adaptive reuse
the modern movement towards the future

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The emergence of mass tourism in the 20th century posed a new factor in the characterization of modern society. Guaranteed access to better working conditions and to housing, the “right to rest” was, perhaps, the most important social achievement of the century, leading to the widespread regulation of paid vacations. Leisure, perceived as an activity in itself, would gradually replace work as the basis of human relations and, consequently, of spatial organization, in the sense that to a “leisure society” would necessarily correspond new forms of territorial perception and occupation. It is on the implications of leisure and, therefore, of tourism in the physical transformation of the territory that this session aims to reflect upon how the democratization of travel and holidays triggered the appearance of new infrastructures devised specifically for leisure and the development of particular types and ways of dwelling that privilege social encounter, recreation and outdoor living.

During the 20th century this general framework expanded to include different contexts, preferably natural settings, where modern architecture and urban planning helped shape the new scenographies of “play” for the masses. Architecture and landscape thus assumed a fundamental role in the construction of the tourist imagery, working as local mechanisms for the experience of travel and explored as icons of the modern way-of-life, of which tourism is an inherit aspect.

Focussing on the ability of architecture and urban planning to meet the growing demands of tourism development, by restructuring the existing landscape in order to accommodate this new activity, the aim of this session is to gather research that addresses the cultural changes introduced by tourism in modern society through the territorial and architectural responses associated with it. Also, and possibly more relevant today, works that approach the capacity of such
production to survive and adapt to the recent evolution in tourism typologies, with mass demand giving place to more diversified, specialized and segmented needs. In fact, the main challenge posed to the leisurescapes of modernity is to remain sustainable in the present socioeconomic situation and attractive to the contemporary tourist, in terms of environmental quality and users' amenities expectations. On the other hand, as a result in many cases of formal experimentation on new functional programmes and typo-morphological models, some of these same infrastructures have become out-of-date and obsolete, placing the need to rethink their purpose and future use. Still, there are also examples that convey important lessons for today, putting forward pertinent alternatives to traditional forms of urbanization, more in tune with the increasingly temporary and sporadic character of current tourism practices. In this sense, reuse can be understood in a dual perspective: material and conceptual. And it is from this standpoint that “Architecture and Tourism: Rethinking Modern Leisurescapes” sets out to establish new possibilities of debate.

The range and quality of the abstracts submitted for selection confirm the relevance of the theme. From the Mediterranean European countries to the other side of the Atlantic, the contributions span across a variety of subjects. Amongst them, Ricardo Paiva (Federal University of Ceará, Brazil) proposed presenting part of a research project committed to the documentation and analysis of modern hotel construction in northeast Brazil, resulting from state tourism development policies implemented from the 1950s onwards, with the purpose of generating public awareness to the threat of demolition and mischaracterization of such heritage. On the same topic, Verónica Esparza (Universidade del Desarrollo, Chile) suggested taking on Emilio Duhart projects for the Ancud and Castro inns designed in the sixties for Hotelera Nacional S.A. (HONSA), in Chile, as examples of how a more contextualized approach to modern architecture has ensured the prevalence of the original character of those works over physical and programme transformation. In the case of the Fontainebleau Hotel in Miami Beach, Marcia Lopes de Mello (Miami Dade College School, USA) put forward the argument that Morris Lapidus' modern design set the standard for the 'good life' associated with American post-war consumer culture and, although deeply renovated and extended in reply to new tourism demands, it still stands today as a symbol of glamour and luxury establishing a model for resort architecture.

