of women's constructed identities and the built environment, initial codes were constantly being referenced in order to provide relevant context. In the process of synthesizing conclusions, understanding causalities and attempting to theorize on the origins of conditions, raw data was frequently referred to. The grounded theory process that has been adapted to the particular requirements of the research is summarised in Figure 2.2 below.

Choosing to invent a coding process inspired by a cross-pollination between various theorists on grounded theory methods instead of following, for instance, the methods of Barney Glaser from the late 1960s, can be justified by an acceptance that qualitative methods should be allowed to mature and evolve over time. In much the same way as quantitative processes continue to develop in order to keep up with technological advances, qualitative methods should become increasingly

nuanced in order to express an ever-expanded understanding of the relations of architecture and social processes.
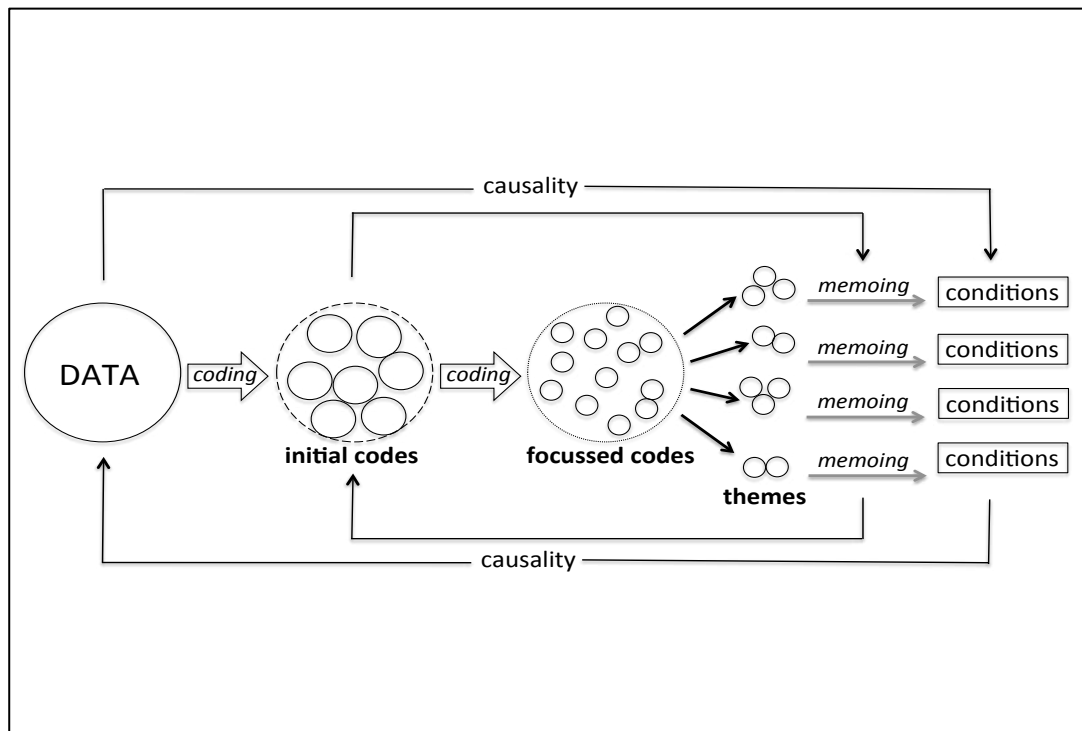
Figure 2.2 Visualizing the process of grounded theory analysis applied for this fieldwork[iv]

Cho and Lee cite Priest, Roberts and Woods, Nusbaum and Chenitz, and Starks and Trinidad[42] to thread together a narrative to relate grounded theory to a valid outcome. They do so by describing the conceptual orientation of the method as 'symbolic interactionism' where people are believed to act in a purposed manner, rather than respond, and that their actions are based on each individual's meanings. According to Starks and Trinidad, cited in Cho and Lee, meaning is a condition 'negotiated and understood through interactions with others in social processes'.[43] The purpose of the coding process was to investigate social process as it functions in urban space in order to uncover contested territories, and to identify catalysts or deterrents to gender relations as these are perceived by the women participating in the fieldwork.

Coding revealed nineteen themes that covered a range of issues including both spatial and socio-spatial qualities, i.e. qualities that relate social process and gender identity to the built environment. Although grouping themes in two broad categories

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[iv] Drawn by Anna Papadopoulou

was originally considered – those relating to spatial qualities and those relating to conditions of social identity – it became gradually clear through the process of data analysis that themes could not be cleanly split into two separate categories because the spheres of social and spatial investigation are so tightly interwoven. Thus an alternative framework of study had to be developed, where spatial and social characteristics can be expressed as complementary components of each other. Consequently, data was separated and evaluated in two subcategories: the category of the public and of the private realm.

2.3 Spatial Explorations: Observations and Mappings

The second part of the fieldwork focussed on visual recording and urban explorations that function not only as a supplement to the interviews but offer the means to study how women inhabit Limassol's public realm. Two kinds of visual studies were carried out:

- Spatializing interviews, where a series of mappings were based on some of the responses women provided during the interviews and the aim of the mappings was to develop an understanding of space, distance and context.
- Visualising observations, where informal investigations and observations of women's activities in urban space were carried out in a smaller area within the city, Heroon Square, aiming to explore how women utilize and occupy public space by documenting how and when they move through it.

Spatializing Interviews

This part of the fieldwork aimed to map participants' responses in urban dimensions and uncover relations to perceptions, connectivity and time- and space-boundaries. Participants' locations of work and area of residence were mapped, as well as their perception of where the city's public domain is. These mappings not only provided an opportunity to develop an understanding of relative distances but they also enabled a reading of the city's private and public realms in relation to the perceived centre. This was achieved by exposing areas of concentrated places of employment and (dispersed) areas of habitation.

Some of the mappings took on a more interpretive character, as it was attempted to make comparisons between the physical distance of home and work for participants and their daily commuting time, which is usually impacted by daily domestic tasks. The aim of this mapping exercise was to explore how women's domestic obligations affect their spatial experience of the city. Other mappings experimented with locating areas that women regard as potentially dangerous and areas where women are most likely to do their daily shopping. These types of mappings did not prove to be conclusive because information provided by the participants was too vague or too broad. For instance, one participant suggested that she felt unsafe is some streets around Saripolou Square but was not able to provide information on particular streets or a radius around the area. Other participants commented on poorly lit streets where they had felt unsafe in the past, but they were not able to provide street names or relevant landmarks.

Visualizing the Experience of Boundaries

Since the process of uncovering women's physical occupancy of urban space is comprised of observations, data collection and synthesizing findings, mapping become an important tool in providing spatial dimensions to temporal presence and mobility. The aim of this recording and mapping process was to uncover possible conditions where women did not inhabit space in the same way as men, for instance, places women avoided or areas where they congregated. Having already chosen Heroon Square as the 'case study within the case study' based on how a number of participants perceive the Square's centrality, a schedule of observations was set. Also based on the participants' responses, the physical proximity of the Square to Anexartisias Avenue was deemed important and pertinent to women's perception of Limassol's public realm.

Recordings where made based on observations taken from four different locations at the Square, the two streets that connect the Square to Anexartsias Avenue and a segment of Anexartisias Avenue (Figure 2.3). Recordings at the four locations were made at three intervals during the day: from 12 pm to 1:20 pm, from 4 pm to 5:20 pm and from 8 pm to 9:20 pm. During each interval, the number of men and women passing through was recorded, as well as their relative speeds. Recordings were made on two weekdays, a Saturday and a Sunday; also noted was the number of people using the public toilets in the area.

These investigations aim to uncover the duality of how the city accommodates women and how women themselves occupy the city. Thus, in addition to documenting their presence in open spaces, the number of women employed in the establishments surrounding the case study area and the approximate times they attended work was also documented. This provided some context into women's access to positions of employment. However, it was not possible to interview the women who worked around Heroon Square.

The spatial analysis was also limited by the fact that observation was a large component of its execution. Although observations took place three times a day for several days, there are inherent gaps in these schedules that are further amplified by the subjective process of documenting the results. In fact, subjectivity in interpreting visual data has been a constant parameter that is dependent not only on the object or the condition that is observed and documented, but was also reliant on the social constructs and predisposition of the observer.[44]

Figure 2.3 Areas covered by on-site observations and locations where observer sat[v]

2.4 Conclusion: An 'Approach in the Logic of Discovery'

This chapter has provided an account of the methods applied in exploring women's socio-spatial experience in Limassol. Although both the literature review and the exploration of Limassol's urban growth and the development of gender relations therein, shaped certain preconceptions on women's urban experiences, the course of the fieldwork was nevertheless a process of discovery.

Grounded theory, in spite of criticism that has arisen for its lack of epistemic potential, i.e. scientific derivation, remains not only popular among social scientists, but is considered perhaps the quintessential qualitative research method. [45] Furthermore, grounded theory methods, according to Thomas and James, are bound to remain relevant, because they meet a need.[46] In the case of this research, a method of analysis was required by which to develop a narrative that will lead to a theory, which would locate present-day women living and working in Limassol and identify their role in the city's urban development. While employing more strongly quantitative methods might locate women in stricter spatial terms and would define physical opportunities and boundaries, it would not offer insight into social processes, social conditioning and their consequent relation to architecture and urbanism.

One of the strongest criticisms on the validity and applicability of grounded theory is how its acknowledgment as a set of procedures can become a means of generating a theory.[47] Thomas and James posit that the wide range of meanings to the word theory should caution researchers in how the term is used and argue that grounded theorists should perhaps refrain from referring to their discoveries as theories.[48] However, this research does not necessarily seek to provide what Thomas and James refer to as 'epistemological presupposition' or an 'orienting principle'. A less normative meaning of the term theory seems more akin to the research's original intentions, where the inducted theory can be considered as an 'approach in the logic of discovery'.[49] Logic here implies that the evidence extracted is interpreted by the researcher's own understanding of the world and the use of the term 'approach' allows for alternative discoveries. Thomas and James also challenge the meaning of the word discovery, as they posit that grounded theory is less about discovery and more about invention.[50] However, in the case of Limassol and the impact of the female gender on the city's urban development, since there is virtually no literature of previous research to serve as an underpinning or existing knowledge to which a

contribution could be made, how can any outcome be considered anything less than a discovery?

The scope of the research was based on the assumption that women's role in the social structure impacts urban form and, reciprocally, urban form influences social process. At the onset of the research, the applicability to Limassol or the ability to understand the city's urban process through this particular framework is at the very least arbitrary. Thus a systematic approach based on grounded theory methods lends itself as a means of avoiding cognitive leaps and conjuncture, and allows an attempt to ascertain a deep understanding of human experience in the city, using gender as a filter and a measure.

[1] Ansel Strauss and Juliet, 'Grounded Theory Methodology', in *Handbook of Qualitative Research,* ed. by Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994), pp. 273–285; Patricia Yancy Martin and Barry A. Turner, 'Grounded Theory and Organizational Research', *The Journal of Applied Behavioural Science,* 22.2 (1984), 141–157; Roy Suddaby, 'From the Editors: What Grounded Theory is not'. *Academy of Management Journal ARCHIVE,* 49, 4 (2006), 633–642.

[2] Kathy Charmaz, *Constructing Grounded Theory, Introducing Qualitative Methods*, 2nd Edition (Los Angeles: Sage, 2014), p. 32.

[3] Ibid., p. 32.

[4] Ibid., p. 33.

[5] Linda N. Groat and David Wang, *Architectural Research Methods*, 2nd Edition (New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons Inc., 2013).

[6] Anselm Strauss, *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

[7] Kristine B. Miranne and Alma H. Young, 'Introduction', in *Gendering the City*, ed. by Kristine B. Miranne and Alma H. Young (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000), p. 2; Caroline Andrew, 'Resisting Boundaries?' in *Gendering the City, Women, Boundaries, and Visions of Urban Life*, ed. by Kristine B. Miranne and Alma H. Young (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000), p. 158; Ibid., p. 159; Sue Hendler with Helen Harrison, 'Theorizing Canadian Planning History: Women, Gender, and Feminist Perspectives', in *Gendering the City, Women, Boundaries, and Visions of Urban Life*, ed. by Kristine B. Miranne and Alma H. Young (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000), p. 151; Clara Greed, *Women and Planning: Creating Gendered Realities* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 60.

[8] Caroline Andrew, p. 158.

[9] Ali Madanipour, *Public and Private Spaces of the City* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), p. 4.

[10] Ibid., p. 112.

[11] Ibid., p. 41

[12] Ibid., p. 43.

[13] Ibid., pp. 44–49.

[14] Ibid., p. 111.

[15] Ibid., p. 112.

[16] Caroline Andrew, p. 157.

[17] Elizabeth Wilson, *The Sphinx in the City, Urban life, the Control of Disorder, and Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

[18] Ibid.

[19] Caroline Andrew.

[20] Ali Madanipour, p. 67.

[21] Ibid., p. 67.

[22] Kathy Charmaz, p. 58.

[23] Caroline Andrew.

[24] Kathy Charmaz, p. 30.

[25] Caroline Andrew, pp. 157–168.

[26] Susan S. Fainstein and Lisa J. Servon, 'Introduction: The Intersection of Gender and Planning', in *Gender and Planning, a Reader*, ed. by Susan S. Fainstein and Lisa J. Servon (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2005), p. 5.

[27] Caroline Andrew, pp. 157–168.

[28] Constantina Vaiou, 'Gender Relations in Urban Development, An Alternative Framework of Analysis in Athens, Greece' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University College London, 1990), p. 293.

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[30] Ibid., p. 184.

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[32] Clara Greed, 'Taking Women's Bodily Functions into Account in Urban Planning and Policy: Public Toilets and Menstruation', *Town Planning Review*, 87.5 (2016), 506–524; Clara Greed and Jo-Anne Bichard, 'Ladies or Gents': Gender Division in Toilets*', Gender, Place and Culture, A Journal of Feminist Geography*, 19.4 (2012), 545–547; Clara Greed, 'Taking women's bodily functions into account in urban planning and sustainability', in *Proceedings of 21st International Sustainability Development Research Society Conference, The Tipping Point: Vulnerability and Adaptive Capacity*, (ISDRS, 2015); Ibid.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Sue Hendler with Helen Harrison, pp. 139–156; Brenda Vale, 'Gender and an Architecture of Environmental Responsibility', in *Desiring Practices: Architecture, Gender and the Interdisciplinary*, ed. by Duncan McCorquodale, Sarah Wigglesworth and Katerina Ruedi (London: Black Dog Publishing, 1996), pp. 264–272.

[35] Susan S. Fainstein and Lisa J. Servon, p. 3.

[36] Ji Young Cho and Eun-Hee Lee, 'Reducing Confusion about Grounded Theory and Qualitative Content Analysis: Similarities and Differences', *The Qualitative Report*, 19 (2014), 1–20.

[37] Kathy Charmaz, p. 136.

[38] Ibid., p. 26.

[39] Cathy Urquhart, *Grounded Theory for Qualitative Research: A Practical Guide* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2013), p. 37.

[40] Kathy Charmaz.

[41] Cathy Urquhart, p. 39.

[42] Ji Young Cho and Eun-Hee Lee, 'Reducing Confusion about Grounded Theory and Qualitative Content Analysis: Similarities and Differences', *The Qualitative Report*, 19 (2014), 1–20.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Gilian Rose, *Visual Methodologies, An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials* (London: SAGE Publications, 2001), p. 12.

[45] Gary Thomas and David James, 'Reinventing Grounded Theory: Some Questions about Theory, Ground and Discovery', *British Educational Journal*, 32.6 (2006), 767–795.

[46] Ibid., pp. 767–795.

[47] Ibid., pp. 767–795.

[48] Ibid., pp. 767–795.

[49] Ibid., pp. 767–795.

[50] Ibid., pp. 767–795.

Chapter Three

Limassol: A Survey of Urban Growth and Women's Place

3.1 Introduction

Chapter 1 explored global perspectives of women and their challenges within urban and architectural processes, while grounding the review of the literature by interpreting these universal theories through local phenomena. Picking up from chapter 1, chapter 3 examines the spatial organization of Limassol which is discussed in terms of the analysis of the relationship between the public and the private realm and its transformation through time.[1] Chapter 3 argues that the separation of the public and the private arenas of Limassol occurred as a result of four, interrelated conditions: a widening social gap between urban classes, urban and infrastructural development because of commercial growth and financial prosperity, the emergence of incompatible land uses, and increasing numbers of internal migration and immigration. Although the chronological sequence of these four conditions is not strictly linear, these conditions evolved approximately in the order listed above.

Chapter 3 then argues that from the time of Limassol's notable urbanization, i.e. the beginning of the twentieth century, Limassolian women have suffered a dual exclusion: an absence from a historiographical perspective and an absence from public life and the public arena. This absence is enabled by patriarchal traditions and by the public/private separation. Lastly, the chapter zooms in modern-day Heroon Square, an area of predominantly commercial and administrative activities, to examine how conditions of public and the private play out on an architectural scale by examining how contemporary Limassolian women inhabit public spaces on a daily basis.

In addition to the four conditions listed above for Limassol's spatial distribution, another reason, that is specific to Cyprus, should also be considered. During the Ottoman rule of 1571 to 1748, Cypriot cities existed under a profoundly restrictive regime. This is evidenced by an assortment of narratives from various sources describing how city dwellers who were Christian had to endure constant threats to their civil liberties, their private property and, on occasion, to their lives.[2] These conditions were in direct contrast to the industrial and post-industrial European and

North American urban typology of that time, which was derived from liberal ideologies that were based on the principles of freedom where some social control was imperative, but not direct and overbearing.[3] Oppositely, Turkish ruling forces operated on a contrary ideology than that of the West, basing their military administration on terror and violence.[4] As Cyprus was taken over by the British in 1878, various reforms were introduced that quickly began to impact economic, political and social conditions. Perhaps one of the most important reforms introduced by the British was the passing of legislation allowing administrative autonomy to municipalities, contributing greatly to the development of urban centres.[5]

To date, there has been no comprehensive study of the process of physical organization and design of contemporary cities in Cyprus, although archaeological research on ancient Cypriot settlements has been extensive. The subject of Cyprus' urbanism appears usually as a side issue in various studies relating to economics and social sciences. Spatial investigations in architecture and geography on Cyprus cities have been heavily focussed on Nicosia because of its unique status as a historic city divided into two parts, one under the jurisdiction of the Republic of Cyprus, and the other under the ambiguous jurisdiction of a non-nation, formed as a result of a foreign military incursion in 1974. Considerably fewer studies have dealt with the urban development of Limassol and other major cities on the island.

3.2 Widening the Public and Private Divide

This section explores the growth for Limassol into spheres that separate public and private land uses of the city. Knowledge has been drawn by examining and contrasting available texts by scholars on the topic of Cypriot cities and Limassol in particular. Attention focussed not only on socio-economic and historic conditions that enabled urban and community growth, but also on the notion of marginalization and discrimination as observed or omitted by scholarship. Attitudes towards marginalization offer an in-depth understanding of Limassolian women's place in the social structure. The section also examines attitudes on public space and its relation to the evolution of social identity through architectural expression. By outlining relationships between economic models, public space and social process, the aim of this section is to introduce the city of Limassol as a case study that relates to the international literature explored in chapter 1, where it is posited that the separation

of the public and private realms impacted gender relations and disadvantaged women. As social structures are deeply intertwined with economic activity, this part of the chapter investigates Limassol's development through the aforementioned axes and, where possible, inserts women's presence in the city's public, cultural and private realm.

Although there has been no consensus among Cypriot scholars regarding the extend of the phenomenon of a widening social gap and social marginalization, scholars do concur that there was a rise of the middle class in Limassol in the first quarter of the twentieth century, and that it was characterized by a desire to acquire respect and recognition by both the upper class and the lower class.[6] It can be assumed that the lower social classes consisted of lower-earning migrants from rural areas who moved to the city to find work. It is less clear who the Limassolian upper class was, since some research suggests that historically there has never been an aristocratic class within the Cypriot strata.[7] It is therefore assumed that the upper class represents sporadic families who acquired wealth early on in the economic development of Cyprus through trade or who were appointed to high-level positions in the Ottoman rule.

In an attempt to ensure a physical separation between the middle and upper class and the lower class, these new houses began being built far from commercial areas. Thus began the outward expansion of Limassol's residential areas which became the impetus for the separation of the city's residential areas from the commercial and administrative centre of the city (Figure 3.1). This desire for recognition by the middle class was manifested in several ways, such as the choice of location of where their house would be built and the size and appearance of the house itself. Also important for the individuals were hair styles, the dress codes (Figure 3.2), the schools children attended, the way in which social gatherings were organized, etc.[8] This type of lifestyle became the impetus for accumulation of material wealth and strong consumerist tendencies which was maintained throughout the twentieth century and inevitably contributed to the rise of the typology of the two-earner family house that became common in the last quarter of the century.
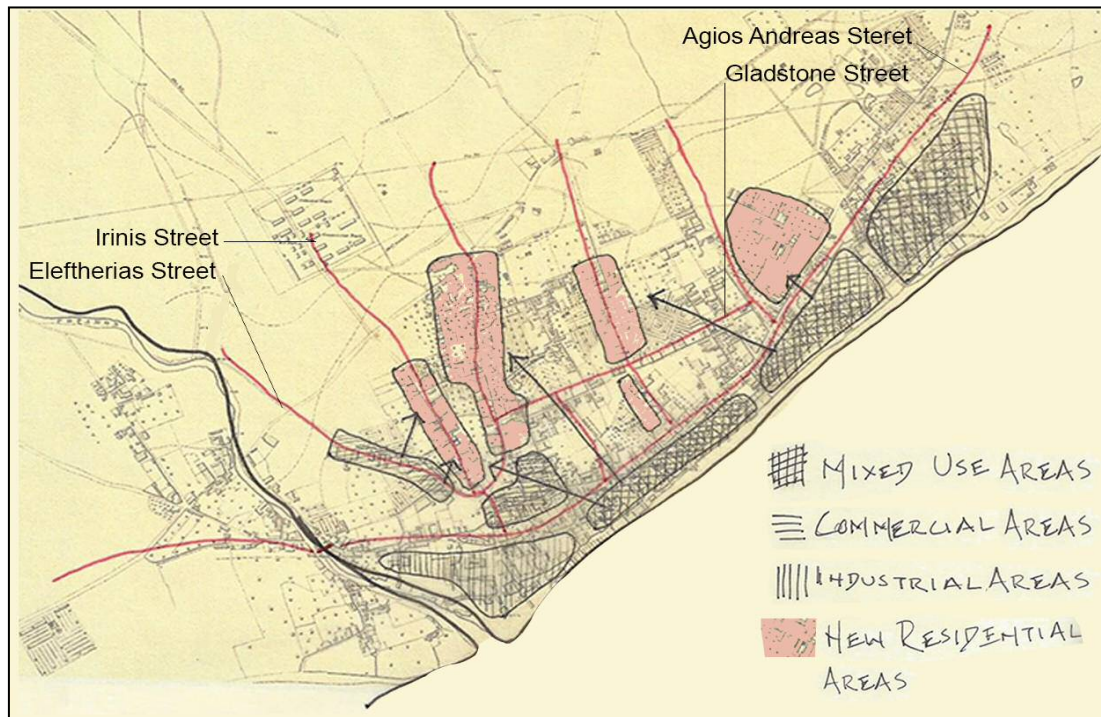
Figure 3.1 Early separation of houses from commercial areas[i]

Figure 3.2 Middle class Limassolian woman and woman from a near-by village[ii]

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[i] Sketch by Anna Papadopoulou
[ii] Source: Patticheion Municipal Museum, Historical Archives, Research Centre of Limassol

Although Limassol was not involved in any military activities, the start of the First World War signified a new period of development of the city marked by significant socio-political changes. Imports and exports decreased considerably,[iii] making it exceedingly difficult for the lower class to afford everyday goods. These conditions however, did not seem to affect the good standing of the merchants of the middle classes and the upper classes.[9] During the First World War and the period between the two wars, the gap between social classes widened. The lower-income class was finding it exceedingly difficult to keep up with the rising prices of goods, which was a direct consequence of the decrease in imports and exports.[10] At the same time, the middle and upper class, mainly comprised of wealthy merchants, were benefitting greatly from the high prices at which Cyprus products such as carobs, wine, raisins and almonds were being sold abroad. This widening of the gap between the social classes saw the founding of the first left, Labour party in 1920, which by the end of the Second World War developed into a Communist party.[11] Limassol continued to grow and by 1921, the population count reached 13,302.[12] The population increase was marked by the erection of new churches (Figure 3.3), which separated the city into several constituencies, e.g. the constituency of Agia Napa, Agia Triada, Agia Zone and Agios Nikolaos. Each constituency became identified by its local church, creating a precedent of carried legal and social significance that is still valid in Cypriot cities to this day.

By the turn of the century, Limassol began to form as an urban settlement that grew along the axis provided by the coast, stretching at a length of approximately two kilometres, spreading mostly to the east (Figure 3.4 and 3.5).[13] The commercial area developed around the Municipal Market and activities focussed greatly on grape products such as wine, vinegar, raisins, etc. During the Middle Ages, the commercial wine industry of Cyprus was considered the most important in the Middle East.[14] In fact, according to Serghides, a true socio-economic understanding of the urban development of Limassol must consider the strong influences of the grape industry of the regions north of Limassol at the foothills of the Troodos mountain range.

[iii] It seems the wine industry suffered the least during the wartime, since it was consumed in great quantities by the Allied Forces whenever they embarked in Limassol or in nearby areas.

Figure 3.3 Agia Napa Church[iv]

Figure 3.4 Coastal development during the second half of the twentieth century[v]

[iv] Source: Patticheion Municipal Museum, Historical Archives, Research Centre of Limassol
[v] Source: Christakis Sergides, Λεμεσός, Οινοπόλεως Μέστωμα [Limassol, Maturing a Wine-city]
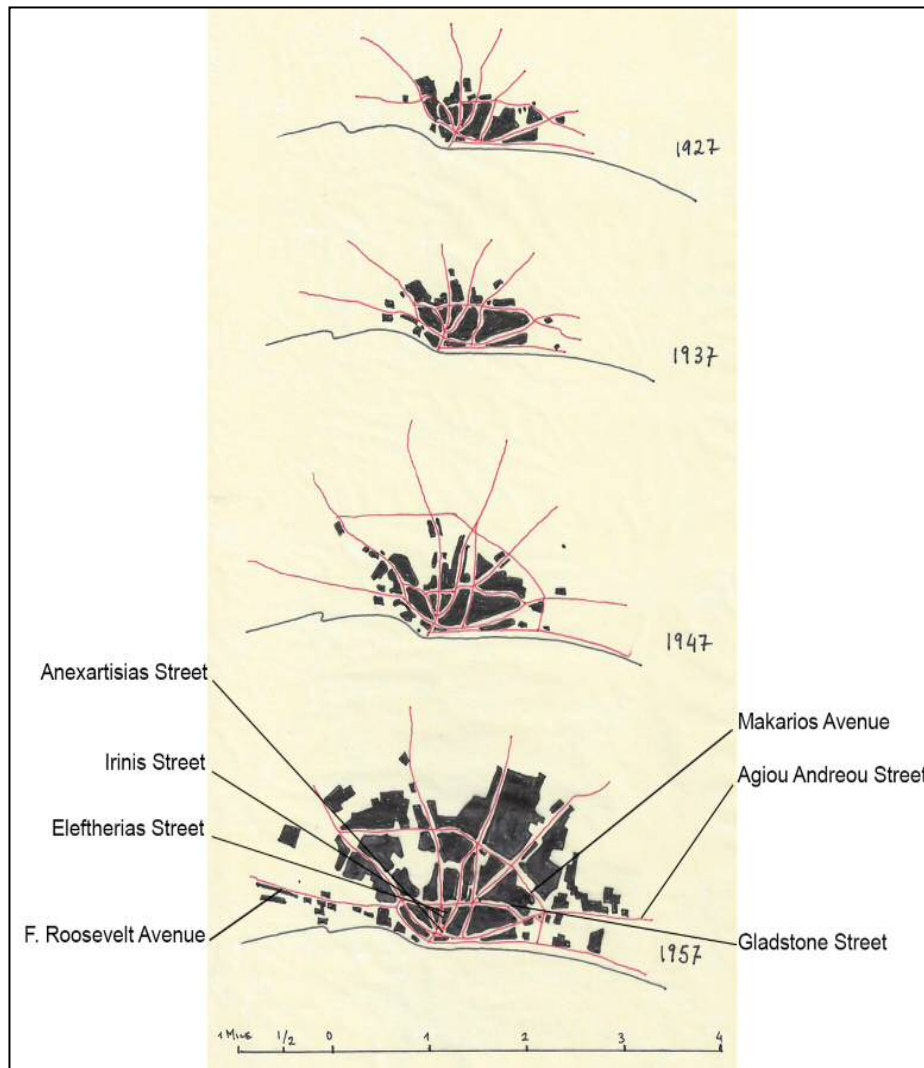
Figure 3.5 Limassol growth from 1927 to 1957[vi]

An increase in Limassol's population in the second quarter of the twentieth century was the result of social shifts that can also be traced to broader developments occurring concurrently in Europe and the Soviet Union.[15] Specifically, Cyprus participated in the Second World War as part of the British Army with a regiment of approximately 10,000 Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot men. Upon the return of the troops in 1946, the population count in Limassol reached 22,800. This led to a significant increase in urban unemployment and an additional burden on social welfare. The population of Limassol was further impacted by the continued decline in agriculture, which led large numbers of farmers to leave their villages and move to the city.[16] With the increase in trading activity, trading professions became more common, thus contributing to the development of Limassol as well as the other

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[vi] Drawn by Anna Papadopoulou from data in Christakis Sergides, Λεμεσός, Οινοπόλεως Μέστωμα [Limassol, Maturing a Wine-city]

Cypriot cities. Trading led to the creation of retail shops, banks, hostels and hotels, which in turn brought forth a surge of construction activity and with it, an influx of migrant workers who were employed as builders, carpenters, ironmongers and plumbers. This growth was followed by the founding of schools and further development of communications and transport (Figure 3.6).[17]

Figure 3.6 Produce arriving in the city from rural areas[vii]

As economic activities increased, it gave rise to architecture that reflected the city's newfound wealth that originated mainly from trade. Limassol's growth and gradual definition of the public sphere impacted women's role within the social structure in positive ways as well as ways whose benefit is ambiguous. Women's timid entry into the workforce and their ability to produce an income improved their social status, a condition that was reinforced by women's increased active role in education as teachers. Statistically women in Cyprus at the turn of the twentieth century were working mostly as teachers (seventy-six women), innkeepers (nine women) and actors and musicians (fifteen), and coffee ladies (six). [viii] The remaining ten documented working women in 1901 were employed in trading, the civil service and the police force[18] where they were presumably occupied with desk duties.

The development of the city was marked by the erection of new public buildings that reinforced the public character of Limassol's administrative centre. Such buildings

[vii] Source: Patticheion Municipal Museum, Historical Archives, Research Centre of Limassol
[viii] A coffee lady worked at a local coffee shop, making and serving coffee to male patrons.

include the hospital on Anexartisias Street (Figure 3.7), erected in 1923, currently used as the offices of District Administration. Figure 3.7 shows the building's inaugural ceremony, where the women attending stood separated from the men on the far left. Other signs of growth are evidenced in the erection of the new, larger municipal market that rendered the two older, smaller ones obsolete.[19]

Figure 3.7 Inauguration of Limassol's hospital showing segregation of women[ix]

Important for trade were projects dealing with road construction and restoration, in particular the upgrading of Eleftherias Street, which became the main entry axis of the farmers into the city.[20] The street was vibrant with commercial activity that catered mainly to the farmers entering the city with their produce and included uses such as coffee shops, kitchens that provided homemade food to passers-by, sties, stables and other facilities for overnight stays of farmers and their animals. At the point where Eleftherias Street merged with Irinis Street, commercial activity became more focussed on retail. At the same time, the city continued to grow eastwards towards the Municipal Garden and northwards towards Gladstonos Street.[21] Subsequently, Irinis Street became an upscale residential street with large, luxurious houses where the rising middle class grape merchants would exhibit their wealth (Figure 3.8).[22] This marked the beginning of the separation of commercial activities with residential spaces. Previously, buildings with a retail shop on the

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[ix] Source: Patticheion Municipal Museum, Historical Archives, Research Centre of Limassol

ground floor and residential areas on the floors above was quite common in the centre of Limassol.
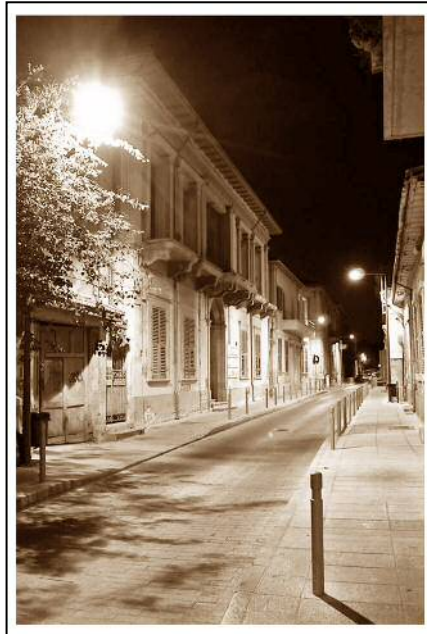
Figure 3.8 Irinis Street[x]

As the city continued to grow outwards in the first quarter of the twentieth century, the commercial and administrative centre that was peppered with houses and apartments became established as the city's core. The dwellings found in this area reflected different architectural styles and social classes. Amidst Limassol's historic centre that was gradually being established as the commercial and administrative hub of the city, two housing typologies were most commonly encountered. In Limassol, the houses of the middle and upper classes such as the ones shown in Figure 3.8 closely resembled European neoclassical urban palazzos, whereas courtyard houses were inhabited mostly by people of lower income (Figure 3.9).

In order to facilitate urban growth, infrastructural projects had to be completed. The first asphalted roads were introduced in the 1920s on a trial basis, coinciding with the entry of the first automobiles.[23] Also notable was the new overhead railroad, 25 kilometres long, that was completed in 1924 along an eastern road artery that led to the port to facilitate the transport of asbestos from the Amiantos quarry in the mountain region, north of the city (figure 3.10).[24] The completion of the overhead

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[x] Source: Patticheion Municipal Museum, Historical Archives, Research Centre of Limassol

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railroad boosted Limassolian exports to such an extent that Limassol became the most important commercial port in Cyprus.[25]

Figure 3.9 Recently restored courtyard house[xi]
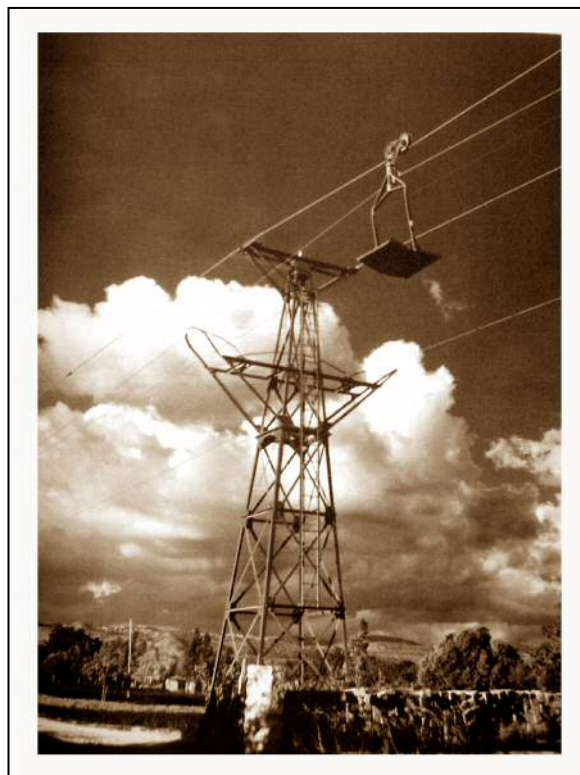
Figure 3.10 Overhear railroad[xii]

[xi] Photo by Anna Papadopoulou
[xii] Source: Patticheion Municipal Museum, Historical Archives, Research Centre of Limassol

This accelerated period of industrial growth during the first decades of the twentieth century was occurring at the same time as the depopulation of the rural areas, which was a result of periods of inconsistent income and usury. The city's infrastructure (including education, health and sport facilities, social welfare and recreation) grew to accommodate the population increase. Such projects included the construction of a sports arena, the opening of several new hotels and the founding of new banking institutions. Also important was the addition of nine new schools, including three all-girl schools.[26]

The urban landscape continued to develop in lieu of commercial activity, as stone-built warehouses and storage facilities continued to be built at various locations in the city, but mainly along the coastline, near the port and the Customs House. These stone warehouses were to become one of the most characteristic elements of Limassol's urban form which from architects' and historians' perspective, serve as the contemporary city's historic landmarks.[27] The industrial sector of the city began to develop along the coastal front, on the western side of the port and in some cases quite near the commercial centre of the city. Notable factories included a soap manufacturing industry, a clay ceramic factory, a foundry (the first in the country), a coloured printing press and a carob processing factory. During the industrial growth spurt of the 1930s, several distilleries and winemaking factories were also introduced into the area, marking the transition from small-scale winemaking to larger scale, industrialized processes.[28] Several of the wine and spirit industries that were located in that area still exist to this day, inducing a sense of historicity to the region (Figure 3.11).

During the war and shortly after, infrastructural improvements continued and were geared towards upgrading the quay, improving the water and electricity supply, sewage systems, creating new public parks and upgrading public squares such as Heroon Square, the research's mapping ground. Ploutis Servas' tenure as mayor from 1943 until 1949 was instrumental in materializing the aforementioned development projects and special attention was placed on accommodating the increasing number of automobiles.[29] Indeed, the research's fieldwork uncovers and discusses in later chapters the significant role cars played in following decades in enabling and solidifying Limassol's ever-growing expansion and in the formation of the suburb north of the A1 motorway. In addition to a variety of public welfare projects instigated during Servas' tenure, including a Home for the poor and a

medical clinic for the prevention of aphrodisiac diseases, one of his most important contributions on the social front was the erection of housing for workers in Limassol's first Public Housing project dedicated to the lowest-income segments of the population (see chapter 1).[30]

Figure 3.11 Warehouses marking Limassol's urban landscape[xiii]

Limassol continued to grow in an erratic fashion, although no consensus could be achieved on how to ameliorate the situation. In an urban study by town planner Sir Patrick Abercrombie released in 1947, it was predicted that Limassol was likely to expand beyond the Makarios Avenue bypass and it was suggested that this expansion would take place as a conglomeration of several small neighbourhoods, each of which would include its own community centre. He also proposed that these neighbourhoods should be separated by green belts. Abercrombie also promoted urban densification and prompted authorities to determine which will be the main commercial city centre which should remain car-free.[31] Indeed, as predicted, the city continued to grow northwards, over the Makarios Avenue bypass and eastwards, and eventually north of the A1. Abercrombie's predictions were correct and Limassol's disconnected suburban neighbourhoods developed approximately as he described (Figure 3.12). Although some densification began to occur in the public sphere in and around the city's historic core, his recommendation regarding greenbelts, however, was never implemented.

[xiii] Source: Patticheion Municipal Museum, Historical Archives, Research Centre of Limassol
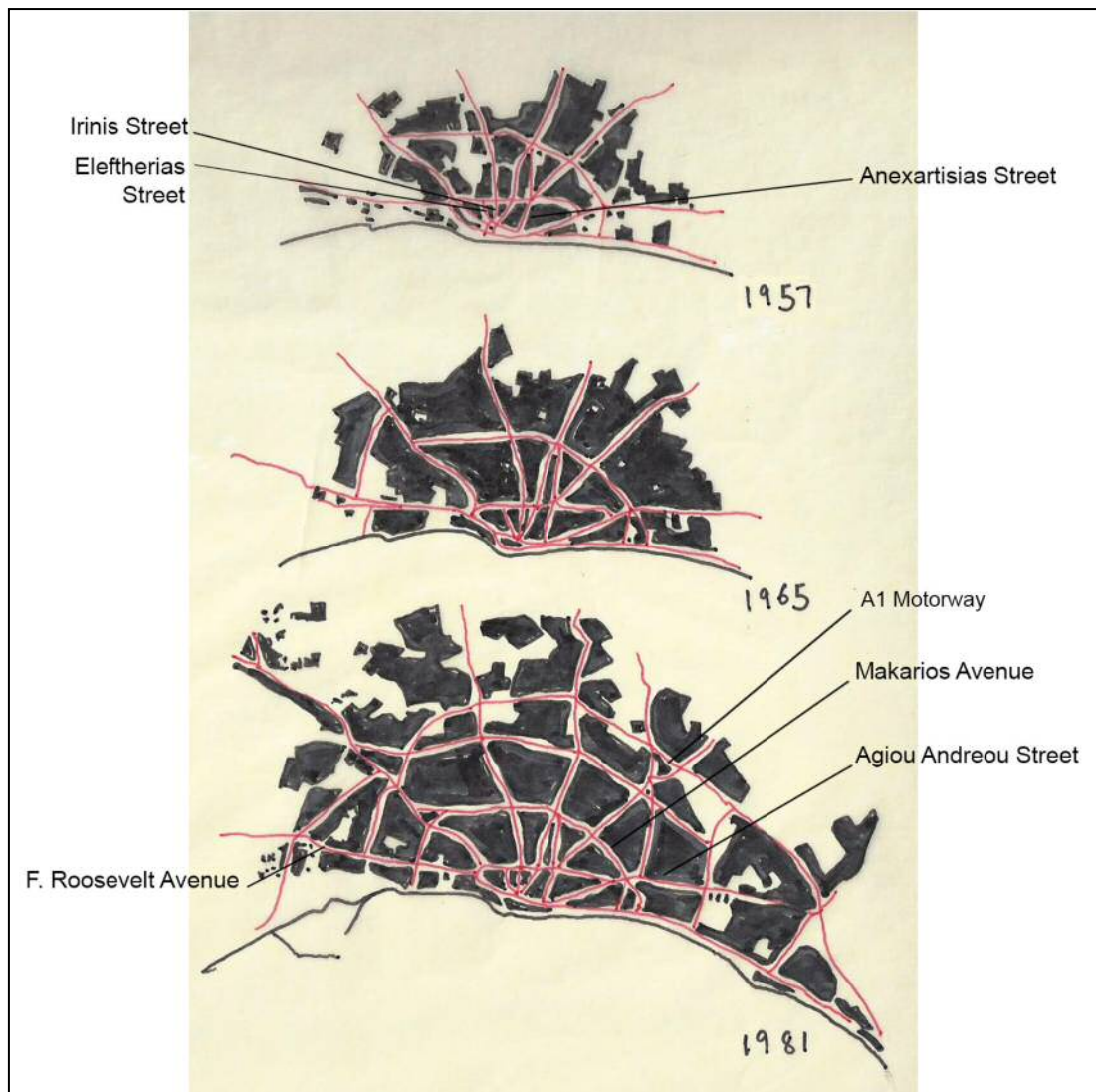
Figure 3.12 Limassol's growth from 1957 to 1981[xiv]

Ideas of zoning and separation of uses had been considered as early as the second quarter of the twentieth century, when Limassol's unruly growth was continuing to expand. In the 1930s political scientist George Frangoudes submitted a memorandum to the Municipal Authorities suggesting improvements in the urban planning of Limassol, which at the time focussed more on the beatification of public spaces reinforcing the European image of the city, instead of dealing with issues of impulsive growth and affordable housing. His suggestions included the broadening of existing streets, the construction of public toilets and showers, and the necessity

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[xiv] Drawn by Anna Papadopoulou from data in Christakis Sergides, Λεμεσός, Οινοπόλεως Μέστωμα [Limassol, Maturing a Wine-city])

for public squares and green spaces. He also suggested that convenience stores be located in every neighbourhood.[32] Frangoudes' suggestions, as well as those by Abercrombie, showcase concerns for disorganized urban growth and both posited solutions that either implicitly or explicitly solidified the image of the city centre as an administrative and commercial area, while passively accepting suburban expansion as an unavoidable fact.

This surge of new construction led to combative conditions between the public and the private areas of the city; negative repercussions could not be avoided.[33] Such repercussions included the decline of some areas, particularly where industrial areas were located adjacent to residential neighbourhoods. Zones ones of traffic congestion also occurred in belts that connected various areas of commercial activity to the port. Also common was the phenomenon of unemployment and loitering. [34] These conditions resulted in further distancing of residential areas from declining parts of the city.

As the city continued to grow by the middle of the century, Makarios Avenue which was once considered a city bypass became a strong competitor to the city centre in terms of commercial activity and entertainment. The city continued to grow northwards and particularly along radial axes that led to the centre. At the same time various villages such as Agia Fyla and Zakaki are being incorporated in Limassol's municipal boundaries.[35] By 1970 the population of Limassol reached approximately 72,000 people.[36] As a result of growing pressures for a more rational system of town planning, the first Town Planning and Land Use Law was drafted, only to be implemented several years later. The law supplied a draft plan for the Regional Planning of Limassol which served as a base for further amendments.[37] As expected, separation of land uses was a key principle.

As build-up and expansion continued in the third quarter of the century, manufacturing and other industries were in constant spatial competition with residential areas. Some zoning regulation was in place which protected certain residential areas from industrial activity. Under the same regulations, mixed industrial uses on the western edge were officially established. Additionally, a belt was designated along the eastern costal front for retail, commercial and entertainment activities (see Figure 3.13). Nevertheless, all these conditions did not compensate for the severe lack of proper planning.[38] Zoning and planning did, however, ensure some degree of preservation for historic buildings that were being

engulfed by new commercial and administrative development in and around the city centre.
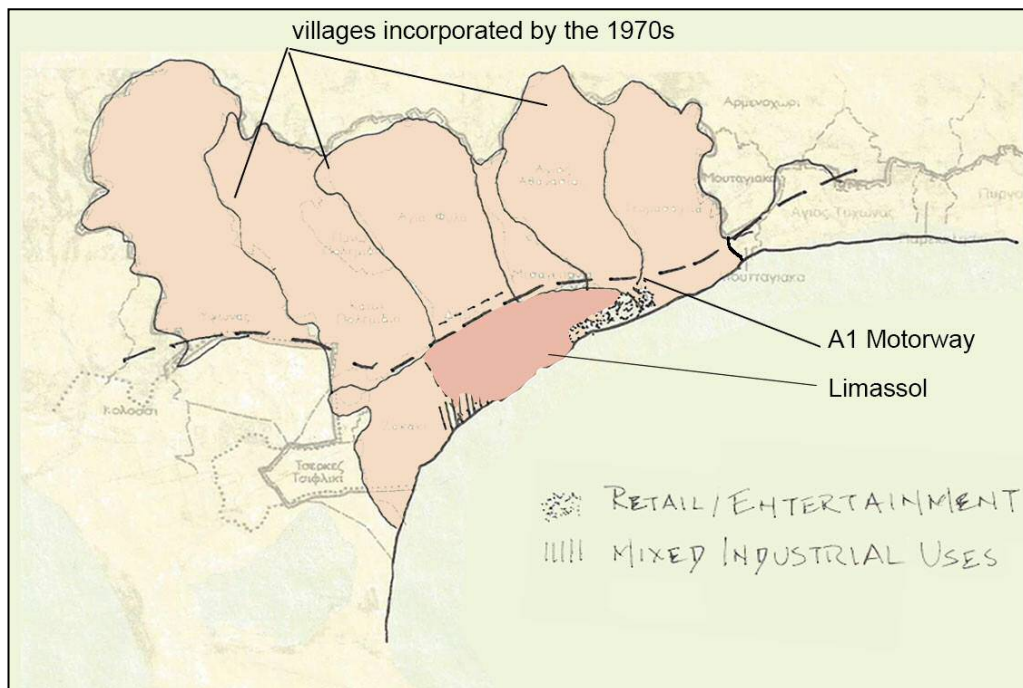
Figure 3.13 Regional sketch showing Limassol's expansion

The years following Cyprus' independence in 1960 marked a proportionally greater increase in population than was seen in previous periods. During this time, the middle classes in Limassol showed a preference to live in single-family homes instead of apartment buildings, in contrast to the habit in other European cities.[39] Additionally, the appearance of concrete buildings of six and seven floors north of the city centre was becoming more and more frequent. Although the housing typologies of the city's centre, remained relatively faithful to early twentieth century prototypes, new houses in the suburbs north of the A1 adopted a loose interpretation of the International Style.

During the 1970s, in an attempt to decongest the commercial centre, a wholesale market was located near the industrial area in the western region of the city. Also important at this time was the implementation of a planning proposal from the 1950s whereby the government was to acquire via eminent domain private property adjacent to the seafront. This coastal zone of built space was to be gradually demolished in a democratic attempt to expose the coastline and make it accessible to the broader public. This coastal belt has since been converted to a public beach that became known as Akti Olympion.
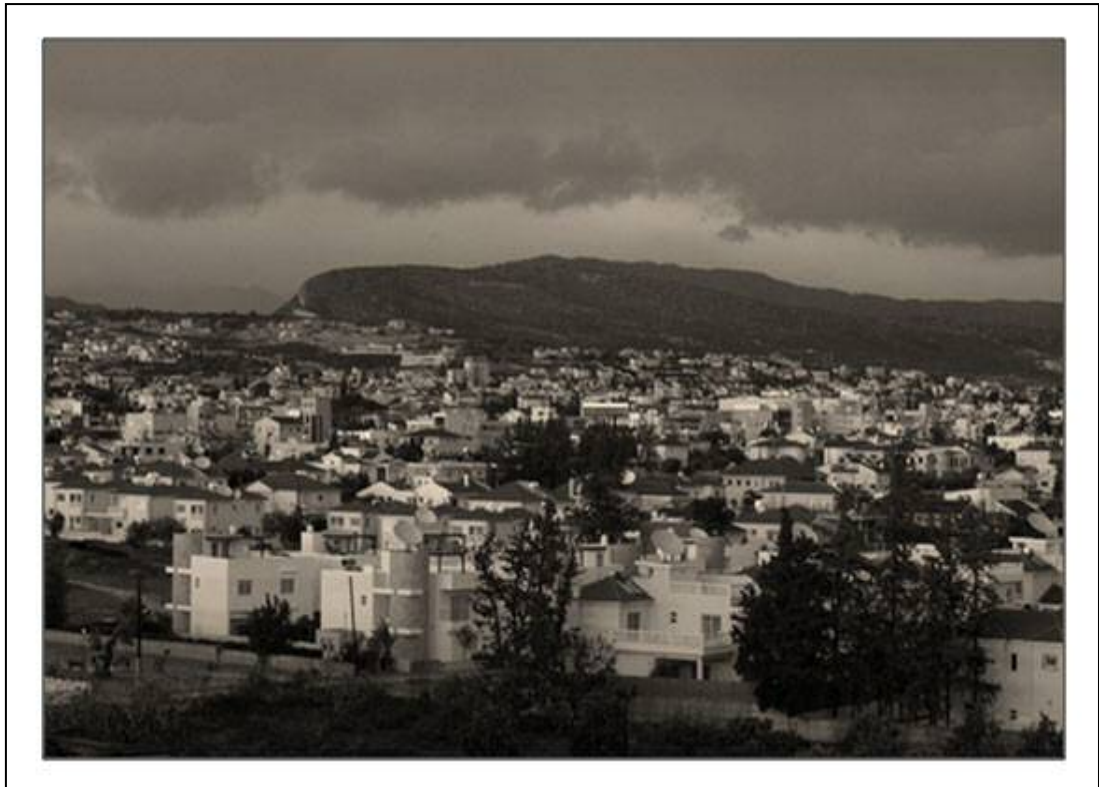
Figure 3.14 New suburban neighborhoods, north of Motorway A1

The end of the 1980s saw the completion of a major infrastructural development which defined and enabled the growth of suburban residential territories north of the city centre. Five major roundabouts were constructed along the A1 Motorway, which is the island's first motorway of European standards, and connects Nicosia to the Pafos region, via Limassol. Once the motorway reaches the greater Limassol region, it runs parallel to the coastline, at approximately three to three and a half kilometres north. The five roundabout system directs traffic either southwards towards the seafront, or northwards where new suburban regions began to develop. In spite of efforts to densify the city and to promote the development of the city's form along avenues, such Agias Fylaxeos Avenue and Nikou Pattichi Avenue, that connect the radial roads linking the outer edges to the historic centre, growth still concentrates northwards and along the radial axes (Figure 3.15).[40] This growth pattern has led to a pronounced increase in sprawl.
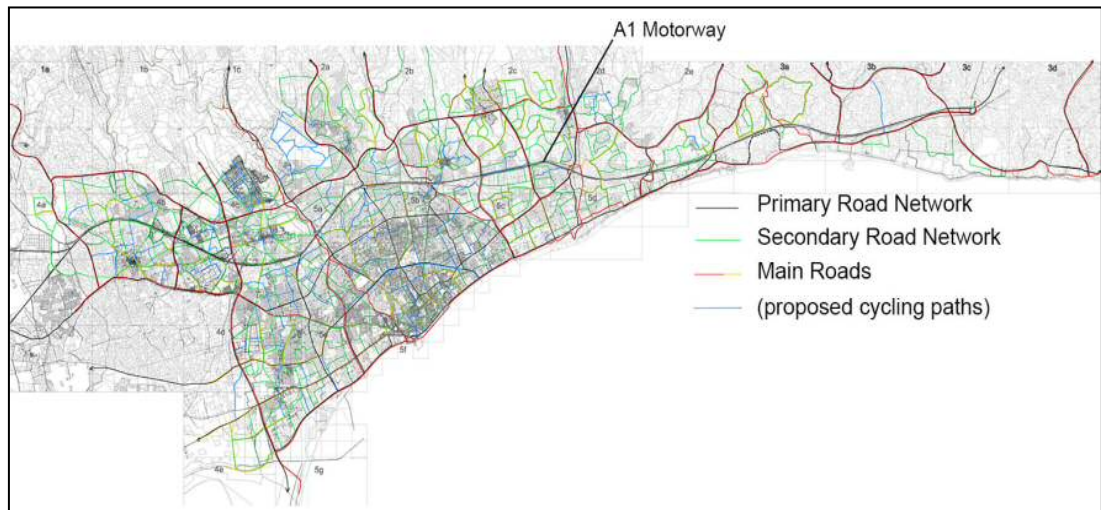
Figure 3.15 Limassol's contemporary road network[xv]

As discussed earlier, Limassol's separation of the public and private spheres was further enabled by an increase in population that occurred due to immigration and internal migration during the fourth quarter of the twentieth century. A consequence of the invasion of 1974 and the following occupation of 37% of Cypriot territories and the eviction of approximately 180,000 refugees was the immediate rise in population in the four cities of the remaining free part of the island, Limassol, Nicosia, Larnaka and Pafos. As a result, Limassol's growth continued at a rate greater than documented in previous periods of the century. New areas of tourist activity were developed, particularly along the retail, commercial and entertainment belt on Makariou Avenue and the historic centre. By 1976, population counts rose to 101,900.[41]

Another factor in Limassol's population increase in the following decade was the outbreak of the civil war in Lebanon, which encouraged a large number of multi-ethnic companies to settle in the city.[42] Three decades later, with the dissolution of the Eastern Block, a large number of Russians and citizens of the former USSR immigrated to Limassol. Today, a strong cultural Soviet presence can be observed throughout Limassol's commercial sectors, with significant retail activity targeted at Russian affluent businessmen who moved to the island with their families. Russians immigrants are not limited to high-income individuals, but also to people in lower-income brackets who are employed mainly in the service and hospitality industry.

[xv] Source: Department of Town Planning and Housing

The trend of uncontrolled and disorganized build-up in Limassol persisted after the invasion, in even more aggressive rhythms, thus placing a firm distance between Limassol historic core, i.e. the city's commercial and administrative centre, and the suburban residential areas. Limassol's architectural community frequently laments the damaging consequences of Limassol's intense build-up, particularly in the public areas, that amount to the loss and demolition of some historically and architecturally important buildings. This can be attributed to the inordinate authority the private sector development exercised on the disinterred Municipal Authorities. Critics suggest that the negative impact on the natural environment has also been immeasurable.[43] The most lasting, devastating effect on the city's urban form, however, has been the sequence of multi-storey concrete buildings that were erected on the northern side of the coastal road, creating an impenetrable wall, separating the seafront from the rest of the city. Serghides, an architect with Cyprus Town Planning Authority for many years, suggests that the detrimental consequences to the built and natural environment as well as to the overall urban fabric of the city in the 1980s and 1990s is a direct result of a particularly loose system of building codes dedicated to serve the free market by helping to maximize its profits.[44]

Limassol's urban sprawl peaked in the fourth quarter of the twentieth century and in the first quarter of the twenty-first. Consequently, transportation from home to places of employment became a notable challenge. Public transportation in Limassol is limited to a bus system, where although buses are relatively new and well-maintained, they are used mostly by lower-income community members, students and immigrants. Middle- and upper-class Cypriots, who reached adulthood in the 1980s and 1990s were not accustomed to using public transportation because of its previously sparse network and the generally poor condition of the buses. The aforementioned generation of Cypriots was consequently conditioned to regard private ownership of a car to be a symbol of social status.

Another factor strongly influencing Limassol's contemporary urban landscape has been the emergence of the trend of the second, holiday home and other infrastructure intended for tourist activity. This is especially true in many Mediterranean coastal cities such as Limassol where economic activity and prosperity once depended on the import and export trade and commerce, but shifted later towards a seasonal dependency on tourism and the hospitality industry. The growth and development of the tourism industry has been highly influential on

the capitalization of heritage and has been the cause of conflict regarding land use practices.[45] Thus Limassol, as is the case with most Mediterranean coastal cities, is largely a result of impulsive and piecemeal development, where ostensibly, the main axis of concern is the combative relationship between the preservation of cultural monuments, places of religious worship and ecological integrity and economic growth. Gender relations and how they are impacted by Limassol's sprawling urban form have not been previously considered by other scholars, but based on international literature, a nexus between women's social role and urban form is inevitable and this condition is what the research aims to explore through the fieldwork.

3.3 Limassolian Women's Dual Absence

The research implicitly suggests that as a result of patriarchy and other social practices that have defined twentieth-century Cypriot culture, as well as the physical separation of the public and private areas in the city, Limassolian women have been experiencing an exclusion from the city's historiographical accounts, as well as a historical exclusion from spaces in the city. This section explores these exclusions mainly on an urban scale and is then followed by an on-site investigation of Heroon Square, where women's occupancy and spatial habitation is documented by observations and mappings.

In exploring women's role in urban development, an additional consideration is the need to differentiate between ordinary women and extraordinary ones. Setting aside the constant flux of time, objectivity in the course of historiography is a universal struggle. In the case of feminist history, however, an added layer of challenge in introduced: how to locate women within a narrative without focussing only on great women, thus suppressing the history of the masses (both male and female) and ignoring other oppressed groups. Also problematic is the fact that recreating the history of great women by definition becomes an isolated narrative. While constructing the narrative of Limassol's growth and attempting to locate women, a quest transpired to find and place pieces missing from a historical puzzle, which according to Hendler and Harrison, is a common pattern in tracing feminist history.[46] Hendler and Harrison further suggest that historians write histories not to relate previously unknown experiences but to provide new meanings to experiences.[47] Ultimately, this is the overarching aim of the section of this chapter.

The Women of Limassol: an Identity in Transition

In order to gain a better understanding of the relationship between Limassolian women and their potential capacity to effect change in their urban environment, it is important to consider who they are. Although their complex profiles and multi-dimensional identities cannot be sufficiently summarised in a few paragraphs, this section of the study attempts to provide a brief introduction of the women whose urban experience the research examines. Knowledge is drawn from the work of Cypriot sociologists and social historians who have a particular interest in women's studies and gender relations.

Mylona et al.'s research study on the Cypriot woman that aimed to evaluate the degree of women's psycho-social liberation in the 1970s focussed on examining the following fundamental conditions: women's relation to the issue of marriage, the role/position of the married woman in the family, equality, politics, relations with the opposite sex, sex, religion, entertainment and hobbies. The age ranges studied were women under 24, women between 25 and 39 and women over 40.[48] Although not explicitly expressed in Mylona et al., it appears that Cypriot women's relation to marriage was the pivot that regulated almost all other aspects of their identity. Women's financial status was largely dependent on their marital status, where women who are not married must seek financial independence and are compelled to enter the workforce where they will seek equality and will have to manoeuvre around various political intrigues. Women's relation with religion is again connected to their marital status, as the Greek Orthodox religion is clear on women's necessity to wed and procreate. The spatial significance of religion for Limassolian women is examined further in the fieldwork.

