Place attachment and perception of home under the impact of internal displacement in rural settlements of northern Cyprus

Makbule Oktay (2013)

Note if anything has been removed from thesis: Figs 5.1, p.69; 5.4, p. 72; 5.5 & 5.6, p. 73; 5.7, p.74

When referring to this work, the full bibliographic details must be given as follows:

Oktay, Makbule (2013)
Place attachment and perception of home under the impact of internal displacement in rural settlements of northern Cyprus
PhD, Oxford Brookes University

Place Attachment and Perception of Home under the Impact of Internal Displacement in Rural Settlements of Northern Cyprus

Makbule Oktay

School of Architecture
Faculty of Technology, Design and Environment
Oxford Brookes University

A thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Oxford Brookes University of the award of Doctor of Philosophy

Oxford
September 2013

Abstract

Home, which is accepted as a centre for human life, can hold diverse significance and bear various meanings for each person depending on a variety of issues, such as personal characteristics and experiences that have been collected throughout a lifetime. The bond between a person and a home and the meaning of home can be transformed over time and as a result of the various events to which the person has been subjected. In this study, internal displacement is identified as an event which has a major impact on the key attitudes and feelings towards home attachment and perception. The aim of this research is to critically examine the impact of displacement on one's attachment towards one's former and current places of residence and one's perception of home. The study takes Cyprus, in particular its northern part, as a case study. Therefore, the study contributes to the fields of home, place attachment and internal displacement studies in general, as well as to the context of Cyprus in particular.

The study has investigated using qualitative and quantitative research approaches within a case study methodology. As a part of this, fieldwork research was conducted in four rural settlements located in northern Cyprus. The primary data was gathered during the fieldwork and constitutes the core of the study. Qualitative content analysis, including coding and categorisation, was used for analysing the qualitative data, while descriptive statistics, cross tabulation and the chi-square test were conducted for quantitative data analysis.

The study focuses on two groups: locals and internally displaced persons (IDPs). Locals are identified as people who have always lived in northern Cyprus, while IDPs are defined as people who were displaced from southern Cyprus as an outcome of the conflict between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. The study has identified the nature of local Turkish Cypriots' attachment to their homes and villages, as well as the nature of internally displaced Turkish Cypriots' attachment to their former and current houses and villages. In addition to this, perceptions of home for both locals and IDPs have been investigated in order to examine the extent to which IDPs have been affected by the displacement.

The findings of the study show that displacement has a strong impact on the place attachment of IDPs. At the end of longstanding displacement they developed multiple attachments: attachment to the places where they used to live before displacement, as well as attachment to the places where they lived after displacement. However, compared to people who have not experienced displacement, IDPs have relatively low attachments; as a result, it may be argued that they are lost between two worlds. The study also shows that low attachment does not fully impact the meaning of home for IDPs in a long-term displacement situation. The study indicates that IDPs may feel attached to a place and give similar meanings to home as non-displaced people, but this does not mean that they completely perceive the houses where they live as

their homes even after they have lived there for a long time. Length of displacement, political uncertainty and ownership issues which are directly related with perception of a house as one's home, emerge as key determinants for attachment to and perception of home.

Acknowledgements

Contents

List of Figures

Chapter 1
Introduction

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background of the research

No matter where it is or how it is, home is the centre of life for people. It is a place that shelters and embraces people; a place to which one feels a sense of attachment and belonging. Therefore, home appears as a significant entity in people's lives. Displaced persons have been detached from or thrown out of their homes and places of origin, and consequently forced to settle in a new place. These people are expected to establish a feeling of home and attachment in this new place where they were forcibly and involuntarily settled. This study intends to increase knowledge of how internal displacement influences place attachment and perception of home. In doing so, it aims to increase understanding of the dynamic interrelationship between house/home, internal displacement, place attachment and perception of home. In order to do so, the study selects Cyprus as a case study for the following reasons: the long-standing displacement in this country, the lack of integrated research on place attachment, home, perception of home and internal displacement in general and in particular in Cyprus, and the ongoing negotiations about the displacement.

Internal displacement can be described as a type of forced movement. Oliver-Smith and Hansen (1982) describe Petersen's (1958) classification of migration types in which five classes of migration are established: forced, impelled, primitive, free and mass. In forced migration, which includes displacement, migrants cannot fully decide whether or not to leave the places where they live. With this involuntary move, people lose their houses. Loss of house is profoundly connected with issues of home and identity, human security and protection. The house, which has material and symbolic meanings for forced migrants, is situated between memory, identity, survival and daily life (Brun, 2003). According to the latest figures from the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), by the end of 2013, 33.3 million internally displaced persons (IDPs) across the world had experienced the loss of a home (IDMC, 2014, p.9).

Drawing from these ideas, and bearing in mind that IDPs involuntarily leave their places of origin/residence and their properties, it can be argued that it is likely that they may face more difficulties in establishing a bond with their new place of settlement than other types of migrants who decide to leave their places of origin/residence. Considering this, IDPs constitute the main focus of the study since it is believed that to construct a bond to a place which is settled after forced displacement could be more challenging, in comparison to developing a bond with a place which is voluntarily settled.

What is meant by a bond or acceptance of a place can be related to place attachment, which is one of the focuses of the study. The other compelling issue is the bond with the formerly settled places where IDPs have been dislocated from. Does this bond weaken, strengthen or stay the

same? From this perspective, it is the objective of this study to investigate attachment of IDPs towards their former and current places of residence by comparing the attachment of locals, who have not experienced displacement, to their places of residence.

Windsong (2010, p.205) points out that the main focus of place attachment literature is about 'home'. In the literature, home as a social entity is generally described with positive/constructive words and feelings. However, some ideas exist which oppose the value of positive/constructive descriptions, arguing that home is not always necessarily a nice, cosy and comfortable place for everyone. Home means different things to different people. At this point it might be argued, similar to attachment to home, that IDPs' perception of home can be different to general perception because of the experience of dislocation which resulted in a life in a foreign setting. Therefore, perception of home appears as another key concept to be included in this research. What is targeted in this study, is the exploration of IDPs' perception of their newly settled environments – their 'new' 'homes'.

Cyprus, which is the focus of this study, is one of the countries in Europe with IDPs according to the regional categorisation of the IDMC. Figures show that about 212,400 IDPs live in Cyprus. However, it has been reported in the 'Global Overview 2014' that this number includes only IDPs living in the south which is under the control of the Government of Cyprus (IDMC, 2014). Therefore, this number represents the Greek Cypriot IDPs only. In addition to these it was documented that less than 500 IDPs returned to their homes in the north in 2013 (ibid.).

It is noted that 'the figure reported by the Republic of Cyprus includes those displaced to areas under its control since 1974, and children born to male IDPs' status'. Moreover, it is claimed that the ' "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" (TRNC) considers that displacement ended with the 1975 Vienna III agreement'[1] and therefore internally displaced Turkish Cypriots have not been included in this figure (IDMC, 2013).

Sert (2008, p.161) states that the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has not included Cypriot IDPs in its statistics since 1999 and evaluates them as 'resettled within the country'. Nevertheless, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots 'have been internally displaced for at least three decades, generating the longest-standing internal displacement situation in Europe' (IDMC, 2005, cited in Sert, 2008, p.149).

---

[1] Vienna III agreement: 'enabled the reunification of families. This allowed the voluntary and assisted movement to the south of those Greek Cypriots still remaining in the north, and of Turkish Cypriots from south to north. This agreement also assured that those who were to stay behind would have all their communal and human rights protected' (Gurel, Hatay and Yakinthou, 2012, p.9).

Since the island is still faced with the 'Cyprus Problem' (as it is referred to), where possible agreement (like the Annan Plan[2]) may result again in the displacement and relocation of many people (see Alexiou *et al.*, 2003), it is worthwhile to study and understand the previous displacement and attachment levels in order to draw lessons for the future. A more detailed discussion about the significance of the study follows later in the chapter.

1.2 Clarifying the concepts

The concepts used in this thesis are clarified here in order to indicate their significance, meaning and relevance. In this respect: house, place attachment, perception of home, home and IDPs are simply identified as follows (although a more elaborate discussion will take place in the following three chapters). 'House', as a concept, refers to a physical structure as well as a social entity which provides shelter to people in order to establish and sustain their lives (Lawrence, 1995; Oliver, 1987; Rapoport, 1969). Moreover, 'place attachment' simply refers to the bond between people and places (Low and Altman, 1992; Hidalgo and Hernández, 2001; Lewicka, 2011), while 'perception of home' is used in a sense to refer to people's perceptions and feelings towards their homes – what home means to them. 'Home', in this concept, differs from 'house' as it means more than a physical structure (Dovey, 1985; Kent, 1995; Lawrence, 1995; Swenson, 1998).

In the 'Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement' the concept of IDPs is defined as:

> persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border (UNHCR, 2001, Introduction, para.2; Mooney, 2005, p.11)

The reasons for fleeing are the same as for refugees, as defined in the 1951 Refugee Convention:

> owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality

---

[2] The so-called Annan Plan, which has been named after Kofi A Annan, the seventh Secretary-General of the United Nations (UN), serving from 1997 until 2006 (www.un.org/sg/annan.shtml), is the latest proposed reunification plan for the island. The Annan Plan is the most recent United Nations attempt since 1964 to resolve the conflict between the two divided communities by producing what would have amounted to a peace treaty and a constitutional agreement to found a new state: the United States of Cyprus (Palley, 2005, cited in Loizos, 2008, p.85). It is noted that 'in the 24 April referenda, the Foundation Agreement had been rejected by the Greek Cypriot population by 75.83 per cent to 24.17 per cent, while the Turkish Cypriot population had approved the settlement plan by 64.91 per cent to 35.09 per cent. The Foundation Agreement would therefore not enter into force since the plan required approval by both sides in the referenda' (UN, 2004-2007, p.552).

> and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself
> of the protection of that country (UNHCR, 2013a, p.14)

Similar to refugees, IDPs do not have the option to turn back to their places of origin whenever they wish to. The significant difference between the two types of forced migrant groups is explained by the UNHCR as: 'unlike refugees, IDPs have not crossed an international border to find sanctuary but have remained inside their home countries' (UNHCR, 2013b).[3]

When the Cyprus case has been considered, there is a perception that 'the movement of both Greek and Turkish Cypriots was involuntary; forced on the Turkish Cypriots in 1958 and 1962–4 and on the Greek Cypriots in 1974' (Kliot and Mansfeld, 1994, p.336). Based on Kunz's classification (1973), Kliot and Mansfeld (1994) define Turkish Cypriots as 'event-alienated anticipatory refugees' and Greek Cypriots as 'acute refugees':

> The anticipatory refugee leaves his home country before the deterioration of the military or political situation prevents orderly departure. It is not infrequent that the loss of liberty or danger to life is preceded by gradual economic restrictions on the whole society or some sections of it (Kunz, 1973, cited in Kliot and Mansfeld, 1994, p.331).

> The acute refugee movement arises from great political changes or movements of armies. The refugees flee either *en masse* or in a spontaneous process of individual or group escapes: their primary purpose is to reach safety in a neighbouring or nearby country. As time passes, and if the hoped-for-changes do not occur, the realization gradually dawns on the refugee that there will be no victorious return (ibid.).

Roger Zetter, who thoroughly studied Greek Cypriots affected by the inter-communal conflict in Cyprus, defined Greek Cypriot displaced people as refugees, although he states that they are technically 'internally displaced'. He mentions that:

> The use of the terms 'refugee' and 'repatriation' in the Cyprus context is problematic in the strict meaning of those terms in international law. The Greek-Cypriot refugees are neither refugees according to the Geneva Convention 1951 and Protocol 1967, since they are not 'outside their country of origin', nor can they be considered as potential repatrees. Instead, they are technically 'internally displaced'. However, they certainly exist in what UNHCR describes as a 'refugee-like situation' and display the familiar characteristics of refugee populations (Zetter, 1994, p.308; see also Zetter, 1991).

---

[3] Likewise, the IDMC, which was established in 1998 by the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) and is the leading international body monitoring conflict-induced internal displacement worldwide (http://www.internal-displacement.org), points out the distinction between IDPs and refugees by stating that IDPs have not crossed an international border (IDMC, 2007, p.9).

Differently to Zetter (1994) and Loizos (1981), in this study, Turkish Cypriots who are affected by the events between 1958 and 1975 are identified as IDPs in general, without making distinction between those who had to leave their homes during the conflict in the late 1950s and those during and after 1974. There are two main reasons for the selection of IDPs as a term of reference to these people. Firstly, as previously explained by Zetter (1994), in the definition of a refugee in the 1951 Refugee Convention it has been emphasised that these people are 'outside his or her country or habitual residence'. This is not applicable for Turkish Cypriot displaced people since they are in their 'country'. In addition to this, the definition of IDPs in the 'Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement' explains that these people 'have not crossed an internationally recognized State border' (UNHCR, 2001). Although Cyprus is divided into two and there is a different state in the north (the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus - TRNC, where Turkish Cypriot displaced people live), this state is not internationally recognised. Only Turkey has recognised this state. Therefore, it cannot be claimed that these people have crossed to another state and another country. Secondly, international organisations associated with displaced people (e.g. IDMC) recognise displaced Cypriot people as IDPs.

1.3 Gap in knowledge

The concepts of 'home', 'displacement' and 'place attachment' have been extensively studied, yet generally separately or with little integration. However, it should be noted that the concepts of 'perception of home and migration' and 'migration and identity' were combined in several studies (e.g. Rapport and Dawson, 1998; Benmayor and Skotnes, 1994; Sackmann, Peters and Faist, 2003). How migrants converted unfamiliar 'new' environments into familiar settings have been explained in various publications (Mazumdar and Mazumdar, 2009; Rapoport, 1969; Turan, 2010). Similarly, there have been many studies on the subject of how refugees establish their 'new' environments as replicas of their homelands (Agier, 2008; Kiliçkiran, 2003; Vasso, 2004). In a way, the behaviour of dislocated people can be interpreted as a need and an unconscious attempt to establish an attachment to the newly settled environment, and therefore it falls under the topic of place attachment as it is related to people–place relationships.

Although place attachment studies span around 40 years (Lewicka, 2011), and there is an increasing body of research on place attachment in other contexts, there are only a few studies which cover the subject together with involuntary displacement (Fried, 1963; Brown and Perkins, 1992; Mah, 2009). This is so despite a lack (in the literature) of place attachment of involuntarily internally displaced people to their recent and previous environments.

'The study of feelings that people develop toward the places where they were born and brought up, and the function these places fulfil in their lives is a research area which has been receiving increasing attention in recent years' by environmental psychologists (Hidalgo and Hernández, 2001, p.273). However, there is a lack of studies which compare former places of residence (which can be places of birth or origin) of IDPs with their current places of residence.

Moreover, the concept of 'home' has been broadly defined and studied throughout the decades, either on its own or broadly compared with other related concepts such as 'house' and 'dwelling' (Benjamin, 1995, 1997; Cooper, 1974; Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, 1981; Dovey, 1985; Lawrence, 1987; Mallet, 2004; Marcus, 1995; Moore, 2000; Pallasmaa, 1995; Rapoport, 1969; Oliver, 1987, 1997; Kent, 1995). Although there are a vast number of studies about the concept, none approach the concept from the IDPs' point of view, whilst integrating it with place attachment. Because these people involuntarily left their places of residence, what home means to them might be different compared to what has been found in other studies with various focuses.

Considering all these existing studies, it can be stated that there are a lack of studies which combine concepts of house, internal displacement, place attachment and perception of home. Therefore, this study seeks to critically examine the relationship between these concepts. It investigates place attachment and perception of home as a consequence of displacement within the specific context of northern Cyprus. The majority of the population of Cyprus are Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots, whereas Maronites and Armenians are the minority ethnic groups. As a consequence of the internal conflict (1958–1974) between Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots, the island was divided into two. Turkish Cypriots settled in the north and the Greek Cypriots settled in the south part of the island. Turkish Cypriots who were living on the southern part were displaced to the north, and the Greek Cypriots were dislocated from north to the south. Predominantly the Turkish Cypriots, who were internally displaced from south to north, settled in 'former' Greek Cypriot settlements. 36% of the island's population – 240,000 people (200,000 Greeks, 40,000 Turks) – became refugees in a week (Zetter, 1981, p.1). Following the division, Turks from Turkey also migrated to the northern part of the island and settled in the abandoned houses of Greek Cypriots, and/or afterwards moved to the houses of Turkish Cypriots who themselves moved to other houses. Considering these movements and demographic changes, Cyprus can be evaluated as a significant case to study since people were displaced in their own country, and Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots were settled in houses previously inhabited by the people they had conflict with. Therefore, their attachment and perception of home towards their recently settled place might be different than cases elsewhere.

1.4 Exploring the context: Cyprus, place attachment, home and internally displaced persons

Several existing theses are about the architecture and housing of northern Cyprus (e.g. Dincyurek, 2002; Pulhan, 2002), yet only one of them includes the subjects of adaptation and place attachment, and it focuses on the Turkish Cypriot IDPs (Boğaç, 2002). In contrast to Turkish Cypriot IDPs, Greek Cypriot IDPs have been the subject of many studies. Although some studies exist in southern Cyprus about 'refugees' (King, 1980; Loizos, 1981, 2008; Loizos

and Constantinou, 2007; Papadakis, 2005; Papadakis, Peristianis and Welz, 2006; Zetter, 1981, 1991, 1994, 1999), these do not relate to place attachment and perception of home.

Studies about IDPs in Cyprus either focus only on Turkish Cypriot IDPs or Greek Cypriot IDPs, whereas some investigate both communities as comparable studies. Vamik D. Volkan (1979) and Pierre Oberling (1982) are two important scholars who studied Turkish Cypriot IDPs, and Peter Loizos (1975, 1981, 1988, 2008, 2009) and Roger Zetter (1981, 1994, 1999) are the two leading scholars on Greek Cypriot 'refugees'. Individual research by Russell King (1980) and his collaborations with Sarah Ladbury (1982; Ladbury and King, 1988), and research of Nurit Kliot and Yoel Mansfeld (1994), compare IDPs in both communities.

The Greek Gift: Politics in a Cypriot Village (Loizos, 1975) is the revised version of Loizos' (1972) PhD thesis 'Social Organization and Political Change in a Cypriot Village'. As explained by the author, 'this book is concerned with politics in a mainly Greek village in Cyprus, from the time the island achieved Independence in 1960 to the national elections of 1970' (Loizos, 1975, p.1). Loizos (1981) describes how Greek Cypriot inhabitants of Argaki (a village on the northern part of the island) became refugees and how they lived through and after this period, between August 1966 and December 1975. Moreover, Loizos and Constantinou (2007) investigate refugee health by comparing two Greek Cypriot villages, one displaced and the other not. In 'Intercommunal Killing in Cyprus' Loizos (1988) analyses the revenge killing in Cyprus based on the events between two communities. In his latest book, *Iron in the Soul: Displacement, Livelihood and Health in Cyprus*, Loizos (2008) presents the current situation of internally displaced Argaki villagers after 40 years.

In one of his earlier studies, Roger Zetter (1981) offers an overview of the development of housing policies and the housing agenda in Cyprus, which covers the period after independence in 1960. The study investigates housing policy and social change between 1960 and 1980. Following this, he studied the process and the reasons for categorising people as refugees in the context of public policy practices (see Zetter, 1991). In another study, Zetter (1994, p.307) investigates 'the extent to which the refugees, in the light of the dramatic social and economic changes that have taken place in the refugee community since the exodus of 1974, might perceive of return as their sole feasible or potential objective'. Additionally, Zetter (1999, p.1) 'develops a framework to explain some of the processes and strategies by which refugees adjust to the meaning of protracted exile and how this may influence perceptions of return'.

Russell King and Sarah Ladbury (1982) conducted research on both sides of Cyprus between 1976 and 1981. In their article 'The Cultural Reconstruction of Political Reality: Greek and Turkish Cyprus since 1974', they compare the 'governments' attempts to impose their interpretations of post-1974 political reality on their respective peoples and on the international

community'. Ladbury and King (1988) investigate the renaming of the settlements in northern Cyprus. King (1980) explains the Greek Cypriot refugees' settlement after 1974 and the economic impact of 1974 on industry in southern Cyprus. Nurit Kliot and Yoel Mansfeld (1994) compare the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot communities with each other and to 'the other groups of con-national refugees'.

Oberling (1982) questions the meaning of and reasons for the Turkish Cypriot exodus. The history of the island, the birth of the inter-communal conflict and its consequences were described. As a psychiatrist, Vamik D. Volkan (1979) investigated the psychology of two ethnic groups – Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots – during the intercommunal conflict on the island and the war of 1974. This included information about the fleeing of people by dates and reasons. The lives of the Turkish Cypriots in the enclaves, and the resettlement process after the 1974 event, were also explained.

Echoes From the Dead Zone: Across the Cyprus Divide (Papadakis, 2005) is written from a social anthropological point of view and covers the history of Cyprus and history of the division, combined with politics on the island and what both communities on the island think about this history, politics and themselves.

Yael Navaro-Yashin's (2009) work, which is based on fieldwork in Cyprus in 2001–2002, focuses on the feelings of Turkish Cypriots who live within the ruins, and with the objects/possessions left by Greek Cypriots as a consequence of the war of 1974 and the displacement which followed partition of the island. In addition, the study investigates the relationship between Turkish Cypriots and houses, lands and objects which have been appropriated.

Ceren Boğaç (2009) studied Aşağı Maraş district in one of the cities of northern Cyprus, Famagusta. The main aim of the study was to find out the degree of attachment of IDPs to the houses, which have been allocated to them as a consequence of displacement and the subsequent loss of their former homes, and the surrounding environment in the north. The houses have been allocated to them as a consequence of displacement and subsequent loss of their former homes.

In her PhD thesis 'Narratives of Loss, Longing and Daily Life: the Meaning of Home for Cypriot Refugees in London', Helen Taylor (2009) studied Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot refugees who left the island as a result of conflict and partition with the key aspects of home – the spatial, temporal, material and relational. For refugees, home is 'complex, multiple and in process'.

Housing developments during and after the conflict, and their relationship with displacement, have been discussed by Resmiye Alpar Atun and Hifsiye Pulhan (2009) in their study called 'Learning from Housing: A Retrospective Narrative of Housing Environments in North Cyprus'.

In recent years, increasing attention has been paid to the subject of internal displacement on the island, combining and comparing both Turkish Cypriot IDPs and Greek Cypriot IDPs. 'Dialogue for Trust-Building and Reconciliation: Cypriots Seeking New Approaches to the Property Issue', is a project which has been undertaken by the PRIO Cyprus Centre (PCC).[4] The project 'is aimed at promotion of inter-communal dialogue and debate through which Cypriots may come to understand the conflicting concerns and perspectives of both communities' (PRIO Cyprus, 2011). 'Routes of displacement and resettlement' of the IDPs in both communities and their life stories have been explored within the project, which also focuses on property issues. In one of the project's reports, 'Displacement in Cyprus: Consequences of Civil and Military Strife, Report 5: An Overview of Events and Perceptions', Ayla Gurel, Mete Hatay and Christalla Yakinthou (2012) explain the history of displacement and put forward the results of focus groups which have been employed within the project (Gurel, Hatay and Yakinthou, 2012, p.19).

'Places of Desire: Notions of Place and "Home" among Greek and Turkish Cypriot Refugees' is one of the recent theses related to the topic of internal displacement in Cyprus and home. Written by Lisa Dikomitis (2010), it has been converted into a book called *Cyprus and Its Places of Desire: Culture of Displacement among Greek and Turkish Cypriot Refugees* (Dikomitis, 2012). Dikomitis (2012) focuses on Kozan/Larnakas tis Lapithou which is a village located in the northern part of the island, formerly inhabited by Greek Cypriots and currently settled by Turkish Cypriot IDPs. The study investigates the attachment of Greek Cypriot IDPs to Kozan/Larnakas tis Lapithou – they were displaced from this village – and Turkish Cypriot IDPs to Kozan/Larnakas tis Lapithou – they were displaced to this village. Although the book covers the issues of attachment and home, it excludes the meaning and perception of home – what home means to IDPs and how that differs from what it means to the locals.

The Past in Pieces: Belonging in the New Cyprus is Rebecca Bryant's (2010) book which is the product of 2 years of ethnographic research on Lapta/Lapithos, one of the formerly mixed villages located in the northern half of the island. The study reveals life together before the conflict, displacement, and division from the point of view of village communities, how both communities experienced those years, how they lived until the opening of the border, how they reacted to the border opening, and especially what were the experiences of people when they encountered 'the other', the other side, and 'their homes' after long years, how the border

---

[4] PCC is a chapter of the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO), which was established in 2006. As it is stated it 'is committed to facilitating dialogue between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots' (PRIO Cyprus, 2011).

opening impacted their belonging, and why this event did not assist the reunification of the island.

Cyprus, together with some other countries, has been selected as a case study for a few research projects. 'Cultural Heritage and the Re-construction of Identities after Conflict' (CRIC) is one of these studies. It examines 'how destruction as well as reconstruction affect notions of belonging and identities at different scales ranging from the individual to the pan-national' while linking cultural heritage, conflict and identity. It focuses on Spain, France, Cyprus, Bosnia and Germany. Two villages (one in the north and one in the south) are part of the focus of the research in Cyprus, but the study does not include 'place attachment' and 'perception of home' issues.

'Conflict in Cities and the Contested State' is another project. It includes Nicosia (capital of Cyprus), along with Beirut, Berlin, Brussels, Kirkuk, Mostar and Tripoli, although the main focus is on Belfast and Jerusalem. The project explores the way ethnic, religious and national conflicts formed the divided cities in Europe and the Middle East and investigates the way these cities absorb, resist and take part in the alteration of the conflicts around them (Conflict in Cities, 2007). Additionally, there is an increased interest in the topics of conflict and heritage studies in Cyprus (Constantinou and Hatay, 2010; Constantinou, Demetrious and Hatay, 2012; Saifi and Yuceer, 2013).

To sum up, as a result of this overview it can be claimed that there currently is a lack of studies on Cyprus in general, and in northern Cyprus in particular, that combine the subjects of house, displacement, place attachment and perception of home. Although various studies exist about the IDPs on the island of Cyprus, none of them focus on how they perceive their 'homes'. Although previous studies have identified history of displacement, adaptation, attachment, opinions about the past and expectations for the future, many failed to pay much explicit attention to attachment to former and current places of residence and perception of home. Therefore, this study differs from the previous studies by focusing on these issues.

1.5 Aim and objectives

This research aims to critically examine the relationship between internal displacement, place attachment and perception of home.

The objectives are:
1. to identify current discourse on the relationship between internal displacement, place attachment and perception of home,

2. to investigate place attachment and perception of home as a result of displacement in northern Cyprus,

3. to contribute to the knowledge and understanding of the relationships between displacement, place attachment and perception of home, both in the context of northern Cyprus and in more general discourse.

1.6 Methodology

The case study is used as a research strategy for this research since this method allows investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events and the research questions of the case study strategy, and this study focus mainly on 'how' and 'why' questions (Yin, 2003). In this instance, multiple case designs is selected since 'the evidence from multiple cases is often considered more compelling, and the overall study is therefore regarded as being more robust' (Herriot and Firestone, 1983, cited in Yin, 2003, p.46).

This study includes a combination of qualitative and quantitative research. Qualitative data is collected from selected rural settlements, houses and people through semi-structured and informal interviews, observation and field notes, and visual data. Visual data refers to photographs which were taken in order to identify the studied context. The qualitative part of this research is used to obtain detailed data from a specific number of participants, mainly about place attachment and perception of home. Moreover, quantitative data is collected through a questionnaire which is based on general information about participants and place attachment.

Content analysis, including coding and categorisation, are used in order to analyse qualitative data, while descriptive statistics, cross tabulation and the chi-square test are used in order to analyse quantitative data. A more detailed discussion about the research methodology is found in Chapter 5.

1.7 Significance of the research

In a broader context the study contributes to the literature and studies on internal displacement, place attachment and the notion of home, while interrogating the relationship between the three concepts. It provides information on how internal displacement affects IDPs' place attachment and perception of home, since it is important to understand the impact of displacement on people and try to prevent forced displacement where possible. Furthermore, this understanding could provide an overview for the development of practical solutions for upgrading the post-relocation situation of IDPs.

This study is the first that integrates the fields of internal displacement, place attachment and perception of home in northern Cyprus. It provides an understanding of these subjects (particularly in northern Cyprus), adds knowledge, and contributes to the general discourse. This study also has historic significance as it contributes another layer to the information of island history, by explaining how IDPs currently feel about their former and current places of residence.

The 'Cyprus Problem' is still being negotiated between the representatives of the two communities. There is no doubt that the displaced people, both Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots, were the most affected population in the conflict and they will again be the most affected groups in the case of a solution. Therefore, it is important in this sense to understand how IDPs feel towards the places which they previously and currently live in – how they perceive these places.

1.8 Structure of the thesis

Chapter 2 investigates 'displacement' and explains the three options for durable solution for the displaced people's situation – 'return and reintegration', 'local integration', and 'resettlement and integration'.

Chapter 3 reviews and defines 'place attachment' and its corresponding terms 'place identity', 'place dependence', 'sense of place' and 'sense of belonging', and puts forward the reason for the selection of 'place attachment' as a focus. Predictors of 'place attachment', which are selected to be studied in this research, have been identified.

Chapter 4 identifies and discusses the existing studies on 'home'. 'Perception of home' has been identified, and the differentiation of the concept of 'home' is discussed through comparing it with 'similar' concepts – dwelling and house. Afterwards, home is identified in more detail by covering what it means and where it is. At the end, factors affecting 'perception of home' are described.

Chapter 5 is the methodology chapter, consisting of five sections: research strategy; qualitative and quantitative methods and their application to the research; the selection process for the case study villages; data collection methods and techniques, and data analysis methods.

Chapter 6 describes the history of conflict in Cyprus, division, internal displacement during the conflict and after the division, the changes which arose as a consequence of these incidents, the 'developments' until the emergence of the recent unification plan, the relaxation in the borders, the referendum of the plan and its outcome, and finally, the implications of all these to this study.

Chapter 7 introduces the selected case study villages for the research: Akçay/Argaki, Akdeniz/Agia Eirini, İncirli/Makrasyka and Gönendere/Knodara.

Chapters 8, 9, 10 & 11 focus on the analysis related to Akçay/Argaki, Akdeniz/Agia Eirini, İncirli/Makrasyka and Gönendere/Knodara, respectively. Each chapter has two main sections: the analysis and findings of 'place attachment' and the analysis and findings related to 'perception of home'.

Chapter 12 discusses the research findings by comparing the results of the analysis from the individual case study chapters in relation to the identified literature.

Chapter 13 summarises the findings of the research and explains its contribution to knowledge. It also clarifies limitations of the research, and it identifies recommendations for further research on the subject.

Chapter 2

Displacement

Chapter 2: Displacement

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to focus on the first objective of the study which seeks to identify current discourse on the relationship between internal displacement, place attachment and perception of home. This chapter is the first of three chapters written about these three subjects. Therefore, the chapter aims to investigate displacement literature mainly by focusing on forced displacement in general and conflict related literature in particular since displacement in this study is being related to internal conflict and used to refer to the involuntary movement of people from their places of origins and/or habitual residences to other places as a result of conflict. Since significant similarities and commonalities exist among refugees and IDPs, even though there are distinctions regarding, for instance, the process of displacement, and location settled after displacement (Entwisle, 2010, p.31), this section includes references to both forced displaced groups but particularly to IDPs.

2.2 Displacement

Preston (1999) explains the brief chronology of 'involuntary war-related migration' research and states that in the 1970s, 'the parameters of flight' was studied, and this was followed by research on 'asylum and resettlement' in the 1980s, while the 1990s was the decade for 'repatriation' research (Preston, 1999, p.20; see also Koser and Black, 1999; Piper, Power and Thom, 2013, p.6). At the same time, the 1990s and the end of the Cold War is commonly referred to as the time when internal displacement and IDPs became issues of international concern (Mooney, 2005, p.9; Sert, 2008, pp.16–17; Piper, Power and Thom, 2013, p.6), and since then, awareness on the issues has increased (Mooney, 2005, p.9). As Sert (2008) stated, according to Astri Suhrke (2003) it was the Gulf War which made the UN include IDPs in its programme (Sert, 2008, pp.16–17); this is in contrast to many scholars who designate the end of the Cold War as being the reason.

One of the most significant improvements considering internal displacement might be evaluated as the 'Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement' which were launched in 1998 (UNHCR, 2001). As they explain (UNHCR, 2001):

> The Principles identify the rights and guarantees relevant to protection of the internally displaced in all phases of displacement. They provide protection against arbitrary displacement, offer a basis for protection and assistance during displacement, and set forth guarantees for safe return, resettlement and reintegration.

As is seen from the last sentence of this definition, two solutions have been indicated as a durable solution for IDPs in the 'Guiding Principles': 'return' or 'resettlement' and reintegration in both cases. What is meant by a durable solution is an option which solves the displacement

problem and concludes 'the cycle of displacement' (UNHCR, 2011, p.28). Different to the 'Guiding Principles', UNHCR more recently identified three options in the *Resettlement Handbook* for a durable solution, which is similar to the refugee's case: 'sustainable reintegration at the place of origin (return)', 'sustainable local integration in the area where IDPs have taken refuge' and 'sustainable settlement elsewhere in the country' (ibid., p.26; see also UNHCR 2008, part 1, p.2). It is claimed here that the resettlement that has been suggested in the 'Guiding Principles' also includes the option of permanently settling in the place where IDPs arrived as a result of displacement (UNHCR, 2011, p.26).

By considering the durable solutions which have been suggested by the 'Guiding Principles' and UNHCR, the processes of displacement, return, resettlement and reintegration have been the main focus of the literature and research on IDPs. By mainly focusing on the refugees, Koser and Black (1999, p.3) refer to what displaced people have undergone with displacement as the 'refugee cycle'. It has been extensively explained in the literature that this cycle and refugees'/IDPs' experience consists of phases. These phases begin with a *displacement/flight* and *deconstruction* from the place of origin/habitual residence, sometimes *return/repatriation* to a place of origin/habitual residence with *reconstruction* and *reintegration* in/to these places, sometimes *integration* in the host society where they have relocated to, or sometimes *resettlement* to another part of a country and *integration* in these places (Kliot and Mansfeld, 1994; Black and Koser, 1999; Loizos, 1999; UNHCR, 2001). With regard to these and the proposed durable solutions, this chapter considers *displacement and destruction: life in exile*, *'actual' return/repatriation and 'the myth of return' and reintegration, local integration,* and *resettlement and integration.*

2.3 Displacement and Deconstruction: life in exile

At the end of 2013, IDMC put the estimated number of internally displaced people in the world as 33.3 million who 'were forced to flee their homes by armed conflict, generalised violence and human rights violations' (IDMC, 2014, p.9). This number continued to increase in 2014 as a consequence of similar reasons.

Like all involuntary movements, internal displacement forces people to leave their homes behind without any choice, which also means taking them away from their shelters that provide protection for them (UNHCR, 2011, p.1; Mooney, 2005, p.15) and from an environment in which they have evolved and adapted throughout the centuries (Kliot and Mansfeld, 1994, p.330). People have to leave behind their possessions, land, property, traditional livelihood, jobs and consequently they become 'de-skilled by loss of appropriate contexts to use their skills' (Loizos, 1999, p.255) and settle into a place which has its own particular economic and political structure that they are not familiar with (Bottomley, 1992, p.39). As a result, they may become separated from the necessary resources for their existence (Mooney, 2005, p.15) and people who were

once autonomous might rely on debt for a new beginning or on government aid (Cockburn, 2004, p.64, pp.78–79).

As a result of internal displacement and destruction, communities, social networks and families may become fragmented, and people may lose family and community support and their established social networks since they have been scattered to foreign places (Oliver-Smith, 1991, p.133; Zetter, 1994, p.311; Loizos, 1999, p.255; Mooney, 2005, p.15). Therefore, displacement 'means physical dislocation, the separation of people from their everyday practices and their familiar environments, social disruption and material dispossession' (Brun, 2003, p.26).

At the same time, displacement may lead to loss of 'tangible symbolic goods, such as cultural heritage, friendship and a sense of belonging to a particular place' (Castles *et al.*, n.d., cited in Mooney, 2005, p.15) since it involves uprooting from the familiar environments where the societies have evolved, to unfamiliar settings. It also impacts and demolishes the affective ties, attachment and belonging between people, community and their material environments (Oliver-Smith, 1991, p.133; Dikomitis, 2012, p.14). Displacement from a familiar setting to an unfamiliar one causes feelings of ineffectiveness and estrangement (Oliver-Smith, 1991, p.133).

In addition, displacement might result in the loss of identity documentation either by destruction by IDPs themselves as a precaution against possible harassment, or by being unintentionally lost during flight or taken away (UNHCR, 2001; Mooney, 2005, p.17; BROOKINGS INSTITUTION, 2008, p.15, 159, 194).

Along with socio-economic impacts, one other significant outcome of displacement can be the physical and psychological destruction of an individual's health (Oliver-Smith, 1991, p.133; Loizos, 2009, pp.40–41) in the sense that displacement can cause 'marginalisation' (Brun, 2003, p.26), 'trauma' and 'psychological stress' (Zetter, 1999, p.16; Brun, 2003, p.26).

Besides the common effects, displacement may impact children and adolescents in particular, since it interrupts their education and growth (IDMC 2014, p.15, 30, 40, 46; Mooney, 2005, p.15). Additionally, the chaotic environment of displacement might have separated children from their parents and families and leave them at risk of abuse (Mooney, 2005, p.15). Sometimes, women might be impacted particularly if they have been forced to undertake roles different than their traditional roles (Rogge, 1991, p.40; Vélez and Bello, 2010, p.69). For instance, a study which focuses on a forcibly displaced population as a result of political violence in Bogotá shows that displacement impacted the family unit when some family members, especially adults and young men, became victims (Vélez and Bello, 2010, p.69). The difficulties that displaced people underwent engendered the split between couples. Since in this case men were 'poorly educated small-scale farmers' they could not find appropriate jobs in an urban context (ibid.).

Similarly, internally displaced Cypriot women who were mainly dependent on their husbands' income started to work in order to support the economy of the household, or in the case of a death of a father as the main supplier of the house, Cypriot women started to work in order to take care of their family (Cockburn, 2004, p.64, p.79). Therefore, in situations like these, after the displacement a woman's role changes from being mother to provider (Rogge, 1991, p.40; Vélez and Bello, 2010, p.69). As a result, it can be concluded that 'displacement changes the structure and size of households and changes family patterns and gender roles' and also 'the number of female-headed households increases significantly' (Cohen and Deng, 1998, cited in Sert, 2008, p.10).

In the course of time, people might start to establish their daily routine in exile, but 'feelings of nostalgia, loss, fear and anger' continue (Dikomitis, 2012, p.14). When they overcome 'the initial shock and dramatic tension' which they have faced with displacement, the process of 'home-making' and, therefore, 'emplacement' after displacement starts (ibid.). They start to rebuild their life in exile 'from pieces of the past' (Bryant, 2010, p.111).

IDPs' perception of displacement and attitude towards the setting where they have been relocated to has an influence on their resettlement and life in exile. In this respect, Greek Cypriot IDPs' attempt to assign the names of former places of residence to stores and public places which they have established in exile, is evaluated by Bryant (2010, p.112) to be an effort to emphasise the temporariness of their situation along with underlining their 'ancestors and roots'. To adopt the symbols of the former places of residence in the place settled after displacement is a common behaviour among displaced people since 'the loss of the real places of memory necessitates the creation of material representation to restore bonds to a homeland and in retaining cultural identity' (Turan, 2010, p.43). Refugees attempt in Dadaab refugee camp in Kenya to build houses which are similar to their former houses (Agier, 2008, pp.50–53), Kurdish refugee women who live in North London council houses attempt to use visual materials as reminders of their former places of residence/habitation (Kiliçkiran, 2003, pp.104–106), Palestinian diasporas attempt to use objects to create familiar environments in New York (Turan, 2010, p.44), Asia Minor refugees attempt to establish a familiar environment in Piraeus which is similar to their former place of residence (Hirschon, 1989, pp.25–26), Greek Cypriots try in Britain (Anthias, 1992, p.113) and Turkish immigrants attempt in Germany (Ehrkamp, 2005) to assign Greek/Turkish names to public buildings that they run. These can all be listed as similar behaviours.

Displaced people's quality of life in exile as well as integration with, or segregation from, the host society and contact with the people who were left behind can be listed as determinants in resettlement after dislocation. In many cases, the experience of dislocation and 'marginality' provides a special bond between those who have been displaced and they think only they can understand each other (Al-Rasheed, 1994, p.213; see also Papadakis, 2005). It can also be

added that perception of the past, present and future of the incident and feelings towards their former place of residence are determinants too. In this respect, Dikomitis (2012, p.14) argues that life in a new place of residence is influenced by the remembrance of, or nostalgia of, the home which has been left behind. Sometimes these people establish refugee organisations/social clubs or what Bottomley (1992, p.130) defines as 'community-type social networks' and organise social events, which might end up as political events, in order to keep the community spirit alive, to keep the attachment to their ethnicity and roots, to meet other displaced people – their fellow villagers – and most importantly to remember the idea of return (Bottomley, 1992, p.131; Al-Rasheed, 1994, p.213; Zetter, 1994, p.312; Bryant, 2010). Furthermore, behaviours such as keeping regular contact with the people who stayed in the place of origin or former place of residence, and perception of homeland, have an impact on their relationship with the host society which results in 'marginality and encapsulation' (Al-Rasheed, 1994, p.212).

Considering all these arguments, it can easily be concluded that forced displacement and resettlement can create a 'disruption and trauma' for displaced people (Oliver-Smith, 1991, p.133) and that displacement has a strong impact on a person's life – it is a turning point in their lifetime which has been forced on them, and their life after displacement never becomes as it used to be.

On the other hand, although there is an argument that the expression 'all IDPs see displacement as a tragedy' is a usual label about IDPs (Sert, 2008, p.42), this might 'without romanticising displacement' include innovation too (Brun, 2003, p.26). According to this idea, displacement might provide opportunity for change and offer new possibilities to IDPs and other displaced people (Brun, 2003, p.26; Sert, 2008, p.42). For instance, economic development can be listed as one of these opportunities; for example, Loizos (1999) described 'Bodrum Cretans' who were displaced from Crete to the west shore of Turkey and became more prosperous than local non-refugees. Yet, still, Loizos (1999, p.255) questions: 'was their prosperity, economic, and spiritual, greater than it might have been had they been allowed to co-exist in Crete? We can never know'.

2.4 'End' of displacement

2.4.1 'Actual' return/repatriation and 'the myth of return' and reintegration

2.4.1.1 'Actual' return/repatriation

The 1990s was declared a 'decade of voluntary repatriation' by UNHCR (Martin, 2000, p.2). Among the three options for durable solution (return/repatriation, local integration, and resettlement), voluntary repatriation is the highly preferred option for refugees according to 'governments, NGOs (non-governmental organisation[s]) and UN agencies' (Warner, 1994, p.160; Ghanem, 2003, p.12). However, it is argued that this is not applicable to IDPs since, regarding the level of importance, all three options are equal among IDPs (UNHCR, 2008, p.2;

Entwisle, 2010, p.4) 'since they flow from the right to freedom of movement and the right to choose one's residence' (UNHCR, 2008, part 1, p.2). Voluntary return for IDPs means return 'in safety and with dignity, to their homes or places of habitual residence' (UNHCR, 2001).

After returning from exile, displaced people have been categorised with another label – 'returnees'. The former UNHCR, Sadako Ogata, identified 'returnees' as 'refugees and displaced people who have been able to go back to their homes, but who still require some support from the international community' (UNHCR, 1997). This label has also been used in some cases to identify the 'former' IDPs (see UNHCR 2008, part 1, p.8). Ghanem (2003) states that a returnee is interpreted as the opposite position of a refugee: a refugee is perceived as '*up*rooted and *dis*placed' whereas a returnee is seen as 'naturally "re-rooted" and placed back in the right order of things', yet, subsequently, Ghanem points out that the latter definition is extremely challenging considering the experience of violence, a life in a different setting, and return to a different place (Ghanem, 2003, p.3).

In this context, there is also an extensive discussion in the literature on return that even though repatriation is defined as the 'end of the refugee cycle', it is not exactly the end (Koser and Black, 1999, p.17; Hammond, 1999, p.227). Rather, it is a new beginning for the returnees who return to the changed places (Koser and Black, 1999, p.17). It is presumed to be the 'best' and 'least problematic' solution (Ghanem, 2003, p.12; Sert, 2008, p.41). What makes repatriation to be perceived as an end and as the finest solution is prevalently explained as being due to the lack of research and investigation of the process after return – the experience of returnees and the consequences of return (Warner, 1994, p.161; Koser and Black, 1999, p.10; Hammond, 1999, p.227). This is also designated as one of the gaps in the displacement research which needs to be covered.

Although plentiful studies exist on displacement, how to cope with it, and how to assist displaced people to return or resettle, little attention has been paid to understanding what it means to return home for displaced people and for people still in the place of origin/habitual residence, and also what are the differences between the perception of return and home for displaced people who experience it and for policymakers who plan it (Warner, 1994, p.161). Moreover, no consensus exists regarding what it exactly means to return home (ibid.). In order to investigate the meaning of return, 'the expectations of the refugees' about return, and the behaviour of people in their country of origin towards them after their return, need to be understood (ibid., p.169). In order to understand what the process of return means for returnees, scholars and practitioners need to investigate their 'assumptions' about the meaning of 'return', 'home' and 'place' and also reconsider the terms which are used to define life after repatriation (Hammond, 1999, p.227).

When the situation of internal displacement is considered in particular, it is seen that there is no agreement on 'when internal displacement ends' and when an IDP should not be categorised with this label anymore (Mooney, 2005, p.9) in theory. Moreover, in practice it can also be difficult to track when internal displacement actually ends. This problem is related to the condition of displacement that does not involve crossing the international border to another country, instead staying within the country of origin, and keeping the right of free movement, which might lead to confusion about when return starts and finishes (Entwisle, 2010, p.8).

Voluntary repatriation as a durable solution for refugees denies time and the subsequent changes due to the passing of time, and interprets the process as a return to home and community rather than only return to country of origin (Warner, 1994, p.162, p.171). But in fact, refugees 'are not returning home. They are, in fact, returning to their country of origin, but no more' (ibid., p.170) since they, and the people in their country of origin and even their political state have changed over time (ibid., pp.171–172). Therefore, 'refugees return, but they do not return. Refugees go back to their country of origin …' (ibid., p.172). In the same line, considering the Guiding Principles 28(1) (UNHCR, 2001) where voluntary return is explained to be to the 'homes or places of habitual residence' of IDPs, it can be perceived by IDPs as a return to their community as well. For instance, what return means for Greek Cypriot IDPs is returning to their homes as well as to their community – simply 'to an idealized time before conflict' (Bryant, 2010, p.169). They desire to 'just go back to the way things once were' (ibid., p.41).

It is stated that although IDP return is a significant issue at policy level, there is a lack of theoretical literature on the subject and therefore it is based on the literature on diasporas and migration (Sert, 2008, p.41). Based on IDPs, Entwisle (2010) explains that return has two meanings in internal displacement: it is either a 'movement to a place of origin/former residence' and can be regarded as a starting point in 'finding a durable solution' or it is a 'movement to a place of origin/former residence' without any actual vision of a durable solution and without waiting for the end of the cause of displacement (Entwisle, 2010, p.8). IDPs can be displaced from their places of origin/habitual residence and return to these places several times until they finally return (ibid.). One of the examples of this situation can be the IDPs in Kabezi in Bujumbura Rural Province in Burundi, who experienced 'cyclic and repetitive displacements, in general lasting a month' (Couldrey and Morris, 2004, p.27).

Furthermore, the time of the return for IDPs often cannot be anticipated – it can be earlier than the estimated time, it can be 'spontaneous' or it can be managed by the government (Entwisle, 2010, p.31). Thus, the return of IDPs cannot be generalised (Entwisle, 2010, p.31; Ghanem, 2003, p.8) in terms of time and frequency.

Likewise, the attitude towards the idea of return among IDPs cannot be generalised either. The common assumption considering the attitude of IDPs towards return is that they 'always want to return to their homes and that return is the best attainable solution' (Sert, 2008, p.41). However, Sert (2008) interprets the ideas which assume that 'IDPs are a homogeneous group' and 'all IDPs want to return home' as 'stereotypes about IDPs' and indicates that 'the reality' is that 'they have different identities based on religion, ethnicity, gender, age, occupation, etc.' and they consider the available options and decide whether to return or resettle at the end of their evaluations (ibid., pp.41–42). Hence, IDPs may display different behaviours towards the return option.

Although there is a prevalent desire to return among IDPs, it is stated that this is not always the case and there are IDPs who do not want to return home, instead resettling to other places according to their interests (Sert, 2008, p.42) or continuing to live in the places which have been prepared for them following their displacement (Couldrey and Morris, 2004, p.26; Rogge and Lippman, 2004, p.4). In this respect, several issues have been listed which have an impact on the process and desire to return among displaced people. These include 'economic opportunities in the reception and origin sites', 'socio-demographic characteristics of the household', 'how traumatic the displacement process was' (Deninger *et al.*, 2004, cited in Sert, 2008, pp.9–11), displacement itself (Sert, 2008, p.10), the length of displacement (Rogge, 1991, p.1; Deninger *et al.*, 2004, cited in Sert, 2008, pp.9–11; Sert, 2008, p.12; Entwisle, 2010, p.31), new lives which have been established in exile, possessions that have been acquired in exile, presence of family members in exile, absence of familiar people in place of origin/habitual residence (Brown and Mansfield, 2009, p.15), absence of sense of belonging and one's roots in place settled after displacement (Bryant, 2010, p.17), safety of place of origin/habitual residence, fear of violence (Couldrey and Morris, 2004, p.27; Rogge and Lippman, 2004, p.4; Brown and Mansfield, 2009, p.15), conditions in the camps and attitude of the host administration (Couldrey and Morris, 2004, p.26), 'the pattern of conflict and rights violations which led to displacement', 'conditions in displacement', 'the extent to which IDPs have maintained social and economic links with their home areas', 'the degree of destruction and disruption of livelihoods in areas of return' (Entwisle, 2010, p.31), attitude of home and host governments towards return, and the degree of assistance given to returnees (Rogge, 1991, p.1).

According to one idea, a long period of displacement discourages displaced people from returning (Deninger *et al.*, 2004, cited in Sert, 2008, pp.9–11), while according to another study it might not have an effect on IDPs' desire to return (Sert, 2008, p.12). No matter what the impact is, after a long period of displacement, people become 'unprepared for the life' that they return to (Brown and Mansfield, 2009, p.15).

Furthermore, 'property rights' are another significant issue which influences return (Sert, 2008) and therefore sometimes are used as a tool to promote return (Eastmond and Öjendal, 1999,

p.43). What is meant by property rights is not merely 'ownership of material things' (that have been left behind) that displaced people could return to (Sert, 2008, pp.37–38), but also 'means to create resources to *resettle* elsewhere' (ibid., p.14). Means, such as land, cash, housing, employment and family union are used in order to encourage displaced people to return (Eastmond and Öjendal, 1999, p.43). Additionally, property rights are evaluated as an important determinant of achieving successful return and resettlement (Sert, 2008, p.4).

2.4.1.2 'The myth of return'

In addition to the ones who want to return and who do not want to, there is another group of displaced people who also desire to return and this desire becomes a 'myth' for them. Similar to the existence of desire to return among some IDPs, 'the myth of return' does not develop in all displaced people (Al-Rasheed, 1994, p.203). Al-Rasheed (1994, p.203) indicated that the myth of return is related to perception of the exile situation, temporary or permanent, and it develops among the ones who perceive their displacement as temporary, while barely featuring among the ones who believe that their displacement is permanent. It should be noted that the 'possibility of and desire to return' is not evaluated as a myth by the displaced people, it is put forward by the researchers in order to define 'a frame of mind' which is common for some displaced people including immigrants (ibid., p.201).

The myth of return is both 'mythical' and 'real' since the former refers to 'the realm of imagination and creativity/it invokes images anchored not necessarily in the "real" world', yet the images are attached 'in that area of belief and thought which may or may not be subject to objective verification'. The latter indicates 'a concrete movement, an actual physical displacement, a migration or more accurately a re-migration to a point fixed in space' (ibid., pp.200–201). Displaced people long for their lost homes and lost lives and this is what they want to go back to; they 'long for a time' that they 'didn't know what was going to happen next' (King, 2000, p.2). Regarding the myth of return, Zetter (1999) argues that the idea which is 'mythologized' among displaced people is that return will give back everything that they used to have. What Zetter (1999, p.6) indicates is that it is not the return by itself which is 'mythologized', but the home, and therefore he suggests that it might be more correct to alter the terminology to 'myth of "home" ' or 'the myth of return home'.

Likewise, the terms which are used in repatriation discourse, such as 'reintegration', 'reconstruction', 'return', etc., imply that after their return, displaced people should pursue going back 'in time' and try 'to recapture a quality of life that they are assumed to have enjoyed before becoming refugees' (Hammond, 1999, p.230). However, there is an argument that it is not completely possible to return back to that life and place since both people and places change over time (Hammond, 1999; Warner, 1994). Either displaced people return to their birthplace/place of origin, or settle elsewhere, and return is perceived as 'a new beginning' rather than 'a return to the past' (Hammond, 1999, p.229).

What is argued is that the debates of return to home do not consider the time which has passed in exile and changes of the displaced people and the place of origin/habitual residence, and as a result the change in the relationship between a displaced person and place (Warner, 1994, p.169). It is indicated that 'the nostalgia for home, homogeneous group and soil' can be disrupted throughout time and 'distorted by memory' (Warner, 1994, p.169) and experiences of life in a different environment. By referring to Fraser (1984) and Steedman (1986), King (2000, p.33) suggests that even the memory transforms as a consequence of the experiences in current time. Even the displaced people who return to their places of origin are aware of the fact that their return might only mean a 'geographic placement' (Hammond, 1999, p.235).

The level of belief in 'the myth of return' varies from 'mild remembrance' and 'a desire or wish to return to it one day' to a 'severe and deeply rooted obsession' that can obstruct a person's participation in daily life and activities, which in turn may also engender psychological problems for a person (Al-Rasheed, 1994, p.201).

The myth of return of displaced persons is influenced by various factors such as: their previous experiences; their relationship with their country/place of origin both before and after displacement; the relationship between people in the country/place of origin both before and after displacement; the psychology of an individual; current time; future goals and desires (ibid., pp.199–217).

Furthermore, having no relatives back in the country/place of origin, not having contact with those places, which subsequently leads to estrangement, and not having significant property in those places are 'factors which discourage the development of myth of return' (ibid., pp.214–215). On the other hand, it was also found that in some cases disconnection from the place of origin and from people there strengthens the desire to return (ibid., p.214). Therefore, it either encourages or discourages the establishment of the myth of return (ibid., p.217).

In addition, it is observed from Al-Rasheed's (1994) and Bryant's (2010) participants that displaced people who have a strong myth of return regularly gather for social events, they keep exchanging news, discuss politics about places of origin/former places of residence and their situations, which can be evaluated as an attempt to preserve the myth alive. This behaviour is directly related to the impact of displacement on a person; displacement disrupts the continuation of life of a person by separating it into phases and at the end creating 'the self "before" and the self "after" ' (King, 2000, p.3). Displacement and lost home are situated at the centre of a life of the self 'after' for the one who has a strong 'myth of home'. By gathering and sharing, they also keep the memory of the lost places alive. Losing the memory of those places gives the same pain as by physically losing them (ibid., p.178) and, therefore, they un/intentionally might want to prevent this.

When the time comes to return to the lost places it is necessary to consider the desire of the displaced people. The necessity of complete involvement of IDPs in the organisation and supervision of their return, resettlement and reintegration is mentioned in the Guiding Principles 28(2) (UNHCR, 2001) and elsewhere (MacEwen, 2010). Full participation in the earlier stage of the process and at the decision-making level is significant, in the sense of collecting necessary data and to understand the requests of the displaced communities (MacEwen, 2010, p.74) and to plan the process accordingly. In cases where participation was 'symbolic or token' instead of full, many displaced people experienced a feeling of doubt and discouragement towards return, and as a result only a limited number of people returned (ibid.).

Moreover, the monitoring of implementation of peace agreements in order to assure return is as significant as the participation of the affected population. It is necessary to monitor whether the provisions which are mentioned in peace agreements 'are being put into effect and whether they are producing results' (Sert, 2008, p.6).

2.4.1.3 Reintegration

What follows the process of return is reintegration. Reintegration 'is a process which involves the progressive establishment of conditions which enable returnees and their communities to exercise their social, economic, civil, political and cultural rights, and on that basis to enjoy peaceful, productive and dignified lives' (UNHCR, 2008, part II, p.7). Also, reintegration is the second stage of what UNHCR identifies as the '4Rs Approach' in order to achieve sustainable repatriation (Repatriation, Reintegration, Rehabilitation and Reconstruction) (UNHCR, 2003, pp.17–22; UNHCR, 2004, one: 8).

It is argued that to evaluate voluntary repatriation as 'the least problematic solution' since it is accepted as the finest solution for refugees' complications, is worrying (Ghanem, 2003, p.12). What produces the perception of repatriation as the best solution is the existence of an understanding that displaced people return to 'a familiar setting' and continue their lives in their home country (UNHCR, 2011, p.31). One reason for perceiving repatriation as the optimum solution is explained as 'the lack of attention paid to the experiences of refugees after return' (Koser and Black, 1999, p.10). It is explained that return is not the 'end of the refugee cycle', rather it is 'the beginning of a new cycle comprising the social, political, and economic reintegration in the home country' (Kjertum, 1998, cited in Ghanem, 2003, p.12; see also Koser and Black, 1999, pp.11–12).

Needless to say, serious destruction occurs in environments where conflict was the reason for displacement. Hence, in many cases IDPs return to these settings which have often been harshly impacted by the conflict, with damaged infrastructure and services, and destroyed property and economy (Couldrey and Morris, 2004, p.26; Rogge and Lippman, 2004, p.4). At this point, considering all these destructive issues, constructing an 'enabling environment' in

order to make return and reintegration possible is explained as 'a major challenge of most conflict situations' (Rogge and Lippman, 2004, p.5). It can be argued that an 'enabling environment' can be achieved by creating ' "pull" factors' in the place of origin/residence (ibid., p.4). In this respect, 'upgrading of basic services, creation of livelihood opportunities and, most importantly, the establishment of law and order', 'security', 'property restitution issues and access to land' can be listed as some of the necessary provisions which must be realised in the place of origin/residence in order to achieve an 'enabling environment' and successful return and reintegration (ibid., pp.4–5).

In addition, sustainable reintegration is also closely linked to the existence and degree of social networks and recreating the destroyed social network, life and wealth of communities in consideration of the reasons of conflict (Koser and Black, 1999, p.11; Rogge and Lippman, 2004, p.5). The existence of social networks with either relatives or unrelated locals helps returnees to start a new life (Eastmond and Öjendal, 1999, p.50; see also Loizos, 1999, p.258). Having communal activities and sharing the same institutions among returnees and locals encourages 'a sense of belonging' (Eastmond and Öjendal, 1999, p.50). Furthermore, time and establishing a kin relationship with locals help returnees to be accepted as part of the community (Eastmond and Öjendal, 1999, p.50), which is a factor influencing reintegration. The attitude of people at 'home' and their perception of return need to be investigated along with the displaced people's perception of and 'nostalgia for return' (Warner, 1994, p.170).

It is stated that the time – a life in exile – in a different environment transforms one's 'self' and one's perception of 'home' (Ghanem, 2003, p.5, pp.50–51), and in turn this perception of 'home' affects the process of reintegration (ibid., p.3). In accordance with this, Warner (1994, p.172) states that 'refugees return, but they do not return. Refugees go back to their country of origin, but they are not the same, nor are the people in the country of origin'. Considering these points, Ghanem (2003, p.3) questions 'how are returnees expected to "re-connect" with "home" after the experience of life-threatening situations in their country of origin, years of exile in a different social environment and the return to a changed country?'

In relation to this, when the 'psychosocial dimension of reintegration' following repatriation (ibid., p.14) was investigated, it was found that displaced people who permanently repatriated experience various degrees of psychological stress in the early periods of repatriation (ibid., p.51). The ones who preserved 'a realistic image of their country throughout their exile' have either less or no emotional problems (ibid., p.52). At this point nostalgia, which displaced people have developed in exile, appears to be another issue which impacts reintegration.

Eastmond and Öjendal (1999, p.54) suggest that major alterations in the social and political context in the place of origin/residence during the exile years of displaced people are significant issues which need consideration in 'resettling, securing new livelihoods and defining a new

sense of belonging'. One might suggest that this alteration is likely to provoke the feeling of alienation for returnees. Since alienation is not recognised, governments and the international aid groups assume that returnees who voluntarily repatriate do not experience difficulties apart from material and security related issues (Ghanem, 2003, p.7). Similar to this, Bryant (2010) explains the return of Greek Cypriot IDPs, which is not a complete repatriation, and their feeling of estrangement and crumbling of their sense of belonging to the places which once belonged to them and where they felt they once belonged. Different to what Warner (1994) stated about the transformation of displaced people, Bryant (2010) argues that according to Greek Cypriot IDPs, 'they are the ones who have remained unchanged, while the place to which they once belonged has become something that is no longer their own' (Bryant, 2010, p.38). They consider themselves to be strangers since they have lost the places which once belonged to them and also the places to which they once belonged (ibid., p.36). As a result of the 'unfamiliarity' they thought places both were and were not theirs (ibid., p.51).

