Abstract

This master thesis explores different forms of home-making among internally displaced persons living in Collective Centres in Tbilisi, Georgia in the context of an ongoing privatisation programme. Following the break-up of the Soviet Union the Caucasus have been haunted by internal conflict and strife leading to the mass displacement of large populations. Georgia is faced with an internally displaced population that numbers between 257 000 to 277 000 as of 2009. Around half of this population is settled in Collective Centres consisting of old schools, student dorms, factories, hospitals and other buildings that were transformed into what was initially meant to be temporary dwellings, but have remained the more or less permanent housing since displacement.

This thesis explores how people make homes in the temporary dwellings in Collective Centres. Home is understood as a "spatial imaginary" where the physical structures of a dwelling are imbued with ideals, feelings and emotions that create home. Home is both a physical location and an affective space shaped by feelings and senses of belonging. Home needs to be actively created through home-making practices. In this thesis I will explore how home is both imagined and practiced.

The concepts of agency and structure will be employed as analytical tools to facilitate the understanding of these processes. The overall argument is that people in all segments of society are perceived to have an impact on their own lives. As much as we depend on the social systems in which we have to negotiate, we are also contributing to the establishment of this social system.

This thesis entails a discussion of how homes are made in the context of an ongoing privatisation programme that seeks to provide the internally displaced with durable housing solutions. The possible influences of this privatisation programme on home-making practices will also be discussed. IDPs have been kept on the side of society and not allowed to integrate in their areas of displacement. As return officially has remained the favoured durable solution the IDPs have become interminably displaced. This thesis discusses whether privatisation and the provision of durable housing solution can contribute to the search of durable solutions to internal displacement.

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Acronyms

CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
DRC	Danish Refugee Council
GYLA	Georgian Young Lawyers Association
IDMC	Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
STA	Social Targeted Assistance
UCDP	Uppsala Conflict Data Program
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNOMIG	United Nations Observer Mission In Georgia

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Prelude

Amongst several high-rise buildings, my interpreter points at the one that is in worst shape, the most ramshackle one almost covered with clothes-lines and spotted, colourful curtains. We have to walk around the building to find the entrance, which is not really an entrance at all but an opening where one part of the wall is missing. Located on the ground floor is an improvised grocery store consisting of makeshift stalls where different items can be purchased. Vegetables, chewing gum and cigarettes are piled up

As we climb the floors through dilapidated staircases we stare into long, dark corridors with apartments on both sides. Many of them lack doors to separate them from the hallways instead the confines of the apartments are marked by blankets hanging from the doorway. The walls are dirty and grey and the plastering has flaked off several places. From some of the apartments the sounds of people chatting mixed with those of a TV are barely audible. It's the early afternoon, the city is boiling, the air stands still and people stay inside to try to escape the heat.

"Pick a floor", my interpreter says. We step off the staircase and venture inside one of the corridors in the 4th or 5th floor. I pick a door. Outside, a yellow and blue doormat saying "Welcome". We knock. A man who must be in his 50s leans out. My interpreter explains our intentions. We are invited in.

The apartment is small. 18 square metres, as we come to learn. Entering the apartment, we first pass a recess with a sink. This building used to be a student dorm during Soviet times. Toilet and bathroom in the hall. One for each floor.

He shakes our hands and pulls out a chair. In the middle of the room a large bed in which his wife sits playing with their 5 months old son. From a black briefcase carefully stored in the closet he pulls out their ownership certificate, confirming the purchase of the apartment that was completed last summer.

I pose my questions that he answers wandering restlessly around inside the small apartment. He has been answering questions like these before, he says. This is not the first time that he has participated in these kinds of interviews. People have come from all kinds of countries, Norway, Sweden, Holland to do these interviews. This has been going on for 17 years. And still nothing has changed. The situation remains the same.

His wife asks if we want coffee and turns on the water boiler. Coffee is served in small cups with flowers complemented by ice cream in small, neat bowls. "Eat it before it melts!" she says. A bowl of hazelnuts is also placed on the table next to us. Cups and plates are neatly placed in a glazed cabinet along one of the walls. The apartment is light and tidy, the walls are bright yellow. A plastic tablecloth with roses printed on it is covering a provisional kitchen bench. A blue curtain with white flowers is hung from the ceiling to separate the sleeping area from the rest of the room. Above the bed hangs a large pink stuffed teddy bear. Asking about their former home in Abkhazia brings the man to his feet and he takes out a picture from behind the cups and plates in the glazed cabinet. It shows his wife in front of a yellow house with a garden. It's a nice house. In the background are fruit trees that used to generate their income. Enough to buy two new jeeps every year, he says. The picture was taken three years ago, when they managed to go back temporarily for 10 days. It was before the 2008 war. Now, going back would be impossible, he says.

He sits down and plays with his son. Lifts him up, and says that the doctors recommend that they take him to somewhere cooler during the warm summer months. But where would they take him? They don't have any summer cottage that they could take him to. They have to stay here. "What kind of life is this for a boy to grow up to? He grows up to nothing!"

We eat ice cream, drink coffee, and chat. The bowl of nuts is standing besides us. He walks over to it, lifts it up and says; "these nuts are from our tree in our garden in Abkhazia. I brought them when we were there three years ago."

Tonight, Spain is playing in the soccer World Cup. He says he'll watch it on TV. He is excited to watch the games, and points at the football shirt he is wearing. "Spain will win this year! Iniesta! He will settle it."

Chapter 1: Introduction

Since the fall of the Soviet Union, the Caucasus has been an area characterised by social and political unrest, both within and beyond the borders of the Russian Federation. In Georgia, the struggles over the breakaway areas of Abkhazia and South-Ossetia have been one of the main reasons for conflict. These areas seek independence from Georgia, and have declared themselves independent republics.

Through the 1990s Georgia witnessed recurring internal wars and instability that caused the displacement of large amounts of people. The legacy of these territorial conflicts remains a daily reality for hundreds of thousands of families displaced. As Georgia and Russia plunged into war over South- Ossetia in August 2008, tensions increased in Abkhazia as well, and new streams of displaced people came from both areas. The Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) (2009a) estimates the total amount of internally displaced persons (IDPs) in Georgia today, to be between 257 000 to 277 000. The IDPs are mainly ethnic Georgians who have fled from Abkhazia and South-Ossetia. 40-45 % of those who were displaced in the 1990s live in Collective Centres. Collective Centres consist of old schools, hospitals and other public buildings that have been turned into what was initially meant to be temporary dwellings, but have remained more or less permanent dwellings for internally displaced people ever since displacement.

This thesis is about how the internally displaced people are engaging in home-making practices in Collective Centres. The thesis explores how the internally displaced make homes in dwellings that were initially not meant to become permanent homes.

IDMC (2009a) states that 1683 such Collective Centres could be found in 2004. Among these, the largest ones were located in the capital Tbilisi, as well as the cities of Zugdidi and Kutaisi. Characteristics of these centres include overpopulation and low standards. According to IDMC (2009a), The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has voiced its concerns about the Georgians who were displaced during the 1990s because they to a large extent have been forgotten and

marginalised. Their poor living conditions and grave economic situation are particularly emphasized.

The difficult situation faced by the internally displaced population is to a large extent tied to the uncertainty concerning return and particularly the dilemma between return and integration. The main objective for Georgian authorities is the eventual return of the internally displaced to their areas of origin. This has manifested itself as an important political goal because the Georgian authorities are struggling to hold on to the breakaway areas of Abkhazia and South-Ossetia. For these reasons the internally displaced people have been kept from integrating in the new communities they have settled in. The segregation of IDPs in separate schools, health care units and other social services has defined them as a community apart.

The shelters in Collective Centres housing the internally displaced were initially thought of as temporary solutions to the mass influx of displaced people from Abkhazia and South Ossetia in the early 1990s. But how temporary is a situation that has been lasting for more than 17 years? How do people adjust to the uncertain situation? How do people establish homes in places that were not meant to be homes in the first place? What is home? And how is home made?

In this thesis I seek to understand these questions in the context of a new privatization programme. This programme was launched by the Georgian Government in 2009, and enables the IDPs to buy the living spaces they occupy in the Collective Centres. UNHCR strongly advised to postpone this process until an agreement concerning rehabilitation standards was settled (IDMC 2009a).

IDPs who are living in Collective Centres have very few rights securing their need for stable and permanent housing solutions as long as they don't own their dwellings. This has led to a situation where the internally displaced have ended up without hardly any ownership rights and also without any right of co-determination. UNHCR have voiced their concern about how the privatization process will affect the poorest groups of IDPs (IDMC 2009a). Several IDPs have been forced to move as a result of privatization, this leading to a negative influence on job opportunities and social networks. The privatisation process has this far also proved to be a chaotic process implemented at high speed without the participation and co-determination of IDPs themselves. This has led to a further vulnerability for IDPs that have been nearly

forced into privatisation of dwellings that do not necessarily meet people's needs and do not satisfy the demands for adequate standards of living.

How then, does the privatisation of Collective Centres affect the IDPs in their homemaking? Can privatisation possibly lead to the establishment of permanent homes for the internally displaced population, and this way represent a durable solution to their plight?

Internal displacement

The forced displacement of persons within the borders of their own countries by armed conflict and internal strife has become a pervasive feature of the post-cold war era (Cohen & Deng 1998). As regions or whole countries fall into disarray people are forced to flee their homes and to face an uncertain future of vulnerability and destitution. At the end of 2009, around 43,3 million people worldwide were forcibly displaced from their homes, a majority of these due to conflict and persecution (UNHCR 2010). This is the highest number since the mid-1990s. This number includes some 27,1 million internally displaced persons (IDPs) who have not crossed an internationally recognised border but remain displaced within their own country.

IDPs can be 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 generalised violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognised State border." (UNHCR 1998: 1)

While the international community has a well-established legal and institutional system to ensure the protection and assistance to refugees who cross the official border into another country, the 1951 UN Refugee Convention does not protect the internally displaced. No such international legal system is in place for those who are forced to flee within the borders of their countries and therefore fall under state sovereignty (Cohen & Deng 1998). As they remain within the national territory where they are considered citizens, the government is the main responsible entity for

providing security, protection and the wellbeing of the internally displaced. However, as the national authorities are often directly or indirectly also the perpetrators, they may be unwilling or unable to fulfil their obligations towards their citizens.

Protection of internally displaced persons was until the late 1980s a neglected topic on the international agenda. However, the plight of internally displaced persons has received increased attention over the last years, with the appointment of a Special Representative on Internally Displaced Persons, Francis M. Deng, in 1992. This was followed by the endorsement of the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement in 1998 (UNHCR 1998). The guiding principles is a normative framework stating that internally displaced persons are entitled to enjoy the same rights and freedoms under international and domestic laws as other persons in their country. Moreover, the Guiding Principles also outline the responsibility of the state to protect people from arbitrary displacement, and to provide protection as well as humanitarian assistance to the internally displaced during displacement, and to establish conditions for voluntary return or resettlement (UNHCR 1998).

The key document on internal displacement in the Georgian national legislation is the "Law of Georgia on Forcibly Displaced Persons" that was adopted in 1996 (Amnesty International 2010). This law regulates the rights of the internally displaced population and the responsibilities of the government towards them, and affords displaced people the same rights and equality as all citizens of Georgia. Under this law, the IDPs are entitled to a monthly allowance, temporary shelter and plots of arable land, healthcare coverage under existing state programs, free primary and secondary education, and assistance in finding temporary employment (Amnesty International 2010).

The search for durable solutions

The Guiding Principles on Internal displacement envisage three possible solutions to internal displacement. This is either to return to their home areas or place of habitual residence, to integrate in the localities they where they go to when displaced, or to resettle in another part of the country (UNHCR 1998). In facilitating each of the

solutions to be sustainable and durable, the process of integration or re-integration is important. This describes the (re-) entry of displaced people to the social, cultural, economic and political fabric of either their original community or the new community of resettlement (IDMC 2009b).

As we can see, return, integration and resettlement are the key components of finding durable solutions to internal displacement. However, as stated by IDMC (2009b), the European governments with internal displacement situations have overwhelmingly supported the return of displaced populations to their areas of origin over other durable solutions, even in the absence of a resolution to the conflict that caused displacement in the first place. Despite this, only 25 % of the internally displaced in Europe have returned, and the majority who remain have received little or no support for integration or resettlement in other parts of the country (IDMC 2009b).

As with the majority of European countries, the Georgian Government has also largely promoted return as the main solution to internal displacement. However, as the conflict that caused the massive displacement has remained unsolved, the situation has evolved into one of protracted displacement. Through the advocacy of international and local humanitarian organisations, the Georgian government has been persuaded to review its response to internal displacement. The recently adopted State Strategy on Internally Displaced Persons was launched in 2009, with a main goal of promoting socio-economic integration (Government of Georgia 2010). This is to be facilitated through a provision of long-term accommodation solutions for IDPs, to which the privatisation process is part, and integration of IDPs into the state social assistance programs. However, return still remains the main goal for the government in stating that these measures for addressing the IDPs' plight are to be implemented "until their return becomes possible" (Government of Georgia 2010: 1).

Malkki (1992) argues that much research on displacement has been carried out from a sedentary notion that people belong to places, and that the only way to deal with displacement is to provide the opportunity to return. Brun (2001) also criticises such a notion for being based on an essentialist conception of place suggesting that all people have a natural place in the world. Following this conception, displaced persons have been torn away from their place as well as from their culture and identity. These essentialist views have fundamental consequences for the way that solutions to

displacement have been formulated, as return has been seen as a "natural solution" to the plight of people that have been forced to flee.

In situations of protracted displacement this focus on return may no longer be relevant or desirable. As is the case in Georgia, the majority of displaced persons left their homes in the beginning of the 1990s and many may have developed new social networks in the area of displacement. It is also important to be aware that return to the place of origin is never straightforward. Regardless of the cause of displacement the social networks that existed prior to conflict has been torn apart and may need substantial efforts to be restored. Stefansson (2006) argues that even though the physical structures of a home may be possible to rebuild, the socio-economic structures of both individual homes as well as the wider community may be disrupted and hard to reconstruct. Assuming that once people return they will be able to pick up their past life trajectories is to disregard the distinction between house and home, as a home is not made out of the physical structures alone but is also located in wider political and social contexts (Stefansson 2006). Greater attention therefore needs to be paid to the processes of home-making in the development of strategies for finding durable solutions to displacement.

Furthermore, yet a problematic side to the search for durable solutions to displacement is that there has been a tendency to code displaced populations as helpless victims waiting for help from the outside. Brun (2001) argues that there is a need for employing an alternative understanding of the relation between people and places that separates place from identity in order to show that displaced persons do not loose their identity or their ability to act when forced to leave. It is necessary to understand that displaced people are not passive victims, but rather active agents fully capable of developing strategies and function socially. It is for this reason that it is important to make the connection between people and places less "natural". This way, it is possible to try to understand how people attach themselves to new places, and also how they construct new homes, without assuming that they have been cut off from the places they have fled from. It is important not just to see how the past has shaped peoples relations to a place, but also how they create the new place through their actions (Brun 2001). Therefore it is also interesting to explore the strategies that people develop in creating new homes in their areas of displacement, and to examine their practices of home-making.

As stated by The Brookings Institution (2007), displacement ends when one of the three durable solutions to displacement occurs and IDPs no longer have needs specifically related to their displacement. This does not mean that they may no longer have a need for protection and assistance, but their needs would be no different from other similarly situated citizens. There are a number of criteria determining to what extent a durable solution has been achieved. The Brookings Institution (2010) states that this includes first the long-term safety, security and freedom of movement, and second an adequate standard of living, including at least access to adequate food, water, housing, health care and basic education. Third, it includes access to employment and livelihoods, and fourth access to effective mechanisms that restore their housing, land and property or provide them with compensation. The overall picture needs to be one of attending to the rights and needs of the internally displaced and to ensure that they have options to choose from, and the ability to restart their lives in a meaningful way.