Mylona et al. concluded that the Cypriot woman of the 1970s believed that marriage is the most important purpose in her life. Although in the past, Cypriot women saw marriage as a vehicle for the creation of new life, Mylona et al. were able to identify a shift between generations where marriage now becomes more than just a means of having children, but also a way to establish companionship. It was also acknowledged through their research that the Cypriot woman of the younger generation no longer considered singlehood as a personal failure, thus confirming women's sense of independence and acceptance as an autonomous social entity.[49]

Since Mylona et al.'s was the first nationwide, organized research of its type executed in Cyprus, the authors were not able to offer any comparative findings. Thus their method of identifying progress and development of the Cypriot women's social identity was by evaluating differences between the generations of women studied. Mylona et al. attributed age and degree of education as the crucial variables in the differentiation between generations.[50] As such, Mylona et al.'s research concluded that Cypriot women are in a transitional phase between a status of submission and social liberation.[51] Mylona et al. supported their claim of this transitional phase by identifying certain contradictions in the survey responses. For instance, when a woman was asked if she would allow her husband to attend a function if she is unable to attend, 65% of the women responded positively, but when asked if she would attend a function if her husband is not able to attend, the percentage of positive responses drops to 21%.[52] Another contradiction was identified when 58% of the participants supported that boys should be afforded more liberties than girls, whereas 65% of women responded that women and men ought to have equal responsibilities and obligations.[53]

Maria Hatzipalvou's quantitative and qualitative study documenting Cypriot women's voices and experiences, which was published in 2004 more the twenty years after Mylona et al., also concluded that Cypriot women are in a transitional context between what she described as modernity and traditionalism, in both the public and the private realms. She posited that because of this transitional phase, Cypriot women exhibit contradictory outlooks on their social condition. Such an example is encountered when women, including ones with university degrees, will still marry by arrangement, with the main motives being financial and social upgrading. Nevertheless, according to Hatzipavlou, only a very small percentage of women will readily admit to the motives behind her arranged marriage. This is another instance where a contradiction is observed in women's response on whether they believe there was equality within Cypriot society. A surprisingly high percentage replied that there was indeed equality, but they also confirmed that Cypriot society was very much a patriarchal one, seemingly unaware of the contradiction created by these two conditions.[54]

Hatzipavlou found that an overwhelming majority of the women who participated in the questionnaires believed that formal (and informal) education is the tool to build a diverse and multicultural society that does not discriminate or marginalize segments of the demographic.[55] Her findings also indicated that when the women in her study

were asked to consider participating in political organizations, trade unions, community and local government, i.e. in positions were they could become more visible and apply pressure towards change, their responses indicated a distinct lack of interest or perceived lack of need to take part in this arena.[56]

Erotokritou, in the context of his participation in Lia Mylona's four-year sociological research, further noted that Cypriot women who had reached maturity around the time of the Turkish invasion of 1974 had distinctly different concerns, centring around issues of personal and family safety and financial survival. In contrast, women who reached maturity in the following decades were more concerned with educating themselves, with professional prospects and with marriage based on love.[57] On the other hand, a Cypriot man's concerns focused on providing sufficient funds to ensure an education primarily for the son and a built house or real estate property for the daughter.[58]

After the invasion of 1974 and the economic regression that it brought on, the presence of women in the workforce, married and unattached, became essential. In fact, during the years 1976–1980 the number of working women rose by 31%, while the percentage of men entering the workforce during the same time period increased by a mere 14% (Figure 3.16).[59] It is worth noting that according to Kolotas, Limassolian women have been more influential figures in the employment arena than women from other Cypriot cities, as the first woman who was instrumental in women's emancipation (Polixeni Loizias) was Limassolian, as well the first woman lawyer, Stella Kakoyianni-Soulioti, who was also the first Cypriot woman minister and first woman Attorney General. Also Limassolian was the first woman doctor (Maria Rousou), the first woman in politics (Katina Nikolaou-Toumazou).[60]

Further to Hatzipalvou, most contemporary Cypriot women seem to believe that they maintain equal opportunities in securing employment and in professional development, as well as in several other areas where one would expect women to perceive inequality.[61] The implication of this statistic is that women consider themselves in equal standing within a range of professions and positions that they subconsciously perceive as appropriate to them. For instance, they are not considering high-level managerial positions, because if they had, they would have to unavoidably acknowledge discriminatory circumstances.

Figure 3.16 Limassolian women in the fourth quarter of the twentieth century[xvi]

Historiographical Absence

As explored above, women's place in Cypriot societal strata in the early twentieth century was historically characterized by the following two elements: it was subject to a male-dominated structure and was ruled by assumptions that rendered her inferior to man.[62] The research uncovers a somewhat conflicting pattern of accounts of women's standing and perceptions between male and female scholars that are indicative of the political forces that govern the historiography of gender.. For instance, Pyrgos states women's legal standing in Ottoman times was characterised by a law whereby the testimony of two women was equivalent to that of one man.[63] Although this law was later abolished in the twentieth century by the British rulers, Anglo-Saxon laws continued to afford men supremacy and the right to be head of the family and guardian of children.[64] The research also uncovered accounts by male scholars that are at times appear naïve, incomplete and adhering to stereotypes

The subjective nature of women's role through historiographical accounts is explored through literature written mainly in the fourth quarter of the twentieth century and the first quarter of the twenty-first. A crucial obstacle in this process has been the lack of scholarship that examines women's presence in an urban context for Limassol, or any other Cypriot city. Women's absence was exacerbated by the

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[xvi] Source: Patroclos Stavrou, Cyprus, The Sweet Land

fact that during the first half of the twentieth century, women were confined to domesticity which at the time was considered too humble to document or to explore. On rare occasions, when Limassolian women were photographed in a domestic setting, the pictures were of family portraits thus reinforcing the notion that women's everyday life was to be kept obscured and women's presence was to be artificially staged and frozen in time (Figure 3.17)

Figure 3.17 Women in a family portrait[xvii]

Some studies on Cypriot women's social standing have been published during the fourth quarter of the twentieth century but they regard cities as mostly static backgrounds that host social activities and processes. Similarly, studies on Cypriot cities and their development have not considered the reciprocal impact between social and urban processes. There have been, however, two books that have explored urban development in Cyprus as a socio-cultural phenomenon and the authors are sociologist Michael Attalides and educator and social historian Panagiotis Persianis.[65] Neither book's investigation deals with the structure of urban form and its impact on social processes per se, but both consider the role of social interactions in the broader concept of urban development and consider the impact of urbanization on Cypriot society. Although Attalides' study is focussed on Nicosia, his methodology and some of his findings are applicable towards the study of other cities in Cyprus.

[xvii] Agni Michaelidou, Λεμεσός, η Παλιά Πολιτεία [Limassol, the Old City]

Social marginalization is considered in two different ways. On the one hand, as explored earlier, when considered as the marginalization of communities based on income, it provides causality for the separation of the public and private spheres of the city where wealthier income classes move away from commercial areas. On the other hand, by assuming that a culture predisposed to class marginalization will also marginalize women and minorities, considering class marginalization patterns can provide clues of how women have been diminished or isolated in similar ways.

Although issues of social marginalization in Cyprus and their presumed nonexistence by some scholars, have only been examined in terms of social classes and not gender, these studies can offer insights on attitudes and perceptions regarding women's socio-spatial inequality. In the 1980s, Attalides posited that the gap in social attitudes between rural and urban populations was negligible. Similarly, gender marginalization appears absent from his thesis. Although he acknowledges conditions of spatial segregation of gender when discussing housing typologies at the beginning of the twentieth century, he does not consider this factor as relevant in his overall evaluation of the presence of marginalization. He noted that segregation, particularly for unmarried women, was manifested in houses that face the street with a wall and one door, behind which is an inner yard whose purpose is to allow distance between women of the house and the public street. Likewise, covered balconies that, according to Attalides, appear in both Muslim and Christian houses, serve a similar purpose by allowing women to look over the street in front of their house without being visible to the public.[66] In spite of his observations on architectural elements that promote gender separation, the dots are not connected to provide a logical conclusion. These types of omissions indicate a disregard for women's social issues related to constructed space.

Oppositely, a more recent research on Cypriot women by Mylona et al., concurred with Attalides that social marginalization between urban and rural classes is not a widespread phenomenon in Cypriot society and attributed this condition to efficient transport and communication systems, as well as the impact of mass media.[67] However, a clear distinction between Attalides and Mylona et al. is drawn: where Attalides contends there is no marginalization between urban communities and rural migrants in the social fabric of Cyprus, thus disregarding the obvious marginalization of women, Mylona et al. identify gender marginalization through

their research but agree with the notion of the narrow gap between urban and rural members of the population.

Historical accounts of women and their place within the social structure around the middle of the twentieth century can be evaluated by how their activism has been documented. Similar to the issue marginalization, there has been no consensus regarding women's feminist advocacy, suggesting perhaps an indifference to its controversial nature. Persianis posits that feminist movements were not as established in Cyprus as in other parts of Europe.[68] Although Papapolyviou posits that by the end of the nineteenth century, there was considerable activity among women. Papapolyviou however, avoids using the term 'feminist movement'.[69]Both Persianis and Papapolyviou, who are male scholars, acknowledge feminist activity, but neither accepts its presence and impact as that of an organized and targeted body of activism. The delicate difference between their two statements lies in how one chooses to define the term *feminist movements*. The term 'δραστήρια γυναικεία κίνηση' used by Papapolyviou translates literally into English as 'active women's movement' whereas Persianis uses the more internationally sanctioned term 'feminist movements' (φεμινιστικά κινήματα). Ostensibly, both terms mean the same thing; the subtle difference between both and the denial of organized feminine activism in Cyprus expose profoundly political aspects.

Persianis supports his acknowledgement of the absence of feminist movements by shifting responsibility for this lack on Cypriot men, who he claims were not encouraging of women's feminist activities. According to Persianis, Cypriot men nevertheless urged women to follow the example of Greek women who were becoming active in charity and volunteer work.[70] Essentially, he attributes the lack of feminist movements in Cyprus to two main reasons: the shortage of a substantial number of educated women in the 1960s and 1970s[71] when the second wave of international feminist activity was at its peak and to what he terms as strong family ties within Cypriot culture. Persianis implies here that women's absence in higher education during that time is a consequence of them not being interested in such ambitious pursuits.[72]

Erotokritou's book *Η Εξουσία Πάνω στη Γυναίκα* (*Domination over Women*), which expresses a distinctly socialist rhetoric, refers to feminist activism as an urban movement that set out to establish equal rights between men and women within a capitalist framework.[73] According to Marxist philosophy, women can only be rid of

prejudices and acquire self-worth through labour. Hence it is implied that women's domestic labour is not valued as highly as paid labour. Erotokritou makes a distinction between woman's social equality and other aspects of equality that he refers to broadly as 'natural, ethical and intellectual' without defining these terms or differentiating between them.

Often, men writing about women's presence in Limassol, particularly around the middle of the twentieth century, succumbed to naïve conclusions. In discussing the surge of new houses being built by the rising middle classes in Limassol, Persianis suggests that women's upgraded place in society as a likely reason, but he does not explain how women's place was upgraded, in what ways, and how this upgrade has impacted an increase in built houses.[74] He references progressive tendencies of the new urban culture and further notes that there had been measures applied in improving the Cypriot woman's role, as well as measures for her improved welfare but does not list or explain them. He remarks that the living room and the reception area of these new middle class houses were considered the 'kingdom' of the lady of the house and he couples that inference with the certitude that this is proof of women's improved social standing.[75] It is implied that Cypriot women around the middle of the twentieth century had been upgraded from being unrecognised domestic labourers, to having a more administrative role within the home.[76] Similar to Erotokritou, Persianis suggests a downgrading of domestic labour by positing that women's improved urban status was a direct result of her entry to the workforce where they were employed as teachers and then as typists, clerks and labourers.

The vague nature of Persianis' claims suggests a rather obligatory attitude towards gender equality, whereby a social historian addresses women's changing role in social process out of duty and not out of deep understanding and respect. Oppositely, Mary Pyrgos, in her book *Women of Cyprus at a Glance*, is considerably less enthusiastic than Persianis' depiction of woman's upgraded position within this new middle class. She refers to women's existence as superficially emancipated and in spite of men's newfound civil freedoms following the establishment of the British rule, women remained subservient to a profoundly patriarchal society.[77]

Women's profile in public life cannot be addressed as though women were a monolithic entity. Women in the twentieth centur,y as well as women today, are diverse in background, education, income and perceptions. While middle class women have received some literary mention as part of their role as domestic

managers, women from lower income brackets are less invisible. Persianis posits that the working woman originated from the lower classes because the upper- and middle-class woman still considered working outside the home an inferior circumstance, which according to Pilavakis was especially true for Limassolian women.[78] Persianis suggests that since women, particularly of the middle and upper class, customarily did not work outside the home, they were encouraged to participate in organized charity work and social welfare activities so that they legitimize their daytime unaccompanied outings.[79]

Women's absence from literature and therefore from public life is not always a literal condition. Sometimes a perceptual downgrading can be just as powerful in its negative impact. Although several Western languages refer to humanity using the word *man* to indicate both man and woman, the Cypriot cultural subconscious takes the generalization a step further; certain words extracted from the Cypriot dialect which are strongly tied to the Greek language, indicate perceptions and intentions that reinforce women's inferior position. The word 'αδρωπιά' which describes ideal, ethical behaviour is directly derived from the word 'άδρωπος' which means man.[80] Important in terms of understanding social identity is the emphasis attributed to virginity and its perceptual connection to education. This is apparent from the fact that all-girl schools were named 'παρθεναγωγεία' (civic conduits of virgins) as opposed to all-boy schools that were named 'αρρεναγωγεία' (civic conduits of men).[81]

A more literal from of absence is observed in a publication titled *Κυπριακαί Σελίδες* (*Cypriot Pages*) published in 1923 that provided a useful glimpse of socio-economic conditions of that period. Of particular interest is a guide included in the book that provided an alphabetic catalogue according to city, of the most prominent scientists, merchants, traders, bankers, factories, agencies, hotels, etc. In the first page of the guide among the first fifteen names only three are women. All three names were teachers in the all-girl schools.[82]

More recently, in an oversized, 300-page book circulated in 2006, published in a luxurious binding by the Municipality of Limassol, contains a chapter written by Koudounaris on spiritual men who were active in the period 1878–1955, and one observes an overwhelming proportion of 'spiritual' men over women. The author assumes contributions to spirituality to include the work of teachers, religious figures, writers, business men, scientists and men of the arts. The women mentioned,

constituting approximately 5% of the people listed, were almost exclusively teachers.[83] Similarly, Makrides' chapter in the same book is divided into several sections where he examines Limassolian culture of that time period in particular themes, such as music, theatre, literature, painting, sculpture, etc., where he proceeds to trace the most notable contributions by Limassolian men. In some, if not most, of these sections he dedicates one or two paragraphs where he lists a few women who distinguished themselves in that area, but he does not relay to the reader these women's overall contribution to the development of that particular field. This is indicative of a more generalized condition where women's presence in social and in extension, spatial dimensions has been regarded as supplementary rather than equally primary to that of men.

As suggested earlier, the research noted that historiographical accounts written by men and women present narratives that indicate discordant perceptions. These perceptions not only regard women's standing in Limassol's social structure, but also the urban histories that unfold within. Specifically, it was noted that male scholars and researches of Limassol, who originate from the fields of architecture, history and social sciences, reveal a reading of the city that navigates through key elements of cultural impact that rely on architectural landmarks and monuments of formal, built space, i.e. the quintessential elements of public realm. These include municipal and civic buildings and squares, usually monumental in scale, designed by notable (male) architects.

An alternative point of view is encountered from Agni Michaelidou, who in her book *Limassol, the Old City* (*Λεμεσός, η Παλιά Πολιτεία*), describes the city as a journey through collective memories. Her narrative begins not by listing notable public buildings to orientate the reader, but by describing the sparsely built landscape as a sequence of open, informal spaces, punctured by occasional neighbourhoods. Michaelidou, who was a social historian, describes with equal excitement empty fields that became shallow ponds in the winter, neighbourhoods where children played, and urban elements that she considers landmarks, such as coffee shops and outdoor cinemas.[84] The book continues with accounts of the conditions of streets and smaller roads, bridges, river banks and through the foundation set from these descriptions she moves on to discuss the location of the Town Hall and a few other locations of commercial activity.[85]

She describes some notable houses, which were known by the owner's name, e.g. the House of Pilavakis, but she provides more vivid descriptions of life on the streets of nameless houses. Since most houses were located on streets of mixed commercial activity, she writes of how the space around the front door of each house would become activated at the end of the working day. When the street was no longer used for carriages to carry products and produce, families would take chairs outside and place them in a semi-circular arrangement outside their front door. Where the roads became narrow, the outdoor gathering of one household would merge with that of the opposite house.[86] In the third chapter of her book, which is titled 'Old Architecture', she provides spatial descriptions solely of Limassolian homes at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The chapter that follows, titled 'Old Buildings', does not delve into the same type of civic buildings as Serghides, Pilavakis and Andreou did. Instead, Michaelidou describes a mix of historic, commercial and residential buildings, such as the medieval castle, commercial warehouses and wooden sheds which were used as emergency shelters during earthquakes.[87] The book, which was first published in 1981, relies in its entirety on vibrant descriptions of the social fabric and cultural history of Limassol, describing sounds, colours, smells, neighbourhoods and people. In contrast to Koudounaris, whose historical review of Limassol ends with a chapter on women's presence and activity, Michaelidou's does not make similar distinctions. Her work reads as a fluid narrative of a community with no mention of spatial or social inequality of any kind. Her work exposes a reading of the city from a woman's perspective, where everyday life reveals and elevates the poetry of spatial experiences of the city.

Tracing Socio-Spatial Absence

In addition to women's overlooked presence in public life, the research posits that Limassolian women experienced another kind of bias, that of socio-spatial discrimination. This section considers how Limassolian women have been historically marginalised as a result of architectural design and urban distribution, while uncovering instances when women's passive presence can be read through the urban landscape.

Following that rural tradition of the local (parish or traditional) coffee shop, men from urban communities considered daily gatherings at the local coffee shop an integral part of their social life (Figure 3.18). The coffee shop clientele was exclusively male and attracted men from the immediate neighbourhood. From various employment statistics, it can be concluded that although women were not allowed to patronize these establishments they were occasionally the owners.[88] Women working in coffee shops used this opportunity to legitimize their access in spaces that were considered public because they are dominated by men.[89] Rural coffee shops' urban equivalent maintained the tradition of the all-male clientele, a legacy that continues to this day. Traditional all-male coffee shops can still be found at various locations within the city centre (Figure 3.19). The next part of the chapter further explores how two of the coffee shops which are located near Heroon Square have a measurable impact on how women inhabit public open spaces.

Figure 3.18 Men at coffee shops[xviii]

Instead of the local all-male coffee shop, Limassolian women around the middle of the twentieth century similarly socialized by attending church (Figure 3.20). However, women attended church mostly on Sundays whereas men could meet at the coffee shop on a daily basis.[90] Weddings, christenings and funerals provided women with opportunities for affirmation of solidarity within one's family and social network.[91] Coffee shops and tavernas were frequented only by men, whereas theatres and cinemas were attended by both men and women. As women's presence in these places became more common, decisions needed to be made

whether women would sit together with their male companion or men and women would sit separately. The only other public place at that time where both men and women would congregate was church, where each sex sat separately. Literature supports that this became the prototype for the other public places mentioned above.[92] Consequently, women would sit on the right side of the theatre. It is noted that according to some voices of popular tradition, the rule of men and women sitting separately in church was instigated to protect men from any unpleasant odours emanating from women attending church while menstruating. In fact, in certain parts of Limassol it was advisable for women not to attend church at all while menstruating. This element of popular culture survived until well into the last quarter of the century.
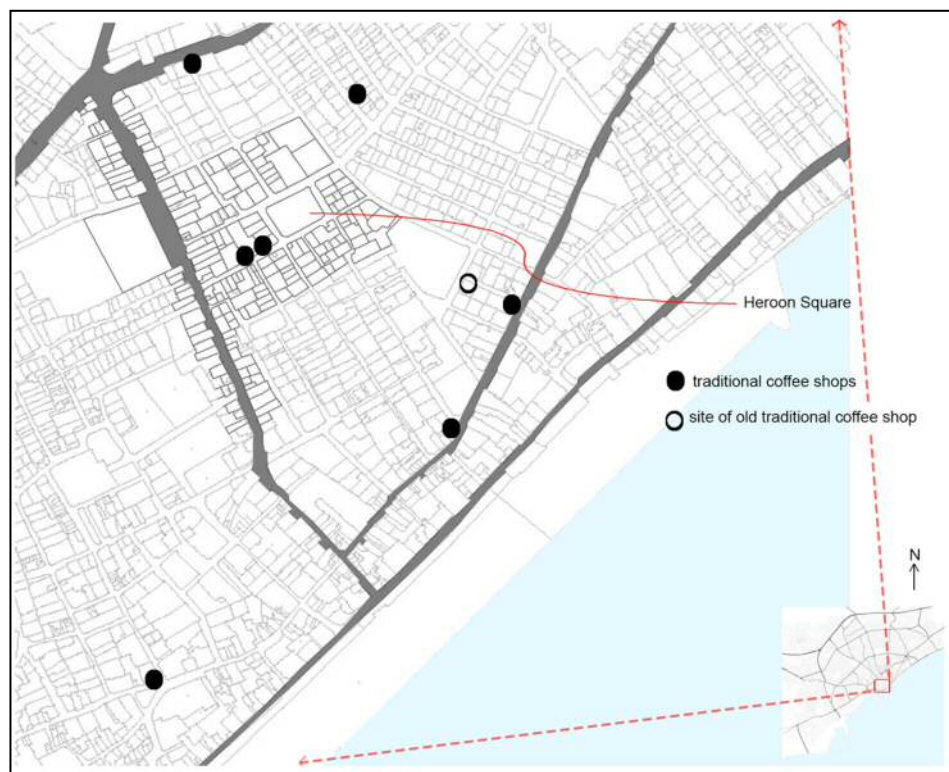
Figure 3.19 Locations of traditional coffee shops in the city centre[xix]

As norms were being challenged in the first quarter of the twentieth century, formerly male territories, such as men's social clubs, became partly accessible to women. In an attempt to minimize gender discrimination towards women, in 1909 the social club 'Enosis' (*Ένωσις*) allowed ladies of Limassol to visit the club's reading room. In an interesting statement justifying their decision, the club elders rejected the notion that their decision was influenced by progressive, or American

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[xix] Drawn by Georgia Theokli and Anna Papadopoulou

ideas, but as gracious concession towards the weaker sex. The club elders note further that this action on their behalf is not intended to support women's efforts towards emancipation nor is it intended to dislodge men from rooms of socializing and entertaining.[93]

Figure 3.20 Women in church[xx]

Persianis posits that gender issues in the Cypriot city became intensely pertinent, as new forms of leisure and recreation became popular in urban societies. Activities included dance galas in hotels and the houses of the upper class, the introduction of public baths along the coast, afternoon 'Teas' in hotels, and others.[94] The 'Tea' is a common social event that survives in Cyprus to this day, although for the last thirty years or so, its popularity is limited to older women. Teas among the middle and upper classes were usually held in the afternoons and the sole purpose of this gathering is to socialize over tea. Tea was accompanied by homemade sweets and savouries. Although Teas held at hotel lobbies were quite common earlier in the century, thus affording women the opportunity to occupy the public realm and temporarily leave the private realm of domesticity, it gradually became more widespread to have them hosted by women in private homes. The reason for this retreat is unknown but its impact was to reduce women's occasions to engage in the public realm.

[xx] Source: Patticheion Municipal Museum, Historical Archives, Research Centre of Limassol

Although women's marginalization is also observed in the private realm, unclear accounts of its impact further indicate disregard for women's issues. As courtyard-type houses were the most common houses in the first half of the twentieth century, a close consideration of their layout suggests the possibility of gender discrimination (Figure 3.21). Since houses with interior courtyards allow outdoor activities to occur away from the public life of the street, it seems reasonable to assume that they are conducive to keeping women away from the public eye. Although some research supports that courtyard houses were popular because of their efficiency towards space and bioclimatics, other research suggests that the underlying reason for the courtyard house itself is not climate, since regions like Milan and Aleppo where courtyards houses exist, have distinctly different climates to each other. Nevertheless, the courtyard house is a form inherited from Byzantine culture, which was then passed on to the Islamic worlds since it responded to Muslim requirements of segregating women,[95] but it remains unclear whether its presence in Cyprus served to separate women from public life.
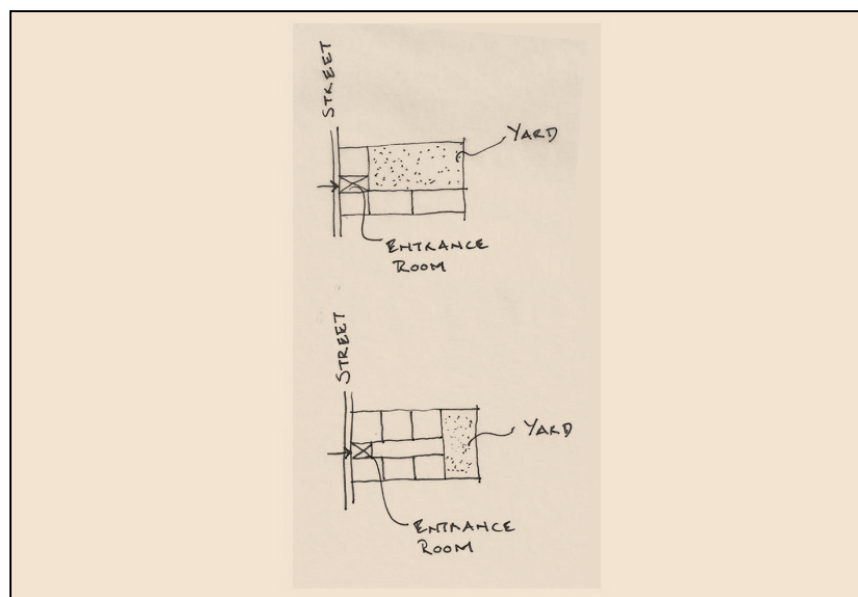
Figure 3.21 Courtyard houses[xxi]

Other architectural features, however, inherited by the Ottomans during their occupation of Cyprus present more firm connections between gender identity and domestic design. Such a feature is the 'παρμάτζια' (parmatzia).[96] Parmatzia are vertical pieces of wood affixed on windows in such an arrangement where small gaps were created to allow air and sunlight to enter (Figure 3.22). They also allowed

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women to observe the outside world without being observed by on-lookers. According to Chrysochou, the detailing of the parmatzia oftentimes exhibits strong Ottoman features, hence its origin is indisputable.[97]

Figure 3.22 Parmatzia[xxii]

Another such example is the 'σιαχνισί' (shachnisi) (Figure 3.23), which was an enclosed balcony projected over the main road from the building's façade allowing women full view of the road, but as with the parmatzia, protecting them from on-lookers. During the transitional period between the Ottoman rule and the British rule, the shachnisi was gradually stripped of its protective layers and took on the appearance of a covered balcony[98] to be appreciated by both genders. Originally the shachnisi was constructed of wood, with specialized skills of wood structures imported from Turkey. As it transitioned to its balcony form, other materials such as stone and iron were used. Another feature of (Muslim) courtyard housing was the placement of a wall opposite the main entrance of the house to ensure visual privacy of the interior.[99]

[xxii] Source: Naso Chrysochou, *Κυπριακή Παραδοσιακή Αρχιτεκτονική, Από την Αγροτική στην Αστική, Εξέλιξη και Επιδράσεις* [Cypriot Traditional Architecture, From the Rural to the Urban, Development and Influences]

Figure 3.23 Shachnisi[xxiii]

Contemporary residential typologies have evolved from the courtyard house to detached homes where the garden space shifted from within the building envelope to the space surrounding. Although the exact reason for this shift that began happening around the middle of the twentieth century is undocumented, it can assumed as an attempt to emulate the Garden City movement.

Sometimes women's absence takes on a passive appearance and is read through urban form in ways that confirm her place in social order. Kin relations in Cyprus have provided a distinctive pattern of residential form, particularly in the second half of the twentieth century. It is found that frequently the wife's parents live in the same house, in a small section of the same plot or within very close proximity.[100] The implication here is that the daughter, and far less frequently the son, is responsible

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[xxiii] Source: Naso Chrysochou, *Κυπριακή Παραδοσιακή Αρχιτεκτονική, Από την Αγροτική στην Αστική, Εξέλιξη και Επιδράσεις* [Cypriot Traditional Architecture, From the Rural to the Urban, Development and Influences]

for taking care of aging parents. Another feature of contemporary Cypriot residential design that supports the same belief, which was particularly prominent in the 1970s until the 1990s, is the one-storey house that is built on the ground floor of an urban plot with structural provision for a second floor addition which is intended for the daughter once she is married. This provision consists of rebar extruding 50 cm to one metre above the ground floor ceiling slab in anticipation of the next phase of construction. The additional floor could make an appearance anytime between five and 30 years after the completion of the ground floor (Figure 3.24). The colloquial name for this feature is *αναμονές*, which means 'in anticipation', suggesting the anticipation of a daughter's marriage. In Cypriot popular culture, is it said that a house with vertical column reinforcement projecting above the ground floor slab is a household with at least one daughter.

Figure 3.24 Rebar extruding above the ground floor ceiling slab in anticipation of the next phase of construction[xxiv]

Both residential typologies mentioned above, in the first instance where the wife's parents live adjacent to or on the premises of the married couple and in the second where the daughter is expected to move into a newly built floor above her parents that will be financed by her father, may be somewhat different in terms of architectural typology, but both carry the implication that the patriarch is expected to provide housing for his daughter and the daughter, in exchange, is expected to provide care for the aging parents. The notion of the father being responsible for

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[xxiv] Photos by Anna Papadopoulou

providing housing for the daughter is strongly supported by research on the Cypriot urban communities.[101]

3.4 A Case Study within Limassol

Introducing Heroon Square

The relationship between Limassol's urban development and women's role within social structure was explored earlier in the chapter through a historiographical investigation of the available literature. This provides a foundation for the research of Limassolian women's urban experiences with spatial and perceptual boundaries. In order to triangulate the research, a smaller area of study within Limassol was chosen where women's presence was observed and documented in a smaller, fine-grained level. Heroon Square was chosen as this area for two reasons. Firstly, it was identified by a number of interview participants as being part of the quintessential public realm of the city (Figure 1(i)), and secondly, the area itself has a layered history of socio-spatial boundaries, where gender relations have notably shifted as women transitioned from working prostitutes to working alongside men in administrative and commercial positions. Initially, the observation had an investigative character and did not follow a particular agenda other than noting women's presence and outdoor habits.

Until the early 1930s, the area in and around Heroon Square was owned by a wealthy Turkish family known as Kioseoglou.[102] It was described as a neighbourhood of humble, adobe-built homes where, according to Kolotas, Christians were prohibited from entering for fear of being stoned. It is inferred that the area had very little open spaces during the first quarter of the twentieth century. Ethnic friction manifesting in socio-spatial boundaries in Heroon Square is not supported by other historic sources. Although Pilavakis makes no particular mention of Heroon Square, he states that at this time both Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots were able to circulate freely and safely in Turkish-Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot neighbourhoods respectively (Figure 3.25).[103]

Figure 3.25 Heroon Square[xxv]

By the middle of the century, land from the Kioseoglou family was being sold off to Greek-Cypriots and to the Municipality of Limassol. The municipality began demolishing some of the adobe-built houses, transforming the area into a public square.[104] At the same time, the area became the epicentre of prostitution in Limassol, a fact that was resented by families that lived in the area.[105] Consequently, women and children did not feel comfortable in Heroon Square. The area also maintained an identity as a hotspot for artists and intellectuals (Figure 3.26). Pilavakis mentions the famed coffee shop of Suleimani that notable intellectuals and other Limassolian prominent figures would frequent (Figure 3.27 and 3.28).[106] Suleimani's coffee shop was a traditional (or parish) coffee shop, where only men were allowed to attend. As explained earlier in the chapter, the tradition of these coffee shops remains to this day. Although Suleimani's coffee shop has not survived to this day, there are two other traditional, all-male coffee shops located in Heroon Square.

[xxv] Source: Patticheion Municipal Museum, Historical Archives, Research Centre of Limassol

Figure 3.26 Political demonstration at Heroon Square[xxvi]

Figure 3.27 Men in coffee shops in Heroon Square[xxvii]

[xxvi] Source: Patticheion Municipal Museum, Historical Archives, Research Centre of Limassol
[xxvii] Ibid.

Figure 3.28 Men in coffee shops in Heroon Square[xxviii]

In the last fifteen years, the area has been completely regenerated, largely as a result of the Technical University's purchase and renovation of a number of buildings around Heroon Square.[107] The area's cultural identity has also been preserved and indeed enhanced. The Square is surrounded by art rooms, dance studios, informal music venues and a notable restored theatre originally built in the late 1930s. While the only houses facing Square were those of the prostitutes, in the streets behind the Square several residential neighbourhoods remain (Figure 3.30). Other establishments include family-style taverns, a Hall of Residence for the Technical University and the Technical University's Department of Multimedia and Graphic Arts (Figure 3.29). As a result of the area's overall rejuvenation, prostitution has practically disappeared. At the beginning of this research, two houses owned by practicing prostitutes were documented and one has since passed away.

Figure 3.29 Modern-day Heroon Square[xxix]

[xxviii] Source: Patticheion Municipal Museum, Historical Archives, Research Centre of Limassol

Figure 3.30 Land uses[xxx]

Mapping Women's Presence in the Square

Observing both genders inhabiting Heroon Square was initiated as an exercise to help understand people's relation to the open spaces around the Square in order to discern people's spatial connections to particular locations within the area. The goal of the observation was to provide a palette of information that will describe behavioural differences in space usage between the two genders. Observations were documented on four days (two weekdays, Saturdays and Sundays) during three different time intervals each day (from 12 pm to 1:20 pm, from 4 pm to 5:20 pm and from 8 pm to 9:20 pm) and at four different locations between Heroon Square and Anexartisias Avenue, a street which is considered to be the busiest shopping street in Limassol. Recordings focussed on the number of women and men moving around the Square, their direction, their relative speeds and places of pause. Subjects were separated into three types: women, men and mixed company (groups of both men and women), which are documented in red, black and blue colours respectively (e.g. Appendix D).

[xxix] Image constructed by Georgia Theokli
[xxx] Ibid.

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In considering the overall findings, the following trends were observed. Overall, more women are seen walking around Heroon Square than men, and more women seem to be present around the Square and surrounding commercial areas at peak shopping hours, i.e. in the afternoon and on Saturday mornings. Although recordings relating to speed were taken by approximation, there seems to be an overall tendency for women to walk faster than men, particularly when they are walking alone (Appendix D). Also noted was the increased presence of groups of mixed company on the evenings of the weekends. Some of these observations seem to be related to the types of land use and retail types in the area, i.e. women tend to gravitate to the western side of the area of study, where there are many more shops, and mixed crowds are more visible on the eastern side of the area where commercial activity is related to taverns, cafes and cultural events.

Taking readings at four different locations enabled not only an overall determination of numbers of women versus men circulating in the area, but a street-by-street comparison of gender activity. This allowed an examination of the area around the Square on a street-by-street basis. Thus it was observed that one street, Pavlos Melas Street, presented an anomaly (Figure 3.31). Whereas overall gender presence was more or less equal in other streets, over the days of observation there seemed to be almost twice as many men as there were women inhabiting the area around Pavlos Melas Street. Although reasons for this discrepancy and an in-depth exploration of this apparent spatial boundary are found in chapter 6, it can be surmised that women tend to avoid this street because it presents the strongest vestiges of the area's former identity. There are a couple of all-male coffee shops, a cabaret that has closed recently, a betting shop that caters mostly to men and even some of the more gender-neutral uses of the area have names that are suggestive of masculinity. Thus the boundary in gender-equal spatiality is created not only by land use, but by perceptual conditions.
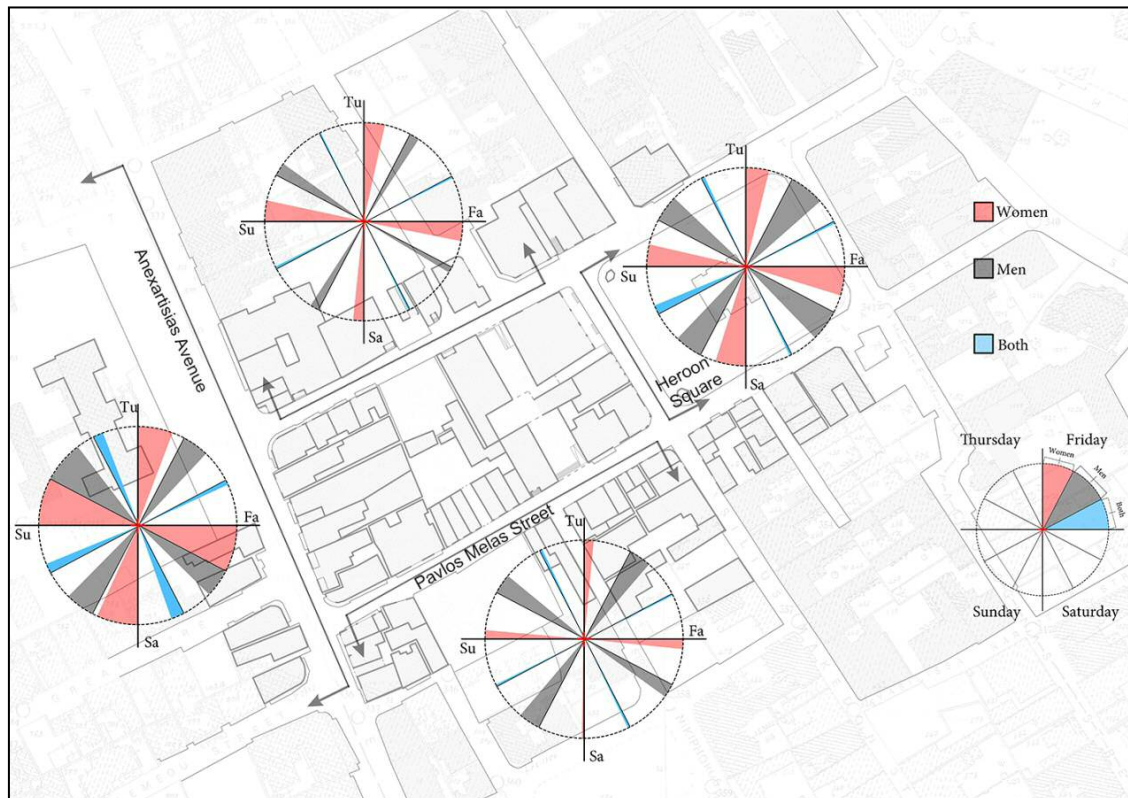
Figure 3.31 Summary of gender presence in and around Heroon Square showing anomaly at Pavlos Melas Street[xxxi]

Conclusions

The aim of this chapter has been to compose a narrative of Limassol's urban development with particular attention focussed on the mechanics responsible for the separation of the public and private realms of the city, women's current and historic presence in the city, their habits and experiences. Whenever possible, I have endeavoured to interpret information on Limassol's history from a gender perspective. Cypriot women have not been studied in direct reference to their relationship with the built environment, nor has gender been consciously employed as a means of understanding Limassol, or any other city in Cyprus. Thus, an amalgamation of information was drawn from various sources and was thread together to form a cross-disciplinary survey that supports the dual argument of how the city's suburban residential communities formed and how women have been marginalized therein.

[xxxi] Drawn by Georgia Theokli and Anna Papadopoulou

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While most texts on Cypriot women's place within social structure were written by women sociologists such as Hatzipavlou and Pyrgos, published research on Limassol's urban history has been produced mainly by men, who came from a background of architecture, history and education. This discord between gender and disciplines suggests two layers of gender division in the Cypriot social and urban fabric. Firstly, as a result of profound feelings of inequality that are supported by the literature, social studies that pertain to gender seem to be regarded as important mostly by women researchers, while male sociologists regard men's role within social structure with less curiosity and perhaps more content. Secondly, the city in its form and development is the subject of interest from a broader field of studies and seems to attract mostly men. This is indeed a common phenomenon in Western gender discourse, not limited to studies in Cyprus, and is indicative of a deeper perceptual condition that men historically possess a more dominant social role within the city.

Where Limassol is being examined in terms of its two component realms, the public and the private, the literature suggests that the legacy of men's connection with the city remains strong. Nonetheless, the literature revealed a rich account of changing, multicultural, class-related and evolving gender relations. Furthermore, according to mostly male sources such as Persianis, women assume an honorary role as custodians of the private realm of domesticity. However, as posited by Pyrgos, since their overall place within the social structure has not greatly improved towards equality, their control within the home remains symbolic. Indeed, houses are studied by male researchers as architectural typologies rather than places where gender relationships are in flux. There is a disconnect between spatial and social studies pertaining to gender relations in Cyprus. Mylona et al. and Hatzipavlou in their study of the role of Cypriot working women in the social structure expose challenges on a social front, yet there is little information regarding challenges relating to urban form. Both studies conclude that the Cypriot working woman's greatest challenge is managing her state of transition, vacillating between modernity and traditional values, but neither study makes assumptions as to any spatial implications related to these conditions.

Another indication of gender-related discord in Limassol that surfaced from the literature was male urban researchers' preoccupation with civic buildings such as the Town Hall, the Post Office, the Hospital and the Courthouses. This is sharply contrasted by female social historian Agni Michaelidou who approached

descriptions of Limassol as a sequence of open spaces and cultivatable fields with a few patches of built space, and continues to narrate growth not as a function of public buildings, but as an evolution of neighbourhoods of mixed uses.

Zooming in to Heroon Square, one of Limassol's major public space, allowed the research to shift from the historical to the contemporary, and from expository writing to the spatial. Perhaps most importantly, exploring Heroon Square has enabled the research to transition from the urban scale and to hone in on a single location. Observations on contemporary Limassolian women's urban habits exposed strong perpetual influences affecting women's choices in moving around open spaces. Areas that are suggestive of masculinity and areas where men are more likely to be found as passively observing the street are avoided by women, although the overall number of women in areas of mixed use and commercial activity is greater than the number of men.

Thus, the chapter's arguments and the on-site analysis of a notable area within Limassol aim to provide the premise for the research, where co-existing spatial and perceptual boundaries organize and control gender relations within the built environment, as women themselves assume particular roles in this process. The purpose of the research is to investigate women's experience in navigating spatial and perceptual relationships between the public and the private in order to uncover boundaries   and   explore   opportunities   towards   spatial   equality.

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[107] Christakis Sergides, p. 114.

Chapter Four

Understanding Limassol's Public Realm

4.1 Introduction

The public realm can be either a space with physical dimensions and material characteristics or a process of communication.[1] Women's perception and habitation of the public realm in the twentieth century has been informed by conditions of physical separation between the public and the private spheres of a city, where women's sanctioned role within the social structure implied that their 'place is in the home'.[2] Consequently, the public realm, where most employment opportunities are usually concentrated, has evolved in ways that accommodate the working man, rather than the working woman, or women in general. As women entered the workforce in increasing numbers in the twentieth century across Western society, but also within Cyprus, an examination of their response to constructed environment that had been populated and designed mostly by men is important in revealing the nature of this process as well as its experience from different women's perspectives.

Thus, drawing from my fieldwork, this chapter examines women's experiences and perceptions of the public realm in terms of boundaries, i.e. spatial or perceptual restrictions, and opportunities. The chapter also aims to uncover women's needs, desires and expectations of the public realm and to attempt to link them with presence of boundaries and the possibility of opportunities. This chapter is then followed by chapter 5 that delves into the results of the research as they pertain to women's socio-spatial understanding of the private realm. As discussed in earlier parts of the thesis, the public realm is defined in the research as the area associated with a concentration of commercial, infrastructural and administrative activities. Since most participants in the study were not familiar with the essence of the term 'public realm/sphere/arena', in conversations with them, I commonly referred to it as the city centre. Contrary to other cities in Cyprus, Limassol has a city centre that is spatially distinct and defined, and one that also coincides with the city's historic core. In the case of Nicosia, the country's administrative capital, the city originally developed within the Venetian fortress wall but, as governmental needs increased, the city organically sprawled outside the city wall, with commercial uses and other services following suit.

The chapter investigates three key issues. The first issue regards how women perceive the city's contemporary public realm, and how they perceive themselves within it in terms of equal access to employment, available infrastructure, facilities and safety. The second topic explores how the participants imagine and envision the 'ideal' public realm, and the third topic studies how and where women experience physical and perceptual boundaries in the public realm.

Participants were asked to make spatial and social observations of the area they perceive to be the city centre and the elements within it. In order to ground their observations, they were asked to relate their perception to their experiences navigating within the centre and their daily commute. Through their narratives, converging and diverging opinions and unique perspectives, a qualitative description of Limassolian women's place within the public realm has been constructed. Three themes that seem intimately related in creating a narrative of women's experience in the public realm were the notion of centrality, or the 'city centre', 'employment conditions', and 'gender presence'. These three thematic platforms helped women, firstly, to describe the centre geographically and perceptually, and, secondly, since the public realm is intrinsically associated with the workplace, participants entered discussions that would uncover biases, prejudices and predispositions relating to their employment conditions.

The third theme relating to the public realm documented women's viewpoint on how the public realm is inhabited according to gender. The documenting and mapping of gender presence in Heroon Square occurred in parallel and helped triangulate women's perceptions revealed via interviews, with actual conditions observed and documented on-site. This theme ostensibly aimed to expose women's perceptions and possible misconceptions of how commercial sectors and areas of mixed use were occupied by each gender according to times of day and days of the week, but in fact, it provided nuanced associations of how social order is influenced by the built environment. Questions and topics of discussion aimed to uncover areas of preference, reconciliation, contention, localities of perceived or actual danger and other qualitative characteristics.

4.2 Spatial Descriptions of the Public Realm

The Centre of Limassol: the Core of the Public Realm

The participants were initially asked if they thought a city ought to have a place that can be referred to as the *centre*. The purpose and generic nature of the opening question aimed to put the participants at ease as well as to encourage them to begin the process of envisioning the public realm. As expected, all participants responded positively to the opening question, leading the way to the next set of questions which called them to describe their image of the ideal city centre, what services should it provide, etc. Gradually, almost imperceptibly, all women began transitioning from describing their notion of how the public realm should be to how they experience the public realm of Limassol.

> '[The city centre] has to be like a core that channels everything' (Anthoulla, response 2).

Vibrancy, human activity, notable buildings and formal open spaces were a common theme, as well as the general notion that the public realm has to be a place that provides opportunities for community interaction. When prompted to describe how they imagine or understand the public realm of a city, all women described some variation of a lively setting, with commercial activity, with buildings of civic and public nature, with cafes and restaurants and with clear associations to places of work (figure 4.1).
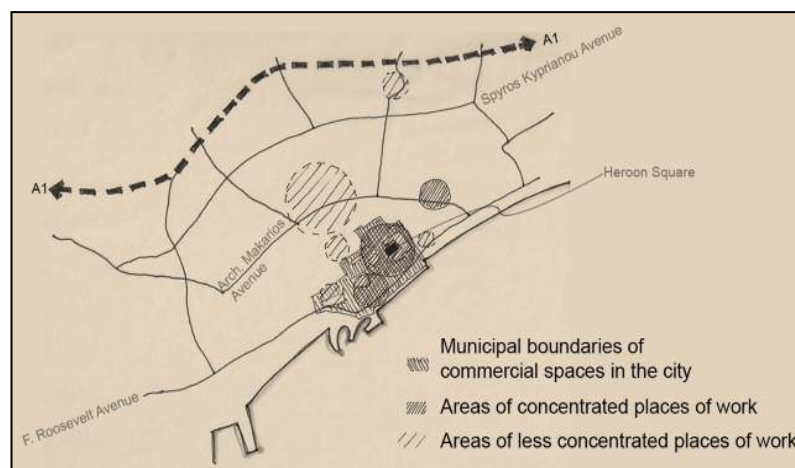
Figure 4.1 The public realm[i]

'I would see it as a large square, with pedestrian ways around it, where people can gather… how should [I] explain it: where the culture of the city is centred, a point where cultural evidence is showcased, which addresses the interests of old and young people alike. But not a small square – a large one. I would see [the centre] as a neighbourhood in the form of a square. That's how I see it in my mind.' (Nina, response 2).

Participants' perceptions of Limassol's public realm were not always consistent: where Tania, a lawyer in her fifties who works at the city centre and lives near the A1, posited that the centre should be a place of 'vibrant exchanges', Dafni, who is in her twenties and works as a legal clerk, used the word 'hectic' to describe the public realm, suggesting certain negative emotions towards crowds and a fast pace of life. Dafni's choice of words also indicates a desire for more intimate urban experiences and the possibility of different levels of privacy within the city centre.

The participants also closely linked the public realm and the city centre to cultural values and confirmed that Limassol's city centre does provide such opportunities. They expressed a desire and an understanding that the public realm is the space that is articulated by cultural buildings, i.e. theatres, art spaces, galleries, and it is also the space that provides amenities for more ephemeral, outdoor activities, like parades, outdoor markets etc. Where Nina and other participants in their sixties described the public realm in terms of its contribution to cultural activities, other participants, who are in their forties, such as Chryso and Wilemnina felt it is imperative for the public realm itself, as architecture and as urban space, to have strong historical and cultural origins. Further to the link of cultural activities and historic structures, Stavria considered the city's centre in deeper cultural terms by stating that a city centre's historic core is a necessary component that traces 'where the city began'.

Limassolian women revealed a tendency to connect cultural heritage to historical buildings and period buildings in general that are not of vernacular origins. This attraction to formality in buildings also extends to formality in the design of public open spaces. For the women of Limassol, historic qualities that are considered to be of cultural importance are spatially translated to buildings of archaeological significance, such as the medieval castle (Koulla) and the ruins of the ancient city of Amathunda (Urania) in the western tip of the city, although the latter was not referenced in the discussion of the public realm because of its physical distance

from the modern-day city. Historic and cultural qualities were also identified by some of the older participants in some more recent buildings that are both civic and private, such as the District Administration Building on Anexaritsias Avenue (Veronica) (Figure 4.2) and the Municipal Library on Agios Andreas Avenue (Rena) (Figure 4.3), which had formerly been built as a private house – an urban palazzo – in the early nineteenth century.

Figure 4.2 District Administration Building[ii]

Participants indicated a strong preference for modernist practices of zoning and separation of uses, as they responded negatively to the idea of residential spaces in the city centre, seemingly unaware of the physical limits to employment access that this imposes on them. It should be noted that the historic centre of Limassol of the early twentieth century exhibited a significant number of neoclassical buildings flanking commercial roads which were comprised of shops on the ground floor and residences on the floors above (Figure 4.4). Some participants indirectly expressed the opinion that this kind of spatial arrangement of urban uses is out-dated. Currently, most of the formerly residential spaces above shops are either abandoned or used as storage areas for the shops underneath. Although Yolanda agreed that the centre must include residential spaces, when asked to be more

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[ii] Source: Christakis Sergides, Λεμεσός, Οινοπόλεως Μέστωμα [Limassol, Maturing a Wine-city]

specific, she described their ideal location as immediately adjacent to the perimeter of the centre. Andrie was an exception to the notion of zoning as she responded that the city centre most definitely must include housing, otherwise the centre would be an 'artificial' space.

Figure 4.3 Pilavakis Mansion, Municipal Library[iii]

Figure 4.4 Shops on ground floor, residences on top floor[iv]

Accessibility was a quality that was frequently discussed and participants' responses exposed a phenomenon that became pervasive throughout the study:

[iii] Archives of Nikos Nikolaides
[iv] Ibid.

women's dependency on the private vehicle, where participants immediately associated accessing the city with driving. Indeed, most women regarded the public realm as a destination, rather than an inhabitable area. Participants who live at the periphery of the centre, in the suburbs or surrounding villages, spoke of accessibility in terms of how the public realm is accessed from their home, either in order to reach the workplace (Figure 4.5) and other administrative services, or to visit shops, restaurants and engage in leisure activities. However, accessibly in terms of how women circulate within the city centre, was less frequently mentioned.
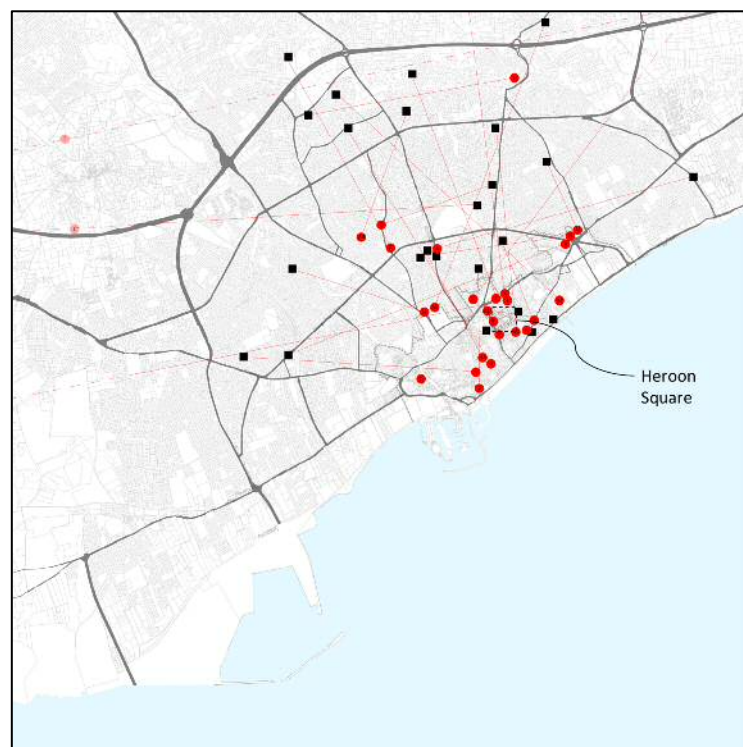
Figure 4.5 Map of the City of Limassol showing participants' homes and places of employment with respect to each other. The black squares locate the participants' home and the red dots locate their place of employment.[v]

Women's relationship to the private car was one that presented several incongruities that are discussed in later chapters. In spite of the prominent role of the car in their daily lives, practically all participants considered pedestrianism and walkability an important element of urban life. However, walkability was regarded as an activity related to leisure rather than a functional element of their daily experiences navigating from work to home. Nina, who regarded opportunities for pedestrian circulation as the most important characteristic of an accessible city, resented the fact that in order to benefit from walkable areas within the city's public

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[v] Drawn by Georgia Theokli. A larger version of the map is included in the Appendices.

realm, she has to drive from her house to reach them. Similarly, Joanna considered good transportation systems that allow individuals to access the public realm, just as crucial to the quality of her urban experience as children's playgrounds and places of recreation.

Figure 4.6 Historic Centre, Mitella Street[vi]

Most participants' responses in locating the city centre converged on the area of Anexartisias Avenue and Heroon Square (Figure 4.7) because these areas are equally commercial as they are administrative. Being able to identify a city's centre or public realm, appears to be a key element in navigating the city. Other orientating elements can be spatial, such as the coastal fronts or high buildings. However, when prompted to identify the centre of Limassol, most participants did not mention the coast or high buildings; instead they confidently located it within the city's historic core (Figure 4.6) which is peppered with late twentieth-century buildings in an early twentieth century historic setting. The importance of being able to identify a city centre in order to feel comfortable within a city was stressed by Fofo. She stated that when she first moved to Limassol six years before, she felt unable to identify the city centre and therefore felt distinctly isolated. This indicates that for her, spatial elements such as the coastal front were less important than land use and urban activity. Similarly, Helena and Aphrodite who grew up in Limassol in the 1990s when the city was experiencing a significant wave fo development, identified Limassol as

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[vi] Archives of Nikos Nikolaides

a city with not one distinct core, but as a multi-centred city, where their notion of centrality was directly related to commercial and retail activity, suggesting that some women consider the city centre primarily as an area of consumer interest and not as a location where employment opportunities concentrate.

Locating Heroon Square as the city centre, as the core of the public realm, can be a complicated matter because of the area's layered history. Awareness of this condition is apparent in some of the responses, such as those of Chryso who described Heroon Square as an unsafe place because of its past use as the city's red-light district. However, when asked to discuss their feelings towards Heroon Square, a number of women provided positive descriptions and indicated a contrasting perception to that based on its past conditions.

> '[In] Heroon Square […] was previously an infamous area, whereas now it has developed around family, student, commercial and entertainment activities' (Wilemnina, response 8).

In practical terms, and as is noted by Xenia, the key agent in Heroon Square's revitalized state has been the Technical University and its acquisition of several buildings in the area and the subsequent steady flow of the students. In spite of its history as a red-light district, most participants identified the area around Heroon Square as the centre of the city. It seems the square's formal, rectangular form, as well as its adjacency to the city's most commercial avenue surpassed the area's uncomfortable past. In fact, Limassolian women's preference towards formal public areas is encountered on several occasions through the research. An exception to the noted attraction to formal, organized public squares emerged from Tania whose negative feelings about the square were not related to the area's former notoriety, but to the 'colourless' qualities of its form and design (response 20).

Participants' affinity to formality was not limited to public squares. Although the women who identified Heroon Square as the centre seem to perceive centrality as a spatial, rectangular form, some also described locations as central by association with certain landmark buildings, such as the medieval castle, the municipal market, the District Administration Building, the Town Hall (Figure 4.8), the Courthouse, the buildings of the Technical University etc. Implicit in their association of formality to centrality is a sense that the public realm is dissimilar to the intimacy of domesticity and, as such, women perceive it as subconsciously remote.

Figure 4.7 Heroon Square[vii]

Perceptions of centrality and gender presence related to it were diverse, but there was a clear association of centrality with architectural formality and a pronounced adherence to gender stereotypes. Centrality is associated with formal, rectangular open spaces and monumental buildings, mostly from the neoclassical era, built during colonial times. Women's understanding of who the public realm is intended for appears to be influenced more by stereotypes relating to the commercial and retail nature of the public domain rather than the administrative or financial service activities that dominate the buildings in the area. Women's assumptions of the public realm are guided by what they see going on outside the buildings' envelope, rather than what can be assumed to be the primary activities going on inside.

Figure 4.8 Limassol Town Hall[viii]

[vii] Archives of Nikos Nikolaides
[viii] Source: Christakis Sergides, Λεμεσός, Οινοπόλεως Μέστωμα [Limassol, Maturing a Wine-city

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Gender Presence in the Public Realm

The investigation of how women perceive their place in the public realm was supported by an appraisal of how women assume gender inhabits public space. Responses to the question of which gender is assumed to be more present in the public realm revealed perceptions that are directly related to gender stereotypes as these were discussed in chapters 1 and 3. These are centred around perceptions that men are the breadwinners and the natural inhabitants of the public realm, i.e. producers, and women are meant to be mothers, homemakers and consumers of goods.[3]

Several participants believe that more women than men circulate in and around the city centre, and the significance of this observation lies in the associations the participants make relating women to particular uses and services offered by the public realm. For instance, Chryso suggested there are more women than men spending time as transients in public spaces since they are responsible for transporting children to their daily activities. Andrie, Urania and others attributed women's presence in the public realm to women's propensity to shop. In fact, several women make a strong correlation between women and what Louisa referred to as women's 'material culture'. Aphrodite further suggested that women are better at sales, except when it comes to selling items that she believes are geared for the male consumer, such as gadgets. These items, she said, are better sold by men than women. She subsequently implied that since shops in the centre that sell such items are fewer than shops that sell clothing, then one would expect to encounter more women than men inhabiting the public realm.

Although some participants considered men and women to be present in the public realm in more or less equal numbers, more interesting responses were those extracted from those women who consider that greater numbers of men spend time in public spaces than women. These were the participants who associate the public realm with administrative and office activity, and who operate under the presumption that more men than women are present in this arena. This assumption that the gender or age group inhabiting an area is directly related to urban uses is further supported by the statements of other women who believe the strongest social group inhabiting the centre are young people and university students (of both sexes) because of the number of buildings in the centre that are occupied by the Technical University. Louisa and Tania were an exception to women who associated social

presence with urban use, as they believed men tend to inhabit public spaces in greater numbers because men seem to have more free time.

In conclusion, most participants regarded Limassol's centre as a vibrant, commercial and cultural hub, just as a city centre ought to be. While women who live in and around the centre discussed it in terms of liveability and walkability, women who live further away considered it in less intimate term and described it as a spatially formal place, not suitable for living, a place one can access and navigate only by car. Opinions diverged when pondering which of the two genders is more present in the public realm and responses seemed influenced by stereotypes, e.g. women like to shop, men have more free time. If one assumes that stereotypes are a product of social norms, then women's appraisal of gender presence the public realm is less influenced by personal observation and more swayed by social conditioning.

4.3 Limassol's Public Realm: Boundaries and Preferences

> 'I always loved the old, romantic Limassol that I was able to experience in beautiful times, with fairy tales at the cobblestoned pavements in the evening, with jasmine necklaces we used to make, and strolls around Gladstone's Avenue to meet young men, but I love present-day Limassol as well because it has truly become beautiful' (Rena, response 34).

Although verbalizing spatial observations was a challenge to some participants, their efforts were key to evaluating their urban experience. Their references to spatial elements relating to the public realm were documented and coded in order to provide a reading of how women understand and experience physical space. Responses are separated into three groups. The first group includes elements participants find positive and includes both elements that are currently present in Limassol as well as those that participants assume would improve and enrich the city and their personal experience. The second group includes physical elements of the city that women experience as problematic in terms of liveability and aesthetics, i.e. boundaries, with a special focus on issues of personal safety. The third group of responses examines participants' perception of how and why the city has changed in recent years. In the course of this part of the investigation, participants were

called to evaluate particular causalities related to the changing process of the public realm related to the commercialization of domestic tasks.

Urban Preferences

In response to questions asking participants to indicate the desirable qualities of urban spaces, good aesthetics was identified as an important issue, indicating that the notion of beauty is an important factor in women's appreciation for urban space. Although words like 'beauty' and 'aesthetics' were used liberally to describe good urbanism, no further narrative or definition of what subjectively or objectively constitutes optimal urban spaces were offered by the participants. Through deeper examination of the responses, however, two elements can be deduced as critical to the participants' understanding of beauty: green areas and the sea front. Indeed, participants such as Wilemnina, Rena, Olia, Joanna and Annoulla located their favourite spots in the city along the Mole. These preferences, i.e. proximity to the seafront and access to green spaces appeared to be universal; they were not linked to a specific age group, social background, or location of participants' home.

Figure 4.9 Multifunctional Seaside Park (Mole)[ix]

The Mole is a linear park that runs for approximately one kilometre parallel to the coastline and approximately eight hundred meters inwards, framing the city centre on its southern edge (Figure 4.9). Strolling along the Mole has been a social activity

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[ix] Archives of Nikos Nikolaides

for many generations of Limassolian men and women. Its recent redesign has somewhat altered its physical form and appearance in an attempt to provide a more contemporary architectural image, but it still attracts large numbers of people of all ages. Its social importance among women is highlighted by Wilemnina's views; she considers Mole's contemporary look as an improvement on its previous form. She regards it as an 'organized area of public benefit', and goes further to say: 'The Mole is not as it was, a soulless promenade where Limassolians walked up and down without meeting' (response 8).