The settlement, in particular 'the availability of land; the extent to which land was titled for returnees, and the presence of or not of a supportive network of friends and relatives', which are provided to returnees, is found to be one of the most significant variables that impacts the reintegration process (Eastmond and Öjendal, 1999, pp.45–46).

Other settlement related factors which impact reintegration are 'the type and management of settlements for returnees (where these are formally constructed), and the extent and type of assistance made available to returnees' (Koser and Black, 1999, p.11). It is suggested that it might be better to let returnees be independent and select land for themselves, or other economic positions and places, rather than providing them these options, and at the same time support the improvement of the returnee receiving communities in general (Eastmond and Öjendal, 1999, p.53). Similar to this, 'the extent to which refugees have been allowed to gain a degree of self-reliance' is listed as another vital variable which impacts reintegration (Koser and Black, 1999, p.11).

A durable solution to their situation is a requirement of both IDPs and returnees subsequent to displacement (Mooney, 2005, p.18). When this happens and they either voluntarily repatriate or resettle, these people need special assistance and protection in order to reconstruct their lives following the displacement and destruction (Rogge and Lippman, 2004, p.4; Mooney, 2005, p.18).

When forced returnees are considered, it can be said that their reintegration is different to the reintegration of those who have been voluntarily repatriated. Since the former do not desire to return it is more likely that they have aggressive attitudes towards their place of origin/residence, and may have difficulties in reintegrating with their country of origin and to perceive it as 'home' again, especially if return is not a safe option yet (Ghanem, 2003, p.7).

Therefore, at this point, and in the case of voluntary repatriation and return, displaced people's participation in the decision-making process is vital. In order to achieve sustainable repatriation and social unity, comprehensive participation of the community 'in defining and prioritising its needs and implementing and evaluating projects based on these needs' is necessary (Rogge and Lippman, 2004, p.5; see also Lippman and Malik, 2004, p.10 and Skotte, 2004). Furthermore, participation of the local communities which receive returnees has the same importance as inclusion of returnees in the decision-making process. In this respect, it was pointed out that reintegration, which is a fundamental part of reconstruction, means 'tying short-term return assistance into more long-term development efforts that include the local population' (Eastmond and Öjendal, 1999, p.54). What Rogge and Lippman (2004, p.5) state is that 'we must have the humility to remember that the best solutions often come from within, not from without'.

To summarise, what has come out of the literature is that 'greater attention needs to be paid to "emplacement" and not only to displacement' (Malkki, 1995, cited in Eastmond and Öjendal, 1999, p.54) – 'emplacement' is identified by Malkki (1995, p.517) as 'the flipside of displacement'. Moreover, it is not sufficient to only provide a successful return for displaced people, it is also necessary to provide the environment for reconstruction and for sustainable reintegration. While working on repatriation, it is necessary to consider the problems and situations that returnees have experienced after return, and involve both social and physical reconstruction into a return process (Koser and Black, 1999, p.17).

2.4.2 Local integration

Local integration is explained as the second option for durable solution for displaced people. Although it is defined under the 'resettlement' option for IDPs in the Guiding Principles 28(1) (UNHCR, 2001), UNHCR (2011) lists this option as the second option. The difference between the return and resettlement options is that IDPs do not relocate more than once in the local integration option (Ferris and Halff, 2011, p.53). For IDPs, local integration means integration in a place where they have been displaced to (UNHCR, 2011, p.26). This integration is a legal/political, economic, social and cultural process (Teržan and Kladarin, 2009, p.42; Moreira and Baeninger, 2010, p.48). Hence, a successful local integration necessitates: 'employment/livelihood', 'housing', 'access to public services', access to 'citizenship rights' and 'duties', 'language skills', 'political participation', establishing 'social relations' with the local people, and contribution to 'social life' (Teržan and Kladarin, 2009, p.42; Moreira and Baeninger, 2010, p.48; Ferris and Halff, 2011, p.54).

In some cases, return might not be possible or IDPs might prefer to stay in the place where they have been displaced to rather than returning to their places of origin. This might be for reasons related to the places of origin/habitual residence such as lack of safety, non-existence of political reconciliation regarding the conflict, 'illness', 'age', 'a child's birth', 'education', 'lack of

knowledge' about the place of origin/residence, non/existence of relatives and familiar people (Giammatteo, 2010, p.53; Ferris and Halff, 2011, p.53), and other reasons which have been mentioned in previous sections.

On the other hand, there might be some issues which influence the IDPs' decision to locally integrate which are related to the place where they have been displaced to. 'IDPs may not make a conscious choice to integrate locally at a certain point in time' (Ferris and Halff, 2011, p.53), but it might have resulted from the impact of several issues, such as time spent in the place and their experiences during this time. This willingness to stay can be because of well-established relationships with the locals, taking part in social and cultural life, having access to the legal and public services that the locals do, safety, and livelihood (ibid.).

Even though the return option is the most preferred and encouraged solution, Ferris and Halff (2011, p.54) argue that local integration of IDPs can be supported until it is possible to return especially for the ones who experience extended displacement. By doing so, IDPs might have more settled and easier lives until their return. Yet, this might also bring an unwillingness to return and a desire to stay.

2.4.3 Resettlement and integration

Resettlement, as one of the durable solutions for IDPs, means relocation to a third place. The Guiding Principles 28(1) (UNHCR, 2001) explain the location of resettlement as 'another part of the country' but resettlement can also include 'to settle permanently in the locality where they first arrived while displaced'. This can also be referred to as 'local integration' as a second durable solution for IDPs (UNHCR, 2011, p.26). Similar to local integration, but different to the return in which displaced people end up in places of origin/residence, in resettlement, IDPs end up in a completely foreign environment, even if that place is their country. As a result of the resettlement process, people must establish new lives (ibid., p.4) in these unfamiliar environments.

Similar to the Guiding Principles 28(1) (UNHCR, 2001) which explain that 'conditions' and 'the means' which allow displaced people to return or resettle should be provided, Kliot (2007) explains that providing a satisfactory setting for displaced people in their resettlement is one of the fundamental issues to achieve successful resettlement (Kliot, 2007, p.64). This satisfactory setting can be identified as a setting which provides continuity for livelihood and way of life. As Kliot (2007, p.64) states, in many of the successful resettlements, 'the continuity in the farming way of life' created accomplishment. Even if he argues that it is not easy to identify the reasons behind the success of some resettlement and integration projects compared to others, he designates the impact of the government's effort in the process and approach towards 'the geopolitical reality, and perhaps, to the finitude of the situation' (ibid., p.67).

Without a doubt, the population of the places which receive displaced people experiences an increase, and parallel to this, all types of social, economic and educational needs increase. In this respect, developments and arrangements for resettlement must consider and meet the increase in needs in 'the social and physical infrastructure, school and health services, access to employment opportunities, housing, plot allotments and dwellings' (Oliver-Smith, 1990, cited in Kliot and Mansfeld, 1994, p.332).

Resettlement and integration of the displaced people in a foreign setting can be affected by various issues. In this respect, Kunz (1981, pp.46–49) explains that the three main issues are 'cultural compatibility' between the displaced people and local people, 'population policies of the host country' and 'social receptiveness'.

UNHCR stated that the refugee receiving community must be ready 'to welcome and support resettled refugees' and provide a milieu to bring together the new community members with the host community members (UNHCR, 2011, p.7). According to Harrell-Bond (1986), integration is a condition 'in which host and refugee communities are able to co-exist sharing the same resources – both economic and social – with no greater mutual conflict than that which exists within the host community' (Harrell-Bond, 1986, p.7). Considering these points, it can be stated that the host community and their attitude towards displaced people are significant for integration.

Contrary to successful resettlement and integration, it is also possible to experience unsuccessful resettlement. Referring to Cernea (1988), Kliot and Mansfeld (1994) explain that unsuccessful resettlement is related to 'poor choice of site, poor planning of the site, poor housing design and construction, loss of privacy' and policies that displaced people are not included in the decision-making process (Cernea, 1988, cited in Kliot and Mansfeld, 1994, p.332).

Likewise, when the 'villagisation' – establishing villages and communities for IDPs who cannot return to their former homes, in north-west Rwanda – is considered, it is seen that the result was unsuccessful since sufficient water and necessary basic services (sanitation, health and education) had not been provided (Kleine-Ahlbrandt, 2004, p.23). Moreover, land management – wrong site selection for the establishment of 'villagisation' and wrong site selection for farming – is another issue which impacted the resettlement (ibid.). At the end of this process, it was also found that 'local realities' should be considered and catered for accordingly (ibid.). In addition, it is also concluded that the 'Guiding Principles' should be well learned and applied by authorities in resettlement projects, and also the past failures of 'protection and sustainable reintegration' should be used as tools for learning (ibid., p.24).

The finalisation of their situation impacts the integration of displaced people. When people have lost hope of return, they start to pay attention to how to survive in this new environment and how

to adjust to these settings (Loizos, 1999, p.257). On the other hand, it is also observed that despite a strong desire to return amongst IDPs, physical resettlement and integration can be achieved in long-term displacement situations where IDPs have experienced the failure of several reconciliation initiatives during their displacement (Zetter, 1999, p.3). However, by investigating the same displaced community more recently, probably with different participants, Bryant (2010) defines the desire and hopes of return of IDPs and explains their attempts to emphasise the temporariness of the situation in the places where they have been displaced to (Bryant, 2010, p.112). Considering these points, it can be concluded that perceiving the displacement as a temporary situation might not be an obstacle for resettlement and integration. Moreover, resettlement and integration cannot diminish the desire and hope for return.

2.5 Summary and conclusion

It was the aim of this chapter to focus on the first objective of this thesis which is to identify current discourse on the relationship between internal displacement, place attachment and perception of home. Therefore, displacement literature has been investigated mainly by focusing on the conflict related cases. Involuntary displacement as a result of conflict appears to be a turning point in the lives of people who experience it. Their lives will never be the same as they used to be, even if one day they return to their places of origin/habitual residence. After the incident, displaced people start a new life in a foreign setting even if this setting is located within their country of origin.

Considering the displacement of people, three options for durable solution have been suggested in order to finalise the situation: 1) voluntary return/repatriation and reintegration, 2) local integration, and 3) resettlement and integration. Among the three, voluntary return to the place/country of origin/habitual residence and reintegration has been the highly preferred and most discussed option. According to one point of view, it is the 'end of the refugee cycle' since displaced people 'go back' to their places of origin/habitual residence. However, according to another argument it is not the end, it is a new beginning for people who return 'since it is not possible to go back to anything' and the former argument 'denies the temporal reality of our lives and the changes that take place over time' (Warner, 1994, p.171).

The second option for durable solution has been identified as the local integration of displaced people in the place where they have been displaced to and with the host community. Lastly, the third option for durable solution is resettlement and integration in a different part of the country of origin for IDPs.

One of the significant issues that emerged from the displacement literature is that the preferences and opinions of displaced people are significant and should be included in every step while planning their future. Since there is no standard process of displacement, there is no

collective experience as a result of the three options for durable solution – return, local integration and resettlement – and no common perception of home (see Al-Rasheed, 1994, p.202; Ghanem, 2003, p.18), so it is not appropriate to make generalisations. People who have been displaced and the context of displacement both before and after the incident should be deeply investigated and understood. The next chapter continues to investigate the first objective, this time by focusing on the concept of place attachment.

Chapter 3

Place Attachment

Chapter 3: Place Attachment

3.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to address the first objective of the study, which seeks to identify current discourse on the relationship between internal displacement, place attachment and perception of home. Therefore, the chapter intends to identify the concept of place attachment by examining relevant literature on the topic. A variety of concepts which refer to people's feelings about place exist (Shamai, 1991); they can be listed as *place attachment*, *place identity*, *place dependence*, *sense of place and sense of belonging.* In this section, these concepts will be briefly described, and then the reason for selecting place attachment as a concept to work with in this study is discussed. Afterwards, predictors of place attachment are thoroughly investigated.

Before examining place attachment and its related concepts, it is fundamental to define what place means in general. As explained by Tuan (1979), place mainly means one's position in society and spatial location (Tuan, 1979, p.408). However, place is 'more than abstract location' (Tuan, 1979, p.409; Norberg-Schulz, 1980, p.6) and 'more than the spatial index of socio-economic status' (Tuan, 1979, p.409). Place is differentiated from 'abstract space', which 'denotes the three-dimensional organization of the elements which make up a place' (Norberg-Schulz, 1980, p.11). As we get familiar with a space and assign value to it, then it becomes a place (Tuan, 1977, p.6).

'Places are locations in which people have long memories, reaching back beyond the indelible' (Tuan, 1979, p.421) and it is 'a core of meaning which is constructed by experience' (Tuan, 1975, p.152). Moreover, 'places are both the objects of people's interest and the causes of moods, feelings, and other reactions' (Bell *et al.*, 2001, p.52).

Place, which is shaped by experiences, can exist at different scales; it can be as small as the corner of a room or as large as the earth itself (Tuan, 1975, p.152; Tuan, 1979, pp.419–420). It is explained that a fireplace, home, neighbourhood, town, city, distinctive region, and a nation are all places (Tuan, 1975, p.152). Following these, it should be noted that place means home and village in this study.

3.2 Identification of place attachment and other related concepts

The concept of place attachment has been defined in various ways. Scannell and Gifford's (2010, p.2) interpretation is that 'this definitional diversity reflects the growing interest in place attachment, and can be seen as progress in the concept's theoretical development'. In addition to the definitional diversity, the diversity of approaches that are available at the theoretical and empirical level have created complexity for the researchers who work in the field, and this complexity can be evaluated as the main difficulty for place attachment studies. Although place

attachment has been the subject of many studies through the decades, in 2001 it is mentioned by Hidalgo and Hernández (2001) that no agreement about the name, definition or the most proper methodological approach to study the subject existed (Hidalgo and Hernández, 2001, p.273). More recently, it was still argued that the theoretical development of the concept of place attachment had not been approved, and that there was still no agreement regarding a common definition of the concept (Scannell and Gifford, 2010, p.2).

When the terminology is examined, it is seen that as part of the term 'place attachment', attachment emphasises 'affect' whilst place concentrates on the environmental context that people are emotionally and culturally attached to (Altman and Low, 1992, p.5). In 1974, Tuan used the word 'topophilia' to describe the people–place relationship and the word is explained as 'the affective bond between people and place or setting' (Tuan, 1974, p.4). Following this description, as Lewicka (2011) states, the first definitions of place attachment emerged about 30 years ago by Stokols and Shumaker (1981) and Taylor, Gottfredson and Brower (1985) (Lewicka, 2011, p.207).

Since then, place attachment is extensively defined by referring to the 'bond', 'association' and 'link' between people and places (e.g. Shumaker and Taylor, 1983; Low and Altman, 1992; Hidalgo and Hernández, 2001), and this bond is sometimes identified as 'a positive affective bond' (Shumaker and Taylor, 1983, cited in Hidalgo and Hernández, 2001, p.274). Moreover, it 'refers to the sense of rootedness people feel toward certain places, a phenomenon sometimes called *a sense of place*' (Bell *et al.*, 2001, p.50).

The concept is also linked to feelings and emotions. In this respect, it is stated that 'attachment to a place is a set of feelings about a geographic location that emotionally binds a person to that place as a function of its role as a setting for experience' (Rubinstein and Parmalee, 1992, p.139). Therefore, this bond is evaluated as an emotional bond and is related to people's feelings towards particular settings. Yet, according to Low (1992), it is more than an emotional and cognitive experience and it also consists of cultural beliefs and practices which tend to connect people to a particular place (Low, 1992, p.165).

Furthermore, it is stated that place attachment is related to, and depends on, symbolic meanings which a person attributes to settings and then becomes attached to (Stedman, 2002, p.563). In this respect, the term can be identified with meanings which are constructed by people. Likewise, it has been explained that it 'is the symbolic relationship formed by people giving culturally shared emotional/affective meanings to a particular space or a piece of land that provides the basis for the individual's and group's understanding of and relation to the environment' (Low, 1992, p.165). According to these statements, it might be claimed that it is the meaning that people feel attached to rather than the place itself. Hence, in line with this, it

can be argued that if people do not/cannot attribute meanings to a place, then attachment cannot occur.

Hidalgo and Hernández (2001) argue that all of the definitions of place attachment are vague and, therefore, it is not possible to distinguish place attachment from other similar constructs such as residential satisfaction, which has been defined as 'the positive or negative feeling that the occupants have for where they live' (Weidemann and Anderson, 1985, p.156, cited in Hidalgo and Hernández, 2001, p.274). According to these authors, the main characteristic of place attachment, which has been rarely highlighted, is 'the desire to maintain closeness to the object of attachment' (Hidalgo and Hernández, 2001, p.274). They integrated this characteristic of place attachment with Shumaker and Taylor's definition (1983) and suggest that place attachment is 'a positive affective bond between an individual and a specific place, the main characteristic of which is the tendency of the individual to maintain closeness to such place' (Hidalgo and Hernández, 2001, p.274). This could be interpreted to mean that it is dependent on individuals to establish an attachment to a particular place, as it depends on their desire to do so. This creates a conflict with the idea and definition which is suggested by Rubinstein and Parmalee (1992), as discussed earlier, that place attachment is related to feelings and emotions. If attachment is related to desire, than it means one can control one's feelings in order not to establish an attachment to a particular place. It could be questioned whether this is possible or not.

Another point in the above definition of place attachment is the description of 'bond' which is indicated as 'positive'. Drawing from this, it could be argued that in order to feel attached to a place one might develop 'positive' feelings towards that place. Similarly, it has been expressed that 'place attachments are positive bonds to physical and social settings' (Brown, Perkins and Brown, 2003, p.259). As indicated here, place does not only mean the physical environment. According to this, it is both the physical and social environment that people might feel attached to. This argument will be elaborated later in the chapter.

Kyle, Mowen and Tarrant (2004) follow Jorgensen and Stedman (2001) when defining place attachment, who suggest that 'place attachment can be considered an attitudinal construct consisting of three components: affect, cognition, and behavioural intention'. In their point of view, place dependence, place identity, affective attachment and social bonding are the dimensions of these components. Although they agree with Jorgensen and Stedman (2001) who use the term 'sense of place' to define people–place bonding, they use the term 'place attachment' to describe this bond by referring to Low and Altman (1992) (Kyle, Mowen and Tarrant, 2004, pp.442–443).

More recently, Scannell and Gifford (2010) propose what they call a three-dimensional, person–process–place organising framework/a tripartite organising framework, in order to clarify the construct. As explained:

> The person dimension of place attachment refers to its individually or collectively determined meanings. The psychological dimension includes the affective, cognitive, and behavioural components of attachment. The place dimension emphasizes the place characteristics of attachment, including spatial level, specificity, and the prominence of social or physical elements (Scannell and Gifford, 2010, p.1).

After discussing what place attachment means through the examination of several definitions, one can question whether there is a specifically identified scale for a place that one might get attached to. When the existing literature is reviewed, it is seen that place attachment can be constructed at various scales of place such as, for example, to the apartment, the building, the neighbourhood, the city district, the city, the island, the country (Low and Altman, 1992; Hernández *et al.*, 2007; Lewicka, 2010).

Besides the existence of attachment, it can also be questioned whether people can construct attachment to more than one place. Regarding this, it can be argued that attachment can be established to various environments, and people might have multiple attachments. In addition to this, it is also possible to establish attachments towards places that differ in location. From this point of view, Ehrkamp (2005) discusses the multiple attachments of Turkish immigrants in Germany who are attached to their places of origin as well as their places of residence.

In addition to the variety in attachment towards different places, a variety in the degree of attachment within places also exists. Again, building on the idea that attachment is related to feelings and emotions, it can be argued that people can have diverse feelings for various places. Hence, there can be a variety in the degree of attachment to different places. For example, in their studies, Brown and colleagues found that 'residents experienced higher levels of home attachment' than 'block/neighbourhood attachment' (Brown, Perkins and Brown, 2003, p.268).

Furthermore, the degree of attachment can vary from person to person since 'the experience of place is likely to be private and different from one person to the next' (Bell *et al.*, 2001, p.51). Not all people always have an equal degree of attachment to the same particular environment even though they feel attached. One may feel more attached to a particular place than another. The significance of place might differ from one individual to another (Bell *et al.*, 2001, p.52).

When the literature on the concept was inspected, it was seen that place attachment is either the only focus of a research project or it is accompanied by other place related concepts.

Besides, the distinction between place attachment and other related concepts has been the subject of many studies in the field. One of the concepts related to place attachment is place identity. In the literature it is accepted that the concept was declared by Proshansky in 1978 and developed by Proshansky, Fabian and Kaminoff in 1983. According to them, place identity 'is a sub-structure of the self-identity of the person consisting of, broadly conceived, cognitions about the physical world in which the individual lives' (Proshansky, Fabian and Kaminoff, 1983, p.59). Moreover, it is claimed that 'place identity is a substructure of a more global self-identification in the same way that one might consider gender identity and role identity' (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001, p.234, cited in Kyle, Mowen and Tarrant, 2004, p.443). Place identity is also defined as an emotional attachment (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996; Williams and Vaske, 2003; Shamsuddin and Ujang, 2008).

The concept is related to being identified with a particular place. 'Like other forms of identity, place identity answers the question, "Who am I?," doing so by countering, "*Where* am I?" or more fundamentally, "Where do I *belong*?" ' (Cuba and Hummon, 1993, p.548). At this point, it can be distinguished from attachment which does not question any of these.

There is an idea that place attachment is a component of place identity (Lalli, 1992). Considering this, it can be stated that these concepts are different, yet related. One of the studies on the subject of place related concepts supports the idea that place attachment and place identity should be considered separately even though they are rarely related (Hernández *et al.*, 2007, p.317). To sum up, in contrast to place attachment, place identity necessitates identification with a place. However, it can be argued that one can feel attached to a place even though one might not identify oneself with this place, or vice versa.

Another term, 'place dependence', which was identified by Stokols and Shumaker in 1981 'describes an occupant's perceived strength of association between him- or herself and specific places' (Stokols and Shumaker, 1981, p.457). Place attachment refers to the bond between people and places, whereas place dependence is more related to what degree people prefer to carry out certain activities in particular settings, and to what degree that particular setting serves people's needs and expectations. The concept investigates 'how well a setting serves goal achievement given an existing range of alternatives ("how well does this setting compare to others for what I like to do?")' (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001, p.234, cited in Kyle, Mowen and Tarrant, 2004, p.443). Therefore, a person might enjoy being in such a place but not have attachment towards it or vice versa. In other words, one might feel dependent on a place but not feel attached to it and also not identify oneself with that place. The concept is also defined as a functional attachment (Williams and Vaske, 2003; Shamsuddin and Ujang, 2008).

In addition to these, sense of place has been described as an umbrella concept that covers all the other place related concepts such as attachment to place, national identity, and regional

awareness (Shamai, 1991, p.347). Similar to this, in their studies, Jorgensen and Stedman (2006) consider place attachment, place dependence and place identity as dimensions of sense of place. 'Sense of place can be conceived as a multidimensional construct representing beliefs, emotions and behavioural commitments concerning a particular geographic setting' (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2006, p.316). In their research, Shamsuddin and Ujang (2008) put forward the idea that place attachment has an important contribution to sense of place.

The definition of the word 'sense' in the term 'sense of place' has two meanings: visual or aesthetic and to know (Tuan, 1979, pp.410–411). According to Tuan (1979), 'people demonstrate their sense of place when they apply their moral and aesthetic discernment to sites and locations' (Tuan, 1979, p.410).

The concept of sense of place comprises knowledge, belonging, attachment and commitment to a place or part of it, and is defined as feelings, posture and behaviour towards a place (Shamai, 1991, p.354). This differs from person to person and from one scale to another, such as from home to country (ibid.).

'Sense of place can be conceived as a collection of symbolic meanings, attachment, and satisfaction with a spatial setting held by an individual or group' (Stedman, 2002, p.563). It can be said that differently to place attachment, this concept necessitates the attributes of place identity and place dependence as well. Moreover, 'sense of place differs from place attachment by considering the social and geographical context of place bonds and the sensing of places, such as aesthetics and a feeling of dwelling' (Hay, 1998, p.5).

Following these points, it can be discussed that the difference between sense of place and attachment is that the latter is a dimension of the former. Sense of place necessitates being identified and satisfied with a place, feeling dependent on it, feeling belonged to it and attached to it. Yet, place attachment is only related to the attachment towards a place.

One of the other place related concepts is sense of belonging. It is described as:

> Belonging has a double sense. When I say, 'This belongs to me', I mean that I possess something. But when I say, 'I belong', I don't mean that something possesses me, but that I take part in, am intimately involved with a reality greater than myself, whether it's a love relationship, a community, a religion or the whole universe. So 'I belong' means 'Here I find my place', 'That is it' and at the same time, 'Here I am' (Capra and Steindl-Rast, 1991, p.14, cited in Chow, 2007, p.513).

In their study, Ng, Kam and Pong (2005, p.352) identified place belonging 'as a sense of belonging to a particular place as if it were one's own home, is territory based and can be distinguished from belonging to a social group based on ethnicity, gender, religion, and so forth'. It is explained that place belonging is 'a source of identity', as indicated by environmental

psychology, and urban and rural studies (Ng, Kam and Pong, 2005, p.352). Therefore, it is distinguished from place attachment, which does not relate to identity issues. The measures used in the study to investigate belongingness supported this distinction. In this respect, to which extent place was considered home, the degree of belongingness to the place, and the strength of self-identification and pride as a citizen of the place were explored in order to find out the belonging of the participants (ibid.).

Consequently, place attachment is broadly explained by feelings and emotions, meaning, tendency to maintain closeness to a place, a (positive) bond, and so on, whereas place identity is described in relation to self-identity and being/feeling identified with a place. Differently to these, place dependence is explained in relation to preferences. Additionally, sense of place is stated as a general term including these three concepts, while sense of belonging is related to identity and necessitates the feeling of belonging to a particular place, being part of that place.

Through considering previous and current discussions in the field of study, it is clear that place attachment, place identity, sense of place and sense of belonging are different but related concepts. As explained by Hernández and colleagues (Hernández *et al.*, 2007, p.311):

> one person could be attached to a place but not be identified with it (i.e. someone who likes to live in a place and wants to remain there but does not feel that this place is part of their identity; at least not their main place identity) and vice versa; someone could have a high personal identity with a place and not a high place attachment (for example, to feel that one belongs to a place but prefers not to live there)

Taking this one step further by applying the same logic, it might be said that place attachment and place dependence are two different constructs as well. 'This place is the best place for doing the things that I enjoy most', 'No other place can compare to this area for what I like to do' and 'I get more satisfaction out of visiting this place than from visiting any other' are some frequently used items which predict place dependence. Thus, for one particular place, one might say that this place is the best place for doing the things that I enjoy most (e.g. jogging, climbing, etc.), but one might not like to live or remain there.

Therefore, in this study, the approach of Hernández *et al.* (2007) is followed: place attachment is evaluated as a different construct than place identity, place dependence, sense of place and sense of belonging. Place attachment is selected to be used in order to refer to a people–place bond as it is also the concept which best embraces what this research seeks to find out.

3.3 Predictors of place attachment

An enormous number of studies exist on place attachment, each of which touches on various predictors. Recently, Lewicka (2011) reviewed these studies and categorised all the mentioned predictors into three general categories: 'socio-demographic, social, and physical-environmental' (Lewicka, 2011, p.216). Socio-demographic predictors are: 'residence length, age, social status and education, home ownership, size of community, having children, mobility and its range' (ibid.) and social predictors are: 'community ties' and 'sense of security' (ibid., p.217). It is stated that 'the potential number of physical (natural, architectural or urban) features that may affect attachment is endless' (ibid.). Access to various kinds of services, to nature, to a shared, enclosed outdoor garden, building size, density and volume, close walking distance to the central activity building, control and presence of amenities, pace of life, perceived building aesthetics, perceived control over the residence area, perceived incivility, presence of aesthetically pleasant buildings and green areas, precinct cleanliness, quietness, small functional distance to neighbours, stability of the neighbourhood, type of housing, upkeep, and vegetation rate are some of the examples of the physical features which have an impact on place attachment as discussed by Lewicka (2011) as part of a review of the existing studies on the subject (see Lewicka, 2011, pp.217–218 for more detailed discussion and references).

Displacement, length of residence, ownership, willingness to move, age, gender, and physical and social environment have been selected as predictors to be focused on in the literature review, and displacement, length of residence, ownership, willingness to move, age and gender are the selected predictors which will be focused on in the analysis as these are the predictors which are closely related to the main aim and objectives of this research. Displacement is the key concept of the study; therefore it is one of the predictors that should be included. Similarly, length of residence is significant in the context of Cyprus since more than 35 years have passed since the date of the displacement. In addition to this, ownership is important as the ownership situation of the houses in this context is still not clear. The existence of the willingness to move is also selected, in order to investigate the opinions of people about moving and its impact on attachment. In addition, whether age has an effect on place attachment will be explored by considering the place of birth and IDP/local status. Lastly, gender is selected, in order to inspect similarities and differences between females and males.

It is stated that 'voluntarily or involuntarily changing the place of residence has significant immediate effects on attachment and feelings and emotions with regard to the new place' (Wester-Herber, 2004, cited in Hernández *et al*., 2007, p.311). The conscious recollection or unconscious desire for the lost home influences the life of forced migrants in their place of exile, as displacement has an impact on attachment to their new location (Dikomitis, 2012, p.14). Therefore, it can be argued that if *displacement* is involuntary it might be difficult to construct an attachment to the newly settled place even though it is argued that displacement, relocation or a change of physical setting can provide a new start for a person (Wester-Herber, 2004, p.112).

This undesired and uncontrollable differentiation in the physical setting as a consequence of involuntary movement results in 'the loss of the principle of continuity' and this 'may cause a grief or loss reaction' (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996, p.208). In this respect, in his well-known study, Fried (1963) discusses the difficulties encountered by some of the former residents of the West End of Boston to new places.

Drawing from Wester-Herber's (2004) and Dikomitis's (2012) statements, it can also be argued that the same can be applicable for the former places of residence and displacement can impact people's attachment towards their former place of residence as well. As it is argued by Tuan (1979), it is possible that one might notice his/her attachment to place after leaving it (Tuan, 1979, p.411). Thus, it can be argued that after displacement, attachment to a former place of residence can increase and it may also decrease.

Displacement has been described as a 'simultaneously split and doubled existence – stretched across the multiple ruptures between "here" and "there" ' (Bammer, 1994, cited in Brun, 2003, p.26). It is 'a state of "inbetweenness" ', which means a form of being attached to more than one place and, parallel to this, having difficulties to attach to a place (Brun, 2003, p.26). As a result of displacement, displaced people might have multiple attachments, either at different or the same levels. In both voluntary and involuntary situations, displaced people might feel attached to the new environment as well as to the previous environment. Or they might not establish an attachment to a new place. Or, through time, they might attach to a new place more than the previous one.

At this point, *length of residence*, which is one of the frequently cited predictors of the concept (Hernández *et al.*, 2007; Lewicka, 2011), steps in as a significant issue. As stated by Lewicka (2011), length of residence is the most reliable positive socio-demographic predictor of place attachment to residential places, usually neighbourhoods (Lewicka, 2011, p.216). It is frequently found that persons who have lived longer in a place are more attached to it compared to those who have lived there for shorter periods of time (Hernández *et al.*, 2007, p.311).

It might also be argued that the existence and degree of attachment of people towards places might change over time since people's feelings and emotions are not static and might alter as a result of their experiences. This can be explained as when people live in a particular place for a long time (the necessary length to construct attachment can vary from person to person) then they might start to assign meanings to those places. Moreover, when living in a place for a certain period of time, familiarity with that environment develops, which might be important in the formation of attachment as well.

On the other hand, Lewicka (2011) indicates, referring to existing studies, that not all of these found a remarkable relationship between the variables length of residence and attachment

(Lewicka, 2011, p.216). IDPs from Paphos in Cyprus who have not adapted to their new homes in exile after 34 years are an example of this (see Boğaç, 2009, p.272).

Similarly to length of residence, *ownership* is described as another socio-demographic aspect which emerges as a consistent predictor of place attachment. Therefore, ownership has been used in various studies as an alternative measure of place attachment since strong connections exist between this variable and place attachment (Lewicka, 2011, p.216).

If people do not own the place where they live, they might not feel attached to it. On the other hand, it can be questioned whether, if a person, as mentioned above, lives in a particular place for a long time and does not own it, does s/he feel attached or not? Some authors argue that even if development of place attachment is a relevant aim for renters, it is more difficult to find strong attachment among them (Brown, Perkins and Brown, 2003, p.269). Likewise, Hay (1998) argues that residential status is related to attachment, and those who are renters, tourists and temporary residents, who do not have ownership, do not have strong attachments, while those who were raised and stay in that place do.

In contrast, more recently it has been pointed out by Windsong (2010, p.209) that 'attachment was fostered through use and not through ownership'. Regarding the association with place attachment, it is claimed that home ownership status is not a necessary component of place attachment (Windsong, 2010, p.206, p.209). It is also seen that the inhabitants' current situation is another important issue which impacts their point of view, as one of the participants who did not have a title deed to their home explains: 'But I don't feel like I own it, in the sense that, I mean I live in it, if I use it, it's mine by use, but it's not mine in that real American ownership way' (Windsong, 2010, p.209).

Differently than the previous predictors, *willingness to move* has not been prevalently identified as one of the predictors of place attachment. Yet, it is similar to what Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996) define as 'place-referent continuity'. Hay (1998) in his study uses the item 'motivation to stay' while exploring attachment, and Hidalgo and Hernández (2001) in their studies measure attachment to a house, neighbourhood and city with the item 'I would be unhappy to leave', which they state has previously been used by other researchers. Drawing from this, 'willingness to move' meets the requirement for inclusion in this study.

Regarding the issue of 'motivation to stay', ancestry was found to be influential to whether people decided to stay in a particular place (Hay, 1998, p.11). To put it in other words, someone with roots and family in a place would be expected not to have a desire to move. It can also be argued that people with strong attachment to the places where they live are unwilling to move and are happy to stay in these places. It could also be said that people who want to move away from the places where they live may find it difficult to form an attachment towards those places.

Furthermore, length of residence is the other issue which was related to willingness to move. It is argued that length of residence could be effective 'motivation to stay' (ibid., p.12). The longer a person stays in a place, the lesser s/he desires to move.

When another predictor of place attachment is investigated it is seen that various ideas exist. It is argued that place attachment increases with *age* (Hidalgo and Hernández, 2001). However, 'social and economic status, education or age, show erratic patterns of relationship with place attachment, sometimes positive and sometimes negative … suggesting that the relationship is probably mediated or moderated by additional factors' (Lewicka, 2011, p.216). Despite this, age will be one of the subjects to be focused on, as it is related to displacement, particularly in the case study of this research.

There are contradictory ideas about the impact of *gender* on place attachment. According to one point of view, women have higher attachment than men (Hidalgo and Hernández, 2001; Rollero and De Piccoli, 2010), while according to another argument gender has less impact on attachment (Lewicka, 2008) or has no impact at all and women and men have the same level of attachment (Brown, Perkins and Brown, 2003; Lewicka, 2005; Scannell and Gifford, 2010).

In addition, *physical environment* can also influence people's feelings and emotions depending on their perception and evaluation of it. 'Both the appearances of immediate neighbours' homes and their psychological bonds to home and block may influence a resident's attachment' (Brown, Perkins and Brown, 2003, p.261). In concordance with this, it would be expected to see that decay in a neighbourhood, poor infrastructure and a lack of resources may lead people to have low attachment or even no attachment, and when the opposite situation occurs, high quality environments, this might lead people to develop high levels of attachment. However, this is not always the case. Fried (1963) and Mah (2009) indicate the strong place attachment of residents to their homes and communities despite their decline and poor physical environment. It is hard to say that place attachment does not exist in a decaying environment despite the fact that 'many residents of ageing neighbourhoods may wish to keep up their homes and express their place attachments but are unable to do so due to poverty, health problems, or lack of skills' (Brown, Perkins and Brown, 2003, p.269).

Both the built environment and the natural environment can be evaluated as physical predictors since 'we readily develop attachments to built environments as well as natural environments' (Bell *et al.*, 2001, p.51). In this respect, perception and admiration of the natural environment is a factor affecting attachment.

It is stated that, in addition to the unique architectural character or landscape, 'an attachment to place is often based on the history of social interactions at a particular location' (Fredrickson and Anderson, 1999, cited in Bell *et al.*, 2001, p.52). Places, in general, are defined as

'repositories and contexts within which interpersonal, community, and cultural relationships occur', and it is therefore argued that people are attached to those social relationships and not only to place (Low and Altman, 1992, p.7). Hence, social interaction (community ties) appears to be an important predictor within *social environment* which can be related to community, neighbours and family and a person's relationship with these groups. 'Although much of what characterizes a place may be very personal, groups and even entire communities can develop place attachments' (Bell *et al.*, 2001, p.52). In relation to this, for instance, if there is a strong connection between communities, then people living in a place are more likely to feel attached to that place and might have a high level of attachment, or vice versa. Neighbourhood ties and relations with neighbours appeared to influence the attachment towards home, neighbourhood and district (Gustafson, 2001; Lewicka, 2010). It is stressed that these close relations make the places more meaningful for people, which then contributes to emotional bonds. Yet, it can also be argued that the attachment might enhance the willingness to establish contact with neighbours (Lewicka, 2011, p.217). Having close relations with neighbours could impact displaced people differently. In this respect, Fried (1963) indicated that close social relationships in the previous places of residence affected the depth of grief of the dislocated people. Thus, the displaced people's previous relationships can affect their attachment to the newly settled environment.

When both physical and social environments are considered, it can be said that one might not necessarily attach to both of these environments. A person might feel attached to his/her physical environment but not the social environment or vice versa. Additionally, it is probable that the degree of attachment towards the physical and social environment may be different. A person can be more attached to one environment than another. In this respect, Lewicka (2011) stated that the relative significance of social versus physical factors sometimes depends on additional factors, which are listed as socio-economic status of residents, age and place scale (Lewicka, 2011, p.218).

3.4 Summary and conclusion

In light of the objective, which was to identify current discourse on the relationship between internal displacement, place attachment and perception of home, this chapter focused mainly on place attachment and covered displacement as well. Although there are many place related constructs in the literature, such as place identity, place dependence, sense of place and sense of belonging, place attachment is the concept which this study seeks to explore as this is the focus of the research. 'Do people feel attached to their former/current places of residence?' and 'How attached are they?' are the questions which are covered. The studies of the meaning of home revealed that place attachment is the key theory in use which is related to home (Moore, 2000, p.210). As a result of the literature review on the subject of place attachment, the definition of the concept emerges as, in its most simple description, the affective bond between people and places. It has been discussed in this chapter that this bond might be positive or

negative, strong or weak and even non-existent. It might not be wrong to say that this bond is a relative one – relative in the sense that it varies from person to person, in different places, and for various reasons.

As previous studies on this subject illustrate, many issues might influence people–place bonding, and these are mostly identified as predictors of place attachment. Length of residence, ownership, willingness to move, age, gender, and physical and social environment are those which are prominent in the literature. It is believed that all of these issues have an impact on place attachment in general, although various ideas exist about both the existence of their influence and the degree of this influence.

The predictors which have been identified in the literature might not be the only effective issues, and attachment depends 'also upon personality, needs, life course concerns, and one's own interpretation of one's life' (Rubinstein and Parmalee, 1992, p.143).

To sum up, in this chapter the concept of place attachment has been clarified through investigation of its related literature. Therefore, place attachment is defined with its related constructs: place identity, place dependence, sense of place and sense of belonging. After this clarification, the concept has been explored, and issues which can have an effect on the concept have been identified through the literature review. Home, which is an entity that people feel attached to, and perception of home, which influences place attachment, are discussed next.

Chapter 4

Perception of Home

Chapter 4: Perception of Home

4.1 Introduction

The search for the meaning of home, in particular what it means to people, is a long-lasting topic which is still ongoing. Throughout the years researchers with various backgrounds such as anthropologists, sociologists, environmental psychologists, geographers, philosophers, architects, planners and economists have intended to find out what home means to people (Leith, 2006). In 1985, Altman and Werner explained the reasons for the increased interest in home studies in their influential book *Home Environments: Human Behaviour and Environment*. According to them, homes are 'more or less universal' since all people have some kind of place to live in, are 'essential to the very survival of their occupants' and are 'the repository of central and essential psychological and cultural processes' (Altman and Werner, 1985a, p.xix). In order to sum up, it might be suggested that homes are common throughout the world, and they are the places with the facilities which are necessary for people to carry out their lives. In addition to the facilities they provide, homes are also the places where vital psychological and cultural practices take place, and that is why studies on this topic are widespread.

In light of the above, this chapter seeks to establish a profound understanding of the subject of home through an extensive literature review in line with the first objective of the study which seeks to identify current discourse on the relationship between internal displacement, place attachment and perception of home. The differences and similarities between the concepts of dwelling, house and home will be discussed in the first section of the chapter. Later, the home will be the focus of the study and 'What is home?', 'Where is home?' and 'Factors influencing perception of home' will be the main questions which will be investigated through the rest of the chapter.

4.2 Dwelling, house, home

The distinction between constructs of dwelling, house and home are prevalent in the literature, mainly in those which are related to home (some of the leading authors: Rapoport, 1969; Altman and Werner, 1985b; Heidegger, 1971; Dovey, 1985; Saegert, 1985; Oliver, 1987; Lawrence, 1995).

In general, dwelling has been explained with two meanings: to dwell as a verb and a dwelling as a noun. 'Dwelling is both process and artefact. It is the process of living at a location and it is the physical expression of doing so' (Oliver, 1987, p.7). The process of living, which is the verb form of the word, is explained as 'to make one's abode: to live in, or at, or on, or about a place' (ibid.).

Similar to this, Heidegger defines dwelling as 'the way in which you are and I am, the way in which humans are on the earth, is dwelling' (Heidegger, 1971, cited in Norberg-Schulz, 1980, p.19). When this is compared to how Oliver defines dwelling, it is seen that Oliver limits the act of dwelling to be 'at a location' (Oliver, 1987), while Heidegger interprets it as an act in a broader context: 'on the earth' (Heidegger, 1971, cited in Norberg-Schulz, 1980, p.19).

On the other hand, the physical expression of the dwelling, which is the noun form of the word dwelling, may be called a house. However, while comparing dwelling with house, Oliver (1987) argues that 'all houses are dwellings; but all dwellings are not houses' (Oliver, 1987, p.7). Dwelling is not just the 'material' of the building, effort that has been put in during the building process, and 'time and money' that has been spent on it. It is 'the theatre of our lives' where our lifetime experiences and daily routines are performed (Oliver, 1987, p.15). Regarding this, it can be argued that dwelling can be anywhere where a person settles, stays and lives their life. This place does not necessarily need to be in the form of a house which is defined by walls around it and a roof on top of it in order to be called a dwelling, since a person can sustain their life in, for example, a tent. Likewise, Douglas (1991) suggests that although a home is situated in a space, this space does not always have to be an immovable/constant space; a home can be 'a wagon, a caravan, a boat, or a tent' (Douglas, 1991, p.287). At this point, Oliver's (1987) definition of dwelling is similar to 'home'.

So, what is a house? As explained by Norberg-Schulz (1980), Heidegger 'calls what is between earth and sky the world, and says that "the world is the house where the mortals dwell" ' (Heidegger, 1957, cited in Norberg-Schulz, 1980, p.10). Similar to what has been stated for dwelling earlier, according to this idea it might be argued that a house can also be anywhere where people maintain their lives.

Although a house can be anywhere where one dwells, there are variations in different environments. Although the activities in a house are the same as elsewhere, the configuration of spaces and form of the house which facilitate these activities can alter in various natural and cultural contexts. By pointing out its contextual significance regarding its cultural uniqueness, Rapoport (1969) suggests that the cultural setting where the house is impacts the form and organisation of it since 'building a house is a cultural phenomenon' (Rapoport, 1969, p.46). Therefore, a house is strongly bound with the environment in which it exists. It is 'an object, a part of the environment' (Dovey, 1985, p.34). With these features, a house is distinguished from a home. A home 'is an emotionally based and meaningful relationship between people and their environment' (Dovey, 1985, p.34). In regard to this, a home cannot be evaluated as only an object. People and their relationship with the context where their houses are located appear as an important dimension in home.

Moreover, a house is defined as the symbol of the self (Cooper, 1974), whereas a 'home is a concept that gives symbolic meaning to a house that goes beyond its architecture' (Kent, 1995, p.163). Regarding this, a house can be defined as an object which reflects its inhabitants as a physical expression. However, a home is more than this three-dimensional object. It is more about its inhabitants.

In this respect, a house and a home have been differentiated by pointing out the three-dimensional physical structure of the former, and the social aspect of the latter, which is related more to inhabitants, and it has been suggested that 'a house consists primarily of walls with a roof and floor; a home is much more' (Kent, 1995, p.175). As a result of her study, Kent (1995) describes that 'the concept of home is embedded in individual meaning' (ibid., p.175).

Following Cooper (1974), Swenson (1998) defines a house as 'a symbol of self, a symbol of aspirations, and a symbol of status' and home as an outer expression of 'an inner reality' which reflects identity and connection with community (Swenson, 1998, p.391). Moreover, home means the house and also everything in and around the house such as people, their memories and events (ibid.).

In addition to these, 'the house is static, but home is fundamentally dynamic and process oriented' (Dovey, 1985, p.48). Yet, considering the house as a three-dimensional structure, it can be argued that a house can be dynamic as well since it can be modified through changes to its form. However, it can be static if it is subject to strict conservation rules which might limit the possibility of any change.

Another difference has been pointed out by referring to the materiality of a house: 'house as property' and the values of a home; 'home as appropriated territory' (Dovey, 1985, p.53). With regards to this, it can be claimed that everyone can have a house but not a home unless the place has been appropriated. What makes a house a home is the way in which its inhabitants/household interprets and organises it according to their own way of life, needs and taste, within the limits of their capability to do so. Consequently, a home might be interpreted as an appropriated form of a house.

Likewise, a house can be bought, but not a home, and while a house can be designed by architects, a home cannot (Lawrence, 1995). Architects shape the structure for households, who convert this structure into a liveable environment for themselves and create homes. The emotional dimension of home cannot be designed by architects since home is 'an individualized dwelling' (Pallasmaa, 1995, pp.131–132). With this idea, a house can be evaluated as a shelter, but a home is not simply a shelter:

> it is a world in which a person can create a material
> environment that embodies what he or she considers

significant. In this sense the home becomes the most powerful sign of the self of the inhabitant who dwells within (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, 1981, p.123).

Unlike some other scholars, Pallasmaa (1995) has not differentiated the concepts of dwelling and house. For him, 'dwelling, or the house, is the container, the shell for home' (ibid.). With regards to this description it can be argued that what he meant by 'home' is an interior space of the dwelling/house since the dwelling/house has been defined as a kind of covering, an exterior structure of the home. What is excluded from Pallasmaa's (1995) argument is the exterior space of the house which can be evaluated as home or part of a home like the interior space. This exterior space can be the space which belongs to the house, can be in the close vicinity of the house, or can be the natural and man-made environment in which a house is situated.

As a result, dwelling, house and home can be distinguished from each other even though they are interrelated. 'House implies both use and exchange value and home has more social, cultural and psychological meaning, while dwelling is the process, the act' (Lawrence, 1987, p.xii) in its verb form, which can be interpreted as similar to home by adopting Oliver's (1987) definition of dwelling. A house is a three-dimensional object situated in a particular location, and home is the appropriated form of a house, by its inhabitants, and is strongly related to the way of life, needs, taste, culture and the economic conditions of its inhabitants. Following Oliver's (1987) statement that 'all houses are dwellings; but all dwellings are not houses' (Oliver, 1987, p.7), it can be added that all dwellings and houses are not homes. In order to clearly comprehend what home is, since home is the focus of this study, this concept will now be inspected more closely.

4.3 What is home?

It might be expected to find the earliest studies on home in the fields of anthropology, sociology, environmental psychology or architecture, since the concept is closely related to these fields when its features, which were previously discussed, are considered. Yet, interestingly 'the home first became the subject of research in medical literature in historical times with the publication in 1678 of Hofer's essay on 'nostalgia', or its synonyms, homesickness, nosomania and philopatridalgia (love of country)' (McCann, 1941, cited in Benjamin, 1997, p.85).

In general, when existing extensive literature on home is investigated today, it is seen that there is an agreement among the scholars that home is a complex construct to work with (Dovey, 1985; Lawrence, 1995; Pallasmaa, 1995; Saile, 1995; Fox, 2002) because: a home is 'an intangible' concept (Dovey, 1985, p.34); it is difficult to describe home objectively (Pallasmaa, 1995); it 'is not an empirical variable whose meaning we might define in advance of careful measurement and explanation' (ibid.); it goes beyond 'quantitative, measurable dimensions and includes qualitative subjective ones' (Lawrence, 1995, p.58). In this line, it might be claimed that the concept is not one of those which can be explored through a quantitative study.

Furthermore, Dovey (1985) states that as a result of these features of the concept there is a lack of verifiability in the field of the studies related to it which will be 'frustrating' for many people. Unlike measurable, quantitative subjects, the result of the research related to this notion cannot be confirmed. Moreover, since it is intangible and immeasurable it is expected that multiple descriptions of the notion of home could be discovered, through variations in research approaches.

Since the feelings and opinions towards home are personal, it is difficult for one to identify what they feel about it (Hayward, 1975, cited in Fox, 2002, p.586). As the feelings and opinions are personal, the idea/feeling of home is inconsistent and changeable from person to person, which makes the concept even more difficult to generalise. Following this, it can be stated that there is no absolute conclusion in the studies related to home.

Although the concept has been studied for a long time, the complexity of working with it, defining and measuring it has been stated recently (see Fox, 2002). Each scholar defines this term as a consequence of their study and interprets the notion through their own experiences and understanding. Simply, home can be identified as a place which is strongly bound to people.

Earlier, the concept was identified by Hayward as a 'physical structure', 'territory', a 'locus in space', 'self and self-identity' and as 'a social and cultural unit' (Hayward, 1975, cited in Rapoport, 1995, p.34). Physical structure here can be related to the aspect of shelter, while home might simply be described as a shelter for people. Yet, 'home is not only a material shelter but also a shelter for those things that make life meaningful' (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, 1981, p.139). Considering this, it may be questioned what might be the 'things' which make life meaningful particularly within the boundaries of home. Although it is a subjective issue, some 'things' can be listed by considering the definitions of home that have been put forward by various scholars. In this respect, Pallasmaa (1995, p.133), who also agrees that home is not purely an object or a building, defines home as 'a diffuse and complex condition, which integrates memories and images, desires and fears, the past and the present'. A home itself is 'a memory machine' which answers the daily, weekly and annual rhythms of life (Douglas, 1991). A home is also 'a set of rituals, personal rhythms and routines of everyday life' (Pallasmaa, 1995, p.133). In relation to this, memories, images, desires, fears, the past, the present, rituals, personal rhythms and routines can be listed as some of the 'things' which make it meaningful. In addition to these, it shelters family, the relationships of family members, their communal, coordinated and collective life (Douglas, 1991), and their belongings. Similar to Somerville (1989) who indicates the importance of family for the home, more recently Mallet (2004) articulates a description of home by defining it as a familiar, comfortable family place with things and belongings in which 'particular activities and relationships are lived' (Mallet, 2004, p.63). Moreover, it is 'a virtual place, a repository for memories of the lived spaces. It

locates lived time and space, particularly intimate familial time and space' (ibid.). In relation to these features, home has been identified as a 'social and cultural unit' (Hayward, 1975, cited in Rapoport, 1995) since it shelters the social relations of the inhabitants with society in general and particularly their familial relationships within the boundaries of the cultural attributes that they belong to. In this respect, Saile (1995) expresses that 'homes are places of important household rituals, tasks, negotiations, and so on' (Saile, 1995, p.ix). In addition to these social and cultural activities, home shelters activities which are necessary for inhabitants' survival such as dining, sleeping and resting, which might be evaluated as what Pallasmaa (1995) identifies as 'personal rhythms and routines'. However, Douglas (1991) argues that these functions cannot be used to identify what home is since many other places could offer the same functions; for instance, a 'health farm' or a 'hotel' can also provide care for people (Douglas, 1991, p.287). Hence, a home is not just a place for daily routines.

The shelter home, which shelters social and cultural issues, is furthermore explained as 'an individualized dwelling' and 'an expression of the dweller's personality and his unique patterns of life' (Pallasmaa, 1995, pp.131–132). This overlaps with Hayward's definition of 'self and self-identity' (Hayward, 1975, cited in Rapoport, 1995, p.34). In fact, it 'is a projection and basis of identity, not only of an individual but also of the family' (Pallasmaa, 1995, pp.137–138). Thus, each home has its own unique character depending on its inhabitants, the inhabitants who reflect themselves onto the dwellings, onto the houses, and create homes at the end of this process. As these places become, in a way, an inhabitant's own product, they could be evaluated as the most comfortable places for their inhabitants. Therefore, including shelter and self-expression, Marcus (1995) states that 'a home fulfils many needs' and adds that it is 'a refuge from the outside world, a cocoon where we can feel nurtured and let down our guard' (Marcus, 1995, p.4). Hence, home may be defined as a place where people can be and act as themselves, since they feel comfortable. It is 'the place where we hide our secrets and express our private selves' (Pallasmaa, 1995, pp.137–138). Therefore, it might be evaluated as 'a haven for everyone in a public world where we are valued less for ourselves than for the roles we play' (Porteous, 1976, p.386). Home is also a private place where its inhabitants have entire control since 'the possession of a home confers certain valuable rights of privacy and autonomy on the occupant' (Porteous, 1976, p.386).

Home is predominantly explained as being a haven and/or a refuge for its inhabitants. When Marcus's (1995) definition is considered, it is seen that home is accepted as a safe place in comparison to the 'outside world'. Similar to Marcus (1995), Swenson (1998) identifies this feature of home as well, adding another dimension: commitment, and argues that home is 'a secure haven, a refuge that draws you back, no matter where you go or how long you have been away' (Swenson, 1998, p.382). Similar to this, it is stated that 'home is our place of resting and dreaming in safety' (Pallasmaa, 1995, pp.137–138). Considering these points, home might be evaluated as a defined 'territory', as Hayward calls it, a territory that offers comfort, haven,

privacy, autonomy and security/safety to its inhabitants (Hayward, 1975, cited in Rapoport, 1995, p.34). Home is a 'place of security', 'place of certainty', a 'familiar place', 'sacred place', a 'place of autonomy and power' (Dovey, 1985, p.46).

In addition to these, one other aspect of home has been pointed out as its continuing process. According to this idea, 'a home cannot be produced at once; it has its time dimension and continuum' (Pallasmaa, 1995, p.133).

Although many attempts to define home exist in the literature, Moore (2000, p.208) points out that the most comprehensive definition of home has been put forward by Benjamin in 1995:

> The home is that spatially localised, temporally defined, significant and autonomous physical frame and conceptual system for the ordering, transformation and interpretation of the physical and abstract aspects of domestic daily life at several simultaneous spatio-temporal scales, normally activated by the connection to a person or community such as nuclear family (Benjamin, 1995, p.158).

As a consequence of her review, in similarity to Somerville (1997), Moore (2000) argues that despite the fact that environmental psychology has investigated home for three decades, 'there has been a lack of "critical or innovative theories and methods" to examine home' (Moore, 2000, p.207). Following this, when the alterations over time to the aspects of home which have been used to identify the notion are examined, it is seen that there have been minor adaptations, yet no new contribution.

With regards to this, Rapoport (1995) defines Hayward's (1975, cited in Rapoport, 1995, p.34) 'list of attributes of home' as one of the first precise lists where nine dimensions of home are identified in order of importance as shown below. As seen in the list, the most important attributes of home are based on the relationship with people.

1. as a set of relationships with others
2. as a relationship with the wider social group and community
3. as a statement about one's self-image and self-identity
4. as a place of privacy and refuge
5. as a continuous and stable relationship with other sources of meaning about the home
6. as a personalized place
7. as a base of activity
8. as a relationship with one's parents and place of upbringing
9. as a relationship with a physical structure, setting, or shelter
(Hayward, 1975, cited in Rapoport, 1995, p.34)

As stated by Rapoport (1995), Hayward's list is partly incorporated and modified by Deprés in 1991 where ten categories of home are suggested: security and control, a reflection of one's idea[s] and values, acting upon and modifying one's dwelling, permanence and continuity,

relationship with family and friends (centre of love and togetherness), a centre of activities, a refuge from the outside world, an indicator of personal status, a material structure (in a particular location), and a place to own (Deprés, 1991, pp.97-99; Rapoport, 1995, p.35). When the two lists are matched with each other it is seen that three different aspects have been suggested in Deprés's list which are not included in the former: 'security and control', 'permanence and continuity' and 'a place to own'.

When the lists of aspects of home which were suggested by Hayward in 1975 (cited in Rapoport, 1995, p.34) and by Deprés in 1991 are considered, it might be argued that the research completed subsequently on 'home' in general and 'the meaning of home' in particular has a strong connection with what has already been stated in those lists. Similar to this, Somerville (1997, pp.227–228) argues that all studies about the concept repeated the already existing meanings as:

> the centre of family life; a place of retreat, safety and relaxation, freedom and independence; self-expression and social status; a place of privacy, continuity and permanence; a financial asset; and a support for work and leisure activities. There is just one new category of meaning, invented by Saunders, which is that of 'ontological security'.

In addition to this, differently to the previous lists, it is seen that an economic dimension of home has been mentioned by Somerville (1997).

After Deprés (1991), comprehensive reviews of the literature regarding the concept of home were revealed recently by Moore (2000), Fox (2002) and Mallet (2004). Fox (2002) discusses the meanings of home which have evolved from interdisciplinary research in four broad categories:

- home as a physical structure offers material shelter
- home as a territory offers security and control, a locus in space, permanence and continuity and privacy
- home as a centre for self-identity offers a reflection of one's ideas and values, and acts as an indicator of personal status
- home as a social and cultural unit acts as the locus for relationships with family and friends, and as a centre of activities (Fox, 2002, pp.590–591)

It can be seen that this list has been mainly developed based on what was identified by Hayward (1975, cited in Rapoport, 1995, p.34) and Deprés (1991). The aspects of home which were described earlier by two scholars have been regrouped under four general headings by Fox (2002). Yet, similar to Somerville's (1997) list, this list also excludes home as 'a place to own' and 'acting upon and modifying one's dwelling' which had been put forward by Deprés (1991).

More lately Oranratmanee (2008) classified eight concepts regarding the meaning of home when she studied rural homestays in Thailand. According to her study, home is identified as: affective feelings; a dwelling place for family; reference, reliance and refuge; satisfied needs, status and pride; uniqueness; shared place and economic unit; physical structure; extended environment (Oranratmanee, 2008, pp.176–191). By considering this list it can be said that 'uniqueness' might be interpreted as a new concept regarding the identification of home.

In addition to all of these, one of the discussions about the definitions of the concept of home is about the fact that it is frequently described with positive notions. This is criticised and rebutted by some scholars, who state that the perception/meaning of home is not always positive for all people, for instance, since a home is not a place where happiness is assured for inhabitants (Douglas, 1991). Moore (2000) states that the 'negative and darker side' of home has been receiving an increasing attention (Moore, 2000, p.212). For example, home as a prison, place of terror, violence and sexual abuse, homebound elderly people, etc. are the examples from the identified literature by Moore (2000, p.212) and Mallet (2004, p.72).

There are some 'tyrannies of the home' which are tyranny over: time (e.g. strict mealtimes); taste (e.g. removal of a food if one member does not like it even if it is a favourite food of the others); speech (e.g. no private conversation at mealtimes) (Douglas, 1991, pp.303–305). Although these are listed as 'tyrannies', it can be argued that they can be subjective since these can also be evaluated as civility of communal life or cannot be perceived as negative for some people.

Saunders (1989) opposes the idea that home means a haven for men while it means a place of work and entrapment for women since similar feelings about their homes have been stated by both men and women (Saunders, 1989). Kent (1995) expresses that 'home represents a refuge of personal space' for most westerners and depending on the experience of a person it can be 'a castle or a dungeon – a place to escape to or to escape from' (Kent, 1995, p.163).

Hence, it might be claimed that it is not as simple and fixed as Kissoon (2006), for example, expresses: that 'each person has an idea of home that merges place and personality, that goes beyond having four walls and a roof, and that indicates a positive feeling that derives from security, belonging, attachment or familiarity, among other things' (Kissoon, 2006, p.76).

As a result of this range of descriptions and ideas about home, it can be argued that there is not only one specific description of home and also no correct or incorrect way of defining the notion. As it is a concept which is strongly linked to people, then it is not surprising to find enormous variations regarding what it means, although some groupings among the aspects of the concept have been claimed. Benjamin (1995) suggests that perhaps the concept should not be described irreversibly. 'Its role as a concept that encourages scholarly study and creativity

across the boundaries of many disciplines may be more important than what might be gained by holding down the meaning to one set of words' (Benjamin, 1995, p.299). Yet this might be debatable since any summary or classification of the concept may offer concrete ideas instead of staying as fuzzy definitions.