It is not unimportant how the responsible bodies address internal displacement. The solutions that are chosen have major implications for the affected populations. The paramount political objective of preserving the sovereignty in the breakaway territories has helped solidify the status and dependency of IDPs. This way, IDPs have become defined by their status as interminably displaced and hostage to larger, intractable political phenomena over which they have no control (Mundt & Ferris 2008). The internally displaced have been kept on the side of the society not being allowed to integrate, as return has remained the main political goal and the favoured durable solution. The meagre benefits and compensation provided by the Georgian Government have kept the IDPs in a state of perpetual limbo; enough to be kept alive, but far too little to re-establish themselves and to restart their lives in a meaningful way (Mundt & Ferris 2008).

This also shows that the political significance of house and home is strong, and has been particularly visible in the Georgian governments' response to and settlement of IDPs in temporary dwellings that have remained temporary for too long. Dwelling is thus a highly political issue. This has had severe implications to the already vulnerable group of internally displaced people that have seen their situation remain unsolved for more than 17 years.

Achieving durable solutions for the internally displaced in Georgia seems to be a long way off. As privatisation of the Collective Centres has started, one may conclude that there has been a shift in the Georgian governments' approach to finding durable solutions to internal displacement. The government is now slowly allowing a certain degree of local integration in entitling the IDPs to settle more permanently in dwellings that belong to them. However, the very durability of privatisation as a solution to the IDPs' plight remains to be seen, as other aspects of socio-economic integration also need to be included in order to ensure that the vulnerabilities of IDPs are sufficiently attended to.

Objectives and research questions

The main objective of this thesis is to explore home-making practices among internally displaced persons living in Collective Centres in the context of privatisation. The Georgian official response to internal displacement is characterised by strong political implications constraining the IDPs' lives. Being caught in the dilemma between return and integration, the lives of internally displaced people are kept on hold. Since their displacement in the 1990s people have remained in their temporary shelters, hoping to return eventually. Over the years, these temporary dwellings have attained qualities that may have transformed them into more permanent dwellings with homely features. It is therefore interesting to explore how this process of establishing homes has come about, how home has been made in sites that were not initially meant to become homes.

Research question 1:

How do IDPs make homes in the temporary dwellings in Collective Centres?

- How are homes imagined and practiced in the Collective Centres?

- How is home-making practices enabled and constrained in the Collective Centres?

Through this research question I seek to explore how homes are imagined by the IDPs living in Collective Centres. Here, I seek to understand the IDPs' perceptions of what a home is and what they would want it to be. Further I seek to analyse this in terms of the norms, values and ideals that this is also an expression of. Related to this, I explore the physical and material sides to home-making through studying the physical environments of the IDPs' dwellings. This is done through a discussion of how home can be created through modification and appropriation of the physical structures in the Collective Centres. Central to an understanding of the process of home-making is how the IDPs are both enabled and constrained in making homes. This is to explore the IDPs' agency in their home-making endeavours in Collective Centres. Further on, an important aspect is also how the IDPs strategise upon the limitations and possibilities they experience in their home-making.

Research question 2:

How does privatisation of Collective Centres influence the IDPs' home-making?

- What was people's involvement in the privatisation process?

-How can privatisation be enabling and constraining people in their home-making?

- Has the privatisation process changed people's attitudes to their dwellings? And how?

- Can privatisation contribute to the search for durable solutions that can end the plight of the internally displaced?

In the context of the ongoing privatisation process, it is interesting to explore how this process may affect the home-making among the internally displaced in Collective Centres. A general assessment of the challenges to the privatisation process is included in an introductory chapter whereas the analysis will deal with the IDPs' personal experiences of privatisation as well as the relation between home-making and privatisation. Through this research question I seek to explore the potential possibilities that privatisation can bring about as well as the limitations it can also involve. As this is a process that is currently still in progress it is difficult to draw conclusions about the wider impact after its completion. My research was also conducted at an early stage of the process and therefore it is only applicable to the early effects and the initial experiences of IDPs. However, privatisation as a durable solution will be discussed in terms of being the governmental response to internal displacement, and I will try to explore its possible consequences to the home-making of IDPs in Collective Centres.

The structure of the thesis

So far, I have given a brief introduction to the issue of internal displacement both globally and in Georgia specifically. I have presented the aim of this thesis as well as the research questions. The context and causes of displacement in Georgia is explored in chapter 2, along with an introductory discussion of the ongoing privatisation of Collective Centres. This chapter serves as a background for the discussions in the analysis, in terms of providing contextual information regarding conflict and displacement in Georgia as well as the governmental response to internal displacement. Along with this, chapter 3 also reads into the understanding of my analysis as it presents the theoretical approaches to home and home-making as well as structuration theory and the concept of agency. The theoretical approach guides the analysis through providing the analytical framework for understanding home and home-making in Collective Centres as well as a conception of how the internally displaced people are enabled and constrained in their home-making efforts. The methodological approach is presented and discussed in chapter 4. Here I present the methods I have applied through a discussion of qualitative methodology, an

assessment of the methods I have applied, as well as a discussion of how I have analysed the data I constructed.

Chapter 5 is the first analytical chapter, and explores home-making in Collective Centres. This chapter consists of 4 parts, each dealing with different aspects of home-making. First, imaginaries for home are explored, second the role of social relations in home-making. Third comes an assessment of the materiality of home and how the physical structures both affects and is affected by home-making. Fourth comes a discussion of the relations between status and dwelling. All in all, this chapter provides an analysis of the social and imaginary dimensions to how the internally displaced persons build homes in the Collective Centres. The chapter discusses how people construct and negotiate different norms, values and ideals for home and seeks to understand the opportunities and constraints that people act upon in their home-making in social and imaginary terms. The spatial and material aspects of home are also explored through a discussion of the role that material objects, interiors and physical structures have in home-making. I will discuss how people have modified and appropriated their dwellings in order to turn them into homes, as well as the strategies that people have developed as a result of the opportunities and constraints that are related to the material aspects of home.

Chapter 6 is the second analytical chapter where the privatisation process and its' influences on home-making among IDPs in Collective Centres will be discussed. I will discuss the opportunities and constraints that are created through the privatisation process as well as the relation between privatisation and home-making. This leads up to a discussion of how the privatisation process may have changed people's attitudes towards return to Abkhazia as well as how they look upon local integration after privatisation. This will also include a discussion of whether privatisation can possibly be part of the process of finding durable solutions to the IDPs plight.

Chapter 7 concludes the thesis by a summary of the main findings. This last chapter aims to review the conclusions and bind together the analysis as well as attempting to answer the research questions more explicitly.

Chapter 2:
Conflict and Displacement in Georgia

In this chapter I will look at history to understand the factors that have shaped the current political context as well as how the conflicts in Georgia have developed. This is also important to obtain an understanding of the causes of the massive displacement of populations within the borders of Georgia. This contextual background can also help us in understanding the national policies towards IDPs and may provide some answers when it comes to the question of why some solutions and policies are chosen above others to address the issue of IDPs in Georgia.

Starting off with the break-up of the Soviet Union, I will look at how Georgia moved towards independence and started to establish itself as an independent actor on the world stage. Further on I will explore the issues of conflict and internal displacement in Georgia and the questions and dilemmas that this arises. I will briefly present and discuss the Georgian governments' response to internal displacement as well as the ongoing privatisation process in Collective Centres.

An independent Georgia

Throughout history Georgia has experienced several waves of conflict leading to the displacement of large populations. The 1990s proved to be a period where the young country was characterized by internal chaos and armed conflict. The last years of the Soviet Union were marked with aspirations for independence by a number of constituent republics, Georgia being one of them, while at the same time political and ethnic tensions were increasing in some areas (Amnesty International 2010). As for Georgia, the country was polarised between different political forces, with particular tensions in the Abkhaz Autonomous Republic that was a semi-autonomous region within Soviet Georgia, and the South Ossetian Autonomous District.

Confrontation became the order of the day when independence was thrust on the republic and led to the displacement of hundreds of thousands of people (Greene 1998). Following Georgia's declaration of independence in 1991, the central Government in Tbilisi was faced with increasingly vocal calls for secession from the Abkhaz Autonomous republic and the South Ossetian Autonomous District, with tensions escalating to armed conflicts in both areas. The result was the death of at least 10 000 people and the displacement of hundreds of thousands. The government in Tbilisi lost control of both regions which subsequently declared independence and have remained under control of de facto authorities since then (Amnesty International 2010).

The entry of Georgia into the international arena, and the development of direct ties with the outside world have subjected the country to special pressures. These in turn have had major implications on how the republic has dealt with its displaced population (Greene 1998). After years of dealings exclusively through Moscow, the young state emerged as a strategically important area to other major actors on the global political arena. Also, the internally displaced in Georgia have become important political tools in the government's claims to the territories of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, while at the same time their situation is also heavily affected by geopolitical power struggles.

Figure 1 The republic of Georgia (CIA World Factbook 2011)

The ethnic patchwork

Georgia can be described as a patchwork consisting of several ethnicities. This patchwork is made out of a central area inhabited by ethnic Georgians encircled by several ethnic minorities along the borders of the country (Bjøro & Øverland 2006). The main ethnic minorities are Abkhaz, Ossetians, Kristins, Azeris and Armenians. Additionally, there are also sub-groups of ethnic Georgians such as Svanets, Adjars and Mingrelians, largely concentrated in the western areas of Georgia. Two groups, the Ossetians and the Abkhaz, have been particularly persistent in their revolt towards Georgian domination. The early attempts of Georgian leadership to make Georgian the only valid national identity gave rise to a fear among these groups that they would be completely absorbed by the ethnic majority (Greene 1998).

After the fall of the Soviet Union, nationalist parties grew stronger as the ethnic Georgians gained powers and became a more visible majority in the country. The Georgian political climate led to the emigration of many minorities such as Russians, Armenians, and Jews. The minorities still residing within the Georgian borders naturally felt threatened by the increasing Georgian nationalism (Greene 1998). In the regions of Abkhazia and South Ossetia the scepticism towards the new Georgian nationalism led to strong political movements who demanded independence.

Conflict in the 1990s: South Ossetia

South Ossetia has for longer periods throughout history been a relatively independent region, even during Soviet times, and Ossetians were soon after independence critical towards the Georgian authorities. Ossetia is a region stretching out on both sides of the Georgian - Russian border. Ethnic Ossetians are living on both sides, in South- and North Ossetia, belonging to Georgia and Russia respectively. In South Ossetia fighting broke out already in December 1991, leading to armed conflict in 1992, after the Georgian government had not accepted a public vote for the integration of South Ossetia into Russia (UCDP 2010). The Ossets received support from their fellows in North Ossetia, and hence also by Russian forces. A ceasefire brought a temporary peace the same year, while tensions still remained.

Conflict in the 1990's: Abkhazia

As for South Ossetia, the question of Abkhazia's status is not a new one. Abkhazian - Georgian relations are marked by a long history of tensions, and Abkhazia has had different statuses within Georgia and the Soviet Union. When Georgia was integrated into the Soviet Union in 1921, Abkhazia was granted an equal status with Georgia. However, after a decade Abkhazia was reintegrated into Georgia, as it was before 1921 (UCDP 2010).

With Abkhazia being one of the most productive regions in Georgia, and also constituting one tenth of the country, Georgian authorities were reluctant to let the region break away. Abkhazia was one of the main producers of tea, citrus and tobacco, and had also been a popular holiday spot for the political elite of the Soviet Union.

Before the situation evolved into violent conflict in Abkhazia, the Georgian ethnic sub-group of Mingrelians were the majority in the region, counting for 44 % of the population. Despite the fact that only 17 % of the population were ethnic Abkhaz, they still made up the political and economic elite of the region (UCDP 2010). While the ethnic Georgians wanted closer ties to Tbilisi, the Abkhaz turned towards Russia for support. The drive for secession was fuelled by the fear of being ruled by a nationalistic government favouring ethnic Georgians.

In 1992 Abkhazia proclaimed it's sovereignty, and armed conflict broke out between the Georgian government and the proclaimed republic of Abkhazia. In the war in Abkhazia, both the Georgian authorities and the Abkhaz forcibly displaced people on the basis of their ethnicity. Both sides terrorised the civilians to force them out of strategically important areas (Greene 1998). Hostilities lasted from August 1992 through 1993. The population decreased dramatically. Some 350 000 of Abkhazia's 540 000 inhabitants, both ethnic Georgians and Abkhaz, fled the region between August 1992 and late 1993. Several thousands were killed.

Like in South Ossetia, Abkhazia also received support from Russia, who led a 'split and conquer' strategy in the South Caucasus, based on its own interest of having weak states at its own borders (Bjøro & Øverland 2006). The Georgian army was forced to retreat in 1993, and the Georgian government lost de facto control of the region. This was a humiliating defeat for the young state. The conflict caused the flight of almost the entire pre-war ethnic Georgian population from Abkhazia (UCDP 2010). With a ceasefire in place from 1994, the region was stabilised with a Russian led peace - keeping force installed by the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), and the situation evolved into a frozen conflict.

Conflict in August 2008

The relationship between Georgia and Abkhazia continued to be tense for years. International efforts to mediate between the two continued, without any tangible results. In 2008 new tensions arose between Georgia and its neighbour Russia, this time over South Ossetia. On August 7th 2008, Georgian forces attacked and tried to take control over the South Ossetian village Tskhinvali (UCDP 2010). Russia responded with sending its armed forces into South Ossetia, and managed to force the Georgian army to retreat. At the same time Russian forces moved forward in Abkhazia, and attempted to regain control of the upper Kodori Valley, the only part of Abkhazia still under Georgian control. Abkhazia bombed the Kodori Valley with the help from Russian forces, causing the ethnic Georgian population to flee. On August 12th Abkhazia managed to regain control of the Kodori Valley.

A peace plan mediated by the EU was approved by Georgia and Russia the same day. A few days later, Abkhazia also signed the document that led to a ceasefire. Further peace talks have been ongoing, but the political status of Abkhazia and South Ossetia remains unsolved. On August 26th the same year, Russia chose to recognise the two breakaway regions' independence. Russia has been widely criticised for its excessive use of force against Georgia, and for breaking its sovereignty.

The Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) (2010) reports that the tense atmosphere in the conflict areas still remains dangerous. Russia has not failed to use this situation as a good opportunity to capitalize on challenging the position of Georgian authorities. As Russia strengthened its military presence in Abkhazia, it also blocked the extension of the mandate of the UN monitoring mission (UNOMIG) leading to its termination in June 2009. Georgia views the presence of Russian forces in Abkhazia and South Ossetia as an occupation, and the situation remains in a deadlock.

Forced displacement in Georgia: a complex picture

The unrest within Georgia over the last 20 years has resulted in a very complex picture of displacement. Various waves of displacement have produced various groups of people with differing needs. The IDP figures in Georgia vary, but are expected to be between 247 000 - 249 000 at the beginning of 2010 (IDMC 2010).

UNHCR (2009b) report that they address the protection and assistance needs of some 340 000 persons in Georgia. As of September 2009 this number included around 220 000 internally displaced people in areas controlled by the Georgian Government, some 10 000 displaced within South Ossetia and over 106 000 people who are continuing to live in IDP-like situations in Abkhazia and South Ossetia and areas adjacent to South Ossetia. From this the IDP population can also be separated in groups of "old" and "new" IDPs resulting from the different waves of armed conflict.

The people who have been in protracted displacement since the 1990s make up the majority of IDPs in Georgia. Several years after the violent conflicts forcibly displaced hundreds and thousands of people, the demography of the displaced population have changed as some people pass away while new generations are born

into IDP families. UNHCR (2009b) reports that 212 113 people have remained displaced since the 1990s out of which 95 % are IDPs from Abkhazia. Some 85 000 IDPs live in the capital Tbilisi (UNHCR 2009b).

Challenges to IDPs in Georgia

Many IDPs still face special challenges caused by their experience of flight including lack of access to sustainable housing as well as a scarcity of income-generating activities. In terms of socio-economic integration, the IDPs are perceived to be more vulnerable than the general population due to their protracted displacement and the more limited opportunities for them for sustainable income generation (UNHCR 2009a). Due to scarce social linkages as well as lack of information regarding the qualification skills at the labour market many IDPs find it difficult to obtain stable employment. This leads to a situation where many IDPs have to rely on small-scale petty trading, remittances and assistance from friends and family as well as sale of home-grown agricultural products to generate an income.