The Mole's new design consists of more areas of green textures and some trees; thus many participants refer to it as one of the few green, open areas in the city and name it as a favourite location. The most significant feature of the Mole is not its green presence, but its proximity to the sea. All women interviewed, whether native Limassolians or not, noted how the sight of the sea is beneficial to their psyche. Joanna described the sea as 'calming' (response 15), Koulla as 'relaxing' (response 16), whereas participant Urania, who also finds the view of the sea appealing, also added another dimension to the question of which areas of the city she prefers:

'I often go to the sea, coastally to Thalassaki [café], [and I walk] from the Municipal Garden until the old port, […] on the promenade, with my dog, because I love the sea and I prefer to have my coffee by the coast rather than somewhere else. [I also like to walk] in the area around the Castle […] and near Kitiou Kyprianou [street] where there are various cafes, because this is the street where my grandmother's house was and I love that area' (Urania, response 29).

For Urania, the elements that make a location in the city attractive extend beyond the component of aesthetics and relate to personal memories and place attachment. This position is also supported by Helena, who relates notions of urban comfort to conditions of familiarity.

The locations mentioned by the above participants are public, open spaces. However, it seems that the jurisdiction of open spaces is not a concept that registers in participants' perception. Fofo, who has only moved to Limassol a few years ago, identified the Limassol Marina (Figure 4.10) as a destination that she described as 'well-designed for women and children' (response 32). She considers it clean, peaceful and protected, where she can comfortably walk around with a stroller. She

referred to it as the first public place that offers all the aforementioned qualities, but seems unaware that the Limassol Marina, which was partially completed and opened to the public in 2014, is in fact a private venture of commercial and high-end residential units. In fact, Fofo seemed oblivious to the signs entering the marina that prohibit a number of outdoor activities such as dog-walking or eating (Figure 4.11).

Figure 4.10 Limassol Marina[x]

As discussed extensively in the literature, one of women's most prominent challenges in entering the workforce was the physical separation of the public and the private sphere and the temporo-spatial boundary created by their need to perform as homemaker and as an equal member of the employment industry.[4] For the purposes of the research, accessibility and connectivity were evaluated as the ability of the individual to access work locations and facilities offered by the city centre in a time-efficient manner. Dafni lives in a mixed-use area near the centre and Elisa lives in a village outside Limassol, they both listed the city centre's accessibility and connectivity as important elements for good urbanism, thus acknowledging that distance can act as an urban boundary. They also maintained that Limassol is an efficient city in that regard because distances are relatively small and women can travel between home and work quite easily. In fact, time-efficiency appears to supersede considerations of safety and pleasure in the process or accessing services present in the public realm, thus revealing boundaries for

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women that are time- and space-defined, and are manifested by the separation of the private and the public realm.

Figure 4.11 Marina Prohibitions[xi]

In describing their preferences for an 'ideal' place to live, car ownership, car dependency and pedestrianism were often included, though participants had different ideas. On the one hand, women seemed content with their car dependency and indifferent to the lack of public transport or indeed to the separation of public and private spheres, but on the other hand, some participants discussed pedestrianization of the city centre in almost romanticized terms. Narrow streets were regarded as a spatial inconvenience, especially as it pertained to women with babies. Participants would suggest that wider roads and more parking would make the city more accessible and would improve their quality of life. At the same time they described pedestrian streets as a way of claiming ownership to public spaces, suggesting an acknowledgment that cars create an artificial distance and impenetrable boundary between women and urban space.

Although there was an overall tendency to describe the 'ideal' city centre as one with more open spaces that are green, that have better lighting, cleaner pavements

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[xi] Photo by Anna Papadopoulou

and the occasional mention of better bicycling networks, participants Elisa, Olia and Marcia added the issue of urban density. They described the liveability factor of the city as a function of building density, where buildings ought to be kept to low heights, smaller building volumes and overall lower densities. Thus, there seems to be little awareness of how lower densities contribute to the physical distance between home and work and the temporo-spatial boundary for women that is subsequently created.

It was not always easy to discern which of the participants' positions on what a good urbanism might be were related to gender and which were gender-neutral. Although Urania is not a mother, she, Wilemnina, and Fofo specifically mentioned the needs of a mother that have to be accommodated and brought up issues such as safety, dimensions of pavements for strollers, but overall, participants' preferences for urban spaces and recommendations for improvements were not specifically related to womanhood. This suggests that women are not disposed to considering their needs as women, but rather as citizens, thus ignoring the possibility that their needs and desires might be different to those of men.

Spatial Boundaries and Urban Deficiencies

Participants frequently commented on the lack of green space (Aphrodite, Zena and Wilemnina) as an important deficiency that significantly diminishes women's enjoyment of the city. On almost all occasions that the lack of green space was addressed, it was coupled with another infrastructural inadequacy, such as the scarcity of pavements and their insufficient dimensions, lack of well-networked cycling routes, lack of squares of other gathering points in the public realm and lack of playgrounds. Specifically, Zena and Aphrodite both spoke of the need for urban green space as though it was an entity that transcends conventional urban elements such as infrastructure. There needs to be green that you can 'feel', said Zena in response 10. Nina who also noted the lack of adequate green spaces in Limassol's public realm, further suggested that parks and playgrounds are more important than services. In general, the women who noted the absence of green were women who spent time in northern countries, either for studies or for other personal reasons.

Women's preoccupation with green space as seen from the interviews can be viewed in the context of women's broader connections to nature that are encountered in essentialist or materialist theories, such as in the work of Grosz and

Merchant respectively.[5] On a less theoretical framework, women's concern for the presence of urban green space and environmental processes in general have been documented and discussed by Gould and Hosey, Vale, and others.[6] In fact, Gould and Hosey make reference to a number of polls indicating that women rate the environment as a priority during political elections; more women than men are likely to volunteer or give money to environmental causes; and more women tend to support government spending for the environment and are less lenient towards corporate and industrial regulations that pertain to environmental protection.[7]

Furthermore, Wilemnina linked the lack of green space to a lack of open spaces that would invite community gatherings and then associated community needs with those of the family unit and with the need for children's playgrounds.

> '[In other countries] wherever there are families gathering there is usually a corner that satisfies the needs of children. Children's needs are completely marginalized in Limassol' (response 8).

The lack of facilities for children was linked to a deeper problem experienced by several working women who are caretakers. On some occasions, even participants who were not primary caregivers for young children, also made similar observations. Fofo, Wilemnina, Urania and Chryso indicated that not only are several pavements in and around the city centre of insufficient dimensions for women who carry their children in prams, but Ariana and Nina further stated that the city's spatial setup is not conducive to taking care of their elderly family members, who are consequently isolated in their homes. This was especially challenging for Ariana, as her elderly parents live in an area of the city centre where pavement dimensions are particularly lacking. Zena and Helena observed that pavement dimensions seem to be in constant conflict with street trees. To that end, Helena appeared quite willing to forgo privately owned land for the sake of creating spaces for public green space, thus reinforcing women's strong positive feelings towards urban green space.

A spatial boundary perceived by some participants (Louisa, Dafni, Zena, Nina, Olia, Koulla and Georgia) was a deficiency in parking facilities. This observation was not linked to a particular age group or social background, indicating the pervasiveness of the phenomenon. The perspective offered by the participants who rate parking as a major hindrance in their urban experience is yet another indication of the dependency of Cypriots on personal transportation and it further supports the

hypothesis that for many Limassolian women, the public realm is physically separated from the private realm. However, prioritizing parking facilities instead of focussing on the actual spatial issue at hand, which is the separation of the public and private spheres, confirms women's lack of awareness in the pervasiveness of boundaries that hinder their urban experience.

Conflict is observed when considering that women, on the one hand, feel the public realm requires more parking spaces, but, on the other hand seem resentful of the presence of cars. Conflicting perceptions of the private car are also encountered in the responses of participants Louisa, Dafni, and Zena, who, in addition to Wilemnina, Ioli and Anthoulla felt justified in avoiding the public realm as much as possible because of frequent traffic congestion. Ioli was particularly resentful of the fact that although she lives in the centre, she needs to have a car in order to access facilities and services she requires almost on a daily basis. She, unlike almost all other participants, does not have a driver's licence.

> '[I] still do not drive and […] it is impossible for me to move and to be accommodated in an essential way in the city. This is not related to gender, rather it is a minority, a marginalized minority of people who do not drive, and this is another problem' (Ioli, response 35).

Although it would be reasonable to associate issues of car dependency with criticism of public transportation, this association was not generally made explicit by some women. This observation leads to the assumption that Limassolian women are not aware of their rights as equal members of the community to assert that the state provides them with means and time-efficient alternatives of accessing the city centre as part of their daily commute. This reveals urban boundaries for women that are more strongly perceptual than they are spatial, because women's lack of awareness hinders them from pursuing appropriate alternatives. Panagiota, Barbara, Dafni and Koulla were an exception, as these women did discuss the inadequacy of public transportation in terms of how it negatively impacted the quality of life of the elderly members of the community. Barbara included teenagers and younger people in the demographic that is severely hindered in their mobility by this situation.

As in the case of public transport, another spatial boundary presents a profound perceptual component. Limassolian women do not regard the adequacy of public toilets as a civic right and seem unaware that the lack of public toilets constitutes a

boundary in inhabiting the public realm. Also paradoxically, all participants agreed to their inadequacy although most confessed that either they have never used public toilets in Limassol, or have done so extremely rarely (Chryso). Urania openly admitted that although she has never visited public toilets in Cyprus, she was fairly certain that they are dirty and disgusting and indeed most other women were quick to criticize their poor state without realizing the conflict of criticizing something you claim to have not experienced. Urania was also fairly certain that there are no baby-changing facilities in Limassol's public toilets.

The importance of women's access to public toilet facilities in terms of spatial and urban democracy cannot be understated. Kitchen and Law, cited by Greed, argue that people's experience and journeys within the city are spatially constrained by how often they need to use the toilet.[8] Indeed, accessibility to adequate public toilets constitutes a key component for sustainable, equitable and inclusive cities.[9] Women's access to public toilets is not only a civic fundamental right, but as Wrigley-Asante suggests, cited in Greed, the absence of adequate facilities restricts women's participation and subsequent contribution to the economy and to urban development at large.[10]

Olia suggests that the most important problem in Limassol is not the lack of parking spaces or insufficient areas of green space, but the abundance of tall buildings. Her response points to a romanticized image of the city in older times where buildings were up to three storeys high and the urban fabric was not as dense. Olia's dislike could also indicate a broader feeling of uneasiness in the (perceived) male-dominated public realm. She also linked the older spatial image of the city with social values from the past by suggesting that this form of urban densification has brought on unwelcome conditions of social isolation:

> '[Limassol] has been spoiled because we have become filled with tall buildings and apartment blocks; we are becoming like Nicosia, where no one cares for one another. We used to come out of the house and speak to others; now you see no one' (Olia, response 93).

Panagiota, Fofo and Joanna asserted that certain urban uses and poor infrastructural decisions have created dysfunctional conditions within the city. Panagiota related what she referred to as the city centre's untidiness to a lack of adequate zoning, thus suggesting that zoning and separation of uses is a positive

attribute in urban design and not one that reinforces boundaries and isolation of women from areas of potential employment. Fofo seemed more spatially aware in her description of poor infrastructural conditions. By attributing the proximity of the motorway to the centre and its dissecting of the entire city into two segments as a distinctly negative factor, she exhibited a clearer understanding of the consequences of physical separation and enclosure, although she did not seem aware of how this condition might disadvantage women more than men.

Personal Safety

Women's safety and urban boundaries associated with it was less described as a consequence of poor lighting and more as a function of criminality due to social segregation, i.e. the majority of women perceived areas where mostly foreign men gather as being unsafe for women. Most women failed to see a connection between poorly lit streets and their personal safety, apart from Quinn and Wilemnina:

> 'There are areas I would avoid as a matter of safety, but not because they have a poor reputation, but because of poor lighting, meaning it's something that I have observed that disturbs me as an individual because I don't like to walk in a city at night where the street lights remind of the Middle Ages' (Wilemnina, response 19).

Although women were clear in assigning culpability for poor lighting to ineffective governance, their other concern regarding their personal safety in areas where immigrant men seem to congregate remains more elusive. Quinn, Stavria and Anthoulla were particularly vocal regarding their personal safety and the recent influx of immigrants inhabiting the centre of Limassol. The presence of immigrant men in certain areas made them feel threatened and vulnerable. The discussion of safety and street lighting also led to an acknowledgment that travelling by car practically eliminates threats to the participants' physical safety. This exposes yet again Limassolian women's dependency on private vehicles, a fact of which all participants seemed keenly aware, but not entirely displeased with. The discussion on safety also exposed the condition in certain areas of the city where women on foot disappear after sundown and only approach these areas at night by car.

A unique voice among the participants spoke of feeling unsafe a from different perspective. Similar to Rose's theory of the masculine gaze and how it creates uncomfortable power implications in experiencing space,[11] Rena described her early experiences in Limassol's public realm as experiences of isolation and unease as men would stare at her as though she was 'a piece of meat'. Occasionally men would go beyond staring, and they would try to stop her to strike up conversation. This, she said, made her feel increasingly unsafe to walk around the centre alone, especially after sunset:

> 'Cycling around Limassol when I first arrived [from Greece] with blond hair [was difficult] so at some point I coloured it darker so that I would blend in more' (Fofo, response 12).

Although Fofo states that this distinct feeling of discomfort due to the masculine gaze has practically dissipated in recent years, she argues that her experiences were not isolated and that there were other Greek women in her workplace who shared similar experiences. In an attempt to reach a more complete picture of Fofo's narrative, two other Greek women, Andrie and Ioli, who work in the same office space as Fofo, were interviewed. Out of the two, Ioli, mentioned feeling unsafe until a few years ago, but her descriptions were not as pointed. A Cypriot national, Anthoulla, also remarked that the presence of men around the Mole in the past had made her feel unsafe, but she did not elaborate as much as Fofo.

Fofo alluded to race as well as gender as the culprit for the conditions that made her the target of these uncomfortable experiences. The complex layers of interaction between gender and race in the public arena is further exposed through the interviews with Anthoulla, Quinn and Georgia. When asked why they feel unsafe is certain areas in the centre, they attributed the cause to the presence of male immigrants. Since Cyprus' accession to the European Union in 2004, there has been a marked increase of immigrant workers from Eastern Europe entering the country.

Eastern European men tend to gather in public places after the working day and on weekends, presumably taking advantage of the reliable weather in Cyprus. They tend to gather in informal spaces in and around the city centre, such as underused wide pavements or empty lots. They generally prefer to gather near convenience shops where they can purchase beer and cigarettes, especially if the convenience

shops are owned by fellow countrymen. As was apparent from the interviews, their presence makes some Limassolian women feel uncomfortable. Although Olia posited that true Limassolians do not make distinctions according to class, it is interesting to note that participants' fears of immigrant men is in some cases as much a class issue as it is a racial one.

A profound gap in awareness linked with intertwining conditions between class and race is expressed in observations by Ioli and Panagiota who state in negative terms that on Sundays, public spaces in the centre of the city are taken over by immigrant women from South and South-East Asia who come to Cyprus to work as domestic help. Lack of awareness accounts for the hesitation of Limassolian women in linking the presence of Asian women in Cyprus to a direct consequence of their own entry into the workforce. Since Limassolian working women have less time available to fulfil their domestic responsibilities, domestic help is hired to compensate for that need, making these women's presence in Limassol imperative in improving Limassolian women's quality of life.

The undertones of Panagiota's statement were suggestive of racism and elitism. While complementing the city's rejuvenation project of the Mole, she states:

> 'You used to go to the Mole which until recently, on Sundays, sorry to say it was filled with immigrant women, and now you go and you are truly stunned because it is filled with 'our' families with their children, their bikes, roller skates and people are happy with what Limassol has to offer' (Panagiota, response 16).

Consequently, the phenomenon of immigrant women inhabiting public spaces on weekends is regarded by some participants as an element that displaces local families, as a threat, but not in the way posed by male immigrants. So, under certain circumstances, some women's presence in the city can create a boundary from the perspective of other women who would not wish to associate with them owing to class or cultural divides.

Changes in the Public Realm and Commercializing Domesticity

During the interview, participants were asked to respond on how, or indeed if, the public realm has been impacted by women's entry into the workforce. Participants admitted that this was not an issue they had ever considered before and some needed a little encouragement in order to formulate an opinion. It was suggested to the participants that since working women had less time at home, and commuting to work is a time-consuming condition because of the physical separation of home and work, certain tasks that were formerly considered domestic now have to be relegated and transferred to the commercial public realm.[12] Such commercial uses include dry-cleaning services, childcare facilities and eateries.

When prompted to evaluate women's impact on the public realm, several participants including Tania either played down the influence of women or isolated their contribution to aesthetics. She agreed that the city had changed, but was initially reluctant to commit to the notion that women's entry into the workforce was the main impetus for urban changes and transformations. When challenged to consider the ways in which this change was manifested she said:

> 'Of course Limassol has changed, but I don't think this is attributed to the [increased] presence of women [in the public realm]. [Urban] evolution *implies* the presence of more women. […] Definitely though a female presence I believe always has positive things to offer, for instance, the woman provides higher aesthetics, she is sensitive to certain issues' (response 28).

However, upon hearing about the phenomenon of commercializing domesticity and transference of domestic tasks, Tania said:

> 'I hadn't thought of it that way, […] it does have to do with the fact that when a woman works, when will she have time to cook? Or to… Yes, I agree' (response 29).

As participants initially agreed with the suggestion of the phenomenon of the commercialization of domesticity, they subsequently began to consider more closely how the city has changed in recent years. Marcia added that the transference of domestic tasks is but one factor of urban change brought on by working women, and suggested that working women having more money to spend on services such as shops, hair salons and beauticians gave a boost to commercial retail services.

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Anthoulla agreed that increased commercial activity has been present in the public realm as a result of women being employed, but suggested uses that are geared to both genders, rather than just women. Such uses include gyms, cafes and supermarkets, the latter being frequented mostly by women.

Fofo posited that this change brought on by commercializing domesticity has helped improve women's urban experience and Elisa further suggested that this subsequent increase in commercial activity has, in fact, offered more employment opportunities for women. Chryso addressed the issue of necessity and choice, by suggesting that commercializing domesticity is not a consequence of working women having less time at home, but a choice they make to forgo some of their domestic responsibilities and to delegate them to others. She further suggested that women choosing to delegate these tasks to commercial establishments in the public realm has brought on a positive vibrancy to the city in recent years.

Women's hesitation to accept their role as active agents in the public realm was apparent throughout many of the interviews. Although Yolanda, Tania, Stavria, and others agreed on the validity of the phenomenon of commercializing domesticity as a means of creating urban changes, some participants were less enthusiastic, not only regarding the issue of task transference, but urban change in general. Veronica and Joanna stated clearly that they do not believe that women have had a significant impact in urban processes and they attribute spatial changes in Limassol to a general response to global socioeconomic progress. Joanna also maintained that should the transference phenomenon be accepted as an agent of urban change, then it must be noted that the changes put forth are not necessarily positive ones. Rena asserts that the reason for the commercial activity that offers services for formerly domestic activities is society's growing idleness, indicating strong adherence to gender stereotypes and patriarchal standards:

> 'We want everything quickly and immediately and people do not want to put in the effort. […] I think [women] waste a lot of time […] in front of computers and cell phones and whatever else, and this is time they could have better dedicated […] in feeling the pleasure that for instance I feel when I iron my husband's shirt because I'm doing something for the man I love. If I don't put joy and enthusiasm in my [domestic] work, I will not want to do it' (Rena, response 30).

Some participants, such as Fofo and Panagiota, appeared aware that women's dreams of leaving the centre and acquiring a single-family house in the suburbs has brought on spatial changes in the city. Other participants were able to articulate changes in Limassol's public realm by contrasting it with the private realm. However, Panagiota was also able to attribute suburban growth to the interests of the political and economic elite, and further posited that the way in which suburbs have developed in Limassol has brought on secondary, informal service centres that ultimately weaken the physical definition of the existing city centre.

Fofo noted a particular change in the public realm, but she did not link it to women's entry into the workforce. She suggested that the influx of Limassolians towards the suburbs has been responsible for the declining conditions in the city centre that she first observed when she moved to the city approximately six years before. She described the centre when she first arrived as empty and deserted and said she felt like a ghost moving around the streets. She felt lonely, isolated and distressed. She further stated that the centre had improved considerably in recent years because of increased commercial activity and activity originating from the university facilities.

The importance of the emergence of a new class of women tasked with compensating for Limassolian working women's shortage of time at home and their impact in the city was noted by only by Ioli. Although, Ioli was not able to identify spatial or specific changes brought on by the women from South and South-East Asia, she did observe that their presence, especially on Sundays, has activated certain areas within the public realm. Consequently, according to Ioli, the women who have most likely impacted public urban spaces in recent years have been immigrants. She observed that the majority of women utilizing and inhabiting public spaces in the city centre are immigrant women and other transient residents of the city, particularly on Sundays when most have their day off.

In conclusion, in examining how Limassolian working women consider the public realm by evaluating its spatial, cultural and social significance, the research results have shown that participants regard it as a physical and historical orientating device. The city centre represents the material centre of the city's origin, from where the city grew in its current semi-circular radial form, where one can observe evidence of its historicity through formal, public buildings, some of which are neoclassical, colonial or modernist in style. Beyond this somewhat gender-neutral observation, women's relationship with the public realm seems coloured by patriarchal norms. Women

seem to associate commercial activity and retail shopping with women's propensity to shop and they prefer that residential areas are far from zones of employment concentration or commercial activity. The latter point reinforces the notion that the physical separation of the public arena from areas of domesticity serves to accommodate working men by keeping women at home.[13]

Boundaries to their urban experience based on their narratives focus on spatial issues such as lack of parking spaces, shortage of urban green space, poorly lit streets and inadequate pavement dimensions. There seems to be a lack of awareness of the fact that should the city provide more parking spaces, cars would become more pervasive, thus perpetuating the temporo-spatial boundary between home and work. In fact, the aforementioned boundary created by women's dual role as homemaker and member of the labour force was not regarded by any of the participants as hindering their urban experience, indicating a resignation to the status quo.

The women who were interviewed did not seem aware of their potential role as active agents in the urban process. They seemed unaware that their entry into the labour market has brought on changes in the public realm such as the commercialization of domestic tasks. More importantly, they seemed passive to the fact that municipal and state authorities are obliged to provide for women (equal) infrastructural elements such as public toilets as explained earlier in the chapter. Thus, it can be concluded that women's experience in the public realm is largely bounded by their own neutrality on boundaries imposed on them by patriarchal and societal norms.

4.4 Relationships within the Public Realm

In an attempt to define women's relationship to the public realm four aspects were investigated: women's needs as they pertain to the public realm, their experience as members of the paid workforce, the significance of volunteerism, and women's opinion on their ability – as women – to manage the city in order to improve their quality of life. Not all aspects listed above can be evaluated in terms of boundaries or opportunities, but some provide useful perspectives on women's everyday experiences in navigating relationships between home and work, e.g. women's perspective on their everyday needs and on employment, while others express

culturally-derived outlooks on women and the city, e.g. volunteerism and municipal housekeeping. Investigation of these four aspects of women's relationship with the public realm confirmed participants' contradicting perceptions on issues of their spatial and social rights.

Women's Needs

Spatial equality in the city between men and women requires that women should have the same access to facilities and opportunities as men.[14] Facilities and opportunities can be both spatial and infrastructural. Conditions in public spaces should be such that women enjoy safety at all hours of the day, i.e. sufficient street lighting is essential. Additionally, pavement dimensions should be adequate so that women who accompany young children or other dependants can move round the city freely. Public toilets that are kept to an adequate level of hygiene are also essential.[15] In terms of infrastructure, public transportation is essential in offering women of all economic backgrounds easier and safer commutes. Such facilities include more frequent stops, and locating stops and stations nearer to areas of constant activity such as convenience stores.[16] Other infrastructural facilities include women-focussed services such as childcare and violence protection.[17]

Consistent with earlier observations regarding women's boundaries brought on by their lack of awareness of the state's obligation to provide equal facilities within the public realm, the majority of participants were unable to respond to further questions asking what services, amenities and facilities should be provided for women. Additionally, they were not able to differentiate their own specific needs from those services and facilities required by the general public. Even participants such as Olia, Marcia, Panagiota and Yolanda who readily stated they believed the municipal authorities did not consider their needs as women and who were simultaneously resentful of the lack of consideration afforded them by the municipal authorities, at the same time were largely unable to express what these needs are. Exceptions are discussed below.

The lack of adequate pavement space was discussed by a number of participants, including participant Urania, Anthoulla, Wilemnina and Ioli. Urania offered the following, nuanced response:

'It's as if the city is designed for men, even if women are compelled to inhabit spaces too… there is not particular in what women's needs are and how they can be met. That's how I feel, without meaning to sound racist, [suggesting] that men do not push baby prams too. […] The same for handicapped people. There seems to be no special provision for them' (Urania, response 21).

The need for pavements that are sufficient in size and accessibility appeared through a different lens in participant Anthoulla's response 11: '[The municipality] has made large pavements in some streets, making existing roads narrower, and in other streets there are hardly any pavements at all'. She went on to note how Limassolian drivers consistently park their car with two side wheels on the pavement. This type of parking is not only illegal but it makes narrow pavements effectively become even narrower. Her internal conflict about streets that prioritize cars over pedestrians became apparent through her response. Her response was also an acknowledgment of the role that municipal authorities play in regulating the conditions of liveability of Limassol.

Joanna offered an example of poor aesthetic decisions made by the authorities as evidence of their negligence and cited a particular urban project that she felt disregards the community's sense of beauty. It is inferred here that Joanna was expressing resentment for the lack of voice women and other citizens have in decisions on public developments, rather than expressing an understanding of women's urban needs.

Oppositely, women who did not share the opinion that municipal authorities are inconsiderate of women's needs, offered responses that ranged from making a tentative comment on whether needs are met (Koulla), a certainly that women and men have identical urban needs (Ariana), to a confidence that authorities do indeed consider women's needs when designing and maintaining the public realm (Agathi and Annoulla).

In discussing women's urban needs, a general sense of mistrust towards the authorities emerged. Helena, who was also unable to express a difference between amenities offered to men and women, was critical of the authorities' soundness of judgement for a lack of long-term consideration of the community's needs:

'I just assumed that at any time for a project to be completed or for a decision to be taken, most of the time what became represented were the given facts of a given time, that might soon shift. Particularly in today's current affairs. So, I believe there should be long-term planning that covers needs not only as they exist today, but as they might transpire in the future' (Helena, response 42).

As discussed in previous sections, an important facility the public sphere should offer all citizens is public toilets. In much the same way as a building, public or private, cannot be complete without a toilet, the city must provide places to comfortably accommodate this basic human need. People's urban experience is spatially restricted by how often they have to use the toilet, and absence of adequate toilets restricts women's participation in the public realm, as well as their employment potential.[18] However, none of the participants considered this factor in the course of discussing their needs as women and as citizens of Limassol. When asked if they have ever visited Limassol's public toilets, and in particular the ones in the city centre, their response was unanimously negative, referring to them as dirty and disgusting. When asked if they think there should be an equal numbers of stalls for men as for women, all women agreed that the number should be the same. Upon suggesting that women take longer in the toilet and have different spatial requirements than men, hence the usual occurrence of long queues outside women's (indoor) public toilets in contrast to those of men, all women agreed that there should indeed be more stalls for women than for men. The findings regarding the adequacy and efficiency of public toilets confirm the gap in awareness of needs provided by the public realm.

As Annoulla suggested, the city ought to provide more opportunities for outdoor recreation such as (free) outdoor gyms; another participant, Nina, was the only one who proposed a particular urban use that responds to her perception of what would improve women's urban experience. She proposed coffee shops for women. In the midst of a bustling administrative and commercial centre, where Euro-American franchise coffee shops attract mainly younger crowds of both genders, there still remain a few traditional coffee shops for men, middle-aged and older. The coffee shops are modelled after the male-dominated coffee shops that were an integral part of village life. As Nina began talking about the coffee shop in the city centre, she quickly transitioned to other uses and needs beyond the centre:

'A coffee shop for women, not a politically-oriented one, and not just one; in neighbourhoods, in the suburbs, in order to offer women past a certain age [a place to socialize]. There is one located in the old hospital which sometimes works, sometimes not, but there needs to be decentralisation. People need to consider the suburbs' (Nina, response 56).

Nina continued to say:

'There needs to a way to gather women – housewives – in their spare time, to occupy themselves with something creative. Especially now with the crisis, [women] should offer services to fellow citizens. Social work and volunteerism' (Nina, response 56).

Interestingly, Nina brought up volunteerism while discussing how the city has been impacted by women's entry into the workforce and what the city should offer to women. Volunteerism, however, which is discussed later on in the chapter, is a practice by which the city actually benefits from women and not the reverse, as is suggested by Nina. Nina's attitude is further indicative of women's subconscious inability to claim physical and metaphorical space in the city.

Employment

Women's perceptions of employment conditions are important because they provide information on two levels: firstly, these perceptions offer an alternative view of women's experience in the public realm by considering their experience from the inside of an institutional environment, and secondly, they provide knowledge on social conditions that are formative towards the evolving dual gender role of homemaker and working woman. Although the issue of gender equality in the public arena served as the threshold to discuss conditions of employment, the conversation gradually revealed valuable insights on women's connection to the public realm beyond a spatial understanding.

Since in the context of the research there is an implicit connection between the public realm and the workforce – a fact that is reinforced by the majority of geographical locations of the participants' workplaces – it becomes important to extract information on how women experience the public realm as inhabitants of

interior spaces. All but two of the women interviewed work in and around the city centre, while three work on the periphery of the centre, at a radius of approximately five kilometres. At the beginning of each interview, the location of the participant's home and workplace was established. In the case of women who have retired from the workforce, the location of their last place of employment was noted. The type of work each woman was involved in was usually revealed in the course of the interview.

The most intriguing element in women's narrative about conditions in the workplace was the distinct contradiction in their perception of equality and the way this perception is described. The contradiction was revealed as the participant was prompted to reconsider her perception of how municipal authorities evaluate needs and to what degree they consider the particular requirements of women in the spaces of the public realm. Participants mostly felt there was equality in the workforce but when asked to comment if their needs as women in the public realm were met by municipal authorities, most responded negatively.

This contradiction was highlighted by Annoulla, Elisa, Georgia and others, who instinctively responded that working conditions are indeed fair and equal and that men and women receive equal opportunities when it comes to employment and promotion. Annoulla was positive on equality prevailing in the workforce, but when faced with a specific question on equality and women's needs being met by municipal authorities, she withdrew her previous response because she suddenly became aware of inconsistencies in her original assumption of equality. Elisa went on to admit that there are not nearly as many women as there are men in high-level administrative positions in municipalities and in the public section in general and believes that city management should not be a matter of gender, but a matter of competence and ability. In the same breath, however, she contended that a woman is capable of more complex thinking than her male counterpart. A more direct contradiction which indicates a deeper deficiency in grasping the essence of equality was encountered in the response of Quinn, who although was certain of conditions of equality in the workplace, in responding to a later question, she pointed out that she believes women indeed earn far less than their male counterparts.

Further contradictions were revealed when some women discussed entering the labour force and the effect this phenomenon has on the traditional nuclear family.

This position further revealed a certain resistance to social progress. Although most participants spoke enthusiastically about women's entry and presence in the workforce, citing financial independence and a stronger image of self-worth as the main advantages, Olia was particularly concerned that the advent of the working woman was the impetus for the disintegration of the nuclear family. She further equated women's employment and newfound social and spatial mobility with a modernity that carries as many dangers as it does benefits. The concept of modernity appears in yet another participant's vocabulary, as she makes a direct link between a state of modernity and conditions of equality for women. Chryso addressed questions on equal conditions in the public realm and in the workplace in particular, by attacking the issue head-on: she regards modernity and equality as Illusive notions understood by neither men nor women, and that women in particular seem to be feeding a false perception of equality:

> '[Stereotypes] have indeed shifted but not as much as we think, I believe. By that I mean, as much as we wish to pretend that we are independent and that we have equal rights, the woman always carries a heavier weight of responsibility' (Chryso, response 36).

Oppositely, Tania spoke of an overwhelming percentage of women in her field of employment:

> 'Look, at least in my field of work, there has been an invasion of women. I assume there is a large number of women who dare to open [legal] firms, so there is an intense presence in the profession' (Tania, response 14).

This conflicting position between women's desire to be regarded as equal members of society but at the same time trying to remain loyal to social norms that dictate a certain image of family life is underpinned by the strict spatial and social structures that define home and work. These structures go beyond the physical separation between the public and private arenas of the city and extend into architectural styles and housing patterns of suburban living that reinforce patriarchal form and household organization. [19] Limassolian women's relation to restrictive social structures as described above, is not only implicitly supported by urban form, but is apparent throughout the interviews. There were occasions when such social structures were described explicitly. Andrie, a Greek national, recounted an experience at the workplace when she and other women had requested special

sanitary facilities and were met with resistance. She believes this is a result of Cyprus society being what she describes as 'traditional'.

> '[…] a very small and silly example let's say, we had a discussion whether or not there should be special bins for sanitary towels and what kind of signage would be required for the bins […] and the entire conversation here at the university was framed – but not explicitly stated – that this is something infectious, problematic, because of what was suggested that the signage should be' (Andrie, response 28).

Andrie used this example to support her argument that women's role in Cyprus societal structure is still limited by conservative conventions, in spite of their entry into the workforce and the ability this has afforded them to be more mobile in the public realm. The deeper significance of this observation by Andrie is that women's place within social order is still regulated by male priorities. This condition is a consequence not only of adherence to patriarchal traditions, but it is related to the fact that men have been dominant in the public realm for many generations before women's entry into the labour market.

Volunteerism

While all participants have been women who are currently engaged in paid labour, or are recently retired, and regard their self-worth to be intrinsically related to their ability to generate an income, three participants associated their self-worth and that of women in general, to non-paid labour. In the book, *How Women Saved the City*, Spain explores women's contribution to urban development through their presence in the public arenas by participating in volunteer activities at the turn of the twentieth century.[20] Since at that time, equal access to employment was not as easily attainable for women, undertaking volunteer services was a means of participating in the public realm. Although volunteerism was not a topic originally intended to be investigated, its mention by several of the participants, in combination with Spain's book, triggered an avenue of exploration.

An important distinction between Spain's descriptions of women's contribution to urban development in the United States and the impact of Limassolian women's volunteerism in the city must be made. Spain argues that women volunteers

became necessary in cities like New York, Chicago and Boston, because of a high influx of city newcomers, such as single working women, European immigrants and black migrants, and consequently, volunteer activities provided middle- and upper-class women an active role in spaces they occupied for the first time.[21] Such spaces included boarding houses, vocational schools, hotels for transients, playgrounds and public baths.[22] In the case of Limassol, whose rapid urbanization occurred at the beginning of the colonial period, i.e. in the twentieth century, the demographic profile was quite different because of the relatively small population in Cyprus. This enabled tight-knit communities between the urban and rural scene, so that newcomers to the city would be looked after by family members until they were able to build or buy their own home. Additionally, patriarchal structures inhibited the occurrence of a significant number of single working women moving to the city.[23]

According to Persianis, volunteerism was a prominent activity among Limassolian women, particularly until women began entering the paid workforce in greater numbers during the third quarter of the century.[24] Although not explicitly stated in the literature, Limassolian women's volunteering initiatives at the beginning of the twentieth century, was a means of escaping the private realm of domesticity in search of activities that would provide self-worth and the opportunity to socialize with one's peers. The former point is validated by the opinions of participants Xenia, Rena and Nina, who regarded modern-day volunteering not as a means to occupy free time, but as a way to establish dignity and esteem by contributing to the greater good.

Suggesting support of Spain's position that one of the ways in which gender relations have impacted the city is through volunteerism, the Limassolian women who brought up the subject did so in response to a question on how have women impacted urban processes and how has the city facilitated working women. The three women exhibited nuanced differences in their outlook on volunteerism. In reference to volunteerism and the city, Xenia clearly connected a charitable woman to a woman who contributes to the city in general. She states:

> 'Only a woman who is interested [in volunteerism] will care for the city, for growth and development. […] This is what I believe. I am in favour of charity causes. I am part of such an organization that offers to the community' (Response 27).

The vague way in which Rena elaborated her opinion of volunteerism suggests that social norms imply that good citizens and even good wives, should have some involvement in volunteerism. Rena responded to the question about women's contribution to the city in non-specific terms, initially by making reference to women she had worked with, and then transitioned to women's capacity to contribute to the community through quiet, unrecognized work. She said she participates in volunteer work but did not specify how, and believes that volunteerism is not related to gender, but to good character. She said:

> 'For sure a woman can offer a lot, and I've had the good fortune to collaborate beyond the scope of my work [with women] in various [charitable] groups and organizations and I saw women who worked for no salary and no praise […]. And I have seen many women whom I admired and I consider examples in my life' (response 21).

Nina's response was more discrete in her mention of volunteerism and was hesitant to reveal her involvement in church-organized, charitable organizations. She mumbled softly, 'I'm not sure I should be saying this…' (response 20). It was revealed that every morning before going to work, she spends almost two hours preparing meals for school children of low-income families.

Since early occurrences of women's volunteerism in Limassol was a means for women who spent most of their time at home to partake in the public realm, its present-day occurrence is unclear. The three women alluded to the connection of volunteerism with self-esteem but it is also likely that there are other layers of causality present, such as a historic lineage or an expression of feminine qualities of care. [25] Nevertheless, the exploration of Limassolian women's expressions of volunteerism did not seem to produce a spatial output that could be measured or documented during the research.

Municipal Housekeeping

Spain considers the notion of municipal housekeeping as it appeared in the industrial cities at the turn of the century to be the earliest form of environmental activism.[26] It mostly centred on the issue of waste disposal and water supply, where poor management of these problems was the main cause of disease and lugubrious

urban conditions.[27] Municipal housekeeping proved to be a catalyst in exposing certain contradictions in women's social role within the workings of the public realm. The research participants were introduced to the idea that since women have acquired proficiency through generations of repetitive labour and experiential learning in managing their household, perhaps they would be better equipped in managing matters regarding the city.[28] A considerable number of participants found the idea that women are better equipped to manage urban matters better than men not only an accurate evaluation of women's abilities, but an appealing prospect at that. However, when asked to explain why there are so few women in decision-making positions in municipalities in Cyprus and particularly in Limassol, most women who had previously responded positively on equal opportunities in the workplace, were not able to offer a substantive response.

Some women, such as Anthoula, were cautious before responding. She first asked for information about managing and the city. Presumably she wanted to identify a link between what she understood as domestic labour and the qualities required in designing and managing urban spaces. Broadly, discussion focussed on the concept that municipal housekeeping had more in common with urban management than with design, and that management systems included infrastructural maintenance, waste management, building permit oversight, etc. Although it is not clear how she internally associated this new knowledge with her understanding of women's excellence in domesticity, she responded in the following way:

> 'The way you put it, then yes, I would have to agree [with the theory of municipal housekeeping] but I'm not sure if it has to do with repetitive labour, rather it is in women's nature to be more thorough. Men are more direct, they want to address a solution, so they do not delve into the details; they do not concern themselves with the journey' (Anthoula, response 83).

Asking women to position themselves on the veracity of the theory of municipal housekeeping carries a deep implication that women are in essence being asked to consider themselves not only equal, but in fact, superior than men in urban matters. There are two categories of women here that become apparent: women who consider themselves equal to men who are being challenged to make a mental leap towards elevating themselves higher, and women who acknowledge current conditions of inequality who are challenged to make an even wider leap to regard their abilities in managing the city as superior to those of men. The underlying

challenge for both categories of women is to shift their perspective regarding their relation to the (male-dominated) public realm so that they become active participants and not passive observers in urban processes.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has aimed to uncover the realities and perceptions of women's experience in public and commercial areas, and employment activity in Limassol. Topics addressed intended to provide knowledge on the boundaries faced by women in terms of physical and perceptual access. The investigation uncovered spatial boundaries that were uniformly related to a lack of adequate infrastructure, but the perceptual boundaries that were discussed proved to be more nuanced and, at times, contradicting.

Participants' experiences and boundaries of the city centre proved to be dependent on where they live, i.e. women who live in the centre and women who live in surrounding residential areas experienced the centre and its boundaries differently. Women living outside the centre considered it inhospitable, dense, congested, lacking in green spaces and unsuitable for living. Women living in the centre consider boundaries from the point of view of a pedestrian. They regard boundaries from the aspect of narrow pavements, poor street lighting and personal safety. In contrast to women living in suburban areas who consider the centre to be congested and somewhat disagreeable, women living in the centre seem to have a more intimate view of the public realm, one that is less bounded by spatial restrictions. Spatial difficulties of women living in the suburban areas in accessing the centre are mitigated by phenomena such as the commercialization of the private realm, offering working women services that facilitate their domestic tasks.

The perceptual component of the boundaries emerged from the participants' lack of awareness of their rights to equal opportunities and infrastructure. It was also apparent in their conflicting relationship with cars. Participants on the one hand considered car a congestion irritant and on the other, they seemed happily dependant on it. Women who live in the centre tended to use their car less and seemed to be more keenly aware of issues of safety. They too, however, did not seem to be cognizant of their right to equal public infrastructure to support their daily activities, such as access to public toilets, as well as its importance in their urban

experience. Greed cites Wigley-Asante, Kitchen and Law who posit that public toilets spatially constrain people's urban experience and walkability and their absence deprives women of equal opportunities for participation in the public realm.[29]

In searching for spatial and perceptual boundaries as perceived by women, I encountered their lack of awareness of their own agency and potential as the one with the most profound impact on women's urban experience. Women's reluctance to recognise their own prospect for change no doubt restrains them from asserting their needs and desires and dampens their opportunity to claim their physical and cognitive space in the city. Social norms and patriarchal structures which were pervasive in rural life prior to Limassol's rapid urbanization during the twentieth century, are still evident in the ways they form and inform women's role in modern-day Limassolian society. Research by Pyrgos, Hatzipavlou, Mylona et al. and Erotokritou on Cypriot women and patriarchy elucidates this conflict between attaining equality in all aspects of their existence and maintaining loyalty towards their role and identity as it has been prescribed to them by previous generations.[30]

[1] Daphne Spain, *How the Women Saved the City* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), p. 5.

[2] Dolores Hayden, 'What would a Non-Sexist City Be Like? Speculations on Housing, Urban Design, and Human Work', *Signs*, 5.3 Supplement, *Women and the American City* (Spring 1980), 170–187; Dolores Hayden, *Redesigning the Future of Housing, Work and Family Life*, 2nd edition (New York: W. W. Norton & Company Inc., 2002); Daphne Spain, *Gendered Spaces* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992); Clara Greed, 'Can Man Plan? Can Woman Plan Better?' in *Non-Plan: Essays on Freedom Participation and Change in Modern Architecture and Urbanism*, ed. by Jonathan Hughes and Simon Sadler (Oxford: Architectural Press, 2007); Helen Jarvis, Jonathan Cloke and Paula Kantor, *Cities and Gender: Routledge Critical Introductions to Urbanism and the City* (New York: Routledge, 2009).

[3] Dolores Hayden, 'What would a Non-Sexist City Be Like? pp. 170–187; Dolores Hayden, *Redesigning the American Dream*, pp. 49–55; Clara Greed, Women and Planning, p. 65; Luce Irigaray, 'The Sex Which is not One', in *Gender, Space, Architecture, An Interdisciplinary Introduction,* ed. by Jane Rendell, Barbara Penner and Iain Borden (New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 64–65; Jane Rendell, 'An Introduction,' in *Gender, Space, Architecture*, p. 105; Helen Jarvis, Jonathan Cloke and Paula Kantor, p. 23.

[4] Clara Greed, 'Can Man Plan? Can Woman Plan Better?' p. 185; Clara Greed, *Women and Planning: Creating Gendered Realities* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994); Susan S. Fainstein and Lisa J. Servon, 'Introduction: The Intersection of Gender and Planning', in *Gender and Planning, a Reader*, ed. by Susan S. Fainstein and Lisa J. Servon (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2005), pp. 4–5, p. 8; Dolores Hayden, 'What would a Non-Sexist City Be Like?' p. 172; Dolores Hayden, *Redesigning the American Dream*, *The Future of Housing, Work and Family Life,* 2nd edition (New York: W. W. Norton & Company Inc., 2002), pp. 33–49; Daphne Spain, 'What Happened to Gender Relations on the Way from Chicago to Los Angeles?'; Kristine B. Miranne and Alma H. Young, Introduction in *Gendering the City*, ed. by Kristine B. Miranne and Alma H. Young (Lanham: Rowman &

Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2000), p. 11; Caroline Andrew, 'Resisting Boundaries?' in *Gendering the City, Women, Boundaries, and Visions of Urban Life*, ed. by Kristine B. Miranne and Alma H. Young (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000), p. 159; Helen Jarvis, Jonathan Cloke and Paula Kantor, p. 22, p. 116; Jos Boys, 'Beyond Maps and Metaphors? Re-thinking the Relationships between Architecture and Gender', in *New Frontiers of Space, Bodies and Gender*, ed. by Rosa Ainley (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), p. 202; Joan Ockman, 'Mirror Images: Technology, Consumption, and the Representation of Gender in American Architecture since World War II', in *The Sex of Architecture*, ed. by Diana Agrest, Patricia Conway & Leslie Kanes Weisman (New York: Harry N. Adrams, Inc., 1996), p. 196, p. 203.

[5] Elizabeth Grosz, *Space, Time, and Perversion: Essays on the Politics of Bodies* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Carolyn Merchant, *The Death of Nature, Women, Ecology and the Scientific Revolution* (New York: Harper One, 1989).

[6] Kira Gould and Lance Hosey, 'Listening', in *Women In Green: Voices of Sustainable Design* (Bainbridge Island: WA: Ecotone LLC, 2007); Brenda Vale, 'Gender and an Architecture of Environmental Responsibility' in *Desiring Practices: Architecture, Gender and the Interdisciplinary*, ed. by Duncan McCorquodale, Sarah Wigglesworth and Katerina Ruedi (London: Black Dog Publishing, 1996), pp. 264–272.

[7] Kira Gould and Lance Hosey, p. vi

[8] Clara Greed, 'Taking women's bodily functions into account in urban planning and sustainability' in *Proceedings of 21st International Sustainability Development Research Society Conference, The Tipping Point: Vulnerability and Adaptive Capacity*, (ISDRS, 2015).

[9] Clara Greed, 'Taking women's bodily functions into account in urban planning and sustainability'.

[10] Clara Greed, 'Taking women's bodily functions into account in urban planning and sustainability'.

[11] Gillian Rose, *Feminism and Geography, The Limits of Geographic Knowledge* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), pp. 86–112.

[12] Daphne Spain, 'What Happened to Gender Relations on the Way from Chicago to Los Angeles?'; Dolores Hayden, 'What would a Non-Sexist City Be Like?' pp. 170–187.

[13] Ann R. Markussen, 'City Spatial Structure, Women's Household Work and National Urban Policy', in *Gender and Planning, a Reader*, ed. By Susan S. Fainstein and Lisa J. Servon (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2005).

[14] Dolores Hayden, 'What would a Non-Sexist City Be Like?' p. 171; Daphen Spain, 'What Happened to Gender Relations on the Way from Chicago to Los Angeles?' p. 197; Helen Jarvis, Jonathan Cloke and Paula Kantor, pp. 9–30, 157–185; Clara Greed and Jo-Anne Bichard, 'Ladies or Gents': Gender Division in Toilets*', Gender, Place and Culture, A Journal of Feminist Geography*, 19.4 (2012), 545–547; Clara Greed, 'Overcoming the Factors Inhibiting the Mainstreaming of Gender into Spatial Planning Policy in the United Kingdom', *Urban Studies*, 42.4 (2005), 719–749; Geoff Vigar, 'Transport for People, Accessibility, Mobility and Equity in Transport Planning', in *Social Town Planning*, ed. by Clara Greed (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), pp. 90–101; Clara Greed and Jo-Anne Bichard, 'Ladies or Gents': Gender Division in Toilets*'*; Clara Greed, 'Taking Women's Bodily Functions into Account in Urban Planning and Policy: Public Toilets and Menstruation', *Town Planning Review*, 87.5 (2016), 506–524.

[15] Ibid.; Clara Greed and Jo-Anne Bichard, 'Ladies or Gents': Gender Division in Toilets'; Clara Greed, 'Taking women's bodily functions into account in urban planning and sustainability' Ibid.

[16] Sylvia Trench, Taner Oc and Steven Tiesdell, 'Safer Cities for Women, Perceived Risks and Planning Measures', *Town Planning Review*, 63.3 (1992), 279–296.

[17] Leslie Kane Weisman, 'Women's Environmental Rights: A Manifesto', in *Gender, Space, Architecture, An Interdisciplinary Introduction,* ed. by Jane Rendell, Barbara Penner and Iain Borden (New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 1–5.

[18] Clara Greed, 'Taking women's bodily functions into account in urban planning and sustainability'); Ibid..

[19] Ann R. Markussen, pp. 169–190.

[20] Daphne Spain, *How the Women Saved the City*.

[21] Ibid., p. 3.

[22] Ibid., p. 3.

[23] Panagiotis K. Persianis, *Ιστορία της Εκπαίδευσης των Κοριτσιών στην Κύπρο, Μελέτη της Πορείας Κοινωνικού και Εκπαιδευτικού Εκσυγχρονισμού της Κύπρου* [The History of Girls' Education in Cyprus, A Study of the Course of Social and Educational Modernization] Nicosia: Cultural Services Ministry of Education and Culture, 1998), pp. 27–28.

[24] Ibid., p. 57.

[25] Susan Kingsley Kent, *Gender and History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 45.

[26] Daphne Spain, *How the Women Saved the City*, p. 18.

[27] Ibid., p. 37.

[28] Sue Hendler with Helen Harrison, 'Theorizing Canadian Planning History: Women, Gender, and Feminist Perspectives', in *Gendering the City, Women, Boundaries, and Visions of Urban Life*, ed. by Kristine B. Miranne and Alma H. Young (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000), pp. 139–156; Brenda Vale, pp. 264–272.

[29] Clara Greed, 'Taking Women's Bodily Functions into Account in Urban Planning and Policy: Public Toilets and Menstruation'; Clara Greed and Jo-Anne Bichard, 'Ladies or Gents': Gender Division in Toilets'; Clara Greed, 'Taking women's bodily functions into account in urban planning and sustainability'

[30] Maria Hatzipavlou, *Women in the Cypriot Communities*, (funded by the European Union, printed by Nicosia: PC Printways, 2004); Lia Mylona, Costas Paschalis, Eleni Kalava, Niki Patsalidou, Athos Erotokritou, *Η Κύπρια Γυναίκα, Έρευνα* [The Cypriot Woman, a Reserach] (Nicosia: Proodos, 1982); Athos Erotokritou, *Η Εξουσία πάνω στη Γυναίκα, Η Κύπρια Γυναίκα και ο Βαθμός Εξέλιξης της* [Power over Woman, The Cypriot Woman and the Degree of her Development] (Nicosia: Ergatiki Vivliothiki, 1985); Mary A. Pyrgos, *The Cypriot Woman at a Glance* (Nicosia: Pyrgos Public Relations, 1993).

Chapter Five

Inhabiting the Private Realm

5.1 Introduction

While the previous chapter explored the outcome of the data analysis that pertained to Limassolian women's perception of the public realm and their involvement therein, chapter 5 explores how women experience life in the domestic sphere. The importance of domestic space in the evolution of women's place within patriarchal tradition is discussed by Markussen, Hermanuz and Ockman, who posit that form and spatial distributions within the home serve to perpetuate man's dominance in the public arena and women's isolation in the private realm.[1]

This research had originally intended to focus on women's experiences of navigating spatial relationships in the public realm because women's entry into the labour force is considered a significant impetus in effecting urban changes. However, in the course of the literature review, the fieldwork and the data analysis, it became clear that the true substance of women's experience in the public realm cannot be properly evaluated if it is not examined in tandem with an understanding of the private realm.

This deviation from the original aims and direction of the research is well in line with grounded theory methods, where the researcher is compelled to allow the research process to be directed by the research findings instead of preconceived notions extracted from the literature review. Thus, conditions of domesticity have taken a more prominent role in the research, where spatial characteristics such as domestic layout and housing typologies reveal social phenomena and dynamics that impact on women's behaviour and experiences of their place in the labour force and the ways in which they inhabit the public realm.

The study of the public and the private realm of Limassol from a woman's perspective aims to explore the types of boundaries women experience in their daily lives and to investigate possible opportunities for mitigating these limiting conditions. The data explored a number of issues, beginning with what Limassolian women consider the spatial and social attributes of their ideal neighbourhood or residential

area. The participants were then called to reflect on their role in the city as consumers and as producers of space. The study also explored how urban form can act as a constraint or impediment to workingwomen's efforts and desires, while evaluating the degree of women's awareness of constraints on their opportunities and desires that result from the separation of the public and private realms. Lastly, the research considered women's willingness to renegotiate their lifestyles in order to ameliorate disadvantages imposed on them by the built environment.

The term 'renegotiated' as it is used above, is considered pertinent when discussing women's current position in the social structure because as seen from chapter 4, women in Limassol, and indeed Cyprus, had to negotiate and overcome the challenges imposed on them by a predominantly patriarchal society in order to enter the workforce. Thus, should contemporary women wish to further conditions of social equality, they must engage in a process of renegotiation.
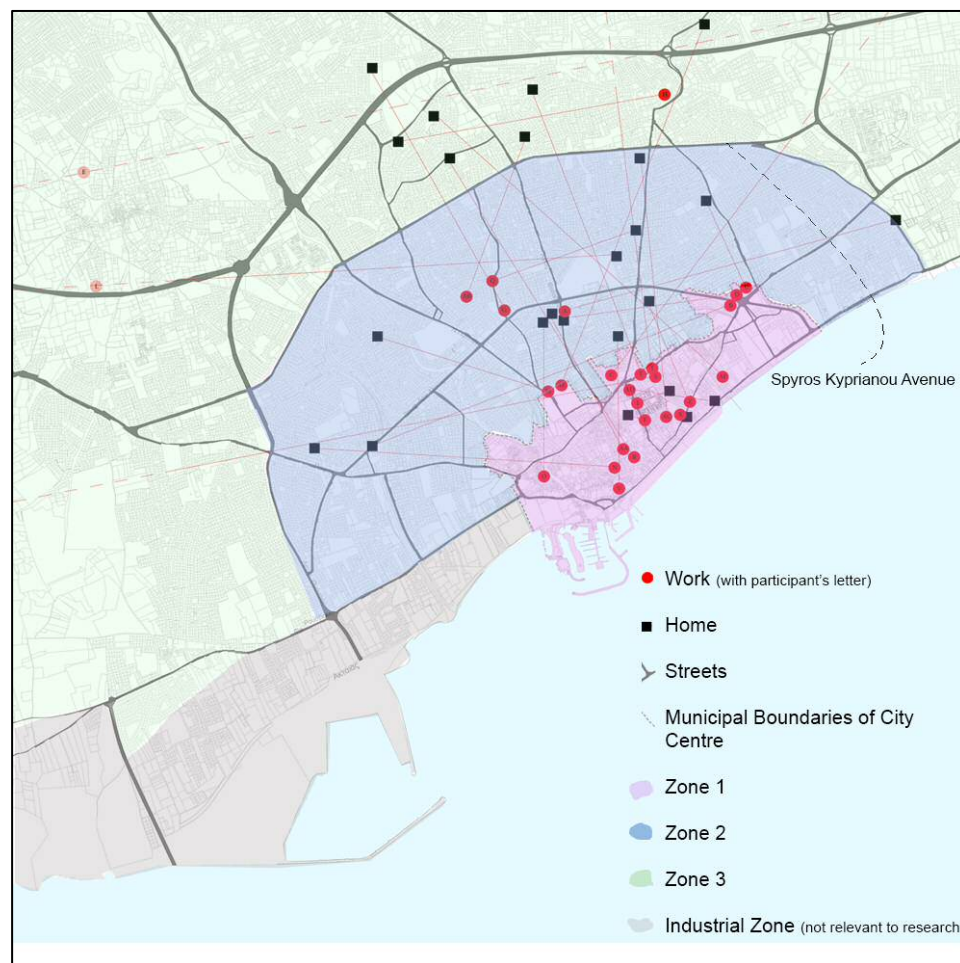

Figure 5.1 Zones, Limassol City[i]

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Residential spaces are defined according to four categories, allowing me to have a better understanding of spatial relations within the city: (i) women living in the city centre, around Heroon Square, regarded by the municipality of Limassol as the city's historic core,[ii] labelled in Figure 5.1 as zone 1, (ii) women living south of Spyros Kyprianou Avenue in areas that are mixed in use and built in the second half of the twentieth century, labelled as zone 2, (iii) women living in suburban areas north of Spryos Kyprianou Avenue and north of the A1 Motorway that are mostly residential and were built after 1990, labelled as zone 3, and (iv) women living in rural areas around the city, labelled as zone 4 (Figure 5.2). Responses from the interviews are evaluated not only intrinsically in themselves, but also as a consequence of where women are currently living in order to ascertain if this factor influenced the results.

Image 5.2 Zones, Limassol Region[iii]
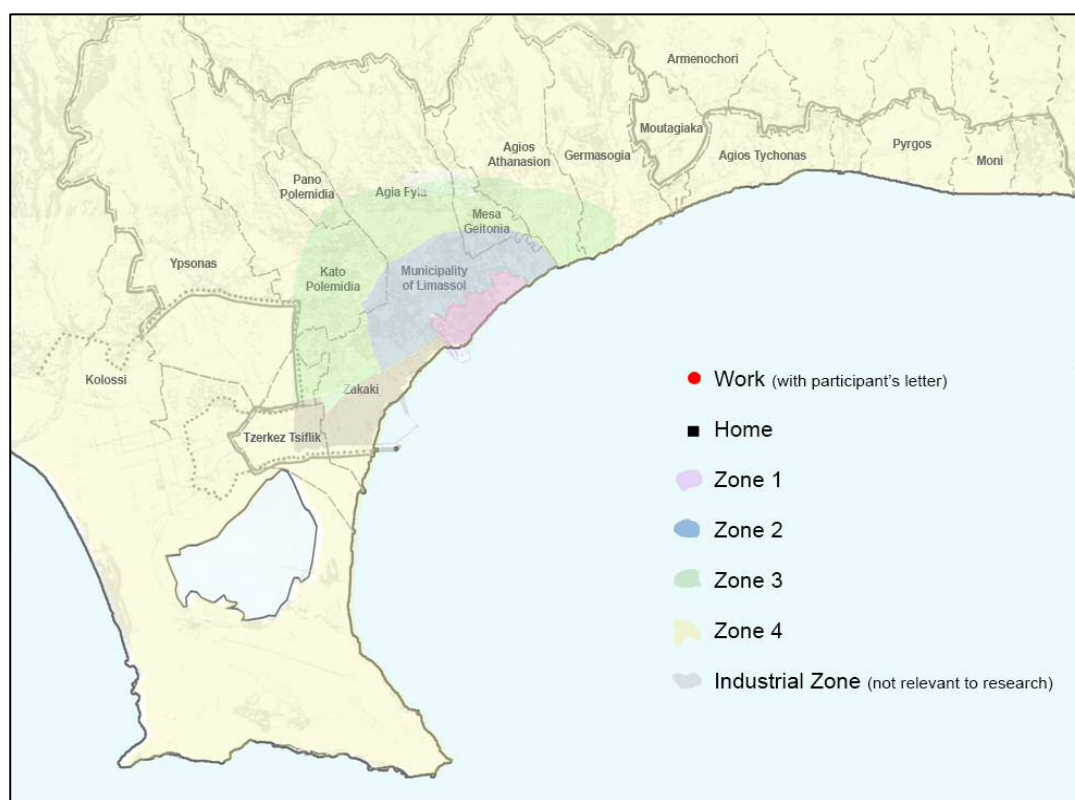
While all women's narrative was of interest, there were some women whose story stood out. Wilemnina is in her forties, a mother of five and lives in a listed house in the city centre. She works as a translator at the British Sovereign Base Area in

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[ii] This area is officially designated as the central commercial area of Limassol.
[iii] Drawn by Georgia Theokli and Anna Papadopoulou

Akrotiri which is approximately 30km outside Limassol. Because of her long, daily commute, it is impossible for her to manage her domestic responsibilities without help. She has a woman from Sri Lanka live in her house and occasionally, another woman from Sri Lanka comes in to provide extra help with the housework. While Wilemnina was critical of the lack of infrastructure for people living in the city's administrative centre, she is very religious and enjoys the privilege of living across the street from one of the city's historic churches.

Barbara is in her forties, she is single, lives alone and drives approximately twenty minutes every day to go to work. She is a mid-level employee in the banking sector. Her life changed a few years ago when her father passed away and she became the primary care provider for her mother. Barbara has an older brother and a sister who also live in Limassol, but since they are both married with children, it was implied among family members that Barbara should be the one to look after her mother. Her mother, who does not drive and has difficulties walking, lives in a residential area north of Limassol, hastily built after 1974 to accommodate Cypriots who fled from the occupied territories. This area is approximately twenty minutes away from Barbara's house and equidistant from her work. She visits her mother every day after work and spends most of her weekends helping her mother take care of her house.