When the meaning of home for displaced people is investigated it is seen that it has physical, material, symbolic and social meanings. Physical loss covers what Taylor (2009) defines as the spatial home and is the loss of a home as a shelter and also loss of a spatial setting (e.g. fields and orchards, farmland, cemetery) (Zetter, 1999, p.11).

Home, as a material loss as identified by Sert (2008, p.45) is the 'loss of resources and wellbeing of the past as well as an economic opportunity in the future'. However, there are various evaluations, such as economic loss being evaluated separately from material loss by Brun (2004, p.2). By focusing on Cypriot refugees, Taylor (2009, p.6, p.16) indicates that 'the material home is an investigation of the sensory nature of home through tastes, scents and an embodied experience of landscape' which has more than an 'economic value'.

In addition to these, what is lost is the symbol as a representation of history for displaced people. One of the examples of this situation can be shown by the loss of Greek Cypriot IDPs, whose 'houses, fields, and orchards' left behind as a result of displacement 'have particular historicities tied to marriages, deaths, and the birth of children' (Bryant, 2010, p.31). The houses which they had to leave have histories regarding their construction as well: how their parents or they had built the houses for themselves in terms of the time, money and effort that they had invested (Zetter, 1999, p.11; Bryant, 2010, p.31). Therefore, home, for Cypriot IDPs and for many similar cases, means 'both the loss of a desirable personal history and material interests' (Sert, 2008, p.45). Therefore, a lost home is a symbolic loss. Home, as a symbolic loss can be the loss of a 'sense of belonging' and 'identity' (Sert, 2008, p.45). A 'loss of status and standing', which has been indicated by Brun (2004, p.2), can be considered a symbolic loss as well.

Even though displaced people start to establish a daily routine in exile, the nostalgia of the lost home stays with them (Dikomitis, 2012, p.14). The home might not only be a place, it can also be the centre of their 'social network', and what people want to return to can be both their homes and the reconstructed communities (Bryant, 2010, pp.29–30), which can be defined as social loss and includes what Taylor (2009) identifies as relational home. In these cases, therefore, home can be evaluated as 'the association of an individual within a homogeneous group and the association of that group with a particular physical place' (Warner, 1994, p.162). With this point of view, particularly in the cases of disaster-led displacement, it was attempted to assist people to restart the lives that they 'left behind' and also to 'reconstruct the community' which they used to belong to (Hammond, 1999, p.235).

The perception of home for these people is not fixed, contrary to the views of several professionals of the refugee organisations (Ghanem, 2003). The notion of home, which is not common for different cultures and is not always related to only one place, is 'complex and dynamic' regarding the disruptions that countries experienced as a result of war (Eastmond and Öjendal, 1999, p.54). The notion alters as a result of their experiences, starting from displacement until their return (Ghanem, 2003, p.5). It is mentioned in Chapter 2 that repatriation is not an end for displaced people, but a new beginning. It is also an exploration and creation of 'a new notion of "home" ' (Koser and Black, 1999, p.17). Therefore, it can be argued that the perception of home before displacement, in exile, and after any kind of durable solution – return, resettlement, settlement – can be different.

4.4 Where is home?

Besides 'What is home?', 'Where is home' is another significant question to be explored in order to find out what, how and why different types of places have been assigned as 'homes' by different people. It is not always necessary to see our houses as our homes. Home can be anywhere depending on people's perceptions. Similar to a variation in what home means to different people, there might be a distinction in what places are called home by various people. Home can be a room, a house, a neighbourhood and a city (Dovey, 1985).

For some people, home means both their house and also the environment around it, which is called 'an extended environment' (Oranratmanee, 2008, pp.190–191) or 'the spatial home' (Taylor, 2009, p.5). Home has an undefined physical border which each person defines his/her own boundaries of according to familiarity, and thus home could be a homeland, a country, or the village land, in which the nearby landscape/natural features are included (Oranratmanee, 2008, p.191).

In addition to the physical and natural attributes of the surrounding environment, the social attributes of the environment can bear the same importance for people, and this social environment may include neighbours, co-villagers, society, etc. In relation to this, a person and their relationships with other people who surround their house might have an impact on how a person perceives his/her home and also how he/she defines where a home is.

These discussions can be applicable for all people, yet there might be differences for displaced persons. In addition to the definition of home in terms of what it means, the acceptance of a house, or a place where one lives after displacement as a home, might be an issue which can differ in the case of displaced persons. The choice of people regarding 'where and how they live' has been influenced from the change in the social, political and economic milieu as a result of conflict/disaster and displacement (Brun, 2004). Therefore, from the dislocated people's point of view, the question 'Where is home?' might have different meanings.

For them, home can be the place of origin – the place where they have been displaced from – or the place where they resettled after the displacement, or both places if it is possible to construct 'a home' in exile, and if it is possible to construct more than one home in those places. Brah asks the same question 'Where is home' and describes that:

> On the one hand, 'home' is a mythic place of desire in the diasporic imagination. In this sense, it is a place of no return, even if it is possible to visit the geographical territory that is seen as the place of 'origin'. On the other hand, home is also the lived experience of locality, its sounds and smells (Brah, 1996, cited in Ahmed, 1999, p.341).

Papadakis (2005) has questioned the displaced persons' resettlement in someone else's home in Cyprus as 'How can a person enter into another person's house and live there?' 'How long does it take to accept that home as his/her home?' (Papadakis, 2005, p.119). Since displaced people have been involuntarily relocated from their home it might be difficult and complex to establish a home in exile. However, this might not always be the case. Regarding this, Papadakis describes how a Turkish Cypriot 'migrant' who used to live in the southern part of Cyprus before the division and now lives in one of the Greek Cypriot houses which had been abandoned in 1974 'feels himself completely at home' (ibid.). At this point the reason for the acceptance of someone else's home as his/her own home might be questioned in order to find out under which circumstances this could be possible. In the above case, the displaced Turkish Cypriot describes the condition of his former home, which he had a chance to return to before the division in 1974 but did not, and how it had been looted and damaged after his displacement. He explains that when he thinks about his former home now he remembers the things that he saw in his house the last time (ibid.). Following this, it might be claimed that the condition of a place/home after abandonment can be a determinant in whether to continue to hold on to that place as home or to disregard it and accept the new place as home.

Moreover, familiarity with the new place may play a significant role in people's perceptions towards it, similar to attachment. 'When one was at home, one would be a member of the family, a neighbour, a friend, and when one left home one would become the stranger' (Ahmed, 1999, p.340). Being a stranger in a foreign environment may obstruct or complicate the development of the feeling of home again, and moreover this might impact the perception of home. Furthermore, the condition of being a stranger in a foreign environment might alter the identification of the place that the dislocated people call home.

'Would they also be isolated if they returned to the places they had left? Would they be foreigners in their "homes"?' (Warner, 1994, p.170). On their return to home people might feel like a foreigner as a result of the changed physical and social environment due to time. In the example of the Greek Cypriot IDPs' return, the situation of 'not knowing' these environments 'makes a place foreign, a place where one does not belong' (Bryant, 2010, p.35). Familiarity

and a feeling of belonging, therefore, appear to be determinants for perception of home and acceptance of a place as home.

Eastmond and Öjendal (1999) add another view by referring to the economic possibilities of a place which impacted their participants' perception of home: a home is the place 'one was born, used to live, where one's relatives live (or lived), or anywhere one can make a decent living?' (Eastmond and Öjendal, 1999, p.54). The refugees who used to live in the camps selected the option to return to 'fertile areas' instead of returning to their villages which they used to live in before displacement (Eastmond and Öjendal, 1999, p.54). Economic possibilities in the new place after return might make returnees prefer to stay there instead of going back to their birthplaces/places of origin/habitual residence (see Hammond, 1999, p.239; Eastmond and Öjendal, 1999, p.54).

It might also be questioned whether it is possible to have more than one home: a home before the move and a home after the move, or a home in childhood, in youth and during adulthood. At this point, Ahmed (1999) claims that home can change for a person. It can be a place 'where one usually lives', 'where one's family lives', 'one's native country' and thus, people might have 'multiple homes' (Ahmed, 1999, p.338). With regards to this, it can be argued that similar to attachment, it is possible to have more than one home. It is not always the case that one has more than one home, despite being moved many times and living in various houses. Ahmed's (1999) own experience can be an example for this argument. He states that the place where he was born does not feel like a home for him since he was a child when he left and he cannot remember it (Ahmed, 1999, pp.340–341). Home is not only a place where one belongs (place of origin) but it is a place that one feels belonged to ('home is where the heart is'); thus feelings should be considered: '*how one feels or how one might fail to feel*' (ibid). Considering this, it can be argued that home is not always the place where a person is born. S/he might not remember the place of birth if s/he left the place very young and has no memories of it. Home is seen to be the place which a person feels attached to and belongs to.

Mallet points out Hollander's reflection that both the meaning and study of home 'all depends' (Hollander, 1991, cited in Mallet, 2004, p.84). Briefly, 'how home is and has been defined at any given time depends upon the "specification of locus and extent" and the broader historical and social context' (Mallet, 2004, p.84). Likewise, 'What is home?' and 'Where is home?' are questions with a rich variety of answers.

4.5 Factors influencing perception of home

Perception can be affected by various factors which can roughly be listed as: culture, personality, experiences, memory, feelings, age and gender (Bell *et al.*, 2001, p.59; Goodey, 1974, p.30; Brown and Perkins, 1992, p.291). It is stated that 'our feelings about the environment influence our perception of it, and our perceptions influence our feelings' (Bell *et al.*, 2001, p.59).

In addition, when some of the predictors of place attachment have been investigated it can be claimed that they can have had an influence on the way people perceive their homes. As discussed in the earlier chapter on place attachment, *displacement/migration, length of residence, ownership, willingness to move, age* and gender are identified as the predictors of place attachment for this study; therefore, parallel to this and also considering the literature about home, *displacement/migration, length of residence, ownership, age* and *gender* are discussed in this section, although there may be many other relevant issues.

What has been meant by perception of home in this study is the meaning of home to people – the way people see and describe their houses. Perception of home might alter from a person who stays in a permanent residence to a person who lives in a temporary place. Being temporarily in a place may impact a person's attachment and feelings towards that place, which is a topic that is discussed later under the subject of ownership. From this point of view, it can be claimed that relocation can influence the perception of home as well, which is an issue that necessitates being interpreted under two subjects: the effects of migration as voluntary relocation and the effects of displacement as involuntary relocation. It is expected to see diverse perceptions among these two groups as the process of relocation is different in these two cases. In this respect, it can be argued that people who migrate to a place could associate more positive/constructive feelings towards that place than displaced people, as the former decided to move into the new place by their own will rather than being forced by external factors such as conflict, environmental disasters and so on. As a result of forced displacement, people lost their houses and other properties. What was lost has physical, material, symbolic and social importance for displaced people (Zetter, 1999; Brun, 2004; Sert, 2008; Taylor, 2009; Bryant, 2010). At this point, what home means to these people might be explained by negative/destructive feelings instead of positive, and therefore it can be argued that home is not always positive, as discussed earlier.

In the case of displaced people, the development of a 'feeling of being at home' might be as a result of an imposed action of relocation where people have no choice but to get used to the new situation. These people can also encounter difficulties in constructing (positive) feelings towards the places where they stay in exile. The meanings they assign to and the way they perceive 'their homes' – new places in exile – and the way they used to perceive their homes before displacement can show variations.

As a result, it can be argued that the perception of home of a displaced person might show variation from the perception of home of a person who has not experienced relocation. Considering this statement, displacement can be accepted as one of the issues which might influence the way in which a person perceives and identifies home.

According to Douglas (1991, p.289), 'a home is not only a space, it also has some structure in time', and therefore time is a central issue for the meaning of home (Taylor, 2009). The length of displacement, 'the interactions that take place between refugees' and 'the different social settings they are plunged into' can be listed as factors which have an impact on the transformation of perception of home (Ghanem, 2003, p.5). Parallel to these, length of residence might be listed as one of the factors which has an impact on inhabitants' perceptions towards their homes. When the literature on home is explored it seems there is an agreement that the meaning of home is unstable, while the dynamic aspect of the description of home and its close association with time and experiences is discussed in much of the literature (Dovey 1985; Kent 1995; Leith 2006). New connections and contact and lifetime/past experiences should be considered when dealing with the notion of home and attachment to home for better understanding (Dovey 1985; Kent, 1995; Leith 2006). Thus, the meaning and perception of home might alter due to changes over time, and experiences that people go through.

It may be claimed that what home means to people and how people perceive and interpret the home alters as a person grows older and, additionally, can vary enormously as each individual had his/her own unique life. By considering this, it might be challenging to end up with a definite description of home, although a person himself/herself could define home differently at different times in their life. Home is 'dynamic and context-bound' (Leith, 2006, p.318).

Clearly, time and experiences are influential attributes which affect people's perception of home. Length of residence, in the places where IDPs have been displaced to, might make them 'feel more "at home"' in these places (Zetter, 1988, cited in Koser and Black, 1999, p.9). It can be argued that the increase in the duration of habitation in a place affects the way people perceive that place since 'the spaces of exile have gradually accumulated meaning and grown in familiarity' (Taylor, 2009, p.13).

As well as its effect on place attachment, ownership was discussed in the studies related to the concept of home as well since, particularly in Cyprus, owning a house has great importance (Cockburn, 2004, p.64). Does it have an impact on the perception of the inhabitants towards their houses? Does it affect the meaning of home to people who own a house and those who do not? Since they not own it do they feel attached to it?

By comparing tenants and homeowners, Saunders (1989, p.187) states that home is more related to feelings and family/members/people by tenants, while personal belongings/objects

are more related to owners, who also perceive home as a place 'where one can relax or enjoy "home comforts" '. This diverse point of view of tenants and home owners might be evaluated as an expected outcome since the tenants do not own the houses and sometimes also do not own the furniture in the houses, which leads them to establish bonds between people rather than to objects and the house itself, bearing in mind the temporariness of their stay. In contrast, as the houses belong to them the owners easily think of the house itself while describing their home. By being permanent residents in a house that is selected and bought or built by themselves and filled with selected furniture which fits their own taste, owners are more likely to point out the house itself. Saunders (1989) relates this finding to the sense of belonging, which is tough to achieve, yet possible, for the one who does not own the house (ibid., p.187). Being temporary in a place may make a change to what people associate with home. It may therefore be claimed that ownership is a significant determinant by itself in order to influence people's perception of their homes, the places where they live.

Age can be described as one of the factors which could affect people's perceptions since 'home becomes more important to people as they grow older' (Saunders, 1989, p.177). In this respect, there are plenty of studies which investigate the meaning of home for the elderly (e.g. Saunders, 1989; Swenson, 1998; Leith, 2006). Swenson (1998) was seeking to explore the meaning of home with five elderly women who lived in the same house in the same rural town for more than 30 years and who now live alone. As a consequence of this research it was noted that for these people 'home is the centre of self, home is the centre of caring and home is the centre of reach'.

Similar to this, Leith (2006) investigated the perception of older women 'who had recently and voluntarily entered the long-term care system'. For these women, home means 'the autonomous decision to find a place somewhere', 'the deliberate resolve to feel in place anywhere', 'the ongoing effort to stay placed there' (Leith, 2006, p.317, p.329). It might not be appropriate to pin down the reason for these definitions and relate them only to the factor of age, as both only focused on the female participants, those living alone and those in the care system. These definitions might be different for the two genders, but although it had not been explored in these studies, it might still be possible to say that these descriptions are age specific and would not be expected from young people and children.

When various age groups were compared, it emerged that home means 'a dwelling place for family', 'a uniqueness', 'a shared place', 'a physical structure' and 'an extended environment' to children, while to adults it means 'a reference', 'reliance', 'refuge', 'self', 'status and pride' and 'economic unit' (Oranratmanee, 2008, pp.195–196). This can be interpreted as meaning that, contrary to adults, children do not see the home as a tool to express themselves, to identify themselves, nor do they see it as an entity to get benefit out of. In contrast, home is more related to emotions and feelings and it is a connection to and provides unity with their families

and surroundings. Moreover, by remembering the argument that the perception of the concept of home changes due to the change in time and experiences gathered, which was discussed earlier in this chapter, it could be claimed that although age itself makes a difference to people's perception of what home means to them, it could not be described as the only determinant, as experiences gathered over a lifetime generate diverse visions for various people.

One of the other determinants affecting people's perceptions might be listed as gender. Considering the gender role in the house, particularly in previous times when the female used to be more engaged with the house and used to spend more time in the house than the male, the differentiation in the perception of home could have been clear (e.g. see Loizos, 1981 and Cockburn, 2004 for gender roles of Cypriots in the 1960s). In addition to their domestic responsibilities, Cypriot women were supporting the family by taking part in farming and husbandry works along with food production and weaving (Anthias, 1992, pp.83–87). These days, females are not as physically strongly bonded to the house as they used to be, and they have instead started to get employment, whilst retaining 'domestic responsibilities' (Cockburn, 2004, p.116). Males' and females' perception of home could therefore be more similar now. However, some argue that the meaning of home differs between genders (Somerville, 1997; Oranratmanee, 2008). House, which was a dowry of Greek Cypriot women, has a particular importance for them compared with men (Zetter, 1991; Cockburn, 2004; Taylor, 2009). In contrast, although women have control over the home, it is built by men among Turkish Cypriots (Taylor, 2009, p.91).

Regarding the different identification of the home by genders, Somerville (1997, p.228) states that even in many cases both genders have similar perceptions of home; home is more a 'status and achievement' for men, while it is more 'an emotional refuge or haven or source of protection' for women.

Similar to this, physical characteristics of home such as 'a dwelling place and a reflection of self, status and pride' have been used by males in order to describe what it means to them. On the other hand, females related home to 'affective feelings, a place for family well-being and an extended environment'. Although there are some common descriptions of the concept of home according to the genders such as 'home as affective feelings; as a dwelling place for family; a reference, reliance and refuge; as uniqueness; and as a source of satisfaction and pride', still 'the degree and content are different' (Oranratmanee, 2008, p.195). As a consequence, gender can be seen in addition to the above-mentioned factors, as an influential determinant of how a person could perceive 'home' and what 'home' means to him/her.

4.6 Summary and conclusion

In this chapter, the concept of home in general and the meaning of home, in particular, have been discussed in order to shed light on the concept of perception of home since it was one of the objectives of the study to identify current discourse on the relationship between internal displacement, place attachment and perception of home. It has been broadly described in the literature of home that the perception, understanding and meaning of home differs from person to person, varies through experiences and transforms due to changes over time, just as place attachment. Obviously, there is not only one accepted definition of home. Each individual has his/her own image of home as a consequence of his/her life, which makes home studies an ongoing and appealing area of research.

Ownership, age and gender, which are the predominantly studied issues when questioning the meaning of home, will be the focus of this study, as well as considering the length of residence. The study will try to relate them to displacement by mainly focusing on the IDPs' perception of home.

As mentioned by Ahmed, 'migration can … be considered as a process of estrangement, a process of becoming estranged from that which was inhabited as home' (Ahmed, 1999, p.343). Without a doubt, this statement is also valid for IDPs, and it is worth studying these people with regards to their attitudes towards their 'new homes'.

In the literature, home as a social entity was generally described with positive words and feelings. However, some ideas oppose these positive descriptions and argue that home is not always necessarily a nice, cosy and comfortable place for everyone to exist. At this stage, it might be hypothesised that IDPs' perception of home is different than common perceptions because of the experience of dislocation. Moreover, if IDPs were settled into the homes of people who there was a conflict with, they would be expected to have a different perception of home which would affect their attachment to home. How these factors and place attachment are studied is explained in the next chapter.

Chapter 5

Research Methodology

Chapter 5: Research Methodology

5.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the research methodology of the study, which seeks to answer the research aim and objectives as set out in Chapter 1. The chapter consists of five parts. *The research strategy* as a first part introduces the case study method which has been used in the research. Secondly, the application of both *qualitative and quantitative methods* is explained. After these, *the process of selecting the case study villages* is described, while in the last two sections the methods and tools used in the *data collection*, and the methods and processes used for *analysis*, are identified and described.

5.2 Research strategy

A range of research strategies was investigated within the different groupings of various scholars: experiment, survey, case study, cross-sectional, longitudinal, comparative, archival analysis, history, narrative research, phenomenology, grounded theory and ethnography (Robson, 1993, p.40; Yin, 2003, pp.5–9; Bryman, 2008, pp.35–61; Creswell, 2009, p.104). Among these, the case study method was selected as the most appropriate strategy for this research.

The case study is an approach which provides in-depth and profound information and understanding of either a single case or a few related cases/multiple cases depending on the aim of the research (Robson, 1993, p.40; Gillham, 2000, p.1; Creswell, 2009, p.104). This research strategy 'involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence' (Robson, 1993, p.5, p.52).

The case study method is therefore considered to be appropriate for this research, given the research aim and objectives, since it allows investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events, and the research questions focus mainly on 'how' and 'why' questions (Yin, 2003). Although questionnaires, as a survey tool, were also used in the research, only a few of the questions started with 'how many' and 'what' statements indicating that the research mainly focuses on qualitative data. In addition, archival research was carried out in order to gather information related to the history of Cyprus.

Northern Cyprus was selected as the general case for this study and four particular rural settlements in the northern part of the island were identified as case villages. The research process shows similarities with Yin's schema that draws a summary of the case study method as shown in Figure 5.1. The aim and objectives were developed, cases were subsequently selected, and research instruments were designed accordingly. Fieldwork was conducted consecutively in the case villages in 2010. The results of each case were analysed and concluded, the latter being driven from a combination of the individual case results. Yet,

different to the schema, policy implications have not been developed in this research since this was not aimed at.

Illustration taken out due to copyright reasons

Figure 5.1: Conceptual framework of the case study method by Yin (2003).

5.3 Qualitative and quantitative research methods

It is stated that 'while quantitative analysis can answer many types of questions very well – establishing *when* and *how who* did *what* and *where* – it tends to fall down over the crucial question of *why*' (Miller *et al.*, 2002, p.1). 'Quantitative methods are very effective at establishing the *veracity* of empirical social facts but are less effective at establishing the *motivations* or *reasoning* employed by social actors' (ibid.). Therefore, qualitative methods are evaluated as 'crucial' alongside quantitative methods (ibid.).

By considering these, the subject of the research in general and the main aim and the objectives of the study in particular were examined, and it was decided that both qualitative and quantitative research were necessary for this research. The possibility of conducting both qualitative and quantitative methods in place attachment research was also stated by one of the leading scholars of the subject, Maria Lewicka (Lewicka, 2011, pp.219–224). The main reason behind the use of multiple methods is explained as the desire of the researchers to learn more about the subject they research (Gilbert, 2008, p.128).

Triangulation and complementarity are the two techniques used in a mixed methods approach and they are also the reasons for the use of such an approach (Greene *et al.*, 1989, cited in Gilbert, 2008, p.128). Triangulation measures a phenomenon in two, three or more different ways to obtain more accurate results, especially when the use of only one measure would make it difficult or impossible to do the survey. The reason for employing multiple methods is not only to include more participants in the study, or to draw a more precise result from a singular reality,

but also 'to reveal the different dimensions of a phenomenon and enrich understandings of the multi-faceted, complex nature of the social world' (ibid.). This is what is called complementarity (ibid.).

Following these, qualitative research was used to collect data about houses, villages, place attachment and perception of home, whereas quantitative research was used to collect information related to houses, households and place attachment. Although the subjects explored in both research methods are the same, they differ in the focus, level of information gathered and the amount of participants.

Moreover, research techniques were selected by considering the aim and objectives of the study (Figure 5.2). As suggested by Gillham (2000), case studies seek a range of different kinds of evidence from the case setting, and multiple sources of evidence is a key characteristic of case study research. With this perspective, it might be said that 'triangulation' and 'complementarity' are necessary for this particular strategy. Thus, semi-structured interviews, observations and field notes were used in order to collect qualitative data. Visual data was used to support data from these methods. In addition to these methods, questionnaires, which are the most commonly used method for place attachment issues (Brown, Perkins and Brown, 2003; Hernández *et al*., 2007; Hidalgo and Hernández, 2001; Jorgensen & Stedman, 2006; Lewicka, 2008, 2010), were used to collect quantitative data.
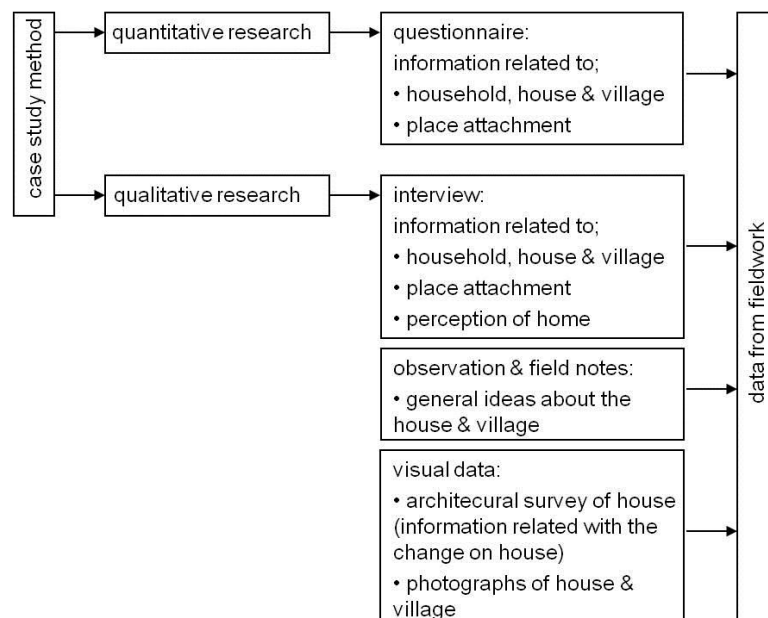
Figure 5.2: Research strategy, methods and techniques of the case study research.

5.4 Selection of the case study villages

This study focuses on rural settlements and villagers rather than an urban context and dwellers since the initial idea of the research was to investigate change on the vernacular settlements under the impact of displacement. One of the reasons to focus on rural settlements is their less mixed combination of people regarding their place of origin, compared to the towns, which could have affected place attachment and perception of home. The other reason is related to population. The presence of fewer people in rural settlements makes the selected informants much more representative of the population of the settlement. Even though there might be some differentiation between villages in and within the north and south, in general the contexts and the types of houses and livelihoods were similar in rural settlements. For this reason, by selecting rural settlements it was expected to overcome the dramatic change in the way of life of IDPs who displaced from rural villages to urban towns – such displacement could have affected place attachment and perception of home.

Before displacement, there were predominantly three types of villages in the northern part of the island of Cyprus, except for the Maronite villages, which were inhabited by Maronites (Catholic Christian people of Arab origin who migrated to Cyprus between the 8th and 13th centuries AD) The three types were Turkish Cypriot villages, Greek Cypriot villages and mixed villages where Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots were living together in different proportions.

Nine major types of villages/rural settlements can be identified in the current situation in northern Cyprus. These groups were identified by considering the inhabitants of the villages before and after the internal displacement (Figure 5.3). Formerly mixed villages can now be separated into three types, previously Turkish Cypriot villages can now be separated into two types, and previously Greek Cypriot villages can now be separated into four types.
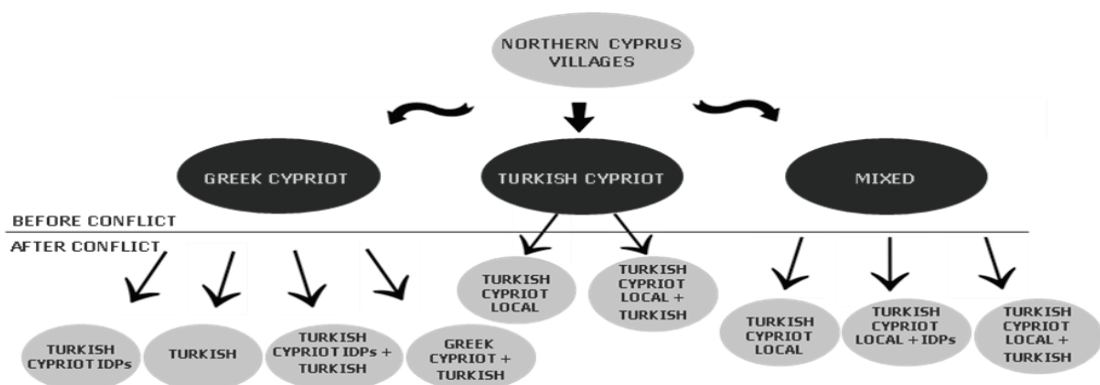
Figure 5.3: Types of villages in northern Cyprus before and after the conflict and subsequent division.[5]

---

[5] Maronite villages are not included.

Among these, this study focuses only on the Turkish Cypriot population. Since Turkish Cypriots are the locals of the island and this community matches the aim of the research, the study focuses on this community. Therefore, after identification of the types of the villages according to their population, only the types which include Turkish Cypriots were selected. The reason for the selection of only currently Turkish Cypriot settlements within the nine types is to focus on one community instead of various communities.

Consequently, four types of settlements were selected:
- formerly mixed village now inhabited by Turkish Cypriot locals and Turkish Cypriot IDPs,
- formerly mixed village now inhabited only by Turkish Cypriot locals,
- formerly Greek Cypriot village now entirely settled by Turkish Cypriot IDPs,
- formerly and currently Turkish Cypriot village which does not include IDPs.

This fourth type is the control group for this research since the villager profile remains the same. This offers the opportunity to compare the relationship between place attachment and perception of home due to internal displacement. One village from each of these four types was selected as a case village.

Various sources which illustrate the settlement distributions in different years according to ethnicity were examined in order to find out the former and current population types of the villages (Solsten, 1991 (Figure 5.4); Richarte, 1995 (Figure 5.5); Ladbury and King, 1988 (Figure 5.6)).

Illustration taken out due to copyright reasons

Figure 5.4: Map of Cyprus showing the distribution of the Turkish Cypriot, Greek Cypriot and mixed settlements in 1960 by Solsten (1991).

Illustration taken out due to copyright reasons

Figure 5.5: Population distribution of Cyprus in 1960 and 1999 by Richarte (1995).

Illustration taken out due to copyright reasons

Figure 5.6: Settlement ethnicity distribution before 1974, northern Cyprus, by Ladbury and King (1988).

A few government offices of the TRNC were visited in order to obtain information related to the settlements of Cyprus in general and about the ones in northern Cyprus in particular. Selection of the case villages started with the data obtained from the offices about the settlements in Cyprus. Based on this data, settlements located in the southern part of the island and the ones in the buffer zone (the zone which separates north and south) were eliminated. The remaining settlements, which are located in the north of the island, were grouped according to their population changes. The illustrated maps in Figures 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6 and the data obtained from the government offices, informal information gathered from the current inhabitants of these

settlements, and newspaper articles written about the history and current situation of the rural settlements were all overlapped in order to identify the most accurate information about the ethnicity of the settlements in the northern part of the island since variations were observed between different sources.

Based on these, a new list was formed and 29 rural settlements were randomly selected from various parts of the north part of the island. They were visited within one month in order to investigate the current situation of the settlements and to decide whether they would be appropriate as case villages (Figure 5.7). Informal talks were carried out with the villagers where it was suitable and photographs of the settlements were taken in order to develop a general overview of the villages.

Illustration taken out due to copyright reasons
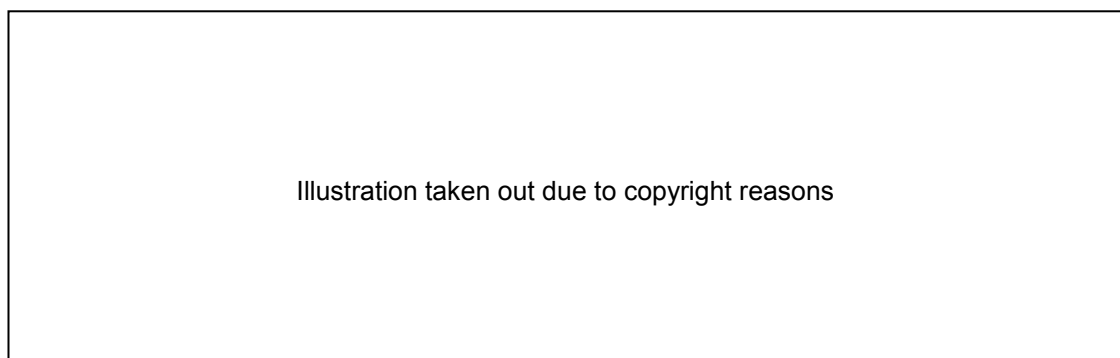
Figure 5.7: Visited villages in Cyprus.

Following this, a table was formed which shows the grouping of the previously mentioned four types of villages and the districts they are within. Villages which are now completely inhabited only by Turkish immigrants, and villages which have unique and/or unusual characteristics, were eliminated. Thus, villages which had completely foreign inhabitants (British/German/etc.), and/or restoration/revitalisation, and/or are a tourist village, and/or had a significant growth and change due to time and became a town, or have a dramatic history because of the internal conflict were all removed from the list. By doing so, it was intended to try to eliminate issues (that were not part of this study) which might have had an effect on houses, villages, place attachment and the perception of home (e.g. improvement in appearance through restoration/revitalisation, see Chapters 3 and 4). In the end, the case villages which were most appropriate for this research were identified as: Akçay/Argaki, Akdeniz/Agia Eirini, İncirli/Makrasyka and Gönendere/Knodara (Turkish and Greek names of the villages, respectively) (Figure 5.8).

Figure 5.8: Location of the case study villages. The buffer zone is shaded green.

A number of variables have been considered in the selection of the final settlements, and housing density was one of these variables. It was endeavoured to select those settlements which had not developed dramatically throughout time. Hence, the size of the settlements and whether the settlements had changed in character were influential in the selection. In addition, settlements were chosen from different parts of the northern half of the island in order to obtain diverse views from people living in different parts of the country. Akçay/Argaki was selected as the first case as it has been subject to Peter Loizos's (e.g. 1981, 2008) studies for decades. Although many studies of the village exist, they are focused on the Greek Cypriots who were living in the village. Therefore, it was intended to investigate Turkish Cypriots who currently live there. This is the village with the largest population of the four. The other three villages have almost equal numbers of houses and populations. These were selected in accordance with the number of houses and population in Akçay/Argaki in order to keep the scale of the four villages close. Akdeniz/Agia Eirini might be evaluated as a coastal village – although the village is not situated along a seashore, it is near to the sea. İncirli/Makrasyka is one of the villages which is located close to the buffer zone. The last case study village Gönendere/Knodara is located in the Mesaorian region, which is the central lowland of the island, and, historically, is known as one of the oldest and biggest Turkish Cypriot villages in the region.

5.5 Data collection

Data was collected in two ways. Primary qualitative and quantitative data were collected by fieldwork through a questionnaire survey, semi-structured interviews, observations and field notes, and visual data in the form of photographs. Secondary data was gathered mainly by

literature review. The literature review investigated three main topics: place attachment, perception of home and internal displacement in a broader context and particularly in Cyprus.

In addition to these, government records, maps and archives were inspected to find out the necessary information for the selection of case study settlements for the research, such as date of displacement, former settlement of the IDPs, geographical characteristics of the former settlement, etc.

Distribution of the questionnaire survey participants and interviewees according to the villages are as follows (Figure 5.9):

Case Study Village	Number of Questionnaire Participants	Number of Interviewees
Village 1: Akçay/Argaki	72	19
Village 2: Akdeniz/Agia Eirini	93	24
Village 3: İncirli/Makrasyka	53	22
Village 4: Gönendere/Knodhara	84	23
TOTAL:	302	88

Figure 5.9: Number of questionnaire survey participants and interviewees in case study villages.

5.5.1 Qualitative data

Qualitative data was collected from the selected villages, houses and people through semi-structured face-to-face interviews with IDPs and local people (Figure 5.10). In addition, field notes of observations and visual data were used as supplementary information.

5.5.1.1 Semi-structured interviews

In this research, interviews are mainly used to investigate the variables place attachment and perception of home. Although most of the previous studies on place attachment were carried out using questionnaires, (explained later in the 'Questionnaire', section 5.5.2.1), some researchers used in-depth interviews as a method of data collection as well (Shenk, Kuwahara and Zablotsky, 2004). Others used surveys, in-depth interviews and systematic field observations (Shamsuddin and Ujang, 2008), and some researchers used questionnaires first and then selected a small group from the bigger group of participants in order to carry out semi-structured interviews and participant observation (Chow and Healey, 2008; McHugh and Mings, 1996). Home, especially the meaning of home, was predominantly examined by qualitative studies using various types of interviews (Mazumdar and Mazumdar, 2009; Carroll *et al.*, 2009; Cloutier-Fischer and Harvey, 2009; Kissoon, 2006; Leith, 2006; Swenson, 1998). Interviews are

also used as a tool to study displaced people (Kissoon, 2006). Considering all of this evidence, it is considered that interviews are a method which has been broadly used to explore displacement, place attachment and home. Therefore, interviews have been selected as a method to be used in this study.

Semi-structured face-to-face interviews were used in this research in the same way as Robson (1993) and Bryman (2008) explained. A set of questions was prepared in advance by the interviewer and an interview schedule was formed. The order and the amount of questions were altered by the interviewer according to the dialogue during the interview. Therefore, depending on the replies of the interviewees, when the interviewer thought it was necessary and significant to ask further questions on the subject, extra questions were included, and when the interviewer thought questions to be inappropriate, they were excluded (Robson, 1993, p.231; Bryman, 2008, p.196).

In addition to the semi-structured interviews, informal interviews were conducted when villagers approached the interviewer and started a conversation. These cases were excluded from the targeted 20 interviewees and were used as additional information.

Before developing the interview schedule and questionnaire, existing research on place attachment, perception of home, and internal displacement was reviewed and questions were shaped accordingly. The interview schedule was composed of five sections: information related to the current house and village, the former house and village in the south, and perception of home (see Appendix I Interview Schedule). In general, two types of questions were included: open questions which participants were expected to answer with as much detail as they wished/were able to, and closed questions for which the answers were predominantly yes or no, which were then followed by a 'why?' question in order to encourage people to describe the reason for their response.

The place attachment questions that have been asked in this research are selected according to the aim and objectives of this research. Most of the questions are the same as the ones that have been used in other studies on the subject but adapted to this particular research. Additionally, there are some questions which were included as they are particularly related only to this research.

Furthermore, in the section on perception of home, participants were asked 'What does home mean to you?' and 'Can you say that this is your home? Why?' in order to understand their perception towards their houses. It was questioned whether IDPs have a different perception of home than the locals or not, and whether IDPs can accept and perceive the place where they live now as their 'homes' and/or as 'their' homes, and what the reason is behind this. In addition,

'visits' of IDPs to their 'former' houses and villages in the south and the 'visits' of the 'owner' of 'their' current houses have been investigated.

There is no distinction between the words 'house' and 'home' in Turkish. The word *ev* could mean both. In order to not impact the answer of the informants, the distinction was not done and was not explained by the interviewer while conducting the interview and questionnaire. It was expected from the participants to answer directly and frankly what it means to them. The distinction has been made clear during the analysis while coding the responses. Coding was conducted in consideration of the literature, and words/phrases which were strongly related to feelings, emotions, family relationships, lifestyle, sharing, etc. were associated with 'home', while words/phrases that indicated structure, material and physical features were associated with 'house'.

A summary was left with the questionnaire to explain the general aim of the research study. Houses were visited 2 days after this to see whether the households were interested in participating and, if so, to arrange an interview date and time. Interviewees were asked to complete a questionnaire before the interview was conducted. The length of the interviews ranged from 4 minutes up to around one and a half hours. They were audio recorded with the permission of the interviewees. In some cases, the interview was conducted immediately after the questionnaire.

A random sampling method was not selected as the participant selection method. It was believed that voluntary participation was important for fruitful data collection for this type of research which required information from people about themselves, their past, their houses and their perceptions. In addition, it was believed that voluntary participants would provide a great deal of information since they decided to take part in the research.

Case Study Village	Number of interviewees	Gender	Age range	Place of birth (northern or southern Cyprus)	IDPs/local
Village 1: Akçay/Argaki	19	13 females 6 males	27-88	5 north (1 in Akçay) 14 south	3 local 16 IDPs
Village 2: Akdeniz/Agia Eirini	24	16 females 8 males	17-81	24 north (19 in Akdeniz)	24 local
Village 3: İncirli/Makrasyka	22	15 females 7 males	26-88	3 north (no one in Gönendere) 19 south	3 local 19 IDPs
Village 4: Gönendere/Knodhara	23	15 females 8 males	22-82	23 north (15 in Gönendere)	23 local
TOTAL:	88				

Figure 5.10: General information about interviewees.

5.5.1.2 Observation and field notes

The meaning of observations in this research is neither participant nor detached/structured observations. What is meant by observation is the perception of the researcher about the setting, village and houses, in general.

Moreover, notes have been taken of any informal discussions, when audio recording was not allowed by the interviewee (few interviewees) and when it was recognised that something that might be important for the research was not mentioned during the interview. Since 'the human mind forgets massively and quickly' (Lofland, 2004, p.232), it is important to take notes about the events and/or dialogues during the fieldwork in order to use the information gathered later on. In addition, notes were taken in the cases where participants further commented on the question while they were filling out the questionnaire.

5.5.1.3 Visual data

Photographs were taken in order to identify the houses and villages. Landscape photographs and photographs of both the exterior and interior of the houses were taken with the permission of the owners of the houses. In some cases, villagers and the inhabitants of the houses who were interviewed were photographed as well, with their permission.

5.5.2 Quantitative data

Quantitative data was collected via questionnaire. Data included personal and household information, information related to the current house and village, and the former house and village in southern Cyprus, and place attachment.

5.5.2.1 Questionnaire

Questionnaires were used in order to ask mainly closed questions, which have one word or one sentence answers (see Appendix II Survey Questionnaire). Different than the interviews, questionnaires were used to draw a bigger picture of the village by trying to approach as many people as possible (Figure 5.11).

General information regarding the house was investigated through questionnaires. Questions were directed at people to measure the existence and degree of attachment. These questions are called scale items or attachment items/scales. Questionnaires and scaling are the predominantly used methods in place attachment research (Williams and Roggenbuck, 1989; Williams, Patterson and Roggenbuck, 1992; Williams *et al.*, 1995; Williams and Vaske, 2003; Hernández *et al.*, 2007; Hidalgo and Hernández, 2001; Knez, 2005; Shamsuddin and Ujang, 2008; Kyle, Mowen and Tarrant, 2004; Kyle *et al.*, 2004; Lewicka, 2008; Brown, Perkins and Brown, 2003; Brown and Raymond, 2007).

When studies on place attachment and related concepts are examined in terms of the questions asked, it is found that some of these items/scales are used in various ways. For instance, in one study, one item might be used to investigate attachment, whereas in another study, the same item might be used to explore place identity. In their studies, Cuba and Hummon (1993) have measured the 'existence of a place identity' with the question 'Do you feel at home here?' (Cuba and Hummon, 1993, p.553), whereas Hidalgo and Hernández (2001) mention that this scale has been used as a measurement of place attachment in Kasarda and Janowitz's study (Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974, cited in Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001, p.275). Similar to this, Williams (2000), who has examined 61 potential place attachment items/scales and considers place identity and place dependence as two dimensions of place attachment, suggests 'This place means a lot to me' and 'I am very attached to this place' be used in order to indicate the degree of place identity. In contrast to this, Kyle, Mowen and Tarrant (2004) used these items to measure affective attachment, which they argue is one of the dimensions of place attachment.

In short, there are many similar terms to place attachment 'such that it is often difficult to tell whether we are talking about the same concept with a different name or different concepts' (Hidalgo and Hernández, 2001, p.273). As Lewicka (2008) states, little agreement exists on how to define and measure the bond between people and places, and the relationship between place attachment, place identity, sense of place and place dependence, and no agreement exists as to whether these concepts work for similar or different subjects. Yet in general, a five-point Likert scale is used to measure place attachment in the literature. This scale was used to measure attachment in this study as well, because it is the most frequently used method and is related to the aim and objectives of this study.

The other reason to use questionnaires was that questionnaires supplied statistical information so that the degree of place attachment could be measured and compared. In doing so, it was endeavoured to describe the general situation in the whole village and also to achieve an evaluation of the degree of attachment.

Research that has been completed on the subject of place attachment was reviewed and frequently used, and recommended items to measure place attachment were selected in concordance with the aim and objectives of the research. The items were taken from the above-mentioned studies and adopted for this research as follows.

The items which were selected for both locals and IDPs were:
- I am very attached to …
- This … means a lot to me
- … feels like home to me

The items which were selected for only IDPs were:

- I have been missing my birthplace

- If I had a chance I would prefer to live in …

- I feel that this is my house

Participants were asked to complete a questionnaire which mostly included closed questions and took around 15 minutes to complete. The questionnaire was composed of five parts. The first part was for obtaining personal and household information. The second part related to the current houses – ownership, length of residence, number of rooms and households, changes to the house and similar issues. The first two parts, consisting of closed questions, were common for both IDPs and locals. The third part was only for locals and contained questions about attachment and home. A five-point Likert scale was used in this part in order to measure attachment to the house and to the village. The last two parts were only for IDPs. The fourth part included closed questions about the length of residence in the south, the size of the former and current villages, and the existence of similarities between the two villages. The five-point Likert scale was used in the last part as well in order to measure the place attachment of IDPs.

Case Study Village	Number of Questionnaire Participants	Gender	Age range	Place of birth (northern or southern Cyprus)	IDPs/local
Village 1: Akçay/Argaki	72	45 females 27 males	16-88	27 north (1 in Akçay) 45 south	19 local 53 IDPs
Village 2: Akdeniz/Agia Eirini	93	66 females 27 males	16-82	87 north (46 in Akdeniz) 6 south	87 local 6 IDPs
Village 3: İncirli/Makrasyka	53	38 females 15 males	16-88	20 north (2 in İncirli) 33 south	20 local 33 IDPs
Village 4: Gönendere/Knodhara	84	44 females 40 males	16-91	84 north (48 in Gönendere)	84 local
TOTAL:	302				

Figure 5.11: General information about questionnaire survey participants.

5.6 Data analysis

5.6.1 Qualitative data

Data collected through interviews, which were in Turkish, were transcribed and analysed by using qualitative content analysis (including coding and categorisation), which is described as 'probably the most prevalent approach to the qualitative analysis of documents. It comprises a searching-out of underlying themes in the materials being analysed' (Bryman, 2008, p.529).

As Berg (2009) states, although there are different approaches to analysing qualitative data[6], there are common 'analytical activities arranged in a general order of sequence' (Berg, 2009, p.341). In line with this 'general order of sequence', the collected data is transcribed as text, and codes are systematically formed from the data and also by considering the literature of the subject (see Berg, 2009). Coding, which is identified as the 'starting point for most qualitative data analysis' (Bryman, 2008, p.550) helped to reduce the data and analytically categorise it into categories and themes (Neuman, 2000, p.421). Parallel to Saldaña's (2009) description of 'a code', code in this study is 'a word … that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of' a transcribed interview (Saldaña, 2009, p.3).

Codes from the transcriptions were developed first in Turkish and then translated into English. The types of codes used were descriptive codes and in vivo codes, which can be explained respectively as '(one word which) summarizes the primary topic of the excerpt' and 'code is taken from what the participant says and is placed in quotation marks' (ibid.). These codes also matched existing codes and terminologies which were explored during the literature review. Lastly, these codes were categorised under more general concepts. By considering the 'general order of sequence' as explained by Berg (2009), the similarities and differences between this study and previous studies were investigated through codes and categories (see Berg, 2009).

Quotations from the interviewees were used to illustrate the interviewees' explanations in detail and provide a further understanding of the related code. While doing this, the anonymity of the interviewees was preserved by using a system of coding established for this study. According to this, each case study village was given a code. In this respect, Akçay/Argaki is represented by AC, Akdeniz/Agia Eirini by AD, İncirli/Makrasyka by IN and Gönendere/Knodara by GN. These codes were then followed by the sequence number of the interviewee in the related village as one of all the participants, including the questionnaire survey participants. For instance, 'AC49, 63, F' represents a 63-year-old female interviewee from Akçay/Argaki.

The notes from the observations were used together with the photographs taken in the villages. As mentioned in data collection of observation and field notes (section 5.5.1.2), this was not a participant or structured observation. Therefore, it was not the aim to observe participants and behaviours, but to observe static data such as location, topography, housing (type, number of storeys, building materials, condition, etc.), public buildings (existence, usage and condition) in the form of written text in order to describe the characteristics of the village.

---

[6] He follows Miles and Huberman (1994) who suggest these approaches are interpretivism, social anthropology and collaborative social research.

5.6.2 Quantitative data

Quantitative data was gathered by questionnaire and analysed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). Descriptive statistics are used for the basic analysis. Cross tabulation is used in order to 'examine the relationship between two variables (usually nominal or ordinal) that have a small number of categories'. The cross tabulation table is utilised since it 'allows us to make some important observations about the relationship between' two or more variables (Miller *et al.*, 2002, p.127). Moreover, measures of association were inspected as this 'detects the strength of the association' (ibid., p.133) between the variables. Following these, cross tabulation was performed in this research in order to inspect the association between place attachment and displacement, length of residence, ownership, willingness to move, and age.

In addition, the chi-square test is performed to determine whether there is a statistically significant association between the variables and 'to draw conclusions about the population on the basis of our sample' (ibid., p.130). After this test, Phi and Cramer's V values are inspected in order to find out the strength of the association between the variables.

Since the fieldwork was mainly conducted during the daytime and working hours, predominantly females were available at home. For this reason, the number of male participants both in the interviews and questionnaires are almost half of the females. Considering this, one of the issues tackled in the analysis was to investigate whether there was a significant difference (or lack of it) between the male and female responses.

Methodological framework of the research is shown in Figure 5.12.
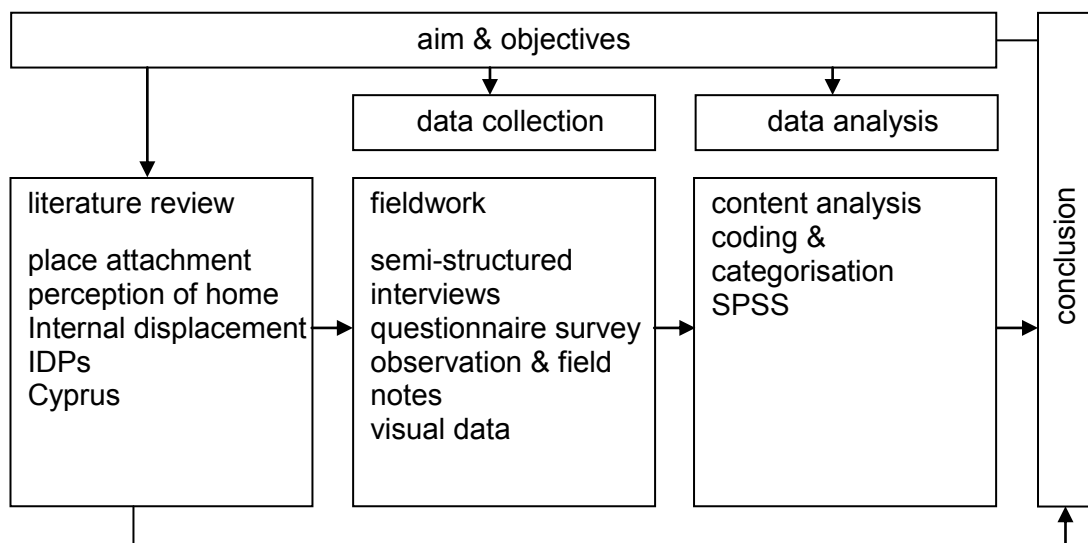
Figure 5.12: Methodological framework of the research.

5.7 Summary and conclusion

This research aims to critically examine the relationship between house, internal displacement, place attachment and perception of home. Research type, strategy, methods and methods of analysis were selected in consideration of the main aim and objectives of the study. The research is both qualitative and quantitative, and employs a case study strategy which focuses on Cyprus in general and on four rural settlements in northern Cyprus as case studies. Akçay/Argaki, Akdeniz/Agia Eirini, İncirli/Makrasyka and Gönendere/Knodara were selected as cases in order to explore place attachment and perception of home in relation to internal displacement. In order to do this, semi-structured interviews, questionnaire surveys, observations and field notes, and visual data were assigned as appropriate tools to explore the relevant issues. Moreover, content analysis including coding and categorisation were selected as methods for qualitative data analysis, whereas cross tabulation, the chi-square test and descriptive statistics were selected as methods for quantitative data analysis. The next chapter introduces Cyprus.

Chapter 6

Cyprus

Chapter 6: Cyprus

6.1 Introduction

Cyprus, specifically northern Cyprus, has been selected as the focus for this research. The history of Cyprus, why and how Turkish Cypriots became internally displaced, how the Turkish Cypriot Administration tackled the displacement and its consequences, and how the politics changed the lives of Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot communities throughout the years, even until recent times, is described. In doing so, it is intended to give background information about the changes which are believed to influence place attachment and perception of home of IDPs and therefore have implications for this study.

6.2 History of Cyprus and its internal displacement

6.2.1 Conflict and Internal Displacement

Cyprus is the third largest island in the Mediterranean basin after Sicily and Sardinia. Due to its geographical position it has received interest throughout its history and, therefore, the island has been ruled and inhabited by various civilisations: Hittites, Egyptians, Phoenicians, Assyrians, Persians, Romans, Arabs, Mamluks, Byzantines, Crusaders, Lusignans, Venetians, Ottomans, and the British (Gunnis, 1936; Sonyel, 1991), and its culture has been socially, politically, economically and religiously impacted by these civilisations (Sonyel, 1991). The Greek-speaking Christian population arrived in Cyprus around the 11th century BC, while the Turkish-speaking Muslim population arrived in 1571 with the Ottoman conquest (King and Ladbury, 1982; Bryant, 2010). In 1878, the island was rented to the British and by that time 75% of the ethnicity was Greek Cypriot, while 23% was Turkish Cypriot (Loizos, 1975) and the remaining were other minorities. As Bryant (2004, p.2) argues, it was during this time, in the transition period from Ottoman to British rule, that the estrangement and split on the island started because this transition was perceived as a chance for 'new freedoms' by the Cypriots.

During the British Administration, in 1914 when the Ottoman Empire entered World War I against Great Britain, Cyprus was annexed by the British Crown. In 1925 the island became a British Crown Colony (Gunnis, 1936) and stayed under British Administration until 1960. During the period of British Administration, Greek Cypriots wanted to unite the island with Greece; therefore, the armed struggle for independence from the British Administration and union with Greece, called 'enosis', began (Oberling, 1982; Durrell, 1957; Bryant, 2004; Dikomitis, 2012). According to Bryant (2004, p.2), the origins of the conflict date back to the '1878 transitions from Ottoman to British rule' and are related to the nationalism which transformed the 'Cypriot subjects' into 'nationalist citizens' (Bryant, 2004, p.22). A secret, armed movement EOKA (*Ethniki Organosi Kiprion Agoniston*, the National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters) was established in 1955 by the Greek Cypriot community to support the union (Bryant, 2010; Dikomitis, 2012). It was from that time onwards that the relationship between Turkish Cypriot

and Greek Cypriot communities started to change, since Greek Cypriots demanded the departure of Turkish Cypriots along with the British (Cockburn, 2004).

There were few differences between the villages and villagers of both communities except for the religious differentiations which included the presence of a mosque and a church, and different religious practices (Beckingham, 1957). People of both communities had the same occupations and used to dress in the same way (Beckingham, 1957). They used to live together side by side, work and socialise together, and share daily routines, yet all these started to deteriorate and communities started to fall apart when the political differentiations emerged (Bryant, 2010).

In order to counter EOKA, in 1957 the TMT (*Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı*, Turkish Resistance Organization) was established (Oberling, 1982) as 'the Turkish Cypriot armed organisation' (Dikomitis, 2012, p.8). They were supporting the idea of *taksim* – partition of the island into two, a Turkish and a Greek section which would provide two separate areas for separated communities 'if the island were to be joined to Greece' (Dikomitis, 2012, p.8). As a result of all these changes in political demands and as well as increasing tensions among the two communities, the first struggle started in 1958, which resulted in the first involuntary displacement of Turkish Cypriots (ibid.). With regard to this, from 1958 a few hundred Turkish Cypriots who felt threatened by Greek Cypriots left or were driven out of their homes, villages and quarters in the 33 mixed towns, where Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots were living together (Volkan, 1979; Kliot, 2007; Dikomitis, 2012). Some never returned, whilst some returned later (Volkan, 1979; Kliot, 2007; Dikomitis, 2012). As a result of the struggles, the London-Zurich Agreements were approved in 1959, and in accordance with these agreements, Cyprus became an independent country in 1960 as 'The Republic of Cyprus', with Greece, Turkey and the UK as guarantors (Oberling, 1982; Kliot and Mansfeld, 1994; Loizos, 2008; Dikomitis, 2012; UN, 2013). Greek Cypriot Archbishop Makarios became the President of the Republic, while Turkish Cypriot Dr Fazıl Küçük became the Vice President (King and Ladbury, 1982). By that time, the population distribution was '442,521 Greeks, 104,350 Turks, 3,628 Armenians, 2,708 Maronites, 502 Gypsies and 2,951 persons of various other ethnic origins' (Oberling, 1982, p.7).

The new Republic had a structure based on power-sharing with 70% Greek Cypriot and 30% Turkish Cypriot, in which the two main ethnic groups shared political power according to the proportion of the population of their communities (Bryant, 2010; Kliot and Mansfeld, 1994). Yet, as a result of the tensions between communities, the republic could not succeed and it collapsed in 1963 (Walker, 1984; Migdalovitz, 2005; UN, 2013). Considering the demands of both communities, one might conclude that this independent Republic of Cyprus was a constitution that 'no one had wanted or expected' (Bryant, 2010, p.10). Many Greek Cypriots, in particular, were not pleased with the power-sharing. Therefore, in 1963, some alterations in the

structure of the constitution, which would have effectively restricted the Turkish Cypriot's authority, were suggested by the Greek Cypriot President Makarios who, by doing so, attempted to end the displeasure of Greek Cypriots (Bryant, 2010). Consecutively, Turkish Cypriots withdrew from the Cypriot government and established their own administrative unit (King and Ladbury, 1982; Migdalovitz, 2005; Bryant, 2010). Bryant (2004, pp.217–246) argues that although 1974 (which is explained later in the chapter) is one of the milestones which changed the 'politics within each community', Turkish Cypriots' demand for 'respect' from Greek Cypriots (e.g. not to be treated as a minority) and Greek Cypriots' demand for 'justice' (e.g. union with Greece) are issues which started before 1974.

After the 1958 displacement, a second wave of Turkish Cypriot displacement occurred starting from the early 1960s until towards the end of the 1960s (Ladbury and King, 1988; Kliot and Mansfeld, 1994; Kliot, 2007; Sert, 2008; Bryant, 2010). 20,000 to 30,000 Turkish Cypriots were displaced from their homes in a total of 103 villages (Volkan, 1979; Sonyel, 1991; Kliot, 2007) when they heard about or experienced violence from Greek Cypriots within or near their villages and quarters (Patrick, 1976, cited in Dikomitis, 2012, p.10). These people moved, or were forced to move, as groups to larger and/or nearby Turkish villages and towns during the inter-communal violence of those years. They were protected by 'fighters', and 42 Turkish-controlled enclaves were formed where these IDPs lived until 1974 with the locals of those places (Patrick, 1976, cited in Dikomitis, 2012, p.10; Kliot and Mansfeld, 1994; Kliot, 2007).

In 1964, as a consequence of the tensions between the two communities, a UN peacekeeping force was sent to the island (Demetriou, 2007). 'By the end of 1964 the Greeks occupied 97 percent of the land; 18 percent of the population was thus confined to enclaves controlled by the Turks and surrounded by United Nations troops, with an outer circle of Greek soldiers' (Volkan, 1979, p.20). Mostly, Turkish Cypriots fled from their houses and villages without taking their belongings since they didn't have enough time to collect them or they expected to return within a few hours or a few months (Patrick, 1976, cited in Dikomitis, 2012, p.10; Fieldwork, 2010). Turkish Cypriots defined their departure as flight, although in some cases it was orderly, supervised by TMT representatives and escorted by British soldiers (Bryant, 2010; Fieldwork, 2010).

The displacement of Turkish Cypriots in total affected nearly 90% of the Turkish Cypriot community when about a quarter of the Turkish Cypriot population were displaced from mixed villages into villages settled only by Turkish Cypriots (Bryant, 2010). People who were displaced found refuge in their relatives' houses, some lived in the tents which had been built in the fields, and some stayed in the houses of Turkish Cypriots of the IDP receiving towns and villages, in the rooms or in some cases in the stables which were offered to them (Volkan, 1979; Bryant, 2010; Fieldwork, 2010). In addition to Turkish Cypriots, also some Greek Cypriots were displaced as a result of the conflict (see Patrick, 1976, cited in Kliot and Mansfeld, 1994, p.329).

One of the other significant outcomes of the tensions and violence in the early 1960s was the establishment in 1964 of the 'Green Line' in Lefkoşa/Lefkosia/Nicosia, which separates the two communities (King and Ladbury, 1982, p.3), as a result of the Green Line Agreement in December 1963, when British troops had been positioned in Nicosia before the establishment of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) (Henn, 2004, cited in Dikomitis, 2012, pp.59–60). 'The agreed neutral zone was delineated on a map by General Young using a green pencil; ever since this has been known as "the Green Line", a term that has passed into international usage to denote comparable territorial divides elsewhere' (Henn, 2004, cited in Dikomitis, 2012, pp.59–60).