This has also led to an increased dependency on external assistance exacerbating the passivity. UNHCR (2009a) fears that protracted despair can lead to a further degradation of the IDPs' coping skills and productive assets leading to further exclusion. Generally the problems and challenges experienced by IDPs in Georgia are to a great extent caused by their poor living conditions, traumatic memories as well as an uncertain future and financial worries. This imposes psychological strains on adult IDPs, which also affect the children, causing depression and psycho-somatic diseases. UNHCR (2009a) express concerns that the failure to address these issues will negatively affect the potential success of interventions to improve IDP livelihoods.

Settlement in Collective Centres

Most of the Georgian IDPs from Abkhazia fled to the cities of Zugdidi and Kutaisi in western Georgia, and to the capital Tbilisi, where the majority of them still live under dire conditions. There are no camps for IDPs in Georgia. Around half of the IDPs

have found private accommodation with relatives or in the private renting market, whereas 40 - 45 % of the IDPs live in Collective Centres where they are surrounded by other IDPs. Little is known about the living conditions for IDPs in private accommodation but they may be as precarious as those of IDPs living in Collective Centres.

Collective Centres are state or privately owned buildings such as kindergartens, hospitals, hotels, sanatoria, student dorms, factories or former barracks that have been used to house the internally displaced population since the 1990's (Amnesty International 2010). Most of these buildings were not designed for long-term human habitation in the first place, and do not meet minimum standards for adequate housing.

IDPs in Collective Centres do often not have their own bathroom or kitchen and have to share these facilities with other IDPs. IDPs in Collective Centres also often live in overcrowded conditions, with an average of 8 square metres of living space compared to 18 square metres for the general population (UNHCR 2009a). The settlement in Collective Centres has also been marked by arbitrary allocation with the best quality housing being seized by those who arrived first.

There is also a marked difference between the "old" and "new" waves of displacement regarding housing solutions. Whereas the "old" IDPs from the 1990s have found shelter in Collective Centres or in private accommodation, the "new" IDPs from the August 2008 war have been settled in newly built cottage settlements outside bigger cities. This has led to tensions within the displaced populations as the displaced population from the 1990s feel that the newly displaced population have received more attention and better help from the Georgian government.

Figure 2 Picture of hallway in Collective Centre

Dilemmas of return and integration

As Georgian authorities have continually insisted upon return as the only solution, the IDPs have largely been kept on the side of the society. The search for durable solutions to their plight has not been fruitful. The Georgian government has also been accused of not giving the IDPs the attention they need. Walter Kälin (2006) states that

the IDPs' misery can be explained partly by the governments' policy of heavily promoting return while at the same time making local integration difficult.

With a one-sided focus on return, the IDPs have been left with few possibilities for socio-economic integration at their places of displacement. It is possible to attribute this one-sided focus on return to the fact that giving up return, in Georgian authorities' view, would be the same as letting Abkhazia go. The IDPs have been, and still are, an important political tool for Georgian authorities to claim their rights over Abkhazia.

As long as Russian forces hold their protecting hands over the breakaway regions, the hope for return remains frail. The situation has now been at a standstill for more than 17 years. Amnesty's latest report on internal displacement in Georgia called "In the waiting room" gives certain associations to how the process is experienced by the IDPs who are living through this uncertain situation.

In recent years there has been a shift in the Georgian government's strategy towards IDPs, and local integration has finally been added to the agenda. Whereas the Government Strategy regarding IDPs prior to 2008 focused on return as the only solution, the dynamics have changed since the August 2008 war, as return is no longer considered a viable option at least not in the short or medium turn. The new State Strategy on IDPs and its Action Plan may lead to new possibilities for IDPs, in terms of socio-economic integration and development. The privatization of the Collective Centres is part of this strategy.

Privatization of Collective Centres

The government of Georgia initiated the full-scale process of privatization in February 2009. Presidential Decree #62 on "Privatization through direct sale of State-Owned Property of the Tbilisi Self-Governing Entity" was launched. This decree was meant to facilitate the transfer of immovable state property to IDPs through direct sale. The price is merely symbolic and amounts to 1 GEL, an equivalent to 40 Euro Cents, and 3 NOK. The Government aims to have privatized all the state owned Collective Centres by the end of 2010, and to have dealt with the IDP housing issues within 2012 (Government of Georgia 2010).

The Ministry of Internally Displaced Persons from the Occupied territories, Accommodation and Refugees of Georgia (MRA) administer the privatisation process. This is the state entity dealing with all questions related to IDPs, such as accommodation, health, education and social security. Privatization of Collective Centres is one of the main tools in the State Strategy on IDPs, a strategy mainly concerned with housing (Government of Georgia 2010). As the situation for IDPs have been deadlocked for almost 17 years, the Georgian authorities have gradually come to understand the need to look for long term accommodation solutions.

State strategy and Action Plan

Until 2007 there was no overall state strategy addressing the special needs of IDPs in Georgia, although the government of Georgia had amended a law on forcibly displaced persons in 1996 affording displaced people the same rights and equality as all citizens of Georgia (Amnesty International 2010).

Finding durable housing solutions became the main goal of the State Strategy on IDPs with the Presidential Decree #62 on "Privatization through direct sale of State-Owned Property of the Tbilisi Self-Governing Entity" of February 2009. The IDP Action Plan strives to provide long term solution to the accommodation needs of IDPs. The goal is to improve the IDPs' living conditions and to promote socio-economic integration ("until their return"), and to reduce their dependency on the state (Government of Georgia 2010). One important aspect is that the housing solution offered by the government does not entail any monetary compensation for the property that IDPs owned in their former places of residence.

The State Strategy on IDPs will be implemented in 3 stages. Stage 1 started in 2009 and involves first the selling of State owned Collective Centres to IDPs. A second move is that privately owned Collective Centres is bought by the state and offered to IDPs, and a third step is that state owned Collective Centres are offered to an investor who offers the IDPs alternative living spaces or monetary compensation. This is the part of the process where the government will hand over the responsibilities of the Collective Centres to IDPs themselves or to private investors.

Rehabilitation of the Collective Centres is suggested to take place "as needed" together with the transfer of ownership (Government of Georgia 2010). All IDPs will be given a privatization offer, and it is their choice to accept it or reject the offer and wait for another one. According to the government, acceptance of the offer is possible until 6 months after the rehabilitation process is ended. This is to give the IDPs the possibility to choose freely whether they want to accept the offer or not, and also to ensure that they know what kind of housing they will receive when signing the agreement.

Stage 2 in the Strategy started in 2010, and includes activities to improve the living conditions of those IDPs who refused to privatize in the first round, and also helping those living in the private sector. New buildings will also be constructed in the regions of Georgia, but not in Tbilisi. The possibility of offering monetary compensations will also be present, though the amount offered will not be sufficient to construct a new house.

Stage 3 started in 2011 and will last until 2012. During this stage, help will be provided to those IDPs who are not in need of accommodation. The Strategy states that these people will be provided with a one time monetary assistance "based on their needs" (Government of Georgia 2010).

The new State Strategy and Action Plan is an important step in the restructuring process of the state involvement with IDPs. While IDPs still retain their IDP status and their legal claims to the property they have left, the social assistance for IDPs will move from a status-based to a needs-based approach at the third stage of the Action Plan (Government of Georgia 2010). IDPs will be integrated into the general Social Targeted Assistance system (STA) instead of receiving health care and other social services based on their IDP status. As a result of these measures, the Government of Georgia reduces the extent of their total responsibility towards IDPs as a distinct category. As such, one may suggest that the contents of IDP status will be reduced to a largely formal status entailing only the general right to return and the legal claims to their lost property in the conflict areas.

Privatisation in context

Privatisation of housing in Georgia must be understood in light of the former Soviet system of "propiska" housing rights. This system provided tenancy, allowing occupancy on an indefinite basis and inheritance by members of the household rather than ownership (IDMC 2010). The Soviet system of "propiska" rights was a distinctively different system where, instead of private ownership, people had the right to rent from the socially owned housing provided by the state.

With the dissolution of the Soviet Union this changed radically. As a result of a government resolution, privatisation of apartments for the general population was initiated from 1991 to 1992 shortly after Georgian independence. As such, private ownership is a relatively new feature to Georgian society.

Privatisation in general must also be interpreted in terms of being a central feature to Georgian politics since independence. The introduction and heavy promotion of market liberalism and liberal economic policies is telling for how Georgian politics have developed under the current Georgian President, Mikhail Saakasjvili, since he came to power in 2003.

Manning (2008) suggests that the idea of privatisation stems from the New Approach (NA) to the IDP problem in 2000, which was an essentially neoliberal approach. This approach is described as an attempt to rephrase the IDPs' economic situation not as a humanitarian problem, but as a developmental one, where IDPs would go from being despised by the local population for the perceived aid and privileges received, to a situation where the IDPs would be created as autonomous and self-reliant economic actors.

Speaking with reference to the former Collective Centre "Hotel Iveria", now a sparkling glass facade Radisson Blue hotel, Manning (2008) suggests that one of the reasons of privatisation was to get rid of the very visible collections of IDPs represented by the Collective Centres, as well as making the IDPs less dependent on the state. For a country striving for economic development privatisation was part of important steps in opening up of the economy with liberal economic policies being a general trend.

The most important change that privatisation entails is that the way of thinking about one's dwelling has changed. As is suggested by Struyk (1996) privatisation leads to that a unit gradually becomes thought of as a commodity with a value in a market rather than an asset that only have a value as long as you keep it in the family through occupancy rights.

Privatisation and the new dynamics to addressing internal displacement

There has definitely been a new dynamic to the governments' response to IDP issues after the war in 2008, as was largely confirmed by the different NGOs I interviewed. Following the conflict in August 2008 was a renewed attention to the challenges facing IDPs, the government having to deal with the new flux of displaced people while the international attention given to the conflict also contributed to strengthen the claims to find durable solutions to internal displacement. The representatives interviewed from the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), the Danish Refugee Council (DRC) and UNHCR all confirm this new approach to internal displacement following the 2008 conflict. The Georgian government has chosen housing as a key factor in finding durable solutions for IDPs and privatisation is an important part of this.

The August 2008 war changed many things. Suddenly, all Georgians were thrown out of South Ossetia. UNHCR and other humanitarian organisations did no longer have access to the area, and at the same time access to Abkhazia also became more restricted (Interview UNHCR 2010). As Russia officially recognised the two republics the prospects for return were steadily diminishing. It is possible to say that this tendency is recognised by the Georgian government, as they have decided to implement a strategy allowing IDPs to integrate partially until they one day will be able to return. This has happened largely due to pressure exerted by the international NGOs on the Georgian government.

As much as the privatisation process may lead to stability and safety for IDPs in the sense that they become more permanently settled the status of ownership could also bring about possibilities for obtaining loans from banks and possibly a greater

financial security. Further on the privatisation process may reduce the IDPs' dependency on the state as they become responsible for their own shelters. With the privatisation process follows a whole string of opportunities for IDPs to become more permanently settled and to obtain ownership and control over the dwellings they have resided in for years. However, equally important are the constraining features of the privatisation process, as it is also important to shed light on its limitations and challenges.

Through my interviews with NGOs working with internal displacement in Georgia, as well as reports provided by the Working Group on Privatisation, it is possible to pinpoint some main challenges to the privatisation of the Collective Centres. Representatives from the DRC, NRC and UNHCR are all heavily involved in the monitoring of the privatisation process as well as voicing IDP rights towards the Georgian government. Drawing on the information provided through the interviews with these organisations I find that the main challenges to the privatisation process largely relates to the questions of rehabilitation standards and size of the living spaces, legal rights and a general lack of information. Another very important factor shaping the process is also the political dimension to internal displacement in Georgia.

Rehabilitation standards and living space

There are certain minimum requirements a unit should meet before privatisation is completed. The Georgian government has established a Working Group on Privatisation to monitor the privatisation process. The Working Group consists of representatives from NRC, DRC, UNHCR and the Georgian Young Lawyers Association (GYLA). As part of the Working Group on Privatisation UNHCR have made a proposal for shelter rehabilitation guidelines, stating that every apartment should have a separate bathroom, a kitchen, a functioning heating system, and general facilities such as water and sewage, electrical network and gas. Further on there are guidelines stating that the size of the apartment should correspond with the number of persons living there.

These minimum standards for rehabilitation have been recognised by Georgian authorities however, they do not always apply on the ground, as they were not implemented from the start of the privatisation process. Further on, the authorities seem reluctant to review those Collective Centres that have already been privatised to make sure that these buildings also fulfil the minimum standards (Interview UNHCR 2010). This leaves many of the buildings that were privatised early in the process in a poor standard. The general argument from the government in this case seems to be that the value of apartments in central Tbilisi is so high anyway that they will not spend more resources on rehabilitation here. It is assumed that once people have received a living space in Tbilisi, they have already received a very valuable asset and can't expect rehabilitation in addition to this.

The rehabilitation of Collective Centres is largely concentrated in the western regions of Georgia, while the privatisation process for the most has happened in Tbilisi and surrounding areas. The concentration of money and efforts towards the western regions of Georgia, once again shows the political nature to the question of settlement of IDPs. Georgian authorities seek to settle most IDPs in the western regions of Georgia, and it is also here that almost all the new IDP settlements are built. The government refuses to construct new buildings for IDPs in Tbilisi.

As I understand it, this is partly because the cost of acquiring new lands is lower in the western regions and because the value of urban land is higher, but it may also be a political goal to keep the IDPs close to their areas of origin in order to facilitate return in case one day this appears as an option. At the same time Tbilisi is experiencing an increasing pressure on urban lands, and the government wants to utilise both buildings and land that are valuable resources in a growing economy for purposes that would serve the state.

Living space and size of apartments is also one of the requirements listed in the proposal for rehabilitation guidelines. According to these guidelines one room flats should not be inhabited by more than one or two people, there should be two rooms for three to four people, three rooms for five to six persons, and for each additional person in a household an extra 5 square metres should be added. However, these standards seldom apply for the buildings that have been privatised in Tbilisi due to many of the same reasons as mentioned above. Privatisation started before these

guidelines were proposed, and the Georgian authorities don't seem to implement the guidelines with retrospective effect. Size of apartments is very important because families expand over time. After 17 years of living in the same space several aspects may have changed regarding family size and structure but the possibilities to adapt to this situation is heavily restricted as the living space remains the same.

Legal rights

Securing the IDPs' legal rights is an important issue for the humanitarian NGOs who are monitoring the privatisation process. They work both towards the government with improving the terms in the contracts and with providing information for IDPs undergoing privatisation. It is highly problematic that IDPs don't receive normal deeds for their apartments once they have been privatised. This was mentioned by all three organisations I interviewed. The authorities keep the original contract whereas the IDPs retain an owner certificate that is not strictly valid.

Another problematic issue is that the contract only allows for one owner to be signatory. There is only one person signing the contract on behalf of everyone belonging to the household. All those who are registered as living in the apartment are also included in the contract. There is a clause in the contract stating that the signatory renounces the right to make any further claims to the government concerning dwellings. This also applies for all the family members included in the contract, which is quite questionable, as they have then unintentionally given up their rights.

Providing IDPs with information about their legal rights has become a main task for many humanitarian organisations working in Georgia.

Lack of information

The lack of information concerning the privatisation process is described as a general feature by all three organisations interviewed. The privatisation process started so quickly that the humanitarian organisations "came running after", as the

representatives from UNHCR described it (Interview UNHCR 2010). There are many different official bodies involved in the process of privatisation and the overall picture is of a chaotic process where information is lacking. The IDPs are not sufficiently informed about the contents and effects of the privatisation that is implemented. Therefore, organisations such as NRC, DRC and UNHCR are involved in information campaigns reaching out to the IDPs in Collective Centres. Information is essential for the IDPs in order for them to make informed choices about privatisation.

This lack of information leaves the impression that there is no real choice for the IDPs. People who do not accept privatisation of their current apartments may be forced to move to the western regions of Georgia where the new apartments are built. Though the official stance is to provide IDPs with alternatives, there are no guidelines as to when the alternative offer should be made. People may have to wait for years before an alternative is offered. As the representatives from UNHCR stated: "It is a big risk to take, not accepting the offer of privatisation" (Interview UNHCR 2010).