Nina is in her sixties and lives in a residential area west of the city centre. Since her husband is no longer able to work because of health problems, she is the one who supports the family financially. Her husband helps with the housework as much as he can, but ultimately Nina is the one who takes care of the house. Her drive to work would normally take ten minutes, but every day before work she stops by the local church and prepares sandwiches for children from low-income families. This adds another one and a half hour to her morning commute.

Between doing her best at work and managing the upkeep of her home, each woman had her own individual challenges to overcome. Women with dependants had to adjust their priorities to accommodate other people's needs, and women without dependents had to negotiate their occasional loneliness. This part of the research aims to expose the active role of the residential environment in women's everyday lives.

5.2 Centrality or Suburbia

In exploring the private realm and how Limassolian women perceive their role and conditions, it is important to establish an understanding of how women envision their 'ideal' living place. The question posed to women regarding optimal neighbourhood conditions was accompanied by questions that asked women to be critical of their current place of residence. Frequently, the responses to these questions merged into one.

> '[I would describe my existing neighbourhood as] ideal because it is close to services such as supermarkets, petrol station, bakeries and such, [but] it's just that where I live is somewhat densely populated, as you enter the street you see parked cars right and left, leaving us no space to leave our car. Whenever you have more houses per block, it becomes even more difficult, but overall it's ok; I wouldn't consider changing because it's convenient' (Quinn, response 29).

The research explored participants' descriptions of the location and character of their 'ideal' neighbourhood in order to determine spatial preferences and to detect differences, if any, in opinions and desires that are correlated to the location of their current place of residence. The general trend revealed by the research study was that women show a preference for the conditions of their existing neighbourhoods, i.e. women who live in and around the city centre prioritize walkability, whereas women who live in more suburban areas tend to value quietness and serenity.

Preference for Areas of Mixed Use

The women who live in mixed-use areas placed a high value on places of work, commercial areas, administrative services and leisure spots being within walking distance of their home. However, participants expressed keen awareness that walkability should be accompanied by a set of other conditions that are related to safety.

The participants who favoured living in locations where housing is mixed with commercial activity, i.e. zone 1, such as Wilhelmina, Ioli, Quinn and Ariana, were clear on how walkability is a key component in the value of the their residential

experience. Although car dependency and the cumbersome presence of parked cars is an inhibitory factor, being able to walk to the sea, church and to shops (Wilhelmina, response 22) was found to be important. According to Wilhelmina, however, living in the centre of Limassol comes with two distinct disadvantages that are indirectly linked to each other and to the fact that Limassol's centre coincides with the historic core: the occurrence of abandoned residential buildings (Figures 5.3 and 5.4) and safety. Walking in areas of abandoned buildings, especially at night, is regarded as particularly unsafe, in spite of the fact that one might be walking at, or very near, one's own neighbourhood.
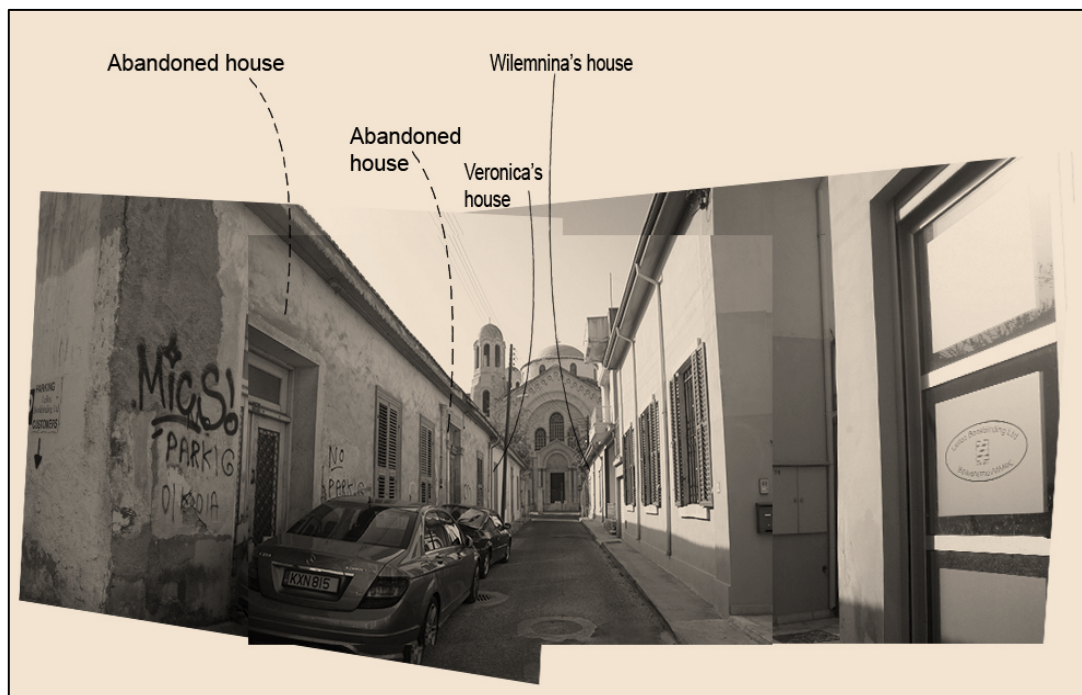
Figure 5.3 Abandoned buildings[iv]

A number of houses and commercial buildings, particularly in the area where Wilhelmina lives were built in the first quarter of the twentieth century and most follow the courtyard house type.[2] All buildings belonging to this typology are listed as preserved by the Department of Antiquity[v] (Figure 5.5) and their restoration is subject to state regulations. Should the owner or owners of a listed house decide to restore it, they are entitled to government aid to reimburse up to forty per cent of the entire construction cost, including costs of materials and architectural fees. In spite of these and other financial incentives offered by the state to rehabilitate preserved

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[iv] Image constructed by Anna Papadopoulou
[v] The Department of Antiquities falls under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Communications and Works.

structures, houses in the centre of Limassol remain in a dilapidated condition because of complications in matters of inheritance. As the original owners pass away, ownership of the house or building is split between the heirs. The number of heirs increases exponentially with time, making it even more challenging to come to an agreement in restoring the building.

Figure 5.4 Abandoned buildings[vi]

Wilhelmina also discussed safety in more explicit terms. Although she mentioned the presence of commercial activity, i.e. shops and grocery stores, as a positive aspect of quality of life in the centre of Limassol, components of commercial and mixed-use activity were also associated with issues of safety. Wilhelmina lives in an area in close proximity to restaurants, tavernas,[vii] cafes, bars and other night-time establishments. The area has been associated with frequent minor crime, such as vandalism and, less frequently, burglaries.

[vi] Image constructed by Anna Papadopoulou
[vii] A taverna is usually a small restaurant serving traditional food.
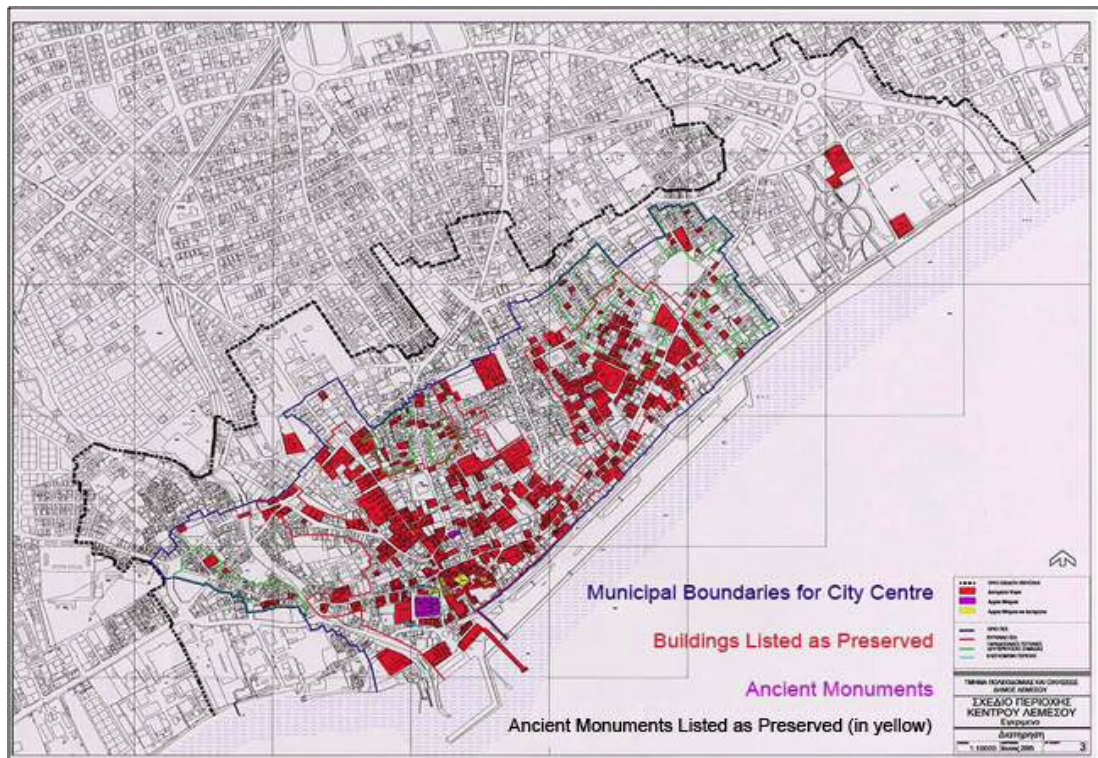
Figure 5.5 Map of Listed Buildings[viii]

Another participant in favour of living in areas of mixed-use activity, Ioli, lives approximately one hundred metres from Wilhelmina. Ioli and Wilhelmina live within five hundred meters from Heroon Square. Ioli is a Greek national who moved to Limassol from Greece seven years ago, who felt unsafe because of what she described as the area's overwhelming sense of abandonment. Her responses clearly indicated that this no longer the case, which further supports the notion that Limassol's centre has undergone significant improvement in recent years. She stated that when she first moved to Limassol she felt distinctly unsafe because of the general inactivity and the lack habitation of public spaces in the city centre.

> 'For instance, then, in 2008–2009, it was shocking […] coming to your question, I didn't feel safe walking, or moving around the centre particularly in the afternoons and in the evenings; I felt completely unnatural, as if I didn't belong, in the sense that it felt strange for a woman to move around the centre alone' (Ioli, response 8).

[viii] Source: Department of Antiquity, Ministry of Communications and Works

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It is important to note that at the time when Ioli described the centre of Limassol to be unsafe for a woman, she had lived in area in the periphery of the centre, in the area of Neapolis, near the Olympic Residence Towers (in zone 2). In time, she decided to move to the centre in order to be closer to her work and found that the area had become more vibrant and felt distinctly safer. Since both her workplace and her home are located in the city centre, she does not look for services like grocery stores, green grocers, bakers and pharmacists outside the centre. She settles for less variety and fewer options and considers it a small price to pay for the benefit of having facilities within walking distance. Overall, Ioli regarded her neighbourhood as the 'best area' to live and would not consider changing it (response 17) (Figure 5.6). She added, 'I don't do what many others do which is to go to the large supermarkets every Saturday; no, we do our shopping daily [in the area]' (response 16).
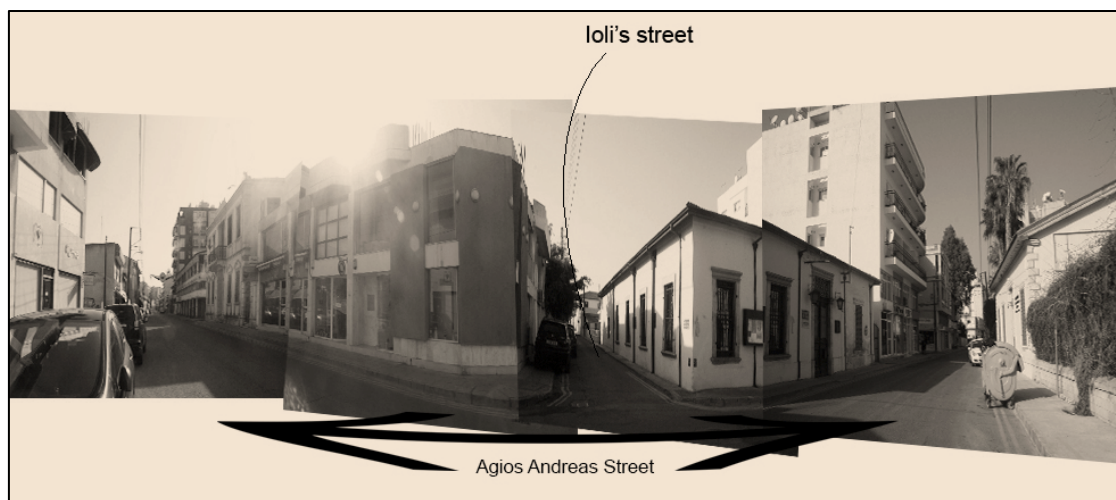
Figure 5.6 Commercial street near Ioli's house (Agios Andreas Street)[ix]

In addition to safety as a challenge to the benefits of walkability and mixed-use zoning, some participants identified another caveat to living in and around the city centre: congestion. Ariana and Quinn, who were both in favour of areas of mixed-use activity, live in zone 2 which lies at the periphery of the centre and is still typically mixed-use. Ariana's preference for the neighbourhood presented a conflict: although she herself does not live in the centre, her parents, for whom she is the primary care provider, live in a central location. She was vigorously resentful of the inconvenience caused to her parents' daily life by the commercial activity in their area (e.g. loading and unloading of beverage trucks for restaurants and cafes) and,

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[ix] Image constructed by Anna Papadopoulou

on the other hand, she seemed happy to live in a mixed-use area and considers her neighbourhood to be a good area because of its proximity to a large supermarket and various shops.

Figure 5.7 Ioli[x]

Veronica and Fofo hinted at the convenience of living within proximity of commercial activity and administrative services, but seemed overall less enthusiastic about living in the centre. Their objections were not directly related to safety, but to traffic and general noise levels. However, both participants balanced the negativity of the noise levels against the proximity to the sea which was considered a positive factor.

Another response to the mixed-use environment she lives in was given by Andrie. She believes that the concept of an 'ideal neighbourhood' is evaluated by our individual living situation (response 14); thus she feels that based on her particular needs and the stage in her life that she is in, her neighbourhood is good enough. Since she works at the Technical University, she chose to live near her workplace so that she does not waste time commuting. As with Veronica and Fofo, she was also displeased with the level of noise but since she lives on the coastal road with a view of the sea, she considers it a situation where 'you win something and you lose something' (response 14).

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[x] Photo by Anna Papadopoulou

Some participants, however, were entirely content with living in the city centre. Xenia grew up and has lived all her life in the centre and spoke enthusiastically about living there:

> 'This is where I grew up. Don't tell me to go far outside Limassol. For instance, to Agios Athanasios, or Polemidia, although this is the village my father comes from, because I could never live outside the centre. I don't know why, maybe because everything is within proximity. If I go outside Limassol, I would feel foreign' (response 17).

Her response even indicated her perception that Limassol's centre *is* the city, by describing areas outside the centre as 'outside Limassol'. The two areas she mentioned, Agios Athanasios and Polemidia (Figure 5.9), were formerly small settlements that became enveloped as the city grew northwards. They are approximately just five kilometres outside the city centre and fall within the third area.
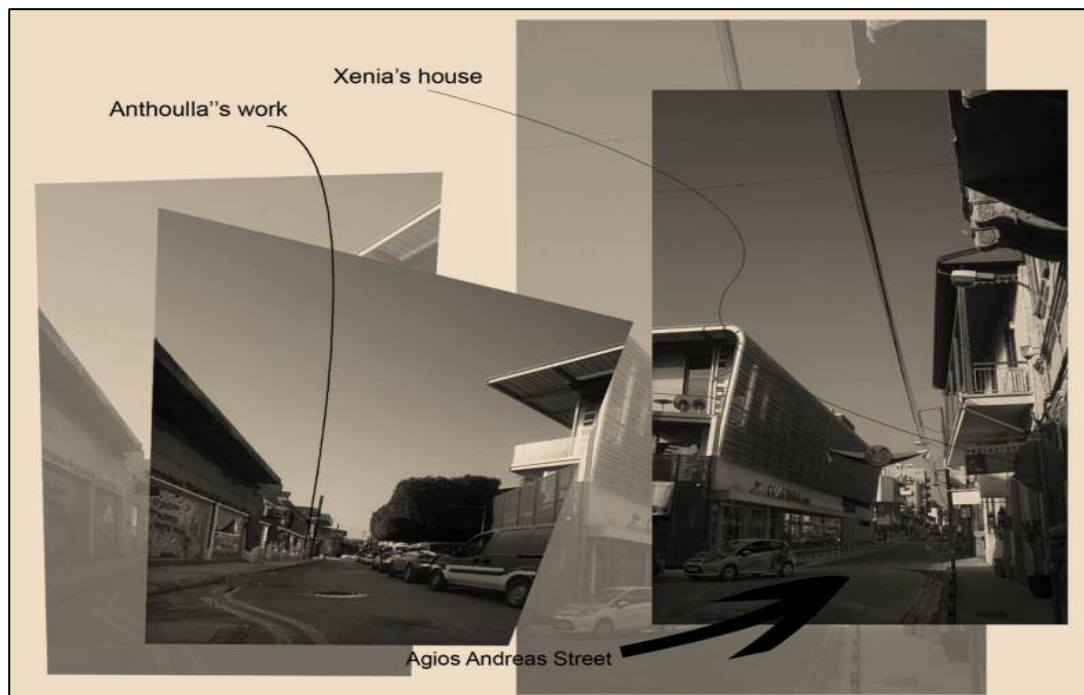
Figure 5.8 Xenia's street (Agios Andreas Street) and Anthoulla's workplace[xi]

Figure 5.9 Mixed-use street in Polemidia[xii]

In conclusion, walkability seems to be valued by women who experience it in their daily lives, by living in areas that are predominantly, or moderately mixed use. Although, safety, traffic and noise were cited as problems of living in and around the centre, the ability to walk from home to services and facilities was regarded as a priority. Additionally, living within walking distance of the coastline is regarded as a privilege and appeared to a significant compensation against the difficulties mentioned above.

'Central, but not too central'

Conflicts between certain features of centrality and a preference for quietness were apparent among some other participants. Similar to the participants cited in the previous section, Helena, Olia, Louisa, Rena and Panagiota also expressed a preference for a living area that is close to services and facilities, but their preference differed on two points. They felt it was more important for the area to be quiet, and they also understood accessibility in terms of driving. In their descriptions of accessibility, it was either explicitly stated, or it was implied that driving would be involved. There was no indication that they considered driving to be a disadvantage:

> '[The neighbourhood] is ideal, next to the school, within the city, near the motorway' (Panagiota, response 45).

She went on the say, 'it's a very nice area, it's quiet, there isn't much traffic' (response 46). Similarly, Joanna stated that she likes living in her neighbourhood

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[xii] Image constructed by Anna Papadopoulou

primarily because it is quiet and because of its proximity to the motorway. Helena also cited her neighbourhood's proximity to the motorway, as well as other locations that are important to her, such as various services, the commercial and tourist areas, and the sea that she named as a 'strong point in our city' (response 27). At the same time, however, she noted that a key element to making the area where she lives ideal is the fact that it is quiet and mostly residential (Figure 5.10).
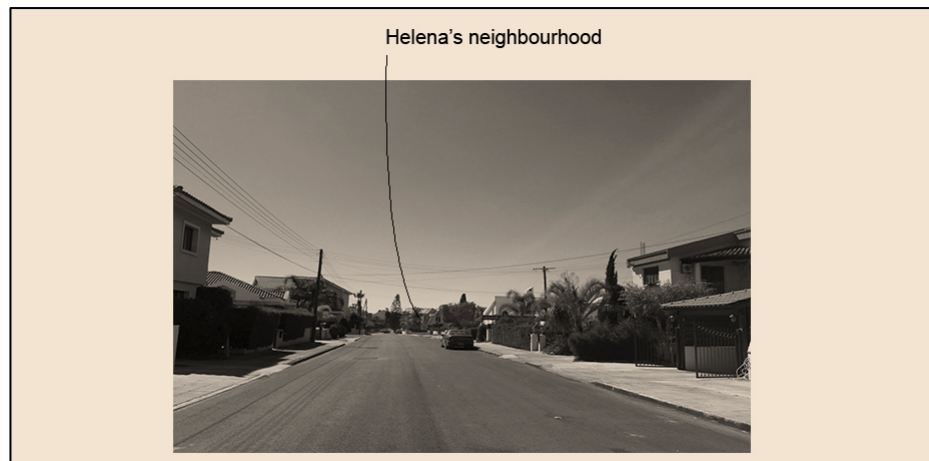
Figure 5.10 Helena's street[xiii]

The desire for the quality of tranquillity and the romanticization of rural life was observed in Rena's responses. She said she likes the area she lives in because it is quiet to the point where she feels she is in the countryside (Figure 5.11), but nevertheless can easily access the centre, Gladstones, Anexaritsias, Agios Andreas and Makarios Avenue. The complicated relationship between Limassolian women and the private car surfaced when Rena was asked to clarify if she drives to these major roads or if she walks; she avoided directly responding by saying 'I could walk if I wanted to' (response 12).

Likewise, Olia said her neighbourhood was 'the best' because it is central and it is quiet (response 33 and 34) but was also vague as to whether her mode of transportation of choice is walking or driving. Both Olia and Rena are retired so driving as a means of saving commuting time was not a concern. Rena lives in the zone 3, where some mixed use occurs, but to a far lesser degree than the first and second zone, and Olia lives just outside the centre, between zone 1 and zone 2. The distance between their homes is approximately two and a half kilometres and

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[xiii] Photo by Anna Papadopoulou

both also stated that walking along the Mole (Figure 5.12) is a favourite pastime, although they drive to get there.
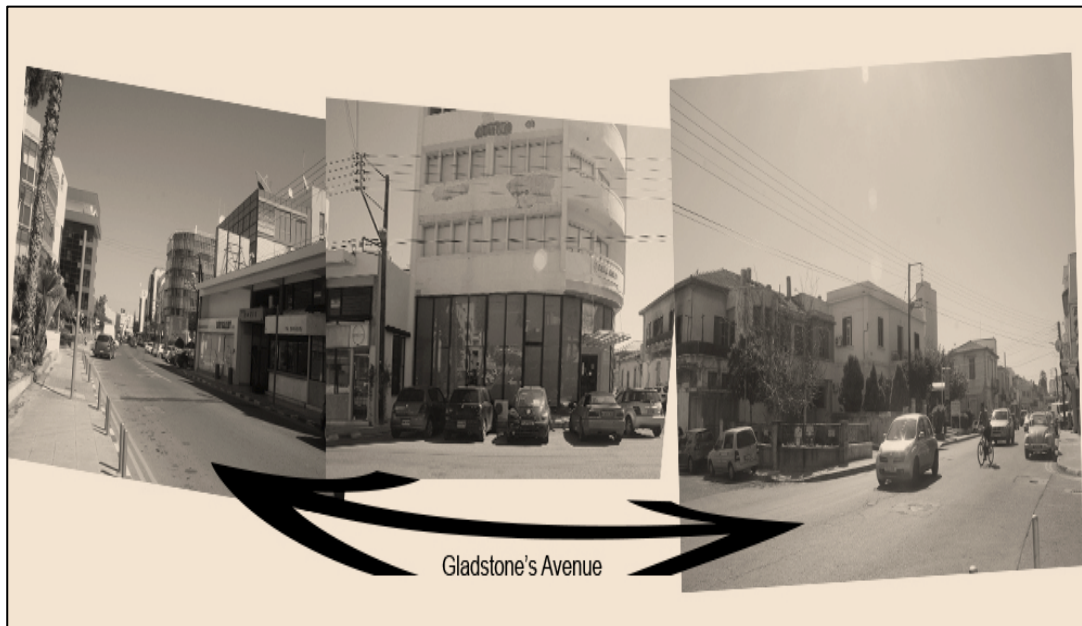
Figure 5.11 Gladstones Avenue[xiv]

Figure 5.12 Images from the Mole[xv]

[xiv] Image constructed by Anna Papadopoulou
[xv] Photos by Marios Kazamias

Reluctance coupled with acceptance of dependency on the car was present in Louisa's response. She is a twenty-six-year-old woman, who likes the area where she lives because as a child, she was able to walk to school and to afternoon and evening activities. Nowadays she still enjoys the fact that her home is within proximity of commercial areas but when asked if she drives or walks, she responded, 'yes, yes [I drive], unfortunately in Cyprus this is the only way to live' (response 27).

The majority of respondents in this section live in neighbourhoods that are not defined by the types of land uses present, i.e. uses are moderately and inconsistently mixed. This could potentially account for the incompatible nature of their responses. The women of this group appeared to be conflicted on what the optimal qualities of residential areas are. On the one hand, accessibility and physical access to facilities and services seemed important, and on the other, calmness, peaceful surroundings with even some rural references seem equally, if not more, important. Consequently, this group of women seemed more conflicted with the pervasive use of the car by recognizing the problems associated with cars but at the same time valuing the independence it provides, compared to women living in and around the city centre, whose preference for walkability was clear. Notions of calmness in a domestic area appear reinforced in the following section.

How Quiet is too Quite?

Peace and tranquillity as a priority seem to define the descriptions and preferences of the participants whose responses are examined in this section. Spatially, this implies residential areas that are sparsely built and are deserted during working hours, i.e. they become what Hayden refers to as 'bedroom communities'.[3] This kind of building arrangement reinforces the separation of the domestic realm from the areas with the highest concentration of employment opportunities.

For the women discussed in this section, the ideal neighbourhood is described solely as providing calmness and quietness, and indeed, most of these women live in diverse types of areas, including some areas that exhibit just these qualities. The homes of these participants, Aphrodite, Anthoulla, Koulla, Zena and Yolanda are scattered all over the greater Limassol region. Zena lives in the second zone, just

outside the city centre, Aphrodite and Anthoulla live in the third zone, Koulla and Yolanda live in the fourth zone, where Yolanda lives approximately thirty kilometres away from the city centre. It was within this particular group of women, however, where notions of quietness received more mixed reviews and where women's particular social background became more pertinent.

Anthoulla lives just south of Spyros Kyprianou Avenue, at the edge of the area that has been denoted as zone 2, about two and a half kilometres from the city centre where she works. When asked how she would describe the area where she lives she answered, 'quiet, good' (response 42) (Figure 5.13). She went further to explain that she and her husband would prefer if it were even quieter, but ultimately, she was content.

Koulla's preference for quietness seems to override the risks involved with living in an isolated area. She lives in a somewhat remote suburban area, on a street that according to her is particularly 'calm' (response 29) and considers this to be an asset. She said it is an area where not many cars go by and she does not have other houses nearby (Figure 5.14). When asked if she feels at all unsafe, she answered no, although she lives alone and her house had been burgled in the past.
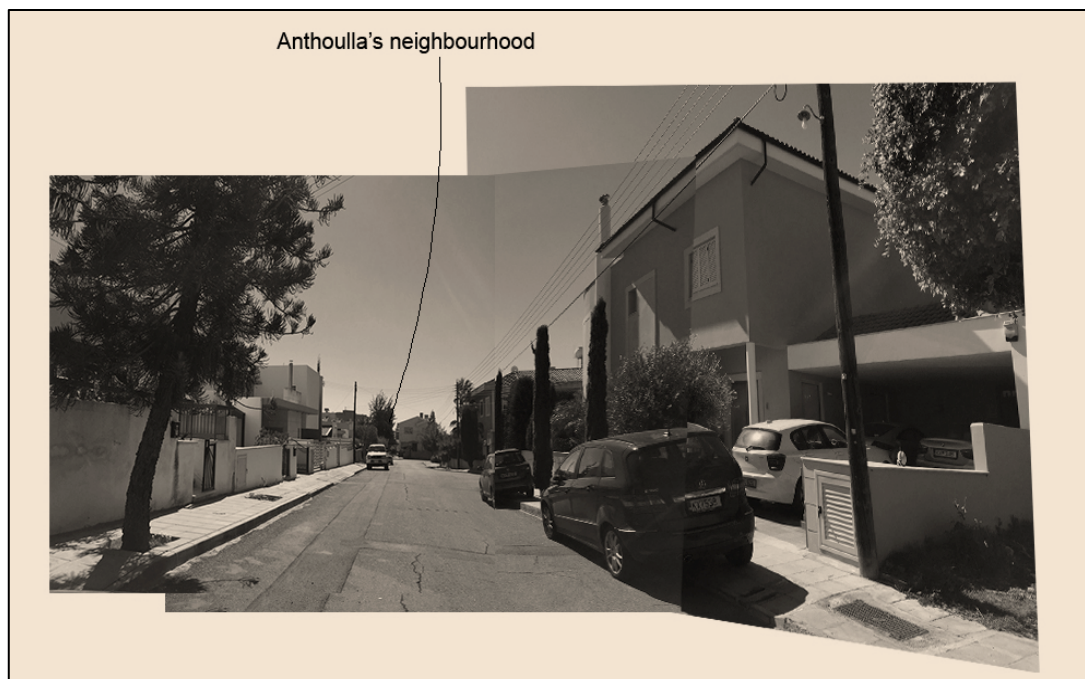

Anthoulla's neighbourhood

Figure 5.13 Anthoulla[xvi]

[xvi] Image constructed by Anna Papadopoulou

Younger women, however, presented a clear disagreement to the women who considered either their neighbourhoods' serenity an asset, or who wished for more serenity in their surroundings. Elisa and Yolanda were resentful of the abundance of quietness offered by the area in which they live. Both were twenty-five years old and both live in villages at an approximately thirty kilometre radius from the city centre. Elisa works in the Polemidia area, approximately five kilometres northwest from the centre and Yolanda works at the centre.

> 'It has its positive qualities, for instance the [natural] environment; I can say in that respect that it's lovely because it's green and peaceful and so forth, but at the same time it's simply too quiet and naturally, the fact that you are away from the city automatically makes your life more difficult' (Elisa, response 28).

When asked to specify the kind of difficulties she faces because of living outside the city, Elisa listed the challenges in terms of socialising. When travelling to meet up with friends, her journey times are far longer than those of her friends who live in the city. She said she feels particularly challenged when she wants to socialise after work, which would require her to drive home after work, get dressed to go out, and then drive back into the city. Yolanda agreed that the village in which she lives is in a lovely location outside of Limassol, but she qualified her response by adding that the appropriateness of a residential area is an age-dependant condition. She feels her village is not the best place for a person who is twenty-five, but her primary concern is the lack of employment opportunities. Additionally, she listed the lack of entertainment facilities, like cinemas and places 'to go out' as part of the difficulties of living in her village (response 33). She also described her residential conditions as safe because of lower criminality rates and a good place to raise a family.

When considering the range of responses on the degrees of quietness women desired from their neighbourhoods, the question becomes, what is the threshold for optimal calmness? Although a quantitative survey would provide a clearer vision, the answer seems to lie not in a particular spatial formula but on the subjects' social background and personalities. The diverse nature of the responses, e.g. Koulla's preference for isolation in spite of having been burgled in the past, indicates that this particular quality of urban space is harder to evaluate than qualities such as walkability or mixed-use land.

Figure 5.14 Koulla[xvii]

Figure 5.15 Elisa's village exhibits qualities of walkability, yet cars are abundant because of its distance from Limassol [xviii]

[xvii] Photo by Anna Papadopoulou
[xviii] Photos by Maria Georgiou, image constructed by Anna Papadopoulou

Translating Likes and Dislikes into Space

Serenity in a neighbourhood appears to be a priority for most women, even for women who also prefer areas where other commercial activity is nearby. A contradiction slowly emerged among several participants who prefer their neighbourhood to be calm, yet central, and quiet, but near the motorway. Although their homes' proximity to their place of employment was not directly discussed, an indirect connection can be surmised since women often described proximity to major streets that lead to the centre as a clear asset. Shorter commutes to work allows women more time to fulfil their daily dual roles as homemakers and members of the labour force. Although the research was not able to determine of this is the case for Cyprus, Markussen suggests that the actual location of a family's home is generally determined by the male member of the family, which could account for the absence of clear mention of the benefits of close proximity between the participants' home and work.[4] The issue of walkability was mentioned only by women living in the city centre, but even in those cases, walking to work was not directly brought up by the participants. From this it can be assumed that most women do not prioritize choosing a place to live based on commuting times.

Both married and single participants seemed to agree that quiet neighbourhoods are more conducive to raising a family, but as the subject came up, none of them specified the qualities necessary for raising children in these quiet neighbourhoods that are presumably away from the city centre. Access to nature and to open spaces are reasonable assumptions of appropriate desirable qualities, as is proximity to schools. Panagiota specifically mentioned the convenience of her house to her child's school and Louisa fondly remembered being able to walk to school as a child. Safety as an asset in raising children outside the city centre could be another assumption, although not explicitly stated by the participants.

The participants' likes and dislikes regarding the location and character of their residential neighbourhoods imply a diversity of opinions, ranging from a desire for walkable, mixed-use areas to quiet, bucolic landscapes. In translating their individual narratives into urban space, one can imagine a polycentric city, as opposed to the mono-nucleic format of Limassol, with employment opportunities and living options in more flexible arrangements. One can also imagine building densities to decrease away from the centre of the polycentric distribution,

surrounded by green zones, almost reminiscent of Howard's 'greenbelts' in the Garden Cities.[5]

According to Spain, the evolution of edge cities was dependent on three key factors. Firstly, the increasing number of cars and the subsequent lack of parking, secondly, the communications revolution, and thirdly, by women's entry into the workforce.[6] According to Spain, the latter factor was the impetus for the widespread commercialization of domestic tasks that was discussed in the previous chapter, and in closer examination of the neighbourhoods where some participants live (e.g. Ariana, Elisa, Tania), there appear to be the beginnings of what Spain and Garreau describe as Edge cities, i.e. (relatively) low-density commercial and administrative centres, surrounded mostly by single-family houses or other low-density housing facilities.[7] The difference between Limassol and the (larger) American typology of Edge cities is that while Edge cities grow consequent to a particular condition, such as, according to Spain, changing gender relations,[8] evidence of Edge city-like formations in Limassol are usually traces of village cores of various satellite villages that became engulfed as Limassol grew towards the north, east and west of the historic centre.

5.3 Navigating Space Between Home and Work

The research aims to investigate women's boundaries and opportunities in navigating the physical distance between home and work. These spatial constraints create a temporo-spatial boundary for working women who are compelled to maintain their role as homemaker, while being an equal member of the workforce. It is an undisputed fact that both men and women in the workforce are expected to perform duties and to comply with responsibilities and obligations pertaining to their position of employment. Women, however, have a parallel set of duties, responsibilities and obligations that arise from their assumed position of control of the private realm and from their role as care providers. Although it is not suggested that men are completely free of domestic responsibilities, data derived from the participants' responses and an empirical understanding of the inner workings of the Cypriot society, suggests that men's domestic obligations are significantly fewer than those of women.

The following section seeks to explore firstly how distances within the city impact women's daily experience with respect to their obligations and responsibilities, and how women respond to an alternative socio-spatial paradigm of domesticity that could provide for them better time-efficiency at home.

Mobility

Participants were asked what their commute entailed in terms of times travelled and types of tasks that were carried out on their way to work or on their way home. From the responses elicited regarding daily tasks, three categories of participants were established: (i) participants who are single and live with other family members (usually parents), whose daily commute is generally dependant on driving distances and is not interrupted by daily tasks or responsibilities, (ii) participants who are single and live alone, whose commute is often flexible and may include stops at the grocery store, pharmacy, etc., and (iii) participants who are married or who are in relationships and live with a partner and sometimes children, whose daily commute to work was by far the most complicated and difficult to manage. The study focusses on the latter two categories because of the particular challenges they present.

Through the interviews, it transpired that women who are care providers are not only those with partners and children; there were participants who do not have children but are responsible for elderly parents who do not live them. However, when asked if they have dependants or if they are care providers they generally said no. It was only during the course of the interview that their relationship as care providers to their parents was uncovered. This is indicative of Cypriot society's commitment to the older generation. In fact, there is a distinct lack of old centres for senior citizens relative to the population of Cyprus.[xix] Cypriot culture and social norms dictate that women and, far less frequently, men are directly responsible for the care of their parents and parents-in-law.[9] Although occasionally an elderly parent will move in with his or her children when he or she reaches an age when self-catering becomes too difficult, in several cases, the daughter, and less frequently, the son, will add visits to the elderly parent as part of a daily routine. This reinforces the belief that Cypriot women are conditioned to consider providing care

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[xix] There are many nursing homes in Cyprus but they are almost all are geared for elderly people with a diagnosed condition.

for their elderly parents as an unspoken obligation that is equal in importance as being law-abiding or as raising children.

Such participants are Barbara, Rena, Nina and Ariana. Barbara visits her mother daily and this increases her commute by approximately forty minutes. Barbara lives approximately five kilometres north of her mother. The same geographical distance separates Ariana from her parents who live in the centre of Limassol, so her commute is more strongly dependent on traffic. Whereas Barbara and Ariana are single women in their forties, Nina and Rena are married and in their sixties. Rena is retired so the time she budgets to visit her mother is not at the expense of a daily commute to work, whereas Nina's commute is not affected by her daily visits to her mother and elderly aunt because they live within walking of each other.

Women in the third category, who are married with children, were, without exception, the primary care providers for their children. Anthoulla who is in her forties, is married and has three children, suggested that the reason her daily commute includes tasks and errands related to the children, is because her work schedule is more flexible than that of her husband's. All other participants, such as Stavria, Joanna, and Chryso did not challenge their role as primary care providers and assumed it to be a natural phenomenon. The notion that working women are expected to spend more time in managing domestic tasks and taking care of children than working men is discussed by Hayden, although, based on her research, this was due to her subjects' dependency on public transportation.[10] The fact that Limassolian women maintain the same belief while having more control of their mobility since most drive their own cars, suggests deeply rooted convictions that are regulated by social structures.

When asked how long her commuting time is, Anthoulla responded that it takes her ten to fifteen minutes to get to work and to return home. While responding to a following question regarding her daily tasks and chores, it became clear that the actual time it takes her to get to work in the morning is close to one hour and forty-five minutes. She leaves her home approximately at fifteen minutes after seven and arrives at work at nine, and during this time she takes her children to school, visits the grocery store and conducts other daily tasks relating to the upkeep of the household and the care of her children. When asked if she finds her commuting times manageable or challenging, she happily responded that it is quite manageable. It was only later in the conversation that it was established that by manageable she

was referring to the fifteen minutes it theoretically takes her to get to work and to arrive home in the evening.
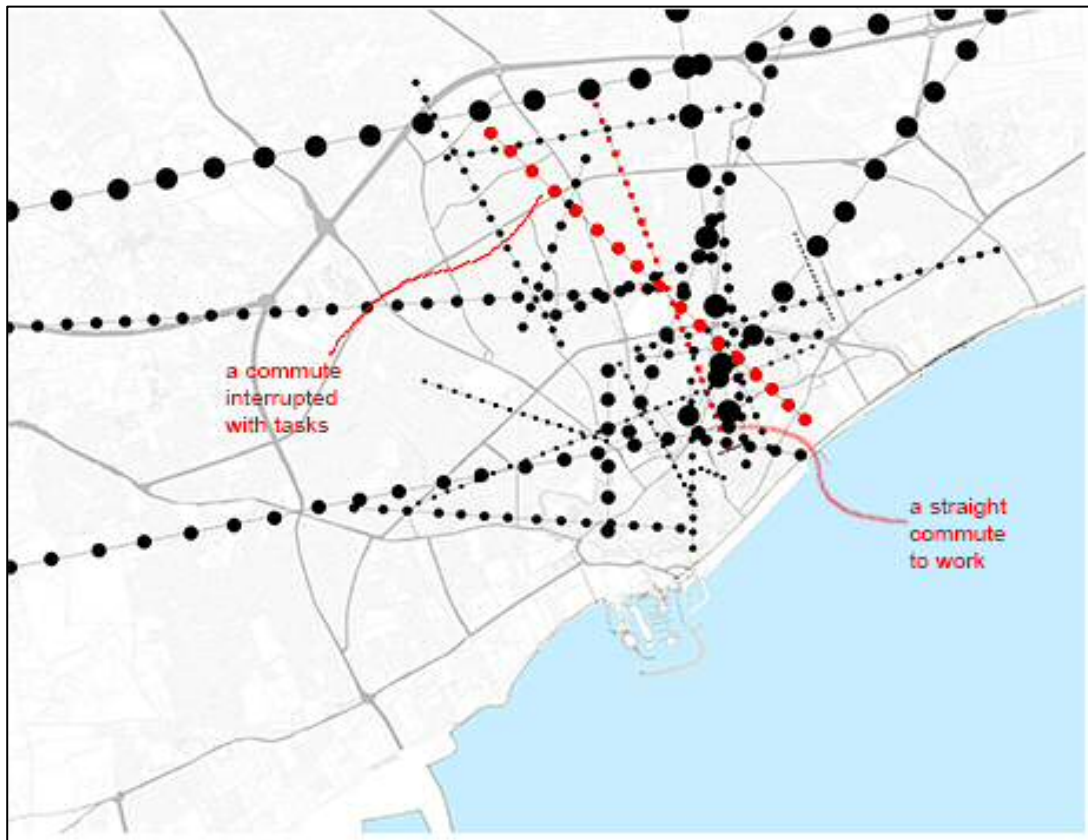
Figure 5.16 Study of comparative mobility[xx]

The same paradox was encountered with Chryso, whose theoretical commute time is approximately forty-five minutes, but her actual commute time is close to two hours. Similarly, Stavria needs one and half hours to get to work in the morning or to arrive home in the afternoon, but the door-to-door driving distance from her home to her work is approximately twenty minutes. This condition where women, mainly mothers, do not calculate tasks pertaining to the upkeep of their household as part of their daily responsibilities as they do other components of their role as members of the workforce, such as their daily commute to work, indicates lesser appreciation of domestic labour, which has been explored by Spain, Hayden and Markussen.[11] The participants do not challenge the fact that the city's design ought to accommodate all their time-dependant needs – not just those that relate to the task of commuting to work.

[xx] Drawn by Georgia Theokli and Anna Papadopoulou

Domestic Task Sharing

Redesigning the city of Limassol, or even redistributing urban uses to accommodate women's dual role would, like most existing cities, not be an attainable task for two main reasons: the cumbersome nature of amending the state's town planning regulations[xxi] and perhaps more importantly, the indisputable link between urban development and the free market. Another significant obstacle is, as Markussen puts it, the permanency of the urban physical structure.[12] With these hurdles in mind, in order to help women's daily challenges that pertain to time needed to fulfil their responsibilities as active agents in the public and the private realm, the research considered an alternative mechanism that has both spatial and social involvement. Participants were asked to consider sharing some of their daily domestic tasks with other women.

According to the norms of Cypriot family culture, single and married women are frequently helped in their daily domestic tasks by parents (mostly mothers) who are active and independent. If the daughter does not live with her parents, then the helping mother makes herself available at her daughter's home, often on a daily basis. Anthoulla and her mother share such a relationship, where Anthoulla's mother helps out with the housework and the children's upbringing. Annoula, Elisa, Helena and others, live with their mothers so they share housework in situ.

Women who cannot elicit help from a family member either because their family does not live in Cyprus or because their parents are in need of care themselves, must negotiate their daily tasks through other means. In Hayden's proposed housing model, a suburban block is redesigned to accommodate a schedule of shared domestic tasks (Figure 5.17).[13] As discussed in chapter 2, Hayden was inspired by ideas of communal housing that emerged from north-European co-housing projects where integration of housing and domestic services becomes a mechanism for spatial redistribution aimed to facilitate domestic life.

[xxi] Town Planning Regulations that pertain to Cypriot cities and towns are published in a document known as the Regional Plan (Τοπικό Σχέδιο) and in areas that are outside these regions are regulated by a document known as Policy Statement (Δήλωση Πολιτικής).
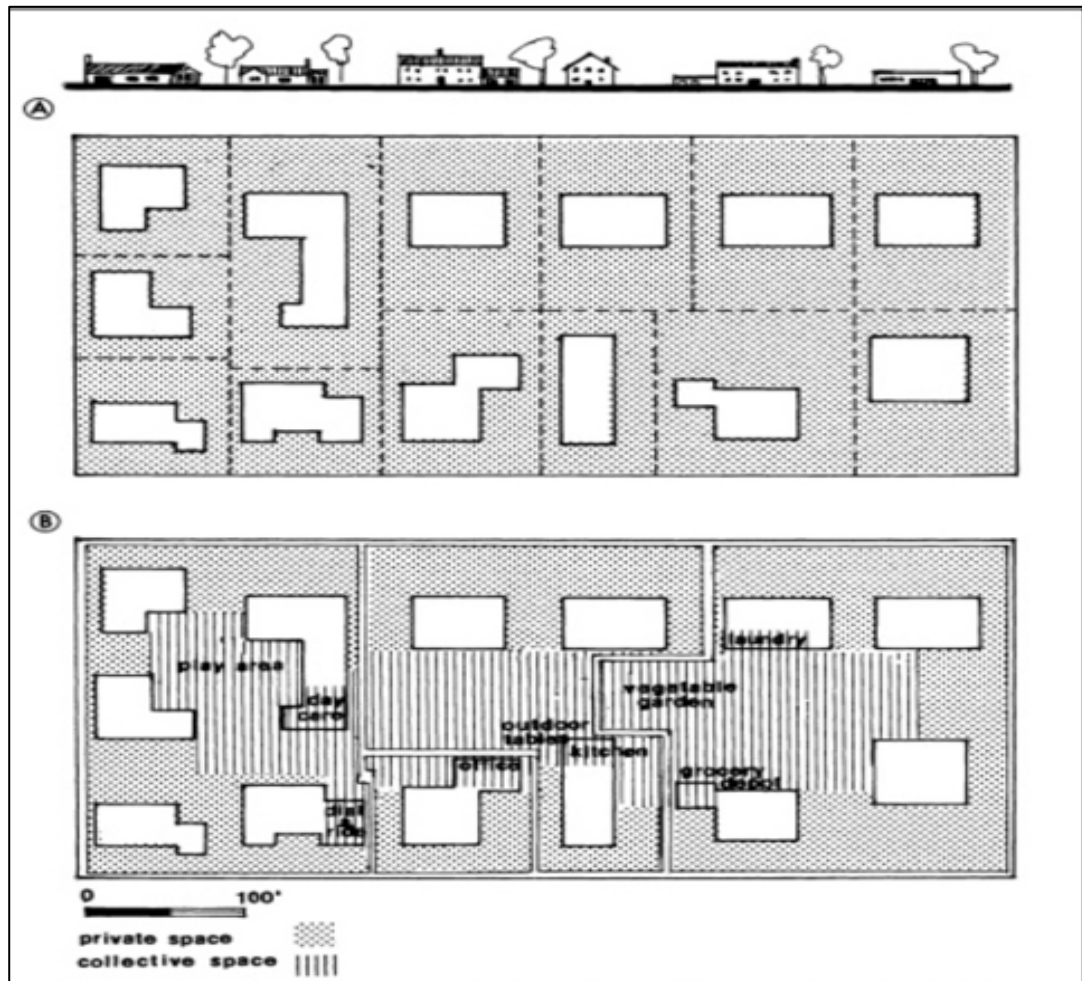
Figure 5.17 Hayden's redesigned urban block[xxii]

In pursuit of this point, participants were asked how they viewed the possibility of a new housing paradigm where they would have to forgo some spaces in their home, such as the back garden or even some spaces inside the house in order to enable sharing of domestic tasks with people outside their immediate family, who live in adjacent houses. Attitudes on the possibility of sharing of tasks ranged from participants who were positive, some who were positive but with hesitation or with conditions, to some who were negative either because it is considered incompatible with Cypriot culture or because privacy is valued above all.

Fofo, a Greek national, said that not only is she interested in the idea of living adjacently to like-minded people with whom she can share housework and companionship, but said that she and some friends currently living in Greece have often talked about living in such an arrangement in the future. She said this has

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[xxii] Source: Dolores Hayden, 'What would a Non-Sexist City Be Like? Speculations on Housing, Urban Design, and Human Work'

been a topic of active discussion among them for years and hopes that one day this will materialize. She also stated that because of her work as an academic, she would need quiet places within a shared home for her writing and she is confident that she would definitely claim some form of privacy, but that she would easily share spaces for the sake of communal and participatory living (response 53).

Marcia and Urania were also positive towards the idea of sharing space and sharing tasks. Both participants live in apartments on their own and although not explicitly stated, they consider this alternative domestic arrangement as a way to mitigate the loneliness that comes from being over forty years old and living alone.

Patriarchal constraints appeared in this section of the research as well, as Stavria who is married with children and does not deal with the challenges of singlehood, appeared to be quite keen to share tasks with others but was not sure whether her husband would be willing to compromise on space that he regards as private. Similarly, Urania who along with her mother spends considerable time and effort helping her sister raise two small children with minimal help from her husband, noted that when she was young, her father would occasionally help out at home, but qualified it by saying:

> '[My father] helped in the house, but only in ways that he chose, not in the ways my mother needed the help' (Urania, response 48).

She also noted that upon his and her mother's retirement, her father has stopped helping out altogether.

Tania's response on men's minimal involvement in domestic labour suggests a certain culpability on behalf of women, as she observes her father's contribution is related to the particular woman he is with. She noticed that when her father lived with her mother, he was far less inclined to help and that now that he lives with his second wife, he is more actively involved in domestic tasks.

Younger women who currently live with their families and have not yet lived alone, like Louisa and Helena, did not outwardly reject the possibility of task sharing, provided what Louisa termed as the 'right circumstances' were present. Likewise hesitant was Helena who said she would be willing to share personal space 'if there was particular reason, or a specific need' (response 38) thus alluding to the fact that

time-efficiency is initially not enough of a reason to share domestic tasks. Later on in the conversation she said:

'I'm open to possibilities, I just can't think of a need that would create such a circumstance, but I don't find [domestic task sharing] a strange thing' (Helena, response 39).

Helena's response must be interpreted after considering the fact that she currently lives with her parents and housework is undertaken by hired help. Thus, it is assumed that her somewhat positive outlook on domestic task sharing is less related to a pragmatic account of what it means to share space and to share housework, but more to a consequence of her broad-minded influences from spending many years in the United Kingdom and the United States. Furthermore, these women's current living conditions suggests they already have less privacy than other single women, so they are more readily willing to compromise it.

Similarly, when asked whether she would be willing to share daily domestic tasks with someone outside her immediate family, Yolanda who is in her twenties and lives with her family said:

'Yes, I think I would generally do it, provided my personal space was not invaded […] in fact, I really like the idea of communal living, it was the same when I lived [as a student] in Patra [Greece] etc., and I consider [the idea] very interesting ' (Yolanda, response 62 and 63).

In spite of the responses from the participants discussed above, the general feeling towards a spatial redistribution of domestic space was met with rejection and participants either explicitly or implicitly suggested that the reason for this is a possible conflict to conditions of privacy. Joanna even posited that the idea strikes her as a little bizarre:

'I find [the idea] odd. No, look, the truth is that cooking and laundry is done by me. My husband takes care of the garden, cuts the grass or he might put the laundry out to dry for me if I had been washing clothes in the morning, but [to share] with a person in the neighbourhood seems to me strange' (Joanna, response 42).

Veronica, who is in her sixties, was clear that she will only share housework with paid help, but not because she is concerned about privacy, but because she said this kind of collaboration is unusual. The only type of task sharing she has done in the past with neighbours and acquaintances was carpooling children to school. This reinforces the suspicion that although she denied it, her main objection to domestic task sharing with neighbours is the issue of privacy.

Overall, there were some discernable patterns of how women viewed the concept of relinquishing private spaces if it meant sharing housework for the sake of efficiency of time. The participants less keen on domestic task sharing were those who were either receiving help from a parent or were able to afford paid help. Furthermore, some single women, who generally have less daily housework, found the idea alluring because it would alleviate some of the social struggles that come from living alone. Women who currently live in a house instead of an apartment where privacy is already abundant, were less willing to compromise private space.

In the case of women living in suburban houses, the need to preserve privacy is reinforced by the suburban housing format, which is distinctly introverted. Since town planning regulations require that houses outside the historic core of the city be detached (with some exceptions) from the plot boundaries by at least three metres on all sides, women develop a spatial and social remoteness from their neighbours. This heightened sense of distance from their surroundings is further indicated by the way plot boundaries are built as walls surrounding the house. Although planning laws require that surrounding walls of masonry construction can be no higher than ninety centimetres on a wall that is adjacent to a street, and walls along the plot's sides can be no higher than one metre and twenty centimetres, many Cypriots devise ways with which to make their boundary walls even higher by adding wooden or metallic structures on their masonry wall, enabling bushes and other plants to grow as thickly as possible. [xxiii] The need to separate one's house from its surroundings is so pronounced in Cypriot urban society that even when the plots adjacent to the house are empty and with no prospect of development in the near future, owners of the house insist on making their surrounding walls as high as possible (Figure 5.18).

[xxiii] Town planning laws allow temporary structures mounted on top of masonry walls to reach a maximum height of two meters and ten centimetres.
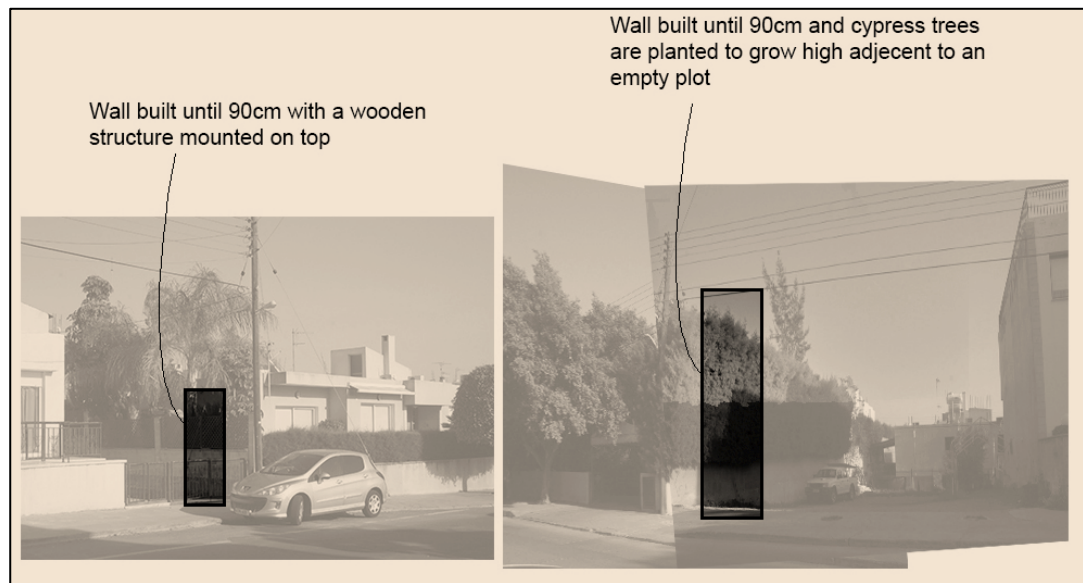
Figure 5.18 Making walls taller[xxiv]

5.4 Women's Life Shaped by Domestic Space

An important parameter in the process of investigating women's experience in the private realm is an examination of spatial relations within the home. Since there appears to be a separation – or at the very least – a distinction between the public and the private realm of Limassol, both on a spatial and a perceptual level, an understanding of how this separation is transferred, or translated within the home becomes imperative. Although not completely aligned with grounded theory methods that require the research to be void of any prejudice related to previous literature studies, this part of the questionnaire is inspired by theories of informal zoning explored by Edwards, discussed in chapter 3.[14] Edwards suggests that gender zoning within the house is a response to what he describes as the public (and masculine) status and substance of the street. Thus, the more public spaces of the house such as reception halls, dining area, living room etc. are located in areas nearest to the street, and kitchens, basements and attics in which women were confined, are hidden in the back of the house.

While responding to the issue of domestic gender zoning, some participants went on to comment on the design of their home and, in some cases, on the relation they had with their architect. Participants' critical view on the professional practice of

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[xxiv] Image constructed by Anna Papadopoulou

domestic design was then compared to responses from participants who are trained architects and are currently employed in architectural firms.

Domestic Gender Zoning

The purpose of discussing gender zoning with the participants was to elicit their reaction on common domestic typologies in order to evaluate their awareness of gender-assigned spaces within the house. Women were asked to discuss whether the layout of either their current house, or previous home, maintain the gender zoning as it was described by Edwards. If the participants have always lived in apartments, then the topic was not pursued further. Since the majority of apartment buildings in Cyprus are built by private developers, clients or architects generally do not have any meaningful interaction with each other or with the developer during the design phase of the project.
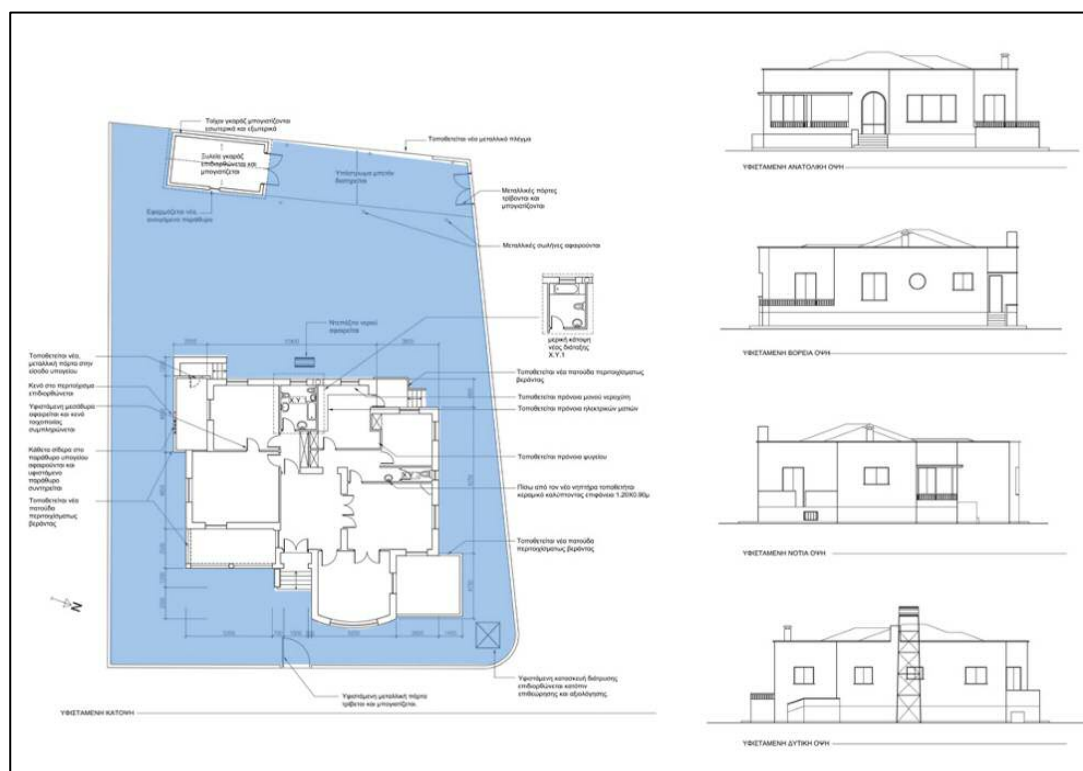
Figure 5.19 Single-family detached house from the second half of the twentieth century (blue indicates garden space)[xxv]

[xxv] Architect unknown, measured drawings by Anna Papadopoulou

For the purposed of this part of the research, the house types where the participants live fall into two categories. Most participants live in houses that were built in the second half of the twentieth century and are single-family detached houses (Figure 5.19), with a minimum distance of three metres between the structure and the plot boundaries on all sides, and usually with a longer garden at the back. Fewer participants live in older houses, listed as preserved, that were built in the early twentieth century and comply with Demi's classification as the courtyard house type[15] (Figure 5.20) that is earlier discussed in chapter 4.
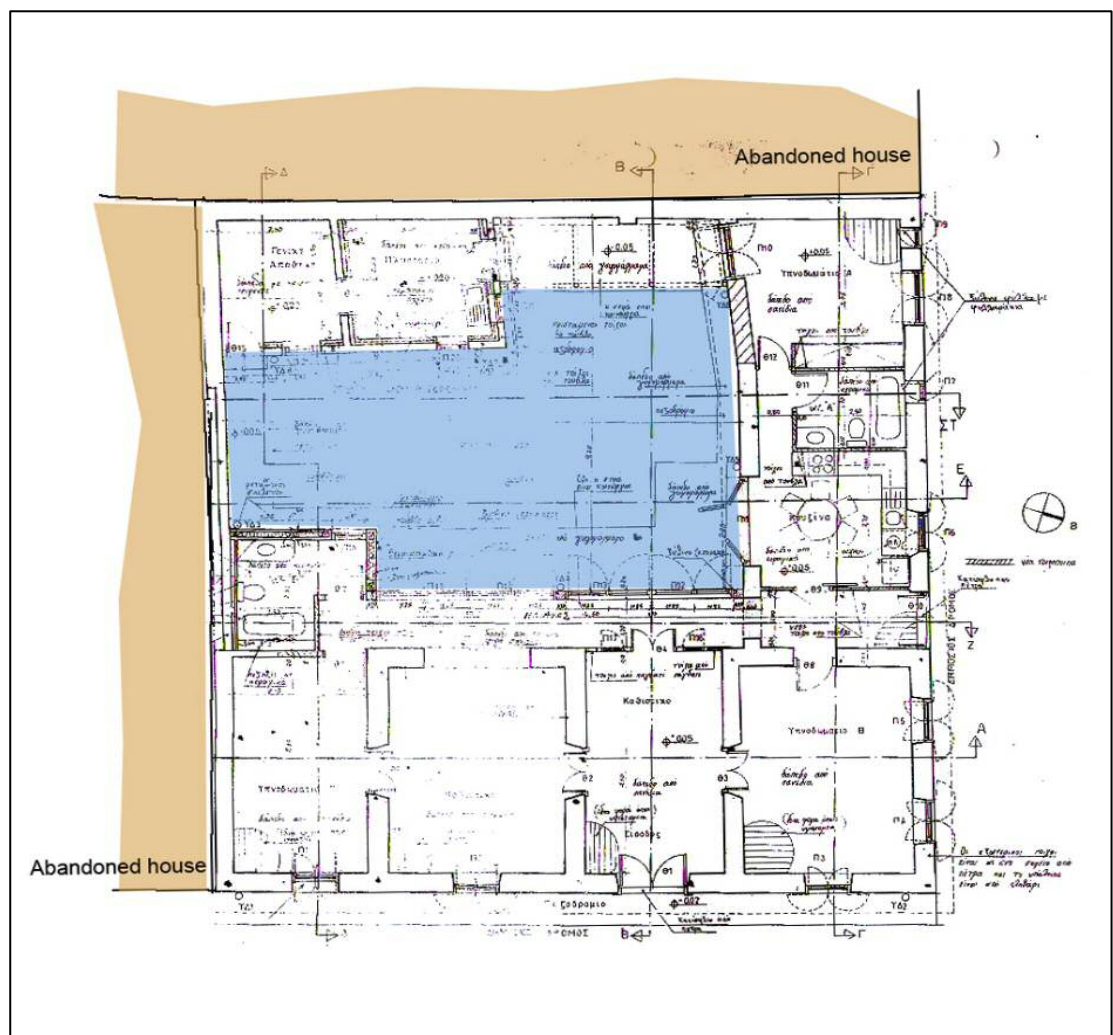
Figure 5.20 Courtyard-type house (blue indicates garden space and brown indicates neighbouring abandoned houses)[xxvi]

Women were asked to describe the spaces in their house or apartment that they considered most intimate and comfortable, and where in the house they spent more time and why. They were also asked to contrast their response with a description of

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[xxvi] Architect unknown, restoration drawings by Antonis Protopapas

the space in their home where their partner (if there is one) spent most of their time. These questions were asked in an attempt to identify the degree of prevalence of gender zoning within the home and, if it is established that gender zoning is indeed present in their house, women are encouraged to account whether the zoning is a result of a personal choice or whether it was imposed upon them by the architect or a male member of the family.