'By early 1964, Turkish Cypriots had already begun to establish a state within a state, complete with its own bureaucracy, its own police, even its own post office and postage stamps' (Bryant, 2010, p.121). In 1967, the 'Provisional Turkish Cypriot Administration was founded' (Kliot and Mansfeld, 1994, p.333). With the easing of the struggle and the freedom of movement agreement, which was signed in 1968 by the leaders of both communities, Turkish Cypriots who used to live in the enclaves and had little or no access to their fields, started to go to their villages, to work in their fields and visit their houses during the daytime and return to the enclaves by sunset (Volkan, 1979; Bryant, 2010; Fieldwork, 2010). In addition, as a result of this agreement, 1,017 out of 25,000 IDPs returned to their villages (Volkan, 1979). Yet, when inter-communal talks started in 1968, some moved into refugee houses or what were locally referred to as *göçmen evleri* (migrants' houses) (Volkan, 1979; Fieldwork, 2010).

When Turkish Cypriot IDPs started to visit their villages, they observed some changes since their flight, particularly in their houses (Bryant, 2010; Fieldwork, 2010). Most of the villages and quarters which were abandoned by Turkish Cypriots were looted and demolished by Greek Cypriots (Sonyel, 1991; Bryant, 2010; Patrick, 1976, cited in Dikomitis, 2012, p.10). Bryant's (2010) Turkish Cypriot informants perceived this phenomenon 'as an attempt to destroy their roots there', and Greek Cypriot informants explained this as 'an attempt to prevent the Turks' return' (Bryant, 2010, p.98).

A few years later, in the early 1970s, EOKA B was formed by Greek Cypriots and started its activities with the support of the Greek junta government and military, since Greek Cypriots were not pleased that enosis was not yet realised (Bryant, 2010). These Greek nationalists led a coup in the summer of 1974 and overthrew Makarios (Walker, 1984; Bryant, 2010; Dikomitis, 2012) and a right-wing ex-EOKA fighter who was close to Greece was installed (King and Ladbury, 1982). Within days of this, in July 1974, Turkey intervened 'using its right as one of the guarantor states' (Kliot and Mansfeld, 1994, p.329; Kliot, 2007, p.59; Bryant, 2010, p.12) 'claiming the right to protect the Turkish Cypriot minority' (Walker, 1984, p.476) and, by the end of the second military action, in mid-August (King and Ladbury, 1982), took control of 37% of

the north of the island (Walker, 1984, p.476; Kliot and Mansfeld, 1994, p.329; Kliot, 2007, p.59; Dikomitis, 2012, p.8).

The outcome of Turkey's intervention in 1974 was massive internal displacement of both communities on the island – Turkish Cypriots fled to the north, while Greek Cypriots escaped to the south of Cyprus. When one researches the number of IDPs involved, one is faced with various numbers ranging from 40,000 to 65,000 Turkish Cypriots and 160,000 to 200,000 Greek Cypriots (Volkan, 1979; Zetter, 1981; Oberling, 1982; Kliot, 2007). No matter what the numbers are, the reality is that about one third of the island's population became IDPs – they evacuated their places of origin, and were forced to leave their homes, properties, fields/land/orchards, farms, jobs, and all their belongings and possessions (Zetter, 1981; Kliot and Mansfeld, 1994; Sert, 2008). As a consequence, village communities and families were torn apart, and people needed a long period of adaptation to their 'new' lives and new environments (Kliot and Mansfeld, 1994; Kliot, 2007; Fieldwork, 2010).

Moreover, the changes in the Green Line can be listed as another outcome of the 1974 events, since after this year it 'became a rigid partition line running across the middle of the island' under the control of the UN (Dikomitis, 2012, p.60). It is a 180 kilometres long militarised boundary which divides Nicosia, capital of Cyprus (ibid.). In September 1974, the UN buffer zone, which is controlled by the UN, was established. It runs from the west to the east of the island (ibid.) and is a 'no man's land' (Cockburn, 2004, p.3).

After the division and displacement, negotiations to create a federation failed, and in 1975 north Cyprus declared itself the 'Turkish Federated State of North Cyprus'. This was changed to the 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus' (TRNC) in 1983. However, this republic was only recognised by Turkey (Ladbury and King, 1988; Loizos, 2008; Bryant, 2010; Dikomitis, 2012).

6.2.2 Population exchange of both sides of the island

By June 1975, there were 10,500 Greek Cypriots left in the north and about 10,700 Turkish Cypriots in the south (Oberling, 1982). With regard to this, the representatives of both communities reached an agreement in August 1975, the Vienna III Agreement, which enabled the reunion of the families (UN, 1975; Gürel and Özersay, 2006a; Bryant, 2010) and was 'implemented in September 1975 under UN supervision' (Feyzioğlu and Ertekün, 1987, cited in Gürel and Özersay, 2006a, p.18). Turkish Cypriots interpreted this as a population exchange agreement like the 1923 Lausanne Exchange Treaty of Turkey and Greece (Gürel and Özersay, 2006a; Bryant, 2010), which was also part of the foundation of the Republic of Turkey that resulted in the exodus of about 1.3 million Orthodox Christians from Turkey to Greece and the flight of approximately half a million Muslims in the opposite direction (Cockburn, 2004; Bryant, 2010). Thus, Turkish Cypriots called this agreement '1975 Vienna Population Exchange Agreement' or the 'Voluntary Re-grouping of Population Agreement' (Gürel and Özersay,

2006a, p.18). According to this interpretation, the agreement allowed Turkish Cypriots who were in the south to proceed to the north, and Greek Cypriots who were in the north to move to the south, if they were willing to do so (Gürel and Özersay, 2006a; Bryant, 2010). Yet, Gürel and Özersay (2006a) evaluate this interpretation by Turkish Cypriots as 'one-sided and misguided' (Gürel and Özersay, 2006a, p.viii). Greek Cypriots refer to the agreement as the 'Vienna III (Humanitarian) Agreement', which, if implemented properly, 'would have allowed 20,000 Greek Cypriots and Maronites to stay and live a normal life' on the Karpasia peninsula and in the Maronite villages (Gürel and Özersay, 2006a, p.18).

Based on UN documents, Oberling (1982) explains that following the agreement, in 1975, 8,033 Turkish Cypriots left the south and only 130 stayed there, scattered in 22 villages, while 3,582, 5,828 and 910 Greek Cypriots left for the south from the north in 1975, 1976 and 1977, respectively, and in 1981 only 1,076 Greek Cypriots remained in the north, distributed in a few villages (Oberling, 1982, p.193). Later, by the early 1990s, this population had decreased to less than 500 and consisted mainly of old people (Gürel and Özersay, 2006a, p.4, p.18).

In addition, there were also Cypriots who left the island in those years as a consequence of all these changes. In this respect, approximately 23,000 left the island in 1974–1975 and 5,647 left in 1976 (Kliot, 2007). On the other hand, after the war of 1974, the Turkish Cypriot Administration offered the people from Turkey, who were in the military forces and fought during the war and the families of ones who had died in the war, to settle in the north of Cyprus (Volkan, 1979; Bryant, 2010). Moreover, according to an arrangement between the Turkish Cypriot Administration and Turkey, the Turkish government encouraged more settlers from Anatolia – peasants and farmers – to settle on the island in order to enhance Turkish power through repopulating the north of the island, to support the economy and also to prevent the possible return of Greek Cypriots (Volkan, 1979; Bryant, 2010). In this respect, according to Volkan (1979), at least 10,000 Turks from Turkey went to Cyprus, whereas Bryant (2010) explains that 25,000 citizenships were given to the Turkish settlers in the early years after the war (Volkan, 1979; Bryant, 2010).

6.2.3 Resettlement, property management, and housing the IDPs

The dates and process of displacement were different for the two communities. The displacement of Turkish Cypriots started in 1958 and ended in 1976, whereas the displacement of the Greek Cypriots had started and mostly finished in 1974 or in the following few years. Differently to the Greek Cypriots' one time displacement from the north, Turkish Cypriots who were living in the southern part of Cyprus were displaced twice (Kliot and Mansfeld, 1994; Sert, 2008; Dikomitis, 2012). Ultimately, the most significant problem appeared to be the resettlement and housing of these people and then property management. Similar to the distinctions in the dates and process of displacements, the resettlement methods, property management and housing distribution can be listed as other issues which differed between both communities after

the division (see Kliot, 2007). Some explain this as being due to the differentiation in perceptions, such as the Turkish Cypriot Administration perceiving the displacement as permanent while the Greek Cypriot Administration always emphasised the temporariness of the situation (Kliot and Mansfeld, 1994; Kliot, 2007; Bryant, 2010). Hence, these different perceptions led both administrations to follow different ways of dealing with the post-war situation and environment.

6.2.3.1 Resettlement

It is commonly explained that the displacement of Turkish Cypriot people, as a consequence of 1974, was organised by the Turkish Cypriot Administration and therefore this mainly enabled the preservation of the communities, whereas displacement of Greek Cypriots was a flight and therefore village communities were broken (Kliot, 2007, p.59).

The Turkish Cypriot Administration tried to resettle the village communities in the north according to the geographical/topographical features and similarity of the villages that they had fled from (Volkan, 1979; Kliot, 2007; Bryant, 2010; Fieldwork, 2010). Kliot and Mansfeld (1994, p.348) explained that in order to be able to find a village which resembled the one in the south, a survey which recorded the Turkish Cypriots' property in all villages was conducted in the 1960s. This resettlement was very much a success, since there were more evacuated villages in the north than the villages in the south (Volkan, 1979, p.123). In some cases it was found that the village representatives decided a village for resettlement and demanded it from the administration.

Although the administration tried to retain the community structure and village community, and placed IDPs from one village in the south into a same village in the north (Kliot, 2007), this was not achieved. There are many examples of a single village community from the south that was distributed to several villages in the north. In addition to this, there are also cases in which villages in the north are inhabited by more than one village community from the south and cases of villages where IDPs live with non-IDPs, locals. Considering these points, it can be argued that the plan for preserving the village communities and community structure as they used to be, did not completely succeed. Many families were scattered and many people started to live in a foreign environment with 'foreign' people.

Since Cypriots were living in mixed communities all over the island when Greek Cypriots fled to the south, there were empty or partially empty villages all over the north. Therefore, Turkish Cypriot IDPs were resettled all over the north 'homogeneously' (Kliot, 2007, p.64). Homogeneously here is thought to mean that IDPs were distributed all over the north rather than providing only one or a few particular areas for them.

After the division and resettlement of the Turkish Cypriot IDPs, there were some post-1974 changes to the landscape of the north, such as renaming villages – the names of the villages were replaced by Turkish names (King and Ladbury, 1982; Ladbury and King, 1988; Bryant, 2010). Although the names of all of the villages in the north completely changed after 1974, the giving of alternative Turkish names to the mixed and Turkish Cypriot villages started in 1957-1958 (Ladbury and King, 1988; PRIO Cyprus, 2011; Fieldwork, 2010; Dikomitis, 2012, p.214). This period also saw the building of monuments (see King and Ladbury, 1982; Ladbury and King, 1988), the reuse of churches, the transformation of some of the abandoned villages into military camps, the devastation of vernacular houses, and the abandoned houses of one community being demolished by members of the 'other' community (see Bryant, 2010; Fieldwork, 2010).

6.2.3.2 Housing and property distribution

The Turkish Cypriot Administration used 'the large inventory of Greek Cypriot property' for the resettlement (Kliot, 2007, p.63). Housing the IDPs in the north mainly depended on the availability of abandoned houses of Greek Cypriots. The houses and land of Greek Cypriots who had to leave for the southern half of the island were allocated to the Turkish Cypriot IDPs.

Abandoned houses were mainly distributed through a lottery in each village (Bryant, 2010; Fieldwork, 2010). A guide, or what locally is called *rehber/kılavuz*, was allocated by the Turkish Cypriot Administration to where IDPs were placed in order to organise and guide the resettlement process. A guide was given a house for himself in the village to which he was sent (Volkan, 1979; Fieldwork, 2010). All the abandoned houses in a village were listed and categorised according to their value and given a name in the form of letters and numbers written on a card. Then, separate sacks were supplied according to these categories and category names for the purpose of the lottery. IDPs were asked to pick a card from one of these sacks, according to the value of their property left in the south, and thus to 'select their future home'.

However, this did not always happen as expected and as planned. In some mixed villages locals of that village settled in some of the Greek Cypriots' houses until Turkish Cypriot IDPs arrived. In some cases IDPs were brought to the villages in different waves. In some of these cases the first arrivals were resettled into the houses that they had selected and those who came after were resettled into the remaining houses. Moreover, some ignored the lottery and found a house that they liked and resettled themselves there (Bryant, 2010; Fieldwork, 2010).

Turkish Cypriot IDPs could not take their possessions with them or could only bring a limited number of items. Since the Greek Cypriots were escaping from their homes they could not take their possessions either. When Turkish soldiers, the Turkish Cypriot Administration or Turkish Cypriot IDPs arrived at the abandoned villages, there was furniture inside the houses. This furniture was put into storage, and it was the responsibility of the guide to distribute it among the

Turkish Cypriot IDPs according to their needs (Volkan, 1979, p.123; Fieldwork, 2010). In some cases, Turkish Cypriots found furniture inside the house in which they resettled, while in some cases it was stated that the houses were looted.

The unfair distribution of property was a common complaint at the time, and therefore the administration established a point system: ' "exchange points" (*eşdeğer puanları*) for those who had left property in the south and "fighter's points" (*mücahit puanları*) for those who had fought' (Bryant, 2010, p.123, p.125). These points could be 'bought or sold' and 'donated' (Gürel and Özersay, 2006a, p.14). As Sert (2008) explains, the Law for Housing, Allocation of Land, and Property of Equal Value (Law No. 41/1977) *(İskan, Topraklandırma ve Eşdeğer Mal Yasası)* considered Greek Cypriots' houses and land in the north as 'abandoned'. Sert continues that:

> the Turkish Cypriot administration adopted an exchange system based on points in their management, which was based on the assumption that the 'abandoned' lands in the North and South were equal in value. The administration allowed Turkish Cypriot owners to apply for and receive 'abandoned' property in the north in exchange for the property that they left behind in the south, based on the condition that the owners agreed to assign all rights relating to their properties in the south to the Turkish Cypriot administration (Sert, 2008, p.177).

Points were granted to IDPs 'who left properties in the south', Turkish Cypriots who fought during the war, 'closest relatives of martyrs or victims of the events of 1963-74', 'members of the Turkish forces who fought in the 1974 war and, having received citizenship, settled on the island', and 'veteran soldiers disabled during fighting' (Gürel and Özersay, 2006a, p.14). In addition, 'immigrants from Turkey who were settled in northern Cyprus as an agricultural force in 1975-81 were allowed to purchase "points" at a nominal rate from the government' (Gürel and Özersay, 2006a, p.14).

Furthermore, a family was directly supplied a property if they had lost someone (Bryant, 2010). Moreover, some houses and properties were simply distributed among the Turkish people who fought in the war, the families of the ones who died in the war (Volkan, 1979), and peasants and farmers from Turkey who settled on the island after 1974 (Bryant, 2010). Title deeds started to be delivered by the government in 1995 to everyone who was living in the 'Greek Cypriots' houses' (Bryant, 2010). They were given to everyone regardless of whether they had had property in the south.

Even in 2010, during the fieldwork of this study, although some interviewees agreed that they own the Greek Cypriot houses as they have the title deeds which they obtained according to the points that they had, they also complained about the injustice of the distribution of the houses, land, etc. According to some IDPs, they received less in comparison with what they left in the

south, while according to some of the locals, IDPs received valuable properties in the north in comparison with the less valuable or ordinary properties that they had left in the south.

6.2.4 'Developments' until 2003

The de facto Turkish area declared its independence and the formation of the TRNC in 1983 as a result of the failure of federation establishment (Gürel and Özersay, 2006a; Bryant, 2010). Following this, the UN Security Council declared this statement of the north as 'legally invalid' (Dodd, 2004, p.5; Gürel and Özersay, 2006a, p.13) and 'called upon all states "not to recognise any Cypriot state other than the Republic of Cyprus" ' (Dodd, 2004, p.5). Therefore, the new republic which was established in the north has been only recognised by Turkey (Bryant, 2010, p.14).

One of the significant outcomes of this situation has been the growth of economic differentiation between the two communities. Greek Cypriots 'enjoyed the benefits of recognition and so began to prosper' in the long term, while Turkish Cypriots 'live in an unrecognized state that has been hampered by various forms of isolation and exclusion, including restrictions on trade and travel' (Bryant, 2010, p.14).

With the establishment of a new republic and system that was put into action, a significant change occurred in the property situation in the north. At the time when the properties were distributed, people were only able to occupy the properties which had been allocated to them and, therefore, they were not able to sell or rent the property (Sert, 2010). However, afterwards, in 1984, the new Turkish Cypriot government began to distribute a deed, *kesin tasarruf*, and gave complete ownership to the ones 'who presented title deeds for equivalent land in the south' and therefore had allocated properties in the north, and allowed them to transfer the property to their children and, most importantly, to sell the property (Bryant, 2010, p.136; Sert, 2010).

Moreover, in 1993, *yükümlü koçan*, another type of title deed, which 'could be gained through adding up other sorts of points, not only exchange points but also "fighter's points" ', was distributed, and this allowed those who did not have enough exchange points for the property in the north to add various points together and achieve the necessary value for the property (Bryant, 2010, p.136). Furthermore, in 1995, everyone who lived in Greek Cypriot homes, including Turkish settlers and Turkish Cypriots who had no property left in the south were permitted to receive title deeds for a small fee (Bryant, 2010). All these changes, from occupation to ownership, and the rights that have been given to the ones which were allocated Greek Cypriot property afterwards caused multiple ownership claims on the same property since selling the property to third parties had been allowed (Sert, 2010). When people started to sell the properties, mainly to property developers, this led to a 'flood of new properties on the real estate market' (Bryant, 2010, p.136).

In this respect, Titina Loizidou's case, a Greek Cypriot IDP, is a well-known case and clearly explains the problems that occurred with the changes of property management. A Turkish Cypriot who received the title deed of Loizidou's property sold the property to a developer and this developer built villas on this property, of which one was bought by a British couple with a title deed supplied by the TRNC. Loizidou, who had the title deed of the same property from the Republic of Cyprus as the only internationally recognised entity on the island, opened a law case in the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) (Sert, 2010, pp.247–248). In 1996, the ECHR accepted Titina Loizidou's claim, which had been ongoing during the title deed distribution of the Turkish Cypriot Administration, 'that the Turkish army had illegally prevented her from returning to her home' and the result was that Turkey should pay compensation (Bryant, 2010, p.136). In 2001, Turkey decided 'it would have to pay the compensation as part of its EU [European Union] accession bid' (Bryant, 2010, p.144) and in 2003, 'Turkey paid damages of 1.2 million euros to Ms. Loizidou' (Sert, 2010, p.248).

This case became a turning point, and in 2003 the 'Property Commission' was founded by the Turkish Cypriot Administration in order to prevent similar cases (Sert, 2010, p.248). The Commission allowed 'Greek Cypriots and other "foreigners" or owners of "abandoned property" ' to apply for compensation or exchange of property, and also for restitution which has been included as a consequence of the ECHR's decision (ibid.).

6.3 A historic event: the border opening

On 4 July 1990, the Republic of Cyprus applied for European Community (EC) membership (Dodd, 2004; Migdalovitz, 2005) and subsequently in 1999 'UN talks reopened on the status of Cyprus' (Loizos, 2008, p.200). Hence, in November 2002, the first draft plan for resettlement was produced by the UN Secretary-General (Dodd, 2004).

In the meantime, beginning in the early 2000s, a considerable number of Turkish Cypriots started to demonstrate and to rebel against the long-term leader and afterwards long-time president of the TRNC, Rauf R Denktash. They particularly objected to his attitude in the negotiations (Papadakis, 2005; Demetriou, 2007; Dikomitis, 2012) in pursuit of a solution to the 'Cyprus Problem' and subsequent reunification of the island and peace with the Greek Cypriots, democracy and entry into the EU (Demetriou, 2007; Loizos, 2008). These political developments, the 'internal climate in the TRNC and the role of the EU triggered' (Dikomitis, 2012, p.9) the Turkish Cypriot Administration to partially relax restrictions at the Green Line in Nicosia on 23 April 2003.

It was the first time since 1974 that people from the two communities were able to cross the border and 'visit' the other half of the island – 'the other side' as it is locally referred to – particularly their 'former' villages and houses.

Besides this, it was also the first time since 1974 that the people of the two communities encountered each other. Between 1974 and 2003, it was hard for Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots to have face-to-face meetings without special provisions (Loizos, 2008). Therefore, most of the Cypriots 'never had contact with the ethnic "Other" ' (Dikomitis, 2012, p.9). They could only meet at the events which were organised by 'bi-communal peace groups, groups of teachers, of journalists, and other professional and artisanal groups, sometimes arranged by the trade unions, sometimes by peace activists' (Loizos, 2008, p.65). They could either meet in the buffer zone or at a specific location on either side of the island if they were able to get permission from the UN and the administrations of both sides (Demetriou, 2007).

For the Cypriots who were born after 1974, this had a different meaning to those who were born before 1974. For the former, it was the first time in their life that they saw the other half of their country, and wandered around in the streets which they had only heard about from their families, and it was also the first time they encountered a Turkish Cypriot for Greek Cypriots and a Greek Cypriot for Turkish Cypriots.

Although there is a common saying that the 'border was opened' in Cyprus, or as locally referred to, the 'gates were opened', this does not mean that the border has been removed or destroyed completely. The border restrictions were only partially released. The first checkpoint which was opened was the one in the divided capital Nicosia – the Ledra Palace checkpoint. After this one, several checkpoints were opened along various points of the Green Line at different intervals, and by the end of 2010 the number of checkpoints was seven (Dikomitis, 2012).

At the time, the opening of the checkpoint in Nicosia was compared to the demolition of the Berlin Wall by the international media (Dikomitis, 2012). Dikomitis (2012) explains that even though there might be similarities it is not the same, since in the Cyprus case only the restrictions at the border were reduced, while the country stayed divided. Besides, in the early days of the opening, people who wanted to cross to the other side were not allowed to stay there. It was only a one-day trip and people had to show their passports or identity cards at the checkpoints, fill in a form and get approval for crossing. Moreover, she adds another difference by pointing out that not everyone was able to benefit from the new procedures at the border, as Turkish settlers were not allowed to cross to the south (Dikomitis, 2012). Turkish settlers or Turks were, and still are, only allowed to cross if they are married to a Turkish Cypriot and have TRNC citizenship.

'During the first momentous days after the border opened on 23 April 2003, the United Nations' soldiers were barely able to manage the crowds waiting to cross' (Dikomitis, 2012, p.61). People were waiting in the queues for long hours in order to be able to cross (Loizos, 2008). There were journalists with cameras everywhere at the Ledra Palace checkpoint on the streets

trying to record Cypriots on both sides and do interviews with them. 'It was a euphoric moment, one filled with tears of return to lost homes and the laughter of reunions … many Cypriots revelled in the simple freedom of being able to stroll in streets that had long been forbidden to them' (Bryant, 2010, p.1).

Opposite to the people who were willing to cross to the other side and did so, there was also a group of Cypriots who refused to cross (see Dikomitis, 2004, 2005, 2012). In comparison to Greek Cypriots, 'Turkish Cypriots … seem to have fewer problems with crossing the border but some also feel ambivalent' (Dikomitis, 2012, p.121). (For Greek Cypriot perception and behaviour of crossing, see Dikomitis, 2004, 2005, 2012; Demetriou, 2007; Loizos, 2008; Bryant, 2010.) Mainly political reasons have been pointed out for the refusal to cross (Dikomitis, 2005; Demetriou, 2007; Fieldwork, 2010). Although some parents do not cross, their children cross without hesitation.

In contrast to the people who reject crossing, there have been thousands of people from both communities, both IDPs and non-IDPs, who embrace it. When attitudes to crossing of Turkish Cypriots are considered, it is seen that although the reasons are mainly similar to the Greek Cypriots, such as to visit their villages and homes and the other half of the island (Loizos, 2008), for ' "everyday activities" across the border: shopping, going for day trips, going to the beach, eating out and meeting with their old and new Turkish Cypriot friends' (Dikomitis, 2005, p.10) and attending weddings (Dikomitis, 2005) and visiting religious places, there are also distinctions. It is stated that more Turkish Cypriots crossed and cross to the south than Greek Cypriots crossed and cross to the north, and the reason behind this has shown to be the Turkish Cypriots who work in the south (Dikomitis, 2012). In addition to this it can be argued that one of the other significant impacts is the application of Turkish Cypriots to the Republic of Cyprus to obtain identity cards, passports and driving licences.

Turkish Cypriots, both IDPs and non-IDPs, who cross to the south are mainly going to the south for economic, educational and social reasons. Therefore, they go to the south to work, shop, study, receive medical care, and for leisure (Dikomitis, 2012). Although shopping in the south is much more expensive than it is in the north, shopping in general and supermarket shopping in particular is very common among Turkish Cypriots since most of the European brands are available in the south and not in the north (Dikomitis, 2012). A common criticism of Turkish Cypriots who do not support the idea of shopping in the south emerged as 'go and give the/your money to the Greek', which then also became a kind of teasing among people.

Turkish Cypriot IDPs are also different to the Greek Cypriot IDPs regarding their crossing behaviour. Turkish Cypriot IDPs do not visit their former places of residence every time they go to the south. Instead, they try to visit different places and also tourist destinations (Fieldwork, 2010; Dikomitis, 2012). Considering this, Dikomitis (2012) argues that Turkish Cypriot IDPs 'are

more "tourists" than "pilgrims" ' (Dikomitis, 2012, p.115). Although there are still people who have not been on 'the other side' for various reasons, it can be said that for the crossers 'the border has become part of their everyday lives' (Dikomitis, 2005, p.10).

The most emotional moments, excitement, happiness and disappointment were experienced when IDPs 'visited' their villages and homes. Some were crying when they could not find their homes, some were crying when they found their homes. IDPs who were 'lucky' enough to find their villages and their homes standing, commonly explained their first perceptions were that the village and particularly their homes 'became small' (see Loizos, 2008 and Bryant, 2010 for Greek Cypriot IDPs). Great disappointment and shock were experienced by the ones who could not find their villages and homes at all and when they saw that their orchards, vineyard and trees had been cut down (Loizos, 2008, p.82; Fieldwork, 2010). In addition, some IDPs mentioned that they could not recognise the village since it had been developed (for Greek Cypriot IDPs' perspective of the 'visits' to home see Papadakis, 2005; Loizos, 2008; Bryant, 2010; Dikomitis, 2004, 2005, 2012). For IDPs of both communities 'the shift from the imagined village to the actual village' became 'a very intense and moving experience' (Dikomitis, 2004, p.19) since the return was not an actual return and reconnection with the past, rather a realisation that what is familiar had become foreign (Cockburn, 2004).

Many Turkish Cypriots referred to Greek Cypriots who came to visit 'their homes' with family and friends as landlord/'house owner' (*ev sahibi*). They explained that as a result of the visits of 'the house owners' confusion of their perceptions arose: 'they came to my home' … 'this is their home'. In this respect, two significant questions have emerged: ' *"To whom does this house belong?"* but perhaps more importantly, *"Who belongs in this house?"* ' (Bryant, 2010, p.33).

6.4 The Annan Plan, referendum and outcome of the reunification vote

On the 24 April 2004, the Annan Plan, the recent reunification plan for the island, which was named after the seventh Secretary-General of the UN, serving from 1997 until 2006 (UN, 2012) Kofi A Annan, was proposed for a referendum. 'The plan took all previous negotiations and previous concerns and produced what most observers considered to be a true compromise: a bizonal, bicommunal federal government and a mechanism for settling property claims related to the island's division' (Bryant, 2010, p.23).

The President of the Republic of Cyprus, Tasos Papadopoulos, in the south, and president of the TRNC, Rauf Denktash, in the north, were both against the plan and directed their people also to reject it (Papadakis, 2005; Bryant, 2010). Political parties, NGOs and the community on both sides supporting ideas about either rejection or acceptance demonstrated until referendum day with campaigns which are commonly referred to as 'yes' and 'no' campaigns. When the time came, Greek Cypriots rejected the plan with 76% voting against, whilst Turkish Cypriots

approved it and voted in favour with 65% (Migdalovitz, 2005; Papadakis, 2005; Loizos, 2008; Bryant, 2010; Dikomitis, 2012).

One of the most effective reasons for Turkish Cypriots to vote in favour of the plan is to end the economic and political isolation with reunification and EU membership (see Bahcheli, 2004; Dodd, 2004; Papadakis, 2005; Gürel and Özersay, 2006a). Moreover, with EU membership they 'diminish their heavy dependence on Turkey, and thereby reduce Ankara's influence in the Turkish community' (Bahcheli, 2004, p.58), and it enables them 'to join the system of international law' (Gürel and Özersay, 2006a, p.30) and 'ensure peace and safety' (Bryant, 2004, p.1). Different to this, one of the most significant issues for Greek Cypriots to vote against the plan is related to property issues (for more detail and more reasons see Bahcheli, 2004; Dodd, 2004; Gürel and Özersay, 2006a; Loizos, 2008; Bryant, 2010; Sert, 2010). They have been guaranteed by their leaders that all of them will return to their properties, but contrary to this, the plan allowed only a limited number to return (Loizos, 2008; Bryant, 2010; Alexiou *et al.*, 2003). Gürel and Özersay (2006a) argue that, according to Greek Cypriots, to create the Turkish state in the north with 'bizonality' is an attempt 'to legitimize the demographic change on the island' which occurred after 1974 and is an attempt to change the 'Greekness' of the island, in the north, to Turkish, and all these are related to politics (Gürel and Özersay, 2006a, p.22, p.33). But, what they demand is 'respect for human rights', which according to them 'means that all displaced persons should have the right to return to their homes and properties' (Gürel and Özersay, 2006b, p.350), contrary to the 'global exchange and compensation' opinion of Turkish Cypriots (Gürel and Özersay, 2006b, p.356). On the other hand, 'bizonality' is the main concern for Turkish Cypriots in order to establish a 'safe Turkish zone' (after returning some territory to Greek Cypriots) as a consequence of the conflict years (Gürel and Özersay, 2006b, p.357). In addition, Greek Cypriots demanded the return of Turkish settlers to Turkey (Dodd, 2004) and removal of all Turkish forces from the island (Bahcheli, 2004; Dodd, 2004). Moreover, Greek Cypriots were not concerned about voting for reasons of obtaining EU membership because they, the Republic of Cyprus, were going to join soon and this would have enable them to struggle for the property issue 'in much better conditions' (Gürel and Özersay, 2006a, p.31). Therefore, these requirements impacted the outcome of the referendum voting of the two communities.

In addition, the border opening had a significant impact on the referendum (see Papadakis, 2005, p.300; Loizos, 2008, p.83; Bryant, 2010, pp.3–4, p.61). When IDPs started to visit 'the other side' and observed the changes to the landscape in general and in their villages in particular, they found 'strangers' living in their homes and that their homes had become a home for those people as well. They observed the changes to their homes, properties, and even the ones who wanted to return got confused (Papadakis, 2005; Loizos, 2008; Bryant, 2010).

Furthermore, one of the dramatic impacts of the Annan Plan on the northern part of the island was a construction boom which was directly related to the property issue. According to the plan,

if a Turkish Cypriot had made 'significant improvements' to the property, whether on the house or on an empty plot, i.e. they had spent more on the property than it was worth in 1974, then s/he was allowed to keep the property and not return it to its Greek Cypriot owner if the latter did not want to pay for the development (see Dodd, 2004, p.47; Loizos, 2008, p.86; Bryant, 2010, p.137; Alexiou *et al.*, 2003). Therefore, Turkish Cypriots started to develop the houses or build new houses, more commonly housing complexes composed of villas in order to be able to keep the properties which were subsequently mainly purchased by foreigners, especially the British (see Dodd, 2004, p.47; Bryant, 2010, p.137).

A week after the referendum, on 1 May 2004, The Republic of Cyprus, the southern part, joined the EU despite the fact that the 'Cyprus Problem' remained unsolved (Loizos, 2008; Dikomitis, 2012). The island remained divided and the TRNC in the northern part of the island 'would only be acknowledged in Europe as "the areas not controlled by the government of Cyprus". The ceasefire line that divides the island effectively became Europe's border' (Bryant, 2010, pp.1–2).

One of the negative outcomes of this situation is the increase in the 'inequalities that already existed between the two sides' (Bryant, 2010, p.14). Moreover, another can be listed as the lawsuits regarding the property issues which some Greek Cypriots opened 'against foreigners and Turkish Cypriots for use of their property in the north, using the open checkpoints to deliver summonses' (Bryant, 2010, p.129, pp.172–173).

The border opening provide a milieu to create new contacts and also to meet old ones between the two communities, which indicated the existence of friendship despite the fact that both communities had been isolated from each other for decades and experienced the provocation of violence by nationalist politics (Bryant, 2004). However, the outcome of the reunification vote shows that 'contact does not automatically or necessarily produce reconciliation' (Bryant, 2004, p.249), at least within a single year, which can be evaluated as a short period of time after the long separation. At this point, Bryant (2004, p.252) suggests that 'the neighbourliness that has survived three decades of separation … can now be put into political action'.

4 years after the referendum, 'early in 2008 a new set of peace negotiations began in Cyprus' (Sert, 2010, p.238). Without a doubt one of the most difficult and problematic issues has been and still is the property of IDPs (Gürel and Özersay, 2006a; Sert, 2010) since both communities have 'completely contrasting views' on the subject (Sert, 2010, p.239). Both communities have different claims for the same property as a result of the long displacement (Sert, 2010). As Gürel and Özersay (2006a) claim, Turkish Cypriots linked the issue to 'bizonality', while Greek Cypriots related it to 'respect for human rights' (Gürel and Özersay, 2006a, p.vii). They indicate that 'the political implication of this conclusion is to be found within the larger argument that the only possible *mutually agreed* solution to the problem is a compromise between the two positions' (Gürel and Özersay, 2006a, p.ix).

6.5 Conclusions and implications of these 'developments' for this study

To conclude, since 1974, Cyprus is de facto divided in two (Walker, 1984). The total population of the island is 1,120,489 (July 2011 est.). 77% of this population is Greek, whereas 18% is Turkish and 5% are 'other' (2001) (CIA, 2013). The population of northern Cyprus, according to the 2006 population census, is de facto 265,100 and de jure 256,644 (Devplan, 2011). IDPs, both Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots, are still living away from their places of origin, predominantly in the houses which were once inhabited by 'the other' displaced people, and the 'Cyprus Problem' is still ongoing. Although there is no limit to length of stay on the other half of the divide, people still have to show their identification cards at the border checkpoints (there is a Turkish Cypriot checkpoint on the north side of the buffer zone and a Greek Cypriot checkpoint on the south side), get approval and get recorded on the computer system at both of the points every time they cross. The leaders of both communities keep changing, negotiations are ongoing, and Cypriots follow politics as part of their daily life.

This study was conducted in 2010, 7 years after the border opening and 6 years after the referendum. Population exchange between the two sides right after the division, followed by the establishment of the new republic in the north and the distribution of title deeds for the Greek Cypriots' properties to their new inhabitants as a replacement for the properties they (the Turkish Cypriots) had left in the south, and the long-standing deadlock in the 'Cyprus Problem' have all had their impacts on the feelings of people towards both their former and current places of residence. The informants in this study have also experienced rejection of the Annan Plan. This rejection created disappointment and a decrease in belief for a successful reunification. Because of the opening of the border, throughout the time leading up to the study fieldwork, many IDPs visited their villages and homes in the south and acquired an idea about them. In some cases they observed that there were no more houses and in some cases no villages at all. Many also encountered the Greek Cypriots who currently live in, and own, their former houses. When the Greek Cypriot owners of the houses visited their homes in the north, the current Turkish Cypriot inhabitants of the houses faced concerns about ownership after many years.

Considering these points, without a doubt, one might conclude that they have all influenced the perception of people towards their previous and current places of residence. But, how this perception changed and shaped cannot be measured in this research since there is no evidence/records of their perception before these developments. This study only records the feelings and perceptions of the people at the particular time that the study was conducted. The case study villages which were selected for this study are introduced next.

Chapter 7

Case Study Villages

Chapter 7: Case Study Villages

7.1 Introduction

Four rural settlements located in northern Cyprus were chosen to be case study villages within the case of Cyprus. The four case study villages selected for this research, Akçay-Argaca/Argaki,[7] Akdeniz-Ayrini/Agia Eirini, İncirli-Magrasiga/Makrasyka, Gönendere-Gonedra/Knodara, can be distinguished by their diverse histories. It is the aim of this chapter to shed light on these histories and provide background information about the villages. Information presented here is the combination of the literature review on these villages and data gathered during fieldwork. Each village has been described individually by presenting information concerning its location, history, demography, livelihoods in the village, housing, public buildings, the paths of displacement, and social structure.

7.2 Case study villages

The four case study villages are located in different parts of northern Cyprus (Figure 7.1). Two of them are situated near the Green Line, whereas the other two are situated away from it. The two that are closer to the Green Line are inhabited by IDPs, while the other two are settled by locals.

Village 1: Akçay-Argaca/Argaki is located in the north-west of the island in Güzelyurt/Morphou county. It used to be a mixed village with Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots. Now it has been settled by local Turkish Cypriots and, mainly, Turkish Cypriot IDPs.

Village 2: Akdeniz-Ayrini/Agia Eirini is located in the north-east of the island within the Girne/Kyrenia district. Similar to Akçay/Argaki it used to be a mixed village before the division. Yet, differently to Akçay/Argaki, it is now only settled by local Turkish Cypriots.

Village 3: İncirli-Magrasiga/Makrasyka is situated in the eastern part of the island in the Mağusa/Famagusta district. It was a wholly Greek Cypriot settlement until the division of the island, whereas now it is mainly inhabited by Turkish Cypriot IDPs and Turkish migrants.

Village 4: Gönendere-Gonedra/Knodara is in the north-east of the island in the Mağusa/Famagusta district. This village used to be an entirely Turkish Cypriot village before the division, and it still is.

---

[7] Villages are identified here by both their current Turkish name (the former name used by Turkish Cypriots before the names of the villages were changed by the Turkish Cypriot Administration) and Greek names, respectively. However, this will not be repeated later in the chapter.

Figure 7.1: Location of the case study villages.

7.2.1 Village 1: Akçay/Argaki

Akçay/Argaki is a village situated in the north-west of the island in an area with flat topography (Figure 7.2). 'Sixteenth century maps of Cyprus suggest there has been a village called Argaki in Cypriot Greek [Turkish: Akçay] three miles east of Morphou at the Western end of the Mesaoria plain in Cyprus' (Pipis, 2000, cited in Loizos, 2008, p.13). It is within the boundaries of Güzelyurt/Morphou county, which has a reputation throughout the island for its water, and is connected to the Municipality of Güzelyurt. 'Argaki means "small stream" in Greek. Turkish Cypriots changed the name to Akçay in 1975, meaning "small white stream" ' (PRIO Cyprus, 2011). The livelihood of the villagers is mainly based on animal breeding, citrus orchards and husbandry, with three quarters of the people earning their living from animal breeding. Interestingly, vegetable growing is not allowed because of water paucity, yet, according to the local authorities, artichoke cultivation exists. However, it has to be added that because of general problems in the country and the economic crisis, all of these livelihoods are in a precarious situation. Apart from these livelihoods, there are self-employed people and people who work in government jobs both in the nearest county Güzelyurt/Morphou and also in the capital, Lefkoşa/Lefkosia/Nicosia.

Figure 7.2: A view of Akçay/Argaki.

Peter Loizos (2008, p.13) describes the changes that occurred in the village throughout his visits:

> The village was growing and prospered economically for much of the twentieth century, particularly since it started to exploit the underground water supplies beneath the plain, to cultivate the rich alluvial soil with tractors, and to market its produce first in the growing towns of the island, and later overseas. Farming changed gradually in the twentieth century from winter rain-fed crops, cereals, cumin, and livestock – pigs, sheep and goats – to irrigated citrus orchards, potatoes, carrots, beetroots, and in summer, *baticha*, water melons with shiny dark green skins, and refreshing crimson flesh. The dun mudbrick houses were replaced with red kiln-baked brick constructions, and most people stopped keeping the larger animals, although there were still some dedicated shepherds.

According to the 2006 Population and Housing Unit Census (Devplan, 2011), the population of the village was 1,033 (de jure and 1,085 de facto) and the number of houses was 316. During the fieldwork, in 2010, 320 houses were in the village and the population was 1,000 (Fieldwork, 2010).

The field study carried out in 1968 by Loizos (1981) designated three types of house. The first type was 'a single dwelling unit made almost entirely of dun-brown mud bricks' and 'simple mud-brick houses arranged in a more complicated way, with an upper storey, or several rooms around a single entrance'. The second type was mud-brick houses with a 'smooth coat of plaster' which 'consisted of four rooms around a central 'hall'. It is explained that this second type arose in the 1940s when 'the villagers had become a little wealthier'. Moreover, starting from the mid-1960s, modern looking red-fired brick houses were built, which were evaluated as the third 'generation' of village house. One variation of this type is described as having 'a sloping red-tiled roof, but was rather four-square and box-like. The more attractive and expensive type was oblong, with a stylish flat roof, like other Mediterranean house-styles, and its finish was in smooth white, not red, bricks' (Loizos, 1981, pp.17–19).[8]

---

[8] See Loizos (1981) for a detailed description of the housing types during that period.

When housing is considered in Akçay/Argaki today, with a broad classification, three different types of house exist. Firstly, the oldest type are mud-brick houses (Figure 7.3), which were once the only type found on this flatland topography, although sometimes stone was incorporated depending on the availability of the material. Generally, these houses are single storey but there are some double-storey exceptions. Due to the type of earth in this region, the colour of the mud-bricks is red instead of the prevalent light brown elsewhere, although few examples showing this remain. Existing mud-bricks are mostly coated with render and/or painted. This type of house generally has a gable roof with shallow slopes, covered in terracotta roof tiles. However, those which have undergone maintenance might have had the terracotta tiles replaced by Marseille tiles. According to the local authority, most of the mud-brick houses were evaluated as dangerous and were demolished, as they were partially ruined and in danger of collapse. Of those remaining, some are used for storage, whereas the rest are inhabited.

Figure 7.3: Examples of traditional mud-brick houses, Akçay/Argaki.

The second type is the concrete house, which is the prevalent type throughout the village since the decay of the mud-brick houses (Figure 7.4). Construction of these 'modern' houses dates back to the 1960s. Broadly speaking, this type has a square plan, in some cases an L-shaped plan, with a gable, hip roof or flat roof, and can sometimes be double storey. Double-storey houses are mostly located in the village square, where in some cases ground floors are used for public facilities such as a market or the office of political parties, although some of the ground floors are vacant or used for storage. Several other two-storey houses are scattered around the village. Venetian/wooden shutters have been widely used in both the first and second type of house, mostly painted blue and brown. In some cases these wooden shutters have been replaced by white or brown aluminium shutters. If there is no shutter in the second type of house, it is more likely that there are iron window fences/bars, which are sometimes ornamented. In addition to this, iron garden fences are the other feature of the second type of house. It should be noted that not all of the Venetian/wooden window shutters, iron window bars and iron garden fences are in a good condition. It can be seen that they have not been painted for a long time, possibly not since the displacement occurred. One other feature of this type of house is the semi-open or open verandas, mostly in front of the house but sometimes forming an L-shape. In general, this part has a lower flat ceiling which is separated from the main roof. If there is no ceiling, a wide beam surrounds the veranda, supported by columns. The roof of this

type of house, which is covered with Marseille tiles, has a steeper slope in comparison to the mud-brick type of house.

Figure 7.4: Examples of concrete, 'modern' houses, Akçay/Argaki.

Lastly, the third type is reinforced concrete houses which have been recently built (Figure 7.5). Differently to the other two types, this type does not have precise features. However, they can be easily differentiated from 'old' houses by their appearance. They can be of various storeys, sizes and colours, with inclined or flat roofs, and with or without aluminium window shutters. It should be noted that these typologies are not context specific and are applicable to many other villages in Cyprus, possibly with slight alterations.

Figure 7.5: Examples of recent developments, Akçay/Argaki

Similar to other formerly mixed villages on the island, Akçay/Argaki has two different religious buildings (Figure 7.6). The mosque and church are situated opposite each other. The mosque looks modest and is located at a corner in comparison to the striking structure and central location of the church. Although the church, Ayios Ioannis Prodromos (Loizos, 2008, p.76), has this structure, it is in need of restoration. The outside of the religious building is in better condition than the inside. The interior walls are full of graffiti and pigeon droppings. 'The outer structure looked sound enough. Inside, pigeon droppings in profusion, no icons or religious objects, the wooden pews gone and the latticework around the holy area looked dilapidated and possibly about to collapse' (ibid.). The church was abandoned when Greek Cypriots had to leave the village, but it was then used as a gathering place for the folk dancing society of the village – the Akçay Culture Art Society (AKDER) – until they were asked to vacate the building. This society, which has the significance of being the only society of the village, except for the football club, continues its activities in the school, Akçay Primary School, the only school in the

village. It is a single-storey stone building painted white and has large colourful cartoon drawings on the façade.

Figure 7.6: Images of the mosque (above) and church (below), Akçay/Argaki.

There are various gathering places for men in the centre of the village (Figure 7.7). One of these places is the coffee shop and the others are the offices of political parties.

Figure 7.7: Coffee shop, Akçay/Argaki.

Furthermore, when the demography of Akçay/Argaki is investigated it can be seen that it has varied throughout the history of the village and in relation to the island's history. This village used to be a mixed village which was inhabited by Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots before 1974. 'Argaki had always been a mixed village' (PRIO Cyprus, 2011). It has been described that, according to Greek Cypriots from this village, Greek Cypriots came to Akçay/Argaki, which was a Turkish Cypriot village before the middle of the 19th century, as 'wage-labourers'. By working hard and buying land from Turkish employers or receiving this as a gift instead of

wages, they became owners of the lands and increased in population and wealth[9] (Loizos, 1981, pp.39–40).

Loizos (1981) states that in the 1960s some of the Turks left this village for the enclaves, but the majority of them stayed in the village (Loizos, 1981, p.42). In early 1968, there were about 50 Turkish Cypriots in the village, mainly old people and a few children, while there were 1,500 Greek Cypriots (ibid., p.43). Prior to the displacement in 1974, the population of the village was around 2,000, of which only 70 were Turkish Cypriots. Approximately 1,550 Greek Cypriots from this village fled in August 1974, as the Turkish army was advancing, and around 50 Turkish Cypriot and about 30 elderly Greek Cypriots stayed (Loizos 1981, p.ix; Loizos, 2008, p.1; PRIO Cyprus, 2011).

The majority of the people in the village are IDPs from the south (*güney göçmeni* as they are called, which in general means 'southern migrant/migrant from the south'). In addition, there are 5 to 10 families who were here before 1974. Currently living in the village are mainly people from, in the south, Dali/Dhali, Dereliköy/Potamia, Arpalık/Ayios Sozomenos, Baf/Pafos, Limasol-Leymosun/Lemesos, Küçükköy/Margi and Koççat/Kotsiatis, and Turks from the mainland (*Türkiyeliler* as they are called in general), who came after 1974 and married Cypriots (see previous chapter for more detail). In addition, there are working Turks who come for the spring season and leave afterwards. 'During the orange-picking seasons, the village also hosts many seasonal agricultural workers from southeast Turkey. They are usually lodged in tents or prefabricated accommodation, specifically erected for them, usually located in the orange orchards where they work' (PRIO Cyprus, 2011). In total, 80% of the population is Turkish Cypriot.

IDPs in this village, mainly those from Dali/Dhali, Dereliköy/Potamia, Arpalık/Ayios Sozomenos, were first displaced to Akıncılar/Louroujina in the mid-1960s and then moved to this village. Two opposing ideas exist among the villagers regarding why IDPs came to Akçay/Argaki. According to the first idea, a few leading people from the above-mentioned southern villages decided that Akçay/Argaki was similar to their villages in the south, and therefore they asked permission from the administrators to settle in this village. It has been explained by the participants of this research that those three villages in the south were watery, green, fertile villages with citrus and many other orchards and clean air. The idea that the participants from these villages settled in the present village because it is similar to their former villages was not confirmed by the researcher's survey, as 80% of people said that Akçay/Argaki is not similar to their villages of origin and/or previous villages where they came from, although they did agree that their former villages in the south were watery, green and fertile. The second idea argues that it was the

---

[9] Loizos (1981) pointed out the fact that he 'regret[s] not having sought out [the] Turkish version of the village past' (Loizos, 1981, p.40).

Turkish Cypriot leaders/administrators of the time who made the decision and sent the IDPs to this village.

When the social structure was investigated in the village, it was seen that people live in nuclear families which generally include a minimum of two and a maximum of four family members. It was also common for elderly people to live on their own. There are various groups of people in the village: locals and IDPs from different villages as described above. Therefore, it cannot be said that all villagers are related. In some cases, it was observed that an IDP from one village described an IDP from another village as a 'foreigner'. In addition to this, it was also observed several times that participants referred to the name of the former villages while talking about themselves or another villager.

7.2.2 Village 2: Akdeniz/Agia Eirini

Akdeniz/Agia Eirini is located in the north-east of the island on Güzelyurt/Morphou bay within the Girne/Kyrenia district (Figure 7.8). 'The meaning of its name is "Saint Irene" (Irini means "peace" in Greek, but is also a woman's name)' (PRIO Cyprus, 2011). According to the villagers, the village is named after a nun, Eirini, who came to the village in 1807 and constructed a church next to a spring. In 1958, Turkish Cypriots began to use an alternative name for the village, Akdeniz meaning the 'Mediterranean Sea' (Fieldwork, 2010; PRIO Cyprus, 2011). The main occupations of the villagers are farming and animal breeding, and watermelon cultivation. The number of civil servants in the village is very low, less than 20. Additionally, there are some people who work in southern Cyprus. Although the village is situated close to the sea, fishing is not a source of revenue in Akdeniz/Agia Eirini.

Figure 7.8: A view of Akdeniz/Agia Eirini.

According to the 2006 Population and Housing Unit Census (Devplan, 2011), the population of the village was 597. Local authorities put the population at 585 and the number of houses as 192 in 2010. Young and middle-aged people constitute most of the population. It has been mentioned that the young population, after graduating from high school and university leave the

village and settle in the cities, as the village is far from the main road and from other settlements and transportation is difficult.

This village used to be one of the mixed villages, with approximately 65% (305 of 471) Turkish Cypriot inhabitants in the 1960 census and approximately 82% (556 of 682) in 1973, prior to the displacements and division in 1974 (PRIO Cyprus, 2011). As can be seen, in contrast to the previous village, the Turkish Cypriot population was higher than the Greek Cypriot population in this village. Similar to the Greek Cypriots in the previous village, Greek Cypriots of Akdeniz/Agia Eirini left the village in August 1974 due to the advancing Turkish army.[10] The number of displaced Greek Cypriots 'can be estimated to be around 130, since its Greek Cypriot population was estimated to be 126 in 1973', and now, similar to other villages, Greek Cypriots from this village are scattered throughout the south (PRIO Cyprus, 2011).

The village is located close to the sea, on a slight slope. It can be said that it is isolated due to its distant location from nearby settlements. It is embedded in nature and reached by a long road which passes through pine woods.

After the flight of the Greek Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots were settled into their houses, except for 5 to 6 houses which were demolished completely as they were old or ruined (Figure 7.9). Another reason, as explained by the local authorities, for demolishing these empty houses was to prevent the settlement of Turkish migrants from Turkey who were brought to the northern part of the island right after 1974 in order to increase the population. The number of Greek Cypriot houses which were settled by Turkish Cypriots is 40 to 50. Turkish Cypriot villagers who were engaged or newly married, or whose parents offered their own houses to the newly married couple, or those who did not have a house, were settled into Greek Cypriots' houses (Figure 7.10).

Figure 7.9: Examples of demolished and vacant Greek Cypriot houses, Akdeniz/Agia Eirini.

---

[10] 'However, five of them managed to remain in the village until November 1976, when they relayed a "request" to UNFICYP to be taken to the other side of the Green Line' (PRIO Cyprus, 2011).

Figure 7.10: Examples of Greek Cypriot houses which are inhabited by Turkish Cypriots, Akdeniz/Agia Eirini.

Similar to the previous village, houses in Akdeniz/Agia Eirini can be classified into three types. In contrast to the other case study villages, 'old', traditional houses in this village are made of stone instead of mud-brick. The second type of house which has been identified, are 'modern houses' built in the 1960s onwards. These exist widely in the village (Figure 7.11). Additionally, there was a tendency to build new houses in Akdeniz/Agia Eirini in the 5 years preceding the study (2005–2010), as an outcome of plot distribution in the village by the government. These houses are mostly constructed on a small hill in the northern part of the village. However, apart from these, there are some scattered all around the village (Figure 7.12).

Figure 7.11: Examples of concrete, 'modern' houses, Akdeniz/Agia Eirini.

Figure 7.12: Examples of recent developments, Akdeniz/Agia Eirini.

Since this village was a mixed village, both a church and mosque exist. The church is located in the western part of the village, outside the village centre and close to the Greek primary school. It is not in use today. It is vacant, and an animal shelter and straw bales are situated around the building (Figure 7.13). The mosque is located at the centre of the village and is in good condition (Figure 7.13). This building is commonly used as a landmark by villagers when describing the location of the houses which were once inhabited by Greek Cypriots. According

to these descriptions, considering the location of the mosque in relation to the topography, the area below the mosque, which is the western part of the village, was inhabited by Greek Cypriots, while the area above the mosque was predominantly inhabited by Turkish Cypriots and only a few Greek Cypriots. The Greek Cypriot part of the village mainly includes stone houses. It has been explained by the villagers that young Greek Cypriots used to prefer to settle in the nearest county Güzelyurt/Morphou. Hence, Greek Cypriots in this village were mainly old people.

Figure 7.13: Images of the mosque (above) and church (below), Akdeniz/Agia Eirini.

Two primary schools exist – one Turkish and one Greek. The former is located at the entrance of the village and the latter is at the end of the village close to the church. The Turkish school is vacant now; however, the local authorities have explained that a project has been formed and approved by the EU to renovate and reuse it as a multifunctional space. The Greek school has been converted into a house and is inhabited by Turkish Cypriot villagers (Figure 7.14).

Figure 7.14: Turkish Cypriot primary school (above) and Greek Cypriot primary school (below), Akdeniz/Agia Eirini.

The coffee shop is located in the centre of the village, as in many other villages (Figure 7.15). Two markets exist in the village – one located in the village centre and the other on the main road close to the centre (Figure 7.15). Opposite one of the markets there is also a place for wedding ceremonies and a children's playground (Figure 7.15). Similar to other case study villages, there are no social activities or societies in the village apart from the football club.

Figure 7.15: Coffee shop and market located in the village centre, and playground, Akdeniz/Agia Eirini.

Currently, the village is predominantly inhabited by local Turkish Cypriots. There are no large numbers of Turkish Cypriot IDPs, yet there are some who settled when they got married to a villager. More than 90% of the population are the local villagers. One of the frequently expressed features of the village is that almost all of the villagers are relatives. As described by the local authority, five families exist whose men are from Turkey and are married to local Turkish Cypriots. Three to five families exist from Turkey, who now live in rented houses as seasonal workers. Moreover, 'during the last ten years, some Turkish Cypriots from other villages and a few Turkish Cypriot returnees from the United Kingdom have bought property and settled here' (PRIO Cyprus, 2011).

Similar to the previous village, people live in nuclear families which generally include a minimum of two and a maximum of four family members. It is also common in this village to see elderly widows/widowers who live on their own. This village also used to be a mixed village, but in comparison to the previous village, there is no IDP group here. Approximately three main families constitute the village population. Therefore, differently to the previous village, all the

villagers know each other and almost all of them are related. The villagers seemed to be pleased with this and commonly stated that 'we are all family, relatives here'.

7.2.3 Village 3: İncirli/Makrasyka

İncirli/Makrasyka is a small village located in the eastern part of the island in the Mağusa/Ammochostos district and in the administrative area of the Municipality of Beyarmudu (Figure 7.16). According to the current villagers, the Greek name of the village means either 'long fig' or 'far fig'. It has been claimed that there were lots of fig trees outside the village in the past, which gave the village its name. 'After 1974, Turkish Cypriots changed the village's name to İncirli, meaning "place with figs." In 1976, the new inhabitants of the village attempted to change the new alternative name İncirli to Uzunyol, meaning "long road" ' (Goodwin, 1984, cited in PRIO Cyprus, 2011), which might be the effect of the remote location of the village.[11]

Figure 7.16: A view of İncirli/Makrasyka.

The village is situated on a slight slope. It is approached via a narrow road with wide uncultivated fields, fields with round straw bales, olive groves, citrus orchards, cypress trees surrounding orchards, vineyards, bamboos/reeds and eucalyptus trees on both sides of the road (Figure 7.17).

Figure 7.17: Landscape on the way to village, İncirli/Makrasyka.

---

[11] Differently to the other three case study villages, there exists neither a study which dates back before the division of the island, to the time when Greek Cypriots were living in the village, nor are there local Turkish Cypriots in the village who were living here before 1974 who would thus have been able to explain the village's past. Therefore, this village was mainly described according to what was gathered through the fieldwork.

In the early years of displacement, the livelihood of the villagers depended on animal breeding and husbandry. It is described by the villagers that everywhere was full of orange gardens, starting from the entrance to the village. Some people began to go to the southern part of Cyprus to seek a job after the decline in animal breeding and husbandry. These people had to have special permission from the government in the north in order to be able to cross the border, since the borders had not yet been released at that time. When the borders were released, this number increased and has become four times more than before. As explained by the local authorities, 'animal breeding and farming became "dead" throughout that time'. However, there are some villagers who still deal with animal breeding and farming, whereas the number of villagers working in the southern part of the island decreased again, to a couple of people. The reason for this has been put forward as the economic crisis which has affected the south. Moreover, it has been added that the main problem facing the village today is unemployment. In addition to self-employed workers, there has always been a small number of government employees. According to the local authorities, the number of these people today is estimated to be around 20. Today, there are people in the village who are vegetable farmers, who, in particular, grow carrots, potatoes as well as vines.

The de jure population of the village, according to the 2006 Population and Housing Unit Census (Devplan, 2011), was 432 (identified as 425 in 2010 by the local authority), and the number of houses was approximately 110 to 115.

The Greek Cypriot population who moved out of the village in 1974 was larger than the Turkish Cypriot population who moved in afterwards. This led to some houses being abandoned. As a consequence, these houses, which were once inhabited by their owners, have been damaged or no longer exist.

Housing types are more or less the same as the ones in previous villages, yet there are some different components such as roof type and colour of the mud-brick. In this village, concrete houses mostly have flat roofs rather than the hip or gable roofs which exist in Akçay/Argaki (Figure 7.18). Moreover, the colour of the mud-brick houses is light brown because of the earth available in the area.

Figure 7.18: Examples of concrete, 'modern' houses, İncirli/Makrasyka.

Old houses, which were described as mud-brick and stone houses, were not given priority to be settled in. Some of them are used as storage and animal shelters. Some have been ruined through time, and some have been demolished by the local authorities in order 'to clean' the village, as they were old and ruined. Many of these ruins still exist around the village (Figure 7.19). According to a consensus within IDPs from Görmeli/Anadhiou, the 'best and newest houses in the village had been taken and settled by IDPs from Düzkaya-Evdim/Evdhimou' as they had arrived earlier.

Figure 7.19: Examples of traditional mud-brick and stone houses (picture on the right shows the usage of an old house as an animal shelter), İncirli/Makrasyka.

There were uncompleted housing constructions in the village when Turkish Cypriot IDPs arrived. Of these houses, approximately 20 were taken by the youth of the village, who rented them from the government. Apart from these, only a couple of new houses have been constructed and one of them is prefabricated (Figure 7.20). Several reasons have been put forward for the lack of new buildings. One of them, as explained by the local authority, is that the government has not offered plots to the villagers, and that is why young people do not have any plots on which to construct their houses. Another reason was explained by a young villager as there being a lack of social, educational and public facilities in the village. It is described as 'very desolate'. Some other interviewees pointed to the fact that this village is close to the Green Line and/or is on the list of the villages which are going to be returned to the Greek Cypriots in the case of an agreement on the 'Cyprus Problem'. One interviewee asserted the possibility that 'people couldn't own/accept this village as their own'.

Figure 7.20: Examples of recent developments, İncirli/Makrasyka.

The village has three churches, two inside the village and one outside at the entrance to the village. One of the churches has been converted into a mosque, whereas the others have been

abandoned (Figure 7.21). These abandoned buildings, which were once very important for the religious practices of the village community, have been damaged and/or demolished.

Figure 7.21: Images of churches (picture on the right shows the church which has been converted into a mosque), İncirli/Makrasyka.