Moving on to Europe, Ricardo Agarez (Ghent University, Belgium) suggests that looking back to the Portuguese Algarve's mass tourism development process could provide the scope for a broader reflection on the role of modern architecture in the construction of contemporary narratives on leisurescapes. Similarly, Ricardo Carcelén González (Technical University of Cartagena, Spain) considered a more comprehensive study of the Obra Sindical de Educación y Descanso holiday cities built in Perlora, Tarragona and Marbella, as architectural and urbanism experiments on the organization of working class seaside leisure during the Francoist regime. Also focusing on tourism settlements in Spain, Xavier Martin
Tost (Ramon Llull University, Spain) based his analysis on the camping typology as a temporary and informal occupation of natural environments, using the case study of the Salou campsite, designed from 1956 and transformed, in the 1980's, into a public central park for the city where some of the original plots and buildings were kept as part of a patrimonial conservation plan and opened to new public uses. Concerning Croatia, two different approaches on the leisurescapes of modernity were submitted. Michael Zinganel (Academy of Fine Arts of Vienna, Austria) had a closer look at the more recent physical transformation, or ruin, and ownership changes of ex-Yugoslavia mass seaside tourism facilities built under Tito's socialist state; and Martina Ivanus (Ministry of Culture, Croatia) has a presentation on Zdenko Stizic's holistic plan for the reconstruction of the Plitvice Lakes tourism infrastructures after WWII, involving the country's architectural elite of the time today unattended and inadequately emphasized. Additional abstracts were sent from Spain, Italy, Germany, Hungary, Lithuania, Canada and Australia.

In the end, four others were selected for further discussion. Ana Vaz Milheiro (University Institute of Lisbon, Portugal) with ground-breaking research on the role of tourist resorts for public servants built during the Estado Novo regime (1933-1974) in the Portuguese African colonies as mechanisms, both of evasion and moralization of the working class, but also of cultural construction of the displaced individual, and their loss of meaning and consequent neglect after the process of decolonisation. Also on state promoted tourism infrastructures, Myrianthe Moussa (NTUA, Greece) examines the current condition of the Greek National Tourism Organization, Xenia Project network, aimed at the development of international tourism after the civil war (1946-1949), to promote its reuse and restoration and ultimately its preservation as modern architectural heritage. Pursuing a similar goal, Sara Cipolletti (University of Camerino, Italy) attempts to define contemporary reading parameters for the re-semanticization of the "ruins" of mass tourism spread along the "Adriatic-city". And, finally, questioning the reuse of modern leisurescapes, Petros Phokaides (National Technical University of Athens, Greece) and Panayiota Pyla (University of Cyprus, Cyprus) balance the complex nuances between architecture, tourism, politics and socioeconomic development through the study of Famagusta's exceptional history, where notions of "play" and "conflict" are deeply intertwined, giving an acute perspective with wider resonations in the context of the present European refugees' crisis.
Leisure-scapes and Conflict-scapes: The Famagusta Modern Coastline

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The Famagusta coastline, with its silky beachfront crowded with tourists and locals, was the quintessential "scenography of play" in 1960s' Cyprus. Famagusta was key to local Government's policy for tourist development and postcolonial nation-building, and the city's promotion as a Mediterranean beach destination was crucial to jump-starting the country's modernization processes. All this changed dramatically after the violent division of the island in 1974: Famagusta changed inhabitants and its southern part - called "Varosha" - was abandoned and fenced off, decaying over 40-years into a "ghost town". Today, a new dramatic change is imminent, because the re-opening of the city to its past inhabitants is considered key to the unification of the island. For this reason, it is truly timely to tackle the challenges posed by Famagusta's modern heritage and especially its leisure-scape, which not only constitutes a paradigmatic example of a modern tourist landscape but also represents a setting where the 40-year old decay of buildings and infrastructures threatens the city's very recovery. In addition, the entire leisure-scape's intangible associations with former inhabitants' memories, current inhabitants' needs, and various stakeholders' aspirations for the city's future demonstrate the intensely contested nature of this leisure-scape's past and future. Precisely to highlight how the presumably "laid back" leisure-scapes are intertwined with landscapes of "conflict" (ethnic, social, and other), this paper examines the complex history of Famagusta's modern leisure-scape. By exposing the coexistence of conflict-scapes within leisure-scapes, the paper sheds new light on current (and yet again contested) visions for Famagusta's future, attempting to open larger questions around the reuse of modern tourist leisure-scapes. The paper argues that the analysis of Famagusta's exceptional case as a leisure/conflict-scape imparts a more nuanced understanding of the complex histories of architecture and tourism and their intrinsic ties with politics and socioeconomic development.