The political dimension

As much as the privatisation is an important response to the claims for finding durable solutions for IDPs, the overarching goal for the Georgian government still remains the return of IDPs to their areas of origin. Again the political dimension to internal displacement is manifest. As already mentioned, the government seeks to settle most IDPs in adjacent areas to the breakaway republics, possibly to facilitate return. Of political reasons, the government is also reluctant to admit that return is not very likely to happen for the time being. Saying this would be equivalent to giving up their rights to the territories of Abkhazia and South Ossetia.

Accordingly, little effort has been made from the governments' side to integrate and settle the IDPs permanently. Years and years of advocacy from humanitarian organisations have led to the official recognition of the need to find more stable and long-term solutions to the plight of the internally displaced. At last they have agreed to make some more substantial changes to the IDPs' situation, and housing is a very concrete and measurable starting point in this sense.

The terms "durable solution" and "local integration" have entered into official discourse and are more frequently used by the Georgian government and other official bodies. There are also plans to integrate IDPs into the general social assistance programme. Still, the main focus remains on providing adequate housing, and less attention is given to other social aspects such as work and education, aspects that are important for facilitating local integration (Interview NRC 2010).

There have also been claims that the privatisation is a very convenient way for the government to handle the IDP problem, as they can say that they have made substantial efforts to provide durable solutions for IDPs (Interview NRC 2010). Also, privatisation is seen as a sign that the government seeks to cut off assistance, and make its own responsibility towards the IDPs smaller (Interview UNHCR 2010). Privatisation can therefore be seen as a first step in the governments' efforts to phase out their assistance towards IDPs, and possibly free themselves officially of the problem of internal displacement.

The overall picture is that political considerations are to a great extent constraining the process of providing IDPs with long-term and durable solutions from being fully implemented, as return still remains the overarching goal.

Chapter 3:
Theory and analytical framework

This far, I have explored the context of internal displacement in Georgia. We have touched upon the social and political circumstances affecting the IDPs lives, and we have gained some insights regarding the government policies towards the settlement of IDPs and the ongoing privatisation of their dwellings. I will now turn to the theoretical concepts I have employed to understand and analyse these processes. These are the concepts that have laid the foundation for my analytical framework

In this chapter I will explore different approaches to the concepts of home and home-making, and also examine how these concepts can be applied in the context of forced migration and protracted displacement. Home-making practices can briefly be described as the practices that people perform in relation to their dwellings that make them invested with the affective qualities of home. In order to understand how IDPs are building homes in their temporary dwellings in the Collective Centres, I will explore different theories regarding how people construct homes, including both physical aspects as well as affective and emotional aspects to home-making.

Further on I will explore the concepts of structure and agency, and explain how these concepts can be applied in order to assess the possibilities people have to effect change upon their own living conditions. Structuration theory address questions of to what extent people are independent actors or whether structures in society are determining and constraining our actions. These concepts of structure and agency will later be employed to facilitate a discussion of the different factors that are enabling and constraining IDPs pursuing home-making practises within the Collective Centres.

What is home?

What is home? Is it the physical structure of your house? Is it the relations you experience within this structure? Is it the feelings, memories or the dreams you attach to your house? Houses can be understood not merely as physical structures, but also as homes with emotional, social and cultural significance (Blunt & Dowling 2006, Dowling & Mee 2007).

As such, home may be described as a multi-dimensional concept including different understandings of home as a place, or a space, as feelings and practices (Mallet 2004). Home may be conflated with or related to house, family, materiality, privacy identity and values, whereas notions of creating and or making home are also considered in the exploration of home.

Both the private and the public affect the way we understand home. Home may be created on different scales, ranging from the body and the household, to the city or the nation or the globe (Blunt & Dowling 2006). This implies that home places do not have to be houses or dwellings, but may also be a suburb, a neighbourhood or a nation.

This leads us to an understanding of home as a place filled with meaning, memories, emotions, experiences and everyday relationships. Houses can be described as the material structures we invest meaning in to make them homes. Home and belonging may thus be closely entwined.

Home as a sense of belonging or attachment is very visible in migration for instance in the cases of refugees or asylum seekers, or as is the case here, for internally displaced persons. Blunt and Dowling (2006) suggests that movement may be understood as a disruption from a sense of home. While some people have chosen to leave, others have been forcibly displaced. In any case, these migrations also imply processes of establishing new homes, as senses of belonging and identity are created in new places.

Home: the "spatial imaginary"

Blunt & Dowling (2006) seek to develop what they call a critical geography of home, highlighting relations between place, space, scale, identity and power. They identify two key elements of home. Firstly, home as a place, a site where we live. Secondly, home as an idea, something we imagine and fill with feelings. This opens up for all kinds of feelings, and may be feelings of belonging, but also of fear and alienation.

Home can therefore be understood as something that is both physical and imaginary. Blunt & Dowling (2006) suggest the concept "spatial imaginary", where ideas and feelings related to a context, construct places. At the same time these ideas and feelings extend across spaces and scales, and in this way they can connect different places. While we acknowledge that house and household may be components of home, they do not themselves capture the complex social relations and feelings that make up home. A house is not necessarily a home, and the social relations that constitute home may extend far beyond the household.

This leads us to an understanding of home as something that is both a place or a physical location, and the feelings we attach to it. It is both a material dwelling and an affective space that is shaped by feelings and senses of belonging (Stefansson 2006). This is also found in Easthope (2004) describing homes as a particularly significant type of place. Drawing on Soja, she emphasises how places are "doubly constructed". Most places are physical constructs in some way, but they are also imagined, experienced, interpreted and narrated. Material and imaginary components are thus equally important in the construction of home.

Acknowledging that home is both a material and imaginative concept, we also need to understand home as the relation between the two (Blunt and Dowling 2006). The physical location and the emotional processes are tied together rather than separate. They are relational and dependent on each other. The material structure of home is shaped by the way home is imagined, while at the same time our imaginaries of home are influenced by the physical structures.

Keeping in mind that home is relational also opens up for understanding home as a process that is constantly made and remade. This also leads to an understanding of home as something we actively create. The term of home-making practices is useful in this sense, a term that I will turn to shortly**.** Home is not something that exists in its

own right rather it is something that is made. Dowling and Mee (2007) also add emphasis to this, explaining how home is just as much a process as it is a thing. Houses and the objects we keep there are continually changed, as are the relations between family members and the practices that are performed in connection to the dwelling.

"Home is a process of creating and understanding different forms of dwelling and belonging" (Blunt and Dowling 2006: 23). Also, this process is saturated with values and meanings, through rules that prescribe what can be done and not within the home. It is important to understand home as something we create by living. The meanings of home, and its material manifestations are continually created and re-shaped through everyday practices.

Home-making practices

"Home-making practices" is a concept that is used to describe the things people do in their homes, in order to make these places home. It opens up for an exploration of how people establish homes, through a closer look at the activities they perform. The concept has gained importance in later years, with the evolving understanding of home as something fluid and changeable. Home is something that is actively made.

Several scholars emphasise that home is filled with relations and practices (Blunt and Dowling 2006, Dowling and Mee 2007, Jansen and Löfving 2009, Rapport and Dawson 1998). Practice is what makes houses home. Practices may establish feelings of belonging and security or sometimes alienation. Home-making practices such as welcoming visitors, produce symbolic boundaries between the home and the outside world, and make home a private space. Home-making is thus a significant social practice that people invest considerable emotional and physical energy into. But it is also a fraught social practice, as home may be alienating and embracing, public and private, permeable and impermeable (Dowling and Mee 2007).

Considering home and migration as interdependent, Ahmed et al. (2003) call attention to the practices and processes by which people establish and re-establish homes. They seek to understand the relationship between leaving home and imagining home, and particularly how homes are made in the context of migration. The importance of

avoiding to assume that home has an essential meaning in advance of its making is central to the understanding of home. Homes are always made and remade as the grounds and the conditions related to, for instance work, family, politics and other things, change. This is particularly relevant in the context of forced migration, where people have been forcibly displaced and disrupted from their own homes.

Ahmed et al. (2003) suggest further that the concept of "homing" is valuable for understanding the processes by which home is created. "Homing" entails processes of home-building, whether this happens "at home" or in migration. This consists of the making of affective qualities of home, in close relation to the concrete materiality of objects and other physical components. In my point of view, this is a concept that corresponds largely with the concept of home-making.

Jansen and Löfving (2009) start with elucidating the concept of emplacement when exploring home-making. This is a term that is usually deployed in opposition to displacement, but it can be defined in different ways. Emplacement can be the way people invest places with significance, or how people re-embed social relations that have been "disembedded". In describing emplacement, Jansen and Löfving (2009) put emphasis to the subjects' capacities to put themselves and others into place, and how this is articulated with the power relations that structure these capacities. Giving attention to the power to emplace is therefore important. This is a focus that can act as a countermeasure to the postmodern conceptions of "placelessness", as well as the notion that any place is good, as long as it is one's own, and that people are always "happily emplaced" unless there are obvious signs of the contrary.

Homes are nevertheless made and remade on an everyday basis, through the strategies of cultural continuity. In this way people seek to overcome alienation as well as social disintegration (Jansen and Löfving 2009). Ahmed et al. (2003) suggest that "homing" depends on the reclaiming of the names and stories and objects that have been uprooted in migration or displacement. "Homing" in the context of migration can therefore be understood as a way of reattaching to new surroundings, to new homes. This may be a way of making sense of the new conditions under which they live. The concept of "regroundings" is useful in this sense, used to describe the strategies people use to attach themselves to new places (Ahmed et al. 2003).

Altogether, this understanding of home-making practices as the activities that people perform in and around their dwellings will be used to describe and analyse how the internally displaced build homes in the Collective Centres. An investigation of this concept will give us an idea of how and to what extent IDPs engage in home-making in the temporary dwellings in Collective Centres.

Social relations in the creation of homes

Understanding home as a set of processes and practices tied to physical structures, leads us to the importance of social relations in the creation of home. People act in social contexts, and it is possible to understand home as created in and through social relations that come into existence in everyday negotiations (Olwig 1998). In some ways home can be a very abstract concept that is mainly concerned with understandings of the self, and at the same time it is a very concrete place where mutual relations of exchange take place, often regulated by specific rights and duties in social life.

Taking a closer look at these social routines tied to home and lived space, may help us to get a more nuanced conceptualisation of how people build their homes and their identities. Home involves social relations that are given meaning, for instance through discourse, but this is only one of the shapes that these social relations may take. What Olwig (1998) does, is to emphasize a conceptual division between home as a locus involving specific social and economic rights and duties, and home as a more abstract entity expressed through narratives and other forms of symbolic exchange. These two aspects complement and enhance each other, in a way that makes home not only concrete socio-economic rights and duties alone, without receiving any recognition and confirmation through symbolic expressions, such as narratives. From this it becomes clear that the social interactions taking place in dwellings are central to the process of establishing homes, and that this will be an important aspect to include in the analysis of home-making practices among the internally displaced in Collective Centres.

Home, materiality and identification

The social interactions within and around dwellings are but one aspect of home. The physical structure of the dwelling is an equally important factor shaping and informing home-making practices. Miller (1998) complains that material forms to a great extent have been disregarded as trivial and have thus remained a key unchallenged mechanism for social reproduction and ideological dominance. However, the development of material culture studies throughout the 1980s and 1990s have led to the understanding that social worlds are as much constituted by materiality as the other way around. Materiality matters, Miller (1998) argues. The material structure provides the basis of a dwelling and hence plays an important role in the construction of a home. Therefore, studying the material structures in which people live can give useful insights into the processes that construct homes. Accordingly, it is worth noting that the physical aspects of the home may have the ability to both enable and constrain different relationships and patterns of action (Mallet 2004).

The notion of home as belonging has already been mentioned. Home may also be a physical site for identification. People may define and develop their identities in relation to the physical structures of their dwelling, as much as the dwelling can also affect people's identities. Hence, the practices of home may also be practices of identity formation.

A home displays the things people surround themselves with, that support their life activities and can reflect in matter the events and values of a persons life. As such, homes may be understood as personal in a visible, spatial sense (Young 2005). Home may then be seen as an important site of identification and therefore also a materialisation of identity.

The materialisation of identity in a home concerns not just the things themselves but also their spatial organisation. Things are arranged in space in a way that supports body habits and routines of those who dwell there. Coming to feel settled at home in a place takes place in the process of interaction between the body's movement in enacting aims and purposes and the material structure these activities occur within (Young 2005). Physical structures of homes and the things within them are imprinted by people's lived lives and in this manner the home is a mirror of everyday activities. Everyday activities within the Collective Centre, as well as within individual living

spaces are therefore interesting objects of study. A study of the spatial arrangement within a particular apartment in the Collective Centre, as well as the physical surroundings of the entire Collective Centre may provide us with interesting information regarding how homes are built in dwellings that were not initially meant to be homes.

The effects of peoples' activities onto material structures can also be described as a process of depositing meaning onto things. Material things may be layered with meaning and personal value as people imbue them with stories. Things are expressive of important events and activities in peoples' lives and contribute to the creation of identity. Therefore, studying the interiors of the IDPs apartments in Collective Centres may tell us something about how they create the apartments as homes.

In relation to migration material objects may also play an important role in the remembrance of former homes and places. In a study of South Asian migrants in Britain, Tolia-Kelly (2004) shows how objects reflect the migrants' past homes and signify their identity. Most important, the objects related to former homes make their migratory experience present. As such, it is also interesting to study the things that the displaced have managed to bring or retrieve from Abkhazia. These things may be of great significance to the creation of new homes away from their former homes, as I will return to in my analysis of the materiality of homes in the Collective Centre.

Accordingly the materialisation of identity through physical objects does not necessarily fix identity in a particular place, but rather this creates continuity between past and present homes (Young 2005). The physical objects therefore contribute to the anchoring of identity without confining it to one place.

Home, modification and consumption

Another important aspect to the materiality of home that is also related to the processes, through which people imbue things with meaning, is the modification of physical structures. As people come to inhabit dwellings, they adjust their living spaces through various alterations and decorations. As Miller (1998) states, self-built housing is a minority possibility and most households are likely to receive their ready-

built environments. If people are to develop a self-conception in relation to their dwelling then, it must happen through some form of consumption as appropriation. This is also the case with regard to the housing of IDPs in Georgia. As already mentioned in an earlier chapter, the allocation of dwellings for IDPs after the war in 1993-1994 was largely haphazard, with arbitrary settlement in vacant buildings that were not designed for human habitation. Consequently, most of the IDPs have had to adapt to the dire conditions and accept the received housing as a basis from which they have adapted and shaped their dwellings.

Following Miller (1998) a theory on housing therefore needs to involve a theory of consumption. In relation to the appropriation of the physical structures of dwellings consumption must be understood as a process of transformation. Consumption can be seen as an ideal in the sense that it is a process by which social groups are engaged in activities that attempts to render alienating structures of ready-built environments into inalienable culture. It is therefore particularly interesting to study the modifications that IDPs have made to their apartments, as this is yet an example of how they are establishing homes within the initially alienating structures that make up the Collective Centre.

All this leads us to the understanding that people are able to create homes through the modification of their dwellings. Through alterations and decorations people invest their dwellings with meaning, and create personalised spaces that make up their homes. However, the construction of homes through consumption and modification is never straightforward but involves contradictions. People build their homes in a recurring negotiation between what they have and what they want or wish for. As stated by Mallet (2004: 80) "Home is lived in the tension between the given and the chosen, then and now, here and there."

Imagining home: norms, values and ideals

Blunt and Dowling (2006) underline the importance of seeing home not just as a spatialized concept, but also as a politicized concept. Home is imbued with relations of power. It is necessary to be alert to the processes of oppression and resistance embedded in ideas and processes of home.

Home has the power to constitute identities, as people live and produce their senses of themselves through homes. At the same time these identities are structured and shaped by different powers. Blunt and Dowling (2006) suggest that Doreen Massey's concept "power geometries" sheds light on the ways that people are differently positioned to home places, and how they also experience them differently. The power geometries of homes work in such a way that a dominant ideology values certain social relations and marginalizes others. This way it defines some places as homes, while others are not. Some dominant meanings of home may include family, patriarchal gender relations, sense of security and stability, and owned dwellings.