There is an old school building in the village, which was extended by a new addition (Figure 7.22). Until a few years prior to 2010, the school building in the village was being run as a primary school. However, due to the change in the regulations this school was closed and the responsibility for providing education was transferred to the school in the nearest large village, which is approximately 15 minutes away by bus. Although this can be evaluated as a result of the policies applied by the government, this is, at least in part, an effect of displacement. Mostly, second and third generation displaced people prefer not to stay in this village since it is very far from the major cities. Hence, there are not enough children to keep the school operating.

Figure 7.22: Images of the old school building, İncirli/Makrasyka.

Similar to previous villages, there is a lack of social activities in the village. The only society is the football club, which rarely organises social events. Only one coffee shop exists in the village, and it acts as the sports club building as well. In addition to this, there is a restaurant which was once another coffee shop. A playground for children and an outside gym for adults exist as an outside public space located opposite the central, vacant church (Figure 7.23). In addition, two small markets exist in the village.

Figure 7.23: Coffee shop, restaurant and playground (left to right), İncirli/Makrasyka.

İncirli/Makrasyka, which was once completely inhabited by Greek Cypriots, is now predominantly inhabited by Turkish Cypriot IDPs and also Turkish migrants. Greek Cypriot inhabitants of the village were displaced in 1974. Some 950 Greek Cypriots (920 in the 1973 census) who were displaced from İncirli/Makrasyka in 1974 are scattered around southern Cyprus, with a small group in the Larnaka/Larnaca district (PRIO Cyprus, 2011).

IDPs in this village are mainly from two villages in the south: Düzkaya-Evdim/Evdhimou in the Limasol/Limassol district and Görmeli/Anadhiou in the Baf/Paphos district. Görmeli/Anadhiou includes IDPs who were displaced in 1963-1964 from Aktepe/Asprogia, Bozalan/Lapithiou and Soğucak/Mamountali.[12] Also in the village are Turkish migrants from the Adıyaman and Adana districts of Turkey who came and settled in the village in 1975-1976 (PRIO Cyprus, 2011). In addition to these, there are Turkish short-term migrant workers in the village who work in the construction of houses and also as shepherds for Turkish Cypriots who deal in animal breeding. The local authority states that the size of the population of the three groups is very similar.

IDPs from the Görmeli/Anadhiou village were brought to İncirli/Makrasyka in 1975. Differently to IDPs in Akçay/Argaki, these people had the chance to take some furniture and possessions with them when leaving their homes, since they had known that they were moving. Although they could not bring everything that they were planning to, the UN soldiers allowed them to bring some of their belongings. Some had to be left behind in the house and/or sold to the Greek Cypriots. Depending on an exchange agreement between administrations, they had been informed 2 months in advance that they were going to leave the village on the 1st September. Yet they had not known that they were being moved to this village. A move to another village was rumoured, rather than İncirli/Makrasyka. However, they had no idea about both of these villages in the north. People and their belongings were taken by buses and trucks from Görmeli/Anadhiou to the airport where they changed buses and trucks. The interviewees commonly described how they were left in İncirli/Makrasyka. The trucks stopped at the school, they 'lifted the jacks of the trucks and poured their belongings' and 'poured themselves' onto the street. As it was night when they arrived in the village they had to stay outside that night. From the way they were taken and brought to this village they still feel 'like a dog', 'like garbage' and

---

[12] According to PRIO Cyprus (2011) there are also IDPs from Melandra/Beşiktepeli and Kidasi/Ceyhan villages from Baf/Paphos district.

'like excrement'. Although all the villagers as a whole were displaced to this village, not all of them stayed here. Some IDPs preferred to live in other villages in the north where they had relatives. The village was extremely far away and so different for them. The villagers commonly explained this difference by describing that the first morning when they woke up 'even the sun rose from a different direction'.

Furthermore, IDPs from Düzkaya-Evdim/Evdhimou arrived at the village about 6 to 8 months before IDPs from Görmeli/Anadhiou. There was no one but soldiers in the village. In 1974, they were told by administrators that they would only leave the village for 2 hours. They stayed in tents in Britain's Sovereign Base Area, Paramal Camp with other displaced Turkish Cypriots from the Limasol/Limassol district for approximately 6 months, and from there they were sent to Turkey by plane, some of them to Adana and some to the İskenderun districts. They stayed in Turkey for a while (some 2 weeks and some 2 months) and from there they were sent back to Cyprus by ship, where they temporarily sheltered for a couple of weeks/months. After that they were sent to Çatalköy/Agios Epiktitos in the Girne/Kyrenia district, which was a village appointed for their former village. However, this village could not accommodate all of them since it had been 'filled up with foreigners before they arrived'. Therefore, some of them were sent to İncirli/Makrasyka.

The social structure in this village shows similarities with the previous two villages. People live in nuclear families which constitute a maximum of four people. This village, which 'was' a Greek Cypriot village, is now inhabited by various IDP groups as described before. Therefore, the villagers are not all related, similar to the first village and differently to the second village. In general, there are two groups of people, depending on their former village in the south, and this distinction is perceptible. Villagers have closer relations with their former co-villagers. This is due to the fact that they know each other well and also are often related, since IDPs used to live in villages which mainly comprised relatives, similar to the second village Akdeniz/Agia Eirini. These people used to live with their relatives in their former villages, but now some of their relatives live in other villages in the north.

7.2.4 Village 4: Gönendere/Knodara

Gönendere/Knodara is situated in the north-east of the island in the Mesaoria plain within the Mağusa/Ammochostos district and the Municipality of Serdarlı-Çatoz/Kiados (Chatos) (Figure 7.24). The meaning of the name of the village is ambiguous. Before assigning a new name to the village, Turkish Cypriots used 'Gonetra' as the name of the village (PRIO Cyprus, 2011). 'The alternative name that the Turkish Cypriots adopted in 1958 is Gönendere, meaning "humid stream" ' (ibid.). According to an interviewee, the name of the village comes from two streams – one on each side of the village.

Figure 7.24: A view of Gönendere/Knodara.

When considering livelihood, it is seen that the majority of the villagers are civil servants and retired people. Farming and animal breeding are the other sources of income in the village, although these are no longer prevalent. Some people still cultivate barley and wheat.

Local authorities identified the number of houses as being 150 to 200 in 2010, but some 50 of them are vacant. The population of the village according to the 2006 Population and Housing Unit Census (Devplan, 2011) is 394 (400 in 2010 according to the local authority). Approximately 350 of the population are people who are locally from Gönendere/Knodara. Some of the rest are people who are married to a villager, some are migrants from Turkey and some are Turkish workers. The number of Turkish migrants who settled in this village as part of an agricultural workforce right after 1974 is around five (PRIO Cyprus, 2011). People over 50 constitute the majority of the population. Three quarters of the whole population is over 18 years old.

Approximately 75% of the houses in the village are mud-brick. It has been explained that until the 1960s all of the houses in the village were mud-brick (Figure 7.25). These mud-brick houses are mainly situated in the village centre and the majority of them are vacant. There are different numbers of storeys: single storey, single storey with double storey attached, and double storey. In the village centre, these mud-brick houses are attached to each other and are located on both sides of the narrow streets. Towards the outside of the centre, houses are mostly detached.

Figure 7.25: Examples of traditional mud-brick houses, Gönendere/Knodara.

Similar to the previous three villages, concrete houses, constructed through and after the 1960s exist, but are simpler versions, especially when compared to the ones in Akçay/Argaki. Although there are only a few, there has been a recent tendency to construct new houses in the village (Figure 7.26). In addition, some Turkish Cypriots who were living in England built houses and returned to the village (PRIO Cyprus, 2011). These new houses are mainly constructed outside the village towards the north. Similar to the other villages it is impossible to classify these new buildings under any typologies, as they all look different.

Figure 7.26: Examples of recent developments, Gönendere/Knodara.

The village has a primary school and a secondary school, which are both central, receiving students from approximately seven nearby villages (Figure 7.27). The village has had a secondary school since 1923 and a primary school since 1936. After 1950, the secondary school started to accommodate students from surrounding villages, up until 1974. These students used to stay in dormitories and even in rented houses in the village. Once, the village was crowded. Villagers are proud of their schools and village history in education, and they commonly mentioned that 'our village was one of the biggest and most developed villages'.

Differently to the previous IDP villages which were analysed, the mosque in this village has not been converted from a church – it was built as a mosque (Figure 7.27). There is no church in this village but it was explained by one of the interviewees that there used to be a church in the middle of the village. Although she did not remember the church itself, she remembered that in her childhood they used to call the place where it was standing 'Church place' and added that her grandfather used to tell her about the church. Now, a statue of Atatürk[13] is standing there.

Figure 7.27: Secondary school (left and middle) and the mosque (right), Gönendere/Knodara.

---

[13] Mustafa Kemal Atatürk is the founder of the Republic of Turkey and the first president of Turkey.

Moreover, there were four coffee shops in the village but now only two exist, situated in different areas (Figure 7.28). One of these coffee shops used to serve as a club/gathering place for the village football club, which is no longer active. The other one was converted from a dormitory which was once used by students who came from other villages to this village for education. The market is located close to one of the coffee shops. In addition, the village has an open air cinema which is no longer in use. The only social activity in the village is organised by the secondary school at the end of the semesters.

Figure 7.28: Coffee shops, Gönendere/Knodara.

There is no active society in the village, but as explained by young villagers, they tried to establish one through the Internet. Also, at some point, women of the village had established a 'Women's Society' for a short time. As it was explained, this society had a leading role in the demolition of the 'old' houses in the village. After this initiative, village authorities continued to demolish the old buildings which were evaluated as dangerous. Today, five to six houses remain which are evaluated as dangerous.

Gönendere/Knodara is generally known as a Turkish Cypriot village yet it was mentioned that at one time there were a small number of Greek Cypriots there as well. According to 'the Ottoman census of 1831 Christians constituted almost 10% of the village's population', whereas 'for most of the British period the village was solely inhabited by Turkish Cypriots, with only a small number of Greek Cypriots appearing in the records until 1931' (PRIO Cyprus, 2011). After 1931 there was no Greek Cypriot population in the village (ibid.).

No one was displaced from Gönendere/Knodara either in 1963-1964 or 1974, but it received IDPs from nearby villages in these years. In 1974, the population was around 700. 'Political geographer Richard Patrick estimated the village's population at 739 in 1971, a rise from 623 in 1960' (PRIO Cyprus, 2011). IDPs who came in 1974 stayed for about a month until August 1974 and then returned to their villages. They used to stay with villagers. IDPs who came in 1963-1964 stayed in empty houses whose owners were dead or were living in cities, and in 'migrant houses' (Figure 7.29). Few of these 8 migrant houses are still inhabited other than by villagers.

Figure 7.29: 'Migrant houses', Gönendere/Knodara.

One of the frequently expressed issues that the village has is the dramatic decrease in the population throughout the years, especially in the young generation. This situation is commonly described by the interviewees by the sentence: 'this village sank'. Compared to 30 years ago, the population was described to have decreased approximately by half. Complaints that the young people cannot find plots to build houses in the village and that therefore they migrate to cities, were evident. The government has been blamed for this situation since social housing opportunities have been provided for young people in cities instead of in their own villages. Another factor put forward is that these young people, especially educated ones, migrate to cities to seek jobs. Apart from youth migration, there are cases of people who moved to surrounding Greek Cypriot villages which were evacuated in 1974 (PRIO Cyprus, 2011).

Many problems have been described by the interviewees. The village's biggest problem today, as expressed by the local authorities, is animals inside the village. The other problems are a lack of plots and opportunities for young people, a lack of social activities, and a lack of educational possibilities. One other problem is the work of the Municipality in the village, which has been evaluated as insufficient.

Similar to previous villages, people live in nuclear families. Similar to the second village, Akdeniz/Agia Eirini, it is explained by the villagers that there is no 'foreigner' in this village. Again similarly, several families who are related constitute the village population. It is noticeable that all the villagers know each other quite well.

7.3 Summary and conclusion

This chapter has presented the selected four case study villages: Akçay/Argaki, Akdeniz/Agia Eirini, İncirli/Makrasyka and Gönendere/Knodara individually, informed by the data collected through fieldwork as well as by the literature review. Each village has been described concerning its *location, geography, livelihood, population, housing, main public buildings, current situation, demography* and *social structure*.

When the location of the villages is considered, it is seen that all of them are located far from each other. Three of them are located inland, while one of them is close to the coast. Two of the

inland villages are close to the Green Line, while the other two are far from it. Mainly, all of the villages are located either on flat topography or on a slight slope, and the main livelihoods of the villagers are animal breeding and farming. Alongside this, self-employed villagers and civil servants who work in nearby centres are also present.

The two inland villages which are away from the centres, including the one which is very close to the Green Line, have the lowest population amongst the four. The one which is close to the coast and is far from the main centres has a higher population than these two but lower than the village which is close to one of the centres. Therefore, it can be said that location of the village is one of the issues which impacts the size of the population of the village.

In addition, when the houses are considered, some similarities appear between the villages in relation to the housing types and the condition of the houses. In general, the main public buildings are similar in all of the villages. In formerly mixed and formerly Greek Cypriot villages, churches are not in use.

When the social structure is investigated, amongst the four villages it is found that there are both similarities and differences depending on whether the village is inhabited by locals or IDPs. Commonly, people live in nuclear families consisting of a minimum of two and a maximum of four people (there are few exceptions). It is also prevalent in the four villages that elderly people and widows/widowers live on their own. Villages where only locals live are predominantly made up of relatives, while within villages which are inhabited by IDPs there are fewer people who are related. In the case of IDPs, several groups came together and formed the village, and within each group there are relatives.

Several common patterns emerged from the villages such as a lack of jobs, clubs/societies, social activities, educational possibilities and building plots. All of these impacted the villages negatively. Villagers, especially the young generation, began to seek a life in the nearest centres, towns/cities, which resulted in a decline in the population of the rural settlements.

To sum up, according to the villages analysed, it can be argued that there are few differences between villages which were once inhabited by Greek Cypriots and are now settled by internally displaced Turkish Cypriots and villages where local Turkish Cypriots live. The social relations of the villagers and the use of religious buildings, such as churches, can be listed as examples. After setting the scene, the next four chapters, Chapters 8, 9, 10 and 11, illustrate the analysis related to these four villages.

Chapter 8

Village 1: Akçay-Argaca/Argaki

Formerly Mixed, Currently IDPs' and Locals' Village

Chapter 8: Village 1: Akçay-Argaca/Argaki
Formerly Mixed, Currently IDPs' and Locals' Village

8.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the formerly ethnically mixed village Akçay-Argaca/Argaki, which is currently inhabited by a mix of local and internally displaced Turkish Cypriots. The chapter presents data from the questionnaire survey and semi-structured interviews, focusing on house, village, displacement, place attachment and perception of home issues. By doing so, the chapter aims to examine the second objective, which seeks to investigate place attachment and perception of home as a result of displacement in northern Cyprus. In this respect, the chapter mainly consists of two parts. The first part covers the issues related to place attachment in the village, while the second part focuses on perception of home.

As will be seen, place attachment has emerged in this village as an issue which has a diverse relationship with the predictors of attachment, which are as previously listed: displacement, length of residence, ownership, willingness to move, age and gender. Displacement appears to have an impact on place attachment. Moreover, it has emerged from the analysis that length of residence mainly influences the place attachment of IDPs but not the attachment of local people, while age has no impact on either. Similar to displacement, ownership and willingness to move have an impact on place attachment, and place attachment can show variations according to gender.

Furthermore, it is found that 'home' in Akçay/Argaki mainly means family place and positive/constructive feelings, according to the participants in this village. Different ideas emerged amongst participants in response to the perception of home as 'their homes'. The majority of the participants stated that the house that they currently live in is 'their home'. However, some of them mentioned the temporariness of their ownership situation and described that the houses are 'their homes' for now, while some of them were completely opposed to the idea of accepting and perceiving the houses as 'their homes'.

8.2 Investigating place attachment

Place attachment has been examined in relation to the previously identified predictors in the literature chapter, Chapter 3: displacement, length of residence, ownership, willingness to move age and gender. In this respect, the results which were gathered from 51 IDPs[14] and 21 locals[15] are as follows.

Displacement

In order to determine the impact of displacement on place attachment, IDPs' attachment to their former and 'their' current houses, and locals' attachments to their current houses were questioned in the first instance and the results were compared to see the difference between IDPs' and locals' degrees of attachment.[16] Then, the same question was applied in order to explore attachment towards the former and current villages. As mentioned earlier in the Methodology chapter, Chapter 5, the Likert scale, which is a five-point scale that helps to measure an item which is asked in a questionnaire, has been used to identify the values of attachment (see Chapter 5 for details).

When the responses to the three items ('I am very attached to my house', 'This house means a lot to me', 'My house here feels like home to me') that were directed to the IDPs about their attachment to their current houses were compared to the responses to the identical three items in relation to their former houses in the south, it was found that IDPs are more attached to the houses where they currently live than to their former houses in the south (M[17] = 3.72, 2.93, respectively). In fact, the average of the responses to these three items (compute mean) shows that they are indecisive about their attachment to the former house in the south (M = 2.98), as the result is close to '3', which means 'neither agree nor disagree' on the Likert scale.

The houses where they currently live 'mean a lot to them', while they are again indecisive about whether their former houses in the south 'mean a lot to them' or not (M = 3.77, 2.98, respectively). Yet, they have stated that both their current houses and former houses in the south 'feel like home to them' with the same value (M = 3.57), and this indicates that both places provide the same degree of feeling of home. It should be noted that the value of feeling the house in the north as their home and the value of feeling the house in the south as their

---

[14] IDPs: In the case of Akçay/Argaki, IDPs include people who were born in southern Cyprus and those who were born in Akıncılar/Louridjina.

[15] Locals: In all villages this included local villagers, people who were born in another village in northern Cyprus and moved/settled to a case study village when they got married to someone from that village, and IDPs' children who were born in the north.

[16] The same place attachment analysis which was carried out according to the IDPs-local grouping of participants was carried out by considering the place of birth of the participants, and similar results emerged. Therefore, these results have not been included. (Note that 'IDPs-local grouping' refers to the group of IDPs and the group of locals.)

[17] M = Mean.

home are between the values of '3' and '4, which means 'neither agree nor disagree' and 'agree', respectively'. This might be interpreted to mean that although these places feel like home to them, the feeling is not strong and IDPs, in general, do not completely feel at home in either place. What is interesting in this result is that the former places of residence, which are currently not inhabited by them, provide the same feeling of home as the current places of residence.

The three place attachment items mentioned above were investigated for locals as well. It was found that locals are attached to their current houses (M = 3.67). However, their attachment is between indecisive and agree. It should be noted that this value is lower than the attachment of IDPs' to their current houses. Therefore, when only this item of attachment is considered, it is seen that IDPs are more attached to their current houses than locals are.

Locals mentioned that the houses they live in 'mean a lot to them' (M = 4.10). Among the three items which have been valued by locals, the one with the highest value emerged as 'this house means a lot to me'. Yet, they are between indecisive and agree as to whether 'the house feels like home to them' or not (M = 3.53).

When the individual values of place attachment items of IDPs and locals are compared in this village, it is seen that IDPs are more attached to the houses where they live and they feel slightly more at home than the locals, whereas the houses have more meaning to locals than the IDPs. Considering this, it can be argued that meaning appears to be an issue which is related to displacement.

Overall, when the three items are merged and one value is obtained for place attachment (compute mean), it can be seen that IDPs in this village are more attached to the houses where they currently live compared to the houses in the south (M = 3.68 and 2.98, respectively). However, locals are more attached to their current houses than IDPs, although their attachment is not strong (M = 3.80).

It is found that IDPs feel attached to the village where they currently live, although the average is between indecisive and agree (M = 3.52). When the village in the south is considered, it is seen that they are not sure whether they are attached to that village anymore or not (M = 3.01). Moreover, IDPs neither agree nor disagree on whether both the current village and former village 'mean a lot to them'. In addition to this, it is seen that the current village 'feels like home to them' more than the former village (M = 3.64 and 2.88, respectively). Yet, it should be noted that the value which represents this item means the feeling is not strong.

IDPs feel slightly more at home in their current village than in their current houses (M = 3.64, 3.57, respectively). This can be interpreted to mean that the village feels more like home to

them than the house does. Yet, overall, attachment towards the village is lower compared to attachment to the houses (M = 3.52, 3.68, respectively), which means that IDPs are more attached to their current houses than to their current village. When their feelings towards their place of birth are examined it is seen that on average they are undecided. This value indicates their indecisiveness whether they are missing their place of birth or not (M = 2.89).

It was expected that a high level of attachment to the village would be found among locals (M = 3.19). Yet, it was found that the values of the three attachment items among locals are slightly lower than the attachment values of IDPs toward their current villages (M = 3.10, 3.19, 3.29). The lower attachment of locals might be related to the existence and predominance of IDPs in the village. Displacement in this village did not only affect the life of the IDPs but it affected that of the locals as well since the community in the village changed with the exile of the Greek Cypriot IDPs and resettlement of the Turkish Cypriot IDPs.

When overall attachment is considered, it is seen that IDPs' attachment to their village in the north is higher than to their previous villages in the south, and also it is higher than the locals' attachment to their villages. Drawing from this, several scenarios can be listed as possible reasons for this result. It could be explained that IDPs un/consciously wanted to express their attachment by exaggerating their answers while valuing/evaluating their attachment, and also to indicate their unwillingness to move. The other scenario could be related to their former village. The current circumstances of their villages in the south should not be neglected. IDPs' attachment to their previous villages in the south could have been higher before the relaxation of the borders. When it became possible for them to go and visit their villages, this attachment might have decreased depending on the condition of the village. The last scenario can be related to the time spent away from their place of origin and the time spent in the current place of residence. This will be discussed next.

Length of residence
Length of residence has been found to be a determinant which affects the place attachment of IDPs towards their current village and house. Three quarters of the participants who had stayed in the village for more than 20 years stated that they are attached to the village (21/28). Similar to this, it emerged that the length of residence in the house effects attachment as well. However, it should be noted that there are still some IDPs who are not attached to the current village, and IDPs who are not attached to their current houses even though they have been living in these places for between 20 and 40 years.

In addition, length of residence does not wholly affect the IDPs' attachment towards their previous villages and houses in the south. Half of the participants who have been living in the village for more than 20 years are still attached to their previous villages. Similar to this, half of the participants who have been living in the houses for more than 20 years stated that they are attached to their previous houses in the south.

When locals are investigated it is found that length of residence does not affect the attachment to a village and attachment to a house.

It can therefore be concluded that IDPs might establish attachments to the newly settled places over time but this does not mean that their attachment to their previous places of residence vanishes. For the locals it can be concluded that length of residence does not affect their attachment.

Ownership

When ownership and attachment of IDPs to their current village was explored it was found that most of the IDPs who feel attached to the village claim ownership of the houses (21/26). A few IDPs who are confused about ownership and a couple who stated that the houses did not belong to them are attached as well (3/26 and 2/26). Moreover, IDPs who are not attached to the village and do not claim ownership constitute one third of the participants who are not attached to the village (3/9). There are some IDPs who are not attached to the village yet claim ownership of the houses (6/9). A more or less similar distribution is seen when the relationship of attachment to house and ownership claim is explored. It is found that the majority of the IDPs who are attached to the houses also claim ownership (26/31). The number of the IDPs who are not attached to the houses and who claim ownership, and who are not attached to the houses and who do not claim are the same (3/6). In addition to this, IDPs are undecided as to whether they feel that the houses that they currently live in are their houses (M = 3.35). Moreover, the majority of the IDPs who are attached to their former villages and houses in the south claimed ownership of their current houses as well (9/14 and 11/14).

Predominantly, the locals who are attached to their houses and to the village claimed ownership of their house (14/15 and 9/10). However, it is also evident that some of the locals who are not attached to the village and some who are not attached to the houses also claimed ownership (5/5 and 4/4).

When all of this is considered it might be concluded that ownership, which is an important predictor for place attachment in the literature, is a determinant amongst both IDPs and locals in this village, although there are a few exceptions.

Willingness to move

 35% of the participants, both IDPs and locals, are willing to move from the houses they currently live in. When only IDPs are considered this percentage is also 35%. Some of the reasons given by IDPs for this include environmental dissatisfaction, boredom of the house/village and people, not having ownership of the house, the age of the house and the desire to live close to their children. One of the participants stated that 'if everyone moves I will move too', which might be evaluated as an acceptance of the fact that one day they might have

to evacuate the village and return it to the Greek Cypriots. It may also mean that the notion of community is more important than the house. The importance is to stay with the co-villagers.

IDPs who are willing to move would like to move to a central place/city in northern Cyprus, to a place with a 'nice' view and location. Some of them mentioned that they would like to move to their previous village. It is interesting that these IDPs are all from the same village, Arpalık/Aysozomenos, which no longer exists. In addition to this, one of the participants indicated the desire to move back to his/her own property in the south. The desire for stability is expressed by one participant as s/he would like to move to a permanent home which s/he will then never have to move from.

Several reasons have been given by the 63% of IDPs who are not willing to move from their houses. Some mentioned that they are satisfied with 'their' home or they like 'their' home, and that is why they do not want to move. Some expressed similar feelings towards the village. One of the IDPs explained that because s/he has got used to the house and village s/he does not want to move. Some of them referred to their length of residence in the house, while some referred to the experiences, memories and life that they had gone through there. They explained that they were born, grew up, got married and had children in the house and therefore they are not willing to move. Two IDPs referred to economic issues and explained that they had invested money and effort into building the house. In addition, some of them emphasised their displacement and said that they are bored of migration and do not want to migrate again. One replied that 'where would I go after this age'. Other given reasons include that village and village life is beautiful, existence of work and the safety of the village regarding natural disasters.

One third, 34%, of the local participants are willing to move from the houses for similar reasons to those mentioned by the IDPs, such as environmental dissatisfaction, ownership, the age of the house, lack of opportunities and also distance to work. The desired place to move to is mainly central cities. One of the participants explained that they would prefer to move to a place with easy transportation, less humidity and a house which belongs to them.

67% of the locals who are not willing to move stated similar reasons to IDPs for their unwillingness to move. They like their houses, their village, the place fulfils their needs, and they put in effort to build the house. One referred to the length of residence, while some mentioned that they were born, grew up and got married in the house and therefore they have memories there.

It emerged that IDPs who are attached to the houses where they currently live are not willing to move (22/30), with some exceptions (8/30). Almost all of the IDPs who are not attached to the houses are willing to move, with only one exception (6/7). This shows that IDPs' attachment to their houses and willingness to move are related. When locals are examined it is found that

mainly those who are attached to the houses are not willing to move (11/15). Similar to the IDPs, it can also be argued that for locals, the attachment to house and willingness to move are related. However, it also emerged that locals who are not attached to the houses are also not willing to move (3/4).

When IDPs' attachment to their current village is questioned alongside their willingness to move from their houses, it is seen that the majority of those who are attached to the village do not want to move from the house, although there are some who would move if they had the chance, even though they are attached to the village (18/25 and 7/25, respectively). On the other hand, there are some people who are not attached to the village and do not want to move from their house (4/10). When the same issue is investigated amongst locals it is found that almost all of the participants who are attached to their village do not want to move from their house and all of the participants who are not attached to their village are willing to move (9/10 and 5/5).

Moreover, IDPs seem indecisive when they are asked whether they would prefer to live in their previous houses and villages in the south (M = 3.00, 3.05, respectively), although they are undecided as to whether they feel the current houses are their houses.

To sum up, it can be concluded that with few exceptions, participants who are attached to the houses and village where they live are not willing to move. However, some exist who are not attached and are not willing to move, and who are attached and are willing to move. Following these points, place attachment can be related to willingness to move. Yet, un/willingness to move from a place does not always determine the place attachment.

Age

Age cannot be seen as one of the factors which affects attachment of IDPs to their current houses and village since participants of various ages have diverse attachment values to these places. Likewise, age did not emerge as a determinant for attachment to the previous villages and houses as it was found that half of the participants who were more than 35 years old were attached to their previous villages and the other half were not. Also, almost half of the participants who were more than 35 years old were still attached to their previous houses while the rest were not. It should be noted that all of the IDPs who were under 45 years old were either not attached to the previous houses and villages or were undecided about their attachment. Similar to the IDPs, age was not affecting locals' attachment either.

Gender

When place attachment was investigated in relation to gender (both IDPs and locals), it was seen that males have higher attachment values than females. Male IDPs are more attached to the former village and house than females, whereas female IDPs are more attached to the current village than males. Besides, both female IDPs and male IDPs are almost equally attached to the current house. When the former places of residence are inspected it can be

argued that females have been affected by displacement more than males and therefore they have lower attachment to those places than males. When locals are inspected it was seen that males are more attached both to the house and to the village than females. Gender appears to be a determinant for place attachment in this village.

8.3 Investigating perception of home

The main discussion in this section is about how the interviewees perceive 'their homes'. In order to comprehend their perception of home, the interviewees were asked two questions: 'What does home mean to you?' and 'Can you say that this is your home? Why?' While the first section of the chapter investigates place attachment, attachment of home and village, degree of attachment and subjects influencing place attachment, this section tries to probe the meaning of home, where home is, and the reasons for these perceptions.

While analysing the interviewee's definitions of home, the lists which were identified and discussed in Chapter 4 were referred to. Therefore, these definitions have been categorised in relation to what has been identified by Hayward (1975, cited in Rapoport, 1995, p.34), Deprés (1991), Somerville (1997), Fox (2002) and Oranratmanee (2008).

'Can you say that this is your home?' is related to 'Where is home?' and interviewees were questioned about whether they perceive the houses that they currently live in as 'their' homes and/or as their 'homes'. In other words, are the places where they live now their homes?

8.3.1 What is home?

From the coding of the interviews, the concepts used to describe home in this village emerged as:[18]

- a desire to own
- a family place
- a place for daily activities
- a place of relaxation, rest and peace
- a place to live in and/or an abode/settling place
- belonging
- family
- home/nest
- life
- lifestyle
- necessity/need
- positive/constructive feelings
- reliability/safety
- shelter
- uniqueness

---

[18] These concepts have been listed in alphabetic order.

A desire to own

This aspect of home might be interpreted as being similar to what has been mentioned earlier by Deprés (1991) as 'a place to own' (Deprés, 1991). In this village, home has been identified as a desire to own by only one of the IDPs even though the interviewees are predominantly IDPs and, therefore, it was expected to discover many descriptions related to the desire to own and ownership as:

> It's a place which a person desires to own in his/her life and a place where s/he lives in. It's the most important, a home is the most important part of a life. Imagine that a person does not have a house/home and spend his/her life renting … or does not have a proper house/home. Is it possible to think of a family without a house/home (AC62, 55, M)

Regarding this, it might be said that ownership is emphasised as an important issue by this interviewee. What has been stressed is that a family cannot be thought of without having a house they own.

A family place

Home as a family place can be related to: 'a relationship with one's parents and place of upbringing' (Hayward, 1975, cited in Rapoport, 1995, p.34), 'relationship with family and friends (centre of love and togetherness)' (Deprés, 1991), 'centre of family life' (Somerville, 1997), 'home as a social and cultural unit' (Fox, 2002) and 'a dwelling place for family' (Oranratmanee, 2008).

Home as a family place was frequently identified by the interviewees. They referred to their relationships with other family members and togetherness with them while they talked about their homes. Home is evaluated as a place where they live with their families, a place where they share their thoughts, feelings and life with the other family members.

> For me home is a nice relationship. And also, our family is not a family who lives individually. For example, if my aunties do something we are all there together or they are all at ours. For example, if you could have seen our home last night, 20 people. For me home means family. I cannot think like this, like I go buy a studio type of flat alone and live there alone. From home to work, from work to home. That is not a home for me, it is a hotel. But, for me a home is warmth, togetherness (AC67, 29, F)
>
> A common sharing place … (AC32, 37, F)
>
> Family. Family atmosphere/space. What you say home it is a family place … A place where you share everything (AC26, 45, F)

A place for daily activities

In the literature review it is seen that home is broadly identified as 'a base of activity' (Hayward, 1975, cited in Rapoport, 1995, p.34), 'a centre of activities' (Deprés, 1991), 'centre of family life' (Somerville, 1997), 'social and cultural unit' (Fox, 2002) and 'a dwelling place for the family' (Oranratmanee, 2008). These activities can be defined as those which are necessary for

survival, such as dining and sleeping. However, home has only been identified by two of the interviewees by referring to these aspects:

> A closed space for a person to sleep (AC73, 57, M)

> House/home … it's a space where you rest and find peace … at night it's a place where you have your meal, have a bath, rest, live with your own family … (AC29, 59, F)

Home, therefore, can be evaluated as a place which shelters the daily, domestic activities of households.

A place of relaxation, rest and peace

Home is defined as 'a place of retreat, safety and relaxation, freedom and independence' by Somerville (1997), while these feelings have been grouped under 'affective feelings' by Oranratmanee (2008). Despite the fact that these feelings can be evaluated as positive/constructive feelings, they are not used directly as an equal term for home. Instead they are used to describe an aspect of a place. In this village, home was identified as a place of relaxation, rest and peace by two of the interviewees:

> House/home … it's a space where you rest and find peace. With your family … the most beautiful space where you find your own peace, if you like entertainment it's a place where you find peace (AC29, 59, F)

> A place where I relax, a place where I find peace (AC33, 41, F)

In the light of these responses, it can be stated that home is a place which offers comfort to its inhabitants; it is a place where one can relax, rest and is a place which makes one feel peaceful.

A place to live in and/or an abode/settling place

Home is described as a place to live in, an abode and a settling place by five of the interviewees, similar to literature by Oliver (1987).

> It's a place that I/you live in … (AC53, 50, F) (AC62, 55, M)

> Settlement/Settling place … (AC49, 63, F)

> A home, a person shall sit/live in it, make a living … (AC75, 46, M)

Although most of them described home with some other aspects in addition to this, with this identification they perceive home as a place, a physical structure where they spend their lives as well. Therefore, home appears as a place where one lives.

Belonging

Belonging emerged as another aspect of home. It was not directly stated 'I belong to this home or this house belongs to me'. Yet, the house was identified by the interviewee as 'my

house/home' (AC53, 50, F) implying that it belongs to her. Therefore, home can be defined as a place that belongs to one, and therefore it can be argued that home appears as a material object that one can have.

Family

In addition to a family place, home has been described as equal to family by four of the interviewees in this village. Three of them mentioned this briefly, whereas one discussed it in more depth by explaining:

> Family I guess. I am a domestic person that's why it means a lot to me. For example, I don't wander around a lot. I like home visits very much. My friends say let's gather, we meet at home. We meet at home with eight or ten people. For me home is a nice relationship. And also, our family is not a family who lives individually. For example, if my aunties do something we are there all together or they are all at ours. For example, if you could have seen the home last night, there were 20 people. For me home means family. I cannot think like this, like I go buy a studio type of flat alone and live there alone. From home to work, from work to home. That is not a home for me, it is a hotel. But, for me a home is warmth, togetherness. Maybe this is because I grew up like that (AC67, 29, F)

The existence of family members and being together with them is sufficient enough for someone to call a place a home. Home can simply mean family.

Home/Nest

Three of the interviewees simply referred to their houses as home/nest.

> A happy home/nest. Happiness. Thank God we are happy in our home/nest, comfortable (AC74, F)

> A warm home/nest … (AC70, 27, M)

Generally, home/nest appeared to be described with positive/constructive feelings as well, such as a home being a warm, happy nest. Considering this, one can conclude that home needs to be associated with positive/constructive feelings in order to be perceived as a nest.

Life

One of the meanings of home surfaces as life. People spend a significant amount of their lives in their homes and therefore interpret home as equal to life. It incorporates many of the activities, events, emotions and feelings which constitute one's life; it is the place of birth, growing up, sharing, laughing, crying, dining, sleeping and living.

> Home is the most important part of life … (AC62, 55, M)

> If one lives for 50 years I would say 25 years of this pass at home. This means, a home is half of a life (AC50, 50, F)

Lifestyle

Lifestyle cannot be described as one of the significant aspects of home in this village, although in the literature home has been broadly related to self-image and self-identity (Hayward, 1975, cited in Rapoport, 1995), self-expression (Somerville, 1997) and a centre for self-identity (Fox, 2002). Only one of the interviewees mentioned that her home is her lifestyle (AC33, 41, F). Although the house where she currently lives had not been built by her, she arranged the interior of the house and the garden according to her lifestyle. For her, home is her lifestyle. Thus, it can be argued that it is not always necessary to build the house according to one's preferences in order to call it a home. A house as a physical structure can be appropriated in order to become a home. A home is, thus, an appropriated place.

Necessity/Need

According to two of the interviewees in this village, home is a necessity, a place which everyone should have and it is a need. One of them exclaimed 'to think that … a person does not have a proper house/home … to think of a family without a house/home' (AC62, 55, M), while the other explained that 'home is a need …' (AC50, 50, F). Moreover, one might also interpret the former statement as being that home is again associated with family since a family cannot be thought of without a home.

Positive/Constructive feelings

Home was sometimes defined by referring to feelings. These feelings, described as 'affective feelings' by Oranratmanee (2008), are called positive/constructive feelings in this study as the interviewees mainly described what home means to them with positive/constructive words. Amusement, ease, everything, happiness, nice relationships, peace, relaxation/resting place, reliability, togetherness/union, and warmth are the feelings which are frequently mentioned.

> A happy home/nest. Happiness. Thank God we are happy in our home/nest, comfortable (AC74, F)
>
> My home. I am happy, with my children, it's a place where I live. If there is peace in one's home s/he is happy, aren't they? (AC53, 50, F)
>
> A home for me is a nice relationship … for me a home is warmth, togetherness (AC67, 29, F)
>
> Warmth, comfort, peace. This is a home (AC32, 37, F)
>
> A warm home/nest … (AC70, 27, M)

When the definitions of the interviewees are considered regarding the positive-negative/constructive-deconstructive notions it is found that all of them have defined home with positive/constructive feelings without exception. This is contrary to some of the discussions in the literature of home which argue that home is not always a place which is perceived positively (e.g. Kent, 1995; Mallet, 2004; Moore, 2000: see Chapter 4). Although the majority of the participants are IDPs and they live in 'Greek Cypriots' ' houses, they predominantly defined

home with positive/constructive feelings. The reason can be explained as that home is mainly associated with family in this village. Therefore, it can be argued that the existence of family in the place and sharing the place with family appear to be significant issues which even make IDPs establish positive/constructive feelings towards the place.

Reliability/Safety

Home is extensively identified with safety and security issues in the literature (Deprés, 1991; Somerville, 1997; Fox, 2002; Oranratmanee, 2008). It is described as 'security and control' (Deprés, 1991), 'a place of retreat, safety and relaxation, freedom and independence' (Somerville, 1997), 'home as a territory offers security and control, a locus in space, permanence and continuity and privacy' (Fox, 2002) and 'reference, reliance and refuge' (Oranratmanee, 2008). Likewise, one of the interviewees referred to home as a place of reliability and safety:

> Home is a reliability, an abode/settling place. Your house/home. You know that it is your house/home, you trust your house/home. You are not in the street. You shut your door, you are safe … (AC49, 63, F)

The reliability and safety that she implies can be interpreted in two ways. Firstly, the ownership of the house is pointed out by the phrase 'Your house/home. You know that it is your house/home'. Moreover, in the following part of the statement safety which is offered by the house is pointed out with the phrase 'You are not in the street. You shut your door, you are safe'. Considering this, it can be argued that home offers reliability and safety to its inhabitants when one owns a house. Here, home also can be associated with a shelter which one takes refuge in.

Shelter

Home as a shelter, might be evaluated as one of the most important and frequently referred to aspects in the literature. This has been mentioned by various scholars 'as a relationship with a physical structure, setting, or shelter' (Hayward, 1975, cited in Rapoport, 1995, p.34), 'as a material structure' (Deprés, 1991), 'as a physical structure offers material shelter' (Fox, 2002) and 'a physical structure (and a continuity process)' (Oranratmanee, 2008).

It is seen that two of the interviewees in this village have defined home with the statements 'a place where humans shelter' (AC19, 88, M) and '… It's my shelter' (AC33, 41, F). Home as a shelter provides a protection for its inhabitants (Somerville, 1997) and offers a place to settle in.

Uniqueness

Home as uniqueness has been identified by Oranratmanee (2008) and mentioned in this village too, but by only one of the interviewees. According to her, home is 'the most beautiful space where you find your own peace …' (AC29, 59, F).

Out of all of these perceptions and meanings of home, family/family place and positive/constructive feelings emerged as key meanings in Akçay/Argaki. According to the interviewees in this village, home is family, sharing and togetherness with family and it is also the feelings that one might develop towards one's home, the feeling that one has for the place where s/he lives and also emotions that one uses to define the house.

8.3.2 Where is home?

Four answers emerged from the interviews when the interviewees were asked whether they call the houses that they currently live 'their homes'. It was found that the majority of the interviewees who are IDPs stated that they do say 'this is my home', while only three rejected the idea. In addition, five interviewees pointed out the temporariness of the situation by replying 'yes for now' and 'yes for now but …'.

When the interviewees were asked why they perceive the houses that they currently live as their homes or do not perceive these houses as their homes, the concepts below emerged from the coding of the interviews:

- familiarity
- family
- I live in it
- length of residence
- no investment
- no other choice
- not my property/Greek house
- positive/constructive feelings towards home
- things achieved and experienced throughout a lifetime
- title deed
- togetherness

Familiarity

Similar to what Gustafson (2001) indicated, one of the interviewees in this village mentioned that the familiarity of the house where he lives makes him feel that that place is his home. This is stated as:

> Because I have lived here since I was little. If I close my eyes I know by memory
> where I am going (AC70, 27, M)

It might therefore be argued that when a person becomes familiar with a place, s/he starts to perceive that place as his/her home as s/he knows all about that place. This feeling might give comfort to a person, which then leads to acceptance of a place.

Family

Family, which was an important issue when defining the meaning of home in this village, appeared as a reason for perceiving a place as home. Along these lines, one of the

interviewees who stated that the house she and her family live in is her home further explains this:

> Now, it is already mine. This is my home. It's not like as … For instance, my sister has a house. She bought a house in Gönyeli but she doesn't think to go and settle. Because, this is her home. That is there but it's not a home for her. This is home. Likewise, if I intend to buy a house and live there alone, build a life, it's not like that. This is my home. Because if this togetherness (with family) does not exist, there is no meaning of home. For me home is not four walls (AC67, 29, F)

According to her, the important thing which makes a house a home, is family and togetherness with family. As she currently lives with her family in the house she can say that the house is a home for her. Moreover, she explains that she does not want to live in another place alone as she knows that she is not going to perceive that place as her home. Thus, family can be evaluated as an entity which makes a place be perceived as home, it is the reason to call a place, a home.

I live in it

To live in the house and in the village has been put forward as another reason for accepting the place as one's own home. One of the interviewees who stated this mentioned that she can say that the house she lives in is her home for now, as she lives in it.

> It's my home. I live in it. Half of my life has passed in it. This is a place which took half of my life. That's why (AC50, 50, F)

> Since we are here, since we live here, it is our village (AC75, 46, M)

It can be argued here that a person can perceive the house as her home while s/he lives in it. Yet, when this case is considered, it is more than this. This interviewee refers to ownership of the house when she answers 'yes for now'. She keeps in her mind that she is not the 'owner' of the house and she can only refer to it as her house/home as long as she lives there. In addition, another interviewee who accepts the house as his house/home as he lives in it explains:

> Of course, leaving and the fact that this house is not my house/home are always in one part of my mind. But it is a place that I live and I like the place that I live in. I am also happy with my home (AC62, 55, M)

It can be concluded that the current situation of already living in the house makes people perceive it as their home.

Length of residence

Length of residence in the houses, which Dovey (1985), Kent (1995) and Leith (2006) also refer to, was the most frequently indicated reason amongst the interviewees in this village when they were explaining the reason for perceiving the houses that they live in as their homes. The time spent in the house appears to be an important determinant for people in order to consider that place to be their homes.

It's been 33 years that we have lived in in this house. Certainly you say, right? I don't pay rent or anything … I got married and I've settled, I say it's my home (AC53, 50, F)

Surely, we say. 35 years. When I came here I was single. Now, I have two grandchildren. What do I say if I don't say this is my home? Of course in my heart, in my mind, one day if the Cyprus Problem is solved, Güzelyurt region is in the list in all of the negotiations which will be given (to Greek Cypriots), of course in one part of our minds: where will we migrate if the Cyprus Problem is solved? … (AC62, 55, M)

It's been how many years that I came and settled in this place? Of course my home, my home … (AC58, 77, F)

No investment

One of the interviewees who does not say that the house she lives in is her house/home explains this feeling by pointing out the lack of investment in the house.

I haven't carried out any investment or anything. I do not have points nor did I invest any equivalency for the property (AC66, 62, F)

What she meant by no investment is related to the title deed which refers to the ownership. Considering this, it might be evaluated that since she has not invested in the house she does not perceive it as her home. At this point, the non-existence of investment affects people's perceptions towards the place where they live, and makes them not perceive it as their home.

No other choice

Having no other option might make a person accept whatever exists. It has been indicated by one of the interviewees (AC74, F) that she has no other option but to accept the house that she lives in as her house/home. As this place was the only option that was offered to them by the administration, they settled here. It might be said that as they had no other place to go they started to feel or accept this place as their home.

Not my property/Greek house

Two interviewees who do not accept the house as their houses/homes and one who accepted it as temporary describe the reason in relation to property ownership. They indicate that the houses are not their properties but that they are Greeks' houses.

Yes for now but I don't say it's my home for sure. Because it's not mine. Is it? He (the government) gave you a title deed, they said you have the right; you are a wife of a martyr so you have the right. They gave a title deed. But I don't know how legal it is … But, now the only home that we trust is this one. I cannot say it's my home, it is from a Greek. If the government tell us 'let's go, this house is not permanent, you are going to migrate to that place' we will go. It's how they built a migrant house for us in Akıncılar/Luricina, we said it's our home, you see we can't say it's our home, we left and came here. It's not clear where we go from here … (AC49, 63, F)

I live in it. But I don't say it's my home. To live in a place, in a space is something else, accepting it as a property is something else. This is not my property. Maybe I like here, I go through my sorrows here, I share my happiness in this house with my family but I don't share anything as a property. Even though I left more than the

> equivalent of this in the south still it's not mine. It's not mine. It's not mine because someone else has built it. Mine is the holy one for me. If we had exchanged … And everyone had exchanged their properties between the Greek side and this side [the north] … More or less, that time I would have said it's my property, I would have taken it as an equivalency to my property, and I would have said it's over (AC29, 59, F)

> It's not mine. It is a Greek's house. How can I say now that it's mine? (AC75, 46, M)

Positive/Constructive feelings towards home

Positive/constructive feelings towards houses they currently live in make people perceive these houses as 'their homes'.

> Of course, to leave and the fact that this house is not my house/home are always in one part of my mind. But it is a place that I live and I like the place that I live in. I am also happy with my home (AC62, 55, M)

> Because I like it. I like it. For most people my house is small. They say you live in a very small house but I say for me my home is my heaven. I like my garden very much. I like to do gardening very much. My flowers, my trees, I have a big garden at the back. I like it (AC33, 41, F)

Things achieved and experienced throughout a lifetime

Similar to what has been stated by Dovey (1985), Kent (1995) and Leith (2006), one of the interviewees who perceived the house as her home talked about the things achieved and experienced throughout a lifetime in the house.

> When I came here I was single. Now, I have two grandchildren. What do I say if I don't say this is my home? Of course in my heart, in my mind, one day if the Cyprus Problem is solved Güzelyurt region is the list in all of the negotiations which will be given (to Greek Cypriots), of course in one part of our minds: where will we migrate if the Cyprus Problem is solved? Because we are the migrants of both 63 and 74 [1963 and 1974] … (AC62, 55, M)

With regards to this, it can be said that in addition to the length of residence in the house, the things which a household experiences in a place are also important for their acceptance of that place as their homes.

Title deed

Interviewees who referred to the title deed while explaining the reason for perceiving the house as home are those who evaluate the houses as their houses/homes temporarily by saying 'yes for now', 'yes for now but …'. Therefore, the title deed surfaced as a determinant which influences people's perceptions of the place they live and prevents them from completely perceiving the place as their homes.

> Because, its title deed does not belong to me. When the title deed is clear and the title deed that I have is legal then I will say it's my home (AC73, 57, M)

> There isn't a title deed. They gave a title deed though, but that title deed is not legal. The legal title deed is the old title deed, the title deed which is from the English period. These are temporary. Fields are like that, houses are like that, everything is like that, temporary. The government did this in order to prevent

people from quarrelling, like I will come to ask you to go out (from my home) etc. It
is fine in a way. The right belongs to the title deed owner … (AC19, 88, M)

Togetherness

A place can be perceived as a home if one lives with family members instead of living alone.
Therefore, one might not perceive a place as home if one lives alone, even if one owns the
house.

This is home. Likewise, if I intend to buy a house and live there alone, build a life,
it's not like that. This is my home. Because if this togetherness (with family) does
not exist, there is no meaning of home. For me home is not four walls (AC67, 29, F)

Overall, participants who perceive the houses as their homes mentioned the reason for their
perceptions in relation to the familiarity of the house, family, the current situation of already
living in the house, length of residence in the house, having no other choice,
positive/constructive feelings that they have towards the place, things achieved and
experienced throughout a lifetime in that place and togetherness in the house. Those who
temporarily perceived the houses as their homes explained this in relation to the current
situation and property ownership. Lastly, not investing in the house, and property ownership,
were the two reasons which made people not perceive the house as their home.

To conclude, the key reasons which impact peoples' perceptions of their current places of
residence as their homes are the length of residence in these places and the
positive/constructive feelings that they have towards these places. On the other hand, not
having ownership of the property and living in someone else's house are the reasons which
influence people to reject the house as their own home or accept the house as a temporary
home.

8.4 Summary and conclusion

In relation to the second objective of the study, it was the aim of this chapter to investigate place
attachment and the perception of home as a result of displacement in northern Cyprus. In order
to do so, the chapter focused on one of the villages located in northern Cyprus, which was once
inhabited by a mix of Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots and is now settled by a small number
of local Turkish Cypriots along with a considerable number of Turkish Cypriot IDPs.

Results revealed that attachment of IDPs to their former places of residence has been impacted
by displacement. Besides, since they live in places where they have been displaced to, their
attachment to these places is vague, and this shows that displacement also impacts the
attachment to places settled after displacement. Comparing the attachment of locals with the
attachment of IDPs, it can also be concluded that displacement impacts the locals' attachment
since they live with a considerable amount of IDPs in the village.

The length of residence might affect IDPs' attachment but not the locals'. Generally, although IDPs became attached to the current place of residence over time, they are still attached to the previous place of residence as well. Yet, it should be mentioned that there are exceptions – those who are still not attached to their current place of residence despite having lived there for more than 35 years. In addition to this, ownership has an impact on the attachment of IDPs as well as locals. However, participants who are not attached, although they claim ownership, exist, and vice versa. Similarly, the willingness to move and gender can be evaluated as determinants both for locals and for IDPs. However, it emerged that age is not a determinant for place attachment.

Home is associated with family in general, and in particular, as a family place. Interviewees referred to their relationships with other family members and togetherness with them while they talked about their homes. Moreover, home is evaluated as a place where they live with their families, a place where they share everything with the other family members. Therefore, family presence was a significant issue in this village. Besides family, home was frequently identified with positive/constructive feelings as well.

Drawing from the concepts of home as found in the village, four main categories can be suggested: 'home as a dwelling', 'home as emotions', 'home as family' and 'home as ownership' (see Appendix III Concepts of Home and Appendix IV Categories of Home). The first category, 'home as a dwelling', is related to home as a physical/three-dimensional structure and includes the notions of home as a place for daily activities, home as a place to live in and/or an abode/settling place, home as necessity/need, home as shelter. The second category, 'home as emotions', is related to the feelings of inhabitants towards their houses and covers the concepts of home as a place of relaxation, rest and peace, home as positive/constructive feelings, home as reliability/safety and home as uniqueness. The third category, 'home as family', includes home as a family place and home as family, while the last category 'home as ownership' is related to property ownership and comprises home as a desire to own and home as belonging. Furthermore, home as a home/nest, home as life and home as lifestyle can be listed as the notions which can be grouped in the various categories suggested.

When the distribution of the categories of home is examined, it is seen that home as 'emotions' appeared as the most frequently indicated notion of home, while 'ownership' is the least common notion. Therefore, it can be stated that home is predominantly related to feelings in the first village, Akçay/Argaki, whilst ownership has very little importance.

Despite the fact that IDPs live in 'Greek Cypriots' houses' they mainly perceive the houses as their houses/homes. There are exceptions who do not perceive the houses as their houses/homes and those who perceive the houses as their houses/homes but only temporarily. The reason behind the acceptance of the houses as theirs has been explained by

predominantly referring to their length of residence, particularly in their current house. Spending time in a place made these people feel that the houses belong to them, although they are aware of the temporariness of the situation. Almost with the same importance, it was also found that having positive/constructive feelings towards a house makes people perceive it as a home. The ones who reject the idea of owning the houses and perceive them as theirs temporarily, indicated ownership as a reason, explaining that the house belongs to a Greek Cypriot.

'Emotions', 'family', 'current situation', 'length of residence', 'obligation', 'ownership' and 'investment' are the categories that can be suggested in relation to the answers which were given by the interviewees as the determinants for perceiving the place as one's home or not perceiving the place as one's home.

When the borders were released, IDPs from both Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot communities became able to 'visit' their villages and houses on the opposite parts of the island. Although this allowed partial reunion with their places of origin and 'former' homes by receiving 'freedom' of travel, it also revealed the current state of these places to the IDPs, which they had not been able to see for more than 30 years. In this respect, it might be claimed that this encounter had an effect on their attachment and perception of their current places of residence as well as their desire to return. In order to understand the situation in another type of village, the next chapter, Chapter 9, focuses on the previously mixed village Akdeniz/Agia Eirini, which is now predominantly inhabited by local Turkish Cypriots.

Chapter 9

Village 2: Akdeniz-Ayrini/Agia Eirini

Formerly Mixed, Currently Locals' Village

Chapter 9: Village 2: Akdeniz-Ayrini/Agia Eirini
Formerly Mixed, Currently Locals' Village

9.1 Introduction

The issues which were examined in Chapter 8 are also the subject of this chapter and as a consequence the structure of the chapters is identical. Place attachment and perception of home have been explored in the formerly ethnically mixed village Akdeniz-Ayrini/Agia Eirini, which has now been settled predominantly by the local Turkish Cypriots, in order to address the second objective, which aims to investigate place attachment and perception of home as a result of displacement in northern Cyprus. The key reason for selecting this village is that unlike the situation in the village Akçay/Argaki, these subjects could be explored by questioning and interviewing the locals who used to live alongside Greek Cypriots. The results show that predictors of place attachment exhibit similarities to the findings from the locals from the previous village, while showing differences to the IDPs from the previous village. Similarly, perception of home slightly differs in this village compared to the previous village.

It emerged that only displacement, in this case being local, influences place attachment. Similar to what was found for the locals in the previous village, length of residence, age and gender are not determinants of attachment for the locals in this village either, whereas ownership and willingness to move have an association with attachment.

When the meaning of home is inspected, it is found that home predominantly means home/nest, and similar to the previous village home also mainly means family place, and positive/constructive feelings. Home appeared to be perceived commonly as belonging, which is a different finding than at the previous village. Contrary to the previous village, when perception of home is investigated, in relation to the question 'Where is home?', it is found that almost all of the participants, except for one, described the houses where they currently live as being their homes.

9.2 Investigating place attachment
Displacement

Locals are very attached to their houses, the houses that they live in mean a lot to them, and their houses feel like home to them (M = 4.66, 4.40, 4.57, respectively). Differently than the previous village, all items of attachment are represented by higher values, which can be interpreted as meaning that the level of attachment of locals in Akdeniz/Agia Eirini is higher than both the attachment of IDPs and the attachment of locals in Akçay/Argaki. Yet, at this point, it should be noted that locals in the latter include the grand/children of IDPs, whereas in this village it does not. Therefore, it can be argued that IDPs' descendants' attachment is also lower than the attachment of people who have never experienced a displacement. Overall, it is found that the attachment of locals to the houses in this village is strong (M = 4.54).

The villagers are very much attached to their village, the village means a lot to them, and it feels like home to them (M = 4.40, 4.23, 4.51, respectively). Similar to the attachment to their house, attachment to their village has been valued between agree and strongly agree (between the value of 4 and 5), which is evaluated as a strong attachment. Yet, when attachment to the village and house are compared, it is seen that people are more attached to their houses than to their villages. Still, overall, it is seen that the attachment to their village is high (M = 4.38) among the villagers.

Amongst the locals in this village, attachment to their village is also higher than the attachment to their village and house among both the IDPs and locals in the previous village. Drawing from this, it can be stated that displacement has an impact on place attachment both at the house scale and the village scale.

Length of residence

The length of residence is not an effective determinant of the attachment of the locals of Akdeniz/Agia Eirini, similar to the locals from the previous village. Most of the participants, with various lengths of residence, stated that they were attached to the village and to the houses. Only one person indicated that he was not attached to his home, even though he had lived in his house for more than 30 years.

Considering the locals of both villages, it can be argued that being a local from a place is sufficient to make one feel attached to that place. It is seen that in this type of situation where people still live in their place of origin, attachment is not necessarily linked to length of residence.

Ownership

Similar to the previous village, place attachment and ownership also have an association in this village. Nearly all of the participants who claim ownership of the houses are attached to the village and similar to this most of the participants who claimed ownership of the houses are attached to the houses (65/77 and 75/85).

Additionally, some who are confused about ownership and some who did not claim ownership are still attached to the village (5/77 and 7/77). Also, it was found that some participants are attached to the houses where they currently live, although they are confused about the ownership or did not claim ownership of the houses (both 5/85). Normally, those who are confused and those who do not claim ownership are expected not to have attachment. Since these people are from this village or married to a person from this village, it can be argued that this might be affecting their attachment. However, it should also be noted that a similar scenario emerged in the previous village among IDPs.

Willingness to move

In general, willingness to move is very low in this village. 28% of the participants mentioned that they are willing to move as they are bored of the house, village and people, and would like to live in 'a more beautiful, newer and bigger house' in order to be comfortable and to have their own property. This is due to the fact that in some cases houses are shared between two families, they live in a rented house and would like to have their own, and/or they do not have ownership of the house. The majority of those who would like to move indicated the reason that the village is not easily accessible due to its location, and that there are a lack of opportunities for the education of their children. Therefore, mostly, they state that they would like to move to central places and cities. In addition to this, it is seen that people in this village would consider moving to places with a 'nice' view and location, 'nice', 'clean' and 'better' places. Differently to the previous village, it is seen that some people would like to move out of their house but would prefer to stay in the village and live in a new house. This can again be related to the issue of being a local of the village. People might prefer to stay in the village where they live even if they are willing to move from their house.

On the other hand, 64% of the participants are not willing to move from their houses for both similar reasons to those identified in the previous village, and many others as well. Predominantly, participants mentioned that they like their houses, they are satisfied and they are happy with their houses and with the village. The second frequently given reason, which was not mentioned in the previous village, is the 'beautiful' view from the village in general and from the houses in particular. Differently than Akçay/Argaki, which is inhabited mainly by IDPs, it has been questioned by the participants 'where and why' they would move from their houses and village. The idea of moving from the house and the village is not meaningful for them. Another different reason from the previous village emerged as ownership. Participants explained that they do not want to move as they live in their own houses and properties. In addition, memories, length of residence, work, investment in the house, the 'beauty' of the village life and village and comfort of living in this village and not wishing to move alone to a foreign place are listed as other reasons for their unwillingness to move. Drawing from the reasons from both villages, it can be argued that being local and being IDPs impacts the willingness to move.

It is seen that three quarters of the villagers who are attached to their village and to their houses are not willing to move (58/76, 64/85), while a quarter are willing to move despite being attached to the village and to their houses (18/76, 21/85). Only one person is not attached to the village but is still not willing to move. Considering this, it can be concluded that similar to Akçay/Argaki, there is a relationship between willingness to move and place attachment in this village.

Age

Similar to the previous village, age is not affecting the attachment of participants to their villages and their houses. People from different age groups seem to be attached to both places with more or less the same distributions.

Gender

Both females and males are almost equally attached to the house (females slightly more), while males are more attached to the village than females. Therefore, gender is not a determinant of place attachment in this village.

9.3 Investigating perception of home

9.3.1 What is home?

The following concepts emerged from the coding of the interviews in this village on the perception of what home is:[19]

- a desire to own
- a family place
- a place for daily activities
- a place of relaxation, rest and peace
- a place to live in and/or an abode/settling place
- *a place where feelings change*
- *a place where one renews him/herself*
- *attachment*
- belonging
- family
- home/nest
- *multifunctional place*
- positive/constructive feelings
- reliability/safety
- shelter

In addition to some the concepts that were mentioned in Akçay/Argaki, four different concepts emerged in this village: a place where feelings change, a place where one renews him/herself, attachment and a multifunctional place. On the other hand, four concepts which were mentioned in the previous village were not mentioned in this village: life, lifestyle, necessity/need and uniqueness.

A desire to own

Home as a desire to own was only described by one of the interviewees in this village, like in the previous village.

---

[19] The concepts which were not mentioned in the previous village but were stated in this village are emphasised with italics.