1. INTRODUCTION

In the first days of 2016, on the major Christian Orthodox feast day of Epiphany, hundreds of Greek Cypriots flooded the beach of Varosha, an area in the southern part of Famagusta abandoned by its inhabitants since 1974. The crowd watched a group of young men reenact the ritual of competing to retrieve a big cross from sea waters. This celebration had not happened in Famagusta for more than 40 years. The reenactment of this religious event, against the backdrop of what was once the modern leisure-scape - a leisure-scape which now stands as a renown "ghost town" or a "no man's land" - was seen by the media as an experiment in mutual trust between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities. The whole ceremony was hailed as a sign of optimism for the current and intensive reconciliation efforts, which are aiming both to re-open the city to its past inhabitants, and, eventually, unify the whole island.
The reconciliation talks anticipate dramatic changes on the horizon and bring forward the task to tackle the challenges posed by Famagusta's modern heritage. The city's modern leisure-scape is of particular importance as it constitutes a most emblematic urban memory. However, the 40-year old decay of buildings and infrastructures pose great challenges for conservation practices, as the material legacy of Famagusta's leisure-scape is under serious threat of complete eradication. To what extent can Famagusta's modern heritage be saved? Will the significant deterioration of buildings and infrastructures be the key criterion to decide which layers will be removed and which will be preserved? What other conceptual criteria will impact the selection and what is the role of the various stakeholders in assigning heritage or memory value to the built environment? How much would this process be influenced by property issues and speculations for real-estate values and ultimately how much weight would heritage matters have against the background of emerging tourist and environmental policies that relate to this important 1960s leisure-scape?

2. THE LEGACY OF FAMAGUSTA'S MODERN LEISURE-SCAPE

Let us first examine the modern legacy of Famagusta, considering also the politics of its leisure aesthetic.

Undeniably, the city's coastline, with its silky beachfront, crowded with tourists and locals, was the quintessential "scenography of play" for Cyprus in the 1960s, and this was evident in tourist postcards of the time, travel guides, tourist ads, and films. Of course, such a paradigmatic modern leisure-scape emerged in the context of the island's complex socioeconomic and political realities of the time, as Famagusta was key to local Government's policy for tourist development and postcolonial nation-building. In fact, the city's promotion as a Mediterranean beach destination was crucial to jump-starting the country's modernization processes that were widely implemented by the young state. It was quite early after the inception of the Cyprus Republic in 1960, that the country followed the lead of many Mediterranean countries, tying its economic growth to tourist development and promoting measures for making the island an international tourist destination.

Tourism was promoted in the midst of turbulence and territorial and social divisions between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. Following inter-communal conflicts of 1963, Turkish Cypriots withdrew into enclaves while the United Nations initiated intense peacekeeping efforts tying socioeconomic development goals with efforts to resolve the inter-communal conflict. These UN efforts kept a fragile balance until 1967, when a 2nd violence outbreak took place, causing a military response by Turkey. After that, the Turkish Cypriot leadership announced the creation of a separate administration. Soon afterward, inter-communal talks were initiated in search of a settlement of what came to be known as "the Cyprus Problem". Even though these inter-communal talks of 1968 gave a glimpse of opti-
mism for a smoother social and economic development, in the early 1970s, the stability of the young Cyprus Republic continued to be threatened, both by external powers and by internal turmoil. This turmoil made tourist development appear precarious; nonetheless, the Government placed a great deal of hope on tourism's economic benefits. It was in this context that it promoted an emblematic tourist development project in the golden sands coast of Famagusta, in 1969. The brief analysis of the project that follows here demonstrates two things: firstly, how corporate and architectural aesthetics of leisure were intricately connected with the complex realities of the Island; and secondly, how the exposure of these connections can now, in retrospect, inform the re-appreciation of these leisure-scapes.

**Intercommunal Politics and Supra-Political Aesthetics:**

**The Golden Sands Hotel**

The project of Golden Sands (supported by British Airways and Cyprus Airways) was to combine hotel and recreation facilities on a large portion of state-owned land, in the southern end of the Famagusta coast. The Government commissioned the British architectural firm of Garnett, Cloughley, and Blakemore, which collaborated with the local firm of Philippou Brothers. The goal was to have an international hotel brand combined with a signature design so as to insert Cyprus “on the tourist map of the Mediterranean,” as the signed agreement between the Government and the hotel’s management firm stated. As evidenced by the active involvement of the country’s President, Makarios, in the entire process, this project was a high priority on the Government’s modernization agenda.