These normative notions of home create certain homes as "homely" and others as "unhomely" (Blunt & Dowling 2006). For instance, people living in suburban homes are in many ways expected to be heterosexual and part of nuclear families. This is an experience of home that is valued as "homely." On the contrary, living in refugee camps or in a homeless hostel is depicted as "unhomely". This is relevant with regard to how the Collective Centres are coded in Georgian society as largely "unhomely" places. Still, as I will argue is the case for Georgian IDPs, Blunt and Dowling (2006) underlines that it is important to keep in mind that seemingly "homely" places may become "unhomely", and places that at first glance appear as "unhomely" may be turned into "homely" places.

Rapport and Dawson (1998) see the normative aspects of home as a paradox of a concept that for most of the time remains very open and fluid. They suggest that individual homes, using the German term "heim", are influenced by a normative "heimat", an effort to impose home as a social fact and a cultural norm. This is a norm to which certain people in certain forms of dwelling can belong, while others must be excluded. Refugees and the homeless are people who therefore must be excluded from those who "deserve" to combine house and home. Normative aspects of home become visible as an expression of social division.

As a continuation of this, Rapport and Dawson (1998) point to another paradox of the concept, that homes are understood in terms of a negation. The apparent absence of home moves us, and home becomes important in terms of what it is not. In this sense we can say that the concepts of "homely" and "unhomely" homes inform each other. But who has the power to render some homes homely and others unhomely?

As already mentioned, home may be understood as a basis for creating and sustaining individual and shared identities. However, as Olwig (1998) states, homes are far from merely harmonic places. Home is rather a contested domain, that is, an arena where differing interests are struggling to define their own spaces where identities can be located and nurtured. Identities have to be struggled for, as do homes. Also, there can be many homes within the same physical location, and different persons may interpret the same homes in different ways.

It is for this reason that we should not expect people's homes to be their ideal sites of identification (Olwig 1998). Neither should we expect homes to be "happy places". People may identify themselves both with and against their homes.

Moving on to values, Young (2005) presents four normative values of home that she argues should be considered minimally accessible to all people. These values are safety, individuation, privacy and preservation. Safety is important because everyone needs a place where they can go to be safe. Ideally then, home is meant to be such a safe place. It may be too much to ask that everyone could be safe anywhere, but at least everyone should have a home where they can feel safe and secure. Personal safety and a place to be safe are basic needs and basic freedoms that should be available to everyone.

Further, individuation is another value for home. Individuation concerns the performance of basic activities of life such as eating, sleeping, bathing or making love (Young 2005). People need places to perform these activities with basic routine and security. To have some space of your own to arrange the things that belong to you and that reflect your identity in a material mirror is an important basis for existence. Basic to this idea of home is a certain form of ownership, not necessarily as private property, but at least in the sense that you have a space of your own.

Privacy is also a value for home, largely connected to the value of individuation. Privacy is to have control over admission to ones' personal space and its contents (Young 2005). This concerns the autonomy a person has to allow or not to allow access to personal information and personal belongings. A person should have control of access to her living space as well as meaningful things and personal information.

The fourth value of home as presented by Young (2005) is preservation. This entails the right to protect and safeguard the meaningful things which one sees as the stories of oneself embodied. Home is the place where one creates one's self, and the ability to preserve one's home is an important aspect of both individual and collective identity.

Concerning the ideal construction of home, following Somerville (1992), home is not just a matter of feelings and lived experience, but also of cognition and intellectual construction. Even though people do not have a home they may have a sense of what it is, or an idea of what it should be. This also relates to the normative conceptions of what a home is as I mentioned earlier in relation to the construction of homely and unhomely homes. Home is thus an ideological construct, because the distinction between home as ideal and home as experience is itself socially constructed through ideological forms (Somerville 1992). Outside of these ideological constructs we can't know what a home really is.

Mallet (2004) states that discussions of the ideal home generally focus on romantic or nostalgic forms of home. Critics of the ideal home argue that such overly positive descriptions of home do not reflect people's diverse experiences and notions of home. Mallet (2004) is conversely criticising these critics for positing real and ideal homes as oppositional terms. Mallet (2004) suggests instead an understanding where the real and ideal are imagined in tension rather than in opposition. The real and ideal are not pure and distinct domains, but rather they are mutually defining concepts and experiences. Home as an ideal and home as reality are both integral to the social construction of home (Somerville 1992). Therefore, the understanding of home in a Collective Centre will be shaped by the relation between the ideals that the displaced people have of home and the reality they are faced with. Home is created in a negotiation between the real and ideal, the actual and remembered home.

Therefore, homes are best understood not as static entities but rather as constituted by the particular social relations that occur in a specific location. Neither do places or homes have a fixed or essential past. The identity and meaning of a home or a place has to be constructed and is constantly negotiated (Mallet 2004). Similar ideas are also found in Ahmed et al. (2003) as they suggest that making home is about creating both pasts and futures through inhabiting the grounds of the present. As such, the

affectivity of home can be bound up with the temporality of home with the past, the present and the future.

Kabachnic et al. (2010) are also mentioning the spatial and temporal dimensions of home in explaining that present homes are related to both the past and the future. Home is influenced by several temporalities, not just the here and now. It takes some time to feel at home. Also, for those who have left home, a nostalgic relation to the past and home may be a part of the lived reality (Ahmed et al. 2003). This way the past homes of the internally displaced population, the homes they had to flee from, needs also to be understood as having great influence on how they establish new homes in the Collective Centres.

Altogether, this shows us that norms, values and ideals are shaping the way that people imagine home, something that also have great repercussions on how people are building homes, as I will return to in my analysis.

Domicide and the political significance of home

In developing a framework for understanding home in the context of forced migration, it may also be useful to take a look at the meaning of losing home. Porteous and Smith (2001) defines the concept of domicide as the deliberate destruction of home by human agency, which is done in pursuit of specific goals, and causes suffering to the victims. Implicit lies the notion that home is a meaningful place to people. To lose a home is to lose something meaningful. The loss of a home means losing more than just the material house.

This is also underlined by Tuathail & Dahlman (2006), as they explain how displacement implies losing more than property. The more than two million persons displaced by the war in Bosnia Herzegovina in the early 1990s also lost their homes, their communities and the personalized meanings they had built around their home places. The displacement led to the loss of whole life worlds. The loss of home must be understood as the loss of a way of life, a "modus vivendi" that is unlikely to be recovered by simply restoring the material property that have been lost (Tuathail & Dahlman 2006).

Based on these meanings of home as something spatial, symbolic and psychosocial, Porteous and Smith (2001) argue that domicide can mean losing all these things. Losing your home can therefore mean to lose a place you feel attached to and where you can seek refuge, to lose your sense of security and your ownership, to lose parts of your identity, and to be decentred from your place, family and community.

The idea of losing more than property when losing a home is also described by Stefansson (2006) in his conceptual differentiation between "small homes" and "big homes". In his case study of returnees in Bosnia "small homes" are understood as the physical structures of a home, "big homes" refers to the social relations tied to the material structures that are also constituted by the social structures in the wider society. People who have been forcibly displaced may have lost both.

Stefansson (2006) argues that to focus mainly on property restitution as one of the main goals for returnees is only a partial view of the situation. According to Stefansson, return becomes less ideal because the practice and meaning of home have changed after the conflict. The home they return to is not the same as the one they left behind. To assume that people will pick up their past life trajectories once they return, is to disregard the distinction between house and home. To reclaim a house is not the same as recapturing a home. The "big home" and its' relations to the wider society also needs to re-develop. That is the political and social structures at the local and national level. This might be a somewhat more complicated task than reconstructing houses, but is vital as people are always part of a social context.

While this is a critique of return as an "unproblematic" durable solution, in this case it's useful to understand the concepts of "small" and "big" homes, in understanding some of the processes related to home and migration, -and the (re) creation of homes. To understand different components of home helps us understand how homes are made. This also underlines how home exists at several scales, and needs to be rebuilt at multiple levels.

The conceptualisation of home places is never straightforward. Homes are far more important than just sites for finding identities and senses of belonging. As stated by Olwig (1998), homes are important markers of inclusion and exclusion, who renders visible the power structures behind the struggles for home and identity. This leads us

to an understanding of the political significance of mastering the art of home-making, as there are few who have the power to define entirely for themselves what home is.

Structuration Theory

Understanding home-making as a process that is influenced by norms, values and ideals for home as well as power relations gives us a rationale to explore the workings of these social processes. It is interesting to analyse the different factors that are enabling and constraining people's actions, in this case the home-making practices of the internally displaced living in Collective Centres. As analytical tools in exploring the home-making among IDPs, I will employ the concepts of 'structure' and 'agency'. These concepts will provide a broader framework for understanding the processes where homes are established within the Collective Centres.

Debates on the relations between individual and society and the constitution of these have been long-standing issues in the social sciences. The concepts of "structure" and "agency" have been central in these debates facilitating a discussion of the ways in which social structures shape human action, and on the contrary how people's practices may help to perpetuate or challenge these structures (Chouinard 1997). These concepts derive from theories about societal change, concerned with how organisational features of a society may both enable and constrain people in their efforts to make change, while at the same time peoples' actions may strengthen or weaken the very same structures. We are concerned here with a two-way movement.

Sociologist Anthony Giddens has been one of the main contributors in developing these concepts into what is now termed "structuration theory". Starting in the 1980s, Giddens problematized the concept of human agency, dismantling the notion of a macro/micro dichotomy between structure and agency (Dyck & Kearns 2006). This new approach to agency and structure was a way of building a bridge between humanist and Marxist explanations of society in which the former had given primacy to the human agent whereas the latter focused mainly on the determining nature of societal structures.

Giddens' theorising was important in the development of more flexible and less deterministic conceptions of structure and agency. Giddens' structuration theory considers society to neither exist independently of human activity, nor to be a product of this activity. Instead this theory avoids structural determinism through a focus on the constant interplay between structure and agency (Chouinard 1997). This focus offers a broader conception of social power as an outcome of struggle over resources, including access to both material wealth and decision-making power. At the same time this conception recognizes the significance of spatial organisation in how social relations are structured.

The duality of structure

Central to structuration theory is the notion of the duality of structure. This means that neither the structure nor the agent is regarded as having primacy. Instead they co-exist through the already mentioned constant interplay, and accordingly they are mutually constitutive. The duality of structure is then understood as a recursive process created through the reproduction of human practices in which structure is both the medium and the outcome (Dyck & Kearns 2006). Integral to understanding the duality of structure are also the concepts of social system and social structure. Social systems are understood as the regularized relations between individuals and groups. These systems are reproduced through social practices and routines grounded in the knowledge ability of actors. Social structures are regarded as the "rules" and "resources" which only exist when they are experienced by people. This means that structure only exists temporally through the concrete practices of human agents as they reproduce social life through routinized daily encounters.

"Resources" refer both to physical environments as well as the social relations you find within these environments. "Rules" refers to meanings, evaluation and power. However, it is of great importance to understand that these rules are not static, but rather negotiable. An important aspect is also how the unintended outcomes of human activity are equally important as the intended outcomes. These outcomes both play into "structure", influencing peoples' daily activities. Structure must not be understood as an external force that is imposed on people, but rather as structural components that

are embedded in society, and who are both enabling and constraining. Giddens' explication is then concerned with exploring the processes of enablement and constraint in the interplay between agency and structure (Dyck & Kearns 2006).

Agency

Implicit in the concept of agency lies the notion that the individual is a perpetrator of events, and that there is always the possibility to act in a different way. Agency in itself is not a given quality, but the issue of concern is how it is possible for human agents to act in order to produce and reproduce social practices (Dyck & Kearns 2006). This transformative capacity is central to understanding social power related to human agency. Social change can be generated through practice in everyday activities however, the conditions under which these activities take place are not always chosen by the agents themselves. This also accounts for the locales or places where people meet and social relations develop. These physical settings ranging from a household to a nation-state may also be places of rules and resources. Still, these settings for encounters are not given but actively created, albeit within unequal power relations.

In the case of Collective Centres, these are not the conditions that IDPs have chosen for themselves. This way one may see that IDPs home-making efforts are to a great extent at the mercy of their surroundings. At the same time, one must also contend that IDPs are influencing the surroundings that they establish homes within, and in this way everything is not given but rather the conditions for home-making are also actively created by the IDPs.

Structure, power and representation

The concepts of structure and agency may also be useful in analysing how structural relations are implicated in the creation of knowledge, subjectivities and hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourses. In other words, the concepts of structure and agency may help us understand how structural relations like for instance gender, class and race shape what we know, how we perceive the world, and the discourses we

employ. Both structure and agency is involved in this process of creating culture and knowledge (Chouinard 1997). This may also be relevant in processes of representation, where spatial metaphors like "public" and "private" space are structures of knowledge or discourse helping to delimit who has access to particular spaces of power and under what terms. For example, the power exercised by the police to forcibly remove homeless people from public spaces such as parks, is a result of the metaphoric representation of these places and spaces.

Related, this understanding can also be used in analysing the tendency to code private and public spaces in particular ways, for example "private spaces" as the prime domain of women and those who need special care (Chouinard 1997). Also, this is relevant in the understanding of the construction of homely and unhomely homes, as is the case with Collective Centres that are initially coded as unhomely. This can also be applied in the understanding of how home is an ideological construct shaped by norms and values of what a home ought to be.

Agency and place

Geographic conceptions of structure and agency have addressed the difference place makes in the prevailing power relations, just as much as social differences do. The postmodern focus on deconstructing representations and knowledge has encouraged geographers to take a closer look at how agency is socially constructed over time and space (Chouinard 1997). This relates to how both our knowledge and culture is socially and spatially situated, and how this in turn affects our capacities to contest or perpetuate the structures and power relations that prevail in different places. Our culture and our conceptions and representations of the world are to a large extent guiding our idea of what kind of possibilities and constraints we are experiencing and how we are able to work within them.

In other words, the social construction of agency is place specific, meaning that where you are will also affect the possibilities you see and make use of in order to effect social change, as well as the constraints you experience while doing this. Further, structure and agency must be understood as a complex set of prisms where class

structure and agency is overlain by all sorts of social relations, practices and identities (Chouinard 1997). Peoples' capacities to effect social change, is therefore shaped by processes of identity formation that are always negotiated within different power structures. The workings of structure and agency unfold through multiple social processes on divergent and overlapping planes.

Critical remarks on structuration theory

It has been suggested that structuration theory may be more useful in sensitizing concepts in the analysis of how individual and society is constituted, rather than being a theory that can be directly applied (Dyck & Kearns 2006). Critics have also pointed out that it may only serve as a checklist of forces that needs to be considered, rather than a substantive conceptualisation of the process of social change (Chouinard 1997).

Further, Giddens' approach has been criticised for focusing more on the actor's ability to effect change than on the power of structures of domination (Jessop 2001 in Coe & Jordhus-Lier 2010). Focusing only on structure and agency as two opposite forces obscures the processes that happen on the meso-level, for example processes of social reproduction.

Giddens' structuration theory has also been criticised for separating structure and agency into two separate analytical elements, making the relation between the two a dichotomy (Jessop 2001). This may lead to a mechanical understanding of the relation between the two as it leaves little space for the differential capacities of actors as well as the actions they perform to change different structures.

To apply this approach, means to examine how a given structure may privilege some actors, some identities, some strategies and some actions over others. Simultaneously, this involves analysing how and if actors take account of this differential privileging when they make choices for their actions through what Jessop (2001) calls "strategic-context analysis." People make choices depending on individual and collective learning, and select their strategies based on what they know about their possibilities to act.

Chouinard (1997) also points to the challenges to using structure and agency as analytical tools, emphasising that you have to switch between the two different analytical levels at all times. As this may be a difficult endeavour, there may be other approaches that can provide a better understanding of the relation between structure and agency, as I will now turn to.

Understanding the meso-level between structure and agency

Holm Nielsen (2001) suggests a further refinement of the structuration theory as he emphasises the importance of understanding the meso-level between structure and subject. He underlines that this level is essential in understanding social processes, asserting his theoretical point that the relation between structure and subject is always mediated. The acting subject is always experiencing structural and institutional conditions via situated social practises. This is the level where actions take place. Central to Holm Nielsen's notion is that there isn't any direct relation between structure and subject.