> Your home/nest. Your everything. It's your everything. What shall you do? Have a rafter and be in your home. Can we pay rent? We cannot. What shall we do? I hope God does not take us apart (AD81, 73, F)

This can be interpreted as that, although it is not very common, home can be perceived as a desire to own for locals as well as for IDPs.

A family place

Home as a family place emerged as one of the key statements in this village. An almost equal amount of interviewees described home as a family place as in the previous village.

> A place where the family is (AD47, 17, F)
>
> … You live with your family (AD10, 58, F)
>
> … It's a very nice thing to be happy with your husband and your children. It's happiness. I don't know. It's a nice thing (AD15, 76, F)
>
> A place where family live (AD14, 60, F)

Considering these, it can be concluded that no matter whether a person is IDP or local, s/he can associate home with family. The existence of family in a place appears to be a significant issue for the perception of home. Thus, it can be simply argued that home is where a family is.

A place for daily activities

Home as a place for daily activities rarely has been pointed out in this village, like the previous village.

> For me home is no longer a place to lie down and get up [a sleeping place]. In the past, a house/home was only a place to lie down and get up, to dine but now I think home, in this information century is a library, a computer room … It's a place where everything is interconnected … It is a library, a dining place and also a resting place … In the past, it was only dining and sleeping … (AD01, 44, M)
>
> … It's a kind of place where they get changed [take off and put on clothes]. A place that a person goes out from [and comes back to] and then renews him/herself … (AD08, 62, M)

Home is a place which shelters the most basic daily routines of people, although these routines have developed throughout the years as explained by one of the interviewees above. Home is not only a place to dine and sleep in, it is also a place which connects people with everything they want through the use of current technology.

A place of relaxation, rest and peace

Similar to the previous village, home as a place for relaxation emerged in this village as well, although this statement is not common in either village. It appeared in both in the IDPs' village and locals' village.

> … If you have a house/home you are more comfy/relaxed … (AD03, 75, F)

A place to live in and/or an abode/settling place

Home as a place to live in, an abode and a settling place is one of the common concepts in both the previous village and this village. Thus, home can be perceived as a place to live in, an abode and a settling place both by IDPs and by locals.

> House/home, family. It's a place to live in and/or an abode/settling place (AD11, 42, M)

> A house/home is a place where a person lives. If there is no house, where will we live? In a hut? … (AD52, 48, M)

> Home is a settling place/abode where a human can shelter (AD33, 72, M)

A place where feelings change

Home has not been identified as a place where feelings change in the previous village. Yet, in this village it has been mentioned by one of the interviewees that home is a place where the feelings of inhabitants may alter when they enter the house and leave. According to him home is:

> … A place that a person goes out from [and comes back to] and then renews him/herself. But as I said, maybe you enter [into a home] and leave with anger, maybe you enter and leave happy. These happen in various ways (AD08, 62, M)

A place where one renews him/herself

One other concept which is different to the ones in the previous village is that home is a place where one renews him/herself, which has been mentioned by the same interviewee that stated that home is a place where feelings change. He states:

> … It's a kind of place where they get changed [take off and put on clothes]. A place that a person goes out from [and comes back to] and then renews him/herself … (AD08, 62, M)

This action of 'getting changed' might be interpreted in two ways. It might relate to its usual meaning – to take off and put on clothes – or it could be a metaphor which might point to the alteration of feelings as was mentioned in the previous section – home as a place where feelings change.

Attachment

Similar to Kissoon (2006), who associates home with attachment, home as an attachment was described by one of the interviewees in this village, different to the previous village. It's stated by the interviewee that:

> House/home. It's your house/home, home/nest, attachment … (AD15, 76, F)

When both villages are taken into account, it is seen that home as an attachment appeared only in the locals' (this) village.

Belonging

Similar to the previous village, home has been identified as a belonging in this village too. This is also a concept that Kissoon (2006) relates to home.

> It's your own house/home, your own home/nest, family. You live with your family (AD10, 58, F) (AD27, 75, F)
>
> A house/home is everything. A person without a home looks like a person without anyone. For example, we have a neighbour here, house/home is not hers, and she rents. She doesn't feel that the home is hers. But house/home is everything for a person. Eventually, when the end of a month arrives you don't have to worry about rent, you don't have a problem. No one says you must move out of the house today (AD06, 46, M)
>
> A house/home is a person's, but this is not the case for every house/home. If s/he has a house/home which belongs to him/her and lives in it, the house/home belongs to a person like bitterness, sweetness, happiness, sadness, a place where s/he sweeps/throws away his/her sweat and tiredness. It's a kind of place where they get changed [take off and put on clothes] … (AD08, 62, M)

Although this concept of home is mentioned in both of the villages, it is seen that in the first village, which is predominantly settled by IDPs, home as belonging is only defined by one of the interviewees, while in this village, where locals live, this statement appears as one of the key definitions. Drawing from this, home as a belonging is a more common perception amongst locals.

Family

Home is described as a family in this village too by two of the interviewees. According to them home is equal to family. This is stated as:

> House/home, family. It is a place to live in and/or an abode/settling place (AD11, 42, M)
>
> It's your own house/home, your own home/nest, family. You live with your family (AD10, 58, F)

Home/Nest

In contrast to the previous village, home is broadly explained as home/nest by the interviewees in this village. This can be interpreted as locals feel that the home is their home/nest, while this perception is very rare among the IDPs, i.e. in Akçay/Argaki.

> House/Home. Home/Nest. A place where you build up your home/nest. Your home/nest (AD04, 70, F)
>
> It's your own house/home, home/nest … (AD10, 58, F) (AD15, 76, F) (AD29, 64, F) (AD21, 52, F)
>
> A house/home is a home/nest. A house/home is everything … (AD06, 46, M)
>
> Home/nest. You have children, you get married and have children. Where do you do these? In a cave? In the past a house/home was a cave (AD34, 71, M)

Multifunctional place

Home is described by one of the interviewees as a place where everything is interconnected. This aspect, which has not been mentioned in the previous village, has been explained as follows.

> For me home is no longer a place to lie down and get up [a sleeping place]. In the past, a house/home was only a place to lie down and get up, to dine but now I think home, in this information century is a library, a computer room … It's a place where everything is interconnected. My point of view is that if you have a computer, communication era, you connect to the world. It is a library, a dining place and also a resting place. I think, a home, its meaning has broadened a lot. In the past, it was only dining and sleeping. Because these factors that we counted were not existent. But according to me it has changed a lot now. For instance, a child takes the thing [the laptop], goes to his/her room and connects to the world. Now, it should be asked whether this is a house/home or a library. Right? All is interconnected (AD01, 44, M)

This statement compares the meaning of home in the past and present by highlighting the impact of technology while referring to the information century and communication era. Considering this, it can be argued that technology might influence the way people perceive a home.

Positive/Constructive feelings

Home is described with positive/constructive feelings in this village too, although by a smaller amount of interviewees compared to the previous village. In other words, generally IDPs referred to positive/constructive feelings while describing home more than the locals. Home in this village is described as one's everything, ease, happiness with one's family, happiness, nice things and a beautiful home/nest by seven interviewees.

> Your home/nest. Your everything. It's your everything … (AD81, 73, F)

> House/home. It's good. If you have a house/home you are more comfy/relaxed … (AD03, 75, F)

> … It's a very nice thing to be happy with your husband and your children. It's happiness. I don't know. It's a nice thing (AD15, 76, F)

> It means a beautiful home/nest (AD16, 76, F)

Differently to the previous village, in this village the possibility of the existence of negative/deconstructive feelings was mentioned by one of the interviewees while explaining that feelings may change when you enter and leave the home. He pointed out that this change might also be in a negative/deconstructive way (see the concept 'A place where feelings change').

Reliability/Safety

Reliability/safety has been mentioned in this village too. According to the interviewees:

> House/home. It's good. If you have a house/home you are more comfy/relaxed. You don't pay rent, for instance. No one tells you to 'get out'. It's yours. It's better (AD03, 75, F)

> A house/home is everything. A person without a home looks like a person without anyone. For example, we have a neighbour here, house/home is not hers, and she pays rent. She doesn't feel that the home is hers. But house/home is everything of a person. Eventually, when the end of a month arrives you don't have a rent worry, you don't have a problem. No one says you must move out today (AD06, 46, M)

It is seen in both of the statements that reliability/safety is related to the ownership of the houses. Therefore, it can be argued that they feel safe when they own their houses. Similar to the previous village, ownership was mentioned while discussing reliability/safety in thiss village too.

Shelter

Like the previous village, home is identified as a shelter by two of the interviewees in this village. As they explain:

> It's a house. I enter, nestle in. I put my head in … (AD28, 56, F)

> Home is a settling place/abode where a human can shelter (AD33, 72, M)

When all of the concepts related to the perception of home are considered, it is seen that differently to the previous village, home/nest and belonging appeared as key concepts in this village along with family place and positive/constructive feelings which emerged similarly in the previous village. Absence of identification of home as home/nest and belonging can be related to the effect of displacement and the result of living in a foreign environment. Locals who live in their places of origin indicate ownership of the houses as well as their belonging to the houses, while both concepts are not that significant for IDPs.

9.3.2 Where is home?

Interviewees were asked whether they say 'this is my home' for the houses that they currently live in or not. In contrast to the variety of answers in the previous village, mainly one answer emerged at this village. Since all of the interviewees are from this village and almost all of them live in their houses, the answer appeared as 'yes' except for one of the interviewees who mentioned that the house belongs to him but the land is still in his grandfather's name. Therefore, he explained that he cannot say that it is his house as it does not legally belong to him. On the other hand, even the interviewees who live in 'previously' Greek houses define the houses as their houses. This could be explained by their being local to the village. Since they have not been displaced from another village, any house in the village is a home for them.

From the coding of the interviews, the concepts which were given as a reason for perceiving the current houses as home or denying the idea have emerged as:[20]

- *belonging*

---

[20] The concepts which were not mentioned in the previous village but were stated in this village are emphasised with italics.

- *childhood home*
- *control over the house*
- *exertion*
- family
- I live in it
- investment
- length of residence
- *my house/home*
- no other choice
- positive/constructive feelings towards home
- things achieved and experienced throughout a lifetime
- title deed
- *uniqueness*

Differently to the previous village, *belonging, childhood home, control over the house, exertion, uniqueness* and *my house/home* are the reasons which were given in this village by the interviewees, and *familiarity, not my property/Greek house* and *togetherness* are the reasons which were mentioned in the previous village but not in this village. Considering these differences between these two villages, it can be argued that displacement has an impact on the perception of where home is and the acceptance of a place as one's home.

Belonging

Belonging was not mentioned in the previous village where almost all of the interviewees were IDPs or were their children and grandchildren. In this village, three of the interviewees referred to belonging when explaining that the houses they live in are their houses/homes.

> It's my home. It's not someone else's home, for instance to tell me 'go away from this house'. Right? My own house/home, my own home/nest. It belongs to me (AD10, 58, F)

> Because it's mine. I have always lived here, from birth and through growth. For instance this is my father's house, I was born in this house. That's why I say I am attached here, I belong here (AD06, 46, M)

Considering this, it can be concluded that being displaced or not has an influence on people's perception of belonging and where the home is.

Childhood home

Another concept which has been referred to in this village is 'childhood home'. This concept did not emerge as a reason in the previous village where interviewees were IDPs who do not live in their childhood villages and/or homes anymore. An interviewee in this village mentions the reason of acceptance of the house as his house/home:

> Because it's mine. I have always lived here, from birth and through growth. For instance this is my father's house, I was born in this house. That's why I say I am attached here, I belong here (AD06, 46, M)

Since he was born and grew up in this house, he accepts it as his home. Thus, a childhood home can be listed as one of the issues which influence people's perception of home.

Control over the house

Control over the house by its household appeared as a different reason in this village which was put forward by one of the interviewees.

> Yes, I do say of course. Is there anything like my home? I lock and unlock my house/home by myself (AD15, 76, F)

This might be interpreted as, if a person has control over his/her house, then s/he starts to perceive that house as her/his own.

Exertion (effort that has been put into work by a person)

Another different concept in this village is exertion. What exertion means here is the effort which has been put into work such as building the house. What differentiates exertion from investment is that the former is mainly associated with physical work, whereas the latter is associated with economic input. This cannot be the case in the previous village as almost all of the interviewees are IDPs who live in 'Greek Cypriots' houses' which had been built by Greek Cypriots. In contrast, in this village it has been pointed out by several interviewees that they have spent effort on their houses/homes and for this reason the house where they live is their home.

> You want to go to your home. You got married and you built that house/home, for instance. We used to carry water from the fountains while constructing the house. There is exertion. You have put in work (exertion) on that house … (AD03, 75, F)

> Of course it's my house/home. My handiwork is in this house … I built almost three quarters of it. Because of this, I completely decorate my home. I've built this. I've learned and built even though I am not a builder (AD52, 48, M)

> … Because I put in work (exertion). I have been living here for a long time. What else shall I say? (AD18, 76, F)

Family

Similar to the previous village, family emerged as a reason for accepting the house as home, and this has been mentioned by two interviewees. No matter whether one is local or IDP, family makes them perceive the house as their home.

> … Once you got married, you want to be in your home. You stay with your mother until 20 years old, you stay in your nest until you die. This is what Allah showed (AD04, 70, F&M)

> Because I am attached to my family. I want to live with my family. Because of this surely I do say this is my home (AD02, 71, M)

I live in it

This statement was mentioned in this village as a reason for perceiving the house as her house/home too, although by only one of the interviewees.

> … This is our home, our place … When we were at Gemikonağı and we came here, there wasn't electricity at that time, we were saying how we are going to stay in this place. Now we came from there, and our bed is here, there is electricity now. I feel like I can't stay if I go somewhere else. Here is the beautiful place (AD27, 75, F)

Investment

Investment has been pointed out as another reason by the interviewees. Spending on a house makes people perceive that house as their home.

> Because it's like we bought it (AD28, 56, F)

> … This house is mine as I am the one who carried out its maintenance, who changed the whole form every year for 20 years (AD01, 44, M)

As seen in the previous village, lack of investment made IDPs not perceive the house as their home, while in this village existence of investment makes locals perceive the house as their home. Therefore, investment can be evaluated as an issue whose non/existence in part determines perception of home.

Length of residence

Like the previous village, the length of residence emerged as a reason for the acceptance of home.

> It's my home. I have lived in it for 50 years. This is my home. You forget your parents' house. Once you get married, you want to be in your home. You stay with your mother until 20 years old, you stay in your nest until you die. This is what Allah showed (AD04, 70, F&M)

> … I entered this house as a bride when I was 17. All of my life has passed here. I don't know. You are attached to your home. If they put you into a golden cage, still you would want to go to your place (AD03, 75, F)

With regard to these quotations and also by considering the fact that this reason has been pointed out in the previous village, it could be said that living in a house for a long time makes people, both IDPs and locals, establish an acceptance towards it.

My house/home

Amongst the interviewees in this village, 'my house/home' is one of the frequently mentioned reasons for accepting houses as their houses/homes, while it has not been pointed out in the previous village.

> It's my home. It's not someone else's home, for instance to tell me 'go away from this house'. Right? My own house/home, my own home/nest. It belongs to me (AD10, 58, F)

> You want to go to your home. You got married and you built that house/home, for instance … You are attached to your home. If they put you into a golden cage, still you would want to go to your place (AD03, 75, F)

> Yes. This is my home. When a person does not have a house, a person without a house is like a bird, s/he looks like a bird without a nest (AD29, 64, F)

No other choice

In contrast to the previous village where this statement is used to describe that there is no other option and therefore people have to accept the place where they live as their home, in this village this statement has been mentioned in order to imply the certainty of acceptance and belonging of the home. It has been clarified as:

> What shall I do? Because I put in work (exertion). I have been living here for a long time. What else shall I say? (AD18, 76, F)

Positive/Constructive feelings towards home

Similar to the previous village, interviewees in this village describe their reasons by referring to positive feelings which they established towards the places they live.

> Yes, I do say, I do. Is there anything like your home? Even if you go to your children, you don't feel comfortable if you don't come to your home … This is our home, our place … I feel like I can't stay if I go somewhere else. Here is the beautiful place (AD27, 75, F)

> It's my home. A place that I take shelter in. A home/nest that I like. A place that I become happy. I don't know what else (AD16, 76, F)

It is seen that a house/home is evaluated as a place which offers comfort and happiness to its inhabitants and these feelings lead them to perceive their houses as their homes.

Things achieved and experienced throughout a lifetime

One of the interviewees, when referring to changes over her lifetime explained that:

> … Then, you lived. I entered this house as a bride when I was 17. All of my life has passed here … (AD03, 75, F)

With regards to this, it can be argued that the changes in people's lives create a link between them and their houses as they experience these changes in these places. Then, this leads to an attachment to the home and makes a household accept the place that s/he lives as her/his house/home.

Title deed

Similar to the previous village, having a title deed has been put forward as a reason to perceive the house as home in this village too. Two interviewees refer to this, one of them stresses that he does not say it is his house/home, while the other one mentions that since she has the title deed, it's her house/home.

> Now, I can't say legally. But, no one can make me leave the house by law, but I cannot say it's mine (AD11, 42, M)

> Of course I do say. I say: my house/home with Turkish title deed (AD14, 60, F)

In some cases, especially in Akdeniz/Agia Eirini, when participants were asked whether they would be willing to move from their 'home' if they would have the chance, they answered the question in a way which pointed out that they relate 'home' as their village rather than their houses. This shows similarity with Oranratmanee's concept of 'home as an extended environment' (Oranratmanee, 2008, pp.190–191).

Uniqueness

Differently than the previous village, the uniqueness of the home was indicated in this village by asking 'Is there anything like your home?' by the interviewees.

> Yes, I do say of course. Is there anything like my home? I lock and unlock my house/home by myself (AD15, 76, F)

> Yes, I do say, I do. Is there anything like your home? Even if you go to your children, you don't feel comfortable if you don't come to your home … This is our home, our place … When we were at Gemikonağı and we came here, there wasn't electricity at that time, we were saying how we are going to stay in this place. Now we came from there, and our bed is here, there is electricity now. I feel like I can't stay if I go somewhere else. Here is the beautiful place (AD27, 75, F)

Considering these statements it can be argued that home might be considered to be a unique place where households have influence and feel comfortable. These feelings lead to the acceptance of the place.

Overall, all of the reasons which are discussed above are related to accepting the house as one's home, but only title deed is related to both acceptance and rejection. The existence of a title deed is a reason to accept a house as home, while its non-existence is a reason to reject it. The key reason which influences people's perceptions of the houses as their homes appeared as 'my house/home', which is related to the existence of family in the place, emotions, perceiving the place as shelter and to holding the ownership of the place. Length of residence and time spent at the place, which were main concepts in the previous village, were the second most significant reasons in this village.

9.4 Summary and conclusion

Like the previous chapter, this chapter also focused on the second objective of the study, which was to investigate place attachment and the perception of home as a result of displacement in northern Cyprus. Different to the previous village, this village, which was once mixed, is now inhabited predominantly by local Turkish Cypriots from the village. In contrast to the previous village, the attachment of participants, who are locals, both to the houses where they currently live and to the village, is strong. As seen from the comparison of the two villages, displacement impacts the attachment of people. Different to the IDPs, locals have strong attachment towards their places of residence and they do not have multiple homes that they are attached to.

Among the identified predictors of attachment, displacement influences place attachment. Since the participants in this village are locals, not displaced, their attachment is strong. On the other hand, in this village, the length of residence, age and gender cannot be identified as issues influencing attachment since participants with different lengths of residence and of various ages are similarly attached both to the houses and to the village. In addition to this, ownership and willingness to move have an association with attachment, although there are a few exceptions.

Home is mainly described as a home/nest in this village. A family place, which was a key concept in the previous village when defining home, is the second most widely referred to concept, in line with positive/constructive feelings and belonging. Although home/nest appeared to be the most significant factor in this village, home is mainly associated with family and as a family place and with positive/constructive feelings by the majority of the interviewees in both villages. Moreover, differently to the previous village, belonging appeared as a key concept in relation to the definition of home in this village, which can be related to displacement. To live in their own houses and village predominantly makes people feel that they belong to there and also that the places where they live belong to them.

The same four categories of home which were suggested in the previous village are also applicable in this village. The first category, 'home as a dwelling', includes home as a place for daily activities, home as a place to live in, home as a nest, home as a multifunctional place and home as a shelter. The second category, 'home as emotions', covers home as a place where people feel relaxed, where they can rest and feel peaceful, home as a place where feelings change, home as a place where one renews him/herself, home as an attachment, home as a nest where people live with their families, home as positive/constructive feelings and home as reliability/safety. The third category, 'home as a family', comprises home as a family place, home as a family and home as a nest. The last category, 'home as ownership', covers home as a desire to own and home as belonging.

Like the previous village, where IDPs and locals live, 'home as emotions' appeared as the key category in this village, while 'home as ownership' emerged as the least significant notion. Given this perspective, it can be concluded that there is not a significant difference between IDPs' and locals' identification of home even though ownership in this village is slightly more important than in the previous village.

Almost all of the interviewees in this village perceive the houses where they live as their houses/homes. Even the ones who settled in the 'previously' Greek houses perceive the place as his/hers, which might be the reason for living in his/her own village and not being displaced. It is seen that in Akdeniz/Agia Eirini, interviewees mainly explained the reason for the house being their home by indicating the ownership of the house in general, and in particular since they built it, since it belongs to them and it is their nest. In addition to this, length of residence in

the house was indicated as another reason, similar to Akçay/Argaki. Having ownership of the house and living in a place for a long time makes people perceive those places as theirs, their homes.

In addition, 'familiarity', 'not my property/Greek house' and 'togetherness' are the three concepts which appeared as reasons in the first village yet were not mentioned in this village. On the other hand, some concepts which might be associated with being local such as 'belonging', 'childhood home', 'control over the house', 'exertion', 'uniqueness' and 'my house/home' emerged in this village and not in the previous one, and it could therefore be argued that these concepts are related to whether a person is displaced or local.

'Emotions', 'family', 'current situation', 'length of residence', 'obligation', 'ownership' and 'investment', which are the categories of reasons for accepting or rejecting the house as one's home which emerged in the previous chapter, are applicable in this village as well. It is seen that having, or not having, the ownership of the house impacts its inhabitants' perceptions of home. The category 'dwelling' emerged in this village, in contrast to the previous village where this did not arise. The following chapter, Chapter 10, investigates İncirli/Makrasyka: a 'formerly' Greek Cypriot village which is now inhabited by Turkish Cypriot IDPs.

Chapter 10

Village 3: İncirli-Magrasiga/Makrasyka

Formerly Greek Cypriot, Currently IDPs' Village

Chapter 10: Village 3: İncirli-Magrasiga/Makrasyka
Formerly Greek Cypriot, Currently IDPs' Village

10.1 Introduction

IDPs who currently live in the 'formerly Greek Cypriot' village İncirli-Magrasiga/Makrasyka are examined in this chapter. The chapter seeks to explore identical issues to those which have been investigated in previous chapters, but this time by focusing on IDPs and their grand/children.[21] Therefore, it is the main aim of this chapter to address the second objective of the study, which is to investigate place attachment and perception of home as a result of displacement in northern Cyprus.

Displacement emerged as a predictor of place attachment in this village too. Similar to Akçay/Argaki (which was inspected in Chapter 8), length of residence influences the attachment of IDPs. Also, similar to Akçay/Argaki and the second village Akdeniz/Agia Eirini (which was focused on in Chapter 9), length of residence does not influence the attachment of locals. Like Akçay/Argaki, length of residence in the north has not diminished attachment to the places of residence in the south. In addition, similar to the previous villages, ownership appeared to have an association with attachment, while age has no impact on attachment. Willingness to move among locals is related to place attachment, like in previous villages, but differently than IDPs in Akçay/Argaki, willingness to move is not related to IDPs of this village. Similar to the previous village, place attachment is related to gender, but differently than Akçay/Argaki it impacts females' attachment more than males'.

Home emerged to mainly mean a home/nest, place to live in and positive/constructive feelings to the interviewees in this village. A variety of answers emerged when investigating whether the house they live in is their home. Although the majority of the participants perceive the houses they currently live in as 'their home', participants who perceive the houses as temporarily theirs and participants who do not perceive the houses as 'their homes' also exist.

10.2 Investigating place attachment
Displacement

IDPs are slightly more attached to the houses where they currently live compared to the houses in the south (M = 3.55, 3.41, respectively), and the house they currently live in feels slightly more like home to them in comparison to the ones in the south (M = 3.62, 3.48, respectively). Yet, it should be noted that the values of these items are between 'neither agree nor disagree' and 'agree' (between 3 and 4). Therefore, it cannot be concluded that these people are very attached to the house in the north or the one in the south. The attachment to both places might be evaluated as low, while the results reveal the indecisiveness of people. On the other hand,

---

[21] It should be noted that children and grandchildren of IDPs who were born in the north and were not displaced have been evaluated as 'local'.

although attachment to the house in the north seems slightly more than to the house in the south, the latter means more as a home to the IDPs than the former (M = 3.80, 3.44, respectively). Therefore, high attachment cannot always be evaluated as evidence of existence of meaning.

When attachment of locals is compared to the attachment of IDPs it is observed that, in general, values of place attachment items among locals are higher than among the IDPs. Locals are attached to 'their' houses (M = 3.89). The houses mean a lot to them, but more than this the houses where they live feel like home to them (M = 4.00, 4.26, respectively). When all these are evaluated, the impact of displacement on people's attachment can be clearly observed.

Overall (using the compute mean and thus measuring the combination of the three attachment items), IDPs' attachment to the houses they currently live in and to their previous houses in the south, are more or less equal (M = 3.55 and 3.52, respectively). These people seem indecisive as to whether they are attached or not to both places and unsure which place they feel attached to. Differently, it is seen that locals feel attached to the current houses where they live (M = 4.05). However, this attachment is not very strong.

When attachment to village was examined it was observed that IDPs are indecisive about whether they are attached to the current village, whether it means anything to them, or whether the houses they currently live in feel like home to them (M = 3.33, 2.91, 3.30, respectively). On the other hand, they more or less agree that they are much more attached to the village in the south and that village means a lot to them (M = 3.82, 3.92, respectively). Yet, the village in the south does not feel like home to them either (M = 3.32). Considering this, it can be argued that these people are lost between two worlds. Overall, the values of attachment to the former village are higher in comparison to the current village (M = 3.67, 3.18, respectively). Besides, IDPs have the strongest attachment to their former villages in the south (M = 3.67). In contrast to the ones in Akçay/Argaki, IDPs in this village have been missing their places of birth (M = 4.30). There might be several reasons for missing the birthplace, one of which can be the 'broken neighbourhood' of severed family and relative relationships since some of their former co-villagers currently live in other villages. Another reason can be related to geography and topography of 'their' current village – IDPs in this village state that this village is different from their former village in terms of geographic and topographic characteristics.

Although the attachment value of locals and IDPs to the village in the north are between 'neither agree nor disagree' and 'agree' (M = 3.61, 3.18, respectively), it is seen that locals are more attached to the village they live in than are the IDPs. It is found that IDPs are more attached to their former villages than to their current village (M = 3.67, 3.18, respectively). Overall, they seemed indecisive about their attachment to their current village.

Length of residence

Similar to Akçay/Argaki, length of residence influences the IDPs' attachment to the current village and houses. However, one third of the IDPs who have been living in the houses for more than 20 years are still not attached to the village. It might be claimed that length of residence has more influence on attachment to house than to village, in this case. In addition to this, again similar to Akçay/Argaki, length of residence in current house and village could not extinguish attachment to the previous village and houses of IDPs.

Similar to the locals in Akçay/Argaki and Akdeniz/Agia Eirini, attachment of the locals in this village is not affected by length of residence. Therefore, it can be concluded that length of residence impacts place attachment of IDPs, whereas it does not affect the place attachment of locals.

Ownership

50% of the IDP participants who are confused about ownership of the houses are attached to the village where they live (7/14). Moreover, it is found that half of the IDP participants who are confused about ownership of 'their' houses are attached to the houses they currently live in (11/22). In addition, there were a few IDPs who did not claim ownership of the houses yet seemed attached to the houses (3/22). Half of the participants who claimed ownership of the houses they live in stated that they are not attached to them (2/4).

Moreover, the majority of the IDPs who stated that they are attached to their former villages also claimed ownership of the current house (8/12). Similar to this, one third of the IDPs who are attached to the former house in the south, claimed ownership of the house they currently live in (6/18). Likewise in Akçay/Argaki, IDPs are indecisive about whether they feel that the houses they currently live in are their houses (M = 3.09). Considering these findings, it can be stated that among IDPs, attachment to a village and to a house has connection with ownership, although there are exceptions.

Among the locals, it is found that some of the participants who did not claim ownership are attached to the village, whereas some are not attached (3/5 and 2/5). Almost all of the participants who claimed ownership are attached to the village (9/11). Additionally, both the participants who did not claim ownership and the ones who did claim it all mentioned that they are attached to the houses they live in. Similar to IDPs, ownership has an impact on place attachment of locals.

Willingness to move

Among the four case study villages, the percentage of those willing to move is highest in this village, which was once completely settled by Greek Cypriots and is now inhabited by IDPs and their descendants. 53% of people in general, both IDPs and locals, would like to move from the

places they live. Differently than IDPs in Akçay/Argaki, 58% of IDPs would like to move, while the rest prefer to stay. Some participants who would like to move indicate reasons that are similar to previous participants in the other case study villages; for example, the village is not accessible, there is a lack of opportunities, the village is boring, they are bored and they want change, and the house is old. Similar to Akçay/Argaki, a few participants mentioned that if everyone moves they would move as well. Ownership has been pointed out by some as a possible reason for moving since they do not own the house, the property does not belong to them, they couldn't get used to the house, they want to build their own house, or they would prefer to move if they had a chance. A few IDPs do not know the reason, although they are willing to move. 'The peace' on the island and desire for reunification, are only mentioned by one of the IDPs (and only) in this village, as a reason for willingness to move.

Similar to the previous villages, for the most part, IDPs would like to move to central places/cities. The desire to move to the previous village in the south and to move to their own property in the south has been stated by only two IDPs. Two explained 'wherever everyone goes I go'. Few IDPs would like to move to other villages where their children live. 'Nice', 'clean' and 'better places' have been mentioned by a few in this village as a desired place to move to as well. Similar to Akdeniz/Agia Eirini, one of the participants would like to move from the house but to a new house in the same village. One of the participants has no idea where to go, although s/he wants to move.

36% of IDPs who are unwilling to move from their houses described the reasons as: 'I am satisfied with my home', 'I built it, I put effort and money into the house', 'I don't want to migrate, bored of migration', 'Where would I go after this age?', which in general are similar reasons to those that appeared in the previous villages. Differently, one participant stated that their unwillingness is due to difficulty finding anything better than the house they live in and so they prefer to stay. Furthermore, another participant mentioned that her children are in the same village so she is not willing to move to another place.

Compared to the other three villages, locals who are willing to move constitute the highest percentage in this village, at 45%. More or less similar reasons have been noted: 'location of the village, which is not accessible', 'village is boring', 'ownership', 'related to work' and 'high rent'. Similar to one of the IDPs, one of the locals has identified 'the peace' and the reunification of the island as a reason. Similar to IDPs, it is seen that one of the locals does not know the reason for their willingness to move.

Predominantly, locals in this village would like to move to central places/cities as well. Only one wants to go overseas and one would like to go to the village in the south where her family came from. Also, one of them does not have any idea where s/he would like to go.

Similar issues have been pointed out by the locals of this village in order to describe their unwillingness to move. As in the case of Akdeniz/Agia Eirini: 'I like my home/village', 'I am satisfied with my home/village', 'I am happy at my home', and 'there is no place like my home' constitute the majority of the reasons. In addition, one participant explained that the house is where s/he was born, grew up and got married and s/he has memories, while another referred to the comfort and silence of the village which makes him/her comfortable. 'My children live in this village' emerged as a reason among the locals as well, although it has been stated by only one.

In this village it is found that about half of the IDP participants who are attached to the houses and about half of the IDPs who are attached to the village are also willing to move from the houses they currently live in (11/21 and 7/13). In addition, as found in the previous case villages, there are few participants who are not attached to the house and a few participants who are not attached to the village who are unwilling to move either (1/4 and 3/8).

When these issues are explored in the case of locals, it is also seen that almost all of those who are attached to the village prefer to stay in the houses and two thirds of the ones who are attached to the houses they live in are not willing to move (10/12 and 11/16). Yet, similar to the other villages, some people who are attached to the house and some who are attached to the village are willing to move (5/16 and 2/12).

Moreover, differently than the IDPs in Akçay/Argaki, although the value of the items are not very high, it is apparent that IDPs in this village would prefer to live in their former houses and former villages in the south if they had a chance (M = 3.58 and M = 3.64).

Considering these findings, it can be concluded that willingness to move and place attachment are connected in this village as well. Yet, this is not applicable for the IDPs, as half of the participants who are attached are also willing to move.

Age

In IDPs' villages it was expected to find that age has a strong impact on attachment to previous places of residence. Therefore, it was expected to find that IDPs in general, and the older IDPs in particular, have strong attachment to 'their villages and houses' in the south. However, it was examined whether people from the same age group could be attached to the 'previous village and house' or not, and age has not emerged as an influencing factor in the attachment among IDPs to both the current and previous villages and houses. Additionally, as with previous villages, age does not impact locals' attachment.

Gender

Contrary to the previous IDPs' village Akçay/Argaki, in this village it was found that females (both IDPs and locals) have higher attachment to the house and the village than males. Female IDPs are more attached to the current house, to the former village and to the former house than male IDPs, whereas both female and male IDPs are almost equally attached to the current village. Differently than the previous IDPs' village Akçay/Argaki, this time displacement impacted the attachment of males more than females.

10.3 Investigating perception of home

10.3.1 What is home?

As a result of coding the interview transcriptions, the concepts below appeared in this village and have been used in order to describe what home means.

- a family place
- a place for daily activities
- *a place of one's childhood*
- a place of relaxation, rest and peace
- a place to live in and/or an abode/settling place
- *a place to return to*
- a place where feelings change
- *a place where one's feelings are being shaped*
- *a place where one's life is being shaped*
- attachment
- *exertion*
- family
- home/nest
- life
- necessity/need
- positive/constructive feelings
- reliability/safety
- shelter

In addition to the concepts which have been mentioned in the previous villages (Akçay/Argaki and Akdeniz/Agia Eirini), in this village five different concepts have been stated: a place of one's childhood, a place to return to, a place where one's feelings are being shaped, a place where one's life is being shaped, and exertion (these are shown in italics). On the other hand, a desire to own (which has been mentioned in the previous two villages) has not been used in order to describe home in this village. It might be interpreted that interviewees in this village, who are all IDPs and their grand/children, do not desire to own the houses that they currently live in as they do not perceive home in this way, or since they do not perceive the house they live in now as home, they do not perceive it as a place they desire to own.

A family place

Home as a family place is one of the aspects of home which has been mentioned extensively in this village, as with the previous two villages. Home is:

> … That's the place where your sibling, mother, father, the most valuable things are (IN43, 50, M)

> A warm home/nest that a family could take shelter in and live in (IN35, 45, M)

A place for daily activities

Home as a place for daily activities was mentioned in the previous villages by a few people, and this has been mentioned by one of the interviewees in this village with the use of a similar expression:

> We built up a home/nest, brought up six babies, married them off, they flew away, escaped … We cook, serve, and dine. Our children come … This is what house/home is like (IN18, 65, F)

A place of one's childhood

Home as a place of one's childhood has not been mentioned in any other village, except in this one and by only one interviewee. It should be noted that this IDP used this definition in order to refer to his home in the south – a place where he was born. According to him a home means:

> … A room where you start to talk. Your mother explains it to you like 'first, you start to walk, lean on this wall' (IN43, 50, M)

A place of relaxation, rest and peace

Similar to Akçay/Argaki, home is described as 'a place of relaxation, rest and peace' in general and a peaceful place in particular. As an interviewee states that home is 'a place where a person can be peaceful' (IN14, 30, F).

A place to live in and/or an abode/settling place

According to some of the interviewees, home is a place to live in, an abode and a settling place. Similar to previous villages, this aspect of home has been mentioned by several interviewees in this village and can be evaluated as one of the most frequently mentioned meanings of home. As explained, a home is:

> A warm home/nest that a family could take shelter in and live in (IN35, 45, M)

> A house/home where you abide … (IN05, 88, F)

A place to return to

Differently than the previous two villages, home is described as a place to return to in this village, yet only by one of the interviewees. In her point of view, home is perceived as a place which you will return to, regardless of where you go. This has been explained as:

> You will go, wherever you go you will return to that house/home of yours (IN46, 68, F)

A place where feelings change

Similar to Akdeniz/Agia Eirini, one of the interviewees in this village mentioned that home is a place where feelings alter. According to him a home is 'a room where you lighten your sadness' (IN43, 50, M). In his point of view, home is perceived as a 'happy' place, a place which makes its inhabitants feel relieved and comforted. This concept of home is only mentioned by a male participant.

A place where one's feelings are being shaped

In the previous villages and in this one too, it is found that some of the interviewees described home as a place where feelings change. Differently to the previous villages, in this village it is also found that home is described as a place where one's feelings are being shaped. This has been stated as follows:

> More than the colour of its wall, concrete and tile … first a person is being protected from cold, winter and also it's what a person dreams, lives, desires, thinks within those four walls and while these get shaped in a person's mind, head, all get shaped within those walls … You lay down on to the bed, turn your head to a ceiling, all of your feelings, dreams, sadness, happiness are shaped with your brain/mind and ceiling and these are the things which make a house a house/home … (IN43, 50, M)

A place where one's life is being shaped

This concept is only mentioned in this village, by just one interviewee. He referred to a home as 'a place where one's life is being shaped' (IN43, 50, M) (see the previous paragraph for more of the quotation). According to this description, a home is a place which makes a person who s/he is. It is a place which shapes a person and his/her life.

Attachment

Attachment, which has been mentioned in Akdeniz/Agia Eirini, where local Turkish Cypriots live, has been mentioned in this village by only one of the interviewees. As they described, home is 'an attachment to a family' (IN11, 26, F).

In previous villages, attachment was used in order to refer to what home means by the interviewee, whereas in this case it is stated that home means attachment to a family. Therefore, from the latter, it can be interpreted that home is a place which provides connection within a family, while in the former a home itself is a place which one can attach to.

Exertion

Exertion is another concept which has been used in order to describe what home means. This is referred to by only one of the interviewees in this village and has not been mentioned in any of the other case study villages as a meaning of home. According to this interviewee, 'house/home is exertion. It means everything if you are happy' (IN45, 30, F).

Family

Home has been described as a family in this village, similar to the previous two villages. Yet, it has been mentioned by only one interviewee, who stated that 'House/home is a family. It is a place that a family can take shelter in' (IN09, 63, F). When the first sentence of the quotation is evaluated it can be argued that what makes a place a home is the existence of family in it.

Home/Nest

In this village, 'home/nest' is the key concept used to describe what home means. In this respect, similar to Akdeniz/Agia Eirini (where locals live) and Akçay/Argaki (where IDPs and locals live), interviewees in this village referred to home/nest while describing what home means to them. This aspect of home is explained as:

> Home/nest. It's like a bird that comes and builds up a nest, we are like that too. House/home is home/nest (IN33, 86, M)

> Everyone has a house/home, a home/nest. A bird has a nest and collects her babies there. She gives birth and brings up her babies there, feeds and they fly and escape one by one. House/home is like this. We are like this too. We built up a home/nest, brought up six babies, married them off, they flew away, escaped … We cook, serve, and dine. Our children come. Thank God. This is how house/home is like. A home/nest (IN18, 65, F)

Life

Similar to Akçay/Argaki, 'life' is a term used in order to describe what home means. In this respect, an interviewee stated that a home 'is a part of a life' (IN6, 61, M). In this regard, home has the same meaning as everything that constitutes 'life'. It is life itself. It is a place in which the life of a person is being spent.

Necessity/Need

Similar to the other IDP inhabited village Akçay/Argaki, home is conceived as a 'necessity/need', when explaining the meaning of home in this village. As explained, home is 'a place to live in/an abode … One can't be without a house/home' (IN6, 61, M). In this respect, home is perceived as a place which everyone needs. It is a necessity.

Positive/Constructive feelings

Home has been broadly defined as equivalent to positive/constructive feelings in this village, similar to the previous two villages. Yet, it should be noted that this aspect of home is not as strong as it is in the previous villages. In this village, home is described as:

> It means everything if you are happy (IN45, 30, F)

> House/home. Happiness, relax, your house/home. I am in my house/home (IN46, 68, F)

Reliability/Safety

Similar to the previous two villages, home as 'reliability/safety' has been pointed out by a few of the interviewees in this village too. From this perspective, home is evaluated as a secure place for its inhabitants, while the outside world is insecure and/or a place that someone should be protected from (see Chapter 3). According to these villagers, home is:

> A closed area where people's dreams and feelings are being protected (IN43, 50, M)

> … A place where a person is protected, a house/home where a person lives …
> (IN40, 75, F)

In contrast to the previous villages, ownership was not mentioned while discussing reliability/safety in this village.

Shelter

Home has been identified as a shelter in the previous two villages, yet it surfaced as a more common aspect of home in this village. As the statements of the interviewees indicate:

> A place where people put their head in/nestle/shelter, to be protected from rain,
> dust, smoke and cold (IN43, 50, M)

> House/home is a family. It is a place that a family can take shelter in (IN9, 63, F)

To sum up, similar to the locals' village, home/nest surfaced as the key concept, and similar to previous villages, family place and positive/constructive feelings emerged as significant meanings of home in this village too. Moreover, differently to the previous two villages, place to live in and shelter appeared as the other key concepts in this village. Home as a 'place of one's childhood' was indicated by an IDP only in this village. The current place where he lives is not his home as his childhood did not pass in that place, he was not shaped in that place, and the walls where he became himself are not those walls. Regarding this, it can be stated that a home can mean a strong connection to childhood memories. A place should consist of memories related to childhood in order to be perceived as home. Moreover, home is a 'place where one's feelings are being shaped' and also a 'place where one's life is being shaped'. A person is shaped throughout his/her life while living in a home. It is a place which makes a person become what s/he is. In addition, home is an 'exertion' for some people only in this village. It is not the physical effort that has been put in while building the house in this case, as the whole village used to be settled by Greek Cypriots. Exertion in this case might refer to renovation. This might be interpreted as any effort which is spent on a house makes it be perceived as home.

10.3.2 Where is home?

Compared to the other three villages, numerous varied answers emerged in İncirli/Makrasyka when interviewees were asked whether they say 'it is my home' in reference to the house they currently live in. Although the attachment values for both house and village are intermediate and

all interviewees are IDPs, IDPs' children and grandchildren, it is seen that the majority of them stated that they define the houses as their homes. In addition to this, four of them pointed out that they can say this with a reason, whereas one of the interviewees indicated their uncertainty by replying 'yes for now'. Only two of the interviewees rejected the idea.

Below are statements which appeared from coding of the interviews, as reasons for why the interviewees in this village perceive or do not perceive the houses they live in as their homes.

- *attachment*
- childhood home
- control over the house
- *do not want to move again*
- exertion
- family
- I live in it
- investment
- *it is a place that I have to live*
- *not a place for source of livelihood*
- *not my property/Greek house*
- title deed
- *uncertainty*

Attachment

'Attachment' emerged as a different concept having an impact on these villagers' perception, having not been mentioned in the previous villages. This concept was defined as:

> Certainly, it is my house/home of course. We are attached to here. With a tree. We have planted a tree, a vine tree. We don't want to be transferred anymore… (IN06, 61, M)

> Perhaps because of my attachment to my family (IN11, 26, F)

Considering these statements, it might be interpreted that an attachment to a tree, a family or anything else in a setting impacts the acceptance of a house as one's house/home. The tree in this statement has been used as a symbol – an object which represents an attachment – an attachment which was established by 'roots' of a tree.

Childhood home

Amongst the four villages, this concept has only been referred to in this village, by two of the interviewees as a reason. Although one of the interviewees can define the house that she currently lives in as her house/home as she spent her childhood and youth in this environment, she still adds that it is a Greek house. This perception can be explained by her being the child of an IDP. Considering this, it can be argued that displacement not only affects IDPs, but can affect IDPs' children as well. Although they were born in the place that their parents were displaced to and have no experience of life in the place where their parents were displaced from, they might feel confused about their perception of home – where the home is.

> I say because I grew up here. I can say that. But, sometimes I also feel something, like distance/apathy. It's a Greek house at the end of the day. Or I am a migrant's child too. Presumably, to be a migrant child is to have these types of feelings (IN14, 30, F)

Furthermore, an IDP explained the reason for not perceiving the house he currently lives in as his home by referring to his childhood home in the south, and he indicated that he has not been shaped by this current home since his childhood has not passed here. Therefore, this place is not his home. Drawing from this case, the place where a person spent his/her childhood becomes one's home, whilst not spending childhood in a place where one currently lives, impacts the way s/he perceives the current house/place of residence.

> As I said I haven't been shaped here. I perceive here only as a shelter, a place which I have to stay and live as a result of the conditions, conditions that have been formed without my choice (IN43, 50, M)

Control over the house

Similar to Akdeniz/Agia Eirini, as people currently live in the houses they feel that they have control over the place and this makes them feel that the houses are their houses/homes. Therefore, their current situation appears to be a determinant of the perception of where the home is.

> Now, I live/abide in it, it became mine. No one else can come. But, when I pass away God knows who will come (IN30, 80, F)

> I do say. It's my house/home. No one can interfere (IN46, 68, F)

Do not want to move again

Differently to the other villages, this statement has only been mentioned in this village by one of the interviewees as a reason, explained as:

> We don't want to be transferred anymore. Again and again. Before we are able to settle [in the case of a transfer to another place], we will migrate to somewhere else [he meant that they will die] (IN06, 61, M)

At this point it might be questioned as to whether he really perceives the house as his house/home or if it is only because of his anxiety about moving again. As a result of experiencing displacement, a person might not prefer to move again from where s/he was displaced to, especially if the length of residence in the displaced place is long and if a person is elderly, as in this case.

Exertion

'Exertion' has been pointed out in this village too, similar to Akdeniz/Agia Eirini, yet only by one interviewee, who mentioned that he can say the house is his house/home as he put work into it, saying he 'put in too much exertion' (IN20, 47, M). Considering this, no matter whether one is

IDP or local, if one has put effort into, spent on the house, made changes and maintained the house, these affect his/her perception of that place.

Family

Similar to the previous two villages, in this village, family emerged as a rationale for perception of the house as one's home. Attachment to a family makes one of the interviewees feel that the house is her house/home:

> Perhaps because of my attachment to my family (IN11, 26, F)

Moreover, the condition of living in the house with a family makes another interviewee claim that the house is his home, although he also mentions that the house is not his house.

> It is my house/home because I spent a lot, I live with my children. It's not my house/home but … Surely, I stay with rent. I pay rent to the government. But, as I built it, I live/abide in it and more or less I can say it is mine (N37, 45, M)

It can be interpreted that the latter interviewee rejects the idea of owning the house as he does not have ownership, but at the same time defines the house as his house/home because of his family, whereas the former interviewee does not consider ownership or anything else but her family as a reason, which is enough for her to perceive the place as her house/home. Drawing from both cases it can be argued that, for the IDPs as well as locals, even if one does or does not have ownership of the place, family makes them perceive the place as his/her home.

I live in it

Several interviewees stated that the houses are their house/home because they live in those places, similar to previous villages.

> It is my house/home … It's not my house/home but … Surely, I stay with rent. I pay rent to the government. But, as I built it, I live/abide in it and more or less I can say it is mine (N37, 45, M)

> Now, I live/abide in it, it became mine … (IN30, 80, F)

Differently to the others, the following interviewee does not entirely accept the house as his house/home, although she mentions that she lives in it. She says:

> It's not mine. But as we live in it, it is like ours. Right? Until a solution is achieved it is ours. We live/abide in it. Where shall we go? (IN05, 88, F)

Following these findings, it can be argued that to live in a house leads some people to perceive those houses as their house/home even if they are IDPs. On the other hand, even if they live in the house, some do not consider this as a reason, since they do not have ownership and since they live in someone else's house.

Investment

Existence of investment or no investment has been mentioned in the previous villages as a reason to accept a house as one's house/home. In this village this has been described as:

> It is my house/home because I spent a lot, I live with my children. It's not my house/home but … Surely, I stay with rent. I pay rent to the government. But, as I built it, I live/abide in it and more or less I can say it is mine (N37, 45, M)

> The government didn't give you anything for free. You have invested your points from there … Also, they appraised, and we paid with rents. We paid those rents, we invested the points and we've received the title deed only the day before yesterday. We've waited for 15 years (IN09, 63, M)

Considering these statements, it might be deduced that investment in a house makes the inhabitants perceive those places as their house/home, or at least claim rights to the place. This argument is applicable for both IDPs and locals since this reason for perception appeared in both IDP inhabited villages and in locals' villages.

It is a place that I have to live

Another unique statement, which has not emerged in the previous villages, has been expressed by one of the interviewees who argue that the house he currently lives in is a place which he has to live. As explained:

> As I said I haven't been shaped here. I perceive here only as a shelter, a place which I have to stay and live as a result of the conditions, conditions that have been formed without my choice. Because of this, I don't say this house is my house/home, I cannot say (IN43, 50, M)

In view of this, it might be said that in some cases being forced to live in a place affects a person's perception of that place and their acceptance of that place. This reason and this perception can be interpreted as a result of displacement.

Not a place for source of livelihood

One statement that differs to the other villages has been mentioned only by one interviewee, who related the house to a source of livelihood:

> I don't say because the source of livelihood today, if we assume that the house is in any country, anywhere, in any place, the house/home is in the place where the warmth of a family and a source of livelihood are. Because of this you cannot say this house is mine, it is everything of mine. First and more it is a source of livelihood. The money you earn means a place that you live, the house/home of a place that you live (IN35, 45, M)

He points out that since the place he lives in does not provide a source of livelihood for him, he cannot see that place as his house/home.

Not my property/Greek house

Similar to some of the IDPs in Akçay/Argaki, this statement has also been mentioned in this village by a few interviewees. Two of them perceive these houses as Greek houses instead of their own house/home.

> I don't say. Because it's not mine. How can I say mine to a thing that is not mine? How? It is not mine. I stay/abide in it to live. Because it is not mine. Its title deed is with someone else (IN01, 54, M)

> It's not mine. But as we live in it, it is like ours. Right? Until a solution is achieved it is ours. We live/abide in it. Where shall we go? (IN05, 88, F)

The first statement refers to the title deed and implies that he has to live there, while the second points out the temporariness of the situation and although she lives in the house she does not entirely see it as her house/home. In addition, two other interviewees accept these houses as their house/home but on the other hand state that they are Greek houses:

> This is my house/home. I do say, but. It has one but. I say this is my house/home but it is not mine. We live/abide in it as what's going to happen today, tomorrow? But as long as we live/abide in it we say it is ours (IN18, 65, F)

> We say but it is not ours. If a Greek comes you have to get out (IN40, 75, M)

Therefore, it can be concluded that living in a Greek Cypriots' house impacts people's perception of the house, and this is the effect of displacement on their perception of home.

Title deed

Similar to previous villages, 'title deed' has also been proposed in this village as a reason, and it has been referred to as:

> I say for now. What shall I do? Supposedly, it's mine for now. But it is not mine. There is no title deed, there is nothing (IN33, 86, M)

In this case, the interviewee perceives the house as his but only temporarily, as he does not have the title deed. On the other hand, in another case an interviewee directly refuses the idea by referring to the non-existence of the title deed.

> I don't say. Because it's not mine. How can I say mine to a thing that is not mine? How? It is not mine. I stay/abide in it to live. Because it is not mine. Its title deed is with someone else (IN01, 54, M)

In addition to these instances, in some cases interviewees mentioned that they have the title deed which was given to them by the Turkish Cypriot Administration. Relying on these deeds, they describe the houses as their houses/homes.

> Yes. For now you can say that this house/home is yours as you have a title deed. But if you don't have title deed then you don't have a hope. Right? But if you

> have/hold the title deed you are in guarantee. Even if they take you to somewhere
> else … (IN44, 65, F)

To sum up, it can be claimed that having a title deed is an important determinant of people's perception of and acceptance of a house/home as their own house/home. However, it can also be argued that in cases where there is non-existence of a title deed, a person can still perceive a place where s/he lives as hers/his.

Uncertainty

Since the village is an IDP village, uncertainty of the ownership situation has emerged as a reason to decline the idea of accepting the house/home. This reason has been mentioned in this village only, by just one interviewee, as:

> It's not mine. But as we live in it, it is like ours. Right? Until a solution is achieved it
> is ours. We live/abide in it. Where shall we go? (IN05, 88, F)

This interviewee knows that she temporarily lives in this place, as the negotiations to solve the 'Cyprus Problem' continue. The negotiations and uncertainty affects her perception of the house she lives in.

In general, various reasons appeared in relation to the perception of a house as one's own home. People who stated that they perceive the house as their home explained this in relation to: the attachment they have to the place; the control that they have over the house; the desire to have stability and not wanting to move again; exertion they put into the place; family; the existing situation – that they currently live in the house; the investment they made in the house; the title deed of the house which they have. People who perceive the house as a temporary home state: since the place is their childhood home (young participant who was born in the north); since they currently live in the house they can say that the house is their home. Nevertheless, it is temporary since: it is not their property; it is a Greek house; they don't have the title deed and there is an uncertainty. Moreover, people who do not perceive the house as their home mention that: the house is not their childhood home; it is a place that they have to live in; the place does not provide a source of livelihood; it is not their property, it is a Greek's house. Lastly, not living in their own property and living in a Greek Cypriot's house, the uncertainty of the future of the ownership of the house, and the future of the IDPs' situation, confuse the perception IDPs have of the places they live. These reasons make people reject the concept of the house as his/her home, although currently living in the house makes them partially accept the house as their home.

To sum up, the key reasons for accepting or refusing the house as one's home appear to be: 'not my property/Greek house', which is related to the ownership of the houses, and 'I live in it', which describes the current situation of living in that place. The former appeared as a reason for

completely refusing the idea and temporarily accepting it, while the latter emerged as a reason to accept the house as home and again temporarily accepting it.

10.4 Summary and conclusion

This chapter aimed to explore the second objective of the study, which was to investigate place attachment and perception of home as a result of displacement in northern Cyprus. Akin to the previous villages, displacement emerged as an effective predictor of place attachment in this village. In general, similar to Akçay/Argaki (which is settled predominantly by IDPs), attachment of both IDPs and locals is not strong in this village. When only IDPs' villages are examined, it is seen that a difference has emerged between these villages. It was found that IDPs' attachment to Akçay/Argaki is higher than their attachment to their former villages in the south, whereas IDPs' attachment to İncirli/Makrasyka is lower than their attachment to their previous villages in the south. Likewise, IDPs in Akçay/Argaki are more attached to the houses they currently live in than their 'former' houses in the south, while IDPs in İncirli/Makrasyka more or less have the same attachment to the current and former house. Additionally, IDPs in this village are more willing to live in their former houses and villages compared with the IDPs in Akçay/Argaki, who are indecisive as to whether they prefer to live in the south or not. IDPs in this village also miss their birthplaces, whereas IDPs in Akçay/Argaki are not sure about their feelings. Considering these findings, it can be concluded that in comparison to the IDPs in the village in which they live with a small amount of locals, Akçay/Argaki, IDPs in this village are less attached to the village in the north and more attached to the places in the south. They have similar attachment to the houses in the north and south. When the attachment values of IDPs in this village are considered, it can be concluded that IDPs of this village are lost between two worlds – south and north – and this finding can be evaluated as one of the key results of this study.

With the common factor of displacement present in both groups, this variation between two IDP groups could be interpreted as an indicator of other reasons which impact the degree of attachment. When the histories of the IDPs in both villages are examined, this can be associated with the way people have been displaced, the condition of the village that they have been displaced to and from, the location of the current village, change in the community relations, existence/absence/amount of co-villagers in the current village, existence/absence/amount of foreigners in the current village, their attachment to their previous villages, their way of life in the current and previous villages, and so on. Parallel to this, it appeared that IDPs in İncirli/Makrasyka missed their places of birth more than the IDPs in Akçay/Argaki, and this could also have an impact on their attachment to the current village. It can also be the opposite and can be argued that since IDPs in İncirli/Makrasyka still miss their places of birth, more so than the IDPs in Akçay/Argaki, they have lower attachment to the current village than the latter have. One other factor can be the existence of locals in Akçay/Argaki. The existence of locals might impact IDPs' perception of the village, and

acceptance and subsequently attachment to the village. Although IDPs settled into 'Greek Cypriots' ' houses, the existence of Turkish Cypriots might influence their attachment in comparison to the IDPs in İncirli/Makrasyka, who live in a 'wholly Greek Cypriot' village. In light of these points, it can be argued that attachment to village is based on numerous factors that work in conjunction, so it is not possible to draw simple conclusions. However, in the light of these results it can be concluded that in general, IDPs' attachment to a newly settled environment and to their former places of residence could show variations depending on the discussed issues.

Length of residence only influences the attachment of IDPs in a similar way to that in Akçay/Argaki. As with the previous villages, ownership has a relationship to place attachment, and differently to Akçay/Argaki, willingness to move is only related to attachment of locals, not IDPs. Age has no impact on attachment as in the previous villages, while gender is related to place attachment in a similar way to as in Akçay/Argaki.

Key meanings of home in this village are: 'home/nest', 'a place to live in', 'positive/constructive feelings' and 'family place'. They generally exhibit similarities with the key concepts of the previous two villages. Home is also commonly described as a shelter in this village, which is mentioned by only a few interviewees in Akçay/Argaki and Akdeniz/Agia Eirini. Considering the key concepts in general, one might state that there is not a strong distinction between IDPs' and locals' perception of home.

Unlike the previous two chapters, three categories of home emerged in this village, while the fourth category, 'home as ownership', did not surface. At this point, this village (which is settled completely by IDPs and their grand/children, who were born in the north) is distinguished from the other villages, which are mainly inhabited by IDPs who live alongside locals and which are only inhabited by locals. Unlike the previous two villages, in this village (which 'used to be' a Greek Cypriots' village and is now inhabited by IDPs), home is mainly perceived as a dwelling. Considering this, it can be argued that displacement has an impact on people's perception of home, since the key concept of home emerged as 'dwelling' in the village which 'was' a Greek Cypriot village and is now settled by IDPs and their descendants. Furthermore, 'home as emotions', which is the key notion in the previous two villages, emerged as the second most significant concept.

In the results, home appeared as 'dwelling', 'emotions' and 'family'. 'Home as dwelling' covers: home as a place for daily activities; as a place to live in and/or an abode/settling place; as a place to return to; as a place where one's life is being shaped; as a home/nest; as life; as necessity/need; as shelter. The second category, 'home as emotions', includes: home as a place of one's childhood; as a place of relaxation; resting and peace; as a place where feelings change; as a place where one's feelings are being shaped; as attachment; as exertion; as

home/nest; as life; home as positive/constructive feelings; as reliability/safety. Lastly, 'home as family' includes: home as a family place; as a place where one's life is being shaped; as family; as home/nest; as life.

The most varied answers to the question of whether the houses they live in are perceived as their homes or not emerged from this village. In general, the majority of the interviewees stressed that they perceive the houses as their homes, while some of them noted the temporariness of the situation of living in these places. Although participants live in 'Greek Cypriots' houses', the number of participants who perceive the houses as their homes is almost equal to the sum of the ones who perceive the houses as their homes temporarily, and the ones who do not perceive the houses as their homes. In addition to these findings, rejection of the house as their home was rare. The ones who stated that they perceive the houses as their homes explained this by referring to their attachment, the exertion that they put in, family existence, having the title deed, and the investment that they did to the house. Also, the desire for stability, which only appeared in this village, surfaced as a reason for why IDPs perceive the current place as their home. The current situation and the fact that they have control over the house made IDPs either accept the places as their home (similar to previous villages) or perceive the places as a temporary home (similar to Akçay/Argaki).

Similar to Akçay/Argaki, ownership, to live in a 'Greek Cypriot's' house and property, and not having the title deed of the house emerged as key reasons for not perceiving the house to be their home or perceiving it as a temporary home by creating confusion. Therefore, property ownership and living in a 'formerly' Greek Cypriot's house has an impact on perception of the places as one's own house/home.

It emerged in this village only that to force someone to live in a particular place different than his/her childhood home also has an impact on his/her perception of that place. The house where the interviewee currently lives is not perceived as his home since he was not 'shaped there', instead he was forced to live there. Drawing a conclusion from this, it can be argued that in order to establish a bond between place and where one lives, and consequently to perceive this place as home might depend on whether the inhabitant has selected to live in that place or has been forced to live there. Being forced to leave somewhere could damage the possibility of feeling at home in the house where one subsequently lives. However, this cannot be generalised since there are also contrary cases. It was particularly observed in this village that if a 'new' place which is settled after the displacement does not fulfil the requirements regarding livelihood, it is not observed as home by IDPs.

When the results of the reasons for perception are categorised, it is found that 'emotions', 'family', 'current situation', 'obligation', 'ownership' and 'investment' (which appeared in the previous two villages) emerged in this village as well. Unlike previous villages, 'length of

residence' did not surface in this village, while 'stability' and 'livelihood' appeared as two new categories. The following chapter, Chapter 11, discusses these subjects in local Turkish Cypriot village Gönendere/Knodara.