The meaning of intimate and comfortable translates in Greek to the word 'οικείο'. It is a word etymologically derived from the Greek word for 'home' and it can refer to any space, actual or virtual, that evokes fond and comfortable feelings towards it. The word 'οικείο' in reference to a space in the home implies not only feelings of comfort, but a greater length of time spent in that given space within the home. Indeed, most women suggested that the space most comfortable to them was the kitchen, and that their partners' space was a variation of a home office, library etc. The women framed this condition with a diversity of reactions.
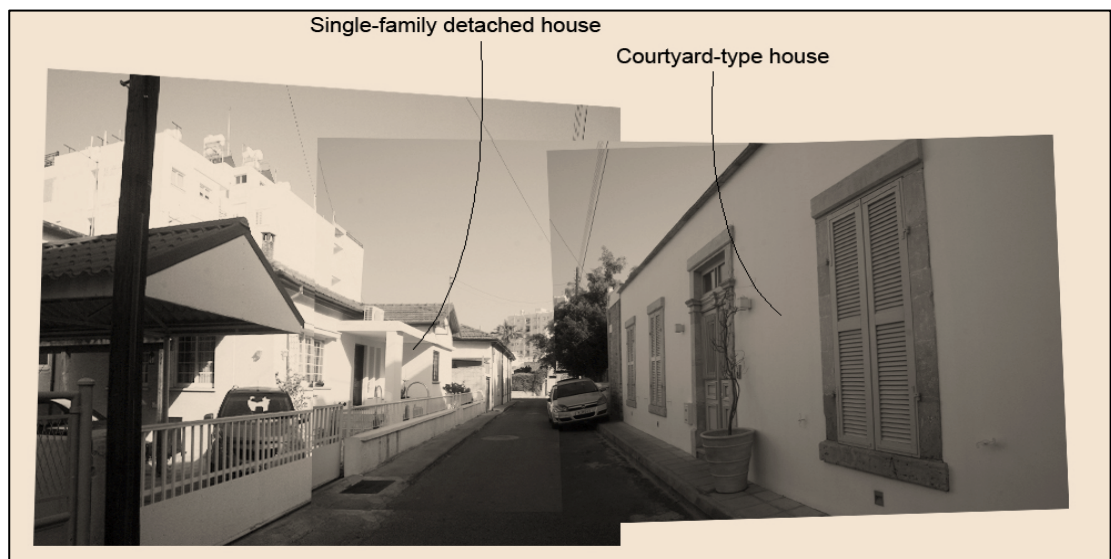
Figure 5.21 Two housing typologies opposite each other in the city centre[xxvii]

For women like Olia and Veronica who are married and over sixty, the kitchen seems to be the favoured space in the house, whereas their husbands' room was the office or library. Neither woman was willing to challenge this condition as a socio-spatial consequence of gender relations. When asked which part of the house she considers more comfortable and where she spends most of her time, Olia quickly responded that it was the kitchen and her husband's favourite spot in the

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[xxvii] Image constructed by Anna Papadopoulou

house is his office, but was not able to support or contextualize her response in reference to the theory of domestic gender zoning. Although Veronica responded similarly that the kitchen is for her the most comfortable spot in the house and her late husband's spot was the library, but she unequivocally rejected the notion of gender zoning within her home. She has lived in three houses: the two built in the second half of the of the twentieth century maintain the kitchen and other private spaces at the rear of the house and living areas and reception rooms are at the front. She currently lives in the courtyard house shown in Figure 5.20.

> '[…] although I would say that I spend most of my time in the kitchen, I believe that I don't agree with this theory [of domestic gender zoning] as I believe it is for practical reasons that kitchens are located in the back of the house' (Veronica, response 33).

She further explained that kitchens are commonly located in the rear of the house, away from public areas, because kitchens are generally untidy places.

It is interesting to note that as Veronica was discussing public and private areas in her home, she did not used the term 'public', instead she used the phrase 'the place where you receive guests' (response 32). The same perception of domestic public spaces, their proximity to the street and their connection to the notion of catering to guests that is held by Veronica was shared by Rena. She is also over sixty and currently lives with her husband in a home where the private spaces are located in the back of the home and public spaces are adjacent to the street. She considers separating the public and the private areas of the house a functional decision in order to prevent guests from seeing certain areas of the house:

> 'I don't know why, but we always want to show the best of what we've got to our guests who will come; it's the feeling of hospitality, so that they don't see us with a bad eye' (Rena, response 27).

This phenomenon of women restricting the presence of guests to public spaces within the home is not uncommon among Cypriot women of this generation and stems from a long tradition of almost self-sacrificing hospitality within all ranks of Cypriot society. By associating public areas of the home with the brief presence of visitors who the woman of the house wishes to cater to, to host, and ultimately to impress, public spaces in the home become places where women are called to

display their abilities and to perform a ritual of domesticity that lasts as long as the visitor's stay. Consequently, because they are linked to the occasional display of abilities, these spaces may acquire less intimate qualities, much like the spaces of formal employment.

Panagiota, a single mother in her forties living with her child, believes that locating the kitchen and other auxiliary spaces at the back of the house and the more public spaces at the front is based on functionality. As she is younger than Olia and Veronica, she believes that separation of public and private spaces has less to do with maintaining an image of domestic bliss for the occasional guest by hiding untidy areas, and more to do with the inhabitants' need for having tidy spaces that provide a 'comfortable view' (response 52) when one needs to relax. She associated the privacy of untidy kitchens with domestic labour, and public spaces in the house with rest and relaxation.

Wilhelmina, who is married and in her forties, also considered the kitchen to be her favourite spot in the house and added the sitting area where the television is located. Her husband's space is the attic where he keeps an informal office, where he 'withdraws at night' (response 29). Although her response seemed ostensibly simple and in accordance with Edwards' theory of domestic gender divisions of space, the location of the kitchen and the living spaces were not a matter of choice because her house is an old house (courtyard house type) from the early twentieth century, listed as preserved, so she did not have much authority in its layout. Her thoughts, however, on domestic design were particularly nuanced:

> '[…] I happened to grow up in a listed house, as well as live in one now with my family, so the first spaces, the spaces are adjacent to the street; in the old days, I remember our aunts and even we, would easily pick up a chair and take it outside to sit on the pavement, the veranda, or the street; or our grandmothers would open the windows of the living room and watch the people going back and forth near the church. They wanted to have this window to the world, so it was convenient [for the living room and] the window to be there, near the street. They wanted to have contact to the street and to the city' (Wilhelmina, response 26).

Wilhelmina was raised by a strong female figure, her aunt, who according to her, assumed a 'dual role of man and woman', kept the house 'alive' as she had the sole

responsibility to manage the house (response 30). From Wilhelmina's response one can surmise that women of previous generations appropriated living rooms because of their adjacency to the outside world in order to maintain a conduit, a connection to the public realm that extended outside their house. Although Wilhelmina works every day and has neither the time nor possibly the inclination to sit outside her home or sit inside and stare out of the window providing informal street safety, her next-door neighbour, a housewife who is over sixty years old, sits and stares at the street almost every day (Figure 5.22).

Figure 5.22 Wilhelmina's house and Veronica's house[xxviii]

When discussing house typologies, some participants chose to describe domestic space not as a function of gender zoning, but as a spatial distribution related to the courtyard-type house. Rena, did not believe that domestic design has ever been subject to gender relations. She rejected domestic zoning and posited instead, that the most functional domestic spaces in Cyprus culture are encountered in the old courtyard house type. Its effectiveness, according to Rena, relies on its ability to bring families together around the space of the courtyard:

[xxviii] Photo by Anna Papadopoulou

'Very functional were the old houses, I remember my grandmother's house that has been torn down[xxix] many years ago, where the heliakos[xxx] as we called it, was at the front. It was a large, long room that led to a giant glass door that opened into the courtyard and in this courtyard opened the eating area, the kitchen, the bedrooms – all the rooms that concerned the family were distributed around that courtyard' (Rena, response 27).

Ioli, who grew up in Greece, moved to Cyprus seven years ago, and lives in a courtyard house in the centre of Limassol. She spoke of the attributes of living in this type of introverted home that satisfied her apparent need for privacy:

'Here is a private space, the courtyard, it is hidden, out of sight […]. In Greece it's different. These [garden] spaces are in the front of the house, in front of the street, where you are visible from the street and the houses around. Here [in Limassol] there is great defence of privacy' (Ioli, response 26).

Ioli's answer in response to courtyard houses coincided with previous participants who do not acknowledge the notion of public and private uses in this type of house, but she differentiates herself in considering a difference kind of privacy. She discussed privacy not as a social construct related to women and their function within the home, but as a desired condition and a protective shield against the public realm at large.

Data analysis of the participants' responses regarding internal zoning and its possible connection to gender separation concludes that although most contemporary houses follow some pattern of public and private zoning similar to Edwards' model, participants did not accept the premise that this zoning is related to social constructs or patriarchal norms. Instead, they view this condition as a practical design decision, implying that separating the private from the public areas affords them greater control in daily functions.

[xxix] The house she is describing should fall under the category of listed houses whose demolition is prohibited by law. However, there was a time when the preservation law was still in its inception, that several structures were demolished.
[xxx] In traditional architecture, an heliakos is a semi-enclosed space in front of main rooms as an extension of a two-pitched roof.

Women Shaping Domestic Space

The issue of the architect's participation became a recurring theme during discussion of the participants' perceptions of their home, and the decision-making in the spatial distribution of their house. Participants were encouraged to elaborate on their experiences in their homes, and their responses were recorded and analysed. The research analysed and compared relevant responses from the six participants who are trained architects and one who is a draftswoman. As participants were asked which of the two genders is more involved in domestic design, at times it became difficult to distinguish whether the participants' response was a reflection of how they perceive conditions to be, or whether they were describing what they would consider ideal conditions in order for women to exercise control over the design.

These experiences are important to the research because they explore two social conditions: the first condition addresses the belief within popular culture that links women intrinsically to domesticity and the second condition speaks to the relationship between architects and users. The relevance of the former condition is strongly supported by the literature review, whereas the latter notion is relevant to parts of the research that investigate whether architects (and decision makers) consider women's needs at an urban level, discussed in the previous chapter, as well as on a domestic level.

Responses among most participants, including the participants who were architects, on whether the woman or the man appeared to have the upper hand in designing their home varied, although most suggested that not only were women in charge of the design, it was the woman's right and privilege to do so. The way they responded and some of the language they used further suggested that they were not aware of any negative consequences to this condition, such as the perpetuating of spatial and social separation of genders into the public and private realms. Some of the responses also suggest that some of the women architects who believed that women clients were in charge, have not had extensive experience in domestic design.

Aphrodite and Yolanda are in their twenties and they are trained architects. They both posited that it is more usual for women to have more control in designing their

home. Here it is assumed that the women clients are married or in a long-term relationship.

> 'For the house, for how the house will be, I think it's mostly the woman [who is involved] of course, mainly for specific spaces, for example the kitchen, which will be her space, or the couple's bedroom, e.g. to have a [walk-in] closet etc., I think there, women have the upper hand. Men are limited mainly to the garden, or other issues such as where the barbeque should be, or the storeroom, which will store their things. I think women have more control in how the house will be' (Aphrodite, response 37).

Yolanda's response was along similar lines and she added that from what she had heard, the male client is more inclined to select the materials and the overall scheme, but his wife or partner generally decided on interior layouts. She also noted that the degree to which an architect will consider the needs of women above the needs of the couple, depends on the individual, indicating a resistance to stereotyping.

Stavria is a draftswoman in her fifties who is employed at a small architectural firm and has worked on numerous domestic design projects. She said that over the years she has come to observe that women were in charge of the design of their home because the woman 'wants to leave her mark' (response 66). While Stavria's response implied that women have the final say because male architects, like her boss, enable them to take on that task, Zena, an architect in the late twenties, offered a more nuanced response. She posited that women actively seek to be involved designing their home by virtue of the ability to concentrate on the details. She brought up the example of women's need when vising a toilet, to have a dry flat area that is away from the sink to rest their belongings while using the toilet, and she posited that a male designer is less likely to address these kinds of needs at this level of detail. Overall however, her view on who has more control of the design process was at odds with some of the other participants because she believes that, in her experience, men tend to have the final say.

Zena, who appeared to have had more experience in domestic design than some of the other participants, suggested that not only did her male clients have more control of the process, but their confidence overshadowed their wives or partners. For instance, she discussed her impression of how her women clients differ from

her male clients during the construction phase of their house and described her male clients to be far more assertive than their wives in their interactions with people involved in the construction. In fact, her women clients were more inclined to convey their construction-related grievances to a female member of the architecture firm.

The opinion that women are in charge of the process of domestic design is shared by women outside the architectural profession. Georgia, who grew up in the US, believes that since women spend more time at home, they are the ones who should be consulted in its overall design, and the kitchen in particular. It is noteworthy that even though she is a full-time employee, she still assumes that she spends more time at home than her husband. Xenia is in her sixties and though she agrees with the position of the previous participants that women are rightly in charge of domestic design, qualified her response by suggesting that the architect ought to provide the basis for the design, but everything else must be agreed upon with the 'housewife', as she kept calling the woman. 'There are certain architectural things the housewife doesn't know, right?' she said in response 19, while neglecting the possibility that a woman might indeed be an architect herself. In fact, the perception that all architects are men was quite prevalent.

Xenia, a sixty-year-old woman, holds a diploma in domestic science and currently keeps a shop with her husband in the centre of the city, which is also adjacent to her home. Although she literally studied how to be a housewife, thus suggesting she would be content to remain within the private realm of domesticity, her opinions showed critical thought in how relationships between home and work should be spatialized. As she was discussing her relationship with her architect and the separation of public and private urban and domestic space, she mentioned that when she was in college she remembers being told that women must choose to live near their work and, as she noted in responses 21 and 22, since most of her instructors were men, then men should know better than to encourage building far away from areas of employment opportunities.

Louisa and Rena talked about their needs as women being ignored in the name of aesthetics, but they seem unprepared to list what these needs are. They argued that architects are not in tune with women's desires within their home and they both described what they believe to be architects' desire to impress with innovative design that, according to the participants, does not respond to everyday practicality.

When asked to specify what spatial needs are being ignored in the name of design, Louisa mentioned storage space and Rena talked around the subject without offering specifics.

Koulla also had a somewhat negative opinion of her architect. She felt that he was too authoritative during the design of her house because, as she put it, he assumed that he knew better. She also added that his status as a friend of the family further compromised their collaboration and she assumed that had she gone to another professional, her voice would have been more likely to be heard. For instance, she wished that the front entrance to her house be located off-centre in order to maintain the integrity of the living room, but her architect believed that would be an aesthetically poor decision and in the end his will prevailed over hers. Anthoulla relayed a parallel story of an authoritative male architect, in which he insisted that a single-storey house would be more conducive to motherhood while she preferred the house to be on two levels so that she would have more space for a garden. As with Koulla, the architect who designed her house was a friend of her father's and she feels that this had a negative impact on their collaboration.

Tania's and Chryso's experiences were similar to those of Koulla and Anthoulla, while Chryso attempted to explain male architects' perceived behaviour due to their mentality being different than that of women's. She said:

> 'I think that for sure [they try] to consider women's need, but because their brain does not work like ours and they do not persevere into looking for practical things, if something is requested by a woman and is not easily [designed] they will say it can't be done, they will not search to find a solution. […] I think is due to lack of respect [for women]' (Chryso, responses 53 and 54).

Overall there seems to be an underlying acceptance of intrinsic differences between men and women, with no mention of whether these differences are materialist or essentialist in origin. According to the participants, men tend to pay less attention to detail and to what women assume to be the practical aspects of design. In fact, some participants suggest that male architects are more prone to produce architecture that aims to impress with its formalistic qualities and is less concerned with accommodating the user's (i.e. their) needs. This perception indirectly aligns

itself with Zena's impression that men are more assertive, thus more controlling, both during the design process and during construction.

In trying to uncover perceptual and, at times spatial conditions that inhibit or encourage women to take control of their living environment, there seems to be little dispute in the prevalence of the cultural understanding that Cypriot women are essentially related to the private realm. However, trying to evaluate the layers of hindrance and possibilities is a more challenging matter because women themselves seem to be largely unaware of how spatial or social conditions might prevent them from having equal standing with their male counterparts. There seems to be more awareness of how women are compelled to comply with their (male) architects' will and less awareness of what this implicit condition means in terms of social norms and societal structure.

5.5 Conclusions

Limassolian women's relationship with the domestic realm was examined through an investigation of the participants' perceptions of the social and spatial attributes of their current living conditions and of what they consider ideal. The investigation uncovered how women position themselves in conditions of production and consumption of space by considering their control over how domestic space is created and their opinion on how it is inhabited, i.e. consumed. The fact that some participants come from architectural professions presented the opportunity to further examine the production of residential space from the perspective of women architects. The chapter's investigation culminates with an examination of women's restrictions derived from the particular urban form of Limassol and with a further examination of how women evaluate possible alternatives that could mitigate against these restrictions.

As participants discussed their ideal neighbourhoods, properties such as serenity and accessibility were at the forefront of almost all conversations. Participants who live in or around the city's centre or near other central avenues were clear about what they found appealing in living in areas of mixed activity, whereas women who live in more homogenously suburban areas were at times vague on the benefits of these areas, other than low levels of noise. An underlying sentiment present in these conversations was Cypriot women's social conditioning in assuming that living

in suburban areas that are away from what they perceive as the city centre is a dream worth pursuing.

In the course of the analysis, impressions of calmness and tranquillity as they were described by the participants, evolved into notions of privacy. Once women find themselves living in suburban areas that are by definition isolated from main urban activities, they, presumably along with their husbands, create conditions of further isolation from their surroundings by making the boundaries of their house plots as high and as impermeable as town planning regulations allow. This introverted spatiality unavoidably builds a social identity that is perhaps equally introverted and less inclined towards collaboration and participation. These positions are further discussed in the following chapter.

Since women in Limassol and indeed in Cyprus are the primary homemakers, the physical distance between the public and the private realm serves as a hindrance towards social and spatial democracy from a gender perspective.[16] The perpetuation of existing conditions in the private realm appears to be women's adherence to what they consider to be the attributes of the single-family house. Referring to American women, Ockman suggests that the suburban dream house became a token of compensation for the harsh years and sacrifices of the Second World War.[17] Limassolian women may not have suffered during the Second World War, but they were definitely marked by the Turkish invasion of 1974. Indeed, the tendency to raise perimetric walls in lieu of protection, as well as a preference for suburban houses may both be psychological responses related to the trauma of the invasion.

Whether a response to the invasion or a consequence of other causalities, according to Markussen, women's commitment to the single-family suburban home that is located far from employment opportunities affirms patriarchal norms.[18] Even the preference for quiet environments seems reminiscent of how Hayden describes men's ideal domestic environment, as a 'serene dwelling'.[19] Beginning with its location, men's journey to work is what generally dictates the locality of the family home, thus women's access to paid labour is severely hampered. Markussen further suggests that the single-family, detached home discourages extended family or communal sharing of tasks, and encourages isolation. Hayden and Markussen point out that this type of home is usually equipped with machines, such as dishwashers, washing machines etc., which are geared towards a single user.[20]

Additionally, Markussen suggests that women's (unpaid) labour within the home is not valued and that it is even considered wasteful.[21] This wasteful expenditure reinforces the illusion that 'real' work is only done by men outside the home. In another argument in support that the suburban home perpetuates patriarchal structures, she suggests that the form of the home and private garden arrangement provides a higher quality of output, i.e. higher quality of cooked food, childcare etc. She does concede that for this condition to apply, the women themselves would have to also prefer home cooked meals over take-out lunches and dinners.[22] Although it is unclear how many of these conditions are applicable, and indeed the extent to which they pertain to Cypriot women in Limassol, they offer a framework of thought that is examined in the following chapter.

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[1] Ann R. Markussen, 'City Spatial Structure, Women's Household Work and National Urban Policy', in *Gender and Planning, a Reader*, ed. by Susan S. Fainstein and Lisa J. Servon (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2005), pp. 169–190; Ghislaine Hermanuz, 'Housing for a Postmodern World', in *The Sex of Architecture*, ed. by Diana Agrest, Patricia Conway & Leslie Kanes Weisman (New York: Harry N. Adrams, Inc., 1996), pp. 233–240; Joan Ockman, 'Mirror Images: Technology, Consumption, and the Representation of Gender in American Architecture since World War II', in *The Sex of Architecture*, ed. by Diana Agrest, Patricia Conway & Leslie Kanes Weisman (New York: Harry N. Adrams, Inc., 1996), pp. 191–210.

[2] Demi Danilo, *The Walled City of Nicosia, Typology Study, Nicosia Master Plan* (Nicosia: UNDP, 1985).

[3] Dolores Hayden, 'What would a Non-Sexist City Be Like? Speculations on Housing, Urban Design, and Human Work', *Signs*, 5.3 Supplement, *Women and the American City* (Spring 1980), p. 171.

[4] Ann R. Markussen, p. 177.

[5] James Steele, *Ecological Architecture, A Critical History* (London: Thames & Hudson Ltd, 2005), pp. 49–55.

[6] Daphne Spain, 'What Happened to Gender Relations on the Way from Chicago to Los Angeles?' in *The City Reader*, ed. by Richard T. LeGates and Frederic Stout, 5th edition (London: The Routledge Urban Reader Series, 2011), p. 188.

[7] Ibid., p. 188; Joel Garreau, *Edge City, Life on the New Frontier* (New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday, 1998), p. 4; Dolores Hayden, *Redesigning the American Dream*, p. 196.

[8] Daphne Spain, p. 188.

[9] Mary A. Pyrgos, *The Cypriot Woman at a Glance* (Nicosia: Pyrgos Public Relations, 1993); Maria Hatzipavlou, *Women in the Cypriot Communities*, (funded by the European Union, printed by Nicosia: PC Printways, 2004).

[10] Dolores Hayden, 'What would a Non-Sexist City Be Like?' p. 175.

[11] Daphne Spain, p. 200; Dolores Hayden, *Redesigning the American Dream*, p. 122; Ann R. Markussen, p. 178.

[12] Ann R. Markussen, p. 169.

[13] Dolores Hayden, 'What would a Non-Sexist City Be Like?' p. 184; Dolores Hayden, *Redesigning the American Dream*, pp. 206–207.

[14] Brian Edwards, 'The European Perimeter Block: the Scottish Experience', in *Courtyard Housing, Past, Present & Future*, ed. by Brian Edwards, Magda Sibley, Mohammad Hakmi and Peter Land (New York, NY: Taylor & Francis, 2006), p. 124.

[15] Demi Danilo.

[16] Clara Greed, 'Can Man Plan? Can Woman Plan Better?' in *Non-Plan: Essays on Freedom Participation and Change in Modern Architecture and Urbanism*, ed. by Jonathan Hughes and Simon Sadler (Oxford: Architectural Press, 2007), p. 185; Clara Greed, *Women and Planning: Creating Gendered Realities* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994); Susan S. Fainstein and Lisa J. Servon, 'Introduction: The Intersection of Gender and Planning', in *Gender and Planning, a Reader*, ed. by Susan S. Fainstein and Lisa J. Servon (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2005), pp. 4–5, p. 8; Dolores Hayden, 'What would a Non-Sexist City Be Like?' p. 172; Dolores Hayden, *Redesigning the American Dream*, *The Future of Housing, Work and Family Life,* 2nd edition (New York: W. W. Norton & Company Inc., 2002), pp. 33–49; Daphne Spain, 'What Happened to Gender Relations on the Way from Chicago to Los Angeles?' in *The City Reader*, ed. by Richard T. LeGates and Frederic Stout, 6th edition (London: The Routledge Urban Reader Series, 2015) pp. 193–201; Kristine B. Miranne and Alma H. Young, Introduction in *Gendering the City*, ed. by Kristine B. Miranne and Alma H. Young (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2000) p. 11; Caroline Andrew, 'Resisting Boundaries?' in *Gendering the City, Women, Boundaries, and Visions of Urban Life*, ed. by Kristine B. Miranne and Alma H. Young (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000), p. 159; Helen Jarvis, Jonathan Cloke and Paula Kantor, *Cities and Gender: Routledge Critical Introductions to Urbanism and the City* (New York: Routledge, 2009), p. 22, p. 116; Jos Boys, 'Beyond Maps and Metaphors? Re-thinking the Relationships between Architecture and Gender', in *New Frontiers of Space, Bodies and Gender*, ed. by Rosa Ainley (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), p. 202; Joan Ockman, p. 196, p. 203.

[17] Joan Ockman, p. 199.

[18] Ann R. Markussen, pp. 169–190

[19] Dolores Hayden, 'What would a Non-Sexist City Be Like?' p. 172.

[20] Ibid. p. 174; Ann R. Markussen, pp. 177–178.

[21] Ibid. pp. 177–178.

[22] Ibid., p. 178.

Chapter Six

Reflections on the Research: Negotiating Boundaries

6.1 Introduction

This thesis has explored women's everyday experiences of negotiating the relationship between home and work in the city of Limassol through uncovering relationships between social structure and the built environment. As a case study, Limassol offered an intriguing context for exploring gender relations in urban space because of its relatively recent urbanization process that coincided with the first and second international waves of feminism in the twentieth century. This concurrence had the potential to bring about an urban development that is more spatially equal to both genders than other, older urban settlements. Although this comparison would be more conclusive had a parallel study in an older city taken place, Limassol's growth has followed the basic post-industrial American and Anglo-European urban form of separating public and private spheres, where men and women are expected to be dominant in each sphere respectively. Consequently, no evidence of gender influence in Limassol's development can be concluded.

Women's entry into the workforce has been pivotal in enabling the research to oscillate from the perceptual to the spatial in evaluating two conditions: boundaries women experience within the city, and opportunities to alleviate certain temporospatial restrictions. This chapter begins by recapping on the dichotomy where men and women, as socially constructed entities, are linked to public and private realms respectively, and how this dichotomy is important in the research as an organizing agent of the literature reviewed, as a structuring element for the data and its analysis and as an impetus to uncover/discover alternative spaces, sites of resistance, transition zones and thresholds. In order to set the platform for discussing liveability in the public and private realms, the summary of dual systems is followed by a brief description of public and private perceptions. The chapter then examines the output of the research by considering it in two parts.

Drawing on the findings from chapter 4, the first part of the chapter explores the occurrence of spatial and perceptual boundaries in women's inhabitation of urban space and the ways in which such boundaries are negotiated. Both parts of the chapter explore findings that are drawn from a variety of sources including the

questionnaires, the grounded theory analysis and mappings of the responses, observations and mappings of Heroon Square (the case study 'within' the case study of Limassol), and other areas within the city's centre. Finally, the chapter discusses possible relationships between urban changes and boundaries. The second part examines traceable changes and transformations in the city based on the research. These changes are a result of women's developing role from housewife to a member of the employment market while remaining predominantly in charge of maintaining the household.

The Significance of Dualities for Structuring the Research

According to the literature review, the city's public arena has been more closely associated with men and with places of employment, and the initial intention of the research was to investigate relationships of gender and urban space as they unfold primarily in the public realm as a way of marking shifts and changes that respond to social process. With that aim in mind, a series of spatial investigations have been carried out in what has been identified as the city's quintessential public space: the city centre. Explorations focussed on documenting women's presence in public spaces at difference times of the weekday and on the weekends, as well as habits and comparative speeds with which women moved through these spaces. This investigation served as a mechanism that bridged theoretical studies with physical conditions.

However, while spatial and grounded theory investigations of the public arena were proceeding, it became apparent that an understanding of women's urban experience could not be complete without an exploration of the private realm. To that point, early in the investigation it was established that conditions in the public realm are intrinsically connected to the private realm, thus no investigation of an urban system would be complete without a reciprocal one of the private realm.

The notion of perceptual dualities in gendered space, i.e. dualities that are founded on social norms, had frequently emerged from the literature review where it was mostly regarded as problematic, as a limiting condition that is simplistic and reductive, and one that ignores multiple identities of both women and men not only in their relation towards the built environment, but in relation to each other.[1] This is discussed within the scope of the study of gender and space, dualities persist in a

variety of circumstances, such as the public and the private, the city and the suburb, work and home, production and reproduction, producer and consumer, etc. By separating women from the public sphere and isolating them in the private realm of domesticity, women are inherently disadvantaged because the physical and perceptual distance between the two realms presents temporal challenges to women's dual role as homemaker and member of the workforce.[2]

As explored further in chapter 1, binary relationships of gender and space have been extended by Boys, Rose and others to frame an understanding of social habituation and design production by associating rationality, neutrality and objectivity in thinking and in design to masculinity, and in extensions to modernism. However, women's behavioural conditioning through generations of domestic labour and childrearing, as well as a distinct absence from the workforce, has enabled women's psyche to relate to subjectivity and connectedness.[3] While being fully aware of the adverse connotations related to dual systems and stereotyping that ignore that complexity of either urban systems or womanhood, the data retrieved from the research's fieldwork analysis was displayed in a format that separated narratives of the public and of the private realms in chapters 4 and 5 respectively.

Similarly, the literature review that in many ways laid the foundation of the study, was also structured in a way that reflects the pervasiveness of dualities. The literature that examines women's relationship to space and to the city was organized around a binary system of women's passivity consequent to social structures and norms, and women's role as active agents in the production and consumption of space. In spite of the obvious limitations of such dualities with respect to gender perceptions, I believe that the manifestation of a duality is an abstraction that allows one to view the world in a manageable and contained manner. More importantly, the duality highlights the significance of transitions zones, thresholds and blurring of boundaries between the public and the private space on an urban and on an architectural level.

Without losing sight of the city's multi-layered nature as a living organism, uncovering the ways in which the city has been impacted through women's shift from domestic labour to paid labour was a key element in understanding women's relationship with urban development. This shift in women's role offers not only a literal condition, but it carries a metaphorical meaning, as it signifies women's transition from passive and vicarious inhabitants of the public realm to active

stakeholders in its development. Through the research, changes and boundaries in the city have been examined from two perspectives: how women themselves observed and understood changes in the city relating to the developments in the social process, such as women entering the workforce and consequently becoming effective players in the public realm although still experiencing boundaries and drawbacks, and the application of my own perspective that had been formulated through the study of the literature review. The work of Hayden and Spain have been particularly influential on me, as it helped trace a line between cause and effect.[4] Thus physical and theoretical systems of duality have been pervasive throughout the research and have proven to be a useful tool in simplifying and extracting important concepts that frame a broader argument.

Separation of Home and Work

While a sociological exploration of the constructed dualities of the two genders and the way they are embedded in the social history of Cyprus is beyond the scope of the research, their physical manifestation in urban space in discussed in this section of the chapter as a means of highlighting issues of gender-related urban changes and boundaries. Indeed, the role and character of contemporary Limassolian women within the home is largely dependent on socio-economic parameters set by the country's particular urban and social history. Compared to women in Europe and Anglo-Americas regions, Limassol has made a more recent transition from the agrarian to the urban due to a variety of reasons that are explored in chapter 3, such as the style of ruling imposed by the Ottoman occupation that significantly thwarted the development of cities in Cyprus.[5] In fact, Cypriot towns began to grow in the format of industrial and post-industrial Western typologies after 1878 when Cyprus became a colony of Britain.[6] Although there is sufficient evidence that women's early urban experiences in the nineteenth century are influenced by the patriarchal structures originating from Cypriot society's agrarian roots,[7] there is little information to determine whether women's increased level of respect at the end of the century was a result or a causality of their entry into the labour force.

This social upgrade that was effected by their new status as working women signified a certain degree of financial independence and opportunities for further education, but it did not significantly diminish their domestic responsibilities and their role as primary care providers for children and elderly family members. This

was strongly evidenced by the responses provided by both single and married women during the interviews. Consequently, contemporary working Limassolian women have to apportion their time in order to fulfil their domestic obligations and their responsibilities as members of the labour force, making their everyday experience exceedingly more challenging than that of men who are generally compelled to perform at work.

Limassol's public realm where employment opportunities are concentrated is located in and around the city's historic core, along the coastal front and adjacent to major arteries. In the historic core and along the coast, commercial uses are mixed with residential ones but with a distinctly stronger presence of commercial activities. The commercial arteries mentioned above, such as Spyros Kyprianou Avenue, are almost exclusively commercial. Thus working women in Limassol are compelled to manage their daily activities between two separate geographic locations, making the urban experience a challenge in temporo-spatial logistics.

Following a number of scholars from the realms of architecture and sociology Hatzipavlou posits that the spatial separation of the public and the private leads to a separation of the mind and body,[8] although, being a sociologist herself, she does not delve into how this condition is encountered or indeed spatially expressed in Cypriot cities. She further suggests that the public and private dichotomy derived from this premise denies society the opportunity to build on a fabric of links and connections, rather providing one of separation and opposition. I agree that overcoming separation can be achieved by fostering links and connections within society, but I argue that connections, i.e. thresholds or transition zones, must be initiated and furthered through urban form and through the architecture of the built environment. Links must be strong in the social structure as well as in their physical form. Thus section 6.2 analyses the findings of the research and draws conclusions on urban and architectural separations, boundaries, transitions and changes that are enabled by gender relations.

Although one of the initial aims of the research was to identify and explore the relationship between urban development and social process, as the research progressed, it became apparent that urban changes and adjustments to accommodate working women's time economy in the home resulting from the physical separation of the public and of the private realms, was indeed less governed by form and more related to urban functions and distributions. Section 6.3

examines these urban shifts and changes as observed and documented during the research following the guidelines established during the literature review and participant feedback.

6.2 Negotiating Boundaries: the Spatial and the Perceptual

The types of boundaries discussed in this section are described as both spatial and perceptual, the examination of which is not limited to descriptive narratives that locate them within the city. Boundaries are discussed as prohibitive conditions, such as in the case of commercial uses that exclude the presence of women and as conditions that create opportunities for alternate spaces and behaviours within the city. Such spaces include the hidden places of worship and attitudes related to the use of the private car. Through the research, I have come to appreciate that most urban and architectural boundaries are neither spatial not perceptual, but exhibit characteristics of both. Even the tallest physical wall that quintessentially separates two entities is loaded with subsequent prejudice and political nuance, where political refers to relationships of power. Therefore, each of the following discussions on boundaries carry meanings that are extracted in varying degrees from the physicality of their presence as boundaries and the connotations that are associated with them. Discussions include boundary negotiations that occur in the public realm and examine types of areas that women avoid and areas where women who visit them are hidden from plain sight. Also, the significance of the use of the private car is discussed and its role as an enabler of boundaries that are both spatial and perceptually. Other discussions about boundaries expose women's attitude towards spatial borders in domestic design and their impact on the quality of their urban experience that is indirectly related to women's reluctance towards co-housing practices in the private realm.

Sites of Residence: Women in Hidden Spaces in the City

Women's experiences in the city, particularly in the public realm, can be examined through certain constants such as the habit of Sunday church going discussed in chapter 3. For the purpose of the research, three types of places of worship were considered (Figure 6.1). The first type includes large cathedrals attended by Limassolian women, the second refers to hidden places within the city centre where

local women can worship in a more intimate setting, and the third type refers to places of worship attended by foreign domestic workers. The third type is discussed in more detail in a following section. The social history and origin of the seocng type, the hidden spaces, is unknown; women's need to retreat to such places can be interpreted as a means of creating spaces within the public realm that are neither public nor private, thus negotiating a virtual kind of boundary that is instilled by the archetypal masculine nature of the public realm.

Figure 6.1 Religious spaces for local women, including hidden spaces and religious spaces for foreign women[i]

When asked to describe the ways in which they inhabit the public realm, all participants except one, brought up the theme of religious worship. As mentioned in chapter 3, Limassol's commercial and administrative centre, which is located within the city's historic core, hosts three of the most important Greek Orthodox cathedrals in the greater Limassol area, built in the first half of the twentieth century. Their importance in local culture is not only related to their monumental size, but to their essence as symbols of ethnic pride, of community unity and neighbourhood identity.

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[i] Drawn by Anna Papadopoulou

The latter is evidenced by the fact that municipalities in the older parts of Limassol, and indeed in every city in Cyprus, are named after the parish's church. Although contemporary Cypriot society has become more secular over the years, the older generation of women remain more loyal to religious worship than men. It was rare for women of this generation to have been employed, and as such, Sunday church was a way for them to escape from their daily routine of domesticity while socializing with other women from their parish. To this day, the majority of churchgoers in Cyprus are women (Figure 6.2).

Figure 6.2 Three Women in front of a church[ii]

The cathedral-type churches that are considered landmarks in Limassol's historic core are situated in locations that are not particularly strategic with respect to existing public spaces, i.e. they are not adjacent to important urban squares, nor do they act as a particular urban axis. However, their dimensions dominate the surrounding built environment, where for instance the dome could reach as high as

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[ii] Source: Patticheion Municipal Museum, Historical Archives, Research Centre of Limassol

thirty metres, and they are built on plots that measure approximately the size of an urban block. Thus the surrounding space around the church has assumed the character of a public gathering space that although is occasionally used for religious events, can also function as an autonomous, informal public area (Figure 6.3).
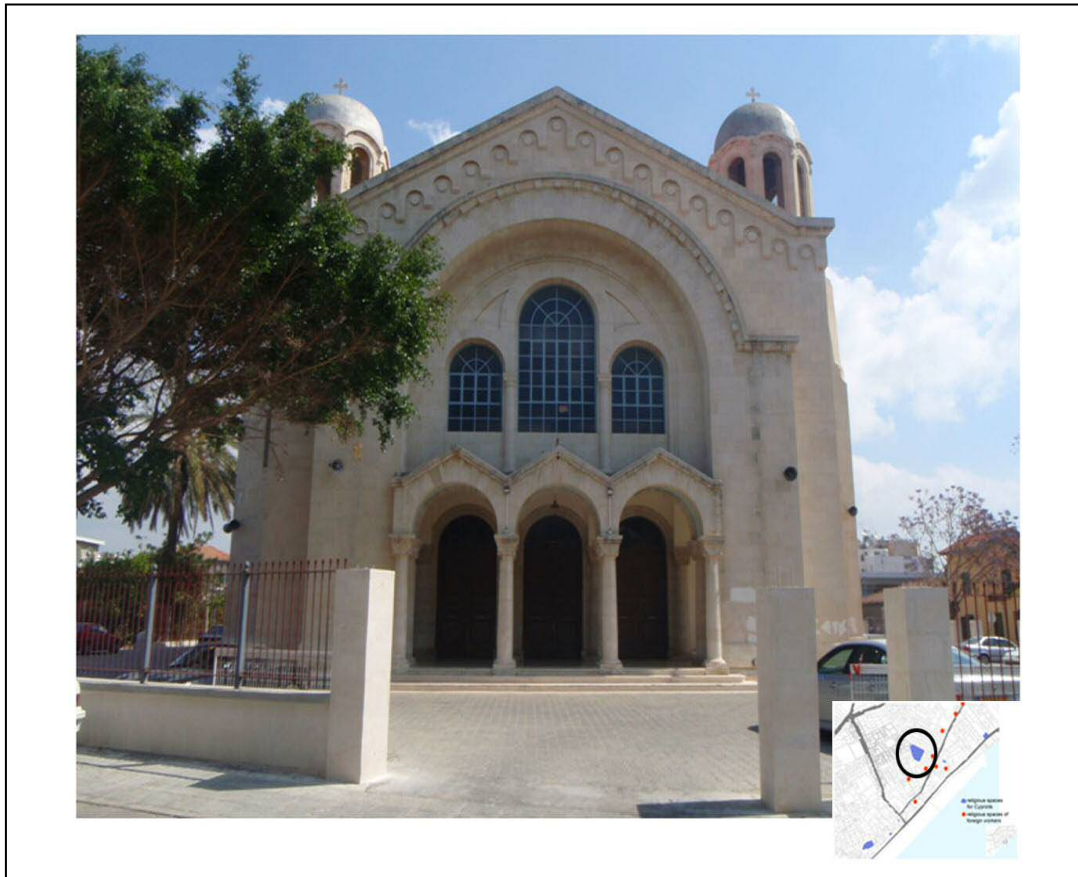
Figure 6.3 Religious spaces for local women: Agia Triada[iii]

In contrast with this distinctly public character of religious worship by native Limassolian women are the occasional, obscured religious spaces hidden within the urban fabric (Figure 6.4a). These small churches can be accessed from inconspicuous openings usually between two buildings that are practically concealed along the streetscape (Figure 6.4b). These kind of discreet, yet formal, spaces within the city dedicated to religious activities for Limassolian women are juxtaposed not only to the sizable churches that allow for more overt worship, but are also in contrast with the religious activities of the foreign domestic workers discussed below.

[iii] Image constructed by Anna Papadopoulou

Figure 6.4a Religious spaces for local women: hidden church, Agiou Andronikou and Athanasias[iv]

Figure 6.4b Religious spaces for local women: hidden church, Agiou Andronikou and Athanasias[v]

[iv] Source: Patticheion Municipal Museum, Historical Archives, Research Centre of Limassol
[v] Drawn by Anna Papadopoulou

The existence of these hidden churches within Limassol's public realm is not only a manifestation of spaces that act as thresholds between the public and the private, but it unveils conn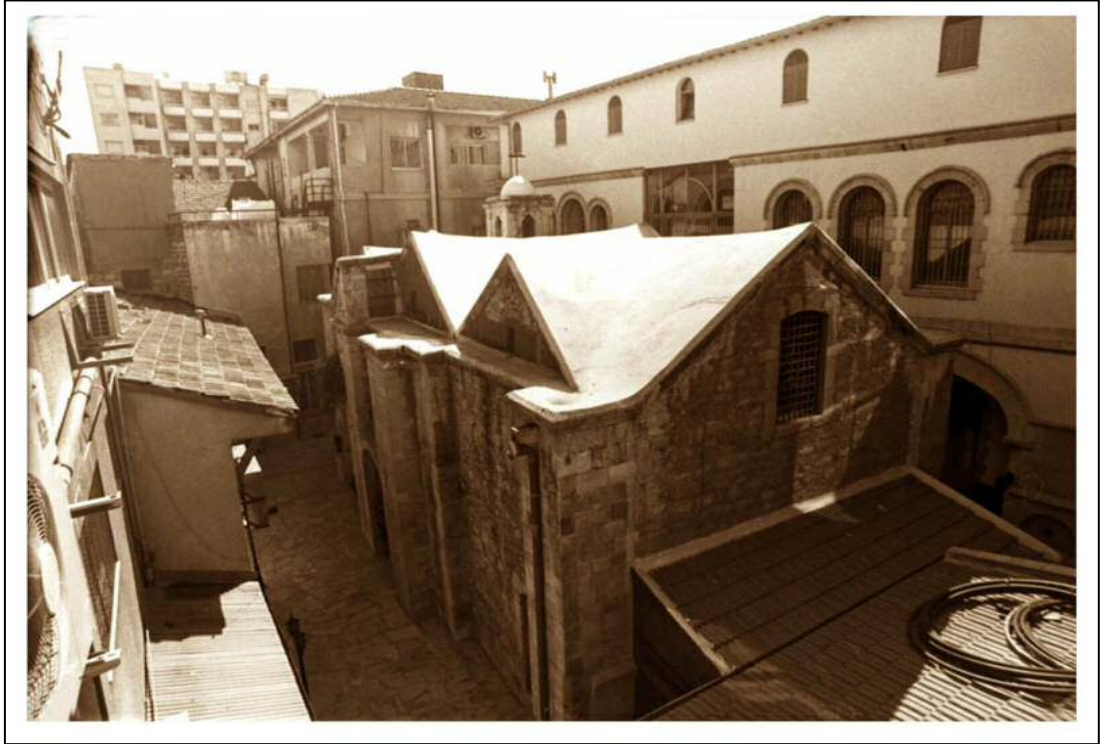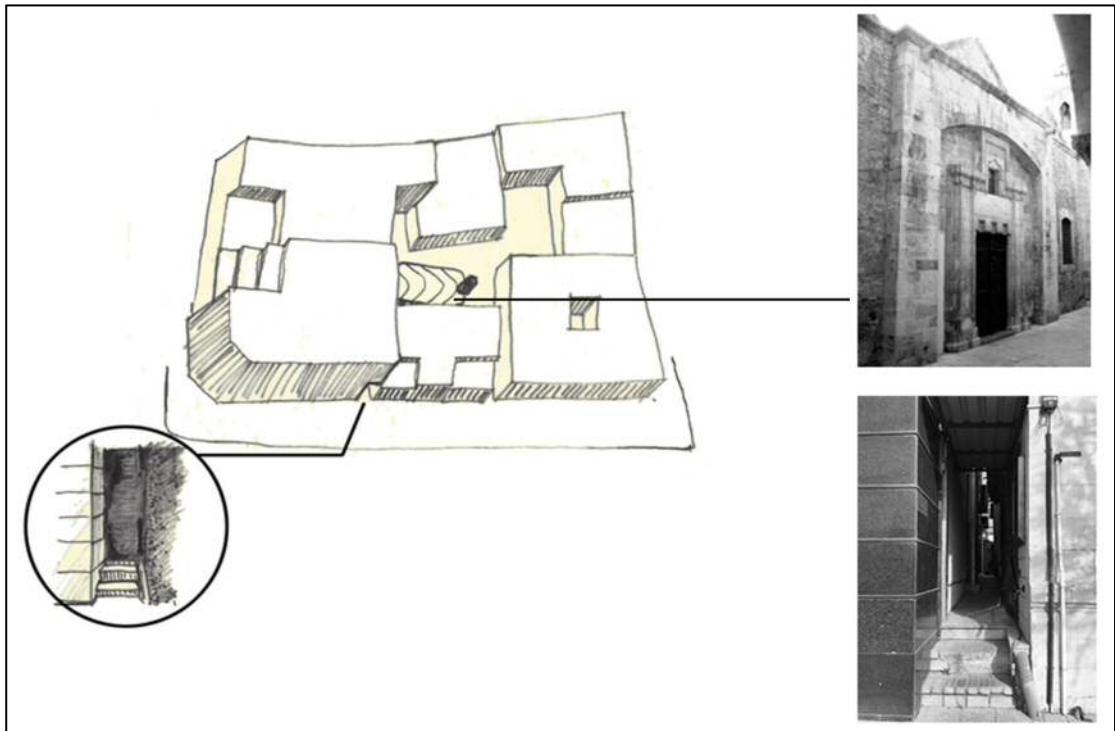ections between space, spirituality and patriarchy. These connections are revealed through traditions and tales passed down from generations that depict an intimacy between women and these smaller, more unassuming churches. This is contrasted by the fact that most cathedral-type churches in Limassol, and indeed in other cities, have a more gender-neutral character and lack the richness in feminine folklore and traditions encountered in the hidden churches.

The church of Agiou Andronikou and Athanasias was said to have been a hiding point during the escape of a woman known as Chiotissa, i.e. woman from the island of Chios, and her companion, Anna, from the harem of a wealthy Ottoman.[9] According the story, the two women left the harem secretly at night, and ran to the church to hide. Inside the church, in a small storage area, they found two sets of men's clothes that had been left there for them by Chiotissa's brother. After they changed their clothes, they left their Anatolian, gold-embroidered dresses between the lit candles and the blessed oils.[10] Thus, according to tradition, if a Limassolian woman wishes to accomplish a task, she leaves an item of clothing in that little storage room. Near the well on the east side of the church, Chiotissa's brother and his friends were waiting while pretending to draw water. There they met the women and led them back to Chios.[11]

Another hidden church, Agia Marina, is located approximately 500 metres west of the church of Agiou Andronikou and Athanasias. It is a more humble structure, whose entrance was located behind a private house, approximately fifteen metres behind a narrow road. Although the private house has recently been demolished, the entrance is still obscured and, as Agni Michaelidou writes, it is protected, by an old Acacia tree (Figure 6.5).[12] On the branches of the tree, mothers hang colourful cloths in the name of their sick children because St Marina is known as the patron saint of infants and children.[13] In addition to the cloths hanging from the tree, in recent decades mothers of sick children commission local craftsmen to make wax replicas of a baby's body or of a child's ailing limb and these replicas are then placed as a votive in the entrance of the church.

Figure 6.5 Religious spaces for local women: hidden church, Agia Marina

The three different types of churchgoing activities are spatially distinguishable. The most physically prominent type is the monumental sized church. Because of the sheer size of these churches, they are considered more than places of worship; they have become urban and cultural landmarks. They are usually comprised of three spaces, the Sanctuary which is accessible only to the priest, the Nave which is where the worshipers stand or sit, and the Narthex which is the space that connects the Nave to the outside world. The large open spaces surrounding these churches function as neighbourhood gathering points, provide spaces for children to play and offer space where community events can take place. Their imposing architecture and iconography are a source of pride and local identity for the neighbourhood and the city.

The second church type is tucked away and concealed behind street facades. These hidden churches are considerably smaller in size. Often they are comprised of a single room and they are almost always made of humbler building materials. Spirituality in these churches is experienced differently than in the larger churches. When looking up at the imposing dome of the latter, the worshiper is humbled by the universality of God, whereas when entering a hidden church, the worshiper is inspired by the intimacy and mysticism of religion. In the large, cathedral-type

churches men and women sit in different areas, separated by an aisle. In the smaller, hidden churches men and women usually sit together.

The third type of space for religious worship is attended by women who are transient, who come from South and Southeast Asia most of whom are employed as domestic workers. They adhere to a variety of religions such as Buddhism and several minor Christian denominations such as Evangelical Christianity, New Testament Church, Judah Ministry and Seventh-Day Adventist Church. They are housed behind shop spaces demarcated by large signs (Figure 6.6). Other than chairs and tables for refreshments, the rooms inside are bare and unadorned.

Figure 6.6 Religious spaces for domestic workers[vi]

Another important distinction between these spaces is in the way these activities resonate within the city centre; on Sundays, Greek Orthodox churches announce services by the sound of the formal and prominent bells whose volume is proportional to the size of the church. Bells attached to smaller churches, such as one of the hidden ones mentioned above, are almost unnoticeable in the surrounding community. In contrast, the sounds of the singing from the South and Southeast Asian women at around noon, is less formal, yet more relatable to a society of growing secularism. Thus, domestic workers employ temporal means to

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[vi] Photos by Anna Papadopoulou

state their urban presence which is otherwise obscured, whereas local women worship in concealed environments, either inside churches that are sometimes an important element of urban infrastructure and sometimes hidden within small obscure spaces. While women are attending their respective churches, men socialize in coffee shops to observe public realm activity. The spatial relation of this social arrangement and its significance is discussed in the following section.

Zones Surveillance: Places for Men

As explored above, small churches that are hidden within Limassol's urban fabric express a blurring between the boundaries of public and private spaces on an urban level. If these 'private' places of worship are a response to women trying to carve out a place for themselves in the male-dominated public realm, then what are forces that regulate this dynamic flux? In other words, what are the conditions that urge women to activate these sites of resistance? This section examines how tensions between genders that persist on architectural scale are articulated as adjacencies and thresholds.

While the older Cypriot women are at church on Sunday mornings, their husbands often meet at the local coffee shop. As discussed in chapter 4, this was especially true during the first three quarters of the twentieth century, when both men and women had less access to media and fewer possibilities for human contact through telephone or the Internet. It should be noted that although housewives would socialize at church only once a week, men could visit the local coffee shop every day, where they would generally talk about work or sports. During the first three quarters of the twentieth century, another interesting gender-related contrast regarding the coffee shops transpires; while women were not allowed to attend as patrons, they were frequently employed to serve coffee (Figure 6.7). On rare occasions, they were the owners of the coffee shops. Women working in coffee shops used this opportunity to legitimize their access in spaces that were considered public because they are dominated by men.[14]

Figure 6.7 Woman serving coffee at a traditional coffee shop in Limassol

The coffee shops are informally called *traditional* coffee shops because their qualities are directly reminiscent of village coffee shops that played an integral part in the social life of Cypriot agrarian societies. In villages, these coffee shops were always centrally located and more often than not, they were adjacent to the village church. This spatial connection is not as strongly observed in urban settings because of land values. Traditional coffee shops generally open in the mornings and stay open until early afternoon because evenings are meant to be spent with the family at home.

Occasionally, the coffee shops are affiliated with sports clubs or clubs where politically like-minded men can gather. Such a sports club is 'Ares Sports Club', located in Heroon Square, where Ares is the Greek name for Mars, the god of war. Since sports, and in particular soccer, are quite commonly associated with political parties, Ares is in fact a soccer team with a distinctly masculine name and leftist affiliations. Ares opens in the afternoons and caters to men around the age of sixty, but stays open throughout the evening, thus broadenings its clientele to include men and women equally by becoming a popular dinner spot.

Although the dimensions of traditional coffee shops vary, they are generally comprised of an indoor and an outdoor sitting area and a kitchen large enough to

accommodate a single worktable where the coffee was made and space for a fridge that would usually fit under the worktop for cold drinks. One particular spatial characteristic of the coffee shop that has been common in both its rural and urban expressions is the permeable treatment of the wall – usually the façade – that separates the indoor from the outdoor sitting area so that patrons can maximize their view of the public realm. Presumably in the old days, this arrangement allowed men not only to observe public activity, but it would alert them when their wives were leaving church at the end of Sunday morning services (Figure 6.8).
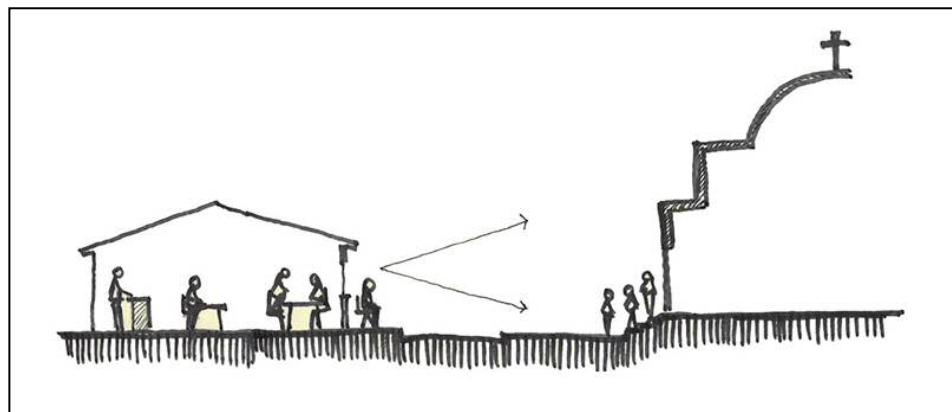
Figure 6.8 Adjacencies of churches and coffee shops in traditional village settings[vii]

In their urban format traditional coffee shops are located in areas of mixed use, as close as possible to commercial pockets or other public buildings and uses. While some of these traditional coffee shops survive to this day in the centre of Limassol, (Figure 6.9) the patrons remain exclusively men over the age of sixty. As younger generations do not subscribe to social segregation, they opt to frequent gender-neutral places. In older times, the terms of women's exclusion from the coffee shops were clearer than today; although women would frequently be the proprietors of coffee shops, the institution of the coffee shop defined these spaces as men-only zones. Women would never be seen sitting with the patrons. Although women's emancipation has made these socio-spatial boundaries less prohibitive, even in present-day traditional coffee shops, it is extremely rare for women to sit down and have a beverage there.

Nina, who is in her sixties, was the only participant who indirectly acknowledged gender boundaries relating to coffee shops when she suggested the city needs coffee shops for women, while making the distinction that these coffee shops should

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[vii] Sketch by Anna Papadopoulou

not be politically coloured. She also posited that places like these where women can socialize should not be limited to the city centre but should be located in suburban areas, to accommodate older women who are not mobile and who have little opportunities for entertainment outside their home. Thus she indicated another conditional boundary of female inhabitants of the city: those who are elderly and live in suburban areas cannot transport themselves to the central locations in the city where they could socialize and benefit from commercial services.

Figure 6.9 Locations of churches and coffee shops in Limassol[viii]

The kind of spatial boundaries and zones that transition from the public to the private associated with coffee shops that are discussed above are related to the ethnically Greek-Cypriot portion of the population, although spaces within the centre of Limassol can also be occupied by other ethnicities, especially Muslims, where gender division is more prominent. Pavlos Melas Street (Figure 6.10), a street that lies within the case study Heroon Square, is a road where interesting relations of gender power are at play. At its western end there is a betting shop that attracts mostly Cypriot men. In fact, the name of the betting shop is quite indicative of the

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[viii] Drawn by Anna Papadopoulou

kind of clientele it anticipates: it is called 'Μάγκας' (mangas) which is Greek word used to describe a manly man, a man who is crafty, brave and defiant.

Two shops down from Mangas is a shisha café where the clientele is exclusively male and mostly Middle Eastern. Two shops down on the other side of the betting shop is Jimmy's Coffee Shop, which is traditional coffee shop frequented only by men. A common characteristic among these ethnic establishments and the coffee shops discussed above is the transparency of the window pane separating the indoor from the outdoor sitting area that enables the patrons to sit facing the outside so that they may observe passers-by and other activities. Not only do the men sitting at Jimmy's position themselves in such a way as to be able to watch surrounding activities, they even appropriate the opposite side of the road, thus creating an informal living room arrangement (Figure 6.11). On the opposite side of the road from Jimmy's is the site of an old cabaret. Although the cabaret has been closed for more than a decade, its sign is still visible. Spatial circumstances such as these create a masculine zone of surveillance that serves as a reminder to women of men's de facto jurisdiction over the public realm.
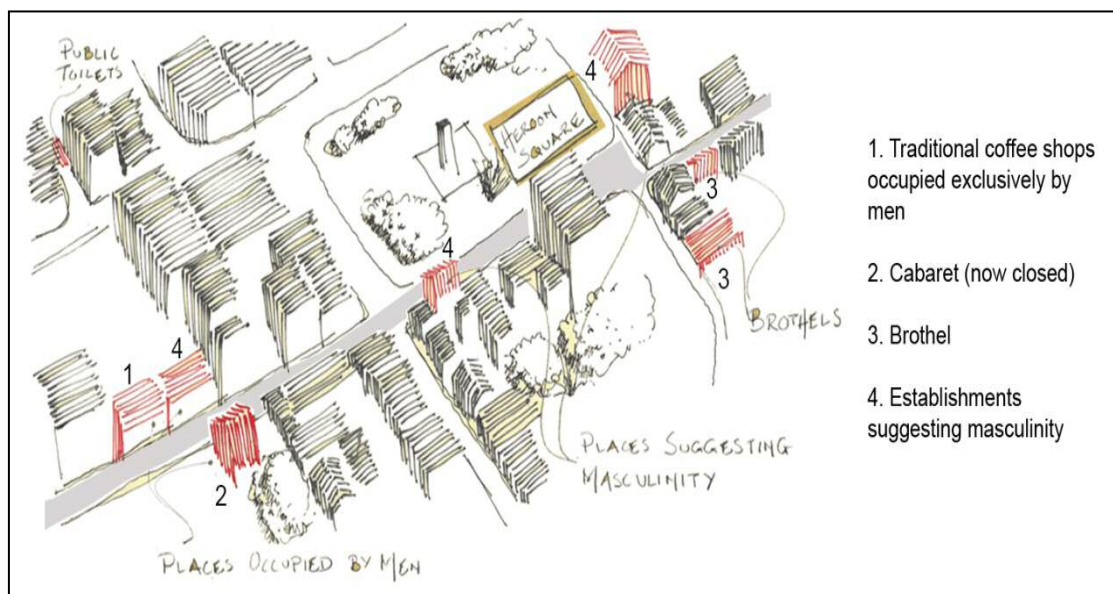
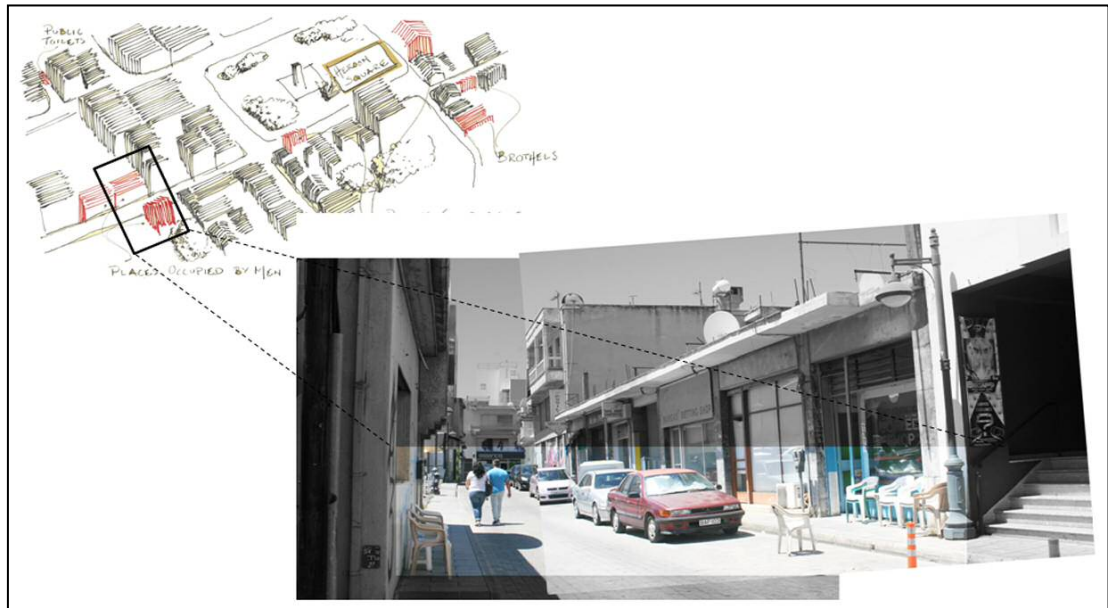

Figure 6.10 Pavlos Melas Street

Figure 6.11 Jimmy's appropriating space across the street on Pavlos Melas Street[ix]

Across the street from Jimmy's, is yet another establishment where the name and branding carries gender connotations. A kebab place called 'Λόκατζης' (lokatzis) has stood prominently for many years across the Square, where the name refers to an elite branch of the Cyprus Army that is the equivalent of the Special Forces. A Cypriot man who belongs to this branch of the army is a man who is strong both mentally and physically, more capable and more accomplished. Less than fifty metres from Lokatzis are the houses of two of the last remaining prostitutes in the area. One of the prostitutes has recently passed away, but the other is still active (Figure 6.12). It should be noted that she does not seem to live at the house and simply goes to the house from Monday to Friday, from approximately eight o'clock and stays until two or three in the afternoon (Figure 6.13).