The project architect for Golden Sands, Patrick Garnett, revealed a certain ambivalence towards modernist internationalism and standardization. On the
one hand, he steered clear of repeating the "same international block [that] seems to reappear in different countries throughout the world" and sought to create "a sense of atmosphere" that he believed was lacking in many modern hotels⁹. This stated goal was both a reaction to dominant modernist tenets and an embrace of market strategies in the hotel industry that searched for authenticity and the exotic, so as to offer an "escape from reality"¹⁰. Ultimately, however, Garnett's search for clues for the locale, concluded that: "There was no established architectural vernacular in Cyprus. The influences of the many conquering nations had resulted in a neutralization of building form"¹¹. It seems that Cyprus's history was too contested and its contemporary situation too volatile for Garnett to venture into making direct references to peculiar cultural characteristics¹². Thus, what he chose to call "neutral" forms, was an effort to hint to regionalist allusions while steering clear of ethnic politics. Even if his formal preferences could be construed merely as a zealous attachment to modernist tenets on the part of the architect, it is hard not to see the particular appeal of these supra-political aesthetics (and an aesthetics of neutrality) in leisure-scapes that are created in the backdrop of conflict-scapes.

In other words, the supra-political aesthetics of the Golden Sands can be seen as a rhetorical reaction to the island's ethnic conflicts, while also expressing aspirations for unification.

**Environmental/Social Politics on the Beachfront**

The conflicts with which the leisure-scape of Famagusta had to contend did not only pertain to intercommunal disputes, but also to other social and environmental issues. These issues were palpable given that the economic benefits of tourism development reached only a part of the society.

Let us consider the overall leisure-scape of Famagusta. Situated on a strip of land between a major traffic road and the beach, this leisure-scape comprised small and middle size hotels and tourist apartment buildings along the sandy beach. All these projects – some by the Government as mentioned earlier, and
some by local small and middle scale hotel entrepreneurs, architectural offices, and construction companies – partially obstructed the neighbouring area’s connections to the waterfront creating juxtapositions in the cityscape between the more and the less privileged. These tourist facilities, which sprung up in record time between 1965 and 1974, shaped an extended linear zone that profited from free access to sea, sun and sand creating the characteristic modernist landscape of Famagusta. They exhibited various experiments with hotel and apartment building typologies, landscape and interior design: beach pavilions, hotel lobbies, bars, restaurants, balconies, and gardens, gave rise to a leisure culture that could be shared by visitors and locals\textsuperscript{13} – advancing a claim that the economic and other benefits of tourism would be diffused to the wider society\textsuperscript{14}. In other words, the same modernist leisure aesthetics advanced a claim of democratization, along with a claim of modernization and neutrality already discussed.

The perception of the public beach as a democratic space is related according to Sarah Whiting to the contact with a natural setting that “seemingly returns us to a state of nature, a state preceding social and economic stratification”\textsuperscript{15}. But this is an illusory condition because various mechanisms “invisibly transform the beach into an undemocratic space where all publics are not equal”, which further “complicates the allegory of the beach-as-democracy”\textsuperscript{16}. This can also be argued for the leisure-scape of Famagusta where, although it was a primary tourist centre and a vehicle for the local society’s modernisation\textsuperscript{17}, there were many insidious practices that complicated the perception of “tourism-as-democracy”. Some took the form of reactions to the excessive growth of tourism which, as it privileged particular places and social groups, also shaped economic imbalances and gaps within the society. The leisure-scape of Famagusta, was thus creating an increasing the gap between those who could rip the benefits from the tourist industry and those who could not. To make things even more complex, other stakeholders reacted to the environmental and social degradation issues. These discourses critiqued Famagusta’s leisure-scape, through films and press articles, for turning a paradigmatic coastline of leisure into a grotesque example of development excesses and uncontrolled tourist industry\textsuperscript{18}. These critiques resonated with wider reactions that stressed the need to protect the resources that tourism relied upon and with agendas that called for the protection of the environment and the local tradition, which continued in other forms and are relevant today in the context of contemporary sustainability debates.
3. RETHINKING THE (CONTESTED) FUTURES OF FAMAGUSTA’S LEISURE-SCAPE