Chapter 11
Village 4: Gönendere-Gonedra/Knodara

Formerly and Currently Locals' Village

Chapter 11: Village 4: Gönendere-Gonedra/Knodara
Formerly and Currently Locals' Village

11.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the last case study village Gönendere-Gonedra/Knodara. It investigates the topics of place attachment and perception of home, in the same manner as the previous three chapters. This village differs from the others since it used to be and still is a Turkish Cypriot village; hence, participants and interviewees are all local villagers. The chapter seeks to determine whether there are differences between previous villages and this village and if any are identified, then question whether these differences could be linked to the subject of displacement as this is the focus of the second objective – to investigate the place attachment and perception of home as a result of displacement in northern Cyprus.

Displacement (in this case a lack of displacement, i.e. being local), ownership and willingness to move are the predictors which have an association with place attachment in this village. On the other hand, similar to previous villages, length of residence and age have not had an impact on the attachment of locals in this village. Contrary to the previous locals' village, place attachment and gender are related in this village.

It is found that home is predominantly defined as a family place, home/nest and shelter in this village. Furthermore, when the perception of home is investigated it is found that almost all of the participants perceive the houses where they currently live as their homes.

11.2 Investigating place attachment

Displacement

According to the results, similar to the locals of Akdeniz/Agia Eirini, locals of this village are strongly attached to their houses (M = 4.45). The houses that they live in mean a lot to them and the houses feel like home to them (M = 4.30, 4.27, respectively). Overall, attachment to the houses is strong among the participants in this village, who are all locals (M = 4.34).

When locals' attachment to the village is investigated it is found that, similar to the locals of Akdeniz/Agia Eirini, locals of this village are very attached to their village, the village means a lot to them and it feels like home to them (M = 4.27, 4.21, 4.14, respectively). Overall, the villagers have high attachments to their village (M = 4.21).

As seen from the values of attachment to house and village, similar to locals in Akdeniz/Agia Eirini, locals of this village are more attached to their homes than they are attached to the village.

Length of residence

Similar to the locals in previous villages and differently from the IDPs in previous villages, length of residence does not affect the attachment of locals to the village or the houses in this village. Participants with various length of residence stated that they are attached to the village and the houses where they live. This finding about length of residence and impact on place attachment marks one of the differences between the IDPs and locals.

Ownership

In Gönendere/Knodara it clearly emerged that attachment to a village and attachment to a house is strongly related to ownership. Yet, still there are some people who are attached to the village and people who are attached to a house but do not claim ownership (7/76 and 5/80). It should be noted that the ownership claim and attachment both to the village and to the house are high in this village. Only three people who did not claim ownership of the houses are not attached to the village, while only two who are not attached to the village claimed ownership. Although ownership has a strong association with place attachment of locals, by considering these one might also argue that it is not only ownership which is affecting attachment, it is the state of being local to this place.

Willingness to move

Among the four villages, Gönendere/Knodara has the lowest percentage of participants, 18%, who are willing to move from the places where they live. The reasons for willingness to move are similar to the previous villages. They include environmental dissatisfaction, bored of house, village and people, age of house, related to work, not accessible, lack of opportunities in the village, ownership and desire to live alone in a private house. Participants who would like to move mainly prefer to move to a new house in the same village. Similar to the previous villages, there are some people who would like to move to central places/cities, to 'nice', clean and 'better' places and places with easy transportation. Therefore, it can be argued that this is a general trend which is found in four of the case study villages and is not related to displacement. What can be related to displacement here is the fact that locals of this village who are strongly attached to their villages do not desire to move, contrary to the IDPs who have less attachment or no attachment at all and have greater willingness to move.

As identified amongst the locals of Akdeniz/Agia Eirini and İncirli/Makrasyka, locals who are unwilling to move from their houses in this village also predominantly described that they like the house/village, they are satisfied with the house/village/their life and they are happy in their homes. Following these, the second most referenced reason is that they have got used to their house and village. Similar to the locals in Akdeniz/Agia Eirini, these people also questioned why and where would they go. Considering all of the case study villages, it can be stated in general that, having no other place to move might influence people's attachment to the places where they currently live and their perception of these places.

Moreover, some participants referred to the village life as 'beautiful', explaining that they like to live in the village. Some referred to the 'beauty' of the view of the house/village and silence, which makes them feel comfortable. Memories of the house also emerged as another reason in this village. Furthermore, it is found that a few participants do not want to move from their houses as these houses are ancestral houses, which has not been mentioned in the other villages, even by the locals. Likewise, many participants indicated that the houses belong to them, the houses are their own property and own house, and they live in their homelands and therefore they do not want to move. Uniquely to this village, two participants referred to the physical feature of the houses and explained that since the houses are built from mud-brick they do not want to move. Likewise, one explained that the house is recently renovated and therefore they would like to enjoy it.

As with previous villages, it is apparent in this village that people who are attached to the village and people who are attached to the house are not willing to move from the houses they live in. However, some people are willing to move even though they are attached to the village, and there are some people who are willing to move even though they are attached to their houses (12/76 and 13/80). In addition to these, there are a couple of people who are not attached to the village and at the same time prefer to stay in their houses (2/3). Drawing from this, it can be argued that the issues discussed above could be affecting the desire to move despite attachment.

Age

Participants from various ages explained that they are attached both to the houses and to the village. Similar to the local participants in the previous villages and the IDPs, there is no association between age and place attachment among locals in Gönendere/Knodara.

Gender

Similar to the previous locals' village, Akdeniz/Agia Eirini, males are more attached to the village than females. Yet differently than to that village, in which both males and females had almost equal attachments towards the house, in this village males are more attached to the house than females. Thus, gender influences place attachment in this village.

11.3 Investigating perception of home

11.3.1 What is home?

As a consequence of coding the interviews in this village, the following concepts have emerged which are used to describe home.

- a family place
- a place for daily activities

- a place of relaxation, rest and peace
- a place to live in and/or an abode/settling place
- a place to return to
- attachment
- belonging
- family
- home/nest
- *hotel*
- life
- *physical structure*
- positive/constructive feelings
- shelter
- *value*

The concepts of home which have been mentioned in this village are more or less similar to those mentioned in the previous three villages. In addition to these shared concepts across villages, three different concepts appeared in this village: hotel, physical structure and value (indicated in italics in the list).

A family place

Home as a family place is the concept which has been mentioned broadly in the previous villages and is the key concept of home in this village. It is one of the meanings of home which have been identified by both females and males in all of the villages. A home as a family place is described with similar statements to those outlined in the previous definitions in the previous villages. As some of the interviewees stated, a home is:

A peaceful life with your children, spouse (GD06, 60, F)

A place where family members gather, a gathering place where good-bad situations are shared, happiness-sadness (GD25, 48, F)

A place where my family live/abide and can be together. A half of my life (GD11, 50, M)

A place for daily activities

Although it has not been mentioned broadly, home as a place for daily activities has been pointed out in four of the villages. As explained, a home is:

A place where two people become happy, get connected/attached, get rooted, lie down and get up (GD09, 57, M)

A place where I lie down and get up [a place to sleep], eat and drink [a place to dine] (GD02, 82, M)

A place of relaxation, rest and peace

Similar to previous villages, some of the interviewees in this village described home as a place of relaxation, rest and peace. According to them:

… it means a harbour. A place to take refuge in, a place to be protected. A peaceful place. It is something like this (GD12, 50, F)

> A place where you behave with ease, within your family (GD23, 27, F)

> A peace in your house/home. You go somewhere and you come back to your house/home in 3 hours and you find the peace in your house/home (GD13, 59, F)

Considering the fact that this concept emerged in four of the villages, it can be concluded that whether someone is an IDP or a local, home can be perceived as a place of relaxation, resting and a place which provides peace to its inhabitants.

A place to live in and/or an abode/settling place

Home as a place to live in and/or an abode/settling place is one of the broadly used concepts for the definition of home in this village, similar to the other case study villages. Therefore, this concept of home cannot be evaluated as a concept which distinguishes IDPs and locals. It is one of the meanings of home which females and males commonly explained in all of the villages.

> A home/nest we live in and/or an abode. A place where we maintain our life (GD08, 65, M)

> Since I work now let me say half of my life. Because half passes outside but the other half, may be mainly at nights [I am at home], but for me it is half of my life. My house/home. A place where my family live/abide and can be together. A half of my life (GD11, 50, M)

A place to return to

Similar to İncirli/Makrasyka, which is a village inhabited by IDPs, home as a place to return to is mentioned, though rarely, in this village. Considering this, home as a place to return to cannot be evaluated as an aspect of home which differentiates IDPs' and locals' perception of home. This concept of home is only mentioned by females in order to explain what home means. As explained, a home is:

> A place where two people become happy. A happiness. A peace in your house/home. You go somewhere and you come back to your house/home in 3 hours and you find the peace in your house/home (GD13, 59, F)

Attachment

Home as an attachment is explained by one interviewee as 'A place where two people become happy, get connected/attached, get rooted, lie down and get up' (GD09, 57, M). This aspect of home is also referred to by a local in a previously mixed, currently 'Turkish Cypriot' village, Akdeniz/Agia Eirini, and in a 'formerly' Greek, currently IDPs' village, İncirli/Makrasyka. Although it has been referred to in an IDPs' village, it should be noted that the interviewee who described home as attachment has not been displaced, she is a descendant of an IDP. Therefore, this concept of home can be indicated as a concept which is mentioned only by people who have not experienced displacement.

Belonging

Home as a belonging has been mentioned in this village, similar to Akçay/Argaki and Akdeniz/Agia Eirini. However, home does not commonly mean belonging. As explained, 'house/home is your property, your house/home, your life/soul' (GD22, 64, F). Home as belonging cannot be related to displacement as it is mentioned both by IDPs and locals.

Family

Similar to the previous villages, home is described as family in this village too. Thus, home can mean family both for IDPs and locals. As stated, home is:

> … A warm home/nest, your family. That's all (GD05, 50, F)

> It means a family. Your house/home means your family. It means a whole
> (GD19, 40, F)

Home/Nest

Home/nest is one of the widely referenced concepts when describing home in this and the other villages, except for Akçay/Argaki, which is predominantly settled by IDPs, along with a small amount of locals. In Akçay/Argaki, the concept is referred to but not widely. Regarding this, home as home/nest cannot be evaluated as a concept of home which distinguishes locals' and IDPs' perception of home. It is one of the meanings of home which have been referred to by both females and males in the four villages. Similar statements have been highlighted by these villagers when describing home/nest:

> It means home/nest … (GD17, 38, M)

> … A warm home/nest, your family. That's all (GD05, 50, F)

> Home/nest. Even a bird builds up her nest. Our wealth was sufficient for this.
> Home/nest. We nestled (GD01, 80, F)

Hotel

Home is described as a hotel by only one of the interviewees and only in this village. As it is stated by a young interviewee, a home is 'now, in these ages … is a hotel, there is no difference' (GD18, 22, M). This cannot be evaluated under the subject of displacement and also is not a common meaning of home. Yet, this perception can be related to the age of the interviewee, which he claims himself. In contrast to the other meanings such as attachment, family, a place of relaxation, resting and peace, for him the house is only a place where he can sleep and dine.

Life

With the exception of Akdeniz/Agia Eirini, home is described as a life in the case study villages. Home is associated with life, time spent in a place and everything that one has. According to the interviewees:

> … House/home is your property, your house/home, your life/soul (GD22, 64, F)

> Since I work now let me say half of my life. Because half passes outside but the other half, may be mainly at nights [I am at home], but for me it is half of my life. My house/home. A place where my family live/abide and can be together. A half of my life (GD11, 50, M)

Physical structure

Home as a physical structure is one of the concepts which has been referred to only in this village. For one interviewee, home is a mud-brick structure. Differently than emotional explanations or definitions, which are related to feelings, the home is conceptualised by referring to its building material and structure. The interviewee stated that:

> House/home for/according to us, how can I say to you, we can't say flat. They are mud-brick houses. They call a house/home to it. It is made up from mud-brick, earth. Our houses/homes were the ones who flew in the earthquake (GD21, 80, F)

Positive/Constructive feelings

Compared to previous villages, home is rarely described as positive/constructive feelings in Gönendere/Knodara. This aspect of home cannot be associated with displacement since it emerges in both IDPs' and locals' villages. As explained, home means:

> To be happy in it. How can I say, a place that you are happy in (GD04, 59, F)

> … A warm home/nest, your family. That's all (GD05, 50, F)

Shelter

Even if shelter emerged as a common meaning of home between IDPs and locals, home as a shelter is one of the broadly used concepts only in this village. In relation to shelter, a home was described as:

> A kind of shelter/refuge (GD15, 46, F)

> … it means a harbour. A place to take refuge in, a place to be protected. A peaceful place … (GD12, 50, F)

> A place where you are protected, a place where you take shelter … A place for shelter (GD85, 79, M)

Value

Value is another concept which has only been referred to in this village. Home is associated with economic issues and is expressed as a value. According to an interviewee:

> A house/home is one of the greatest values which a person could own. To have a house/home for a person is a start for him/her in order to move on or to own many different properties (GD16, 42, M)

Similar to the previously mixed, currently IDPs' and locals' village, Akçay/Argaki, family place emerges as the key concept in this village. The other significant concepts which appear in this

village – home/nest and place to live in – are mainly similar to the ones which emerged in the previous village, İncirli/Makrasyka, although that is an IDPs' and this is a locals' village. Differently than the other three villages, shelter emerges as one of the significant meanings of home in this village, while it is rarely mentioned in the other villages.

11.3.2 Where is home?

As the interviewees in this village are local Turkish Cypriots almost all of them explained that the houses they live in are their homes, except for one person who lives in a rented house. As a contrast to this, one other interviewee who also lives in a rented house stated that 'I don't say this house/home is not mine even if I live in a rent' (GD12, 50, F). Considering the results of this question from all case villages, it can be argued that displacement or being local to a place has an impact on perception of a house as one's home.

The following statements emerged from the coding of the interviews in which interviewees explained the reasons for perceiving their houses which they currently live in as their homes. Eight different reasons emerged in this village: adaptation, ancestral home, a place to return to, inherited, my house/home, no other experience, taste, and village (these are shown in italics).

- *adaptation*
- *ancestral home*
- *a place to return to*
- attachment
- belonging
- control over the house
- exertion
- family
- I live in it
- *inherited*
- length of residence
- *my house/home*
- no other choice
- *no other experience*
- positive/constructive feelings towards home
- *taste*
- things achieved and lived throughout a lifetime
- *village*

Adaptation

Home as adaptation emerged only in this village and was explained as:

> Home sweet home. Home is very important for me. I have this thing though, I don't know if everyone has, wherever I go I adapt the place to myself. Which means, I establish a place which belongs to me immediately (GD12, 50, F)

Subsequently it can be claimed that if a person adapts a house according to him/herself, then s/he perceives that place is his/her house/home. Since the place is appropriated and adapted

according to taste, lifestyle, culture, etc. of a person, that place fulfils his/her requirements. Hence, such a place is perceived as home.

Ancestral home

Ancestral home emerged in this village only as a meaning of home. Although it has been mentioned by only one interviewee, it is found that to live in an ancestral home influences peoples' perception of those houses as their homes. Since this village was and still is a Turkish Cypriot village, villagers predominantly live in their own houses and/or in their ancestral houses. The importance of ancestral home and the meaning of home as an ancestral place was explained as:

> This is my/our house/home … A house/home that is given to me, built for us. You get used to it as it's ours. You get scared if something happens (GD04, 59, F)

Considering this finding, it can be argued that ancestral home is a statement and a reason which differentiates IDPs and locals since IDPs cannot perceive their current places of residence as ancestral places.

A place to return to

A place to return to emerged in this village only, referred to by one interviewee whilst clarifying the reason for accepting the house as her house/home. According to her, home is 'a place that wherever you go, you come in in the afternoon, open its door and enter' (GD06, 60, F). As the place where she currently lives is this type of place, she can call it her home.

Attachment

An interviewee who lives in a rented house is the only one who has mentioned that she does not perceive the house as her house/home for now and for the future. Nevertheless, she states that she is comfortable, as it is 'her house/home'. This is explained as:

> Now, I cannot say, but in the future, I don't accept it entirely for the future but now I feel peaceful, I am comfortable as it is my house/home (GD23, 27, F)

In this respect, it can be interpreted that to live in a village which is inhabited by locals might make people perceive the houses and the village as a home. Therefore, to live in a rented house or an owned house might not make a significant difference to the perception of where home is.

Belonging

Similar to Akdeniz/Agia Eirini, belonging emerged as a reason to perceive a house as one's own home in this village. One interviewee referred to this concept and explains this simply as 'My property, my house/home …' (GD85, 79, M). Drawing from this, it can be interpreted that if a person has the ownership of the property s/he might feel that that property/house is his/her

home. Moreover, home as belonging can be evaluated as a reason which differentiates IDPs and locals since belonging did not emerge as a reason in any IDPs' villages.

Control over the house

In this village, like the other villages, except for Akçay/Argaki, control over the house has been mentioned as a reason for a person to feel the house where s/he lives is his/her home. Therefore, to have control over the place surfaces as a factor which impacts perception of home.

> … The house is mine. The man [meaning her husband] goes out in the morning and comes back at night. I am responsible for everything (GD03, 60, F)

> My property, my house/home. No one interferes. A home/nest that no one interferes with. Because of this I am happy (GD85, 79, M)

Exertion

Exertion is mentioned as a meaning of home only in a village which is inhabited by IDPs. This concept has been referred to in Akdeniz/Agia Eirini and İncirli/Makrasyka while explaining the reason of perception of home but by few interviewees, whereas in the present village it emerged as one of the most used reasons to explain why houses are perceived as one's own house/home.

> I built it myself. With my own hand. I built at least 70%, 80% of it with my hands in my military service time with the help of my friends from military service. Surely, it's mine (GD09, 57, M)

> We have our hand's exertion. We did it by ourselves. We put labour into it (GD08, 65, M)

> Because we built it after we got married. We put work in to build it. I did everything according to my taste (GD20, 60, F)

It seems that exertion, such as putting work into the house and building it by him/herself makes people perceive the house as their house/home. In this village, exertion means physical exertion, while in the IDPs' village İncirli/Makrasyka, exertion mainly means economic exertion. Therefore, exertion can be evaluated as a concept which is related to being an IDP or local.

Family

Similar to previous villages, family surfaced as a reason in this village too. Therefore, family cannot be evaluated as a reason which differentiates IDPs and locals. It can be claimed that to live in a house with their family makes people perceive the house as their house/home no matter whether they are IDPs or local.

> … Perhaps, as I am with my children, with my family (GD15, 46, F)

> A house/home is an environment where I live together with my family, where my children are together, when we close our door any problem or anything cannot enter in. Here is our home/nest, a family home/nest. Whatever happens outside when we close the door this is our place. Do we isolate ourselves from outside? No

we don't isolate ourselves but to be together as parents and children is very important for us. That's why this is our house/home. A house/home is very significant, very holy (GD16, 42, M)

I live in it

Similar to previous villages, the reason 'I live in it' has emerged in this village as well. As interviewees live in the houses, they perceive the houses as their houses/homes.

> It's my house/home. A place that I live/abide in. How I wouldn't say … (GD06, 60, F)

> As I live in it/an abode (GD18, 22, M)

Inherited

This concept only appeared in this village when an old interviewee mentioned that her house is inherited from her husband and for this reason she states that it is her house/home. She explains, 'I say it is my house/home. It is legally inherited from my husband' (GD21, 80, F). Similar to ancestral homes, this reason has not been mentioned in the IDPs inhabiting villages. Therefore, inherited homes can be listed as another reason which is specific to locals only. To live in an inherited house influences the perception of home and makes its inhabitants perceive the house as their home.

Length of residence

Although this statement has not been as broadly referred to in this village as in Akçay/Argaki and Akdeniz/Agia Eirini, it still emerged as a reason. According to findings, to live in a place for a long time impacts people's perception of that place – they might start to accept a house as their house/home due to time.

> My youth, my life has passed here. I am here ever since I can remember. Surely, I am comfortable in my house/home. The house is mine. The man [meaning her husband] goes out in the morning and comes back at night. I am responsible for everything (GD03, 60, F)

My house/home

Similar to Akdeniz/Agia Eirini, this reason has been mentioned in this village, and it is one of the broadly stated reasons. One can perceive the house as his/her home simply because it belongs to him/her, s/he owns it and/or it is his/her home/nest.

> Because it is my house/home, that's why. Our house/home, our home/nest (GD25, 48, F)

> Your house/home, your home/nest … You stay until you grow up in your mother's house like a bird then we flew to here and we stayed here, our home/nest is here now (GD01, 80, F)

> This is my/our house/home … A house/home that is given to me, built for us. You get used to it as it's ours. You get scared if something happens (GD04, 59, F)

No other choice

No other choice has been mentioned as a reason for perceiving the house as one's home in this village. This is similar to Akçay/Argaki, which is a village inhabited predominantly by IDPs and a small amount of locals and Akdeniz/Agia Eirini, which is a locals' village. It can be argued that not having any other option might make people in general accept the house as their house/home as they have no other place to go.

> Good or bad, I say. This is the available one. May be a luxurious.. no I don't want. The existing one is enough. I am 82 years old. How many years left? … (GD02, 82, M)

No other experience

No other experience appeared as a reason for perception of home only in this village. This has been explained as:

> … I haven't stay in another place. And the other thing, perhaps, since it's in my village … (GD19, 40, F)

Considering this, it can be argued that if a person has not lived in another place at all, which means their life has passed only in one house, then it is more likely for them to perceive this place as his/her house/home. Moreover, being a local villager is indicated by the interviewee and this can be interpreted as another reason for the perception. In conclusion, 'no other experience' can be listed as a reason which differentiates IDPs and locals since IDPs have an experience of living in more than one place – their former and current places of residence – while locals do not.

Positive/Constructive feelings towards home

Except for İncirli/Makrasyka, which is a village inhabited by IDPs, it is seen that interviewees expressed the reasons for perceiving the houses as their houses/homes with positive feelings. In this village, positive/constructive feelings emerge as the key reason which influences people's perception towards their homes.

> Because it is my house/home. I am in peace and happy … My house/home is my everything (GD14, 52, F)

> … To live here makes me happy. I can say it is my house/home. I am happy here (GD19, 40, F)

> House/home. Home sweet home. Home is very important for me … (GD12, 50, F)

Considering these statements it can be interpreted that when one experiences positive feelings towards his/her house then s/he perceives that place as his/her house/home.

Taste

Taste only emerged as a reason in this village, although it is rarely referred to. As explained by two interviewees:

> I built it. I do its maintenance, as I do it depending on my taste … (GD11, 50, M)

> … I did everything according to my taste (GD20, 60, F)

Considering these, it can be argued that if a person built his/her house according to his/her taste, this influences his/her perception of the house. This cannot be applicable for the IDPs since they currently live in 'someone else's' house which has not been built according to their taste. Therefore, taste can be evaluated as a reason which is particular to locals.

Things achieved and lived throughout a lifetime

This statement has been referred to earlier in Akçay/Argaki and Akdeniz/Agia Eirini and is used in this village by only one interviewee.

> … I got married in my house/home … I haven't stayed in another place. And the other thing, perhaps, since it's in my village … (GD19, 40, F)

Considering this, it can be stated that the life a person lives in a particular place makes him/her perceive that place as his/her house/home through creating a kind of bond within.

Village

Village as a reason has been put forward only in this village by only one interviewee. This is explained as 'perhaps, since it's in my village. To live here makes me happy. I can say it is my house/home. I am happy here' (GD19, 40, F). Considering this it can be stated that to live in a village where one was born and grew up, in a place where one is 'happy', might make him/her accept the house as his/her own house/home. This aspect of home can be related to displacement and it can be argued that, since a person is a local of this village, s/he perceives the village as his/her home.

To conclude, all of the notions discussed, except for the notion of attachment, were used by the participants in order to explain the reason for acceptance of a house as one's own home. Amongst these notions, unlike the previous three villages, to have 'positive/constructive feelings towards home, to feel positive in the place' appears as the key determinant which impacts inhabitants' perception. Considering this, it can be stated that if a person has positive/constructive feelings towards a place, then s/he could perceive that place as his/her home. On the other hand it can also be argued that if a place makes a person happy, comfortable, peaceful, etc., then a person might establish positive/constructive feelings towards that particular place and might perceive it as home. In addition to this, differently to the previous three villages, exertion appeared as another predominantly mentioned reason in this village. As the village is a Turkish Cypriot village it is more likely that people built their own houses by themselves, which makes the house special for them and an only home for them. Therefore, exertion can be indicated as a significant subject that makes a house a home for a person. Moreover, the concept of 'my house/home', which is related to ownership of the place, surfaced

as the other significant referred to reason which influences the perception of where the home is among local villages. What has been indicated is that the houses they live in are simply theirs, the houses belong to them. Hence, definitely they perceive houses as their homes. Belonging and ownership appear as reasons related to displacement and they affect perception about where the home is. When gender is investigated in relation to home perception in all of the villages, no difference has been found between females and males considering the meaning of home. However, gender differentiation emerged in relation to the perception of where the home is among IDPs – female IDPs perceive their current houses as their homes more than males. Male IDPs are either confused, perceive them as temporary homes or reject the idea that they are their homes.

11.4 Summary and conclusion

As with the previous three chapters, this chapter focused on the objective to investigate place attachment and perception of home as a result of displacement in northern Cyprus. Therefore, the chapter investigates one of the villages which used to be settled by Turkish Cypriots before the displacement and which remains settled only by Turkish Cypriots. In the process of this investigation, attachment of the locals to their houses and villages has been questioned and it is found that the villagers are strongly attached to these places, contrary to IDPs and locals in the villages where IDPs live – Akçay/Argaki and Incirli/Makrasyka. When the findings from this village are compared to the village which used to be a mixed village and is now inhabited by local Turkish Cypriots, Akdeniz/Agia Eirini, it is observable that the attachment values of Gönendere/Knodara are lower, even though the village was and is a local village before and after the division. Regarding this, one of the findings is that being a local village or being a mixed village before division does not make a strong distinction, as long as it is settled only by locals. Besides, it is also seen that overall, both IDPs and locals are more attached to their current homes than they are attached to their current villages.

Three of the identified predictors of place attachment – displacement (being local in this case), ownership and willingness to move – revealed an association with place attachment in this village. Ownership only appeared as a strong determinant of locals' place attachment in this village. Willingness to move is the other predictor which strongly impacts place attachment only in this village. Willingness to move is higher in IDPs' villages where place attachment is lower in comparison to locals, and willingness to move is lower in locals' villages where attachment is higher. The other two predictors of place attachment – length of residence and age – have not had an impact on the attachment of locals in this village, which is similar to the locals in other villages. When impact of length of residence on locals' place attachment was examined it was found that attachment exists regardless of whether a local lives in a village or in a house for a short or a long time. Hence, it can be argued that length of residence is not a determinant of locals' place attachment, in contrast to the IDPs' case. When 'age' is examined, it is found that

in locals' villages, participants from various ages are attached to their houses and to their villages. Similar to the IDPs' villages and differently to the locals' village, Akdeniz/Agia Eirini, gender and place attachment are related in this village too.

As with the village where IDPs live with a small amount of locals, Akçay/Argaki, 'family place' (which is a significant concept in the other villages also) emerged as the key statement used to define what home means in this village too. Also, similar to Akdeniz/Agia Eirini and İncirli/Makrasyka, home is broadly described as home/nest. Moreover, home is also commonly explained as a place to live in and shelter in this village which is completely settled by locals. Differently than the previous three villages, where home is broadly described with positive/constructive feelings, it emerged that home is rarely described with positive/constructive feelings in this village. Even though it is not prevalent, only in this village is home referred to as a hotel, as a physical structure and a value. Drawing from these findings, it can be stated that overall there is not a strong distinction between IDPs' perception of home – in Akçay/Argaki and Incirli/Makrasyka – in comparison to the locals' perception in this village. Although some variations in the concepts exist, overall the concepts are similar. However, it should be noted that home as attachment appears as a meaning which has been explained by the ones who have not experienced displacement.

As with the first two villages, four categories of home emerged in this village. The first category, 'home as dwelling', includes: home as a place for daily activities, as a place to live in, as a place to return to, as home/nest, as hotel, as life, as physical structure, and as shelter. 'Home as emotions' covers: home as a place of relaxation, rest and peace, as attachment, as home/nest, as life and as positive/constructive feelings. The third category, 'home as family', consists of: home as a family, as family place, as home/nest and as life. While the last category, 'home as ownership', includes: home as belonging and as value.

Although this village was and still is inhabited by Turkish Cypriots, the similarity of results to the 'formerly' Greek Cypriot, currently IDPs' village İncirli/Makrasyka surfaced when the predominance of categories of home are inspected. Similar to the former, 'dwelling' appeared as the key category in this village, while similar to the previous three villages 'ownership' is the least important category.

Similar to the locals' village Akdeniz/Agia Eirini, locals in this village predominantly stated that they perceive the houses where they currently live as their homes. When compared to the villages where IDPs live, it can be concluded that displacement has an impact on perception of home in general and perception of where the home is in particular.

In general, when the reasons for perceiving the place as one's home are inspected in this village, the same categories surfaced as with the previous three villages: 'emotions', 'family',

'current situation', 'length of residence', 'obligation', 'ownership' and 'dwelling'. The results from the four case study chapters are discussed next.

Chapter 12
Findings and Discussions from Case Study Villages

Chapter 12: Findings and Discussions from Case Study Villages

12.1 Introduction

The place attachment and perception of home of Turkish Cypriot IDPs and local Turkish Cypriots, of the four selected case study villages, have been assessed separately in the previous four chapters. Based on these analyses, this chapter aims to discuss and synthesise the results, while relating the findings to the existing literature. Considering the third objective of the study, it is the aim of this chapter to contribute to our knowledge and understanding of the relationships between displacement, place attachment and the perception of home, both in the context of northern Cyprus and in more general discourse. Therefore, this chapter is composed of three main sections. In the first two sections, place attachment and perception of home findings among four villages are summarised respectively, discussed in relation to displacement and existing literature about the topics. In the last section, displacement, place attachment and perception of home have been interrelated and discussed in the context of existing literature in order to situate the study within what currently exists.

12.2 Place attachment under the impact of internal displacement in the case of northern Cyprus

Displacement

Similar to what has been pointed out in the literature (Boğaç, 2009; Fried, 1963; Lewicka, 2011; Dikomitis, 2012) one of the key findings of the study indicates that displacement has an impact on attachment. Even in long-standing displacement situations like in the Cyprus case, forcing people to leave what is their own and what is familiar to them and imposing a life in a foreign environment has some bearings on people's lives, such as low attachment and multiple attachment. People who have been displaced are more likely to have lower attachment in comparison to those who have not experienced displacement. Therefore, living in a place which is not one's place of origin – a place where one has to live – and living in one's place of origin, impacts the feelings of a person towards these places. Over time, IDPs established attachment to the places where they were displaced to, along with attachment to the former places of residence. This multiple attachment of IDPs supports the argument which is discussed in Chapter 3 that people might have attachment to places in different locations at the same time (see Ehrkamp, 2005). IDPs keep their past and their former properties in their memories; however, at the same time they start to develop a bond towards the places where they have been living for 40 years. Yet, it should be noted that IDPs' attachments both to their former and current places of residence are lower than locals' attachment. The low attachment of IDPs to their current places of residence can be explained using the same idea which Giuliani (1991, p.142) puts forward for people who do not have attachment – the reason for weak attachment of IDPs in comparison to the locals 'may follow on from previous attachment to a particular home or homes'. Keeping memories of the life before displacement and remembering how life was

before and how they used to feel in their homes might distract their perception towards the places where they currently live.

Along with being uprooted, politics can also have an effect on low attachment of IDPs. Both villages where IDPs settled were in the list of villages suggested to be returned to the Greek Cypriots in the case of an agreement on the Annan Plan. Thus, being faced with the fact that the day when they might need to leave these houses and return them to their former owners might be so close could have impacted their feelings towards their villages and houses.

Another finding from this study indicates that displacement impacts IDPs to different degrees. The degree of low attachment of IDPs can also vary among them. The study shows that IDPs' attachment is based on numerous factors that work in conjunction, so it is not possible to draw simple conclusions. However, by looking at the different degrees of attachment and considering the backgrounds of IDPs' displacement, which have been explained in Chapter 7, it can be concluded that, in general, IDPs' attachment to an environment in which they settled after displacement and their attachment to their former places of residence could show variations depending on issues such as:

- history of displacement of IDPs, i.e. the way people have been displaced (Deninger *et al*. 2004, cited in Sert, 2008, pp.9–11; Sert, 2008) (the ways, dates and paths of displacement were different for IDPs in two villages);
- condition of the village that they have been displaced to (Couldrey and Morris, 2004) and displaced from (Entwisle, 2010) (IDPs in both villages praise the condition of their former villages before their displacement, while expressing their displeasure for current villages especially at the time when they arrived);
- location of the current village (e.g. İncirli/Makrasyka is located very close to the buffer zone and far from the main town – it is not easily accessible and is like a dead end according to the IDPs, while Akçay/Argaki is close to the main town, not very close to the buffer zone and is not like a dead end);
- existence/absence/amount of co-villagers in the current village (Brown and Mansfield, 2009; Giammatteo, 2010; Ferris and Halff, 2011) (some of the co-villagers of IDPs in İncirli/Makrasyka settled in another village in the north, while IDPs in Akçay/Argaki came as village communities);
- existence/absence/amount of foreigners in the current village (mainly IDPs from two villages from the south settled in İncirli/Makrasyka, while mainly three villages from the south settled with locals in Akçay/Argaki);
- myth of return home among IDPs (Al-Rasheed, 1994; Zetter, 1999);
- their attachment to their previous villages (Giuliani, 1991) (IDPs in İncirli/Makrasyka are more attached to former villages in the south than are IDPs in Akçay/Argaki);
- politics related to their situation, as explained in Chapters 6 and 7.

As discussed in Chapter 3, in general there might be variety in the degree of attachment to various places and this is supported by this study. Another finding of this study is that overall, both IDPs and locals are attached more to their houses than to their village, which is similar to higher home attachment in comparison to block/neighbourhood attachment (see Brown, Perkins and Brown, 2003). Thus, this indicates that people are more attached to private places than public/communal places. In light of this, it can be concluded that family (which is discussed in the following section on the perception of home) can be evaluated as a significant entity which makes home a place to be more attached to. Family, togetherness with other family members and sharing life with them, appeared as a more influential determinant for attachment than a community and community relations. People are more attached to their families than to the society that they live in.

Length of residence

In general in the literature, length of residence is described as one of the powerful and therefore most studied predictors of place attachment which fosters attachment (Lewicka, 2011; Lewicka, 2010; Brown, Perkins and Brown, 2003; Brown and Raymond, 2007; Somerville, 1997; Sixsmith and Sixsmith, 1991), although some studies exist which claim the contrary (Boğaç, 2009; Lewicka, 2011; Scannell and Gifford, 2010). In this study, length of residence, which is one of the issues that has an impact on the process and desire to return among displaced people as discussed earlier (Rogge, 1991; Sert, 2008; Entwisle, 2010), was found to be an effective predictor of place attachment, in particular to IDPs' attachment to the places of residence after dislocation. People established a life in once unfamiliar settings in 40 years of displacement. It is not only the time that triggered the attachment, but the experiences which accumulated throughout that time. Time spent away from the place of origin, in foreign settings, impacts the attachment of IDPs towards places where they have been displaced to and displaced from. This can be related to the perception of the temporariness of their situation – as the length of stay in the current places increases they might start to believe that they will remain in the houses where they live rather than returning to their places of origin. One of the key findings of the study is that length of residence of IDPs in places where they have been displaced to impacts their attachment to these places, while it does not always break their attachment to previous places of residence. In other words, IDPs establish, due to time, attachment to a place which they were settled in after displacement, but at the same time, even if it is not strong, they are still attached to the previous place in which they used to live before displacement. Thus, it is seen that displacement creates a 'double existence' and a multiple split between 'here' and 'there' (Bammer, 1994, cited in Brun, 2003, p.26), 'a state of "inbetweenness" ' (Brun, 2003, p.26). The relatively low attachment of IDPs to both of these places indicates that they no longer have strong attachments to anywhere, in other words their feelings of attachment have been disrupted. This disruption can be evaluated as one of the emotional and psychological outcomes of the displacement. Since they are away from the places of origin, the bond between themselves and the places might weaken. One other argument might suggest that this might be

a coping strategy that allows more flexibility to them in the uncertain political milieu that they are in – the possibility of the 'solution' to the 'Cyprus Problem' and its consequences.

The study shows that length of residence emerges as a significant determinant in the establishment of multiple attachments as discussed above. Over time, IDPs start to get used to the change which came with displacement, start to learn and know the place which once they had no idea about, and consecutively 'home-making' starts (Dikomitis, 2012, p.14). They start to establish and live their 'new' lives in these settings and spend their lives there. Time brings them new experiences such as marriage, birth and death. When this time is considerably long, IDPs start to establish attachment to these once unfamiliar places. Thus, their life is reshaped again 'from pieces of the past' (Bryant, 2010, p.111).

Length of residence is not a determinant for locals' attachment, since attachment exists regardless of whether a local lives in a village or in a house for a short or a long time. Since locals live in places where they were born, they are surrounded by their families, relatives and familiar people, these places are the places which they know as home, they do not need time to establish a positive emotional bond between themselves and these places – it is a natural bond which is related to social setting and relationships, roots and belonging.

Ownership

Contrary to the argument that ownership promotes attachment (Brown, Perkins and Brown, 2003; Lewicka, 2011; Saunders, 1989), similar to Windsong (2010) this study revealed that it is not a necessary factor. Ownership can be related to place attachment in some cases, but it cannot be argued that ownership is a strong predictor of place attachment since there are cases in which people are attached to their houses even if they do not own them and vice versa. Therefore, this shows that it is not always essential to own a place in order to feel attached to it. Likewise to that argued by Windsong (2010), this indicates that attachment develops through use instead of through ownership, and this appears as one of the key points in this study. Given the fact that attachment is related to the emotions and feelings of a person, as broadly explained in Chapter 3, having ownership of the place is not directly related to a growing positive bond towards that place. IDPs start to use a place, spend some time in a place and then the feelings start to grow naturally even if the house does not belong to them or even if they are not sure about the ownership. They start to attribute meaning to a place through usage and then they become attached to that meaning (Stedman, 2002, p.563).

Willingness to move

Locals' attachment has a relationship to willingness to move, while IDPs' attachment is related to willingness to move except for some cases. The study shows that attachment is not always determined by un/willingness to move from a place as there are a few examples of IDPs who are attached but are still willing to move and who are not attached and are not willing to move.

One other finding related to willingness to move is that displacement has an impact on willingness to move since there are significant differences between locals and IDPs regarding their willingness to leave the place where they live – IDPs are more willing to move compared to locals. This can be explained using Hay's (1998) argument that ancestry impacts the idea to stay or to leave. Since IDPs do not have roots in these places to move from it might not be as emotional and hard as it is for locals who have their histories there. To move does not only mean to change a place for locals, it is also a rupture from their memories, histories and roots, something which IDPs have already experienced by displacement. In contrast, it is also observed that people exist who have ancestors and families and have been living in the village for a long time, but desire to move despite these factors. In this case, along with ancestry there can be other factors which impact the decision to move, for instance factors related to the village such as location, lack of facilities, etc. Despite the fact that IDPs have not experienced change in terms of rural to urban contexts as a result of displacement, and they were expected to show more willingness to stay in the same type of surroundings as where they used to live, there are a considerable number of younger and middle-aged IDPs who prefer to live in main towns/cities as a consequence of changing lifestyle and needs over time.

Age

Some studies argued that the effect of age on attachment is positive (Lewicka, 2010, p.46), while some argued that age is not a determinant of place attachment (Scannell and Gifford, 2010), the latter being similar to what was found in this study. The same discussion as for length of residence and the attachment relationship of locals is applicable for their age and attachment relationship. Older IDPs are not always strongly attached to their former places of residence, while they do not have attachment to current places. Thus, this shows that the attachment towards a place does not always develop along with the age of a person, and it verifies what Lewicka (2011, p.216) stated at the end of reviewing related studies: the relationship between age and place attachment 'is probably mediated or moderated by additional factors'. These additional factors, particularly for IDPs, can be the ones which have been listed earlier in the 'Displacement' section of this chapter; for example, existence/absence/amount of co-villagers/foreigners in the current village, myth of return home among IDPs, their attachment towards former/current villages, besides length of residence, ownership, desire to move, and gender.

Gender

As pointed out in Chapter 3, Brown, Perkins and Brown (2003), Lewicka (2005) and Scannell and Gifford (2010) argued that gender is not a determinant of place attachment, whereas Hidalgo and Hernández (2001) and Rollero and De Piccoli (2010) argued the opposite. This study showed that gender as another demographic factor has different impacts on attachment of gender groups in different villages and therefore cannot be generalised. Men might have higher attachment to current places of residence in one village, while females might have higher

attachment in another village. Thus, despite the fact that the interviewees were mainly women, the results indicate that there might be some other issues which impact the attachment, so gender itself is not a determinant. This result is also applicable for age.

Considering these discussions, length of residence/displacement is central to the attachment of IDPs in general, and longstanding IDPs (such as Turkish Cypriot IDPs) in particular, both towards the former places of residence and the current places of residence. Things that they have achieved due to time, ownership, and the life that they established after displacement influence their attachment.

12.3 Perception of home under the impact of internal displacement in the case of northern Cyprus: What is home? Where is home?

The literature on displacement indicates that the primary outcome of displacement is a sudden loss of 'home' (Zetter, 1999; Brun, 2004; Bryant, 2010; Dikomitis, 2012). People who experience displacement also experience physical and social disruption (Zetter, 1999; Brun, 2004; Sert, 2008). Due to displacement, people have been forced to live in an unfamiliar environment where they find themselves in need of a 'home' and the process of establishing it. The life of the displaced people never becomes the same as it was before displacement. By the same token, as argued by Warner (1994) and Hammond (1999), 'home' does not always become the same place which people have been displaced from, even if displacement ends with a return. Considering all these and the arguments in Chapters 2 and 4, it can be indicated that displacement has an impact on perception of home, and therefore what home means for displaced people and non-displaced people differs.

However, when the meanings of home for IDPs in this study are compared to the existing meanings in the literature of home it is seen that in general similarities exist. This overlaps with what Somerville (1997, p.227) expressed and more recently Oranratmanee (2008) agreed: 'all types of study have revealed the same recurrent meanings of home'. Besides, this study has revealed that the meaning of 'home' is not completely different for IDPs and locals. There are some common perceptions amongst both groups (see Appendix V). Yet, although there are commonalities among the responses of the IDPs and locals from four different villages, there are also some differentiations which can be associated with displacement - by being a local or an IDP.

As pointed out in Chapter 4, in order to draw more comprehensive conclusions for the impact of displacement on perception of home it is vital to investigate whether one perceives the house where s/he lives as her/his home, besides questioning the meaning of home. Considering the results in the previous four chapters it can be concluded that, in contrast to the meaning of home, displacement impacts people's perception regarding whether the house they live in is

their home or not. Unsurprisingly, local people predominantly perceive the houses that they live in as their homes since they live in their own houses, their parents' houses, in their village or their spouse's village. Thus, this shows that, similar to attachment, having roots in a place impacts the perception of home (this will be elaborated further in the 'Ancestral and inherited home' in the 'Different perceptions of home among IDPs and locals'). Contrary to locals' villages, the evaluation of the current house as one's own home was not always as emphatic in the IDPs' villages. Although a majority of the interviewees in the latter also stated that they can say the houses are their homes, there are IDPs who do not perceive the houses they currently live in as their homes even after more than 35 years. Displacement also creates confusion towards the perception of home as it does for attachment. Apart from the ones who do not perceive the house as their home, there is another group of IDPs who are not sure whether the place they live in is their home or not. A considerable proportion of IDPs indicated their confusion and the temporariness of the situation with uncertain answers. The rejection, temporary acceptance and confusion of IDPs are certainly directly related to displacement, but there are more specific reasons behind these.

Similar perceptions of home among IDPs and locals

Home is associated with *family* and *mostly is a family place* where all the family members live together and share life, something which is also suggested by Deprés (1991), Somerville (1997) and Mallet (2004). For both IDPs and locals, home is related to family existence, family relations, and attachment to family rather than being a three-dimensional entity; a space, and what makes a place home for them is their families. Besides being a similar concept, it is one of the key meanings of home for both IDPs and locals. Family and connection with family are also the main determinants which make both IDPs and locals perceive the houses where they live as their homes; since home means family, a home is a place where the family is. This supports what Ahmed (1999) claims: 'home … can mean where one's family lives' (Ahmed, 1999, p.338). Thus, it is seen that although displacement disrupts village communities and the social environment, the family in its smallest structure stays as a significant entity for home perception in an unfamiliar environment. Family and togetherness of family members enable displaced people to create 'home' in a foreign setting after displacement.

In addition to family, *home/nest* is one of the other key concepts of home for both IDPs and locals. Home is associated with a bird's nest. It is a home/nest where a person gets married, settles and establishes a family. It is a place where children of this established family are born, grow up in and then depart from like a bird leaves its nest. Since home is perceived as a nest for IDPs as well, it can be indicated that this nest can be re-established in exile. Therefore, this verifies the dynamic nature of home and supports the idea that home is not a static entity, which was discussed in Chapter 4. What is important for people appears to be family, as a smallest social environment, and also the experiences that they achieved during their lifetime in a particular place. Even Turkish Cypriot IDPs re-established their 'home' in the 'homes of others'.

Yet, what should be remembered here is the impact of the duration of displacement, which means the duration of life in those 'new' places. At the beginning of their displacement their perceptions towards unfamiliar places might have been different than their perceptions after spending more than 35 years there. Unfamiliar settings became familiar for IDPs after spending a significant period of their lives in those places. Nevertheless, for some, even when the place where they settled after displacement becomes home, they are aware of the fact that the home where they live might be or will be a home of a former inhabitant again, since their displacement has not ended with one of the durable solutions listed in Chapter 2, even though there is an argument that Turkish Cypriots see the division as an end as discussed earlier in Chapter 6.

Another argument can put forward a conclusion that it is not the length of residence which has an impact on the perception, but the value and importance that people assign to their families. It might not be important whether one is an IDP or not, whether one lives in exile or not, home is where the family is.

To have *positive/constructive feelings* towards a place is another chief concept for the perception of home among Turkish Cypriots that is stated in existing literature of home too (Marcus, 1995; Pallasmaa, 1995; Somerville, 1997; Deprés, 1991). Home is a warm place where people feel happy, relax, are peaceful and comfortable. It is a warm place because they live in it, because their families are there in the home. Therefore, it is seen that no matter whether one is an IDP or local, home means a place which one has positive/constructive feelings for and a place from which one might acquire positive/constructive feelings. Although a discussion exists among scholars that home is not always a positive place, and that it can sometimes be a 'dungeon' for its inhabitants (see the discussion in Chapter 4), it is found in this study that home is always described with positive/constructive feelings even by IDPs. IDPs might also start to develop these sorts of feelings towards 'new homes' after recovering from the shock and stress of conflict and displacement and subsequently can start to perceive these places as homes when they achieve comfort and peace. The social environment, as one of the keys for adaptation and coping, might have facilitated this transition process of Turkish Cypriot IDPs since they have been displaced mainly with their co-villagers as their community. (Disruption of community villages are prevalent as well – one village from the south to more than one village in the north, many villages from the south to one village in the north.) Although it could not be estimated when this starts to happen, one might argue that it needs a necessary period of time at least to recover from the stress of conflict and displacement and accept the fact that a life there needs to be found. Hence, time and length of residence again appear as issues which influenced the perception of home of IDPs, as also indicated by Zetter (1999).

Turkish Cypriot IDPs and locals mainly identified home as *shelter* as well, which is one of the primary and well-known meanings of a house rather than being a meaning of a home according to Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton (1981, p.123) who indicate that 'a home is much more

than a shelter'. To provide shelter and protection to people so that they have a place to live in is the basic function of a home and a primary need of a person. Home is a shelter which protects its inhabitants from cold, rain, dust, smoke, other people and violence. It is a settling place where a person lives with a family and a place which provides protection. Thus, home as a shelter cannot be perceived only by locals or IDPs since everyone needs a shelter in which to sustain their lives.

One of the other basic features of home is to offer a place for its inhabitants to maintain their lives. It is a place where people cook, serve and dine, where they change their clothes, where they sleep and rest. Therefore, it is not surprising to see that home is *a place for daily activities* for both Turkish Cypriot IDPs and locals, similar to Pallasmaa's (1995, p.133) 'set of rituals, personal rhythms and routines of everyday life', Deprés' (1991, p.98) 'center of activities', Saile's (1995, p.ix) 'places of important household rituals, tasks, negotiations, and so on' and Kellet and Moore's (2003, p.127) 'set of relationships with others', 'a base of activity'. In a place of origin, in an exile, in a house, in a tent, wherever and under which conditions one lives, these are the daily routines of life which cannot be forgone.

The current situation, which can mean the fact of living in a house at the present time and having control over the home, is a common issue among Turkish Cypriot IDPs and locals which affect people's decisions regarding whether they perceive the house they live in as their home. In this respect, in these cases it can be questioned whether people truly perceive the houses as their homes, or is it the existing condition of living in that place that makes them perceive in this way? If it is the latter, then may this be interpreted to mean that when they move into another place and start to live in that place they will start to perceive that place as their homes too? This argument overlaps with what Ahmed (1999, p.338) states: 'you might say I have multiple homes, each one a different kind of home: home … where I was born and now live, home … where I grew up, and home … where the rest of my family lives'. It is seen that similar to multiple place attachments, it is possible to establish multiple homes. Moreover, having control over the home may further be related to privacy and belonging. The home is a private entity, which as users they are the ones who rule and manage, and no one else can interfere since it belongs to them. To have this responsibility and privilege leads both IDPs and locals to perceive the house as their home.

Length of residence, which has been referred to by Dovey (1985), Kent (1995) and Leith (2006), is another significant common concept between Turkish Cypriot IDPs and locals. Along with positive/constructive feelings and current situation, length of residence is one of the main issues which makes IDPs perceive the places where they settled after displacement as their homes. Sometimes only spending a considerable amount of their life in a house makes people perceive that house as their home, whereas sometimes it appears as an issue which lies under the other meanings of home or the reasons which motivate people to perceive the house as their home.

Also it can be shown to be an issue which generates commonalities regarding the perception of home between IDPs and locals – long-standing displacement of IDPs resulted in similar perceptions among IDPs and non-displaced people.

In addition to the duration of the displacement as being a reason to have common perceptions of home amongst IDPs and locals, the political process after the displacement can be listed as another one. The failure of the Annan Plan, which included the return of a considerable number of Greek Cypriot IDPs to the north, has created a decrease in the belief of the opportunity to solve the 'Cyprus Problem' and of the possibility of the return of the Greek Cypriot IDPs to their homes in the north. Therefore, it can be argued that the lack of, or the decrease in, the belief about the possibility of the return of Greek Cypriot IDPs might have impacted the perception of Turkish Cypriot IDPs towards their current and future situation and also to their current and former places of residence. This is similar to what Loizos (1999, p.257) pointed out about losing hope of return and as a result starting to find a way to survive in the new setting, and what Zetter (1999, p.3) stated about the achievement of physical resettlement and integration in long-standing displacement where IDPs have witnessed unsuccessful attempts to solve their situations.

Different perceptions of home among IDPs and locals

Memory and childhood home are widely referred to notions in home studies in general and in displacement studies in particular. The impact of childhood memories and the feeling of belonging on the perception of home and of the places of origin/places that Greek Cypriot IDPs were living before the displacement have been emphasised by Bryant (2010). However, home is perceived only by one of the Turkish Cypriot IDP respondents as a place which bears childhood memories and experiences, as a place where one's life and one's feelings are being shaped. Hence, this indicated that in the context of northern Cyprus, memory and childhood home are not significant notions among IDPs. This can be the result of evaluating home only in the present time and not relating it to the past, as well as thinking about the current house while making the definition rather than thinking about the former home. Thus, this shows that in 'the fragmented triangle' of past, present and future (Zetter, 1999, p.8), present appears dominant for IDPs. In contrast to IDPs, home is more commonly perceived as *belonging* and *childhood home* by locals.

Ancestral and *inherited home*, which have historical and symbolic meaning for IDPs (Zetter, 1999; Sert, 2008; Bryant, 2010), have the same meaning for Turkish Cypriot locals, and this meaning makes the latter perceive the places as their homes. This also indicates the importance that they assigned to family and to roots. In contrast, these dimensions of home have not been mentioned by IDPs since they do not live in their ancestral or inherited homes. They have not referred to these even while explaining their rejection of perceiving the current

house as their home. For Turkish Cypriot IDPs the most significant issue which sits at the core of their confusion, temporariness and rejection of home perception is *ownership*.

In general, *ownership*, which comprises belonging, the state of living in someone else's house, and title deeds, has been one of the main differences between IDPs and locals. Ownership as a reason impacted locals in that they perceived the houses that they lived in, owned and belonged to as their home. Only a couple of locals (2/46) stated that they do not perceive the houses as their homes and in these cases lack of title deed and lack of attachment as a consequence of living in a rented house appeared as the reasons. However, ownership affected IDPs in that they either feel confused in perceiving the house where they currently live as their home or completely reject the idea that these houses are their homes since they live in someone else's property and do not have the title deeds and, their situation is uncertain even though they currently live in the house. To be an IDP and to live in a village and in a house, a place which one 'does not belong to' and in a place which 'does not belong to one' have an influence on perception of these places (see Bryant, 2010). This argument is supported when a previously mixed village Akdeniz/Agia Eirini is investigated. In this village, even local Turkish Cypriots who live in abandoned Greek Cypriots' houses stated that they perceive the houses as their homes. At this point, familiarity of the village to the locals, the feeling of belonging to the village, having memories in a village, and living together and side by side with family members and co-villagers can be listed as some of the factors which might impact the locals' perception in this case. The existence of these make one feel belonging to a place, and to feel that a place belongs to one, while the non-existence of them has the opposite effect (Bryant, 2010).

In addition to belonging and ownership, currently existing uncertainty of the 'Cyprus Problem' might be evaluated as another significant issue which impacts the IDPs' point of view and perceptions. The main reason for the confusion of IDPs can be indicated as the political uncertainty regarding the 'Cyprus Problem' and the ownership issues which it will generate once it ends. Distribution of the title deeds in return of 'points' sometimes made IDPs claim ownership by indicating their right to the house, explaining that they left their properties in the south, and the houses where they live are their right, the houses and properties have not been given free to them. However, for some IDPs those title deeds are not a guarantee and since they live in Greek Cypriots' houses they are not sure of the future, they are confused about ownership, and they perceive the houses as only temporarily theirs.

To build their own house, the fact that the houses belong to them, that they have the ownership of the houses, and perceiving the house as their nest predominantly impact the locals' perception of house as their home. Similar to Greek Cypriot IDPs (Zetter, 1999; Bryant, 2010), Turkish Cypriots also put *exertion* on the house while building their own house. This exertion makes them perceive the house to be their home. In the locals' case, it is not only the economic exertion, but also the physical exertion that they put into the houses that is important. When

IDPs have been supplied a house, when they have found a place to live in, they might start to appropriate that place according to their lifestyles, their needs (Agier, 2008; Turan, 2010), and therefore they start to invest in the place. Later on, this investment impacts their perception of home. Hence, it is seen that *economic exertion* emerged as an issue which is referred to by IDPs in order to indicate that they have spent money on the houses and therefore they perceive them as home, they have the right to do so. Therefore, one might conclude that spending money on a house might impact the perception of belonging and ownership, which then impacts the perception of a place as one's home. Like ownership, existence or non-existence of investment and exertion can impact a person positively and negatively, respectively. Yet, it should also be mentioned that non-existence of these does not always prevent a person from establishing a bond with a house and perceiving it as his/her home, or vice versa.

The loss of home with displacement impacted some Turkish Cypriot IDPs in that they perceive home as a *necessity/need*. They have experienced what it means to not have a home, and therefore home for them appears to be an entity which everyone needs to have. The sudden loss of a home as a physical structure and as an emotional structure might have engendered among IDPs an awareness of the importance of home for one's life. In contrast to this, since locals have not experienced such loss, they cannot perceive the home in this way. The place which they live in and they perceive as home was always there. They have not been forced to leave their homes and settle in someone else's home. They might have not experienced any kind of loss related to home, and therefore they do not assign this meaning to home.

Literature on displacement and home suggests that displacement has significant impact on both the emotional and the physical relationships between displaced people and home. These people have experienced the loss of their homes physically and have to start to form a new home in a foreign environment. Even if the new 'home' is supplied to them, home formation still proceeds towards the emotional formation of home. By looking at the outcomes of this study it can be concluded that home mainly means emotions and dwelling for participants. When only IDPs are inspected or only locals are inspected it cannot be concluded that home always means only 'emotions' or only 'dwelling'. Although there are slight distinctions when one considers the concepts which appeared for the *meaning of home*, and the predominance of the concepts, when the overall outcome is considered – broader meanings of home – the distinction is not very strong. Yet, the findings support the emotional and physical relationship between home and people.

Home as ownership emerged as being not a significant statement in the four villages regarding the meaning of home (it is a significant issue for where the home is). Home does not significantly mean to own that place. Home means emotions, i.e. how one feels towards that place and how that place makes one feel, and home means dwelling, i.e. a shelter, a place where one lives and carries out daily activities.

Findings from this study overlap with the existing home literature as discussed in Chapter 4. However, it can be stated that home as 'exertion' and 'necessity/need' are concepts that emerged in this research but did not appear when the literature on the meaning of home was reviewed. Home as exertion only appeared in displacement literature (Zetter, 1999; Bryant, 2010).

One of the key findings is that the feeling that one belongs to a place, has a memory of it, and has invested energy, time and labour into it, make one perceive that place as one's home. Similar to this, home is: where the family lives, where one usually lives, an entity which one owns, where one lives for a long time, a place which one feels positive/constructive feelings towards. When locals are considered, belonging and ownership appeared as strong reasons for perceiving the place as home, but when IDPs are considered, these notions, especially ownership, emerged this time as issues which negatively impact perception. Although there are slight differences regarding the meaning of home, which are a result of displacement, there are more significant differences regarding the perception of where the home is for the ones who have experienced displacement and the ones who have not.

Women may have been impacted differently than men (Cockburn, 2004; Taylor, 2009). Women in exile 'lost their home, their social networks and their social capital' (Taylor, 2009, p.240), and therefore it was expected that they would have close feelings to their former homes. However, this study indicates that female IDPs perceive the houses where they currently live as their homes more than male IDPs, who are either confused, perceive the houses as temporary homes or reject the idea that they are their homes. Thus, it can be concluded that women might have constructed their social network more successfully than men.

When considering all of the meanings of home which have been identified by the IDPs, this study differs from what Motasim and Heynen (2011, p.64) pointed out about the Sudanese IDPs for whom home 'lost its meaning as a space of "stability and permanence" '. As explained, home is not a shelter for these people, not a place to seek refuge, it is empty during the day and full only at nights to dine and sleep in. 'To them, the house becomes a non space, a space that is to be avoided rather than dwelt in'. Instead, this study revealed that home is more than a shelter and more than a place for daily activities for IDPs, which might be related to several factors but most importantly to length of residence. For some IDPs in this study '… home is not fixed in time and space, but is reinvented time after time in different locations' (Cieraad, 2010, p.85), while for some even though the current house has meaning for them, it is not their home or is only their temporary home.

12.4 Interrelation of place attachment, perception of home and internal displacement

Place attachment, which is a concept strictly connected to home, is affected by displacement in two ways: attachment to former places of residence and attachment to current places of residence. This study reveals that displacement impacted attachment of IDPs both to the former and to the latter. The reason for this two-way influence of attachment is indicated as the length of residence/length of displacement. As a result of more than 35 years of displacement, IDPs have multiple attachments. Nevertheless, this attachment does not mean that IDPs established a strong bond with new places and kept strong bonds towards the former home. In general, attachment towards a place, both home and village, both former and current, is intermediate. This shows us that IDPs are lost between two worlds – a current life, a home in the north, and a former and perhaps future life, a home in the south. They are lost between the present, past and future. This supports Brun's (2003, p.26) argument that 'displacement indicates a state of "inbetweenness", a state of being attached to several places and simultaneously struggling to establish the right to a place'. Over time, the places which were once unfamiliar to IDPs started to become familiar. IDPs started to establish a new life in these places. They established families. In short, they started to acquire memories, as well as experiences in these places too, and 'the spaces of exile have gradually accumulated meaning and grown in familiarity' (Taylor, 2009, p.13). In some cases they appropriated the houses according to their changing needs. Attachment is established towards places when the home is constructed (Taylor, 2009, p.11). All these triggered the establishment of a feeling of belonging and attachment. But on the other hand, having in their minds that they live in someone else's home even though they have the title deeds, knowing that in the case of an agreement they are more likely to return the houses to Greek Cypriots, and also having a home, a property in the south which truly belongs to them resulted in confusion about their current houses. Thus, the study showed that ownership and political uncertainty in general and related to ownership issues in particular, are the factors affecting attachment and home perception in terms of where the home is, not the meaning of home. The confusion has not had a strong effect on the meaning of home for IDPs. While they talk about a home, they mainly talk about family and this can also be related to the time factor which brought familiarity and memories. One other reason that confusion does not impact the meaning of home for them is that IDPs relate home to present times. They do not refer to the loss and sorrow that displacement brought them. Instead, they refer to what they have in the present time. Thus, this study shows that although displacement might cause some distinctions, as discussed earlier in this chapter, displacement and attachment are not the key identifiers of what home means for IDPs.