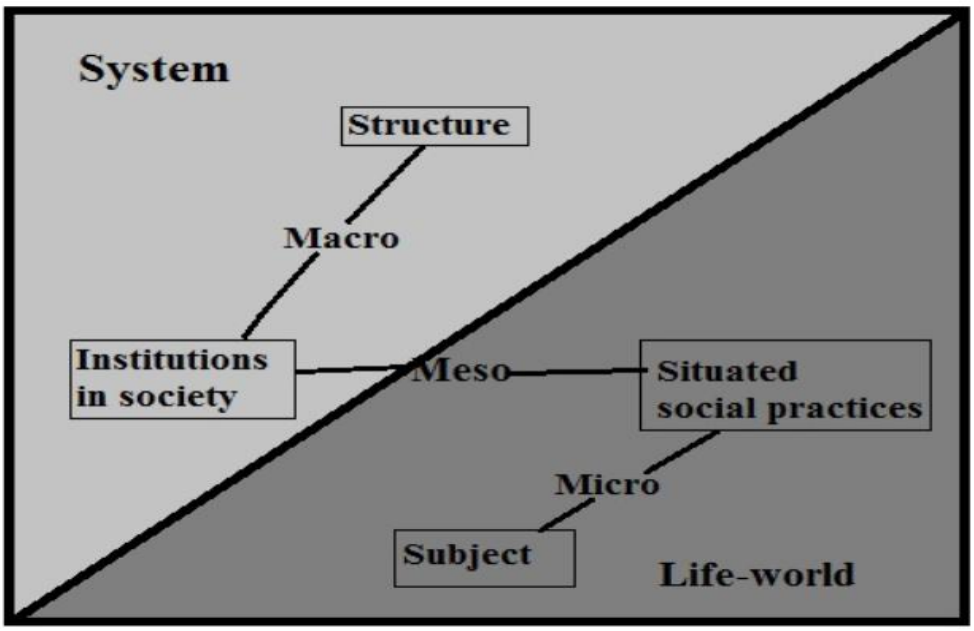

Figure 3 Drawing of Holm Nielsen's (2001) model

The analytical model suggests three analytical levels. On the macro level you find the analysis of the interplay between the structuring features of social systems and the

constitution of organizations and institutions in society. The meso level is focusing on the interplay between the development of social institutions in society and situated social practices. On the micro level the focus is on processes where acting subjects are participating in and developing different social practices.

Holm Nielsen (2001) draws on Giddens' conception of institutions as a mediating concept between social ontology and social theory. Institutions are practices and activities extended in time and space in such a way that they could be described as enduring and collective patterns of action. Institutions, then, is joining together the normative/communicative actions with the strategic/goal oriented actions. Institutions are thus formed by both structures and situated social practices.

Situated social practices relates to context through understanding that social relations are always geographically based and that they are not abstract principles. Context is neither a given frame for social actions, however social practice and context are regarded as involved in each other's making and development. Both institutions in the society and the acting subject thus shape social practices.

Holm Nielsen's (2001) argument is that actions are always performed within the frames of situated social practices, shaped by institutional codes for actions. The preconditions for actions are experienced through differently situated social practices. (These include structural, institutional and organising conditions.) The constitution of structure, institutions, social practices and subjects is always based on human actions and must therefore be understood as a continual and incomplete process.

To sum up, there is no direct relation between structure and subject, as this relation is always mediated. Subjects encounter structural and institutional conditions via the situated social practices through which the actions take place. Developing a refined understanding of the meso-level between structure and subject is therefore very helpful in that it allows us better insight into how the IDPs have established factors of home in the Collective Centres. This kind of analysis can also facilitate an understanding of how the IDPs are both enabled and constrained in their home-making efforts.

Home and agency: an analytical framework

Holm Nielsens (2001) model facilitates an analysis of what happens on the meso-level between system and the subject. As my aim firstly is to discuss the structural features that affect IDPs in their home-making I will start with the overarching system provided by the state, the Georgian IDP regime.

The Ministry of Internally Displaced Persons from the Occupied Territories, Accommodation and Refugees (MRA) can be seen to provide one of the main structural features affecting the internally displaced in their home-making practices, as they manage the Collective Centres and control the privatisation process. By control of the legal framework as well as the physical buildings it is evident that the Georgian State and its IDP regime is an important structuring body for the IDPs' lives.

If the Georgian IDP regime is a main structure then the Collective Centres may be seen as an institution in society. Together, these make up the macro-level in Holm Nielsens (2001) model. The Collective Centres constitute an institution in the sense that they provide the framework for the practices and activities people perform in their home-making endeavours. Collective Centres are institutions in a physical sense, being the material structure people dwell within, but also in the more abstract sense that the centres are constituted by some established sets of routines and practices. Within the Collective Centres there are practices and activities that are extended in time and space in such a way that they can be described as enduring and collective patterns of actions contributing to the establishment of the Centres as an institution. This means that the Collective Centres are shaped by both the structure provided by the IDP regime and by the situated social practices within them.

Based on this conception I suggest that the Collective Centres may be understood as a main institution that is both enabling and constraining IDPs in their home-making. This relates both to the house as a physical structure and as a set of social practices, as the house is just as much an institution as the social practices are. House, and in this case the Collective Centres, is thus a meeting point between structure and agency. The Collective Centre is the institution within which the subject can perform his or her agency towards the structures.

These reflections lead us to the meso-level of Holm Nielsens (2001) model, where we focus our attention on the interplay between institutions and situated social practices.

The meso-level is very useful for analytical purposes, in the sense that it helps us to refine our descriptions of processes in social life. It gives us the chance to analyse everyday activities that are performed within the Collective Centres, and to see how people manoeuvre within the structural features they experience in the centres. As I see it, an analysis of the interplay between institutions and situated social practices will also deal with how people give meaning to their lives, both to things and practices.

An example of this may be the expressions of norms and values related to home. An analysis of processes on meso-level makes it possible to see how norms are developed and expressed through the workings of situated social practices and the institutions in society. People may give meaning to and evaluate their lives through an expression of normative values.

As mentioned earlier, Young's (2005) four normative values of home is a helpful example to illustrate this. Preservation, individuation, safety and privacy are all values of home that tell us something about what a home "ought to be". These values for home also affects the ideals for home that people seek to create their dwellings in relation to. In this sense, norms, values and ideals of home are also structural features that the IDPs have to negotiate with through their activities of home-making.

Therefore, this analytical level, the meso-level, can be seen as joining together expressions of norms and normative actions with strategic actions people perform that can be seen as a response to these norms or as constitutive of them. People express and constitute norms while at the same time they choose and apply strategies to negotiate with these structures/norms.

In my analysis I will explore the interplay between structure and agency regarding the IDPs' home-making practices in the Collective Centres. I will see how people experience structural features affecting their home-making and also how they negotiate these structural features through applying their own agency. It is through this conception of the relation of structure and subject that I also will analyse the strategies that people employ in their home-making practices.

Chapter 4: Methodology

In this chapter I will present and assess the methods I applied in my efforts to study the process of privatization of Collective Centres and of home-making among the IDPs who reside within them. Thus I seek to explain my methodological choices, and discuss how these are relevant to the production of knowledge. My methodology is based on a qualitative approach, mainly consisting of the production of data through my own fieldwork, while also applying information from secondary sources.

I will start this chapter by discussing the foundation for knowledge production in qualitative research. Then I will present my fieldwork and discuss the core methods applied. Further on, I will discuss problems and challenges related to carrying out a research project, in particular questions that may arise when doing fieldwork. Lastly I will present how I developed an analytical framework, and discuss how I have carried out the analysis of my data.

Qualitative methodology

The basic purpose in using qualitative methods is to understand social phenomena. This includes efforts to understand parts of the world more or less as they are experienced and understood by people living their everyday lives (Crang & Cook 2007). In this sense a qualitative approach seeks subjective understandings of the world.

This is an approach that facilitates the understanding of peoples life worlds and stories and I argue that a qualitative approach is the most suitable when exploring IDPs' conceptions of home and their experience of the privatization process. Through the use of interviews and observations I have tried to understand how people build homes in the Collective Centres, and how the ongoing privatisation process is affecting their home-making. The concept of home-making cannot be understood in quantitative terms, as it deals with people's practices and emotions and their expression of these. The main attention has been given to how people invest things with meaning and on interpretations and narrations of peoples' own social realities.

As my aim has been to explore the workings of overarching political structures through the state-controlled privatisation process, the information constructed through interviews and observations have been complemented with the analysis of official documents and other secondary sources.

Questions regarding the trustworthiness of social sciences have been continually recurring in the academic debate. The latest years this has also become a part of the public debate especially here in Norway where we have witnessed repeated and insistent claims that social sciences are not really sciences at all. Difficulties with testing and verifying the results that are generated through the use of qualitative methods has led to a disapproval of the science denouncing it for using anecdotal evidence.

When social sciences make use of interviews and hence depend on peoples' personal experiences, there may well be a danger of making claims based on anecdotes. It is important to keep in mind that you don't build sciences on peoples expressions only, and that you cannot draw general conclusions based on what one person has experienced. However, this does not necessitate that collecting people's experiences can't be a foundation for valid knowledge. It is how you go about collecting and

interpreting those data that determine whether the study is credible or not, and it is therefore necessary to discuss and problematise the foundation for your knowledge production. As emphasised by Silverman (2006) work becomes scientific by adopting methods that are appropriate to the subject matter. Social sciences are therefore scientific to the extent that they use appropriate methods, and are rigorous, critical and objective in the handling of data.

An important aspect to this is also the understanding that all knowledge is situated. Knowledge is not something that is waiting to be collected, but rather produced actively by people who are situated in a particular context. Therefore knowledge is always constructed, partial, situated and positioned (Hubbard et al. 2002). Accordingly, research using qualitative or ethnographic methods does not intend to find an absolute truth, but rather involves struggles to produce inter-subjective truths (Crang & Cook 2007). This is to try to understand the ways that people make sense of the world they are experiencing and how they are constructing their own worldviews. The stories that are constructed through the interview are very revealing about how both the informants' and the researchers' lives are entangled in larger social, cultural, economic and political processes. As such, an interview must be considered as co-construction of knowledge where both the informant and interviewer are contributing.

Qualitative and ethnographic research is valid in that it has to make sure to be thorough, rigorous, systematic and convincing. Following Crang & Cook (2007) this can be ensured through the application of the concepts 'theoretical sampling', '-saturation' and '-adequacy'.

Theoretical sampling entails gaining selective access to the appropriate groups of people who are concerned or involved with the research problem. Contrasting the random sampling techniques of statistical research, this approach values the quality and positionality of informants rather than their numbers and representativeness.

Theoretical saturation deals with recognising the range of arguments that are made concerning a particular matter. This involves striving to arrive at a point where you feel that you have understood the range of stories that the people in a community have to tell you.

Related, the concept of theoretical adequacy deals with understanding the context of your study as well as the similarities and differences to other comparable studies. The main idea is to seek out and explore the tensions and commonalities between various approaches to the research problem.

In the following I will elaborate on the efforts I have made to construct valid knowledge.

Assessing the applied methods

Fieldwork

My fieldwork was carried out in Tbilisi, Georgia in the period between June 22nd and August 2nd 2010. During these 6 weeks, I conducted several interviews and observations, all with a qualitative approach. I undertook interviews with organisations such as the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), Danish Refugee Council (DRC) and representatives from the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

I also attended a three-day conference organised by DRC in collaboration with the Georgian Ministry of Internally Displaced Persons from the Occupied Territories, Refugees and Accommodation (MRA). Through this conference I had the opportunity to witness the public debate on the governmental approach to issues concerning IDPs, including the question of housing policies as well as aspects of health, education and work.

Here I was given the chance to hear arguments from both the government and IDP organisations aside, and to get an impression of the underlying conceptualisations shaping the debate on IDPs in Georgia. For instance, this turned out to be very helpful in identifying the different arguments that are commonly used by the different actors.

Further on I carried out a total number of 18 interviews with IDPs, of which the majority were in-depth interviews lasting for approximately 1 to 1 and 1/2 hours. Several of the interviews were also conducted with more than one person present. At one occasion there were 6 persons present, making it a group interview. I visited IDPs

in the Collective Centres where they live, and also conducted observations of the living conditions and everyday relations I experienced there.

Interviewing

Interviewing was one of my core methods. I interviewed representatives from international humanitarian organisations about the governmental strategies towards IDPs, and in particular about the course of action in the privatisation of Collective Centres. I also asked questions about the organisations' own work towards the privatisation process and on questions related to IDPs in general. Further on, I interviewed IDPs about their personal experiences related to the privatisation process, about their relations to house and home, as well as their own perceptions of being IDPs considering the status attached to this both formally through public systems and socially in the wider society.

I chose to do interviews because this is an opportunity to explore peoples' experiences, feelings, opinions and aspirations (Kitchin & Tate 2000). Through interviews people are allowed to explain their views through conversation. Interviewing may also be understood as a complex social experience, and therefore it is important to understand the dynamics of interviewing as well as different strategies for interviewing. The interview strategy I developed was based on several sources, among them Kitchin & Tate (2000) and Crang and Cook (2007).

I conducted my interviews based on an interview guide (see Appendix), allowing the situation to develop in an informal manner into semi-structured conversations. Many of the questions were prepared in advance, but some also occurred as my fieldwork developed and I got a better understanding of the realities on the ground. As I encountered the people concerned with the privatisation process in Georgia directly the process became more comprehensible. This also led to a development and refinement of my research questions and my interview guide. Personally I also mastered the interview setting better as my fieldwork came along and I was gaining more experience and confidence in interviewing.

I intentionally structured my interviews in such a way that the more practical and concrete questions were posed in the beginning of the interview whereas the more personal questions were brought up as the interview setting became more comfortable.

I made my best efforts to pose the same questions to all my informants in order to cover all the themes in all interviews and thus be able to contrast the answers. The sequence of the questions sometimes changed during an interview, as did some of the formulations from time to time. It was important for me to keep a conversational style to the interviews and I believe that this was consequential in the sense that it allowed people to speak more freely and engage in the conversation.

It is necessary to mention that the first few interviews were carried out while I was still not aware of the fact that the Georgian language does not separate between the different meanings of house and home, but uses the same word for both. Having mentioned this, I still think it is possible to draw valid information from these interviews as long as I account for the possible confusion.

One challenge I experienced in particular was tied to the questions concerning the concept of home. Here, I had to explain my questions on several occasions, which was challenging as I tried not to assign my own perceptions onto my informants. This may have affected the answers I received in some ways, but I believe that this is mainly in a positive direction since the more elaborate formulations helped explain the essence of the question in a better way.

I chose to take notes from my interviews instead of recording them. This was a choice I made because I think that a recorder may have inhibited my informants in their elaborations as the privatisation process and the general living conditions for IDPs are highly political and somewhat tense issues. A recorder may have provided me with more elaborate and accurate information, but I still believe that taking notes was sufficient. To make the best of the situation I followed Crang & Cooks' (2007) advice, and made sure to take good notes of how I experienced the interview setting and other observations I considered relevant. I also transcribed the notes from my interviews the same day when I still was able to make the most out of them. This way, I believe that I managed to produce a data set that was sufficient to provide information for the questions I intended to explore.

As Silverman (2007) states, it is important to be aware and critical towards the information you produce through the interview setting. Construction of data is no straightforward and objective process in which the researcher extracts from the informants the information needed. It is wrong to assume that there is always a simple connection between what people say and what they mean or do. It is important to pay attention to the fact that the stories produced in interviews are regulated and created for that particular occasion.

Crang & Cook (2007) also puts emphasis to the importance of understanding interviews as a way in which the researcher and the researched together are constructing intersubjective understandings. New and particular stories and understandings are created through each interview. The interview setting may also be influenced by factors such as power relations, the physical setting or simply by the social interaction between the researcher and the researched. This way, the dynamic of the interview itself is also shaping the knowledge that is constructed. The interview must be understood as a co-construction of knowledge where both the interviewer and the informant are contributing.

For these reasons, applying methods such as observation proves to be a very valuable source of information to complement and substantiate the interviews.

Observation

Observing peoples' actions and conversations is a method that attempts to learn about the meanings behind and attached to behaviour. Observation then assumes that actions are purposeful and expressive of beliefs and values that people carry. One of the major advantages to observation is its directness through watching what people do and say rather than simply asking them about their views and feelings (Kitchin & Tate 2000). This provides a degree of validity as it concentrates upon what people actually do as opposed to what they say they will. Compared to the interview setting, this is data that is produced without the researcher intervening directly or providing some kind of "stimulus" to the respondents (Silverman 2007).