In between these spaces where men are the predominant users are places that include dormitories for students of the Technical University and another kebab place that has opened more recently. Both establishments carry more neutral names such as 'Η Πλατεία' (The Square) and 'Μπριζολάδικο' (Pork Chop House) respectively. Nevertheless, the gender neutrality of these spaces does not significantly detract from the otherwise politically charged character of the street that is brought on by the kinds of uses that favour overwhelmingly male patrons. The significance of the establishments' names cannot be overstated in conveying the type of users they anticipate to attract. Ares Sports Club becomes an exception, where although the

[ix] Image constructed by Anna Papadopoulou

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afternoon crowd is all men, the evening crowd is decidedly mixed in gender and age. Thus, it appears that women's avoidance of certain places is not only related to the images projected by names, but by its hours of operation where mornings and afternoons are times when women who are of the generation of men who frequent the coffee shops are expected to be doing housework although many of them probably employ domestic workers. Thus women's presence in the public realm is controlled not only by perceptual boundaries, but by temporal ones the stem from the perceptual ones.

Figure 6.12 The house of a prostitute in Heroon Square[x]

Figure 6.13 The prostitute going home at the end of the day[xi]

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[x] Photo by Anna Papadopoulou. The sign on the door reads 'knock on the door, if I am in, I will open'

Places not for Women

Other public spaces that are inaccessible to women are public toilets. This presents an altogether different kind of boundary than that of the male-dominated coffee shops, betting shops, prostitutes' houses or ethnic shisha lounges. The aforementioned establishments are private, and subject to the laws of the free market, whereas public toilets constitute a service towards the community that is financed by state taxes. Inspired by Greed's research on the undemocratic nature of public toilets, participants were asked to convey their perception of these public facilities and to comment on their condition in the areas in the city that they were familiar with. Greed citing Wigley-Asante, Kitchen, Law and others suggest that access to public toilets is not only a key component of spatial equality from a gender perspective, but is an important element of sustainable and walkable communities because they enable a diminished dependency on the private vehicle. [15] All participants definitely stated that they avoid public toilets at all costs because they do not believe them to be hygienically kept by the municipalities. None of the participants, however, question the two basic elements relating to public toilets in Limassol as offering a prejudicial distinction against women (Figure 6.14).

Figure 6.14 Public toilets at Heroon Square[xii]

[xi] Photo by Anna Papadopoulou
[xii] Photos by Georgia Theokli

The first order of discrimination centres on the fact that women have different needs when it comes to using toilets. Although they usually take longer and require clean, horizontal space to lay their bags on, all public toilets in Limassol (and other cities in Cyprus) have equal numbers and dimensions of stalls. Occasionally, the men's toilets have two or three urinals in addition to the toilet stalls, thus making numbers even less democratic. The second element of injustice relating to public toilets unrecognized by Limassolian women was that the negligence of the municipality constitutes a form of discrimination within the public realm. Since public toilets are an integral part of the public domain and the municipality is the official custodian of this arena, it is reasonable to expect that municipal governance ensures that spaces within the city function and serve equally for men as they do for women. Greed cites Wrigley-Asante, who suggests the absence of adequate facilities restricts women's participation and subsequent contribution to the economy and to urban development at large.[16] The fact that women do not demand equal accessibility to all spaces within the city, and also seem unaware of their inherent right to do so demonstrates a certain passivity and a skewed sense of awareness of their rights as urban dwellers.

Some participants did bring up inadequate street lighting (Figure 6.15) and pavement width, thus indicating a certain common understanding of their rights as equal members of the community and a consciousness of how space is related to their needs. Some women, in particular mothers of young children such as Wilhelmina and Anthoulla, indicated difficulties in negotiating narrow pavements, and Wilhelmina who lives in the centre of the Limassol even described street lighting as 'medieval'. However, when pressed to identify streets, zones or areas where they feel hindered or unsafe because of poor design, several struggled to be more specific. Even when they were able to identify an area, such as Heroon Square for Chryso, reasons cited indicated perceptual boundaries and not spatial qualities. Chryso remembers Heroon Square as a disreputable area when prostitution was concentrated there and this memory is enough to create a mental boundary. Yet, when participants who discussed feeling unsafe, albeit vaguely, were asked if their insecurities would be mitigated if they were travelling by car, they all responded positively. This condition highlights the pervasiveness of the use of the private car, the consequences of which are discussed in the next section.

The differences between the kinds of boundaries that are dictated by commercial uses and their nuanced image, and the boundaries discussed above that form

around spaces that are inaccessible to women can be viewed in two different ways. Firstly, boundaries of the former category are connected to the economic system of the free market, where the latter boundaries fall within the jurisdiction of the public sector and highlight a failing in good governance. Another way to consider the difference between the two types of boundaries is by acknowledging the pervasiveness of social structures in public spaces. Cypriot society does not sanction women to patronise a traditional coffee shop or a brothel. Consequently, women avoid spaces such as the traditional coffee shops or prostitutes' houses because of the legacy of social norms that command them to do so, whereas spaces such as public toilets and poorly lit roads are avoided as a means of alleviating potentially dangerous conditions.

Figure 6.15 Poor night-time lighting around Heroon Square[xiii]

Domestic Enclosures: Privacy or Isolation?

Dynamic forces spatializing tensions between public and private conditions on an architectural scale are not encountered only in the public realm. Evidence of Limassolian women's complicated relation to notions of privacy is manifested in their reluctance to share domestic spaces with people outside their immediate environment in order to optimize daily housework. Deciphering attitudes towards domestic privacy in Cypriot society presents a particular challenge since there has

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[xiii] Photos by Georgia Theokli

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been little research done on the subject. One way to frame an understanding is to consider events or conditions that have impacted society in objective ways. One such event that can help frame our understanding is the Turkish invasion of 1974 and one such condition is the recent and rather abrupt urbanization of Cyprus, both of which were discussed in chapter 4. The Turkish invasion was a singular event that shook the Cypriot collective psyche to the core as it magnified feelings of persistent anxiety and insecurity that had been cultivated by generations of oppression by foreign conquerors. Subsequent to the invasion has been the military occupation by Turkey of approximately forty per cent of land in the north part of the island and the separation of the two ethnic groups where the Cypriots of Greek and Turkish ethnic background have concentrated in the south and the north part of the island respectively and where the two regions are separated by a physical, militarily-controlled boundary.[17]

Direct spatial consequences of the invasion and the occupation can be seen most vividly in Nicosia, the capital city of Cyprus located in the centre of the island, which has in effect been divided into two ethnic parts by a physical boundary. Other cities such as Limassol and Larnaca have also been impacted, but in less profound ways. Specifically, Limassol has been affected by the invasion on the following two levels. Firstly, the city had to accommodate approximately two hundred thousand people who were displaced from the northern part of the island.[18] Considering the fact that the overall population of Cyprus at the time of the invasion was approximately five hundred thousand, the number of refugees that had to be accommodated in a short period of time is hardly negligible.

The second way in which Limassolians, and Cypriots in general have been affected by the invasion that is visible in the urban landscape, is the spatial manifestation of the fear and apprehension regarding personal safety and private property. Local architecture's response to this psychological shift is traceable on post-invasion buildings, particularly in houses, from the colours of exterior walls and the heights of the fence walls surrounding them. Pre-invasion Cyprus modernist and post-modernist era produced public and vernacular architecture that was vibrant and progressive in form and in colour; the first wave of privately owned houses after the invasion were notably white. Although this can be attributed to a variety reasons such as bioclimatic efficiency and better value of white paint, another, and more subtle reason is that white, nondescript buildings that make no particular aesthetic

statement symbolize the psyche of a timid people who are eager to avoid controversy, and eager to be accepted by the global community.[19]

Another architectural element brought on by the aftermath of the invasion that is more pertinent to the research, is the height reached by walls surrounding private houses. As discussed in chapter 3, as housing areas moved away from the historic core of Limassol, the vernacular courtyard typology that is intrinsically related to the typology of continuous building, transitioned into a single-family house located in the centre of an urban plot with a minimum buffer of three metres on all sides. Consequently, the minimum distance between two houses is six metres. This form of house was not only isolated from its physical surroundings, but becomes additionally introverted by a high surrounding wall. One of my earliest impressions from working at an architectural firm upon returning to Cyprus after my studies was the eagerness with which clients prioritized discussing options for making their future house's surrounding wall as high as possible. Often this urgency superseded other issues like numbers of bedrooms and square feet of kitchens (Figure 6.16).

Figure 6.16 High fences[xiv]

Through the participants' responses it became clear that this type of house, i.e. the detached house, with its distinct markings of privacy, located in an area that is far from the hectic city centre is considered the ideal housing arrangement for most women. Those who live in such houses were accepting of their attributes, and most of those who currently live in apartments consider them a worthy goal. Although this observation is concurrent with Hayden's discourse on the middle-class American

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[xiv] Sketches by Anna Papadopoulou

dream, in Cyprus this condition does not indicate strict social class distinctions. In fact, because of the way the urban economic model is structured, house ownership is not limited to the middle- and upper-income class. Nevertheless, certain newly built residential areas are clearly intended for higher income families where features related to residential privacy are proportionally more pervasive. Such features include the ubiquitous tall surrounding fence and the lower house to plot ratio.

During Ottoman times, Cypriot women were isolated in *shachnisi's*, enclosed balconies projecting over public roads where women could observe street activity without being gazed upon by others, enabling them to participate vicariously in public life (6.17). Nowadays Cypriot women experience a different kind of spatial isolation, one that is not necessarily imposed by their spouses and elders in order to preserve social constructs, but one that is a consequence of choice and preference. One could also argue that their choice and preference is a consequence of social conditioning. While women do participate in public life as members of the workforce, the houses they live in ensure that once they leave work and reach their homes, their separation from any element of the public realm such as the pavement of the street is enforced by the measurable distance between their front gate and their entrance door. It should be noted that although these distances are obligatory and are regulated by town planning laws, data analysis suggests that Limassolian women voluntary subscribe to them and do not consider them an unwelcome imposition.

Figure 6.17 Shachnisi[xv]

As Hayden and others have identified women's isolation from the public arena as the outcome of the separation of the public and the private, in the case of Cyprus, where physical distances are not as expansive as those in the United States, isolation is expressed more on a micro than on a macro scale. To this point, this

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[xv] Sketch by Anna Papadopoulou

kind of spatial isolation imposed on the inhabitants of the single-family house from its surrounding fences is a hindrance to the growth of community bonds and an obstacle to the potential collaboration between women within a neighbourhood (Figure 6.18).
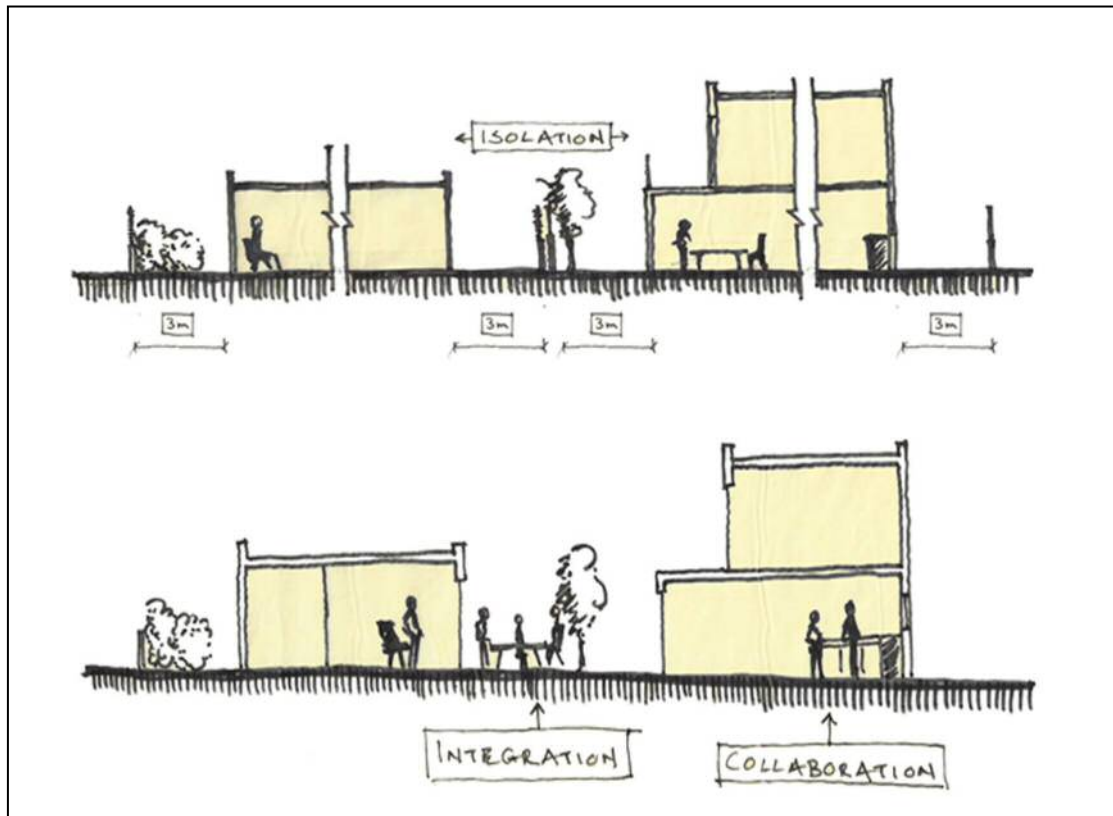
Figure 6.18 Collaboration vs. Isolation[xvi]

It is unclear whether women's isolation in their home during Ottoman times and their tenuous relationship with the public areas around their home enforced by architectural elements such as the *shachnisi* was involuntary or whether women themselves welcomed these spatial elements as some form of protection. There is also no evidence that women were actively involved in the architectural and urban development of Cyprus during Ottoman times. On the contrary, there is plenty of evidence discussed in chapter 4 to suggest that women were regarded as property and as creatures of desire that had be safeguarded and protected. As the Ottoman rule was succeeded by British colonialism in 1878 and was followed by Cyprus' declaration as an independent state in 1960, women's social status gradually improved and their influence in the built environment became more noticeable. As discussed above, women's impact in urban development is expressed in physical

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[xvi] Sketch by Anna Papadopoulou

terms in the way commercial activity adjusts to accommodate women who instead of being confined to the private realm, are now able to choose to divide their time between the public and the private. However, women's potential impact in the private realm, and more specifically in Cypriot domestic design, is less apparent.

A distinct evolution of the Limassolian urban housing typology was the transition from the courtyard type house to the detached house. This transition resulted from the rise of the middle class and the consequent expansion of houses outside the confined space of the old town. There seems to be no equivalent traceable evolution of domestic design, apart from the appearance of the room with the en suite for the domestic help, to demarcate women's entry into the workforce during the second half of the twentieth century. Therefore, although women's life choices have broadened and their decision-making power has increased, their impact on the fundamentals of domestic design is still unclear. While women have been trained as architects since the 1970s and according to an unofficial estimate by the Cyprus Architects Association women and men architects will be registered in equal numbers within the next decade, their entry into the architectural profession has shown little or no noticeable impact on urban or domestic design.

The responses of the participants who are trained architects, mostly reinforced the stereotype of women's association with the private realm by positing that women are the ones who should and indeed do take most of the decisions regarding the design of the house, whereas the husband or father is in charge of finances and oversees construction. Thus two paradoxes transpire. First, in spite of the growing number of women architects, who themselves have successfully transitioned from the private to the public arena, still consider womanhood as connected to the private realm. The second paradox is that the presence of a substantial number of women architects, as well as women clients, has not led to significant developments in domestic design that would either reflect women's new position in the social structure or facilitate her new lifestyle as a working woman. House and apartment layouts remain relatively loyal to the standard where public areas within the home like living rooms and dining areas are adjacent to the entrance, thus placing them closer to public areas outside the home, whereas areas such as the kitchen in which women were traditionally consigned, are located at the back of the home.[20] Edwards considers this form of zoning within the home as a conscious act of gender separation, which confines women to the hidden areas of the home, thus allowing man to maintain control of the more public areas of the home.[21]

Although architectural elements of isolation such as the *shachnisi* that were once imposed on women have been eliminated and women themselves are able to make choices about their living conditions, they nevertheless choose a housing format that enables a different kind of socio-spatial isolation. This can be attributed to the sluggish nature of social process that perhaps has not allowed for enough time to bring forth paradigm shifts, but it can also be related to issues within architectural education. As indicated by Scott Brown and Greed, women studying in architectural and urban planning academies are compelled to comply with the design persona projected by the male-dominated legacies these academies were founded on.[22] Even if faculties are gradually becoming equally staffed by both genders, pedagogic principles and traditions remain a reflection of the long-standing architectural traditions that portray the (male) architect as the hero, the master builder, the genius who dominates by exuding masculine charisma.[23] Substantive transitions in academic curricula need time and energy to acquire the necessary momentum for change.

As argued by Friedman, women clients and women architects have the potential to reinvent domestic design, to expand and transcend its essence beyond that of the confined dwelling of the traditional nuclear family. However, the Limassolian women who participated in the research seemed unaware of their potential. Limassolian women architects' lack of awareness of the possibilities afforded to them by their profession was apparent in a number of their responses. Their compliance with design principles instilled by their male counterparts is evidenced by the Limassolian architects participating in the research who reported on their observations on the built environment from a gender-neutral perspective.

Most women who participated in the research described the public arena as a place that offers equal employment and social opportunities to both genders, although when contrary evidence was suggested to them, some did allow doubt to tip their perspectives. Architects and non-architects alike seemed completely complacent with the form and function of their home. The notion of separating public and private functions of the city by injecting physical distance between was not read by them as an attempt to limit them in the private realm as is supported by the literature review. Instead, true to the middle-class dream, living in a quiet, preferably residential use area was regarded as a highly desirable condition.

Oppositely, the few participants (none of whom came from the architectural profession) who live in Limassol's historic core, spoke enthusiastically of their everyday urban experiences in a mixed-use, busy area of the city. However, their focus was on qualities such as walkability, vibrancy and proximity to services rather than facilitating conditions of collaborative communities. None of the six women who live in the city centre, in houses that literally shared walls with their neighbours because of the tight urban fabric of continuous built dwellings, addressed the possibility of sharing domestic tasks with women outside the nuclear family. This offers a different perspective from the earlier discussion in the research of how the typology of the detached, suburban Cypriot house is the main reason for women's voluntary isolation from each other and from the possibility of a more facilitated urban experience.

6.3 Experiencing Urban Shifts and Changes

While searching through the literature to collect guidance on how to map changes in urban form resulting from shifts in gender relations, it became apparent that identifying literal changes in form was an elusive task. Urban transitions and transformations deriving from gender conditions leave clues that are subtle, and at times imperceptible, and have less to do with actual form and more to do with the way space is used. Transitions in urban uses are a direct consequence of the temporo-spatial relations, and they delve into women's occupancy and experiences in both the public and in the private realms. The changes and shifts observed relate to two different aspects: the commercial adjustments of the market that is referred to in the research as 'commercializing domesticity' and the introduction of a new class of women in the city who take on the domestic workload Limassolian women can no longer maintain in addition to their duties as members of the labour force. It was thus concluded that these two visible urban shifts are a direct response to temporal boundaries women face in their everyday urban experience that are imposed by spatial as well as social structures.

Commercializing Domesticity

Time management challenges that are a consequence of the physical distance between work and home and the limited time working women have to fulfil their

domestic obligations are mitigated by delegating and commercializing certain tasks outside the home. Such tasks include laundry, childcare and cooking, which give rise to commercial services like launderettes, dry-cleaning services, day care centres, takeaways, eateries and fast food shops. The latter group also includes a particular kind of takeaway shops called 'μαϊρκά' (mairka) that sell convenience food that replicates traditional, home-cooked Cypriot food. Although 'μαϊρκά' occupy the size of a regular shop of around fifty to sixty square metres and aim to mimic domestic environments, they include a professional kitchen that produces convenience food of sufficient quantity for a viable business that employs an average of five people. The food prepared is humble, everyday food, that although it is prepared commercially usually by a male cook, it is intended to replicate food prepared by a mother or a wife in a domestic kitchen.

Although I was not able to retrieve information that supports the coinciding of the proliferation of this transference of domestic tasks into the urban scale with the gradual entry of Limassolian women into the labour market, based on empirical information and the literature that was reviewed, it seems reasonable to assume a connection between these two conditions. The popularity of types of places such as the 'μαϊρκά,' indicates that women spending less time at home at the expense of domestic tasks brings forth a kind of nostalgia for the time when women were predominately housewives – even guilt, on behalf of the women – that is somehow compensated by the commercial availability of home-cooked, traditional Cypriot food.

The participants were asked to share their views and observations of how the city has changed in their lifetime and they were asked to consider how these changes might be related to gender relations and to the advent of the working, Limassolian woman. Most participants identified changes in the city that relate to increasing numbers of general migration of Cypriots and foreigners but most had understandable difficulties in identifying a specific urban process that is related to women's shift from housewives to active members of the workforce. After it was suggested to the participants that the occurrence of commercializing domesticity might have contributed to noticeable changes in the city that relate to gender relations, almost all participants confidently agreed. Some viewed these changes as positive, i.e. they considered them as a sign of women's independence that comes from choosing to delegate and outsource tasks that are perhaps burdensome, and other women, such as Rena and Xenia read the phenomenon of commercializing

domesticity as an unpleasant consequence of modernization and a compromise of domestic values. Since all participants either were, or still are engaged in paid labour, the response of Rena and Xenia indicates an internal conflict between the desire or the need to work and the unwarranted consequence of neglecting family responsibilities.

Women's understanding of the possible impact of their presence in the public realm as an agency of urban shifts such as the commercialization of domesticity is indicative of a recurring phenomenon throughout the study whereby Limassolian women appear unaware of how deeply embedded social structure is within Cypriot society. Since participants lack an academic background in urban and architectural theory, one cannot fault them for their inability to identify specific urban changes that relate to social processes. However, there was an unmistakable initial reluctance to accept their role as active players, which is unhelpful in the journey towards spatial equality. In addition to agency, understanding urban change as a result of social process is an important parameter that provides tools and mechanisms that can improve urban space in substantive and egalitarian ways. According to the data analysis, Limassol's response to the rise of new agency is to provide space for commercial activity that in effect extracts tasks from the private realm, spatializes them and inserts them into the public realm. However, as evidenced by the participants' responses and personal observations, this extraction of activity from the home did not create a substantial vacuum to significantly change Cypriot residential typologies. Indeed, there have been adjustments in domestic design, but these have been subtle and nuanced and are discussed in the section that follows.

Mobility and a New Class of Women in Limassol

Through the participants' responses, it was revealed that Limassolian women prefer to share their daily tasks either with other women from their immediate family environment, i.e. their mothers or mothers-in-law, or with hired domestic help. The phenomenon of domestic help has been prevalent in Cyprus for more than half a century. Initially, hired help in an urban context would mean women, usually from surrounding villages, would clean the houses of middle- and upper-class women a few times a week. Since historically Cyprus social structure did not have an indigenous aristocracy,[24] the origins and development of the practice of hiring

domestic help has been so far uncharted by sociologists and cultural historians. According to some of the older participants, having domestic help in the fifties and sixties was not necessarily limited to households where the wife was employed. Within the last twenty years, the role of domestic help has been assumed by women from the Philippines and the Indian subcontinent who come to Cyprus to work for approximately five to ten years so that they may earn enough money to ensure a better life for their families upon their return to their country.

The ubiquitous presence of domestic help in contemporary Limassolian society can be evidenced by the fact that almost all the participants in the research have had Filipinas or South Asian women to help with domestic work either occasionally, or on a regular basis. Frequently, domestic help will live with the family, especially if the female employer is a working mother, or she will come in once or twice a week and work for a few hours. These women are responsible for a range of domestic tasks including looking after children and elderly people, cleaning the house, doing laundry and preparing meals.

The presence of women from South and Southeast Asia in Cyprus can be detected in both the private and the public realm. In the private realm, recently there has been a trend to design houses and upscale apartments to include a room with an en-suite bathroom for the domestic worker. Designing spaces for domestic help is also common in retrofitted apartments and restorations. In order to ensure that the family's privacy is maintained, usually this room is located as far away from the family's bedrooms as possible without it interfering with the public spaces of the house (Figure 6.18). Cypriot contemporary domestic design has evolved in such a way as to include living spaces for the hired woman who will relieve the woman who works outside the home from some, if not most, of her domestic duties. Spaces within the home that are allocated to this woman must be away from the private zones of the house but not too close to the public areas, such as the living rooms and dining areas. In other words, although her presence in the house must be as discrete and understated as possible, her contribution enables Cypriot women to inhabit the public realm with greater ease and efficiency.
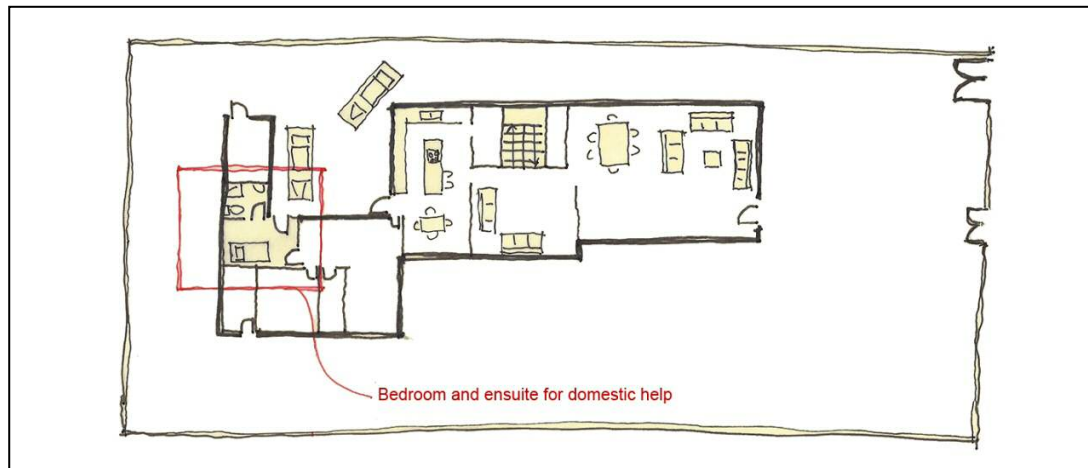
Figure 6.18 Room and en suit for domestic help[xvii]

The presence of South and Southeast Asian women in the public realm is perhaps less spatialized and more temporal. There are no buildings or spaces that are designed and built especially to accommodate them, but just as the built environment presents evidence of the (Cypriot) working women through particular commercial uses, the presence of Asian domestic helpers can be observed from the temporal activities that they engage in within the public domain. During the week, these women are confined within the spaces of the homes where they work and the only occasion they would be seen outside the home would be to accompany an elderly person on his or her walk, or to do basic shopping for the home.

On Sunday, which is their day off, they flood the streets in the centre of Limassol, along the coastline and in other public areas where they can gather and engage in a variety of activities that range from socializing in large groups to sharing a meal, trading goods, exchanging services such as cutting each other's hair, or taking pictures with each other to send to their families, etc. (Figure 6.20). The most poignant element of their Sunday urban presence, however, comes from the melodies of their songs as they meet at certain multipurpose, non-denominational, religious rooms that are usually in shop spaces scattered in the city centre (Figure 6.21). Depending on their religious affiliation, the women gather in these impromptu churches every Sunday and sing. Oftentimes these spaces are equipped with loudspeakers, making the sound of their songs especially moving. This kind of nonphysical presence is an important feature in Limassol's evolving multicultural identity yet provides an ephemeral illustration of non-Cypriot women's experience in the city of Limassol.

[xvii] Architect Christos Giorgis, sketch by Anna Papadopoulou

Figure 6.20 Domestic workers on Sundays[xviii]

Figure 6.21 Religious spaces for domestic workers[xix]

[xviii] Photos by Anna Papadopoulou
[xix] Drawing by Anna Papadopoulou

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The presence of domestic help in the public realm was mentioned only by two participants: Ioli, who is from Greece, where the domestic help is not as pervasive as it is in Cyprus, and Panagiota, whose mention of them was in somewhat derogatory terms. She referred to the Sunday picnics of dozens of domestic workers, and spoke disparagingly of the way their presence in large numbers in public places 'displaced' locals. The numbers sometimes reached as high as two hundred women. After the Mole was refurbished and various signs prohibiting sitting on the grass were conspicuously erected, domestic workers began gathering on the opposite side of the coastal avenue. Although the hard surface of the pavement there is less hospitable when compared to grass, the width of the surface is wide enough to accommodate some of their previous activities.

The absence from most of the participants' narrative of the foreign women whose presence enables Limassolian women to be members of the employment market, is as conspicuous as it is difficult to understand. Although it is possible that racism and ethnic discrimination play some role, it is also likely that Limassolian women are not willing to accept what they subconsciously perceive as their own inadequacy in being unable to be an accomplished housewife as well as an effective member of the labour market. This is especially true of women in their thirties and forties who are only a generation removed from women like Xenia and Rena who found ways to fulfil their role as housewife and employee without the help of domestic workers, but possibly with the help of a mother or a sister.

In summary, this new class of Limassolian residents has emerged as a consequence of women having less time to spend maintaining their home and taking care of their children and elderly members of the family. In the private realm their presence is marked by spaces in and around the home that are designated to them, which keep them within proximity of the home's public spaces such as kitchens but provide ample distance between their room and the family's bedrooms. Their presence in the public realm becomes more obvious on Sundays, which is their day off, as they gather in public open spaces to socialize, attend religious gatherings and exchange goods and services. Consequently, their presence in Limassol is not only proof of Limassol's diverse society, but also serves to activate public spaces in ways that local women do not. Whereas in the private realm their spatial presence is more or less sanitized by virtue of where their quarters are

located within the home, their presence in the public realm seems more liberated and impulsive.

In order to differentiate between the kind of activation that occurs in the public realm by native Limassolian women and foreign workers, a distinction needs to be made regarding the spatial contents of the public arena. Limassolian women occupy the public realm by virtue of being members of the labour market, thus their public presence occurs less in the spatial world of streets, pavements, squares and parks and is more related to economic opportunities in spaces that belong and are managed by the public or the private sector. Whereas native Limassolians use streets and pavements as transient and utilitarian spaces, foreign domestic workers activate outdoor areas by occupying them one day a week while engaging in activities that native Limassolians traditionally conduct indoors.

Reluctance for Spatial Alternatives

Whether in a qualitative or a quantitative manner, measuring changes in any city as a result of social processes requires a study that expands over decades. Both social development and urban shifts are distinctly slow processes for different reasons. On the one hand, social process struggles against perceptions and subjective interpretations of cultural and religious traditions and on the other hand, urban form is slow in its transitions as a result of its dependency on economic systems and architectural traditions. However, the process of change in architectural or urban form in either the public or the private domain is also dependent on the user's will. Throughout the course of the research, I remained interested in the idea of participatory design and its potential in creating egalitarian spaces, which led to consider ways in which women could generate conditions of participatory practices that could alleviate some of their domestic responsibilities, thus allowing for their public realm experience to be equivalent to their male counterparts. This following section discusses women's outlook on such a possibility.

Whereas commercializing domesticity facilitates a process that takes place in the commercial public realm, alternatively, other processes that could facilitate working women could be set in the private realm, and they can be based on more collaborative, communal and participatory mechanisms, instead of economic models that could also require spatial adaptations. Co-housing practices have been

occurring since the beginning of the twentieth century and their main impetus has been to encourage shared resources as a means of bridging the public and the private realms.[25] Although this practice enables better living conditions for all, Spain, Hayden, Jarvis, Cloke and Kantor, Sangregorio and others argue that it particularly benefits women, especially those who are employed outside the home. Although co-housing units occur in a variety of styles and form, a key characteristic is the delegating and sharing of domestic duties such as cooking, laundry and childcare with people outside the nuclear family.

Co-housing living units in Western countries have been housed in different buildings types and configurations, ranging from Hayden's redesign of a suburban block, to retrofitted apartment buildings such as those of Nina West Homes. Regardless of their particular architectural typology, most co-housing units are comprised of spaces that are private to one individual or a family and spaces that are public, i.e. shared by all inhabitants of the housing complex. Under this premise, participants of the research were asked to express their opinion on how they viewed co-housing as a lifestyle in general terms and as a possible alternative to their current living conditions, while making it clear that in order to foster conditions of collaboration with neighbours or other community members, some spaces that the participants consider private might be compromised. It was clearly stated to the participants that the proposed shared spaces would be limited to outdoor barbeques or other outdoor cooking areas, laundry rooms and other secondary utilitarian spaces.

Most participants were less than enthusiastic on the prospect of being part of such a living arrangement and they were particularly reluctant to relinquish control of spaces inside the house or apartment. Reasons cited referred directly and indirectly to loss of privacy, to feelings of mistrust on whether other parties involved would be respectful of common spaces and property and whether acceptable levels of hygiene would be maintained. The latter reason was frequently employed by the participants less as grounds for rejecting co-housing habits, but more as a conditional term. As Elisa said, she would not mind cohabitation, provided that fellow cohabitants were tidy and respectful of common spaces. Additionally, responses such as those by Veronica indicated that some women understood the notion of sharing tasks not in tandem with the idea of sharing space, but as a condition that would occur outside the privacy of her home. Sharing tasks for Veronica meant participating in carpooling children to school on a daily basis.

This preoccupation with cleanliness was brought up by several other participants including Xenia and Rena. This quality is part of the legacy of Cypriot women finding pride in their domestic achievement, which was discussed in chapter 4. It is interesting to note that although Xenia, Rena and other participants who rejected co-housing for reasons of domestic pride are women in their sixties, and therefore more socially conservative and less aware of gender equality issues than younger Cypriot women, Elisa is a young lawyer, single and professionally ambitious. She and other young participants like her maintain a sensitivity towards domestic pride, presumably as an echo of their mothers' attitudes. Cypriot homemakers' enthusiasm towards keeping a clean house is supported by the behaviour of older women who everyday obsessively sweep and mop not only the inside of their house and the exterior hardscapes, but extend their daily cleaning frenzy to sweeping and frequently mopping the public pavement outside their house.

Participants who were more accepting of the possibility of communal housing and were less concerned with compromising private space were those participants who are single and in their forties or older. For these participants, the prospect of sharing domestic tasks and possibly other spaces within their homes promises an antidote to loneliness. This observation suggests that privacy and isolation are not a universal preference among Limassolian women, thus further suggesting that the existing housing typologies that focus on separation and detachment do not satisfy all users and that there is potential for new, innovative typologies.

Limassolian women's reluctance towards co-housing can be attributed to a number of conditions that are related to the desire for home ownership. Some of these conditions are parallel to those described by Hayden in her exploration of the suburban allure and its connection to gender relations. In her book *Redesigning the American Dream*, Hayden describes the American dream in terms of home ownership as a means of measuring achievement and self-worth. The notion of home ownership, however, comes with distinct spatial requirements for open spaces suitable for urban development and the consequent issue of distancing the private realm from the public one. In addition to the emergence of consumer and materialist tendencies and the desire to climb the social ladder, Hayden associates the need to become a homeowner with an emotional response to the perception of the dwelling as an extension of the body, as both body and dwelling are physical spaces designed to mediate between the body and nature.[26] The aforementioned elements that constitute the desire for homeownership transcend nations and

culture and as such they can be considered applicable to the case of Limassol. Thus, Limassolian women's reluctance to embrace the possibilities of co-housing is a boundary not measured in space, but a restricting condition that is related to perceptual barriers whose origin is deeply rooted in social norms and traditions. Although the notion of boundaries that are largely conditional on a lack of awareness because of embedded attitudes are discussed in the following section, I regard the rejection of co-housing as an issue more closely related to attitudes towards potential cultural and architectural change. Hence I have chosen to review it at the end of the discussion on urban shifts and changes, thus enabling a transition towards the next section of the chapter that discusses boundaries currently occurring in the city.

The Car as an Enabler of Boundaries

After commercializing domesticity and the advent of foreign domestic workers in Limassol, the third socio-urban development that has occurred as a result of women entering the labour market has been the increased dependency on the private car. Unlike the first two, women's entrance into the labour market is not the principle causation for the augmented presence of the car. Its significance and its impact in ways that are ambivalent are associated with the separation of public and private spheres and to its role as a protective shield against perceived dangers.

The abundance of cars and Limassolian women's dependency on them is pervasive throughout the data analysis. The aspect of this dependency, however, that is related to the notion of boundaries was the participants' ability to describe the city more in terms of landmarks and less in terms of streets or other connecting elements. Their descriptions were vague and they were not able to identify or differentiate between streets that were unsafe and those that were not, e.g. as a result of poor lighting, etc. The imprecision with which they described areas that are inaccessible to them because of bad design and inadequate infrastructure is attributed to the fact that walking within the city is not an everyday activity. The absence of walking as a habit is an unusual phenomenon as Limassol is not a city where climatic conditions and criminality prohibit walking as one might expect in cities in the Middle East or South Africa. City walking is instrumental in shaping spatial and perceptual attitudes as evidenced by cognitive maps such as those of Lynch and Hayden. Thus, in the case of Limassolian women, driving plays an

integral part in their daily urban experience making women unable to indicate poorly lit streets, streets of heightened criminally, streets where pavements are not conducive to city walking, etc. Most indicatively, they all stated that they feel safer when travelling by car.

Addressing the role of the car in the lives of Limassolian women was an investigation that led to a two-part conclusion. The first set of conclusions exposed women's complacency in their use of cars and their almost passive acceptance was based on two conflicting viewpoints where on the one hand, women openly discussed the evils of car dependency, from poor quality of air to traffic congestion, and listed the latter as the primary reason they feel inconvenienced in the public realm. On the other hand, when asked what spatial improvement in the city would make their lives easier, frequently the answer was the need for more parking spots (thus perpetuating car dependency), instead of demanding the creation of more walkable conditions. In fact, the desire for more parking facilities was almost as prominent as the desire for more green space. The second set of conclusions from the investigation of women and cars revealed that the spatial boundaries discussed earlier faced by Limassolian women are in fact not negotiated by demanding better governance and democratic design, but by effectively hiding inside a car.

Even the additional observation of women that the city of Limassol is lacking in green space seems skewed by the disproportional length of time women in the city spend in cars instead of walking. Here a distinction should be made of what Cypriots regard as green space. Since the climate in Cyprus is moderate to dry, vegetation appears green on the island's lower elevations in rural and urban landscapes from February until April. By early mid-May green colours have fully transitioned to yellowish brown, with only the occasional evergreens maintaining their forest green colours.[xx] Public parks in Cyprus are often designed to respond to the xeriscape conditions, thus hardscapes are often favoured to greenscapes because of their sustainable maintenance. It seems likely that when women suggest a shortage of green in Limassol, they are responding to the absence of the colour green and not necessarily the absence of open spaces per se.

In most suburban areas north of the A1 Motorway, there is approximately a public park the size of one urban plot every two to four hundred metres, whereas areas

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[xx] An exception to this is the landscape of the Troodos and its foothills where evergreen forests are the dominant species.

between the A1 and the city centre have a green municipal park approximately every three to six hundred metres.[xxi] As an area of continuous build, the city centre has fewer public open and green spaces, but it does incorporate the Municipal Mole along the coastline, which is a one kilometre long green space, and the Municipal Garden, which is approximately sixty six thousand square metres. Women's perception of the lack of green spaces in the city seems like yet another consequence of Limassolian women experiencing the city through the window of a car. Thus, the use of the car has in fact compromised women's objective reading of the city. Perhaps the most striking point between women's desire for green space and their inobservance of whatever green the city does provide is that the most frequent users of the existing green spaces especially in the public realm in the city are the foreign women who are work as domestic help.

The separation of the public and the private realm would never have been made possible had it not been for the broad availability of the private car (Figure 6.16). Women's relationship with the car and the urban experience can be observed also on a macro scale; the influence of the car in the shaping of the post-industrial city has been profound and universal. Through the research, it has become apparent that women are not aware of the fact that their complacent dependency on the car furthers their separation from the public realm and from the areas where employment opportunities are concentrated. Instead of looking for ways to maximize efficiency in their domestic life, women believe that adding more parking places is the spatial adjustment that will improve the quality of their urban experience. This is deeply troubling: the prospect of participatory governance seems unlikely.

Perhaps the most incongruous element of participants' perception of the use of the private car lies in their belief that the car actually bridges the separation of public and private as well as provides a certain degree of personal independence. Had it not been for the facilitated use of the car, literature suggests that women would choose to live closer to their workplace and other services in the city. Although this position is one that is suggested by the literature, it should be noted the data analysis derived does not support nor does it discredit that position. Nevertheless, the use of the car in its fundamental state as an artificial envelope isolating women from their surroundings impairs women's perception of Limassol and the boundaries

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[xxi] An urban plot in Cyprus is approximately 600 m^2

that exist. Further evidence of this could be the fact that participants, such as Xenia, Nina and Rena, who spoke more lovingly and more poetically about the city were those who experienced it before the prevalence of the car. The car therefore becomes a tool that enables the perpetuation of the spatial separation of public and private, a mechanism that prohibits women from being in touch with the urban environment and an excuse for women not demanding better urban design.
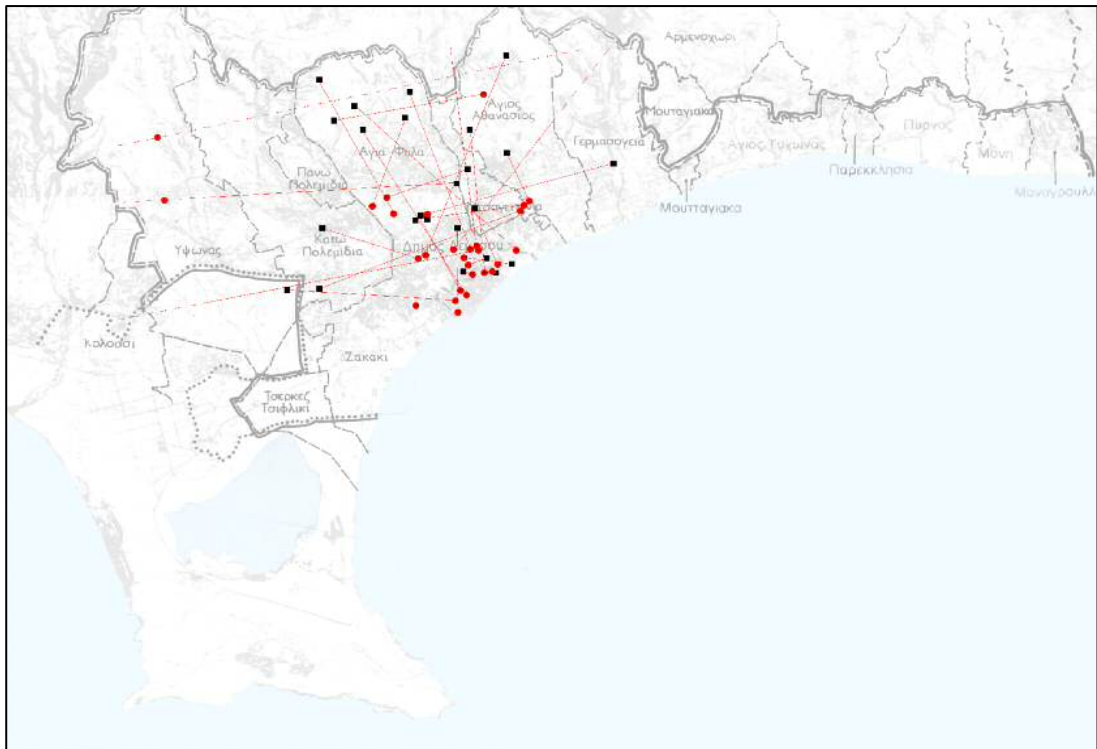
Figure 6.21 The concentration of red dots indicates the concentrated location of participants' areas of employment and the dispersal of the black dots indicates residential sprawl[xxii]

6.4 Implications of the Research

This chapter, and indeed this research, has sought to uncover and explore issues regarding women's urban experience through a process of grounded theory analysis of questionnaires and documenting spatial and social observations. Outcomes were synthesized and compiled as a narrative that juxtaposes the two most prominent findings: how the built environment has shifted through changing social processes and how spatial and perceptual gender-related boundaries on an

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[xxii] Drawing by Georgia Theokli and Anna Papadopoulou

urban and an architectural level are manifested in the public and private realms and are subsequently negotiated by women.

In conclusion, urban shifts relating to Limassolian women's entry into the labour market are directly linked to the dual role of women within an existing societal framework. Shifts such as the commercialization of domesticity and urban and domestic conditions that originate from the presence of foreign domestic workers occur as a means of negotiating boundaries that are associated with daily time constraints and physical distances. These shifts are proof that the built environment can be spatially responsive to temporo-spatial frontiers. In this case, spatial processes are not limited to space that is cleanly demarcated by physical dimensions and measurable areas, but include space that is in constant flux and is defined by human activity.

In the case of boundaries that occur through physical dimensions that separate the public and the private realm, the built environment appears to be less supple. Yet tensions created as women confront men's dominance over the public realm become the impetus for intermediate spaces such as the hidden churches within the urban fabric and areas of mixed-use activity. Women's absence from certain spaces in the public realm, such as Pavlou Mela Street, is ostensibly related to the particular uses of the establishments in this location, but inherently, these boundaries are a function of social constructs that suggest women would not be welcome in places like an all-male traditional coffee shop, a betting shop or a prostitute's house. It is the impact of these boundaries that instigates perhaps the pursuit of privacy within the public realm. Domestic design seems to hinder rather than facilitate women's urban experience, a condition that can be attributed to notions of privacy and the suburban dream that resists design innovation and alternative lifestyles. Additionally, the prevalent use of the private car enables physical boundaries between home and work to remain unchallenged and creates a perceptual boundary that prohibits women from understanding and experiencing urban space.

The physical distance between home and work as a result of the binary separation of urban spheres is perhaps the quintessential boundary where all other boundaries – the temporal, the spatial and the perceptual – converge. This is not to say that these boundaries, or possibly others, would not be present if separation of urban use was less conspicuous. Boundaries, thresholds, precincts and discordant

geographies of space are intrinsic to urban existence and are fundamental to the diversity of human nature. Negotiating their forces and the extent to which they are manifested in urban boundaries serves as perhaps the only viable mechanism for the dismantling of the limiting social and urban dualities that were discussed at the beginning of the chapter, whereas the study of this constant repositioning of boundaries has acted as an instrument for mapping gender presence and women's experiences in the city.

At the beginning of this research, I had anticipated – hoped, even – that mapping gender presence in Limassol would reveal contested territories and acrimonious relationships that could be quantified as easily as they could be qualified. In reality, these relationships proved to be more restrained and nuanced. I can only assume that the absence of such extreme geographies is the result of the perpetual nature of boundary negotiation that is occasionally obscured in the city's endless complexity. Mapping the presence and process of urban boundaries has exposed realities about gender relations and the fundamental structure of the post-industrial built environment in ways that I believe contribute to the realm of urban design, architecture and gender geography. Therefore, gender is an instrument of spatial knowledge, whose ever-evolving nature enriches and enhances the process of understanding urban mechanics and the act of designing better places.

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[10] Ibid., p. 292.

[11] Ibid., p. 292.

[12] Ibid., p. 297.

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[15] Clara Greed, 'Taking Women's Bodily Functions into Account in Urban Planning and Policy: Public Toilets and Menstruation', *Town Planning Review*, 87.5 (2016), pp. 506–524; Clara Greed and Jo-Anne Bichard, 'Ladies or Gents': Gender Division in Toilets*', Gender, Place and Culture, A Journal of Feminist Geography*, 19.4 (2012), pp. 545–547; Clara Greed, 'Taking women's bodily functions into account in urban planning and sustainability' in *Proceedings of 21st International Sustainability Development Research Society Conference, The Tipping Point: Vulnerability and Adaptive Capacity*, (ISDRS, 2015); Clara Greed, 'Taking women's bodily functions into account in urban planning and sustainability'.

[16] Clara Greed, 'Taking women's bodily functions into account in urban planning and sustainability'.

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[20] Alice T. Friedman, *Women and the Making of the Modern House, A Social and Architectural History* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1998).

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[23] Anna Papadopoulou, 'Gendered Spaces and Participation in the Public Realm', in *Spaces and Flows: and International Journal of Urban and ExtraUrban Studies*, 4.2 (2014).

[24] Michael Attalides, *Social Change and Urbanization in Cyprus, A Study of Nicosia* (Nicosia: Zavallis Press Ltd, 1981), p. 190.

[25] Daphne Spain, pp. 192–201; Dolores Hayden, *Redesigning the American Dream*, pp. 81–118; Dolores Hayden, 'What would a Non-Sexist City Be Like?' pp. 177–178; Helen Jarvis, Jonathan Cloke and Paula Kantor, pp. 135–139; Clara Greed, *Women and Planning: Creating Gendered Realities* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), pp. 88–104; Despina Stratigakos, *A Woman's Berlin, Building the Modern City* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), p. 60; Inga-Lisa Sangregorio, 'Having it All? A Question of Collaborative Housing', in *New Frontiers of Space, Bodies and Gender*, ed. by Rosa Ainley (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), p. 100–112.

[26] Dolores Hayden, *Redesigning the American Dream*, p. 58.

Conclusion

Iterations of Privacy

> What I need is perspective. The illusion of depth, created by a frame, the arrangement of shapes on a flat surface. Perspective is necessary. Otherwise there are only two dimensions. Otherwise you live with your face squashed up against a wall, everything a huge foreground, of details, close-ups, hairs, the weave of the bed sheet, the molecules of the face.

> Margaret Atwood, *The Handmaid's Tale*[1]

This research set out to investigate women's 'place' in the social and economic order of the city and constructed space. Neither *women*, nor *space,* of course, have meanings that can be considered free from politics or agency. Perspective, as Margaret Atwood suggests, is the instrument that can provide both a frame and a context to the power play that controls the relationships of women and space. To that point, the research has aimed to explore women's socio-spatial experiences in Limassol and provide a meaningful perspective for them.

The underlying question that fuelled the research throughout its entire process has been whether the city of Limassol functions democratically for both genders. If the key features of spatial democracy are equal access to space and opportunity, then the answer is no. There are areas within the public and the private realm, commercial or state-owned, that cater only to men, either because of their particular socioeconomic model of operation such as the all-male coffee shops, or because of state negligence, such as in the case of public toilets or poorly lit streets. However, uncovering these boundaries that prohibit women from equal access to all spaces in the city was not the main contribution of this research to knowledge. Evidence of such barriers, as well as the proverbial separation of the public sphere from the private realm of domesticity, have dominated discussions on gender and space for several decades.[2]

The synthesis of ideas from the literature review on gender and architecture flowed into a narrative exploring women's relation to domesticity, to nature, to formalistic

symbolism and metaphors, as well as to social physicality and perceptions. The literature provided three key aspects in the analytical framework. Firstly, as posited by Dear and Wolch, cited in Hayden, it highlighted the importance of recognizing that architecture and social process are conditions that are in constant flux and yet at the same time intrinsically intertwined.[3] Secondly, the literature emphasized the asymmetrical and undemocratic nature of urban space that typically privileges (able-bodied) men in the public realm and perpetuates women's place in the private realm of domesticity.[4] From the second aspect, a third condition emerges which addresses the structures that bind women to the private realm. The research assumes these structures, on the one hand, to be boundaries manifested by the socio-spatial separation of the public and the private realm.[5] On the other hand, as suggested by Semblat, cited in Andrew, boundaries can be the impetus for opportunities that can mitigate the restrictive nature of boundaries.[6]

Under the theoretical premise provided by these aspects, an investigation began into women's historical presence in the development of the city during the last one hundred and fifty years, followed by an exploration of how modern-day women in Limassol navigate everyday relationships between home and work. This raised questions of how spatial inequality from a gender perspective is manifested in Limassol and in what ways does urban form and function adjust to accommodate women's dual role as homemakers and full members of the labour market. Emerging from these questions was the issue of women's agency in effecting change, their awareness of boundaries and opportunities and their willingness to act upon them.

Uncovering and exploring boundaries, how they are perceived and constructed, was a key component of the research. Similar to Semblat, cited in Andrew, the research uncovered three types of boundaries: temporal, spatial and perceptual. Andrew citing Semblat further, describes them as 'time defined', 'space defined' and 'defined by the segmentation of social relations'.[7] All three types of boundaries are symbiotically connected where none can exist without the other and they are manifested in two different realities: the urban and the domestic scale.

On the urban scale, Limassolian women's boundaries are rooted in the physical separation of home and work, where the temporal component of the boundaries is consequent to women's challenges in managing their time between their domestic tasks and their duties as members of the workforce. The perceptual component of

the boundaries is attributed to the well-established patriarchal norms in Cyprus that assume woman's 'place' to be at home. These observations are concurrent with research by Greed, Fainstein and Servon, Hayden, Spain, Miranne and Young, Andrew, Jarvis, Cloke and Kantor, Boys, Markussen and Ockman.[8] The physicality of the urban-scale boundaries is spatialized by the nature of Limassol's contemporary form where the public realm is located in the city's original historic core, and is surrounded by residential sprawl on its east, west and north edges. Although areas of mixed use exist as buffers between the commercial and administrative centre and the residential areas, the separation between the public and the private is clear. Thus, Limassolian women are bounded by temporo-spatial restrictions such as those explored by Hayden, Spain and others.[9]

The second scale in which boundaries are spatialized is the domestic one. Common and popular suburban typologies showcase single-family detached homes that are separated by at least three metres from other homes by voluntarily high perimetric walls and fences. These walls create conditions of isolation masquerading as privacy that prevent women from collaborating and sharing domestic tasks, thus mitigating their temporo-spatial boundary enforced by the physical separation of home and work.[10] Where the commonality of the suburban home is ensured by planning regulations that require the three metre detachment from the plot boundaries, their popularity and women's preference for them is a more complicated matter. Markussen suggests that although the single-family home clearly disadvantages women, they nevertheless continue to choose it over other domestic alternatives because they are conditioned by the limited choices presented to them.[11] Similarly, Hayden implies that the single-family house is a pre-packaged dream that was consciously sold by developers who aimed to sell more than a house, but rather a lifestyle.[12] Although both these conditions apply to Limassol because of the tenacity of patriarchal structures, women's persistence for the single-family detached house presents an additional factor: women who entered the workforce in the seventies, particularly after the war of 1974, feel that the assumed luxury of privacy offered by this type of home symbolizes their reward for the hard work and hardships they endured.[13]

Margaret Atwood has said in an interview 'men often ask me, why are your female characters so paranoid? It's not paranoia. It's recognition of their situation'.[14] But what if women's reading and recognition of their situation is deeply tainted by social constructs as Markussen suggests? What this research has uncovered beyond the

literature that acknowledges women's disadvantaged condition resulting from urban and residential form, is women's own culpability in the proliferation of these temporo-spatial boundaries. The most profound finding that supports this culpability was women's reluctance to consider spatial alternatives in domestic design that could facilitate their daily operations at home and allow them to bridge the boundary created by the physical separation of the private and the public realm. This reluctance, evidenced throughout the interviews, can be attributed to an unspoken obligation towards patriarchal societal paradigms. Although a deep investigation of the origins and pervasiveness of patriarchy in Cypriot society falls outside the realm of the research, it is worth noting that Weber, cited by Greed, suggests that power structures such as patriarchy or capitalism should be considered as ultimate causes, but they should also be viewed as 'discriminatory attitudes by dominant groups towards a range of subject groups'.[15]

Unwillingness to embrace spatial domestic alternatives of collaborative living that might compromise perceived notions of privacy has enabled the formation of a class of transient women who assume responsibility for working women's domestic tasks. The presence of these women from South and Southeast Asia has not only impacted domestic design in ways that reinforce Cypriot women's predilection for privacy, but is also notably marked in how they activate public spaces on Sundays. Their organic gatherings in underused spaces such as the wide, empty pavements along Limassol's coastal avenue, or in smaller, interstitial spaces within the historic area of the city, provide a vitality that had been largely absent in local culture prior to recent state-funded revitalization projects of open spaces. The research revealed that Limassolian women use streets and pavements for circulating purposefully through the city, as a means of getting from one location to another, whereas foreign domestic workers inhabit and activate them on their one free day a week as they engage in activities that native Limassolians traditionally conduct indoors. I regard this to be an elegant expression of spatial democracy, an acknowledgement that public space can provide more than utilitarian infrastructure, but can create opportunities for what Miranne and Young describe as 'transgressing' of boundaries.[16]

Through the research it was observed that Limassolian women consider optimal public open spaces to be those that exhibit a formal character, like parks or clearly delineated public squares, such as Heroon Square, which was regarded almost unanimously as the city's centre. Although reasons for this spatial discrepancy

between local women's preference for formal, organized public spaces and transient women's adherence to unceremonious urban spaces stretch beyond the scope of this research, it can be argued that domestic workers from South and Southeast Asia choose spaces that are informal because of their own desire for privacy. The kind of privacy sought by these women is not spatialized by the physical boundaries or socioeconomic phenomena that regulate Limassolian women's understanding of privacy. Instead, it is a form of conditional privacy that one experiences while being in an open space, tightly surrounded by one's countrywomen, engaging in activities reminiscent of one's home country, in spaces that are overlooked and bypassed by locals. In a way, these women are hiding in plain sight, seeking anonymity in crowds, not unlike Torre's account of the 'Mothers of Plaza de Mayo'.

In the mid 1970's, a small group of persistent women whose husbands and children had been secretly kidnapped by the Argentinean military dictatorship, heroically demonstrated every Thursday at the end of the workday in order to call attention to their cause.[17] The difference here between foreign domestic workers in Limassol and the Argentinean mothers is while the former employ crowds to create conditions of privacy, the latter group of women use crowds as a means of protection through anonymity. In the case of both groups of women, however, women's spatial appropriation is testament to the notion that public space is a physical sense not defined by buildings, but is elevated and engaged by social action.[18]

Miranne and Young ask: do boundaries create alternative spaces, and if so, for whom are these spaces created?[19] While exploring women's relationship to the public realm, the seeking of privacy took on a different iteration. By attending tiny churches, tucked away between buildings and obscured by the surrounding urban fabric instead of the monumental Greek Orthodox cathedrals, Limassolian women are exercising their own rights to obscurity within the imposed formality of the public realm. They are negating the physical adjacencies between the church and the all-male traditional coffee shop encountered in rural settings and translated in urban environments, where men sitting at the coffee shop could observe women as they attended churches that were across the street. Women's intention of dismantling these socio-spatial boundaries is a subconscious remnant of rural life, because in contemporary cities such as Limassol the location of all-male coffee shops is no longer always across the street from church.