One of the other findings of this study is that IDPs do not precisely and without doubt feel that their current houses are 'their homes'. Although IDPs are indecisive or more or less attached to their current houses, and the meaning of home for them is slightly affected by displacement, they do not always and precisely perceive the current houses as their home. Similar confusion

as seen in attachment emerged in the decision as to whether the place where they live is their home or not. Another key point from this study is that an IDP can feel attached to a home but this does not always mean that s/he perceives that place as his/her home. Ownership and the current situation appeared at the centre of the confusion and rejection which are directly related to displacement.

Along with family, length of displacement, emotions, ownership and current situation, which appear in this study as the key identifiers for attachment and perception of home, the political situation, starting from the division until today, can be designated as another significant factor which has an impact on IDPs' attachment and perception in various ways. It is stated in some sources (e.g. Kliot, 2007; Papadakis, 2005) that the Turkish Cypriot Administration accepted the division as permanent and Turkish Cypriot politics made people forget where they come from and accept the new places as their real homes. In this sense, changes which have been realised on the landscape of the north, placing IDPs and also Turkish settlers into the Greek Cypriots' houses and distributing the title deeds can be related to these arguments. As explained in Chapter 7, it was one of the aims of the Turkish Cypriot Administration at the time to resettle IDPs into villages resembling their villages in the south. This can be evaluated as a correct attempt since, as explained in Chapter 2, site selection is one of the important issues in resettlement (Kleine-Ahlbrandt, 2004, p.23). Although IDPs in this study have not experienced a dramatic change in setting, unlike Cypriot refugees in London who were displaced from a rural to an urban context (see Taylor, 2009, p.16), because they have been resettled into rural settings similar to where they have been displaced from, they still remember and praise their former village, often in terms of its water, trees, air, etc., and they indicate that 'it was different', similar to what Taylor (2009) points out. Considering the continuation in setting and considering IDPs' attachment and perception, it can be concluded that continuation of a life in a similar setting does not always provide successful attachment and home perception.

Having no physical and visual contact with the former home was one of the outcomes of the conflict and division, and another determinant of attachment to and perception of home. During all those years, IDPs were not able even to 'visit their homes'. They had no idea about the situation on the 'other side' of the country and specifically about the condition of their villages and homes except for the Turkish Cypriots who were displaced in the late 1950s and early 1960s and had a chance to visit until the division. The long-term political obstruction of physical and visual visits to home might engender the acceptance of a current place of residence as a home, even if there is an ownership issue. The homes in the south were only in their memories until the political manoeuvre of the Turkish Cypriot Administration during 'the Annan Plan period', i.e. relaxation of the border restrictions in 2003, as discussed in Chapter 6. 2003 has been recorded as a turning point in the history of displacement in Cyprus. Encounter with the 'other', life on the 'other side' and also current condition of their property in the south can be listed as important issues which had an impact on the attachment and perception of home of

IDPs. Commonly, IDPs mentioned that 'everything has changed' – their villages, their houses and the social environment. When the border restrictions were released in Cyprus and people started to 'visit their homes' it was also seen that memory can be misleading. Apart from the changes realised on the landscape and on the houses, which created difficulties for IDPs to remember, time appeared as a factor which led to distortion of memory. This became apparent when people expressed their first feelings towards their homes, especially by referring to the dimensions of the houses. Thus, in the Cyprus case or elsewhere where the politics prevent IDPs for a long-time from 'visiting' their places of origin/residence, this type of distortion in memory might occur. While past memories might have changed with a visit to or an encounter with a new situation of the former places of residence, a new image related to the former home and life is included into the memory of IDPs, and this forms a new reality which is parallel to what Warner (1994) argues: there is no return back since it is not possible to go back in time and achieve what one used to have in the past, in the present, and what Taylor (2009) indicated for Cypriot refugees in London that there is no returning.

Another milestone in the history of displacement is the referendum and the failure of the Annan Plan, which resulted in the loss of hope and belief in reunification. The difficulty of returning to the south, the possibility of not returning the homes to the Greek Cypriots and not displacing from the current houses might have formed in the minds of the IDPs. Considering all these political influences it can be concluded that the results of this study could have been different before the border opening and referendum. It can be argued that the attachment towards their former places could have been higher before the visits, and the meaning of home might have been different since they had 'beautiful' memories and images of their homes. But when they visited, they experienced the loss one more time when they could not find their homes, or they found 'someone else' living in their homes and what they remember was not exactly what they found. However, all these did not wipe out their attachment to these places. Along the same lines, this encounter might have influenced the attachment to, and meaning of, their current home. At this point, by remembering the arguments about the 'dynamic' (Dovey, 1985, p.48; Leith, 2006, p.318; Taylor, 2009, p.263; Eastmond and Öjendal, 1999, p.54), 'multiple and contradictory' (Taylor, 2009, p.263), 'complex' (Eastmond and Öjendal, 1999, p.54) and 'process-oriented' (Dovey, 1985, p.48) nature of home, it can be argued that attachment is also dynamic for people in general and for IDPs in particular. Attachment to, and perception of, a place depends on the changing circumstances and experiences of a person. These also change from person to person since IDPs are not a homogeneous group, but different people with different identities (Sert, 2008, pp.41–42).

Similar to the previous studies on displacement in Cyprus and Cypriot IDPs and refugees (Taylor, 2009; Bryant, 2010; Dikomitis, 2012), this study reveals that there are variations and contradictions among Cypriot IDPs. In addition to the political situation, political views of a person, his/her ideas about the conflict, current situation and future of Cyprus and desire to

return to former places of origin can determine their view towards the places (Taylor, 2009; Bryant, 2010). Therefore, the ones who are strongly attached to the south might be the supporters of reunification of the island and the ones who are attached to the north might be the ones who are the supporters of the current situation. There are IDPs who are still willing to go back to their homes in the south, sometimes even if their homes and village do not exist anymore. In contrast, there are IDPs who do not think about going back to the south ever (see Taylor, 2009 for similar accounts). It is also found in this study that IDPs are still attached to their previous villages and homes in the south (similar to Boğaç, 2009 and Dikomitis, 2012) and some are willing to go back (similar to Taylor, 2009; Dikomitis, 2012). The ones who do not want to go back also praise their previous villages, homes and social relations that they used to have, but do not prefer to go back (similar to Taylor, 2009; Dikomitis, 2012). Dikomitis (2012, p.195) explains this as 'when one has suffered the loss of home and community once or more than once … one is not likely to celebrate mobility and rootlessness', or it can be related to Taylor's (2009) argument about the experience of violence and fear related to that (Taylor, 2009, p.273). It can also be related to the new life that has been established a long time ago.

12.5 Summary and conclusion

This chapter aimed to answer the third objective of the study, which is to contribute to our knowledge and understanding of the relationships between displacement, place attachment and the perception of home, both in the context of northern Cyprus and in more general discourse. Therefore, the findings from the previous four chapters have been interrelated and discussed in the context of current literature on displacement, place attachment and perception of home and especially with the literature on the displacement in Cyprus.

Like many other conflict related displacement stories, politics is situated at the centre of the displacement in Cyprus. The conflict and war between two major communities – Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots – caused dramatic changes in life on the island. Thousands of people had to leave their properties and became internally displaced or refugees. What they had to leave behind was not simply 'the properties' but 'their homes', which have physical/spatial, material, symbolic and social meanings (Zetter, 1999; Sert, 2008; Taylor, 2009; Bryant, 2010). The division and separation of the two communities into two sides caused life in a foreign environment for both communities. Particularly for almost all of the Turkish Cypriot IDPs, the result was a life in someone else's home. The main argument is that displacement has bearings on the life of the IDPs, and since it resulted in a loss of homes and dictated a formation of new homes in a foreign setting, it directly impacts the notion of home, attachment to home and perception of home. Hence, home emerges as a key notion in the displacement in Cyprus.

Displacement, place attachment and perception of home emerged as three strongly connected constructs. Displacement emerged as a turning point in the lives of IDPs, and life after

displacement cannot be the same as it used to be before. The duration of the life in the new setting and the experiences brought changes both to IDPs and to the places they had to leave. It impacts the bond between people and home, which in turn impacts one's perception of home. This study showed that it does not impact what home means to a person (however, the impact of length of stay in the home cannot be neglected), but it impacts where the home is for IDPs. The conclusions of this study are presented in the next chapter.

Chapter 13

Conclusions

Chapter 13: Conclusions

13.1   Conclusions and contribution to knowledge

The main aim of the study was to critically examine the relationship between internal displacement, place attachment and perception of home. In response to the main aim of the study, the objectives were: to identify current discourse on the relationship between internal displacement, place attachment and perception of home; to investigate place attachment and perception of home as a result of displacement in northern Cyprus; to contribute to our knowledge and understanding of the relationships between displacement, place attachment and perception of home both in the context of northern Cyprus and in more general discourse. When the objectives of the study are considered, the following results emerged.

In relation to the first objective of the study, the current discourse on the relationship between internal displacement, place attachment and perception of home is identified in the literature reviewed. This review showed that although an enormous number of studies exist about these topics, there is a lack of studies which combine all three concepts. There is significant attention paid to place attachment. When these studies are inspected it can be concluded that there is not only one method, approach and process for how to study the concept, just as there is not only one valid/well-founded definition of it. This study followed Hernández *et al.*'s (2007) approach and evaluates place attachment as a different concept than place identity, place dependence, sense of place and sense of belonging. Place attachment, in this study, is used in order to refer to a people–place bond. The study used interview and questionnaire as two of the commonly used techniques in the place attachment studies. Home, on the other hand, is a concept which is strongly related to place attachment, and although it is not a recent concept it still receives much attention. However, home, which is also strongly connected to displacement, since people are forced to leave their homes and are forced to start to build homes, is not prevalently studied in displacement literature in respect of the attachment and meaning of home for the displaced people. Thus, this shows that along with the investigation on process of displacement, consequences of displacement and possible durable solution, which are the broadly studied issues, IDPs' attachment to and perception of home needed to receive more study in order to achieve a comprehensive understanding for the present and future life of IDPs and a more comprehensive understanding of how displacement impacts them.

Based on the second objective, the study revealed that although displacement has a clear impact on attachment, there is not a significant difference in what home means for IDPs and locals. In general, home means family, a home/nest where people live with their families, a place where one feels positive/constructive feelings towards and within. Nonetheless, small variations exist. For one, as discussed in the former chapters, the clearest distinction between IDPs' and locals' perception is that home appears to mean necessity/need and more economic exertion for the former, while home is more about belonging for the latter. A second, related,

finding is that differently to locals, IDPs have varied evaluations as to whether they perceive the current places they live in as their homes or not. This shows that their meaning of home might be similar to that of locals, yet this does not indicate that these meanings always enable IDPs to accept those places that bear these meanings as their home. The impact of displacement emerges mainly when the reasons for perception of home are considered. Since there are variations in perceptions of where the home is, there are also distinctions regarding the reasons for these perceptions. Contrary to the locals' undoubted ideas about their homes, IDPs have contradictory and varied ideas which are related to their situation.

When place attachment and its impact on perception of home is considered, the study showed that it is not always necessary to be attached to a place to perceive it as home, as some other previously discussed factors might be influential (such as, in particular, family). It was observed that even in the cases where people have a lack of attachment to a home, home is still defined by similar notions to those who are attached.

This study is in line with the existing literature, which argues that displacement strongly impacts people who involuntarily leave their homes and belongings behind, experience physical, social, cultural and economic disruption and are forced to settle in an unfamiliar environment. However, this study also showed that such experiences of IDPs do not mean that it is impossible for them to start a new life in the new setting to which they have been displaced. It cannot be estimated what amount of time is needed for this, and it is beyond the scope of this study to estimate and discuss this, but length of stay is a determinant of attachment. At the same time, the established feelings and new life do not mean that IDPs forget their former homes completely and do not feel nostalgia for the lost home and lost life. A life between two worlds starts right after they leave their homes. As discussed in Chapter 2, the attitudes of IDPs towards their former and current place of residence and their choice of life for themselves need to be considered while proposing solutions to their situations, which consequently will bring 'another life' to them, since it is not possible to go back in time and find the life before displacement and it is not possible to continue to the life after displacement. Thus, it can be said that they might have a third world which most probably will be different than the life before displacement and the life after displacement.

As a response to the third objective, this study contributes to the knowledge and understanding of the relationships between displacement, place attachment and perception of home, both in the context of northern Cyprus and in more general discourse. This study attempted to fill one of the gaps in the literature and also to contribute to the studies about displacement, place attachment and perception of home in Cyprus. In light of the former discussions about findings (see Chapters 8 to 12), it can be concluded that the duration of the life of the IDPs in places settled after displacement (which also means the length of stay away from the place of origin/residence) appears at the centre of the attachment and perception of home. Length of this

settlement determines the feeling of attachment and home perception. It brings familiarity towards once unfamiliar environments, and moreover it enables the establishment of 'new memories' in new places throughout time, which in turn engender meaning for a home and trigger attachment. Although there may be ownership problems related to the houses where IDPs live and there is political instability about what will happen in the future, a long life in the places settled after displacement 'normalises' the meaning of home for IDPs. What is meant by 'normalisation' is that IDPs start to explain the meaning of home without referring to displacement and feelings related to it. Rather, they explain what home means in terms similar to people who have not experienced displacement. Hence, this shows that meaning of home in a long-standing displacement situation is not determined by displacement and attachment.

Nevertheless, the study also concluded that the meaning of home might not always necessarily be enough particularly for IDPs to start to accept those places as their homes in a context of ownership issues related to political uncertainty. Hence, political instability and issues related to this, particularly ownership, appear as significant bases for home perceptions in environments where displacement has been experienced. Although attachment for IDPs is not mainly determined by holding the ownership of a place where they have been displaced to, lack of clarity on ownership creates confusion for IDPs about the present and future and also determines the way they perceive where the home is. This indicates that the administration which deals with the IDPs' situation needs to be clear on ownership issues and the rights of IDPs and more importantly to do this by considering the reality and possible future if there is not an end yet to the displacement processes of IDPs, since all these have impacts on attachment and perception of home.

In general, then, the immediate and short-term impact of displacement may create a strong influence on attachment and meaning. People are more likely to feel strongly attached to their former places and not to have any attachments towards the places where they have been displaced to. From the same perspective, the meaning of home for them is not expected to be similar to locals when they experience recent displacement, the meaning of home might be related to loss and nostalgia. Different to immediate and short-term displacement, long-term displacement creates people who are lost between their former life and current life: past and present. They became lost between two worlds: not attached strongly to former and current places of residence, or do not know where their 'real' home is. Besides, instability of the present creates people who are not clear about their future. Since time appears to be at the centre of the discussion about attachment and home perception of IDPs, an early solution to the IDP problem emerges as a key issue.

Finally, while concluding, it should also be noted that there is not only one type of IDPs since like many other issues, people could have been differently impacted by displacement and the life afterwards. Although there may be similarities, there may also be distinctions among IDPs

regarding how they perceive the whole process: in the past, present and future. Hence, it is important to give a voice to as many IDPs as possible in order to be able to understand displacement and its impacts from different perceptions and to be able to propose an appropriate and desirable solution for everyone.

13.2 Scope for further research

Many other subjects exist which were not possible to cover in a single study yet can shed light on further studies of the topics of place attachment, perception of home and internal displacement. First of all, it should be stated that the same study could be conducted in southern Cyprus, among Greek Cypriot IDPs. Although several studies exist about Greek Cypriot IDPs, this same study could provide a base from which to compare and explore the situation in both communities. By doing so, it would reduce the lack of cross-cultural and cross-national studies of place attachment, which was identified by Lewicka (2011, p.220) as:

> I also note that despite the 'global' character of research in place attachment, very few cross-cultural or cross-national comparisons exist. One can also observe the phenomenon of 'national attachment' to measurement instruments created in particular countries, although this seems to be changing recently and an exchange of measures between researchers from different countries can be observed (Lewicka, 2011, p.220).

Considering this, it is also worth studying IDPs elsewhere in order to compare Cyprus with other cases.

Furthermore, in addition to the existence of and predictors of place attachment, consequences of non/existence of place attachment could be one other topic which can be included in this type of study. In this vein, for instance, it could be questioned whether the existence of place attachment brings overall satisfaction, i.e. whether acceptance of the environment where one lives and attachment to this environment makes one perceive the environment as more attractive, more satisfying and more meaningful?

In addition to place attachment of IDPs, place identity of IDPs in general and place identity of IDPs in the Cyprus context could be another subject for further inclusion, since (as discussed in Chapter 3) one might feel attached to a particular place but not identify oneself with that place, or one might not feel attached to a particular place yet identify oneself with that place. It might be the case that, for instance if Turkish Cypriot IDPs are considered, one might develop attachment to a place where one settled after displacement, but still identify oneself with the place where one has been displaced from. In this respect, it is worth discovering whether IDPs identify themselves with their former and/or current places of residence and if so, how this is related to place attachment.

In general, perception of home has been studied relating to both IDPs and locals. In order to carry the study a step further, the factors which have an effect on perception of home for both IDPs (apart from displacement) and locals could be studied as a subject to be pursued in new research. As length of residence could be listed as a strong determinant that might influence the perception of home of its inhabitants, a group of IDPs (for instance) who are recently displaced could be selected as a control group to investigate whether and what length of residence have an impact on home perception.

In summary, this study has explored place attachment, perception of home and internal displacement and deepened the awareness and knowledge of the subject. The findings contribute to knowledge about place attachment, and perception of home in general, and in the case of internal displacement, mainly by providing theoretical information. The study contributes to reducing the gap in studies about internal displacement and IDPs in northern Cyprus and Turkish Cypriot IDPs in particular. However, it also provides information about place attachment and home studies related to IDPs in a broader context. Moreover, it also combines the three subjects of place attachment, perception of home and internal displacement, and brings another point of view to these related topics which still attract scholars from various disciplines. By discussing and situating the findings within the existing literature and by listing some ideas based on these, this study has opened up new questions, new scopes for further research.

REFERENCES

Agier, M. (2008) '*On the margins of the world: the refugee experience today',* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Ahmed, S. (1999) 'Home and away: narratives of migration and estrangement', *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 2(3), pp.329-347.

Alexiou, A., Gürel, A., Hatay, M. and Taki, Y. (2003) *Annan Planı'nda Mülkiyet Rejimi: Vatandaşın El Kitabı (The Annan Plan for Cyprus: A Citizen's Guide)*. Oslo: International Peace Research Institute.

Al-Rasheed, M. (1994) 'The myth of return: Iraqi Arab and Assyrian refugees in London', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 7(2/3), pp.199-219.

Altman, I. and Low, S. M. (eds) (1992) *Place attachment*. New York: Plenum Press.

Altman, I. and Werner, C. M. (1985a) 'Introduction', in Altman, I. and Werner, C. M. (eds) *Home environments: human behaviour and environment: advances in theory and research*. Vol. 8. New York: Plenum Press, pp.xix-xxii.

Altman, I. and Werner, C. M. (eds) (1985b) *Home environments: human behaviour and environment: advances in theory and research*. Vol. 8. New York: Plenum Press.

Anthias, F. (1992) *Ethnicity, class, gender and migration: Greek-Cypriots in Britain*. Aldershot, UK: Avebury Ashgate Publishing.

Atun, R. A. and Pulhan, H. (2009) 'Learning from housing: a retrospective narrative of housing environments in North Cyprus', *Open House International*, 34(4), pp.82-93.

Bahcheli, T. (2004) 'Saying yes to EU accession: explaining the Turkish Cypriot referendum outcome', *The Cyprus Review*, 16(2), pp.55-66.

Beckingham, C. F. (1957) 'The Turks of Cyprus', *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 87(2), pp.165-174.

Bell, P. A., Greene, T. C., Fisher, J. D. and Baum, A. (2001) *Environmental psychology*. 5th edn. New York: Psychology Press, Taylor & Francis Group.

Benjamin, D. N. (1995) 'Afterword, or further research issues in confronting the home concept', in Benjamin, D. N., Stea, D. and Saile, D. (eds) *The home: words, interpretations, meanings, and environments*. Ethnoscapes: Current Challenges in the Environmental Social Sciences. Aldershot, UK: Avebury Publishing.

Benjamin, D. N. (1997) 'Home', in Oliver, P. (ed.) *Encyclopaedia of vernacular architecture of the world*, Vol.1 Theories and Principles. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.85-86.

Benmayor, R. and Skotnes, A. (eds) (1994) *Migration and identity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Berg, B. L. (2009) *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences*. 7th edn. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Black, R. and Koser, K. (eds) (1999) *The end of the refugee cycle? Refugee repatriation & reconstruction*. Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Boğaç, C. (2002) *Adaptation and place attachment in a physically foreign settlement: a study of a local environment in Aşağı Maraş, Gazimağusa*. Master's thesis. Eastern Mediterranean University, Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

Boğaç, C. (2009) 'Place attachment in a foreign settlement', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 29(2), pp.267-278.

Bottomley, G. (1992) *From another place: migration and the politics of culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brookings Institution (2008) *Protecting internally displaced persons: a manual for law and policy makers*. Available at: www.brookings.edu/research/papers/2008/10/16-internal-displacement (Accessed: 16 May 2015).

Brown, D. and Mansfield, K. (2009) 'Listening to the experiences of the long-term displaced', *Forced Migration Review*, (33), pp.15-17.

Brown, B. B. and Perkins, D. D. (1992) 'Disruptions in place attachment', in Altman, I. and Low, S. M. (eds) *Place attachment*. New York: Plenum Press, pp.279-304.

Brown, G. and Raymond, C. (2007) 'The relationship between place attachment and landscape values: toward mapping place attachment', *Applied Geography*, 27, pp.89-111.

Brown, B., Perkins, D. D. and Brown, G. (2003) 'Place attachment in a revitalizing neighbourhood: individual and block levels of analysis', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 23(3), pp.259-271.

Brun, C. (2003) 'Not only about survival: livelihood strategies in protracted displacement', in Shanmugaratnam, N., Lund, R. and Stølen, K. A. (eds) *In the maze of displacement: conflict, migration and change*. Kristiansand: Høyskoleforlaget - Norwegian Academic Press, pp.26-49.

Brun, C. (2004) 'Introduction', in *House: Loss, Refuge and Belonging. Conference report of the International Conference on House: Loss, Refuge and Belonging*. NTNU (Norwegian University of Science and Technology), 16-18 September. Trondheim, Norway: Department of Geography, NTNU, p.2.

Bryant, R. (2004) *Imagining the modern: the culture of nationalism in Cyprus*. New York: I. B. Tauris.

Bryant, R. (2010) *The past in pieces: belonging in the new Cyprus*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Bryman, A. (2008) *Social research methods*. 3rd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Carroll, B., Morbey, H., Balogh, R. and Araoz, G. (2009) 'Flooded homes, broken bonds, the meaning of home, psychological processes and their impact on psychological health in a disaster', *Health & Place*, 15(2), pp.540-547.

Cernea, M. M. (1988) *Involuntary resettlement in development projects*. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.

Chow, H. P. H. (2007) 'Sense of belonging and life satisfaction among Hong Kong adolescent immigrants in Canada', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 33(3), pp.511-520.

Chow, K. and Healey, M. (2008) 'Place attachment and place identity: first-year undergraduates making the transition from home to university', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 28(4), pp.362-372.

CIA (Central Inteligence Agency) (2013) *The world factbook 2013-2014: Cyprus*. Available at: https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/cy.html (Accessed: 03 June 2013).

Cieraad, I. (2010) 'Homes from home: memories and projections', *Home Cultures*, 7(1), pp.85-102.

Cloutier-Fischer, D. and Harvey, J. (2009) 'Home beyond the house: experiences of place in an evolving retirement community', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 29(2), pp.246-255.

Cockburn, C. (2004) *The line - women, partition and the gender order in Cyprus*. London: Zed Books.

Conflict in Cities (2007) *Conflict in cities and the contested state*. Available at: www.conflictincities.org/aboutus.html (Accessed: 15 July 2012).

Constantinou, C. M. and Hatay, M. (2010) 'Cyprus, ethnic conflict and conflicted heritage', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 33(9), pp.1600-1619.

Constantinou, C. M., Demetrious, O. and Hatay, M. (2012) 'Conflicts and uses of cultural heritage in Cyprus', *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, 14(2), pp.177-198.

Cooper, C. (1974) 'The house as a symbol of self', in Lang, J., Burnett, C., Moleski, W. and Vachon, D. (eds) *Designing for human behavior: architecture and the behavioral sciences*. Stroudsburg, PA: Dowden, Hutchinson, & Ross, pp.130-146.

Couldrey, M. and Morris, T. (2004) 'Reintegration challenges for Burundi', *Forced Migration Review*, (21), pp.26-27.

Creswell, J. W. (2009) *Research design: qualitative, quantitative, and mixed method approaches*. 3rd edn. California: Sage Publications.

Csikszentmihalyi, M. and Rochberg-Halton, E. (1981) *The meaning of things: domestic symbols and the self*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cuba, L. and Hummon, D. M. (1993) 'Constructing a sense of home: place affiliation and migration across the life cycle', *Sociological Forum*, 8(4), pp.547-572.

Curl, J. S. (2006) *Oxford dictionary of architecture and landscape architecture*. 2nd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Demetriou, O. (2007) 'To cross or not to cross? Subjectivization and the absent state in Cyprus', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 13(4), pp.987-1006.

Deprés, C. (1991) 'The meaning of home: literature review and directions for future research and theoretical development', *The Journal of Architectural and Planning Research*, 8(2), pp.96-115.

Devplan (2011) *2006 Population and housing unit census*. TRNC (Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus) State Planning Organisation. Available at: www.devplan.org (Accessed: 25 March 2011).

Dikomitis, L. (2004) 'A moving field: Greek Cypriot refugees returning "home" ', *Durham Anthropology Journal*, 12(1), pp.7-20.

Dikomitis, L. (2005) 'Three readings of a border: Greek Cypriots crossing the Green Line in Cyprus', *Anthropology Today*, 21(5), pp.7-12.

Dikomitis, L. (2010) *Places of desire: notions of place and 'Home' among Greek and Turkish Cypriot refugees*. PhD thesis. Ghent University, Belgium.

Dikomitis, L. (2012) *Cyprus and its places of desire: culture of displacement among Greek and Turkish Cypriot refugees*. London: IB Tauris.

Dincyurek, O. (2002) *The rural vernacular architecture of Cyprus (Northern)*. PhD thesis. Eastern Mediterranean University, Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

Dodd, C. H. (2004) *Disaccord on Cyprus: the UN Plan and after*. Huntingdon, UK: The Eothen Press.

Douglas, M. (1991) 'The idea of home: a kind of space', in Mack, A. (ed.) *Home: a place in the world*. Special edition of *Social Research*, 58(1), pp.287-307.

Dovey, K. (1985) 'Home and homelessness', in Altman, I. and Werner, C. M. (eds) *Home environments: human behaviour and environment: advances in theory and research*. Vol. 8. New York: Plenum Press, pp.33-94.

Durrell, L. (1957) *Bitter lemons of Cyprus*. London: Faber and Faber.

Eastmond, M. and Öjendal, J. (1999) 'Revisiting a "repatriation success": the case of Cambodia', in Black, R. and Koser, K. (eds) *The end of the refugee cycle? Refugee repatriation and reconstruction*. Oxford: Berghahn Books, pp.38-55.

Ehrkamp, P. (2005) 'Placing identities: transnational practices and local attachments of Turkish immigrants in Germany', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 31(2), pp.345-364.

Entwisle, H. (2010) *The end of the road? A review of UNHCR's role in the return and reintegration of internally displaced populations*. United High Commissioner for Refugees: Policy Development and Evaluation Service. Available at: www.unhcr.org (Accessed: 25 July 2014).

Ferris, E. and Halff, K. (2011) 'Protracted internal displacement: is local integration a solution?', *Forced Migration Review*, (38), pp.53-54.

Fox, L. (2002) 'The meaning of home: a chimerical concept or a legal challenge?', *Journal of Law and Society*, 29(4), pp.580-610.

Fraser, R. (1984) *In search of a past: The Manor House, Amnesfield, 1933-1945*. London: Verso.

Fried, M. (1963) 'Grieving for a lost home', in Duhl, L. M. D. (ed.) *The urban condition*. New York: Basic Books, pp.151-171.

Ghanem, T. (2003) *When forced migrants return 'home': the psychosocial difficulties returnees encounter in the reintegration process*. Master's thesis. Refugee Studies Centre Working Paper Series, No.16, Queen Elizabeth House, University of Oxford.

Giammatteo, J. (2010) 'To return or to stay?', *Forced Migration Review*, (35), pp.52-53.

Gilbert, N. (eds) (2008) *Researching social life*. 3rd edn. Los Angles: Sage Publications.

Gillham, B. (2000) *Case study research methods*. London: Continuum.

Giuliani, M. V. (1991) 'Towards an analysis of mental representations of attachment to the home', *The Journal of Architectural and Planning Research*, 8(2), pp.133-146.

Goodey, B. (1974) *Images of place: essays on environmental perception, communications and education*. Sutton, UK: Centre for Urban and Regional Studies, University of Birmingham.

Gunnis, R. (1936) *Historic Cyprus: a guide to its towns & villages, monastries & castles*. Nicosia, Cyprus: K. Rustem & Bro.

Gurel, A., Hatay, M. and Yakinthou, C. (2012) *Displacement in Cyprus: Consequences of Civil and Military Strife, Report 5: An Overview of Events and Perceptions*. Nicosia: PRIO Cyprus Centre.

Gustafson, P. (2001) 'Roots and routes: exploring the relationship between place attachment and mobility', *Environment and Behavior*, 33(5), pp.667-686.

Gürel, A. and Özersay, K. (2006a) *The politics of property in Cyprus: conflicting appeals to 'bizonality' and 'human rights' by the two Cypriot communities*. PRIO Report 3/2006. Available at: http://cyprus.prio.org (Accessed: 21 May 2014).

Gürel, A. and Özersay, K. (2006b) 'Cyprus and the politics of property', *Mediterranean Politics*, 11(3), pp.349-369.

Hammond, L. (1999) 'Examining the discourse of repatriation: towards a more proactive theory of return migration', in Black, R. and Koser, K. (eds) *The end of the refugee cycle? Refugee repatriation & reconstruction*. Oxford: Berghahn Books, pp.227-244.

Harrell-Bond, B. E. (1986) *Imposing aid: emergency assistance to refugees*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hay, R. (1998) 'Sense of place in developmental context', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 18(1), pp.5-29.

Heidegger, M. (1971) *Poetry, language, thought*. New York: Harper & Row.

Hernández, B., Hidalgo, M. C., Salazar-Laplace, M. E. and Hess, S. (2007) 'Place attachment and place identity in natives and non-natives', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 27(4), pp.310-319.

Hidalgo, M. C. and Hernández, B. (2001) 'Place attachment: conceptual and empirical questions', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 21(3), pp.273-281.

Hirschon, R. (1989) *Heirs of the Greek catastrophe: the social life of Asia Minor refugees in Piraeus*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

IDMC (2007) *Internal displacement: global overview of trends and developments in 2006 (Geneva: Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre and Norwegian Refugee Council)*. Available at: www.internal-displacement.org (Accessed: 12 March 2011).

IDMC (2013) *Internal displacement in Europe, the Caucasus and Central Asia*, p.63. Available at: www.internal-displacement.org (Accessed: 03 July 2013).

IDMC (2014) *Global overview 2014: people internally displaced by conflict and violence*, p.9, 15, 30, 40, 46, 48. Available at: www.internal-displacement.org (Accessed: 21 July 2014).

Jorgensen, B. S. and Stedman, R. C. (2001) 'Sense of place as an attitude: lakeshore owners' attitudes toward their properties', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 21(3), pp.233-248.

Jorgensen, B. S. and Stedman, R. C. (2006) 'A comparative analysis of predictors of sense of place dimensions: attachment to, dependence on, and identification with lakeshore properties', *Journal of Environmental Management*, 79(3), pp.316-327.

Kellet, P. and Moore, J. (2003) 'Routes to home: homelessness and home-making in contrasting societies', *Habitat International*, 27(1), pp.123-141.

Kent, S. (1995) 'Ethniarchaeology and the concept of home: a cross-cultural analysis', in Benjamin, D. N. and Stea, D. (eds) *The home: words, interpretations, meanings, and environments*. Aldershot, UK: Avebury Publishing, pp.163-180.

Kiliçkiran, D. (2003) 'Migrant homes: ethnicity, identity and domestic space culture', in Menin, S. (ed.) *Constructing place: mind and matter*. London: Routledge, pp.99-110.

King, R. (1980) 'Cypriot refugees in Cyprus', *Geographical Magazine*, 52(4), pp.226-273.

King, N. (2000) *Memory, narrative, identity: remembering the self*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

King, R. and Ladbury, S. (1982) 'The cultural reconstruction of political reality: Greek and Turkish Cyprus since 1974', *Anthropological Quarterly*, 55(1), pp.1-16.

Kissoon, P. (2006) 'Home/lessness as an indicator of integration: interviewing refugees about the meaning of home and accommodation', in Temple, B. and Moran, R. (eds) *Doing research with refugees: issues and guidelines*. University of Bristol, Bristol: The Policy Press, pp.75-96.

Kleine-Ahlbrandt, S. (2004) 'Learning lessons from IDP resettlement: villagisation in north-west Rwanda', *Forced Migration Review*, (21), pp.23-25.

Kliot, N. (2007) 'Resettlement of refugees in Finland and Cyprus: a comparative analysis and possible lessons for Israel', in Kacowicz, A. M. and Lutomski, P. (eds) *Population resettlement in international conflicts: a comparative study*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, pp.57-77.

Kliot, N. and Mansfeld, Y. (1994) 'Resettling displaced people in North and South Cyprus: a comparison', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 7(4), pp.328-359.

Knez, I. (2005) 'Attachment and identity as related to a place and its perceived climate', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 25(2), pp.207-218.

Koser, K. and Black, R. (1999) 'The end of the refugee cycle?', in Black, R. and Koser, K. (eds) *The end of the refugee cycle? Refugee repatriation & reconstruction*. Oxford: Berghahn Books, pp.2-17.

Kunz, E. F. (1973) 'The refugee in flight: kinetic models and forms of displacement', *International Migration Review*, 7(2), pp.125-146.

Kunz, E. F. (1981) 'The analytical framework of exile and resettlement: refugee theory', *International Migration Review*, 15(1), pp.42-52.

Kyle, G. T., Mowen, A. J. and Tarrant, M. (2004) 'Linking place preferences with place meaning: an examination of the relationship between place motivation and place attachment', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 24(4), pp.439-454.

Kyle, G., Graefe, A., Manning, R. and Bacon, J. (2004) 'Effects of place attachment on users' perceptions of social and environmental conditions in a natural setting', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 24(3), pp.213-225. doi: 10.1016/j.jenp.2003.12.006.

Ladbury, S. and King R. (1988) 'Settlement renaming in Turkish Cyprus', *Geography (Journal of the Geographical Association)*, 73(4), pp.363-367.

Lalli, M. (1992) 'Urban-related identity: theory, measurement and empirical findings', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 12(4), pp.285-303.

Lawrence, R. J. (1987) *Housing, dwellings and homes: design theory, research and* practice. Chichester: John Wiley and Sons.

Lawrence, R. J. (1995) 'Deciphering home: an integrative historical perspective', in Benjamin, D. N., Stea, D. and Saile, D. (eds) *The home: words, interpretations, meanings, and environments*.

Ethnoscapes: Current Challenges in the Environmental Social Sciences. Aldershot, UK: Avebury Publishing, pp.53-68.

Leith, K. H. (2006) ' "Home is where the heart is… or is it?" A phenomenological exploration of the meaning of home for older women in congregate housing', *Journal of Aging Studies*, 20(4), pp.317-333.

Lewicka, M. (2005) 'Ways to make people active: the role of place attachment, cultural capital, and neighbourhood ties', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 25(4), pp.381-395.

Lewicka, M. (2008) 'Place attachment, place identity, and place memory: restoring the forgotten city past', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 28(3), pp.209-231.

Lewicka, M. (2010) 'What makes neighbourhood different from home and city? Effects of place scale on place attachment', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 30(1), pp.35-51.

Lewicka, M. (2011) 'Place attachment: how far have we come in the last 40 years?', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 31(3), pp.207-230.

Lippman, B. and Malik, S. (2004) 'The 4Rs: the way ahead?', *Forced Migration Review*, (21), pp.9-11.

Lofland, J. (2004) 'Field notes', in Seale, C. (ed.) *Social research methods: a reader*. London: Routledge, pp.232-235.

Loizos, P. (1972) *Social organization and political change in a Cypriot village*. PhD thesis. The London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE).

Loizos, P. (1975) *The Greek gift: politics in a Cypriot village*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Loizos, P. (1981) *The heart grown bitter: a chronicle of Cypriot war refugees*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Loizos, P. (1988) 'Intercommunal killing in Cyprus', *Man*, 23(4), pp.639-653.

Loizos, P. (1999) 'Ottoman half-lives: long-term perspectives on particular forced migrations', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 12(3), pp.237-263.

Loizos, P. (2008) *Iron in the soul: displacement, livelihood and health in Cyprus*. Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Loizos, P. (2009) 'Displacement shock and recovery in Cyprus', *Forced Migration Review*, (33), pp.40-41.

Loizos. P. and Constantinou, C. (2007) 'Hearts, as well as minds: wellbeing and illness among Greek Cypriot refugees', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 20(1), pp.86-107.

Low, S. M. (1992) 'Symbolic ties that bind: place attachment in the Plaza', in Altman, I. and Low, S. (eds) *Place attachment*. New York: Plenum Press, pp.165-185.

Low, S. M. and Altman, I. (1992) 'Place attachment: a conceptual inquiry', in Altman, I. and Low, S. (eds) *Place attachment*. New York: Plenum Press, pp.1-12.

MacEwen, L. (2010) 'Voluntary repatriation and the participation of Mauritanian refugees', *Forced Migration Review*, (34), pp.72-74.

Mah, A. (2009) 'Devastation but also home: place attachment in areas of industrial decline', *Home Culture*, 6(3), pp.287-310.

Malkki, L. H. (1995) 'Refugees and exile: from 'refugees studies' to the national order of things', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 24, pp.495-523.

Mallet, S. (2004) 'Understanding home: a critical review of the literature', *The Sociological Review*, 52(1), pp.62-89.

Marcus, C. C. (1995) *House as a mirror of self: exploring the deeper meaning of home*. Berkeley, California: Conari Press.

Martin, S. F. (2000) *Forced migration and the evolving humanitarian regime*. New Issues in Refugee Research, Working Paper No.20. Available at: www.unhcr.org (Accessed: 03 August 2014).

Mazumdar, S. and Mazumdar, S. (2009) 'Religion, immigration, and home making in diaspora: Hindu space in Southern California', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 29(2), pp.256-266.

McHugh, K. E. and Mings, R. C. (1996) 'The circle of migration: attachment to place in aging', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 86(3), pp.530-550.

Migdalovitz, C. (2005) *Cyprus: status of U.N. negotiations*. CRS Report for Congress. Available at: www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/IB89140.pdf (Accessed: 18 March 2013).

Miles, M. B. and Huberman, A. M. (1994) *Qualitative data analysis: an expanded source*. 2nd edn. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, pp.8-9.

Miller, R. L., Acton, C., Fullerton, D. A. and Maltby, J. (2002) *SPSS for social scientists*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Mooney, E. (2005) 'The concept of internal displacement and the case for internally displaced persons as a category of concern', *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 24(3), pp.9-26.

Moore, J. (2000) 'Placing home in context', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 20(3), pp.207-217.

Moreira, J. B. and Baeninger, R. (2010) 'Local integration of refugees in Brazil', *Forced Migration Review*, (35), pp.48-49.

Motasim, H. and Heynen, H. (2011) 'At home with displacement? Material culture as a site of resistance in Sudan', *Home Cultures*, 8(1), pp.43-70.

Navaro-Yashin, Y. (2009) 'Affective spaces, melancholic objects: ruination and the production of anthropological knowledge', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 15(1), pp.1-18.

Neuman, W. L. (2000) *Social research methods: qualitative and quantitative approaches*. 4th edn. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Ng, S. H., Kam, P. K. and Pong, R. W. M. (2005) 'People living in aging buildings: their quality of life and sense of belonging', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 25(3), pp.347-360.

Norberg-Schulz, C. (1980) *Genius loci: towards a phenomenology of architecture*. New York: Rizzoli.

Oberling, P. (1982) *The road to Bellapais: the Turkish Cypriot exodus to northern Cyprus*. New York: East European Monographs.

Oliver, P. (1987) *Dwellings: the house across the world*. Oxford: Phaidon.

Oliver, P. (1997) 'Introduction', in Oliver, P. (ed.) *Encyclopedia of vernacular architecture of the world*. Volume 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.xxi-xxviii.

Oliver-Smith, H. (1991) 'Involuntary resettlement, resistance and political empowerment', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 4(2), pp.132-149.

Oliver-Smith, A. and Hansen, A. (eds) (1982) *Involuntary migration and resettlement: the problems and responses of dislocated people*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

Oranratmanee, R. (2008) *Rural homestay: interrelationships between space, social interaction and meaning in Northern Thailand*. PhD thesis. Oxford Brookes University.

Pallasmaa, J. (1995) 'Identity, intimacy and domicile: notes on the phenomenology of home', in Benjamin, D. N., Stea, D. and Saile, D. (eds) *The home: words, interpretations, meanings, and environments*. Aldershot, UK: Avebury Publishing, pp.131-146.

Papadakis, Y. (2005) *Echoes from the dead zone: across the Cyprus divide*. London: I.B.Tauris.

Papadakis, Y., Peristianis, N. and Welz, G. (eds) (2006) *Divided Cyprus: modernity, history, and an island in conflict*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Petersen, W. (1958) 'A general typology of migration', *American Sociological Review*, 23(3), pp.256-266.

Piper, M., Power, P. and Thom, G. (2013) *New issues in refugee research: refugee resettlement: 2012 and beyond*. Research Paper No. 253, Policy Development and Evaluation Service, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Geneva, Switzerland. Available at: www.unhcr.org (Accessed: 21 July 2014).

Porteous, D. (1976) 'Home the territorial core', G*eographical Review*, 66(4), pp.383-390.

Preston, R. (1999) 'Researching repatriation and reconstruction: who is researching what and why?', in Black, R. and Koser, K. (eds) *The end of the refugee cycle? Refugee repatriation & reconstruction*. Oxford: Berghahn Books, pp.18-36.

PRIO Cyprus (2011) *Internal displacement in Cyprus: mapping the consequences of civil and military strife*. Available at: www.prio-cyprus-displacement.net (Accessed: 18 and 22 October 2011).

Proshansky, H. M. (1978) 'The city and the self-identity', *Environment and Behavior*, 10, pp.147-169.

Proshansky, H. M., Fabian, A. K. and Kaminoff, R. (1983) 'Place identity: physical world socialization of the self', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 3(1), pp.57-83.

Pulhan, H. (2002) *Analysis of solid-void relationships as design and organisation principles in the traditional houses of Nicosia*. PhD thesis. Eastern Mediterranean University, Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

Rapoport, A. (1969) *House form and culture*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Rapoport, A. (1995) 'A critical look at the concept "home" ', in Benjamin, D. N. and Stea, D. (eds) *The home: words, interpretations, meanings, and environments*. Aldershot, UK: Avebury Publishing, pp.25-52.

Rapport, N. and Dawson, A. (eds) (1998) *Migrants of identity: perceptions of home in a world of movement*. Oxford: Berg.

Richarte, M.-P. (1995) *La partition de Chypre: étude géopolitiques on Méditerranée orientale*. PhD thesis. Université de Paris IV.

Robson, C. (1993) *Real world research*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Rogge, J. R. (1991) *Repatriation of refugees: a not-so-simple 'optimum' solution*. UNRISD Symposium Papers of the Symposium on Social and Economic Aspects of Mass Voluntary Return of Refugees from one African Country to Another. 12-14 March. Harare: Zimbabwe. Available at: http://repository.forcedmigration.org/show_metadata.jsp?pid=fmo:682 (Accessed: 14 August 2014).

Rogge, J. and Lippman, B. (2004) 'Making return and reintegration sustainable, transparent and participatory', *Forced Migration Review*, (21), pp.4-5.

Rollero, C. and De Piccoli, N. (2010) 'Place attachment, identification and environment perception: an empirical study', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 30(2), pp.198-205.

Rubinstein, R. L. and Parmalee, P. A. (1992) 'Attachment to place and the representation of the life course by the elderly', in Altman, I. and Low, S. (eds) *Place attachment*. New York: Plenum Press, pp.139-163.

Sackmann, R., Peters, B. and Faist, T. (eds) (2003) *Identity and integration: migrants in Western Europe*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.

Saegert, S. (1985) 'The role of housing in the experience of dwelling', in Altman, I. and Werner, C. M. (eds) *Home environments*. New York: Plenum Press, pp.287-309.

Saifi, Y. and Yuceer, H. (2013) 'Maintaining the absent other: the re-use of religious heritage sites in conflicts', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 19(7), pp.749-763.

Saile, D. (1995) 'Foreword', in Benjamin, D. N. and Stea, D. (eds) *The home: words, interpretations, meanings, and environments*. Aldershot, UK: Avebury Publishing, pp.ix-xi.

Saldaña, J. (2009) *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. London: Sage Publications.

Saunders, P. (1989) 'The meaning of "home" in contemporary English culture'. *Housing Studies*, 4(3), pp.177-192.

Scannell, L. and Gifford, R. (2010) 'Defining place attachment: a tripartite organizing framework', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 30(1), pp.1-10.

Sert, D. (2008) *Property rights in return and resettlement of internally displaced persons (IDPs): a quantitative and comparative case study*. PhD thesis. The City University of New York.

Sert, D. S. (2010) 'Cyprus: peace, return and property', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 23(2), pp.238-259.

Shamai, S. (1991) 'Sense of place: an empirical measurement', *Geoforum*, 22(3), pp.347-358.

Shamsuddin, S. and Ujang, N. (2008) 'Making places: the role of attachment in creating the sense of place for traditional streets in Malaysia', *Habitat International*, 32(3), pp.399-409.

Shenk, D., Kuwahara, K. and Zablotsky, D. (2004) 'Older women's attachments to their home and possessions', *Journal of Aging Studies*, 18(2), pp.157-169.

Shumaker, S. A. and Taylor, R. B. (1983) 'Toward a clarification of people-place relationships: a model of attachment to place', in Freimer, N. R. and Geller, E. S. (eds) *Environmental psychology: directions and perspectives*. New York: Praeger, pp.219-256.

Sixsmith A. J. and Sixsmith J. A. (1991) 'Transitions in home experience in later life', *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research*, 8(3), pp.181-191.

Skotte, H. (2004) 'Tents in concrete? Housing the internally displaced', in *House: Loss, Refuge and Belonging. Conference report of the International Conference on House: Loss, Refuge and Belonging*. NTNU (Norwegian University of Science and Technology), 16-18 September 2004. Trondheim, Norway.

Solsten, E. (1991) *A country study: Cyprus*. Federal Research Division Library of Congress. Available at: http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/cytoc.html (Accessed: 16 August 2010).

Somerville, P. (1989) 'Home sweet home: a critical comment on Saunders and Williams', *Housing Studies*, 4(2), pp.113-118.

Somerville, P. (1997) 'The social construction of home', *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research*, 14(3), pp.226-245.

Sonyel, S. R. (1991) *Settlers and refugees in Cyprus*. London: Cyprus Turkish Association Publications.

Stedman, R. (2002) 'Toward a social psychology of place: predicting behavior from place-based cognition, attitude, and identity', *Environment and Behavior*, 34(5), pp.561-581.

Steedman, C. (1986) *Landscape for a good woman: a story of two lives*. London: Virago.

Stokols, D. and Shumaker, S. A. (1981) 'People in places: a transactional view of settings', in Harvey, J. H. (ed.) *Cognition, social behaviour, and the environment*. New Jersey: Erlbaum, pp.441-488.

Suhrke, A. (2003) 'Reflections on regime change', in *Researching internal displacement: state of the art*. *Conference Report*, 7-8 February, Trondheim, Norway, *Forced Migration Review,* pp.15-17.

Swenson, M. M. (1998) 'The meaning of home to five elderly women', *Health Care for Women International*, 19(5), pp.381-393.

Taylor, H. (2009) *Narratives of loss, longing and daily life: the meaning of home for Cypriot refugees in London*. PhD thesis. University of East London.

Taylor, R. B., Gottfredson, S. D. and Brower, S. (1985) 'Attachment to place: discriminant validity, and impacts of disorder and diversity', *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 13, pp.525-542.

Teržan, M. and Kladarin, D. (2009) 'Local integration for refugees in Serbia', *Forced Migration Review*, (33), pp.42-43.

Tuan, Y-F. (1974) *Topophilia*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Tuan, Y.-F. (1975) 'Place: an experiential perspective', *The Geographical Review*, 65(2), pp.151-165.

Tuan, Y.-F. (1977) *Space and place: the perspective of experience*. Minnesota: The University of Minnesota Press.

Tuan, Y.-F. (1979) 'Space and place: humanistic perspective', in Gale, S. and Olsson, G. (eds) *Philosophy in geography*. Dordrecht, Boston: D. Reidel, pp.387-427. Available at: http://ebookbrowse.com/tuan-1979-space-place-pdf-d294983157 (Accessed: 28 June 2012).

Turan, Z. (2010) 'Material objects as facilitating environments: the Palestinian diaspora', *Home Cultures*, 7(1), pp.43-56.

Twigger-Ross, C. L. and Uzzell, D. L. (1996) 'Place and identity processed', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 16(3), pp.205-220.

UN (1975) *Interim report of the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council Resolution 370(1975)*. UN Document S/11789. Available at: www.un.org (Accessed: 10 June 2014).

UN (2004-2007) Consideration of questions under the responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security. Chapter VIII in the *Repertoire of the Practice of the Security Council*. United Nations, pp.549-556 (The situation in Cyprus). Available at: www.un.org/en/sc/repertoire/2004-2007/Chapter%208/Europe/04-07_Cyprus.pdf (Accessed: 22 March 2011).

UN (2012) *Former Secretary-General: Kofi Annan*. Available at: www.un.org/sg/formersg/annan.shtml (Accessed: 03 July 2013).

UN (2013) *UNFICYP United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus: background*. Available at: www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unficyp/background.shtml (Accessed: 03 July 2013).

UNHCR (1997) Foreword to *State of the world's refugees: a humanitarian agenda*. Available at: www.unhcr.org (Accessed: 09 August 2014).

UNHCR (2001) *Guiding principles on internal displacement*. Available at: www.unhcr.org (Accessed: 16 November 2010).

UNHCR (2003) *Framework for durable solutions for refugees and persons of concern*. Available at: www.unhcr.org (Accessed: 09 August 2014).

UNHCR (2004) *Handbook for repatriation and reintegration activities*. Available at: www.refworld.org (Accessed: 09 August 2014).

UNHCR (2008) *UNHCR's role in support of the return and reintegration of displaced populations: policy framework and implementation strategy*. Available at: www.unhcr.org (Accessed: 9 August 2014).

UNHCR (2011) *Resettlement handbook*. Available at: www.unhcr.org (Accessed: 24 August 2014).

UNHCR (2013a) *Convention and protocol: relating to the status of refugees*. Available at: www.unhcr.org/protect/PROTECTION/3b66c2aa10.pdf (Accessed: 18 September 2010)

UNHCR (2013b) *Internally displaced people: on the run in their own land*. Available at: www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646c146.html (Accessed: 03 July 2013).

Vasso, S. (2004) *Refugee self-identification and its interaction with settlement morphology: the case of Cappadocian refugees.* MPhil thesis. Oxford Brookes University, England.

Vélez, O. R. and Bello, A. H. (2010) Family breakdown in Bogotá. *Forced Migration Review*, (34), pp.69-70.

Volkan, V. D. (1979) Cyprus *war and adaptation: a psychoanalytic history of two ethnic groups in conflict*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.

Walker, A. M. (1984) 'Enosis in Cyprus: Dhali, a case study', *Middle East Journal*, 38(3), pp.474-494.

Warner, D. (1994) 'Voluntary repatriation and the meaning of return to home: a critique of liberal mathematics', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 7(2/3), pp.160-174.

Wester-Herber, M. (2004) 'Underlying concerns in land-use conflicts – the role of place identity in risk perception', *Environmental Science & Policy*, 7(2), pp.109-116.

Williams, D. R. (2000) *Notes on measuring recreational place attachment*. Available at: www.fs.fed.us/rm/value/docs/pattach_notes.pdf (Accessed: 26 November 2009).

Williams D. R. and Roggenbuck J. W. (1989) 'Measuring place attachment: some preliminary results', in *Outdoor Planning and Management NRPA Symposium on Leisure Research*. San Antonio, Texas, October 20-22, 1989. (Accessed: 26 November 2009).

Williams, D. R. and Vaske, J. J. (2003) 'The measurement of place attachment: validity and generalizability of a psychometric approach', *Forest Science*, 49(6), pp.830-840.

Williams, D. R., Patterson, M. E. and Roggenbuck, J. W. (1992) 'Beyond the commodity metaphor: examining emotional and symbolic attachment to place', *Leisure Sciences*, 14, pp.29-46.

Williams D. R., Anderson, B. S., McDonald, C. D. and Patterson, M. E. (1995) 'Measuring place attachment: more preliminary results', in *Outdoor Recreation Planning and Management Research Session, 1995 NRPA Leisure Research Symposium*, San Antonio, Texas, October 4-8, 1995. (Accessed: 26 November 2009).

Windsong, E. A. (2010) 'There is no place like home: complexities in exploring home and place attachment', *The Social Science Journal*, 47(1), pp.205-214.

Yin, R. K. (2003) *Case sudy research: design and methods*. 3rd edn. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Zetter, R. (1981) *Housing policy and social change in Cyprus 1960-1980: the reactions to political instability.* Oxford: Oxford Polytechnic.

Zetter, R. (1991) 'Labelling refugees: forming and transforming a bureaucratic identity', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 4(1), pp.39-62.

Zetter, R. (1994) 'The Greek-Cypriot refugees: perceptions of return under conditions of protracted exile', *International Migration Review*, 28(2), pp.307-322.

Zetter, R. (1999) 'Reconceptualizing the myth of return: continuity and transition amongst the Greek-Cypriot refugees of 1974', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, *12*(1), pp.1-22.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

<u>Current village:</u>
- Where are you from? How do you define yourself?
- When and how did you move to this village? (Did you select to move to this village?)
- Are you happy that you are living in this village? Why?
- Which place do you think you belong to? Why?
- Do you feel attached to this village? Why?

<u>Current house:</u>
- When, how and why did you move into this house? (Did you select to move to this house?)
- How was the condition of the house when you moved in?
- Can you describe a bit how you felt when you first entered into this house?
- If you have the chance, do you want to move from your home (within the next few years)? Why? Where?
- Do you feel attached to your house? Why?
- Have you received a visit from the Greek Cypriots? If yes, how did they behave? What did you feel?

<u>Previous village in the south:</u>
- Can you describe your previous village? (Location/size/houses/population/relationships with neighbours etc.)
- Are there any similarities between this village and the one in the south? If yes, what are they?
- If you had a chance, would you prefer to live in your previous village or in this village? Why?

<u>Previous house in the south:</u>
- Can you describe your previous house (house in the south)?
- Are there any similarities between this house and the one in the south? If yes, what are they?
- If you had a chance, would you prefer to live in your previous house or in this house? Why?
- Did you visit your village and house when the borders were released? Why? If yes, how did you behave? What did you feel?

<u>Perception of home:</u>
- What does home mean to you?
- Can you say that this is your home? Why?

APPENDIX II: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

A. Personal and household information:
1. Are you:

☐ Male   ☐ Female

2. Your marital status:

☐ Single   ☐ Married   ☐ Widow/er

3. Your age:

4. Where were you born?

5. Your education:

☐ Primary School   ☐ High School

☐ Secondary School   ☐ University

6. What is your occupation?

7. If you moved from the south, what was your occupation when you were living in the south?

B. Information related to your house
8. Do you own or rent your house?

9. How long have you lived in your house?

10. How many rooms are there in your house?

11. How many people live in your house?

12. Have you made any changes to the house?

☐ Yes   ☐ No

13. If yes, what type of changes did you do? Please specify briefly.

14. How frequently do you undertake maintenance?

15. If you have the chance, do you want to move from your house?

☐ Yes   ☐ No

16. Could you please explain why you want or don't want to move?

If you didn't move from the south, please continue with Part C and it is the end of the Questionnaire

If you moved from the south, please continue with Part D

C. How strongly do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
17. I am very attached to my village	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
18. I am very attached to my house	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
19. This village means a lot to me	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
20. This house means a lot to me	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
21. My village feels like home to me	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
22. My house feels like home to me	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

D. Information related to your previous/current village

23. How long did you live in your village in the south?

24. How old were you when you moved from your village in the south?

25. Did you directly move to this village from your village in the south? If no, please specify the first village that you moved to after the south?

26. How many houses were there in your village in the south?

27. How many houses are there in this village?

28. Is this village similar to your village in the south (in terms of location, geography, size etc.)?
☐ Yes   ☐ No

E. How strongly do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
29. I have been missing my birthplace	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
30. If I had a chance, I would prefer to live in my previous village in the south	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
31. If I had a chance, I would prefer to live in my previous house in the south	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
32. I feel that this house is my house	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
33. I am very attached to my village	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
34. I am very attached to my village in the south	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
35. I am very attached to my house	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
36. I am very attached to my house in the south	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
37. This village means a lot to me	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
38. My village in the south means a lot to me	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
39. This house means a lot to me	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
40. My house in the south means a lot to me	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
41. My current village feels 'like home' to me	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
42. My village in the south feels 'like home' to me	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
43. My house here feels 'like home' to me	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
44. My house in the south feels 'like home' to me	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

APPENDIX III: CONCEPTS OF HOME: ALL

Case study villages			
Village 1: Akçay/Argaki	**Village 2: Akdeniz/Agia Eirini**	**Village 3: İncirli/Makrasyka**	**Village 4: Gönendere/Knodara**
a desire to own	a desire to own	a family place	a family place
a family place	a family place	a place for daily activities	a place for daily activities
a place for daily activities	a place for daily activities	*a place of one's childhood*	a place of relaxation, rest and peace
a place of relaxation, rest and peace	a place of relaxation, rest and peace	a place of relaxation, rest and peace	a place to live in/an abode/settling place
a place to live in/an abode/settling place	a place to live in/an abode/settling place	a place to live in/an abode/settling place	a place to return to
belonging	*a place where feelings change*	*a place to return to*	attachment
family	*a place where one renews him/herself*	a place where feelings change	belonging
home/nest	*attachment*	*a place where one's feelings are being shaped*	family
life	belonging		home/nest
lifestyle	family	*a place where one's life is being shaped*	*hotel*
necessity/need	home/nest	attachment	life
positive/ constructive feelings	*multifunctional place*	*exertion*	*physical structure*
reliability/safety	positive/ constructive feelings	family	positive/constructive feelings
shelter	reliability/safety	home/nest	shelter
uniqueness	shelter	life	*value*
		necessity/need	
		positive/ constructive feelings	
		reliability/safety	
		shelter	

APPENDIX IV: CATEGORIES OF HOME: ALL

Categories of home			
Dwelling	**Emotions**	**Family**	**Ownership**
a place for daily activities	a place of relaxation, rest and peace	a family place	a desire to own
a place to live in/ an abode/settling place	a place of one's childhood	a place where one's life is being shaped	belonging
a place to return to	a place where one's feelings are being shaped	family	value
home/nest		home/nest	
hotel	a place where feelings change	life	
life	a place where one renews him/herself		
lifestyle	attachment		
multifunctional place	exertion		
necessity/need	home/nest		
physical structure	life		
place where one's life is being shaped	lifestyle		
shelter	positive/constructive feelings		
	reliability/safety		
	uniqueness		

APPENDIX V: CONCEPTS OF HOME: COMMON; DIFFERENT; UNIQUE

Case study villages			
Village 1: Akçay/Argaki	**Village 2: Akdeniz/Agia Eirini**	**Village 3: İncirli/Makrasyka**	**Village 4: Gönendere/Knodara**
a family place	a family place	a family place	a family place
a place for daily activities	a place for daily activities	a place for daily activities	a place for daily activities
a place of relaxation, rest and peace	a place of relaxation, rest and peace	**a place of one's childhood**	a place of relaxation, rest and peace
a place to live in/an abode/settling place	a place to live in/an abode/settling place	a place of relaxation, rest and peace	a place to live in/an abode/settling place
family	**a place where one renews him/herself**	a place to live in/an abode/settling place	family
home/nest	family	**a place where one's feelings are being shaped**	home/nest
lifestyle	home/nest	**a place where one's life is being shaped**	**hotel**
necessity/need	**multifunctional place**	**exertion**	**physical structure**
positive/ constructive feelings	positive/ constructive feelings	family	positive/constructive feelings
shelter	shelter	home/nest	shelter
uniqueness		*necessity/need*	**value**
		positive/ constructive feelings	
		shelter	