My main sites for observation were the IDP-conference I attended, and of course the Collective Centres I conducted interviews in. Observation enabled me to gain insight into different perceptions of the IDP issue on various levels. Through attending the IDP-conference I was able to witness the official debate emerging through interactions between the ministry, international humanitarian organisations as well as local IDP organisations and representatives. This conference provided very interesting insights into the different perceptions that exist of the Georgian IDP response as well as the variety of opinions on what needs to be done and by whom. Discourses and common arguments employed by the different actors were recognisable, and I was brought up to date on the main debates within short time. Attending the conference was without doubt a useful introduction to the Georgian IDP debate, and it contributed to a great extent to my understanding of the political conditions shaping the privatisation process.

The other main arena for observations was made up of several sites in the different Collective Centres I visited. Through my visits to Collective Centres I was able to make observations of the daily life and practices of IDPs. I had the opportunity to observe directly the material conditions in the Collective Centres, as well as adjustments and improvements made in the individual apartments. Conducting interviews within the IDPs' homes definitely facilitated a wider observation of how they themselves presented and gave meaning to their dwellings. This also enabled an analysis of the relation between the statements people gave regarding their dwellings and the very materiality of these dwellings.

Additionally, the very experience of being in Georgia made it possible for me to engage in the everyday conversations of Georgians and to get an impression of the general public debate in the news media. Walking down the central streets of Tbilisi I witnessed a demonstration in front of a Collective Centre that was sold to a private investor and where the residents were evicted. I also came across demonstrations in front of the parliament. All these formal and informal observations have contributed to my understanding of the general political situation in Georgia as well as issues related to internal displacement.

Use of secondary sources

Secondary sources have also been an important source of knowledge in this research project. Information provided by the government of Georgia, IDMC and organisations like NRC and UNHCR proved to be of particular importance in the early stages of my research, when I was gathering initial information about the privatisation process in Georgian Collective Centres, and the living conditions for Georgian IDPs in general. These sources consist of Internet sites and reports issued by various organisations and governmental bodies. News media, both regional and international have also provided me with important insights in this case.

Using secondary sources, it is important to be aware that this material has been collected by someone else and for different purposes. It is necessary to assume that the data has been shaped by the interest and opinion of those who have constructed it, and hence it must not be considered neutral. Documents issued by the government will have a significantly different approach than the documents issued by for instance UNHCR, as the governments' utterances are tied up in a political context of national sovereignty, whereas the UNHCR may be more concerned with defending the IDPs' universal rights. Both of these sources needs to be understood as coming from somewhere, as having an agenda, and must thus be interpreted thereafter.

It is important to consider who has written the document and why, as all documents in some way must be considered to be subjective and representing a point of view. Therefore, assessing a document's authenticity, credibility, representativity and meaning becomes of paramount importance (Kitchin & Tate 2000). This means that it is important to assess the objectivity of a source, to consider its accuracy, to ask oneself whether there are other significant sources that need to be consulted, as well as how a particular source can be interpreted. These are all issues that have been important for me to keep in mind when making use of secondary sources.

Challenges and reflections

Selection of informants

I chose to limit my selection of informants to only conducting interviews in Tbilisi. Even though the internally displaced population is distributed over all the regions of the country and particularly in the bordering areas towards Abkhazia and South-Ossetia, it is in the capital that the privatisation process first was set about. I also chose to stay in Tbilisi due to the limited time I had for conducting fieldwork, and focused my attention towards understanding the situation in Tbilisi.

There may have been advantages to travelling to other areas as well, in order to compare the situation in the capital with more remote areas, or areas that have a larger concentration of IDPs and where the living conditions may be different. This mainly concerns the areas in western Georgia, around the cities of Zugdidi and Kutaisi.

However, as I chose the privatisation process as my main focus, I decided to stay in Tbilisi because this is the area where I would be able to access most information about the privatisation process itself. In Tbilisi I also had a greater possibility to encounter IDPs who had gone through privatisation or who were currently considering it. This way I expected to gain more information about the actual workings of the privatisation process as experienced by IDPs.

The selection of the Collective Centres happened on the basis of a list I received from the Danish Refugee Council. In their work with monitoring the privatisation process they had developed a list with information including the size and location of Collective Centres as well as the amount of privatized and non-privatized apartments in each centre. Based on this list I tried to choose Collective Centres of different sizes and in different locations within the city of Tbilisi.

Further on I wanted to interview some families who had gone through privatisation as well as some who had not yet privatised. I also tried to find families who had actively chosen not to privatise, but this proved to be difficult. Several of my informants told me that they knew about people who had chosen to wait for a better option, but I did not manage to interview any of these. This may have been an interesting aspect to add to the analysis, which unfortunately I was not able to implement.

On my visits in the Collective Centres I mainly selected informants at random, walking around knocking on doors in an undirected manner. As happened most of the times we were invited in for coffee, and people were very willing to talk. Also, the advice I received from most of the people and organisations I met with, was to venture into the Collective Centres and see what I found.

At several occasions I was directed further by my informants, and often taken to the leader of the condominium who was the person involved with the government concerning the privatisation process. I believe that this selection of informants meets Crang & Cook's (2007) standards of theoretical sampling mentioned at the beginning, in that my informants were qualified and well positioned in relation to the questions I wanted to explore.

Using an interpreter

Using an interpreter was a new experience to me, and proved to be an interesting challenge as much as it was a very valuable door opener. My interpreter was a girl my age that I already knew before arriving in Georgia. This was a great advantage, as the communication between the two of us was very good. As this was my first experience working with an interpreter, the road was made as we were walking, and it is my impression that we developed a way of working together that was efficient and comfortable.

When conducting interviews through the help of an interpreter, there is a risk that some information may get lost in the translation. I had the impression that my interpreter was quite experienced with the work she did, having previous experience with translation as a journalist in international news media. We made an agreement that she would translate as accurate as possible the words the informants used. Taking this into consideration I believe that my transcribed notes are good reflections of my informants' expressions and I have therefore chosen to use quotations in my analysis.

I tried to ask my questions directly to the informants, and to listen and keep contact when the informant was answering. This way, I tried to make sure that the interpreter was the medium facilitating a conversation between the informant and me.

From time to time it happened that the interpreter had to clear up things, particularly regarding cultural specific information. Based on her previous experience from interpretive work, it was my impression that she had a good sense of when this was necessary, for instance when people were saying things that I had no preconditions to understand given my Norwegian background.

Having shared the experience of the interview setting, it also became natural to spend some time talking about the doings of the day including how each of us had experienced the interviews. This proved to be very useful and of great importance to my research. After a couple of interviews, as we were discussing how the informants responded to the questions, I made an important discovery. I had noticed how some people found it strange that I asked if they considered this their home, their response being "of course this is my home, this is where I live".

After discussing this I discovered that house and home is the same word in Georgian, and I had to find a way to explain the difference between the two so that my informants would understand what I was really asking. My interpreter also told me that this was a challenge for her, and I realised that I had to explain some of my theoretical approaches so that she would also understand what kind of information I was seeking.

This situation could have been avoided if I had understood at an earlier point that it was necessary to explain to my interpreter some of the nuances I was looking for, and to introduce her to some of the theoretical concepts I was interested in, and not just the overarching goals for my research. However this was a very useful experience showing the importance of good communication between the researcher and the interpreter.

As a result of this discovery we agreed to reformulate some of the questions, and to ask the informants what they thought about the difference between house/home as a shelter, a physical structure, and house/home as a place of emotional attachment where you feel "at home". Judging from the answers I received this had a good effect, leading to more elaborate answers as the informants got a better impression of what I was looking for.

My interpreter also had an important role in facilitating the negotiation of my role in the field. My experience was that she was very good at negotiating access to informants, and that she gave a good introduction of my work when approaching people. Her previous experience from different news media as both interpreter and journalist was certainly an advantage in this matter. It is my opinion that I was very lucky to have such a socially competent interpreter.

Reflexivity and ethical considerations

Choosing a situated approach to knowledge production involves an understanding that all sorts of knowledge are social constructions. Recognising this, it is necessary to apply a reflexive approach to research, since knowledge is produced through the interaction between people who are situated in a specific context. As a researcher it is necessary to reflect upon how you go about constructing knowledge. Qualitative research is a process that can easily be influenced by norms, expectations and power relations (Dowling 2000).

In relation to this, ethical considerations become highly relevant. Formal ethical questions relate to the protection of the privacy of those who are interviewed. The issue of confidentiality is important, meaning that you should not reveal private details about individuals (Dowling 2000). Out of consideration for this, I have made pseudonyms for all my informants and I have been careful not to reveal other pieces of information that could make the individuals recognisable.

Further on, another formal ethical question is the one of informed consent. This means that as far as possible, you should always explain to your informants what you are doing and how you intend to use the information they provide. At the start of each interview, I explained who I was, and that I was doing interviews for my master thesis on IDPs and their living conditions and in particular the privatisation of Collective Centres. I was careful to explain that the information I received through the interview was only going to be used for this purpose, and that I was not going to reveal their names or any other information that could identify them.

However, reflecting upon formal ethical questions is not always sufficient as we encounter the real world (Dowling 2000). What may be suitable in one situation may not be appropriate in another situation and you will always have to make your own assessments based on the specific situation. This is also recognised by Crang & Cook (2007) separating between two layers of research ethics. The first layer consists of the formal ethical questions that comprise the broad and fixed principles such as informed consent and confidentiality. The other layer is made up of those questions that arise from the everyday encounters experienced throughout the research process.

As a way of addressing the difficulties posed by practical ethical considerations arising in research, Dowling (2000) suggests the concept of critical reflexivity. This concept entails that you always have to be attentive to how you, being the researcher, may affect the research process. It is necessary to critically assess your own actions as if they were your objects of study.

Paying attention to power relations in research is important in this respect. This is where we touch upon issues of ethics and representation. The researcher is responsible for how the people being researched are represented and needs to assess the impact this may have on the informant's lives in the future. The power to represent lies in the researchers hands. Dowling (2000) stresses that you should always ask yourself whether what you are doing or writing has been carefully thought through or if you are strengthening stereotypes, as well as whether you are representing the things you were expecting to find instead of what you have actually heard and seen. These are considerations I have been careful to keep in mind throughout the research process. However, acknowledging that the construction of data happens through inter-subjective meetings, we may also understand the process as a co-construction of knowledge. This involves recognition of the informants' power to structure and narrate their stories in the ways they wish.

The informants may choose to emphasise or leave out different sides of their stories of various reasons not known to the researcher. Some informants may have an interest of portraying the situation in a specific way, or may also be influenced by norms and expectations in society. Telling someone about your experiences is not just emptying your mind but organising a tale, as Silverman (2007) points out. Experiences and

stories are therefore carefully regulated things invested with power to include or exclude different aspects.

Yet another ethical issue is the fact that my informants did not gain anything from providing me with their information. There are no clear-cut answers to this, as is the case with many other practical ethical considerations. However, I tried to express my genuine interest in the issues and problems concerning the internally displaced population in Georgia as well as my gratitude for the time my informants spent sharing their stories and opinions with me.

It is in these kinds of situations, when you are recognising and negotiating power relations that the concept of critical reflexivity becomes important. As it is impossible to entirely remove the power dimensions from research, the best way to deal with power relations is by being aware, trying to understand, and to relate to them in a way that is both critical and reflexive (Dowling 2000). I made my best efforts to critically assess the power relations that were present at different stages of my research including my fieldwork as well as the process of writing.

Analysis of data

The field is here and now, not there and then, argues Hyndman (2001). Although having returned from fieldwork to put into action the analysis of the data, I have not completely left the field. Rather the relations and experiences that developed in the field have followed me home and become part of me. Writing up and analysing the data that I constructed in Georgia is therefore part of the same process. The field is both here and there it is a continuum in time and place. Throughout this research project I have always been in the field.

Similarly, as is also emphasised by Crang and Cook (2007) the research process can't be neatly described as a "reading-doing-writing-process" where you first read about your research topic, then go out in the field to conduct your research while at last you return to your desk to write up your material. Research does not happen in such a clear and simple way but rather in a chaotic and messy way in which the different

parts of the process are repeated again and again. We analyse all the time as we read and as we construct data. Analysis is not a separate stage that takes place in detached space but rather it is a connected and connective process.

However, for the sake of clarity I will try to describe the steps I have taken to order my data material so I could develop a convincing analytical narrative. As I already mentioned, I rewrote my notes from all my interviews within short time after conducting them. This way I could get as much and as accurate information as possible written down while I could remember it. This is also why I believe I produced a data set that is qualified for use of quotations. In addition to this I also made comments on the interview setting through writing field notes from each day conducting interviews. I also spent some time writing down observations from the Collective Centres. It is through the comparison of several different sources I have carried out the analysis of my data.

Many themes and categories are already developed very early in the research process through the making and refinement of research questions. As such, the analytical strategies are developed throughout the entire research project. The main categories I started out with were also broadly defined in both the research questions and my interview guide. These first 3 main categories were "home", "privatisation" and "IDP-status". Further on I developed under-categories for each of these very broad categories. The category "home" was soon divided into two separate categories where one was identifying "norms, values and ideals" and the other identified "material aspects of home", which resulted in two separate analysis chapters.

Through the reading and re-reading of all my transcripts categories developed, some were deleted others refined. I coded my transcripts according to the categories made. I also sorted my codes manually into separate documents while retaining the original transcripts. This way I could compare the individual statements with each other while at the same time I could also move from the category back to the source in order to understand the sequence in which a statement was made.

This process was also influenced by theoretical developments, as I read new texts and expanded my understandings of the theoretical perspectives. New categories emerged as my frame of reference widened. This can be described as a process of moving back

and forth between theory and analysis where each of them were developed simultaneously.

One can see my analytical work as a combination between different approaches as presented by Thagaard (2002) in that it has elements of discourse and narrative analysis as well as a theme-centred approach focusing on the contents of the collected data. In analysing the norms, values and ideals for home I have explored how people have expressed themselves about both past and present homes as well as their imaginaries of home. This can be seen as an analysis of how people interpret their own reality as well as the conceptions and ideas they hold.

It is also important to be aware that the analysis of data brings up certain ethical dilemmas in that the informants may conceive the theoretical perspective as estranging in relation to the understanding they have of their own situation. Describing other people's lives is an ambigouous endeavour. The flexibility in qualitative research involves that the researcher initally can't know what the analysis may lead to or which perspectives will give the most relevant interpretation of data (Thagaard 2002).

Finding a solution to problems like these are difficult. However, as suggested by Thagaard (2002) one way of relating to this is to seek to acheive a nuanced theoretical understanding, as depth and nuance in theoretical perspectives can open the door for attending to both the informants' self-perceptions as well as the academic relevance.

In discussing this issue it is also useful to return to Crang and Cook's (2007) concepts of 'theoretical sampling', '-saturation' and '-adequacy'. As I have mentioned, I believe that my study meets the standards of 'theoretical sampling' in that my informants were well positioned and qualified to explore the questions I have raised. Concerning the 'theoretical saturation' of my study, I believe that to a certain extent I have managed to recognise the range of stories of how IDPs have experienced the privatisation process as well as an understanding of the general premises for home-making within the Collective Centres. Although my study is based on elaborate interviews, it tells the tales of only 18 households and therefore it is not applicable to the entire IDP population. However, I believe that my analysis is sufficient in that it gives some insights into how home-making is enabled and constrained within the Collective Centres in the context of privatisation, and that these insights are also supported by

relevant theoretical understandings. This is also central to the 'theoretical adequacy' of this study, as I have put effort into understanding the context of my research while I have also made use of other comparable studies in my analysis. Altogether, I believe that this study provides relevant and valid knowledge on the issues I seek to explore.

Chapter 5: Making home in a Collective Centre

Home-making practices

Interviewing internally displaced persons in Collective Centres also meant visiting people in their homes. As this made me a guest in their homes, I was equally treated. Almost all the interviews were supplemented by either coffee or ice cream or watermelon often served with both napkins and cutlery. Some also offered liquor and made toasts for their country and for their guest during the interview. The host seemed to make an effort in receiving guests in a 'proper' way. Understanding the welcoming of guests as a home-making practice can tell us something about what kind of expectations people have towards a home and what it should be. My informant "Rita" may be an illustrative example in this manner.