Although McDowell suggests that privacy is culturally specific, both local women and transient domestic workers exhibit a determination to gather in the public realm and pursue a melange of activities while preserving their right to privacy, suggesting that the need for privacy transcends race and income class.[20] Privacy becomes a qualified, multi-layered condition determined by societal archetypes and political agency. Although patriarchal order has confined women to the private realm of domesticity in order to maintain concentrations of power, Colomina theorizes that even in domestic design there are instances of spatial programming that enable a theatre of observation, which in turn, signify patriarchal control.[21] Thus, women's privacy cannot be ensured even in her designated 'place' within the private realm. In an attempt to safeguard their privacy from the architecture of control, Limassolian women seek seclusion in their single-family detached house and they establish sites of resistance in the public arena such as the hidden churches, while foreign domestic workers seek privacy in the anonymity of crowds. However, the entire quest of pursuing privacy may be an act of contradiction, where it does not empower women but serves to reinforce social structures. For that reason, bel hooks, cited in Ainley, suggests that forms of domination can only be eliminated when the 'separation between domestic space/intimate space and the world outside' ceases to exist.'[22] Privacy, according to hooks, is a 'screen for a profound narcissism', where mitigating it requires shamelessly spilling private acts, such as washing linen, into the public realm.[23]

The aim of the thesis has been to investigate women's everyday experiences of navigating the relationships between home and work in order to reveal boundaries and opportunities that are inherent, constructed and implied. Through qualitative means, the research has contributed to the discourse of architecture and gender relations by exploring socio-spatial constructed boundaries and opportunities that could normalise Limassolian women's uneven urban experience. The constructs of both boundaries and opportunities emerge from the tenuous and complicated relationship women have with notions of privacy. The complexity of the relationship between women's privacy and constructed space is manifested in self-enforced structures of isolation such as high fences surrounding their homes, in rejecting time-saving, spatially collaborative domestic alternatives, and in women's partiality towards religious spaces that are formally public yet covered by a mantle of privacy. Women's commitment to privacy while maintaining their role as the primary domestic caretaker and an equal member of the workforce has given rise to the

formation of another class of women, whose presence manifests its own nexus to the geographies of privacy.

The outcome of this research has provided opportunities for further study and development on an academic, as well as a on a practical level. On an academic level, the research has produced a set of qualitative findings on the subject of women and spatial equality that can be employed in further studies. These studies could focus on the historiography and causalities of gender and privacy of space, or they could delve into an exploration of a multi-cultured, post-industrial city and juxtapose spatial experiences and conditions of privacy of women of different races. Alternatively, the findings from this research can lead into a quantitative study that aims to assemble tools for domestic design where notions of privacy can be spatially explored and recalibrated in preparing to embrace the evolution of the traditional nuclear family while celebrating the continual forming and reforming of architecture and society.

The research exposed Limassolian women's strengths and vulnerabilities as members of an urban community. Their strengths lie in their profound love for their city, in their independent spirit and their cosmopolitan outlook on matters of urbanism and gender equality. However, they are held back by their unawareness of the drawbacks their sanctioned role as keepers of the domestic realm prescribes, and their de facto exclusion from equal membership of the public realm. At the end of their interviews, several women noted that our conversation had repositioned their perspective on how urban form affects their quality of life. Some women were surprised to realize how they could can claim, mediate and change spaces in the city by acknowledging their own capacity to activate interstitial spaces, to blur spatial and perceptual boundaries and to regulate levels of privacy. Thus, on a practical level, the research's implications have been to enact an elevated degree of awareness that can empower Limassolian women to become agents of change. Further dissemination of the research's outcome presented in a format that is accessible to non-academics has the potential to reach Limassolian women and men and to provide them with the tools and the vocabulary needed to participate in urban processes in ways that are meaningful and effective.

[1] Margaret Atwood, *The Handmaid's Tale* (New York: First Anchor Books Edition, 1986), p. 143.

[2] Clara Greed, 'Can Man Plan? Can Woman Plan Better?' in *Non-Plan: Essays on Freedom Participation and Change in Modern Architecture and Urbanism*, ed. by Jonathan Hughes and Simon Sadler (Oxford: Architectural Press, 2007), p. 185; Clara Greed, *Women and Planning: Creating Gendered Realities* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994); Susan S. Fainstein and Lisa J. Servon, 'Introduction: The Intersection of Gender and Planning', in *Gender and Planning, a Reader*, ed. by Susan S. Fainstein and Lisa J. Servon (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2005), pp. 4–5, p. 8; Dolores Hayden, 'What would a Non-Sexist City Be Like? Speculations on Housing, Urban Design, and Human Work,' *Signs*, 5.3 Supplement, Women and the American City (Spring 1980), p. 172; Dolores Hayden, *Redesigning the American Dream*, *The Future of Housing, Work and Family Life*, 2nd edition (New York: W. W. Norton & Company Inc., 2002), pp. 33–49; Daphne Spain, 'What Happened to Gender Relations on the Way from Chicago to Los Angeles?' in *The City Reader*, ed. by Richard T. LeGates and Frederic Stout, 6th edition (London: The Routledge Urban Reader Series, 2015), pp. 193–201; Kristine B. Miranne and Alma H. Young, 'Introduction', in *Gendering the City*, ed. by Kristine B. Miranne and Alma H. Young (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2000) p. 11; Caroline Andrew, 'Resisting Boundaries?' in *Gendering the City, Women, Boundaries, and Visions of Urban Life*, ed. by Kristine B. Miranne and Alma H. Young (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000), p. 159; Helen Jarvis, Jonathan Cloke and Paula Kantor, *Cities and Gender: Routledge Critical Introductions to Urbanism and the City* (New York: Routledge, 2009), p. 22, p. 116; Jos Boys, 'Beyond Maps and Metaphors? Re-thinking the Relationships between Architecture and Gender', in *New Frontiers of Space, Bodies and Gender*, ed. by Rosa Ainley (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), p. 202; Joan Ockman, 'Mirror Images: Technology, Consumption, and the Representation of Gender in American Architecture since World War II', in *The Sex of Architecture*, Diana Agrest, Patricia Conway & Leslie Kanes Weisman eds. (New York: Harry N. Adrams, Inc., 1996), p. 196, p. 203.

[3] Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscape as Public History* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1995), p. 23, Daphne Spain, *Gendered Spaces* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), p. 7, p. 29; Daphne Spain, 'What Happened to Gender Relations on the Way from Chicago to Los Angeles?' p. 195; Kristine B. Miranne and Alma H. Young, p. 5.

[4] Clara Greed, 'Can Man Plan? Can Woman Plan Better?' p. 185; Clara Greed, *Women and Planning: Creating Gendered Realities*; Susan S. Fainstein and Lisa J. Servon, pp. 4–5, p. 8; Dolores Hayden, 'What would a Non-Sexist City Be Like? p. 172; Dolores Hayden, *Redesigning the American Dream*, pp. 33–49; Daphne Spain, 'What Happened to Gender Relations on the Way from Chicago to Los Angeles?' pp. 193–201; Kristine B. Miranne and Alma H. Young, p. 11; Caroline Andrew, p. 159; Helen Jarvis, Jonathan Cloke and Paula Kantor, p. 22, p. 116; Jos Boys, p. 202; Joan Ockman, p. 196, p. 203.

[5] Kristine B. Miranne and Alma H. Young, p. 2; Caroline Andrew, p. 158; Ibid., p. 159; Sue Hendler with Helen Harrison, 'Theorizing Canadian Planning History: Women, Gender, and Feminist Perspectives' in *Gendering the City, Women, Boundaries, and Visions of Urban Life*, ed. by Kristine B. Miranne and Alma H. Young (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000), p. 151; Clara Greed, *Women and Planning: Creating Gendered Realities* p. 60.

[6] Caroline Andrew, p. 158.

[7] Caroline Andrew, p. 158.

[8] Clara Greed, 'Can Man Plan? Can Woman Plan Better?' p. 185; Clara Greed, *Women and Planning: Creating Gendered Realities*; Susan S. Fainstein and Lisa J. Servon, pp. 4–5, p. 8; Dolores Hayden, 'What would a Non-Sexist City Be Like? p. 172; Dolores Hayden, *Redesigning the American Dream*, pp. 33–49; Daphne Spain, pp. 192–201; Kristine B. Miranne and Alma H. Young, p. 11; Caroline Andrew, p. 159; Helen Jarvis, Jonathan Cloke and Paula Kantor, p. 22, p. 116; Jos Boys, p. 202; Ann R. Markussen, 'City Spatial Structure, Women's Household Work and National Urban Policy', in *Gender and Planning, a Reader*, ed. By Susan S. Fainstein and Lisa J. Servon (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2005), p. 179; Joan Ockman, p. 196, p. 203.

[9] Dolores Hayden, 'What would a Non-Sexist City Be Like? pp. 170–171; Dolores Hayden, *Redesigning the American Dream*, pp. 225–245; Daphne Spain, 'What Happened to Gender

Relations on the Way from Chicago to Los Angeles?' p. 194; Ann R. Markussen, p. 179; Doreen Massey with Linda McDowell, 'Space, Place and Gender', in *Gender and Planning, a Reader*, ed. by Susan S. Fainstein and Lisa J. Servon (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2005), pp. 213–230; Helen Jarvis, Jonathan Cloke and Paula Kantor, p. 135.

[10] Ann R. Markussen, p. 177.

[11] Ibid., pp. 176–177.

[12] Dolores Hayden, *Redesigning the American Dream*, p. 33.

[13] Joan Ockman, p. 199.

[14] Mary Morris interview of Margaret Atwood, 'The art of Fiction No. 121', *The Paris Review*, issue 117 (Winter 1990).

[15] Clara Greed, *Women and Planning: Creating Gendered Realities* p. 10.

[16] Kristine B. Miranne and Alma H. Young, p. 7.

[17] Susana Torre, 'Claiming the Public Space: The Mothers of Plaza de Mayo', in *The Sex of Architecture*, ed. by Diana Agrest, Patricia Conway & Leslie Kanes Weisman (New York: Harry N. Adrams, Inc., 1996), pp. 241–250.

[18] Anna Papadopoulou, 'Gendered Spaces and Participation in the Public Realm', *Spaces and Flows: An International Journal of Urban and ExtraUrban Studies*, 4.2 (2014), 1–10; Susana Torre, pp. 241–250.

[19] Kristine B. Miranne and Alma H. Young), p. 2.

[20] Linda McDowell, 'Towards an Understanding of the Gender Division of Urban Space', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 1 (1983), 59–72.

[21] Beatriz Colomina, 'The Split Wall: Domestic Voyeurism', in *Sexuality and Space*, ed. by Beatrize Colomina (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992), pp. 73–130.

[22] Rosa Ainley, 'Watching the Detectors: Control and the Panopticon', in *New Frontiers of Space, Bodies and Gender*, ed. by Rosa Ainley (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), p. 97.

[23] Rosa Ainley, p. 97.

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Appendix A (i)

Regional map of Limassol showing participants' homes and places of employment with respect to each other.
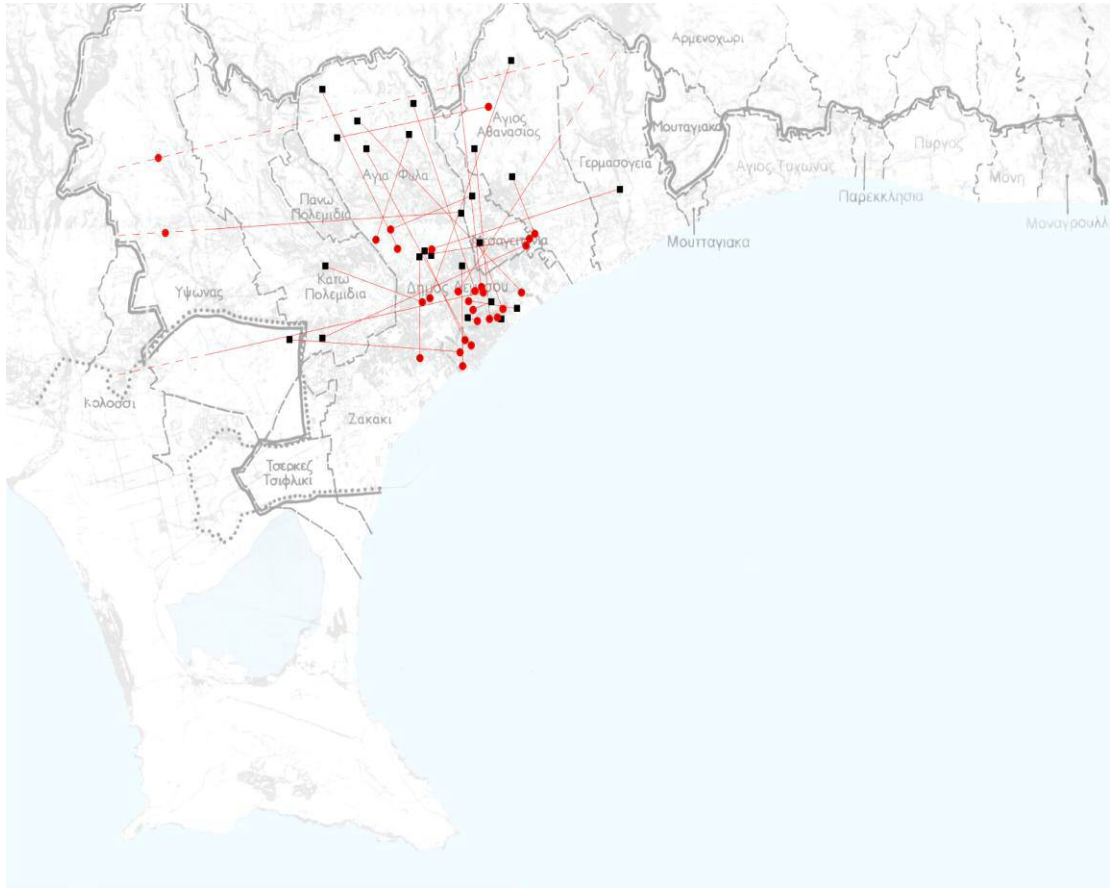
The black squares locate the participants' home and the red dots locate their place of employment. When the red lines connecting home and work are dashed, then the participants' place of employment is outside the region of Limassol.

Source: Georgia Theokli

Appendix A (ii)

Map of the City of Limassol showing participants' homes and places of employment with respect to each other.
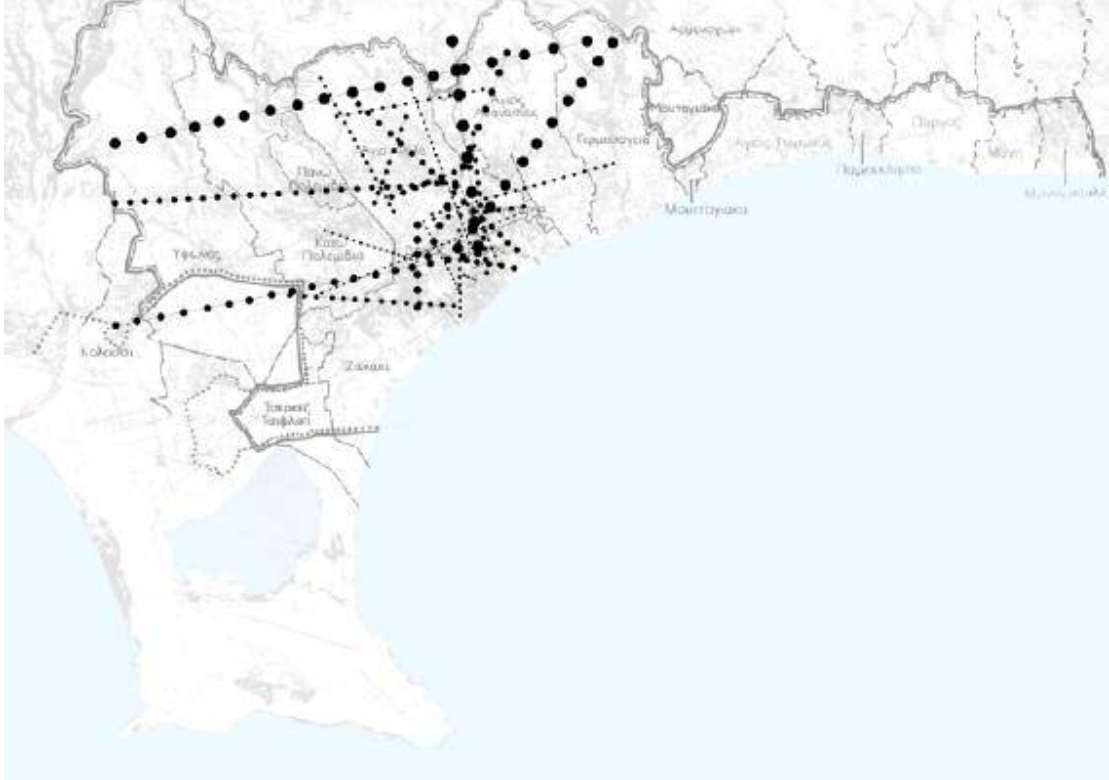

Heroon Square

The black squares locate the participants' home and the red dots locate their place of employment.

Source: Georgia Theokli and Anna Papadopoulou

Appendix B (i)

Regional map of Limassol showing participants' relative commuting times.

Each participants' home and work is connected by a series of black dots. The larger the diameter of the dots, the longer the commute time, as described by the participant. This map indicates that although some commutes are spatially shorter, i.e. home and work are not far from each other, the time travelled by the participant is disproportionally longer than other commutes where home and work are further away form each other. This occurs when a working woman has to complete several daily tasks related to her domestic responsibilities during her daily commute to work.

Source: Georgia Theokli

Appendix B (ii)

Map of the City of Limassol showing participants' relative commuting times.

Each participants' home and work is connected by a series of black dots. The larger the diameter of the dots, the longer the commute time, as described by the participant. This map indicates that although some commutes are spatially shorter, i.e. home and work are not far from each other, the time travelled by the participant is disproportionally longer than other commutes where home and work are further away form each other. This occurs when a working woman has to complete several daily tasks related to her domestic responsibilities during her daily commute to work.

Source: Georgia Theokli

Appendix C

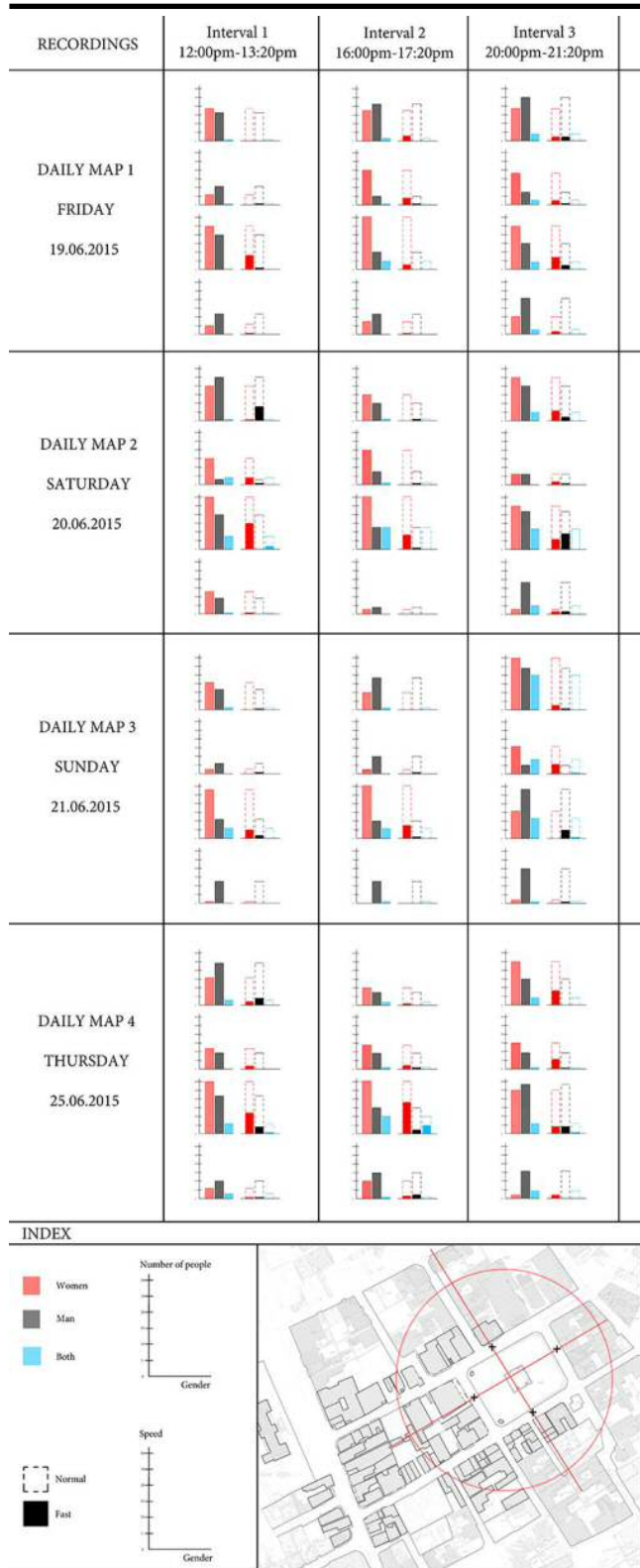Heroon Square_Gender Presence (Observations from Day One)
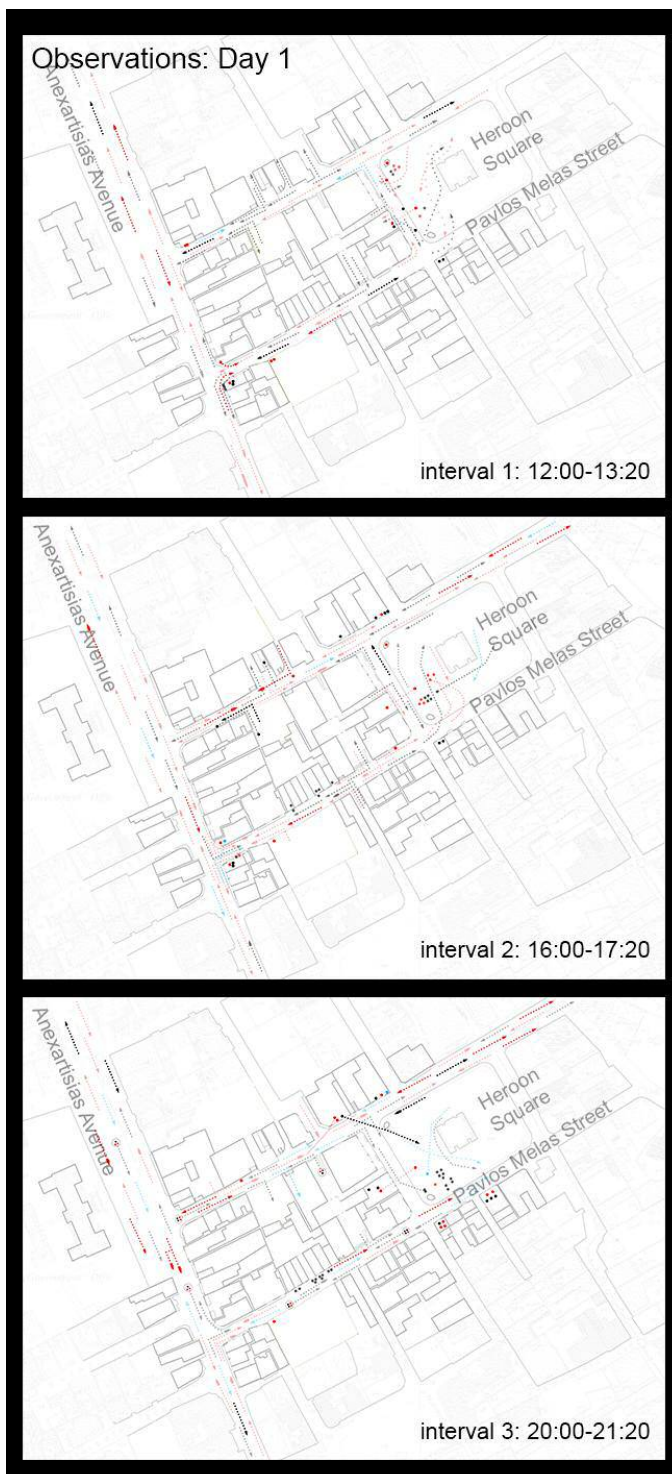
Observations and recordings were taken on four days, on three intervals per each day. Red dots indicate women circulating in the area, black dots indicate men and blue indicate groups of both men and women.

Source: Georgia Theokli

Appendix D

Heroon Square_Gender Presence, Summary of Recordings

Source: Georgia Theokli and Anna Papadopoulou

Appendix E

Questionnaire (translated from Greek)

Name (or pseudonym)
Age
Occupation
Singe, married, dependants (children, elderly, others)

Space- and time-defined boundaries of public space:

A. <u>The Centre (public realm)</u>

1. What do you consider to be the centre of a city? How would you describe it? Does a city have to have a centre?
2. Where is the centre(s) of Limassol? Where do you work in relation to the centre? Where do you live in relation to the centre?
3. How often do you go to the centre (if work is elsewhere)? Is getting there easy? What is your experience like when being at the centre? Do you see people of all ages and race there? How easy is it for accompanied children and elderly to use this space?
4. Do you feel the centre of town offers the same opportunities to women and men equally? What is the ratio of men to women you see when you are in the centre of town?

B. <u>Access and Connectivity</u>

5. What parts of the city do you visit more often and why?
6. How long does it take to get to work in the morning and reach home in the evening? Describe the route on an average weekday. How does this route relate to that of other household members?
7. What are the most important services in your daily life? (grocery store, childcare facilitates, dry-cleaners)
8. How do you feel about the distances between work, home and services? What is the ideal distance of home to services?

C. <u>Safety</u>

9. Are there places in the city you wouldn't go during certain times of day or night? Is it safer to travel by car during those times?
10. Are there times when you feel unsafe in your neighbourhood?
11. What do you think is the origin of the lack of safety? (times and uses of space, breakdown of nuclear family, immigration policies, lack of interest/funds on behalf of policy makers)

Segmentation of social relations:

D. <u>The Home</u>

12. How would you describe the area where you live? What do you think is the ideal setting for a home?

13. Who takes care of children or elderly? Why do you think you are charged with being the caretaker of others? (if applicable)
14. Who is responsible for the housework? What kinds of daily errands are you responsible for? Who takes care of non-daily errands? (e.g. car maintenance, paying bills etc) (if applicable) Who makes decisions about: purchase of property, or housing equipment, holidays and travelling, etc? How are disagreements settled? (if applicable)
15. What spaces of the house do you consider more your personal domain?
16. How are public and private spaces in the house laid out compared to the main street and the back yard? Why do you think this arrangement is important?
17. Do you think architects understand your needs and consider them when creating and designing space?
18. Comment on gender roles at the house where you grew up. If gender roles have changed, what do you think is the cause?

E. Urban Transformations

19. How do you think the city has changed as a result of changing gender roles? (e.g. women entering paid labour)
20. Do you think municipal authorities understand your needs and consider them when planning and designing urban space and when formulating legislation? (discuss Clara Greed's research on public toilets)
21. Since women are associated with repetitive processes such as housework, do you think this renders them more competent in extending these skills to the city, towards a "municipal housekeeping?" Why do you think there are not enough women in positions of responsibility in the municipality?

F. Participatory Potential

22. How do you value is the collaborative potential in your everyday life? (sharing resources and responsibilities with people outside the immediate environment)
23. Would you be willing to compromise on domestic privacy if it meant benefitting from facilities and services? (e.g. share kitchen, laundry room, outdoor barbecue, storage space)
24. What would you do differently to improve your urban or domestic experience as a woman?

Appendix F

Sample of Translated Interview (Participant R, code name: Rena)

black text: interviewer, red text: participant

- May I ask your age?
- Last December I turned 65
- Could I have your street address? No need to give me the number.
- Ioanni Komninou street
- Are you married? Do have dependants?
- No, our children are old, they are married. I have one son from my first marriage.
- Where do you consider the city centre to be?
- If I think of Limassol and the centre of the town, it is where the cultural soul of the city is...I would say it's where I go to watch a play, to go to a concert, to listen to the cantadore[1] during carnival in Limassol. On Saturdays [the centre] is full of life because many people come to do their shopping and all that, that is why it is the centre. Movement and activity are what define the centre for me, because I love art and it is something that interests me. Another person who might have different interests might locate the city centre somewhere else.
- So for you, the centre of Limassol is around the [Medieval] Castle and Heroon Square?
- Yes, sure, although I think I may be influenced a little by the fact that I am a true Limassolian, born and raised, and I actually grew up in the centre, and I see that for a while, the centre actually moved further out, and now in recent years it has returned to where it is now. TEPAK[2] and other academic institutions have [brought the centre back to where it is today]. I don't see the city centre as something that is geographically specific.
- Do you think the fact that a city centre is at the heart of cultural activity is true for all cities or just Limassol?
- Yes, I think [a city] must have a reference point. That's how I see it, for example, if a city is comprised of just houses and nothing else, then everything would look the same and the centre would only be defined by its geography.
- Was your place of employment near the centre?

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[1] Cantadore are a group of musicians who travel the streets during carnival season and sing traditional carnival songs. They are an important cultural institution in Limassolian culture.
[2] Technical University of Cyprus

- Half of my years as an employee I worked at a bank that was in the heart of the city centre, near Town Hall. It was an English bank. I was later transferred, when this bank was bought by the Bank of Cyprus. So I then moved to Makarios Avenue and I stayed there until my retirement in 2007.
- [When you worked at the centre] was your access easy?
- Yes, because we're talking about many years ago, of course I used a car, although not always, because I didn't always own a car. I bought a car after I able to afford it. Many times I began my commute on foot and if a nice co-worker happened to drive by, they would offer me a lift. This happened quite often, because we were closer then, there were fewer people working in the centre. [Even in later years when I drove to work] we would all park at a large plot where TEPAK has now built, and we would all walk to work together. It was a nice feeling, one that I don't have any more.
- So the centre was an intimate space for you at the time?
- Yes, very much so.
- Do you find the city centre today to be intimate?
- I don't know... I see young people [there] and I am happy for that, I enjoy seeing them moving around in this space... it has to do with their own culture, their own way of thinking... I don't know if...
- Yes, but in terms of spatial democracy, the city centre must be available and accessible to people of all ages, both sexes and...
- I like it, I enjoy going to the centre, especially when I have the opportunity to walk or to sit at a coffee shop... ok, it doesn't bother me that there are mostly younger people around me.
- At both your places of work, since they were both quite central, do you feel there were more men or women inhabiting public spaces? I don't mean only inside buildings, but in the area in general. Do you think there was a stronger presence of one of the two sexes, or what is approximately equal?
- Look, I've lived in older times, and especially in the English bank where I worked, it was company practice to avoid promoting women. There were always fewer women [where I worked] because fewer women would seek employment, and there was this practice [of not promoting women] but this didn't stop us from having a very good relationship [with our male colleagues], we had an excellent relationship with our co-workers in those years. Later, in the Bank of Cyprus, ok, times were changing, many rights were earned through Unions, with many struggles. We have earned the right for equal pay, because in the old days, when I was working, [women] did not

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earn the same salary; many things were different for men and women, and after many struggles we were able to even achieve appointments in high positions, but there is still sexism persists. The reason for this I think is that the Cypriot woman, although she pretends to be modern, she has a highly developed sense of family, motherhood, and always pays more attention to her children than to her career. However, slowly this is beginning to dissipate, but in my time, this was the case.

- The area where you live, do you think it's an ideal area to live? What do you like, or not like from your neighbourhood?

- Where I live now?

- Yes.

- This hasn't always been my home, I chose this apartment before 1984, I moved here just as the building was finished; I spotted it during my daily commute to work, I liked it because it was a quiet neighbourhood, calm. I liked the place and I am very happy here, because I feel I'm in the countryside but I am exactly in the centre of the city and I can easily access Gladstones, Anexartisias, Agiou Andreou and Makarios Avenue.

- By car?

- I could even walk if I wanted to.

- How long would that take?

- Very early in the mornings when I go for a walk along the Mole, I can usually be there in three minutes because there isn't much traffic. I am there in three minutes – I have it timed. It's very important to me. When I worked, I would go walking in the morning and by 7:30 I was at work.

- Are there services and facilities missing in the area where you live? Grocery store, drycleaners?

- We have a large grocery store next to us, but it's slowly not offering the services that we need... I don't know, let's hope things will improve. Of course, I usually take my car [to get groceries] even if [the grocery store] is nearby because I don't go shopping often and I have a lot to carry.

- When your children were living with you, were you the primary care provider?

- My first husband was killed in the [1974] war and my son was ten days old at the time. In the first ten years [after he died] my parents supported me, my mother looked after my son so that I can go to work and then my son and I moved to this apartment where I live now; when he was sixteen I remarried and my husband has two daughters from a previous marriage. Ok, they have

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all grown up now. My son was living with us and my husband's daughters were living in Greece [with their mother]. Now one of his daughters is living here, we have a good relationship and I am a grandmother, I have two grandchildren.

- Congratulations.

- Thank you. I took care of the first one until [the child] was old enough to go to kindergarten and now with the second one, because of what has happened to me, [the child's parents] had to find a lady[3] to look after it. My mother is also 94 years old and she too depends on me and my sister and, of course, we have a lady[4] to look after her, but we are in charge of her basic care.

- Why do you consider that their basic care is your responsibility? Do you think it is a matter of social constructs of Cypriot culture?

- No, it's a matter of humanity. That's how I see it. Nobody forced me to care for my mother. When I care for every kitten and puppy who is hungry, should I not care for my mother?

- Agreed. Do you think that as you were growing up, your parents maintained the man-women stereotypes? In other words, was your mother in charge of domestic work and your father the breadwinner?

- Yes, as I remember my parents, my father may not have swept or mopped the floors, but he contributed in the things he could. But my mother helped my father outside the home too; although my father worked as an office clerk, he was also a beekeeper and my mother was always by his side helping him. In other words, they shared these things.

- If we assume that these stereotypes were based on social norms, do you think these conditions persist today? Have conditions shifted?

- Yes, I think things are changing. You know, I have the impression that young women have rather misunderstood the notion of equality. It doesn't matter where a person works. Everyone does what [he or she] does best. For instance, my husband and I belong to a previous generation, but we share everything and when he was sick and couldn't do much, I took over everything. Now that I [broke my arm], you can't believe the things he is doing. He cooks, he does everything. He never thought to be embarrassed; he never assumed... one helps the other where one can. I have also raised

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[3] The term 'lady' in this context is usually used to mean domestic help, i.e. a lady from South or Southeast Asia.
[4] Same as above

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- my son to be that way, always telling him that if you want your wife to work and [you want] to have that luxury of another salary in the home, you must also participate in domestic work. The house does not only belong to the woman. It is both your home. And you must share responsibilities and obligations so that your mother and mother-in-law don't get in your way.

- If I may ask, what did you mean when you said earlier that women have misunderstood the notion of equality?

- For example, if they ask their husband to make the bed or mop the floor and he does not like to do that, he could happily do something else to help. He could go to the grocery store or take out the rubbish or do the laundry etc. It doesn't matter what he will do. What is important is that he will help. Because even I, as a woman, do not enjoy doing all housework.

- Do you think the city has changed since women have entered the workforce? Do you think [women's entry to the workforce] is visible in Limassol's urban development?

- Definitely women contribute [in the city] and I have had the good fortune to work with and get to know through societies and associations which I was part of, women who work for no money for no accolade in order to help others... women do things like that. Definitely women can contribute and, of course, as with men, it depends on the character. In other words, whether you are a man or a woman, if you don't want to contribute, you won't. For instance, if a woman is lazy she will pick up her pay-check and go home. [Some women] will settle with less money and have a heightened sense of responsibility to get the job done.

- To your point, there are some theories that suggest that women have had generations of experience in domestic tasks that are repetitive in nature, in contrast to men who target singular achievements like a promotion, a purchase of a car or a house. Through this repetition, women have acquired a certain expertise that makes them more capable in tackling the management and administration of the city. How do you evaluate this theory?

- Well, the city needs housekeeping.

- Exactly.

- And by housekeeping, I don't mean a housewife who does nothing except sit with the neighbours and have coffee. A housewife in the true meaning is one who will organize her house because housekeeping is not just sweeping, polishing the silver, it is about managing expenses; I don't like wasting an

hour of my day to go grocery shopping or to gossip with the neighbour. No, I want to go grocery shopping once a week and so I plan accordingly. If I go shopping every day, I will be wasting time and money because I will also be buying things I don't need. This is a way of good housekeeping, let's say.

- However, currently, there are very few women in administrative positions in Limassol's municipality, correct? There has never been a woman mayor. Because you mentioned that you have worked with exceptional women, have there been women that you know who have significantly contributed to the city?

- Yes, but not in appointed positions, but through volunteering. Through volunteer groups. Women who have given a lot. Women who have dedicated their lives without wanting exposure or recognition. I told you a woman has a lot to share, because she feels the responsibility for her children and grandchildren. Look at me now, I'm sitting here with my arm in cast and all I think about is my children, my grandchildren and my mother and a thousand other things I should be doing now. I'm involved in countless activities and I need to take care of my household too. Men don't seem to understand that.

- Do you think municipal authorities and professionals of the built environment, e.g. architects and planners, understand your needs as a woman and as a citizen when designing spaces and prepare building and planning regulations? Do you think women's voice is strong enough when it comes to designing urban or domestic space?

- No, because to be sure that something [*incomprehensible*] we might say that women are better at housekeeping and to have a man who is more worthy [*incomprehensible*] but I don't see it. In other words, for legislation to be voted there are many things that have to be considered. [Political] parties get in the way and other [political] interests. I believe worthy people are not allowed to do their best. Otherwise [worthy people] could to wonderful things. That's why Cypriots do so well when they go abroad. I always wonder about that. There is no field that we don't have Cypriots who enjoy international success. Medicine, the arts, everywhere. Why can't [Cypriots] succeed here? If all [Cypriots who are abroad] would come to Cyprus they would turn Cyprus into paradise but there are all these things we are not allowed to do... you know, there is something I've learnt from the architect who design the first house my father built - it was a small house, within his means – I remember the architect once told me that a good architect must design a house not with the intension to impress, but he must observe the family from

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the moment they wake up until they go to sleep, the housewife, the husband, the children, how everyone moves. [The architect] must follow their programme to make spaces that are correct and functional.

- In the house you are describing, can I assume that the public spaces like the living room and dining area are located in the front of the house? The part of the house that faces the street? And in the back of the house were the kitchen and the bedrooms?

- It was space that had to be built, it previously been poorly built by a bad architect who wasn't able to design the second one. Only a good architect could make sense of the [original poor design], but, yes, the reception spaces were located in the front of the house.

- Why do you think that is the case?

- I don't know... probably because we want to show our 'best' to our guests who will visit; it is the sense of hospitality. Older houses were far more functional. I remember my grandmother's house that was demolished many years ago. The heliakos,[5] as we used to say, is the long room in the front of the house where a set of large glass doors opened up to the [interior] courtyard and that courtyard opened up to the eating area, the kitchen and bedroom; basically all [spaces] that had to do with the family were located around the courtyard. The front part though was the heliakos and [the two walls perpendicular to the front facade each had a] door that open up smaller living spaces.

- The house you mentioned, not your grandmother's house, but your parents' house, was there a space your mother felt more intimate in, e.g. the kitchen?

- Yes, yes.

- So would you say that there was a certain informal zoning that separated men and women.

- Look, my father would wake up at dawn everyday to go to work and he would return home at 5 in the afternoon. So it was not possible for him to [spend time in the house]. Not because he didn't want to, but he didn't have time. Those were very difficult times. There were times when he would have to spend the night working.

- If I may return to modern-day Limassol, have you observed that there has been an increase in eateries, fast-food shops, drycleaners? What do you think this is symptom of? What has caused this increase?

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[5] In traditional architecture, an heliakos is a semi-enclosed space in front of main rooms as an extension of a two-pitched roof.

- It's because we want everything here and now, people don't want to make the effort. Is it that they don't have time? No. I think they waste a lot of time; children spend a lot of time in front of screens, televisions and mobile phones, and I think there are so many other ways to dedicate their time to things they can enjoy. For instance I feel happiness even when I iron the shirt for the man I love. If I don't put joy in my work and enthusiasm, I won't want to do it.

- So you don't feel that this increase of land uses listed earlier is a symptom of women having entered the workforce? These are domestic tasks that were traditionally performed in the house but working women now have less time in the house...

- And what if I don't have time to [*incomprehensible*] should I [*incomprehensible*]? I prefer to choose a takeout shop where I know I will pick up something healthy, not something that is just tasty, but I will do this very rarely. Even when I worked and lived alone with my son I didn't allow my mother or mother-in-law to cook for us. Although as a child my mother had spoiled me, when it was time to take responsibility [of my life], I would wake up at 5 in the morning, prepare food and so forth. I think younger people don't organise their time properly. I don't know... in old times there was... if we hadn't organized out time properly how could have we achieved al that we achieved? When I think of the things I used to do when I was at the age my son and daughter-in-law are now, I get dizzy. And I worked endless hours at the bank. Endless house with hardly any pay.

- May I ask one last question about the city? Do you feel that Limassol serves women and men in the same way? For instance, you have a mother who depends on you, who has limited mobility. When you are in town with her...

- She doesn't stay in the apartment with me, we have a lady who looks after her...

- But if you have to move outside the house with elderly relatives, are there facilities available to you?

- No. Even if there were provisions by the municipality, the citizens manage to eradicate them. We park our cars [on pavements], motorcycles, bicycles, with complete disregard for our fellow citizen. In general, Cypriots lack respect for fellow citizens. If we can learn that, we will solve all our problems.

- As a woman, is there something you are missing from Limassol?

- What can I say. I used to adore old, romantic Limassol and I was able to experience it in more beautiful times, with fairy tales at the cobblestones in

the evenings, the jasmine [necklaces] we [made and] hung around our necks, taking walks on Gladstones [street] to meet up with young men, but I also adore modern-day Limassol because it has become really beautiful, especially the Mole. I remember and commemorate the memory of my grandmother who died when she was quite old and [was a woman who] had received no formal education. This woman, when the old Mole was being demolished to be land-filled, Limassolians were up in arms, worrying that the city is being ruined, and my grandmother would say, why are you upset? I'm the one who should be upset because I won't live long enough to see [the end of the project]. You are young, my grandmother would say, and you will have a beautiful, new Mole to stroll. You will have a beautiful city, why are you upset? It puts me to shame when I remember how forward-thinking my uneducated grandmother was. Every time I enjoy a stroll at the Mole I think of her. [Limassol] is really is beautiful. But the number one issue [among Limassolian citizens] is respect for one's neighbour and respect the principles of community, respect municipal laws and also employ talented, worthy Limassolians [who can make a positive difference in the city].

- Thank you Mrs Rena.

Appendix G

Interview Records

code	code name	dependents (children)	dependents (elderly)	age range	home address/area	employment address/area	commuting time_morning	commute with chores	commuting time_afternoon	mode	reason for commuting difference/notes
B	Barbara	n	y	40-49	22B Makariou, Limassol	roundabout Agiou Nicolaou	3 minutes		3 minutes	car	
M	Marcia	n		40-49	22 Seychelles (Σεϋχέλλων)	near old hospital	5 minutes		5 minutes	car	
S	Stavria	y		40-49	Episkopi	Kapodistrias (near Gladstones)	20 minutes	1 hr 15 mins	20 minutes	car	chores
H	Helena	n		30-39	Damagitou	66-68 Arch. Makariou III, Mesa Geitonia	7 minutes		7 minutes	car	
Z	Zena	n		20-29	Kosta Partasidi	Chryssorrogiatisis (near Columbia)	6 minutes		6 minutes	car	
D	Dafni	n		20-29	Spartakou	roundabout Agiou Nicolaou	10 minutes	45 minutes	10 minutes	car	(chores)
W	Wilemnina	y		40-49	Agias Triados	Episkopi					
J	Joanna	y		40-49	?	?	10 minutes		10 minutes	car	
C	Chryso	y		40-49	Grigori Afxendiou	Pyrgos	45 minutes	2 hours	45 minutes	car	chores
E	Elisa	n		20-29	Eptagonia village	Pano Polemidia	40-45 minutes		40-45 minutes	car	
R	Rena	y	y	60-69	Ioanni Komninou	near Limassol Town Hall	?		?	?	?
O	Olia	y		60-69	Spartakou	Turkish quarter	20 minutes		20 minutes	walk	
N	Nina	y	y	60-69	7 Psaron	21 Archbishop Kyprianou	10 minutes		10 minutes	car	
Y	Yolanda	n		20-29	Kyperounta	Kapodistrias (near Gladstones)	50 minutes		50 minutes	bus and walk	
AE	Areti	y		40-49	Milias, Agios Athanasios	near old hospital	20 minutes	30 minutes	20 minutes	car	
AA	Anna	n		30-39	Spartakou	near Pantopolio	5 minutes		5 minutes	car	
U	Urania	n		40-49	Davaki	roundabout Agiou Nicolaou	2 minutes		2 minutes	car	
K	Koulla	y		50-59	Pano Polemiia	?	15 minutes		15-20 minutes	car	traffic
G	Georgia	y		50-59	Axiou, Ekali	Petrou Tsiriou (near Debenhams Apollo)	7-8 minutes		7-8 minutes	car	
AC	Anthoulla	y		40-49	Mesa Geitonia (near Zorbas)	Elenis Paleologinas	10 minutes		10 minutes	car	4 hours each day driving children
T	Toulla	n		50-59	Mesa Geitonia	Gladstones	3-5 minutes		3-5 minutes	car	
L	Louisa	n		20-29	44 Platonos, Agios Nektarios	Agiou Georgiou, Ipsonas	15 minutes		15 minutes	car	
AB	Agathi	n		30-39	Kapsalou	Nafi area	8 minutes		8 minutes	car	
A	Ariana	n	y	40-49	Stratigou Timagia	Agia Fyla (Intercollege)	7 minutes		7 minutes	car	works two shifts per day
P	Panagiota	y		40-49	near 55 Spyrou Kyprianou	7 Spartis	?		?	?	?
Q	Quinn	n		50-59	Modestou Panteli	Petrou Tsiriou (near Debenhams Apollo)	10-15 minutes		15-20 minutes	car	traffic
AF	Afrodite	n		20-29	near Tsirio	near Municipal Garden	10-15 minutes		10-15 minutes	car	
F	Fofo	n		30-39	Megalou Alexandrou	34 Anexartisias	5 minutes		5 minutes	walk/cycle	
X	Xenia	y		40-49	near the Mole (near Agia Triada	near the Mole (near Agia Triada)					
AD	Andrie	n		40-49	coastal road, near Lophitis Busir	34 Anexartisias	10-15 minutes		10-15 minutes	walk	
V	Veronica	y		60-69	Vassili Michaelide	near the old port	7-8 minutes		7-8 minutes	car	
I	Ioli	y		40-49	Othonos & Amalias	34 Anexartisias	1 minute		1 minute	walk	

Appendix H

Sample of Transcribed Interview (Participant F, code name: Fofo)
black text: interviewer, red text: participant

μπορώ να το ...είναι καθαρά χώρος διασκέδασης και όχι κίνησης τόσο, δεν ξέρω δυσκολεύομαι αλλά δεν το έχω αισθανθεί σαν κέντρο.

σχεδίαζα ξανά την πόλη νομίζω να προσπαθούσα να βγάλω κομμάτια του αυτοκινητόδρομου ή τουλάχιστον να σταματούσε κάπου ο αυτοκινητόδρομος καθώς μπαίνουμε στην πόλη και να τα έβγαζα προς τα έξω για να ορίσω ένα χώρο στο κέντρο που να είναι...

αλλάξει συνέπεια του ότι οι γυναίκες εργάζονται; Μπορείς να εντοπίσεις κάποιες αλλαγές;

χρειάζονται περισσότερο χρόνο στις τουαλέτες από τους άντρες. Και αυτό από μόνο του δείχνει ότι υπάρχει μια άγνοια στις ανάγκες των γυναικών όταν διαμορφώνονται νόμοι και κανονισμοί της πόλης. Το θέμα των συμμετοχικών διεργασιών θα σε ρωτήσω αν και αντιλαμβάνομαι ότι δεν έχεις εξαρτώμενους πως θα αξιολογούσες την πιθανότητα διαμοιρασμού καθημερινών υποχρεώσεων με άτομα εκτός του άμεσου οικογενειακού περιβάλλοντος.

Appendix I

Sample of Initial Code (Participant F, code name: Fofo)
black text: interviewer, red text: participant, blue text: initial code

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Κατ'αρχάς να σας ρωτήσω, θεωρείτε ότι μια πόλη πρέπει να έχει ένα κέντρο;

1. Ναι. Ευχαριστώ που μου κάνετε αυτή την ερώτηση γιατί πραγματικά ερχόμενη στη Λεμεσό έχοντας μεγαλώσει στην Αθήνα, μετακόμισα από την Αθήνα αλλά έχω περάσει από διάφορες πόλεις της Ελλάδος και διάφορες πόλεις της Ευρώπης, ερχόμενη στη Λεμεσό δεν μπορούσα να προσανατολιστώ που είναι το κέντρο, δεν ήξερα μπορούσα να κινηθώ στο χώρο αλλά δεν μπορούσα να εντάξω τον εαυτό μου γιατί δεν υπήρχε κέντρο και επειδή είμαι 6,5 χρόνια στη πόλη θυμάμαι ότι συνήθιζα να πηγαίνω στην πλατεία Ηρώων που ήταν και οι καταστάσεις ξεκίνησαν και γίνονταν κάτι εκδηλώσεις του πανεπιστημίου εκεί πέρα δεν υπήρχε τίποτα για να αισθάνομαι ότι υπάρχει μια πλατεία και ένα κέντρο ήταν πολύ σημαντικό για μένα μια πόλη αισθανόμουνα ότι δεν μπορούσα να ενταχθώ στην πόλη.

> Grew up in a different country and consequently, when first moved to Limassol, was unable to identify the city centre (F.1)

> Didn't feel she could assimilate in the city because she couldn't identify a square or a city centre (F.1)

Πώς ορίζετε εσείς το κέντρο μιας πόλης;

2. Ένας χώρος ο οποίος έχει δράση ενδεχομένως πάντα είχα στο μυαλό μου μια πλατεία πάντα κέντρο ήταν κάτι γύρω από μια πλατεία, όπου υπήρχε ζωή, ανταλλάζονταν ιδέες, υπήρχαν καφέ, καθόμαστε, συζητούσαμε, διαβάζαμε εφημερίδες, υπήρχε κίνηση, έβλεπε ο ένας τον άλλο, ένας δημόσιος χώρος για μένα το κέντρο. Δεν έβρισκα την γνωστή μου πλατεία.

> Identifies the city centre as a concentration of commercial and recreational activities, a place where the community can sit, read the paper, stare, exchange ideas (F.2)

Το συνδέετε καθόλου το κέντρο μιας πόλης με χώρους κατοίκησης;

3. Ναι βέβαια συνδέω το κέντρο της πόλης με χώρους κατοίκησης, αν εννοούμε κέντρο-κέντρο την πλατεία κι αν υπάρχουν γύρω από την πλατεία κτίρια αν με ρωτάτε αυτό ναι δηλαδή για μένα το ενδιαφέρον κάθε πόλης που επισκέπτομαι είναι το κέντρο της. Εκεί αισθάνομαι το τι συμβαίνει στην πόλη και όχι τόσο τα προάστια. Το ίδιο είναι σ' όλες τις πόλεις όπου κι αν ταξιδέψω πάντα πρέπει να γνωρίσω το κέντρο να καταλάβω τι γίνεται στην πόλη.

> Links the city centre with residences but differentiates it from the suburbs because of their lack of activities (F.3)

Στη Λεμεσό σήμερα που θεωρείτε εσείς ότι είναι το κέντρο της Λεμεσού με όλα αυτά που έχουν συμβεί την αναγέννηση που περνάει η Λεμεσός, που ορίζετε σήμερα το κέντρο της Λεμεσού;

4. Είναι δύσκολο να σας πω που είναι το κέντρο της Λεμεσού πάλι αισθάνομαι ότι δεν έχει κέντρο το ορίζω προσωπικά το κέντρο για μένα το κέντρο παραμένει η Πλατεία Ηρώων. Αισθάνομαι ίσως επειδή κινούμαι και είναι το Πανεπιστήμιο εκεί γύρω από την Πλατεία Ηρώων αισθάνομαι ότι το κέντρο είναι η Πλατεία Ηρώων. Βέβαια κέντρο είναι και το Κάστρο καθώς έχει δημιουργηθεί εκεί ένα...δεν έχει πλατεία αλλά έχει δημιουργηθεί ένας κατά κάποιο τρόπο δημόσιος χώρος με καφέ, ο κόσμος κάνει βόλτες εκεί είναι

> Acknowledges the city centre, such as it is, as the Heroon Square and also includes the area around the Limassol Castle (F.4)

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ένας χώρος συνεύρεσης που θα μπορούσε να πει κανείς ότι κι αυτό είναι κάπως ένα κέντρο. Δεν έχω αισθανθεί για κάποιο λόγο κέντρο την πλατεία Σαριπόλου, το χώρο αυτό δεν ξέρω, δεν μπορώ να το ...είναι καθαρά χώρος διασκέδασης και όχι κίνησης τόσο, δεν ξέρω δυσκολεύομαι αλλά δεν το έχω αισθανθεί σαν κέντρο.

Η ιστορικότητα θεωρείται ότι ενδεχομένως να είναι σημαντικό στοιχείο στο κέντρο μιας πόλης;

5. Ναι βέβαια.

Εφόσον η δουλειά σας είναι στο κέντρο της πόλης η επόμενη μου ερώτηση είναι κάπως...Θεωρείται ότι είναι εύκολη η μετάβαση στο κέντρο; Μένετε εκτός κέντρου κατ' αρχάς;

6. Ζω μέσα στο κέντρο της πόλης, ζω στη παραλία μένω γιατί ήθελα να είμαι πάνω στη θάλασσα αλλά είναι 5 λεπτά από την Ανεξαρτησίας, 5 λεπτά από την Πλατεία Ηρώων δηλαδή ο δρόμος από το downtown κατά κάποιο τρόπο την Ανεξαρτησίας και τα πέριξ είναι πολύ κοντά από το σπίτι μου.

Άρα στο κέντρο πάτε καθημερινά εφόσον είναι ο χώρος εργασίας εκεί.

7. Ναι, ναι είναι σημαντικό να μένεις στο κέντρο. Και ο χώρος εργασίας να μην ήταν στο κέντρο νομίζω ότι πάλι στο κέντρο θα έμενα.

Αν κατάλαβα καλά πάτε περπατητή στο χώρο εργασίας σας.

8. Ναι, ναι συνήθως έχω και ποδήλατο αλλά συνήθως πάω με τα πόδια.

Ενημερωτικά είστε η πρώτη γυναίκα με την οποία έχω

μιλήσει που πάει στη δουλειά περπατητή και οφείλω να σάς συγχαρώ. Πως θα αξιολογούσατε το κέντρο της Λεμεσού; Θεωρείτε ότι είναι οικείος χώρος, είναι χώρος όπου υπάρχουν ελλείψεις; Πως θα το αξιολογούσατε;

9. Εντάξει πάρα πολύ τα τελευταία δύο χρόνια έχει γίνει σχεδόν μια άλλη πόλη, αρχίζει να αποκτά ζωή θα ήθελα να εκφράσω κάτι δηλαδή έχει κτίρια, έχει σπίτια, έχει....αλλά δεν έχει κόσμο. Δηλαδή ο κόσμος να ενταχθεί οι κάτοικοι της Λεμεσού βρίσκονται στα προάστια. Όταν πρωτοήρθα είχα την αίσθηση ότι ήταν άδειο, σαν φάντασμα το κέντρο προχωρούσα από τα στενά για να πάω στο σπίτι μέσω Ανεξαρτησίας τα απογεύματα για να αισθάνομαι ότι στην Ανεξαρτησίας έχει κίνηση και κόσμο και ο κόσμος περπατάει στο δρόμο απλά εγώ δεν το βλέπω. Οπότε πήγαινα από τα στενά για να έχω ψευδαίσθηση ότι κάπου αλλού υπάρχει κίνηση. Έχει βελτιωθεί πάρα πολύ. Δηλαδή αυτή τη στιγμή σήμερα η μετακίνηση είναι ευχάριστη για το κέντρο, παλιότερα ήταν δύσκολο, με δυσκόλευε, με αναστάτωνε, αισθανόμουν μοναξιά, αισθανόμουν ότι ήμουν σε μια έρημη πόλη, αισθανόμουν τέτοια πράγματα, αυτά.

Εφόσον επισκέπτεσαι το κέντρο καθημερινά νιώθετε ότι η παρουσία των γυναικών και των αντρών είναι ίση; Οποιαδήποτε ώρα της ημέρας καθημερινές ή Σαββατοκυρίακο νιώθετε ότι υπάρχει ετεροβαρής η παρουσία των αντρών έναντι των γυναικών ή το αντίθετο;

10. Ναι για να είμαι ειλικρινής αυτό που πιστεύω αντιμετώπισα στην αρχή στο κέντρο και γενικά στη γύρω περιοχή που διακινούμουν ήταν κάτι που δεν είχα εντοπίσει σε άλλη πόλη και το λέω αυτό γιατί δεν ξέρω???? αλλά το λέω επειδή έχω γεννηθεί σε επαρχία και έχω ...σε νησί βέβαια αλλά έχω δουλέψει σε επαρχία, ξέρω και την Ελληνική επαρχία

κατά κάποιο τρόπο έχω ζήσει στην Αθήνα, ζω στην Αθήνα πια αρκετά χρόνια, στη Λεμεσό υπήρχε ένα βλέμμα.

Βλέμμα! Οκ.

11. Ένα βλέμμα αντρικό απέναντι στη γυναίκα το οποίο σε ότι αφορά δυσχέρανε πάρα πολύ την ένταξη μου στην πόλη. Με συγκεκριμένα παραδείγματα…για παράδειγμα στην Αθήνα αν σταματήσει ένα αμάξι στο κέντρο της πόλης κι αν σταματήσει κάποιος να σου μιλήσει στο κέντρο της πόλης ή σε μια περιοχή άδεια στο κέντρο της πόλης θα σου συμβεί κάτι άσχημο. Εννοώ είναι πολύ πιθανό να έχεις κάποια επίθεση, να προσπαθήσει να σε ληστέψει, να προσπαθήσει οτιδήποτε. Η παρέμβαση στη ιδιωτικότητα της γυναίκας είναι ακάλυπτη, κενή και γίνεται κάθε εν στιγμή. Έχω ξεχαστεί στο γραφείο μου και φοράω ένα κοντό μπλουζάκι γιατί είναι καλοκαίρι 40 βαθμούς Κελσίου και έχει πάει η ώρα το απόγευμα και να έχω πάρει πουκάμισο για να γυρίσω σπίτι και ξέρω ότι με το που θα γυρίσω από το Πανεπιστήμιο στο σπίτι θα σταματήσουν 6 αμάξια στο δρόμο και στην καλύτερη περίπτωση θα με ρωτήσουν πόσο πάω.

Πολύ ενδιαφέρον αυτό που μου λέτε.

12. Είναι όμως πραγματικότητα. Το να κυκλοφορώ με το ποδήλατο στο δρόμο κατ' αρχάς με το που ήρθα στη Λεμεσό είχα ξανθά μαλλιά κάποια στιγμή τα έβαψα, τα σκούρυνα περισσότερο για να μη δίνω στόχο με το ξανθό μαλλί το οποίο ξεχώριζε. Υπήρχαν φορές που γυρνούσα από το γραφείο ακόμη και τώρα έχει λίγο σταματήσει αυτό. Δεν είναι τόσο, αλλά δεν θεωρώ ότι έχει…γυρίζω απ' το γραφείο και ήξερα ότι πρέπει να είμαι έτοιμη να ανταποκριθώ στα καλέσματα, στα σταματήματα και τα λοιπά. Μια γυναίκα να περπατά μόνη της στη Λεμεσό το απόγευμα όταν έχει πέσει ο ήλιος, όχι μόνο όταν πέσει ο ήλιος και χωρίς να πέσει ο ήλιος έχει αλλάξει τα δύο τελευταία χρόνια έχει αλλάξει γιατί έχει βγει κόσμος και περπατάει. Μου είπαν ότι αυτό συμβαίνει επειδή ζω κοντά στη παραλία όμως συνέβαινε σε όλες τις γυναίκες και συναδέλφους μου και δεν το μας μας θεωρούν γιατί μας κάνουν αυτό το πράγμα; Κάποιο προχωρούσε στη παραλία και κοιτούσαν και τύχαινε το βλέμμα μου να πέσει σε άντρα ο άντρας θα με πείραζε, θα ρωτούσε κάτι, θα έπρεπε να με σταματήσει. Ήρθε μια συνάδελφος πρόσφατα στη Λεμεσό και διότι εγώ έλειπα και είχε έρθει 2-3 φορές σε κάποιες διαλέξεις και ήταν πολύ κουρασμένη κάποια στιγμή και της λέω πως αισθάνθηκες μου λέει Αγγελική κουράστηκα πάρα πολύ κατέβηκα να κάνω μια βόλτα το πρωί και 3-4 άτομα έπρεπε να με σταματήσουν να με ρωτήσουν πως με λένε που πάω δεν άντεξα ακόμη και σήμερα προσπαθώ όταν κινούμαι πια δεν κοιτάζω να το σταματάω, αλλά συμβαίνει, χαϊδεύω μια γάτα στο δρόμο και θα με σταματήσει να μου πει γιατί, πως, αυτό είναι πολύ κουραστικό. Πάρα πολύ κουραστικό, σας λέω τον πόνο μου…αυτό το οποίο πάρα πολύ με αναστάτωνε ήταν το βλέμμα των αντρών σε μεγάλη ηλικία ίσως από χωριά δεν ξέρω το βλέμμα που σε έβλεπαν σαν κρέας που εκείνη τη στιγμή καταστρατηγεί ότι είσαι, ότι έχεις

Attributes the masculine look as another reason for not assimilating in the city (F.11)

Believes the masculine look has subsided in the last two years as the city centre became more vibrant (F.12) 7

Feels her blond hair made her a target for the masculine look (F.12)

Identifies the coastal road as the area where she was subjected to the masculine look (F.12)

Feels the masculine look that makes women feel like a «piece of meet» impacts women's gender identity (F.12)

κάνει, ότι έχεις σαν ταυτότητα αποκτήσεις όλα αυτά τα χρόνια να σαν κομμάτι κρέας προς ικανοποίηση αυτό το βλέμμα λοιπόν δεν σε φλερτάρουν, δεν είναι το βλέμμα ενός άντρα που σε βλέπει και σε θαυμάζει είναι το βλέμμα αυτό το οποίο σε βλέπει σαν ένα κομμάτι κρέας. Αυτό το πράγμα είναι κάτι που εμένα με έχει ζορίσει πάρα πολύ. Ίσως επειδή δεν είναι αυτό που λέμε κυκλοφορούσα μόνη μου στο δρόμο, δεν είχε στο κέντρο κόσμο, περπατούσα επειδή δεν περπατάει και πολύ ο κόσμος μόνος του.