Given the ethnic, socio-economic as well as environmental contests that constituted the leisure-scape of Famagusta, one could ask: to what extent is the 1960s boom of the prospering of a Mediterranean coastal resort a precious memory to be revived? Might it instead be an environmental calamity that should be avoided? And, what do the pitfalls of modernist planning have to teach us about contemporary large-scale coastal development plans, which are now hurriedly considered in Cyprus in the name of exiting the current economic predicaments of the country? Tourism development is yet again embraced as a panacea of economic recovery and sustainability, and the emerging proposals tend to present a rather dark prospect when they promote large-scale developments that favour economic over environmental goals. In this context, perhaps there is still something to be learned from the urban-scale strategies that shaped Famagusta’s modern leisure-scape. Granting that tabula rasa approaches and the top-down, large-scale planning have proven dubious, and without wanting to idealize the 1960s interventions more than they deserve, we might draw on their plural architectural responses to climate and landscape, and the multiple designs scales they employed to accommodate urban and leisure programs. One might even notice that in contrast to the single private foreign investments which are behind current large-scale developments, the leisure strategies of the 1960s facilitated small and middle-sized local capital engaging social actors at different levels. Such cautious assessments might prove helpful in searching for the future and heritage of modern leisure-scapes against current development strategies and tourist policies.

Caught as it is in the dynamics of uncertain political negotiations, Famagusta’s future is still uncertain. But this uncertainty could enrich rather than hinder strategies for rethinking the heritage of leisure-scapes against the background of a divided society and currently dire socioeconomic situation. It is thus important to ask how can this mid-20th-century heritage relate to previous historical layers in the city? Might modernism’s abstract aesthetic and its supra-national outlook still form an alternative to the type of religious or ethnic associations that historic buildings tend to have? Can the modernist aesthetics that were promoted by international and local actors in the 1960s, trigger contemporary strategies that avoid thematic traditionalism or empty formalism of some of the current leisure-scapes?

This paper does not expect an easy response to such questions, as much as it aimed to challenge the seemingly “laidback” nature of leisure-scapes by highlighting their complex intertwinment with ethnic, social and environmental conflicts. Drawing critical insights from the contested past (and, for that matter, the equally contested future) of Famagusta’s leisure-scape, the paper ultimately points to the urgency to develop heritage strategies that need to avoid idealisations of the pre-
1974 past: strategies that will also try to negotiate the leisure-scape’s intangible associations, the former inhabitants’ memories, the city’s current inhabitants’ needs, and various stakeholders’ future aspirations.

NOTES
1 Varosha was abandoned by its inhabitants before it was captured by the Turkish military during the 2nd phase of the Turkish invasion, in mid-August 1974. Ever since it has remained sealed off, under the control of the Turkish military.
6 The local firm was the architectural office of Philippou Brothers, which had extensive practice in Cyprus at the time.
8 Patrick Garnett, project architect, explained that Makarios “considered this new project as very significant to Cyprus’s new image”, extract from P. Garnett’s unpublished writings, Courtesy of Barry Garnett (London).
10 Id.
11 Attached as he was to modernist aesthetics, Garnett’s search for local character ultimately boiled down to “evolving some simple new shapes in concrete which would solve practical problems such as corrosion and, at the same time, could result in giving the complex an individual architectural identification”, Id.
14 Statistics are often used to verify the impact of tourism to the country’s economic growth: Tourism contribution to Cyprus’ gross domestic product increased from around 2.0% in 1960 to 7.2% in 1973. Also annual arrivals increased from 5,400 in 1960, to 264,100 in 1973. See Richard Sharpley, Tourism Development and the Environment: Beyond Sustainability?, Earthscan, 2009, 168-169.
16 Ibid, 49.
17 Famagusta hosted in the early 1970s the 31.5% of the hotels and 45% of the total bed capacity of the island. Ammochostos (Famagusta) Municipality, accessed on February 12, 2016, http://www.famagusta.org.cy/default.asp?id=341.
18 For example, the 1969 short movie directed by A. Konstantinides titled “The Departure” [Ptvg], shows a man wondering if in a dream in the Famagusta coastline. The scenes of the built tourist landscape are juxtaposed with scenes where the same man is freely enjoying unspoiled coastlines in the north of the Island.