Δεν περπατάει ναι. Γυναίκες ιδίως.

13. Έβλεπαν μια γυναίκα να περπατάει στο δρόμο ...όλα αυτά.

Επειδή είναι ενδιαφέρον ιδιαίτερα να καταγράψω τόσο χωρικά όρια όσο και όρια νοητά ή θέματα αντιλήψεων θα μπορούσες να μου περιγράψεις αυτή τη πορεία που έπαιρνες, που παίρνεις, που ένιωθες αυτά τα έντονα συναισθήματα; Γεωγραφικά περίπου να με τοποθετήσεις;

14. Είναι η περιοχή γύρω από το σπίτι μου, δηλαδή που πιάνει το σπίτι μου είναι που σταματάει η ακτή της Λεμεσού που ξεκινάει στην πραγματικότητα η ανάπλαση λίγο πριν το πρώτο καφέ δεν ξέρω πως λέγεται το Θαλασσάκι είναι το πρώτο; Όχι το πρώτο καφέ της Λεμεσού στην παραλία πως λέγεται;

Νομίζω είναι το Θαλασσάκι.

15. Εκεί που ξεκινάνε οι πρώτες ομπρέλες, εκεί που ξεκινάει αυτή η μικρή παραλία από την περιοχή αυτή της παραλίας μέχρι και μπαίνοντας μέσα στην πόλη μέχρι και το πεντάδρομο μέχρι το κάστρο δηλαδή πάνω μετά με τη Μαρίνα ξεκινώντας η Μαρίνα βρήκα άλλο χώρο που είχα ησυχία και εξαφανιζόμουν εκεί και αυτοί ήταν οι χώροι, αυτοί.

Υπάρχουν στιγμές που νιώθεις ανασφαλής στη δική σου γειτονιά;

16. Ανασφάλεια με την έννοια ότι θα μου συμβεί κάτι;

Ναι, ναι.

17. Για να είμαι ειλικρινής δεν έχω αισθανθεί. Δεν αισθάνθηκα δηλαδή ότι κάποιος θα παραβιάσει κάποια όρια σωματικά δεν?????? σε όρια ιδιωτικότητας, ταυτότητας και τα λοιπά ναι εκνευρισμού που δεν ήμουν έτοιμη να το διαχειριστώ γυρνούσα στο γραφείο κουρασμένη, ταλαιπωρημένη θυμάμαι μια φορά ούρλιαξα στο δρόμο σαν υστερία να φωνάξω την αστυνομία επιτέλους με είχανε σταματήσει 5 αμάξια μέχρι να πάω στο σπίτι και δεν σταματούν επιμένουν πάνε και πιο κάτω, και πιο κάτω μέχρι να...όχι ανασφάλεια ενόχληση μεγάλους ανθρώπους φορούσαν γυαλιά μυωπίας είχαν το κεφάλι κατεβασμένο κοιτούσαν ....κοιτάω δεξιά και αριστερά, κουβαλούσα βιβλία στα χέρια για να δείχνω αδιάφορη.

Την περιοχή που μένεις πως θα την περιέγραφες; Είναι κυρίως περιοχή κατοίκησης, είναι μικτής χρήσης πως θα την περιέγραφες;

18. Κατοίκησης είναι αλλά είναι πάνω στη Λεωφόρο και παράλληλα είναι πάνω στη θάλασσα γενικά η Λεμεσός έχει έτσι η ακτή, όρια στον αυτοκινητόδρομο και πάνω στον αυτοκινητόδρομο είναι και τα σπίτια οπότε είναι όλα αυτά μαζί.

Ναι εκτός από τα νέα προάστια βόρεια που είναι καθαρά χώροι κατοίκησης.

19. Όχι, όχι εμένα είναι στο κέντρο στη παραλία όλα μαζί.

Θεωρείς ότι είναι ιδανική περιοχή για κατοίκηση;

20. Εκεί που μένω;

Ναι. Το γεγονός ότι είναι σ' αυτή τη μικτή χρήση, ζώνη μικτής χρήσης παραδείγματος χάριν.

21. Έχει πολλή φασαρία, έχει πολύ κίνηση. Ωστόσο είναι πάνω στη θάλασσα ενώ τα σπίτια βλέπουν στη θάλασσα, 3 λεπτά περνάς το δρόμο κάτω και είσαι πολύ κοντά στη θάλασσα. Η κατά μήκος της ακτής τα σπίτια της παραλίας έχουν άμεση πρόσβαση πάνω στον αυτοκινητόδρομο. Αν σχεδίαζα ξανά την πόλη νομίζω να προσπαθούσα να βγάλω κομμάτια του αυτοκινητόδρομου ή τουλάχιστον να σταματούσε κάπου ο αυτοκινητόδρομος καθώς μπαίνουμε στην πόλη και να τα έβγαζα προς τα έξω για να ορίσω ένα χώρο στο κέντρο.

Να υποθέσω ότι μένεις σε διαμέρισμα.

22. Ναι.

Διότι έχω μια σειρά από ερωτήσεις που κάνω συνήθως όταν κάποιος μένει σε σπίτι. Είχες μεγαλώσει σε σπίτι ή είχες μεγαλώσει σε διαμέρισμα;

23. Έχω μεγαλώσει ως τα 18 μου ζούσε σε διαμε'αλλά πάνω κάτω ναι.

Ο λόγος που ρωτώ είναι επειδή συνήθως γίνεται και μια ζωνοποίηση εντός του σπιτιού από τους αρχιτέκτονες και ο κόσμος δεν υπάρχει αντίληψη για το πόσο συνειδητά είναι που γίνεται αυτή η ζωνοποίηση δηλαδή οι γυναίκες επειδή συνδέονται με τις κουζίνες και οι κουζίνες τοποθετούνται στο πίσω μέρος, κρύβονται κατά κάποιο τρόπο στο πίσω μέρος του σπιτιού ενώ οι πιο δημόσιοι χώροι του σπιτιού τραπεζαρία, καθιστικό, τοποθετούνται πιο κοντά στο δρόμο ο οποίος είναι κατ' εξοχήν δημόσιος θεωρείται δημόσιος χώρος και είναι μια υποσυνείδητη πράξη την οποία εκτελούν οι αρχιτέκτονες και προσπαθώ όταν μένει κάποιος σε σπίτι όταν μεγάλωσε κάποιος σε σπίτι να δω αν όντως αυτό ισχύει και αν υπάρχει συνείδηση αυτού του δεδομένου.

24. Δεν έχω μεγαλώσει σε σπίτι δεν ξέρω αλλά μπορώ να πω για την Ελλάδα.

Ναι, ναι μου κάνει.

25. Στην Ελλάδα... όχι δεν το είχαμε αυτό δεν υπήρχε τις εσωτερικές αυλές από πίσω που φαίνεται από μπροστά και πίσω υπάρχει ένας θαυμαστός κόσμος που μου αρέσει πάρα πολύ, στον τόπο που μεγάλωσα δεν υπάρχει αυτό δεν είχαμε καθόλου στα σπίτια ήταν αυτου του τύπου που είχαν κήπους μπρος, πίσω και οι κουζίνες δεν είχαν... ήταν μπρος και πίσω και στην μπροστινή πλευρά και στο πίσω του σπιτιού που είχανε πρόσβαση. Στα σπίτια, στα διαμερίσματα που ήμασταν στην Αθήνα πάλι το ίδιο νομίζω ήταν οι κουζίνες ήταν διαμερίσματα.

Στα διαμερίσματα ισχύουν άλλα πρότυπα δυστυχώς ή ευτυχώς είναι δύσκολο να τυποποιήσει κάποιος αυτό τον τρόπο.

26. Στο σπίτι μας και γενικά αυτή την αρχιτεκτονική της Κύπρου τα σπιτάκια με τις...δεν την έχω δεν είχα πατήσει καθόλου στη Λευκάδα που ήμουν δεν ήμουν εξοικειωμένη ίσως στα Γιάννενα να ισχύει αυτό αλλά δεν μου έχει κάνει εντύπωση στη Λεμεσό και κόσμος που παίρνω και φιλοξενώ εντυπωσιάζονται από αυτό από τα σπιτάκια τα οποία φαίνονται από μπροστά να έχουν τίποτε και πίσω να'χουν τις αυλές, τις κουζίνες ακόμη και τα μπαρ που φαίνεται να είναι από μπροστά να μην συμβαίνει τίποτε να είναι ένας ήσυχος χώρος και πίσω είναι ένας χώρος γεμάτος κόσμος αλλά πίσω στο πίσω μέρος. Όταν περάσει κάποιος από μπροστά δεν το βλέπει έτσι ώστε να συμμετάσχει πρέπει να το ξέρει.

Είναι μια παλιά τυπολογία αυτή. Πλέον η σύγχρονη τυπολογία είναι αυτή που σου είπα προηγουμένως όπου οι κουζίνες κρύβονται συνειδητά ή ασυνείδητα στο πίσω μέρος του σπιτιού και οι πιο δημόσιοι χώροι... Από τα 6,5 χρόνια που είσαι Κύπρο παρατηρείς ότι η πόλη έχει αλλάξει συνέπεια του ότι οι γυναίκες εργάζονται; Μπορείς να εντοπίσεις κάποιες αλλαγές;

27. Δεν το έχω συνδέσει με το γεγονός ότι οι γυναίκες εργάζονται στην πόλη, είναι σωστό όμως ενδεχομένως έχουν γίνει αλλαγές σε σχέση με το γεγονός ότι το Πανεπιστήμιο έχει έρθει στην πόλη και άρα πολλές γυναίκες φοιτήτριες ενδεχομένως κυκλοφορούν μέσα στην πόλη και το έχω συνδέσει και με το γεγονός ότι έχει αρχίσει ....δεν ξέρω όμως πως το παλεύει ένας ???????? για να έχω σύγκριση εγώ λέω για τα 6,5 χρόνια. Έχει αρχίσει να αναπτύσσεται..υπάρχει κίνηση στους δρόμους ξεφυτρώνουν μαγαζιά, μπαρ κι αυτό ενισχύει την πρόσβαση του κόσμου στο κέντρο και άρα εξομαλύνουν αυτό που είπα εξομαλύνουν...συνηθίζει το βλέμμα την παρουσία των γυναικών που μπορεί να κυκλοφορούν μετά τις 7-8 το απόγευμα που έχει πέσει ο ήλιος και να περπατάνε. Αυτό έχει συμβεί ναι. Δεν το είχα συνδέσει με την εργασία αλλά με το Πανεπιστήμιο και τη ζωή που φαίνεται έτσι να αποκτά το κέντρο και τα έργα γύρω από τα καταστήματα.

Believes the spreading of the university facilites throughout the city centre has motivated many services such as coffee places and eateries (F.28)

Η δική μου η σύνδεση με την εργασία εστιάζει στις χρήσεις περισσότερο που δημιουργούνται στην πόλη. Δηλαδή στην Λεμεσό έχουν αυξηθεί και σε άλλες πόλεις της Κύπρου οι ψησταριές, τα φαστφουντάδικα, τα καθαριστήρια οι οποίες είναι εργασίες που γίνονταν παραδοσιακά στο σπίτι. Εφόσον πλέον οι γυναίκες έχουν λιγότερο ...περνούν λιγότερο χρόνο στο σπίτι, αυτές οι εργασίες πλέον αναγκάζονται και βγαίνουν εκτός σπιτιού. Αυτό είναι μια συνέπεια που παρατηρώ...

Feels services within the city centre has made her urban experience much easier (F.28)

28. Ισχύει σίγουρα το γεγονός στο κομμάτι που έχω παρατηρήσει ισχύει σίγουρα το γεγονός ότι στο Πανεπιστήμιο έτσι όπως έχει διασπαρθεί μέσα στην πόλη και τα κτίρια που υπάρχουν δεξιά κι αριστερά ενίσχυσαν τέτοιου τύπου επιχειρήσεις δηλαδή φαγητό γρήγορο, καφέ, εξυπηρετήσεις τέτοιου τύπου πια και όλες μου τις δουλειές τις κάνω γρήγορα στο κέντρο και σκέφτομαι αν υπήρχαν κι άλλα θα με διευκόλυναν ακόμα περισσότερο άλλου τέτοιου τύπου υπηρεσίες και το γεγονός ότι είχε φύγει η Τράπεζα είχε μια Τράπεζα Κύπρου στην Λεωφόρο Αθηνών ήταν απώλεια ....γιατί η τράπεζα ανάγκαζε πολύ κόσμο και γυναίκες και άντρες καθημερινά στο κέντρο ακριβώς ήταν στο κέντρο Αθηνών και Ανεξαρτησίας να περνάνε. Ενώ τώρα έχει πάει πιο πάνω στον πεντάδρομο ο πεντάδρομος όμως περνάνε αμάξια δεν έχει τόσο ...οπόταν ναι στο ότι έχω παρατηρήσει νομίζω θα συμφωνήσω.

Υπάρχουν κάποιες θεωρίες που συσχετίζουν τις γυναίκες με επαναληπτικές οικιακές εργασίες. Ότι έχουν μια υπεροχή στις επαναληπτικές οικιακές εργασίες εν αντιθέσει με τους άντρες τους οποίους τα εργασιακά μοντέλα είναι πιο στοχευμένα δηλαδή ο άντρας εργάζεται για την προαγωγή, για την απόκτηση αυτοκινήτου, και αυτή η θεωρία λέει ότι εφόσον οι γυναίκες έχουν αυτή την υπεροχή στις οικιακές επαναληπτικές εργασίες αυτό τις καθιστά πιο κατάλληλες να διαχειρίζονται θέματα της πόλης, θέματα του αστικού χώρου ως

μια επέκταση του νοικοκυριού τους. Εσύ πως τοποθετείσαι σε αυτές τις θεωρίες;

29. Εντάξει γενικά υποστηρίζεται ότι όλα αυτά είναι κατασκευές ότι είναι ....συγκεκριμένους λόγους γιατί βοηθάνε...αυτό υποστηρίζεται.
Ναι.

30. Όταν κάνετε όμως μια κατασκευή δεν σημαίνει ότι απλά η κατασκευή...
27:30-27:50 δεν ακούγεται

31. Να 'σαι νοικοκυρεμένη κι εσύ είσαι ????????? για να φέρεις λεφτά στο σπίτι ενδεχομένως να ισχύει σίγουρα κάποιος ο οποίος έχει μάθει τον έχουν εντάξει να βγούνε έξω και να ?????????? θα το κάνει καλύτερα. Αν με ρωτήσεις βέβαια εμένα προσωπικά τη δική μου άποψη θεωρώ ότι η γυναίκα οφείλει να αναγνωρίσουμε τα ιδιαίτερα χαρακτηριστικά μιας γυναίκας και τις ιδιαίτερες ανάγκες ενδεχομένως να τοποθετηθούν και στο χώρο δηλαδή και στον αστικό χώρο. Αυτό. Ποια είναι αυτά, πως χαρτογραφούνται και τα λοιπά είναι μια μεγάλη.???

Οι δημοτικές αρχές γενικότερα ίσως μπορεί να μπορείς να αναφερθείς στις δημοτικές αρχές σε πόλεις που έχεις ζήσει περισσότερα χρόνια παρά στη Λεμεσό αλλά εγώ θα ρωτήσω εν πάση περιπτώσει. Νιώθεις ότι όταν διαμορφώνονται νόμοι και κανονισμοί ότι οι δημοτικές αρχές αξιολογούν και αντιπροσωπεύουν τις ανάγκες των γυναικών ή άλλων μειονοτήτων εν πάση περιπτώσει;

32. Δεν γνωρίζω. Έχω παρατηρήσει και στη Λεμεσό και στην Αθήνα στο κέντρο της Αθήνας αισθάνομαι ότι προσπαθούν με κάποιο τρόπο λίγο άκαρδα, λίγο αδιέξοδα, λίγο ....μπορεί να έχουν την ???????? αλλά δεν θεωρώ ότι ας πούμε ότι μπορείς να έχεις ένα καροτσάκι με το μωρό και να προχωρήσεις εύκολα σε μια πόλη όπως είναι Αθήνα όμως μπορείς να είσαι με καροτσάκι και να περπατήσεις σε μια πόλη Λεμεσό δηλαδή πεζοδρόμια, η Λεμεσός κατ' αρχάς είναι πρόνοια για τους πεζούς ένα απλό παράδειγμα γιατί ο κόσμος δεν περπατάει στον πεντάδρομο δεν υπάρχει πρόνοια είναι φτιαγμένα με τέτοιο τρόπο έτσι ώστε ένας πεζός να ???????? ο δημόσιος χώρος δεν είναι ανεπτυγμένος τόσο στο κέντρο διότι δεν υπάρχει πρόνοια για τον πεζό να περάσεις τον πεντάδρομο να προλάβεις και να πεις στην καλύτερη έχουμε τέτοιους δρόμους και φανάρια για τον πεζό δεν υπάρχουν μόνο ένα στη μια πλευρά του δρόμου. Αυτό είναι ένδειξη οι ελλείψεις που έχουμε για το δημόσιο χώρο. Εγώ αισθάνθηκα πρώτη φορά στη Λεμεσό ότι υπήρχε ένας χώρος στον οποίο μπορούσα να πάω λιγάκι πέρα απ' τη θάλασσα να πάω λιγάκι για να ηρεμήσω και να χαλαρώσω και να είναι καθαρός από τους θορύβους της πόλης, τα αμάξια, να είμαι προστατευμένη και τα λοιπά ήταν ο χώρος της Μαρίνας. Ήταν ο μόνος πρώτος δημόσιος χώρος που μπορούσε να μου προσφέρει έτσι μια ασφάλεια και μια γαλήνη να πάρω καρότσι αν είχα το μωρό να περπατήσω να το βγάλω εκεί ήταν ο μόνος χώρος που αισθάνθηκα.

Agrees that formerly domestic uses tranfered onto the urban scale support and help women (F.29)

Believes women need to acknowledge and embrace differences and that women's needs must be accommodated and purscribed in built form (F.31)

Does not think women with young children can move around the city on foot (F.32)

Believes the management and design of Limassol does not consider pedestrians (F.32)

Ο λόγος που ρωτώ συνήθως για τις δημοτικές αρχές εκτός από το θέμα των πεζοδρομίων και του φωτισμού και της ευκολίας κάποιου να διακινηθεί με εξαρτώμενους στο κέντρο είναι και οι δημόσιες τουαλέτες δεν ξέρω έχεις πάει καμιά φορά σε δημόσια τουαλέτα στη Λεμεσό;

33. Γενικά σε καμιά πόλη δεν πηγαίνω στις δημόσιες τουαλέτες.

Και ανήκεις στην πλειονότητα των γυναικών με τις οποίες έχω μιλήσει. Απλά παρατηρείται ότι οι δημόσιες τουαλέτες έχουν τον ίδιο αριθμό τουαλετών για τους άντρες και τις γυναίκες και αυτό εκ των πραγμάτων μπορεί να δείχνει μια ισότητα αλλά στην ουσία δεν είναι διότι οι γυναίκες έχουν άλλες ανάγκες από τις τουαλέτες από το πιο απλό το ότι χρειάζονται περισσότερο χρόνο στις τουαλέτες από τους άντρες. Και αυτό από μόνο του δείχνει ότι υπάρχει μια άγνοια στις ανάγκες των γυναικών όταν διαμορφώνονται νόμοι και κανονισμοί της πόλης. Το θέμα των συμμετοχικών διεργασιών θα σε ρωτήσω αν και αντιλαμβάνομαι ότι δεν έχεις εξαρτώμενους πως θα αξιολογούσες την πιθανότητα διαμοιρασμού καθημερινών υποχρεώσεων με άτομα εκτός του άμεσου οικογενειακού περιβάλλοντος.

34. Δηλαδή;

Δηλαδή να μοιράζεστε υποχρεώσεις όπως μαγείρεμα ή μπουγάδα ή ψώνισμα με άλλα άτομα στη γειτονιά. Αυτό φυσικά θα σήμαινε να παραχωρήσεις κάποιους από τους ιδιωτικούς σου χώρους. Θα ήταν μια συνθήκη κατοίκησης που θα έβρισκες ελκυστική ή που σε αφήνει αδιάφορη ή...πώς θα το αξιολογούσες;

35. Το έχω κάπως σκεφτεί γιατί ανήκω σε μια τέτοια συλλογικότητα έχουμε μια συλλογικότητα στο πάρκο της Ακαδημίας κάνουμε πράγματα και τα λοιπά. Εχω απλά σκεφτεί το συζητάμε μετά πολύ έντονα η παρέα μου είναι στην Ελλάδα έχω πάρα πολλούς φίλους στην Κύπρο αλλά το κομμάτι συζητάμε ότι κάποια στιγμή ότι όλοι θα ζήσουμε μαζί. Θα ζήσουμε σε ένα χώρο όλοι μαζί ... δεν ξέρω αλλά συζητάμε ότι καθώς περνούν τα χρόνια θα ζήσουμε όλοι μαζί.

Δεν ξέρω πως θα είναι δεν ξέρω πως είναι να μοιράζεται κανείς ιδιωτικό χώρο νομίζω ότι εγώ προσωπικά στη δουλειά σκέφτομαι, γράφω και πρέπει να έχω και τέτοιους χώρους θα διεκδικούσα πάντα ιδιωτικότητα αλλά πολύ εύκολα μοιράζομαι σε μια συλλογικότητα.

Πάρα πολύ ενδιαφέρον. Αυτές ήταν οι ερωτήσεις οι δομημένες που είχα. Υπάρχει κάτι άλλο που νιώθεις ότι θέλεις να μου πεις που δεν προέκυψε από τη συζήτηση;

36. Όχι νομίζω ότι τα έχω καλύψει όλα. Στη Λεμεσό νιώθω ότι προχωράμε με κανένα δυο φίλες στο δρόμο στο κέντρο και λέμε ότι αυτή την πόλη εμείς την φτιάξαμε με τα περπατήματά μας πάνω κάτω. Ήταν τόση ανάγκη να υπάρξει ένας χώρος σαν το χώρο που εμείς θέλαμε να υπάρχει η δομή και το ζητήσαμε με το τι στηρίξαμε με αυτό το μπαρ είναι δικό μας εμείς το φτιάξαμε, αυτό το σοκάκι είναι δικό μας εμείς το περπατήσαμε. Αυτό. Το βασικό....

Μου κάνει τρομερή εντύπωση αυτό που είπες για το βλέμμα διότι είσαι η 30η κοπέλα με την οποία μιλώ και είσαι η πρώτη που το αναφέρεις.

Appendix J

Sample of Initial Code (Participant A, code name: Ariana)
black text: interviewer, red text: participant, blue text: initial code

___

Την ηλικία μπορώ να ρωτήσω την ηλικία;
49
Χώρος εργασίας; Γεωγραφικά.
Λεμεσό.
Σε πια περιοχή στη Λεμεσό;
Είναι Αγία Φύλα είναι κέντρο πόλης μάλλον.
Ναι ξέρω που είναι απλά το ήθελα για τους σκοπούς της μαγνητοφώνησης. Δρόμος διαμονής.
Διαμονής. Στρατηγού Τιμάγια.
Υπάρχουν εξαρτώμενοι;
Όχι.

Assumes «dependants» refers only to children. She seems responsible for elderly parents (A.17)

Θεωρείς ότι μια πόλη πρέπει να έχει ένα κέντρο;
1. Ναι είναι καλά.
Πώς θα περιέγραφες το κέντρο μιας πόλης γενικά;
2. Καταστήματα, sites...
Άρα συνδέεις το κέντρο με εμπορική δραστηριότητα;
3. Ναι με εμπορική και διοικητική ας πούμε το Municipality, το ταχυδρομείο, αυτά συνήθως είναι...

Linking public realm with commercial and administrative services (A.3)

Θεωρείς ότι είναι απαραίτητο μια πόλη να έχει κέντρο;
4. Ναι.
Το κέντρο της Λεμεσού πώς θα το εντόπιζες; Ποιο νομίζεις ότι είναι το κέντρο της Λεμεσού;
5. Είναι εκεί που είναι η Αγία Νάπα. Τώρα το έκαναν και φαίνεται μάλιστα.

Attributing importance to the appearance of the city's centre as a landmark (A.5)

Πως το εννοείς;
6. Οι δρόμοι....το έκαναν σαν γειτονιά εκεί.
Άρα είναι σημαντικό επίσης το ότι είναι προσβάσιμο και με τα πόδια;

Referring to a vague entity as being responsible for urban development («they») (A.5, A.6, A.8)

7. Όχι για την Κύπρο. Ας πούμε ο παπάς μου που είχε κατάστημα στην Αγίου Ανδρέου εκεί που έκαναν το πεζόδρομο τώρα και μας κατάστρεψαν. Το pedestrian δηλαδή. Δεν περπατά άνθρωπος πλέον.
Αυτό είναι ενδιαφέρον. Είναι γενικευμένη αυτή η αντίληψη ότι αυτή τη στιγμή που πεζοδρομήθηκε η Αγίου Ανδρέου υπήρχε έτσι μια πτώση στη κίνηση στα καταστήματα;

Not favouring pedestrianism. Resigning to the fact that people don't walk anymore (A.7)

8. Σίγουρα, σίγουρα. Άλλαξε ο τύπος των καταστημάτων το έκαναν τελείως παζαράκι, ενώ ας πούμε πας στη Φλωρεντία, πας στη Ρώμη και βλέπεις το old down town έχει του κόσμου της μπουτίκ, του κόσμου...είναι αναβαθμισμένο τέλος πάντων το κέντρο εμάς είναι μόνο αν θα κάνεις κανένα εστιατοράκι, κανένα μπαράκι....
Άρα συνδέεις και με την ιστορικότητα το κέντρο μιας πόλης...
9. Ναι. Εκείνο είναι το κέντρο εκεί που άρχισε η πόλη έτσι το βλέπω το κέντρο. Τώρα όπως κάνουν τις

Resenting non-historic city centres (A.9)

πόλεις όπως και στην Αμερική έχουν πολλά κέντρα. Κάνουν ένα mall και κτίζεται η περιοχή γύρω γύρω.

Ο χώρος εργασίας σου που βρίσκεται σε σχέση με το κέντρο; Θεωρείς ότι είναι κεντρικός;

10. Είναι αρκετά κεντρικό ναι. Είμαστε ούτε ένα χιλιόμετρο μακριά.

Το κέντρο της Λεμεσού πως θα το αξιολογούσες; Θεωρείς ότι είναι οικείο, ότι υπάρχουν ελλείψεις, πως θα αξιολογούσες το κέντρο της πόλης;

11. Σε ποιο πράγμα ελλείψεις;

Σε υπηρεσίες ίσως.

12. Κοίτα, το κεντρικό ταχυδρομείο έφυγε από εκεί που ήταν απέναντι από το Municipality και μπήκε το ΤΕΠΑΚ. Το γεγονός ότι άρχισαν το ΤΕΠΑΚ να σου πω και άλλη φάση διότι μας έκαναν wide zone περιουσία γιατί είμαστε εκεί οι γονείς μου είναι από το κέντρο. Μας το έκαναν για πέντε χρόνια wide zone δεν μπορούσαμε να νοικιάσουμε, δεν μπορούσαμε να...και το αποτέλεσμα δεν είχαν λεφτά, τα έφαγαν, δεν ξέρω, εμείς μείναμε έτσι. Τη δική μας την περιουσία την αχρήστεψαν τελείως. Τι σημαίνει αρχίζω Πανεπιστήμιο μέσα στο κέντρο της πόλης και πιάνω από τους...άρχισε επειδή τα Πανεπιστήμια που είναι μέσα στα κέντρα των πόλεων σε άλλες πόλεις ήταν η πόλις που εμεγάλωσε γύρω από το Πανεπιστήμιο. Όχι να πάνε να φύγουν όλους τους ????? και βάλανε το Πανεπιστήμιο μέσα στη μέση.

Resenting the university facilities because of their impact on personal property (Α.12)

Έχεις δίκαιο.

13. Είμαι και παθών γι' αυτό με πονάει αυτό το πράγμα.

Χαίρομαι που ακούω και αυτή την προοπτική διότι οι παραπάνω συμμετέχουσες ιδίως αυτές που εργάζονται στο κέντρο είναι με ενθουσιασμό που έβλεπαν την κάθοδο του ΤΕΠΑΚ και πως έχει αναβιώσει το κέντρο αλλά είναι καλά να υπάρχει και η αντίθετη άποψη. Νιώθεις ότι στο κέντρο της Λεμεσού είναι το ίδιο αισθητή η παρουσία των αντρών και των γυναικών γενικά οποιαδήποτε ώρα της ημέρας; Νιώθεις ότι υπάρχει κάποια ώρα της ημέρας που να υπάρχουν περισσότερο γυναίκες ή παραπάνω άντρες; Κάποια μέρα της εβδομάδας ίσως που να υπάρχουν περισσότερο γυναίκες από περισσότερο άντρες;

14. Δεν νομίζω...δεν το βλέπω.

Γενικά είναι ίση η παρουσία. Νιώθεις ότι το κέντρο της πόλης προσφέρει τις ίδιες ευκαιρίες και διευκολύνσεις στους άντρες και στις γυναίκες; Θα ξαναέρθω σε αυτό αλλά απάντησε μου τώρα έτσι ενστικτωδώς αν μπορείς.

Perceives equal numbers of men and women in public places (Α.14)

15. Ναι θα έλεγα. Απλώς να σου πω και ένα άλλο πράγμα ας πούμε στο σπίτι...είσαι familiar με τη Λεμεσό το κέντρο;

Ναι, ναι.

16. Ξέρεις που είναι η Τράπεζα της Ελλάδος απέναντι από το Δημαρχείο;

Ναι βέβαια.

Perceives equal opportunities for men and women in the city (Α.15)

17. Από εκείνο το δρόμο κάτω στο τέρμα είναι η περιουσία μας. Το λοιπόν, ο παπάς μου είναι handicap. Μας έβαλαν τα παλούκια και δεν μπορούμε, φοβόμαστε και να βγούμε έξω διότι που θα έρθουμε θα έχει σταθμευμένο...παίρνεις την Αστυνομία και δεν τους νοιάζει ή κλείνουν τα τηλέφωνα...όλη μέρα τσακωνόμαστε...Πάει εκεί παρκάρει το αυτοκίνητο της Carlsberg ξεφορτώνει στο El Posto, στο ένα στο άλλο...Έρχεται μετά η ΚΕΟ, μετά η Coca Cola ξέρεις και πάμε εμείς παίζουμε την πουρού

κάνουμε γύρω του μπλοκ μέχρι να αποφασίσουν να φύγουν αυτοί όλοι και να έχει και τροχονόμο εκεί και να του λέω βάλε ticket. Όταν βάλεις ticket δεν θα τολμούν να παρκάρουν. Όχι δεν βάζουν. Και έχουμε πολλά προβλήματα. Δηλαδή ο μη γένοιτο το να πάθουν κάτι οι γονείς μου μπορεί να μην μπορούμε να φύγουμε ή να έρθουν εκεί.

Αυτό είναι πάρα πολύ σοβαρό θέμα και το εξετάζω στα πλαίσια της μελέτης μου η προσβασιμότητα του κέντρου της Λεμεσού για κάποιον που έχει εξαρτώμενους.

18. Ή ας πούμε θέλουμε να καλέσουμε ένα φίλο δεν γίνεται να του ανοίγετε. Μα κύριε, μου έκλεισες το σπίτι μου δηλαδή μες το χώρο της περιουσίας μας μπορεί να μπουν και 20 αυτοκίνητα άνετα ας πούμε και να μην μπορώ να καλέσω κάποιον να έρθει να με δει. Είναι τραγική η κατάσταση. Όταν έρθεις να δεις εκεί ερήμωσαν όλα...

Εμένα το σπίτι μου είναι απέναντι από την Αγία Τριάδα, άρα και μένα είναι κεντρικά, φυσικά τα Σαββατοκυρίακα ερχόμαστε επειδή είμαι κυρίως Λευκωσία αλλά ανάλογα με το τι ώρα θα έρθουμε Λεμεσό το Σάββατο παίζεται αν θα βρούμε να παρκάρουμε προς τα Δικαστήρια. Η μάμα μου η οποία είναι και λίγο κουτσή όταν έρχεται φορτωμένη με το αυτοκίνητο με τα ζώα, με οτιδήποτε, είναι πάρα πολύ δύσκολο να μπορέσει να ξεφορτώσει να μπει σπίτι της. Είναι μεγάλη διαδικασία.

19. Ακριβώς και γι' αυτό εμένα μ' ενοχλεί το αυτόν της Αστυνομίας. Δηλαδή δεν σηκώνονται να έρθουν με το περιπολικό...

Στους εργασιακούς χώρους γενικότερα τώρα, νιώθεις ότι δίνονται ίσες ευκαιρίες στους άντρες και στις γυναίκες;

20. Όχι βέβαια.

Δεκτό το κρατώ αυτό. Ποια μέρη της πόλης επισκέπτεσαι πιο συχνά και γιατί;

21. Κοίτα, πάω down town λόγω των γονιών μου περισσότερο και παραλία.

Κάποιες άλλες υπηρεσίες ή διευκολύνσεις;

22. Δηλαδή;

Καθαριστήρια, σούπερμάρκετ, ψησταριά...

23. Όχι εκτός κέντρου σίγουρα.

Πόσο χρόνο παίρνει να πας δουλειά το πρωί και να επιστρέψεις το βράδυ;

24. Πολύ λίγο 7 λεπτά μένω εκεί που είναι τα φώτα του Αριέλ εγώ.

Οι πιο σημαντικές υπηρεσίες της καθημερινότητάς σου; Το σούπερμάρκετ, καθαριστήριο και σχολείο μόλις είπες ότι τα βρίσκεις εκτός του κέντρου κοντά στην περιοχή του σπιτιού σου. Και υποθέτω ότι θεωρείς ότι οι αποστάσεις που διανύεις καθημερινά είναι διαχειρίσιμες σωστά.

25. Σίγουρα ναι.

Υπάρχουν χώροι στην πόλη που δεν θα πήγαινες κάποιες ώρες της ημέρας;

26. Κοίτα γενικά...μιλάς για safety;

Τα πάντα. Το safety θα σε ρωτήσω πιο μετά αλλά αν
νιώθεις ότι είναι θέμα ασφάλειας πες το μου από τώρα.

Feeling increasingly insecure in public places, but cannot specify (A.27)

27. Κοίτα ας πούμε που ήμουν και πιο μικρή
περπατούσα άνετα μέσα στους δρόμους δεν φοβόμουν.
Τώρα δεν αισθάνομαι τόσο safe..

Νιώθεις ότι αν ήσουν με το αυτοκίνητο θα ήταν παραπάνω ασφάλεια; Δηλαδή
δεν νιώθεις ανασφαλής όταν είσαι με το αυτοκίνητο νιώθεις ανασφαλής όταν
είσαι με τα πόδια.

28. Ε ναι.

Feeling safe in the car (A.28)

Αυτό το ρωτώ διότι θεωρώ ότι είναι και υποχρέωση μου να ενθαρρύνω το θέμα
της αντίληψης το ότι γενικότερα η ανάπτυξης της Λεμεσού έχει γίνει με βάση το
αυτοκίνητο όχι με βάση τον πεζό με βάση τα τροχοφόρα. Υπάρχουν στιγμές
που νιώθεις ανασφαλής στη δική σου γειτονιά;

29. Κοίταξε αν βγω έξω και έρθω η ώρα 3:00 το πρωί θα είμαι λίγο conscious
που θα μπω σπίτι μου.

Ποιοι θεωρείς ότι είναι οι λόγοι για τις ανασφαλείς περιοχές
στην πόλη; Έχει να κάνει με τις ώρες της ημέρας, με τις χρήσεις,
με τη διάσπαση του οικογενειακού πυρήνα, αύξηση ποσοστού
μεταναστών, έλλειψη ενδιαφέροντος του κρατικού μηχανισμού,
που θα απέδιδες εσύ...

Considers herself responsible for her personal safely (A.29)

30. Σίγουρα οι μετανάστες παίζουν ρόλο διότι
έχει...ξέρεις...κλεψιές...παραδείγματος χάριν η μάμα μου έχει
φώτα τη νύχτα διότι έρχονταν μας έσπαζαν πράγματα, μας
πείραζαν τα αυτοκίνητα, προσπαθούσαν να μας κλέψουν το
αυτοκίνητό μας...

Feeling threatened by immigrants (A.30)

Να σας κλέψουν το αυτοκίνητό σας;

32. Ναι. Έσπασαν το τζάμι, διάφορα. Φέρναμε την αστυνομία αλλά καλά δεν θα
πάρετε δακτυλικά αποτυπώματα; Μα ξέρεις πόσο δύσκολο; Μα επειδή σας
έκλεψαν το ράδιο του αυτοκινήτου για 300 ευρώ να βάλω να κάμω δακτυλικά;

Σας είπε τέτοιο πράγμα;

33. Ναι. Μετά το 2020 μας είπαν που θα πάρουμε κι άλλους.

Πρέπει να πάτε στην εφημερίδα να τα πείτε αυτά τα πράγματα...

34. Μα τι να πεις. Δεν τους βαρέθηκες ακόμα; Τι να πω...Ο νους τους είναι στο
πώς να πάρουν λεφτά όχι στο να προστατεύσουν τον κόσμο.

Θεωρείς ότι η περιοχή που μένεις είναι ιδανική για κατοίκηση; Υπάρχουν
κάποια θετικά, κάποια αρνητικά στην περιοχή που μένεις;

35. Μιλάς για τους γονείς μου που μένουν down town

Για σένα, που μένεις εσύ.

36. Είναι καλή ναι, καλή περιοχή έχει δίπλα το Alfa Mega έχει
διάφορα καταστήματα κοντά στη Γρίβα Διγενή.

Associates a good residential area with the presence of shops and services (A.36)

Σπίτι ή διαμέρισμα;

37. Διαμέρισμα.

Ποιους χώρους του σπιτιού θεωρείς ποιο οικείους;

38. Όλους.

Το ρωτώ αυτό συνήθως όταν τίθεται θέμα σπιτιού και οι γυναίκες συνήθως

μου απαντάνε ότι η κουζίνα είναι πιο οικεία …

39. Α, όχι. Εγώ καθόλου με την κουζίνα σίγουρα δεν έχω σχέση.

Θεωρείς ότι οι επαγγελματίες του δομημένου περιβάλλοντος παραδείγματος χάριν οι αρχιτέκτονες κατανοούν τις ανάγκες των γυναικών όταν σχεδιάζουν χώρους;

40. Είναι διαφορετικές από τους άντρες;

Χμ…για να με ρωτάς σημαίνει κάπως αλλιώς το βλέπεις εσύ.

41. Κοίτα ας πούμε αν μιλάς για χώρους εργασίας ή για χώρους οικιστικούς;

Είτε το ένα είτε το άλλο. Οι περισσότεροι συνήθως άμα το ρωτώ αυτό μου απαντούν για χώρους οικιστικούς και οι απόψεις πάντα ?????

42. Ας πούμε οι άντρες τους αρέσει να έχουν ένα δωμάτιο που να έχουν τα gadgets τους. Τώρα, νομίζω ότι μιλώντας ίσως όχι για τώρα αλλά πριν όπως γίνονταν τα σπίτια τίποτε δεν παιρνόταν into consideration. Μια μόλα, άσχημα πράγματα…

Και υπήρχε και μια ζωνοποίηση μέσα στο σπίτι η οποία συνήθως δεν γίνεται αισθητή εκτός αν σου το υποδείξει κάποιος δηλαδή οι δημόσιοι χώροι του σπιτιού, τα καθιστικά, οι τραπεζαρίες ήταν πιο κοντά στο δρόμο και οι ιδιωτικοί χώροι ήταν πιο κρυμμένα και αυτό είχε μια επίδραση στην ταυτότητα των γυναικών διότι η γυναίκα η οποία έχει την οικειότητα με την κουζίνα βρίσκεται εκ των πραγμάτων στο πίσω μέρος του σπιτιού κρύβεται ακόμα περισσότερο μέσα στο ίδιο το σπίτι. Σχολίασε σε παρακαλώ κατά πόσο μεγαλώνοντας οι γονείς σου τηρούσαν τα πρότυπα άντρας και γυναίκα δηλαδή αν η μητέρα ήταν υπεύθυνη για τις οικιακές εργασίες και ο πατέρας υπεύθυνος για τα βιοποριστικά.

43. Όχι.

Δεν ίσχυε αυτό.

44. Όχι, όχι.

Θεωρείς ότι η πόλη έχει αλλάξει από τότε που οι γυναίκες εισήχθησαν στους εργασιακούς χώρους;

45. Η πόλη έχει αλλάξει αλλά δεν νομίζω ότι είναι επειδή είναι οι γυναίκες που μπήκαν στους χώρους.

Με ποιους τρόπους θεωρείς εσύ ότι η πόλη έχει αλλάξει;

46. Εννοείς η πόλη ως …

Να σου πω τι εννοώ. Εγώ παρατηρώ ότι επειδή η Λεμεσός είναι και σχετικά πρόσφατα δημιουργήθηκε σαν οργανωμένος οικισμός και υπήρχε έντονη αστικοποίηση μετά το ΄60 μετά το ΄50 και οι γυναίκες μπήκαν στους εργασιακούς χώρους περί το ΄70-80 και κυρίως το ΄90 παρατηρώ ότι αυξήθηκαν οι ψησταριές, τα φαστφουντάδικα, τα καθαριστήρια. Αυτές οι εργασίες συνήθως γίνονταν μέσα στο σπίτι ενώ όταν οι γυναίκες βγήκαν πλέον από το σπίτι και άρχισαν να πηγαίνουν στα γραφεία δεν είχαν χρόνο να κάνουν αυτές τις οικιακές εργασίες. Άρα αυτές οι εργασίες βγαίνουν προς τα έξω. Αυτή θεωρώ ότι είναι μια αλλαγή της πόλης.

47. Ναι αυτό έγινε επίσης τα ωράρια που μεγάλωσαν είναι πράγμα του καπιταλισμού που τα mall ή είναι επειδή άμα η γυναίκα ήταν μέσα στη κουζίνα μπορούσε να πάρει και

Is unsure whether men's and women's needs in the built environment are different (A.40, A.52)

Identifies men's needs. Does not identify any women's needs (A.42) Believes neither men's nor women's needs are taking into consideration (A.42)

Acknowledges that the city has changed, but not because of women's entry into the workforce (A.45)

Identifies longer opening hours of shops as a consequence of capitalism and women entering the workforce (A.47)

το αυτοκίνητο της να πάει να κάνει μια δουλειά, όταν όμως ήταν μέσα στο γραφείο δεν μπορούσε.

Σωστά.

Άρα εσύ πως εντοπίζεις άλλες αλλαγές της Λεμεσού και που τις αποδίδεις τις αλλαγές;

48. Εγώ μιλώ περισσότερο socially ξένους, το γεγονός ότι πριν πήγαινες οπουδήποτε εμείς οι παλιοί Λεμεσιανοί αν μπορώ να ονομάσω και τον εαυτό μου ξέραμε τους πάντες τώρα δεν ξέρεις κανένα έγινε πολλά μεγάλο ????????? πολύς κόσμος ήρθε από έξω από τα χωριά μέσα στις πόλεις αυτό όλο το immigration άλλαξε, άλλαξε φυσικά. Οικιακές βοηθοί ήταν μεγάλη επιρροή.

Να σε ρωτήσω κάτι. Υπάρχει μια θεωρία στον αστικό σχεδιασμό που λέει ότι οι γυναίκες εφόσον συσχετίζονται με τις επαναληπτικές οικιακές εργασίες η ταυτότητα των γυναικών τελοσπάντων, η οποία είναι επίκτητη εντάξει; Υπάρχει μια θεωρία που λέει εφόσον οι γυναίκες σχετίζονται με αυτές τις επαναληπτικές οικιακές εργασίες αυτό τους δίνει την ευχέρεια να είναι και καλύτερες στο να διαχειρίζονται την πόλη σαν μια επέκταση του νοικοκυριού ενώ οι άντρες είναι προγραμματισμένοι να στοχεύουν σε συγκεκριμένα landmarks της ζωής τους, την προαγωγή, την αγορά του αυτοκινήτου, την αγορά του οικοπέδου.

Εσύ πως αξιολογείς αυτή τη θεωρία;

49. Γενικά πιστεύω ότι οι γυναίκες είναι πιο capable.

Πως εξηγείς τότε το ότι δεν υπάρχει ουσιαστική παρουσία των γυναικών στις δημοτικές αρχές..

50. Clear discrimination. Είναι το Corporate seeing το λεγόμενο δεν θέλουν τις γυναίκες μέσα στα πόδια τους. Και αυτό είναι πολύ αισθητό μέσα στην Κύπρο. Δεν βλέπεις υψηλά ιστάμενες γυναίκες βάζουν 1 στους 100 και την διαφημίζουν για να μην φαίνεται ότι οι υπόλοιποι άλλοι είναι άντρες.

Θεωρείς ότι οι δημοτικές αρχές αντιπροσωπεύουν τις ανάγκες των γυναικών όταν διαμορφώνουν νόμους και κανονισμούς;

52. Όχι. Αλλά δεν καταλαβαίνω γιατί οι γυναίκες πρέπει να λαμβάνονται υπόψη διαφορετικά από τους άντρες.

Να σου πω ένα παράδειγμα. Οι δημόσιες τουαλέτες όσες φορές έχω ρωτήσει η απάντηση ήταν πάντα όχι αλλά θα τολμήσω να ξαναρωτήσω. Πήγες ποτέ σε δημόσια τουαλέτα;

53. Στην Κύπρο;

Ναι. Στη Λεμεσό. Είναι εντάξει να μου πεις όχι όλες οι κοπέλες είπαν όχι.

54. Κοίταξε που ήμουν μικρή μπορεί να πήγαινα..

Ο λόγος που ρωτώ είναι επειδή υπάρχει μια τεράστια μελέτη μιας γυναίκας η οποία αποδεικνύει, στοιχειοθετεί ότι οι ανάγκες των γυναικών και των αντρών από τις τουαλέτες είναι εντελώς διαφορετικές οι γυναίκες χρειάζονται περισσότερη καθαριότητα και περισσότερο χρόνο. Άρα το να στήνεις μια τουαλέτα δημόσια και να έχεις τον ίδιο αριθμό τουαλέτες για τους

άντρες και τον ίδιο αριθμό τουαλέτες για τις γυναίκες φαινομενικά αποτελεί μια κατάσταση ισότητας αλλά πρακτικά δεν είναι ίση διότι είναι διαφορετικές ανάγκες τους μεν από τους δεν.

55. Δεν νομίζω όμως να τις λαμβάνουν υπόψη όχι.

Σύμφωνοι. Και ξέρεις δεν ξέρει κάποιος που να το αποδώσει. Δηλαδή λες είναι επειδή δεν υπάρχουν γυναίκες νομοθέτες, γυναίκες που να είναι τεχνοκράτες, διερωτάσαι...

56. Και γενικά οι σύμβουλοι τολμώ να πω ότι ο καθένας βγαίνει για το δικό του συμφέρον δηλαδή να ξέρουν που είναι οι ζώνες ανάπτυξης να πάνε να αγοράσουν χωράφι φτηνό, να εκμεταλλευτούν, 2-3 που ξέρω που μπήκαν δεν νομίζω να κάνουν τίποτα για οποιοδήποτε άλλο εκτός από τον εαυτό τους. Δυστυχώς αυτή είναι η .....

Ναι είναι κυρίως οικονομικά τα κίνητρα η αλήθεια. Δεν μπορεί κάποιος να το πει διαφορετικά. Να σου κάνω και τις τελευταίες 3 ερωτήσεις που έχουν να κάνουν με αυτό που αποκαλώ συμμετοχικές διεργασίες. Πώς αξιολογείς τη πιθανότητα διαμοιρασμού καθημερινών υποχρεώσεων με άτομα εκτός του άμεσου οικογενειακού περιβάλλοντος. Δηλαδή να μοιράζεσαι υποχρεώσεις όπως μαγείρεμα, μπουγάδα, ή ψώνισμα με άλλα άτομα στη γειτονιά. Αυτό είναι κάτι που θα το έκανες; Θα σε ενδιέφερε; Θα σε δελέαζε; Ο λόγος γι' αυτό είναι για να εξοικονομάς χρόνο από αυτού του είδους τις εργασίες και προσφέρει και στην κοινωνικοποίηση.

57. Κοίτα εμένα μου αρέσει η ιδέα του commune δηλαδή ας πούμε έτσι όπως ήταν τα χωριά πριν καθάριζαν τα λουβιά μαζί, κεντούσαν, κλπ είναι κάτι το οποίο το βρίσκω πολύ ωραίο για την ψυχολογία των κατοίκων ας πούμε, είναι ωραίο πράγματα να'χεις γειτονία. Τώρα, αν είναι εφικτό δεν ξέρω.

Εγώ σε ρωτώ πως αξιολογείς αυτή την πιθανότητα; Το αν είναι εφικτό ή όχι έχει δίκαιο μπορεί όχι τόσο απλά ήθελα να δω τη στάση σου. Θα ήσουν δηλαδή διατεθειμένη να παραχωρήσεις ιδιωτικό χώρο εάν αυτό θα πρόσφερε περισσότερες διευκολύνσεις;

58. Δεν ξέρω. Δεν είμαι σίγουρη.

Αλλά δεν λες όχι.

59. Δεν λέω όχι, εξαρτάται αν είναι καθαρός ο άλλος, τα ρούχα του άλλου μέσα στο πλυντήριο σου...δεν ξέρω...

Και μια τελευταία ερώτηση. Πώς θα έβλεπες...είναι εντελώς γενική αυτή η ερώτηση αν έχεις κάτι που απορείς από τη

συζήτηση μας και δεν βρήκες ευκαιρία να το πεις...πώς θα έβλεπες την πόλη ή τη γειτονιά σου ή τον εργασιακό σου χώρο να αλλάζει με τρόπο που να σε εξυπηρετεί εσένα καλύτερα σαν γυναίκα; Υπάρχουν κάποιες ελλείψεις σε οποιοδήποτε επίπεδο, σε οποιαδήποτε κλίμακα;

60. Κοίτα, ο τρόπος πρώτα απ' όλα που οι άνθρωποι πώς να το πω they are chosen για την δουλειά τους. Στην Κύπρο είναι ρουσφέτι, δεν βλέπεις ικανά άτομα πραγματικά να τους αφήνουν την ελευθερία να κάνουν έργα. Δηλαδή θα ήταν πολύ καλά να υπάρχουν περισσότερες γυναίκες γενικά.

Appendix K

Sample of Focussed Code (Participant F, code name: Fofo)

Initial code	Focussed code	Themes
Grew up in a different country and consequently, when first moved to Limassol, was unable to identify the city centre (F.1)	unable to identify the centre (F)	perceptions about the public realm
Didn't feel she could assimilate in the city because she couldn't identify a square or a city centre (F.1)	isolated because could not oriantate (F)	perceptions about the private realm
Identifies the city centre as a concentration of commercial and recreational activities, a place where the community can sit, read the paper, stare, exchange ideas (F.2)	public realm to be commercial and a place of gathering (F)	perceptions on gender
Links the city centre with residences but differentiates it from the suburbs because of their lack of activities (F.3)	links housing to the public realm (F)	perceptions about gender equality/inequality
Acknowledges the city centre, such as it is, as the Heroon Square and also includes the area around the Limassol Castle (F.4)	city centre: Heroon and area near castle (F)	misconception on social identity
Acknowledges that a city centre must have historic layers (F.5)	city centre and historicity (F)	contradition on perceptions
Cycles or walks to work (F.8)	cycles to work (F)	perceptions on professionals
Believes that the people of Limassol gravitate to the suburbs and have rendered the city empty, although acknowledges this has greatly improved in the last two years (F.9)	Limassolians leave the centre for the suburbs (F)	perceptions on commute
Feels that in Limassol she has been recieving uncomfortable masculine looks from men (F.10)	the uncomfortable masculine gaze (F)	contradition on safety
Attributes the masculine look as another reason for not assimilating in the city (F.11)	masculine gaze cause for isolation (F)	ingorance on spatial gender issues
Feels her blond hair made her a target for the masculine look (F.12)		perception of authorities
Identifies the coastal road as the area where she was subjected to the masculine look (F.12)	felt unsafe on the coastal road (F)	non-specific higher power
Believes the masculine look has subsided in the last two years as the city centre became more vibrant (F.12)	masculine gaze inversally proportional to city vibrancy (F)	responsive to promts on gender
Claims that other (non-Cypriot) colleges experience the masculine look (F.12)	masculine gaze is common (F)	capitalism and gender
Feels the masculine look that makes women feel like a «piece of meet» impacts women's gender identity (F.12)	masculine gaze and social identity (F)	women's employment and urban vibrancy
Feels newly developed areas like the area around the castle and the marina have provided her opportunities to «disappear» (F.15)	anonymity has come from new developments in the public realm (F)	education and social identity
Does not feel unsafe (F.16)	feels safe (F)	public realm and caretaking
Felt for a while that she had to disguise herself in order to avoid the stares and cars slowing down to flirt with her (F.17)	had to disguise to avoid masculine gaze (F)	women and space
Feels the area where she lives is too noisy, but is very near the sea (F.21)	dislikes noise (F)	accessibility of centre
Believes the motorway should not enter the city (F.21)	motorway impacts the city negatively (F)	walking vs driving
Admires the interior courtyards of the old houses in the centre of Limassol (F.25)	likes interior courtyards (F)	avoiding the centre
Believes the spreading of the university facilites throughout the city centre has motivated many services such as coffee places and eateries (F.28)	university activity has enhanced commercial activity (F)	commute
Feels services within the city centre has made her urban experience much easier (F.28)	facilities in the centre improve the urban experience (F)	spatial hinderences in the public realm
Agrees that formerly domestic uses tranfered onto the urban scale support and help women (F.29)	agrees domestic task transference has helped women's experience (F)	lighting
Believes women need to acknowledge and embrace differences and that women's needs must be accommodated and purscribed in built form (F.31)	women must embrace differences and needs must be recognised and perscribed (F)	urban uses
Does not think women with young children can move around the city on foot (F.32)	women with young children cannot move around the city (F)	mixed use
Believes the management and design of Limassol does not consider pedestrians (F.32)	Limassol is a city of cars (F)	transference of domestic tasks to city
Considers the marina as an area well-designed for walking with strollers (F.32)	considers the marina designed well for women with children (F)	density
Agrees with the principles of co-housing and actually belong in one such collective in Greece (F.35)	positive on co-housing (F)	public facilitites
Values her privacy and feels she can easily belong to a collective (F.35)	values privacy but supports co-housing (F)	sharing tasks
Feels that she and her friends who insisted on walking in Limassol in spite of the masculine look are largely responsible for making the city walkable (F.36)	feel responsible for making the city walkable (F)	child care

Appendix L

Sample of Focussed Code (Participant A, code name: Ariana)

Initial code	Focussed code	Themes
Assumes «dependants» refers only to children. She seems responsible for elderly parents (A.17)	misconceptions about broader dependencies (A.17)	misconception on social identity
Linking public realm with commercial and administrative services (A.3)	perceptions of activity within the public realm (A.17)	perceptions about the public realm
Attributing importance to the appearance of the city's centre as a landmark (A.5)	acknowledging aesthetics (A.17)	aesthetic concerns
Referring to a vague entity as being responsible for urban development («they») (A.5, A.6, A.8)	assumptions about highter entities of control (A.17)	non-specific higher power
Not favouring pedestrianism. Resigning to the fact that people don't walk anymore (A.7)	resigns to the non-walkability of Limassol (A.17)	walking vs driving
Resenting non-historic city centres (A.9)	assigns importance of history (A.17)	cultural and historic sensitivities
Perceives equal numbers of men and women in public places (A.14)	perception of gender equality in the public realm (A.17)	perceptions about gender equality/inequality
Perceives equal opportunities for men and women in the city (A.15)	perception of gender equality in the public realm (A.17)	perceptions about gender equality/inequality
Blaming commercial activity for limiting her ability to care for her parents (A.17)	inability to care for dependents in the public realm (A.17)	spatial hinderences in the public realm
Feeling isolated because of traffic management that does not consider (non-able bodied) residents' needs in the centre of the city (A.18)	inability to care for dependents in the public realm (A.17)	spatial hinderences in the public realm
Believes there is inequality in the workplace (A.20)	perceptions of gender inequality in the workplace (A.17)	perceptions about gender equality/inequality
Prefers facilities outside the city centre (A.23)	avoiding the centre (A.17)	avoiding the centre
Feeling increasingly insecure in public places, but cannot specify (A.27)	insecure in public places (A.17)	personal safety
Feeling safe in the car (A.28)	safe in car (A.17)	personal safety
Considers herself responsible for her personal safely (A.29)	personally responsible for safety (A.17)	personal safety
Feeling threatened by immigrants (A.30)	racial fears (A.17)	racial issues
Associates a good residential area with the presence of shops and services (A.36)	prefers mixed use residential areas (A.17)	mixed use
Is unsure whether men's and women's needs in the built environment are different (A.40, A.52)	uncertain about spatial needs according to gender (A.17)	ingorance on spatial gender issues
Identifies men's needs. Does not identify any women's needs (A.42)	more certain about men's spatial needs rather than women's (A.17)	ingorance on spatial gender issues
Believes neither men's nor women's needs are taking into consideration (A.42)	uncertain about spatial needs according to gender (A.17)	ingorance on spatial gender issues
Acknowledges that the city has changed, but not because of women's entry into the workforce (A.45)	unsure of women's role in change (A.17)	ingorance on spatial gender issues
Identifies longer opening hours of shops as a consequence of capitalism and women entering the workforce (A.47)	relates capitalism and women working (A.17)	capitalism and gender
Identifies internal and external immigration for the changes in the city (A.48)	racial concerns on urban changes (A.17)	racial issues
Agrees with the «municipal» housekeeping theory (A.49)	is positive to women's recognition after prompting (A.17)	responsive to promts on gender
Identifies discrimination in the workplace (A.50)	identifies some gender discrimination (A.17)	perceptions about gender equality/inequality
Does not relate the workforce to the public realm (A.50, A.14, A.15)		
Does not acknowledge differences in the needs of men and women (A.40, A.52)	states no difference in men and women's needs (A.17)	perceptions about gender equality/inequality
Believes authorities do not consider the needs of women over men, thus contradicting herself (A.55)	distrusts authoriries regarding women's needs (A.17)	non-specific higher power
Considers at the idea of co-housing favourably because it enforces the community, but does not regard it realistic (A.57)	favours co-housing but does not consider it realistic (A.17)	sharing tasks
Is sceptical about forgoing privacy (A.58)	values privacy (A.17)	privacy
Believes more women should be in key positions. Contradicts previous positions where she believes there is equality (A.60)	contradicts previous positions on percieved gender equality (A.17)	contradition on perceptions

Appendix M

Processing/grouping themes

poor lighting dictates walking routes (AD)	inadequate lighting (V)	deficient lighting near Agios Andreas, Agia Napa and Solomonides (G)	possible poorly lit roads (Z)
although more women then men at her workplace, there are not enough facilities for women (AD)	bad lighting (W)	inadequate lighting -C-	unsafe near Amathunda, poor lighting (U)
faced taboos in requesting hygenic facilities at the workforce (AD)			
inability to care for dependents in the public realm (A)	women with young children cannot move around the city (F)	city designed for the able-bodied (I)	public realm does not provide facilities like pavements for women with cribs (U)
city problem: parking (G)		problems with public toilets (AC)	relates public toilets to a lack of changing facilities (U)
deficient lighting near Agios Andreas, Agia Napa and Solomonides (G)			
felt unsafe on the coastal road (F)	case study percieved to be unsafe -C-	believes public facilities are not maintained -C-	public toilets do not regard women's needs (T)
motorway impacts the city negatively (F)			
women with young children cannot move around the city (F)			
public realm is hectic (D)	avoids congestion (L)	cites traffic congestion (I)	city designed by car (Z)
parking problem (D)			lack of traffic regulations (W)
indicates lack and isolation of green space (AF)	lack of clean pavements, green spaces, cycling routes (Z)	conflict of trees and pavements (Z)	lack of open spaces and gathering places (W)
	no pavements (W)	no facilities for small children (W)	lack of playgrounds (W)
resents the types of uses in her neighbourhood as not conducive to creation of community (N)	inefficient transportation (P)		
centre is accessible by car, but no parking (N)	city problem: parking (G)	centre is accessible by car, but no parking (N)	parking is problem, hinters services (K)
no parking (O)	parking problem (D)	no parking (O)	inadequate parking (Z)
relates Limassol's demise with high-rise buildings (O)			
biggest problem: parking (L)			
avoids congestion (L)			
cites traffic congestion (I)			
city designed for the able-bodied (I)			
more commercial activity worsen the centre (J)			
relates "untidyness" to unplanned public realm development (P)			
inefficient transportation (P)			
problems with public toilets (AC)			
parking is problem, hinters services (K)			
inadequate parking (Z)			
possible poorly lit roads (Z)			