When inviting us into her home she offers us coffee and at the same time she makes excuses for herself not being able to welcome us the way she would like to.

> "I would like to be more hospitable, but I simply don't have any more to offer" ("Rita").

She makes an excuse for not receiving us in a 'proper' way, explaining later that she would like to have another room for receiving guests, and that she is not at all happy about receiving us in her combined bedroom/dining room/ living room.

> "All families should have separate living rooms and bedroom. It's not normal to eat, sleep, and watch TV, all in one room. If I have guests I would like to have a separate room where I could welcome them." ("Rita")

The dwelling she is currently living in does not equal the standards she applies to a 'proper' home, and she wishes that she could welcome us differently if only she had the possibility.

This example gives us certain ideas of how a home is often considered a valued and personal space saturated with feelings, ideals, norms and values. Your home can be

seen as an expression of who you are to the outside world, and it is therefore also a place of negotiation of identity and status. This leads us to an understanding of home as something that must be created and nurtured. In the following I want to explore how IDPs are establishing homes in their apartments in Collective Centres through a closer examination of the expressions they gave of past and present homes as well as the activities they pursue in and around their dwelling that makes them become homes. I want to look into how this is also related to expectations of what a home is or what it should be, and also to discuss what is considered homely and unhomely homes. In the context of Collective Centres that may not be considered to be ideal places for making homes in the first place, I will look at how people still engage in home-making practices.

"Rita's" expressions serves as an example of how people engage with issues of home-making. Statements like hers show how the IDPs in Collective Centres create ideas of home through expressions of normative values of what they consider a home, and how they would want their home to be. As well as analysing the statements that people give regarding their dwelling, the physical surroundings such as interiors, decorations and the modifications that the people have made in the apartments in Collective Centres will also be discussed. A combination of these perspectives may be a key to a comprehensive understanding of how people engage in activities of establishing homes within the Collective Centres.

In analysing the conditions for the home-making activities in Collective Centres, I will use Holm Nielsens (2001) model as a starting point for applying the concepts of structure and agency. Through the help of this model I will try to identify the structures that IDPs have to negotiate with, as well as analysing their agency towards these structures. I will analyse what I believe to be the opportunities and constraints for home-making within the Collective Centres, as well as the rules and resources that influence these practices. Further I will try to explore how people strategise upon the possibilities and limitations provided by the physical and social structures they experience.

Home-making in Collective Centres: Part 1: Imagining homes

Homely and unhomely homes

Following Blunt and Dowling's (2006) conceptualisations of "homely" and "unhomely" homes, the Collective Centres in Tbilisi where the IDPs live may be understood as unhomely in the sense that most of them were not originally made for spending family lives. Among the Collective Centres I visited were several former student dorms, former office buildings, schools and hospitals. Their long-standing status as temporary dwellings is another feature of their "unhomeliness". These buildings were initially not meant to become homes at all, but have little by little developed into more permanent settlements as years have been passing by. With the privatization of collective centres these buildings are now expected to become permanent dwellings. Still, privatization in itself cannot be expected to automatically transform the dwellings into homes that people feel emotionally attached to, or where they feel "at home", as this is a process people have to engage in through the active performance of home-making practices. As will become clear through this part of the analysis, people have been engaging in these kinds of activities throughout the more than 17 years of displacement.

When being asked the question about whether they considered their current dwelling a home, most of my informants were quite unanimous in their expressions of not being happy with the dwelling they resided in. Most of my informants emphasized that they did not choose to settle there, and told me they stayed here only because they did not have anything else. Almost all of my informants expressed that this is not the dwelling they would chose for themselves if they had an option, and that they don't consider their current dwelling an ideal place to live. This leaves us with an image where Collective Centres by and large are considered to be unhomely to begin with.

Only one informant expressed that she was happy to live in the collective centre, and that she would gladly call it her home, in the sense that she feels "at home" there. But then again this was the only person who had actively chosen to move to a Collective Centre two years ago, after living for several years with her family in Russia.

This leaves us with an impression of the Georgian Collective Centres as largely unhomely places, who are not considered ideal for building homes. Still, it is interesting to learn how home-making practices do take place in these unhomely dwellings. It is possible to find the homely amidst the unhomely, which I will return to later. First, I will look into the expressions that people gave about the difference between house and home, and discuss how these statements are expressions of norms and ideals tied to house and home.

The difference between house and home

The construction of homely and unhomely homes is related to the norms, values and ideals people have of home. Homes are understood in relation to ideal constructions of what home should, or should not be. As I discovered that many people largely considered the Collective Centres unhomely, I found it interesting to look further into which norms and ideals they expressed through this. How do they see the difference between house and home, and what would they want for their own dwellings to become more like a home?

As I started to explore the concepts of house and home, and asked my informants how they understood the difference between the two the answers became more elaborate. Many of my informants talked about their dwelling as "just a house", referring to the physical structures, and some were careful to call attention to the fact that they would never feel "at home" as being emotionally attached to the apartment in the Collective Centre.

As one informant told me:

> "This feels like my home now, but then I think of home just as an apartment, not as a proper home." ("Thatia.")

By using the word "proper" when describing what her home is not, she states that this place is not filled with the qualities she would like a home to have. Also, she separates between home as a site, a place were she lives, and home as an imaginary,

something that is imbued with emotions and attachment as is also the difference Blunt and Dowling (2006) suggests.

Between the real and the ideal

Assessments of what is regarded as homely and unhomely is shaped by ideals of what homes should or should not be. Following Somerville (1992) home is therefore an ideological construct. Even though people may not have a home they still have a sense of what it is. The distinction between home as an ideal and home as experience is socially constructed through ideological forms. As Mallet (2004) suggests, homes are experienced in the tension between the real and the ideal. People will always see their dwellings in relation to an ideal for home.

Taking Holm-Nielsens (2001) model into consideration, these ideals are best understood through looking at the meso-level between structure and agency through the interactions between situated social practices performed by subjects, and the Collective Centre as an institution. The ideals for home can be understood as a social structure experienced and created by IDPs, in that they are shaped both by rules and resources. That is where meanings, evaluation and power meet physical environments and experienced social relations. This way we can analyse the statements that IDPs give regarding their dwellings as an outcome of their experiences of the physical environments and social relations within and around the Collective Centres.

Ideals for home were also evident in the IDPs' expressions of what a home should be, or what it would take for their apartment in the Collective Centre to become a home. Some informants contrasts the conditions in the Collective Centre with what they would expect from other "normal" dwellings, stating that the Collective Centres are not welcoming environments for a normal human life.

> "There is a different atmosphere between a CC and a normal dwelling. Here everything is broken and dirty. A normal house has better apartments and better standards. We just want better conditions, like toilets and bathrooms." ("Shorena")

Expressions similar to "Shorena's" were frequent. The limitations posed by the material conditions were often pointed out as a main constraining feature to their acknowledgement of the apartment in the Collective Centre as a home. Most of my informants mentioned improved living conditions as a precondition for calling the apartments their homes. Many pointed at the poor living conditions stating that their apartment would have the potential of becoming a home if only they could get good repairs. This could put their apartments in a state where they could be in keeping with a certain minimum standard of living. As one informant said, she just wanted the conditions for a normal human life.

In particular, many pointed specifically to a wish for having separate rooms for separate activities. Most frequent were wishes for a separate kitchen that was not situated in the living room or the same room that they were sleeping in. Yet another similarly recurring wish was to have a private bathroom within the confines of their own apartment.

Establishing these two factors, a kitchen and a bathroom, would mean that more of the everyday-activities tied to dwelling would be performed in more preferred and suitable surroundings. Understanding this in light of Young's (2005) values for home, it is clear that this would enhance peoples' privacy in performing their everyday activities. Further, one can also say that the designation of separate spaces for separate activities serves as a means for securing the value of individuation in a home. As is stated by Young (2005), individuation concerns the basic activities of life, such as sleeping, eating, bathing and making love. People need stable places that can allow the performance of these activities with basic routine and security.

Further, a common wish that does also fit with the value of individuation was the wish for more and separate bedrooms, so that members of large families wouldn't have to share the same sleeping area. As was also the situation for the majority of my informants, it is common in Collective Centre apartments that several people are sharing the same bedroom. Many people expressed that they would want to have a bedroom for their own and that this would better their living conditions considerably.

This way we can understand the designation of separate spaces for separate activities as an ideal that people have for home. Tied to this ideal we also find values for home such as individuation and privacy. The separation of different activities in different

spaces remains an ideal that people negotiate with in their home-making endeavours. As mentioned earlier, homes are created in the tension between the real and ideal, and with this understanding ideals for home can be seen as structural features both created and negotiated by the IDPs in Collective Centres.

Imagining present homes through the lens of past homes

Moving further in a discussion of home as created in the tension between the real and ideal, as well as the discussion of how homes are established in Collective Centres, yet another perspective concerns how homes are imagined in relation to other temporalities. One can assume that peoples' current imaginaries of home as well as their practices are shaped by past experiences of home as well as their dreams for the future. As emphasised by Ahmed (et al. 2003) making home is about creating both pasts and futures through inhabiting the grounds of the present.

Mallet (2004) argues that the conditions under which people leave their homelands as well as their journeys beyond and away from home and their destinations, all impact upon peoples' identities and their understanding of home. Taking into consideration that the IDPs now living in Collective Centres have lost their former homes due to conflict and flight, it is possible to assume that this experience informs their current perceptions of home. I therefore argue that the experience of domicide, the experience of loosing home or witnessing the destruction of your home can be expected to be largely defining for how people imagine home later on. Having lost a home affects the way people construct and attach themselves to new homes.

To lose a home is to lose something meaningful that extends beyond the material domain. The loss of a home also implies the loss of personalised meanings built around houses and places. Displacement and domicide leads to the loss of whole life worlds, a "modus vivendi" as stated by Tuathail & Dahlman (2006), that is unlikely to be rebuilt just by restoring material property.

The experience of loss is also emphasised when my informants speak of their former homes. One informant also pointed out that even though they didn't own their former

house, they had enough of everything and they were content. Everything was theirs. It was their home.

> "It's not just about the apartment we had there, but all the things we owned, the linen, the dishes, all the things." ("Dedika")

It seems that the issue is the loss of a totality, a whole life world. As another informant stated:

> "We used to have a house, a car and a garden. Then suddenly we had nothing." ("Rita")

Abkhazia is described by most of my informants in somewhat elevated terms. Generally the region used to be very wealthy, and mostly the people living there used to be well off. My informants "Tamar & Ilia" also told me that they used to live with very good standards. They had a garden with citrus trees, and a house so big they could even rent some rooms to other people. They also described how they had a fantastic view of the sea and the city, and that the whole family lived in several houses surrounding the same garden.

Drawing on past experiences of home can therefore be seen as central to how the IDPs are currently imagining home, and the experience of loss does not only involve the material property they have left behind but also the wider social context of the community as well as the social relations that constituted it.

The tales of former homes that people narrated had a general characteristic of including elements of family life. Their former homes were often described as a home for the entire family, and several informants repeated the expression “family house” in describing how they used to live while they were still in Abkhazia.

> "A home is somewhere a family lives. Where you have your loved people. It's a place where you spend childhood." ("Lika")

"Lika" here attributes values tied to family life to home. Mentioning childhood in particular she also suggests that home is a place where belonging has been established over time, and that it is a place where she has childhood memories tied to. As for her personal experience, this is not the case in the Collective Centre she lives in. Expressions like these are examples of normative expressions that are constitutive of

how home is imagined and what it is expected to be. Family seems to be a central value that people associate with home.

My informant "Ani" told me the following:

> "In Sukhumi, I had a house with two floors. We were four sisters living in the same garden, a very big garden. Two houses were already built there, and we had planned for the next two to be built so we could all have our own house. I had even paid a deposit to the bank. Then the war started, and we had to flee." ("Ani")

Also, "Endzela & Tiesa" described that their former home was big enough for almost 30 people and that it was valuable for them to be able to host the whole family. They said that they wish that one day they could be able to host the family again.

It becomes clear through statements like this that practices of living together as a family, such as sharing a garden and hosting family members, is treasured. After displacement this is a way of life that few have managed to sustain or rebuild as it used to be before they had to flee their homes. The largely random settlement in Collective Centres did not allow for this to happen, though many people have managed to settle in the same Collective Centre as other family members. Living together as a family remains an ideal that is valued and remembered through past experience.

Through the analysis of these examples it seems that the internally displaced people's perceptions of home will always be shaped by the experience of domicide and that home will still be imagined through the remembrance of the lost home. As far as one may say that these expressions are based on somewhat idealised notions of home, they nevertheless play important roles in the ways that homes are imagined. As Mallet (2004) argues, homes are created in the tension between the real and ideal, and one can expect that the rather idealised notions of past homes shape the expressions and imaginaries that people create of home.

"Getting used to it"

Another aspect to how the temporal dimension works in relation to peoples' perceptions of home is how a dwelling can develop into a home over time. While on the one hand emphasising their dissatisfaction with the living conditions, some informants on the other hand stated that they had "got used to it" after living in the Collective Centre for almost 17 years, and because of this they could agree to call their apartment their home.

It seems to be a recognisable difference when it comes to the younger informants regarding how they felt "at home" in their new dwellings in the Collective Centres. Having spent the majority of their lives in the Collective Centre, the idealised notion of the lost home does not seem to be as strong as for the older informants.

> "I was five years when we left Abkhazia, I don't remember much of it. This feels like my home now." ("Mariana")

However, this was something that was also mentioned by older informants. When asked the question whether he considers his apartment in the Collective Centre his home, this was the reply:

> "It has been 17 years, how can it not be my home? My daughter was 17 when she left Abkhazia. She has lived here just as long as she lived there. We get used to this too. We adapt to the situation. I left Abkhazia when I was 41, now I am 63. I have lived 1/3 of my life here in Tbilisi." ("Irakli")

Over time he admits that he has become attached to the dwelling he has been residing in for nearly 17 years. This shows that time is also working on peoples' perceptions of home. As stated by Ahmed et al. (2003) it may take some time to feel at home in a place.

However, it may be wrong to expect that time alone has the potential to make a dwelling into a home. Rather, it is the practices of everyday life, the daily doings and social interactions that happen in and around peoples' dwellings that make them home. Time is certainly a factor, but a dwelling also needs to be subject to the active performance of home-making practices. This way the establishment of daily routines and practices over time has the potential to create homes. As Young (2005) argues, recurrence is the temporality of preservation. Over and over again things must be

dusted and cleaned, over and over again the practices of home-making must be repeated in order for a dwelling to become a home.

Taking into consideration that the Collective Centres have been peoples' temporary dwellings for many IDPs for more than 17 years, it is understandable that many people have developed an attachment to their dwellings over time that to greater or lesser degree may have established the Collective Centres as homes. Also, accounting for the problematic question of return, many may have come to terms with the idea that they won't be returning to their former homes at all.

The interplay between structure and agency

As we can see, home is often considered a valued and personal space. Home is both the material structures of a dwelling and an affective space (Stefansson 2006). Homes need to be created and nurtured. They need to be imagined, experienced, interpreted and narrated. This is done through the expressions of norms, values and ideals for home. Collective Centres are initially considered unhomely places not considered ideal for building homes. They are not considered to be "proper" homes. However, the people living in Collective Centres still engage in home-making practices, for instance through the expressions of norms, values and ideals for home. As Somerville (1992) states, homes are also ideal constructs. Following Mallet (2004), homes are experienced in the tension between the real and ideal, and it is in this sense that the ideas of home that people communicate becomes interesting.

Through the lens of the meso-level in Holm-Nielsens model, attention is given to the interplay between institutions and situated social practices. People give meaning to their lives, both things and practices, within the institution of the Collective Centre. Imaginaries for homes are created through the situated social practices of expressing norms, values and ideals for home. This in turn, also affects the Collective Centre as an institution. The institution and the situated social practices are mutually constitutive.

The norms, values and ideals for home are in this sense structural features that people have to negotiate with in their home-making. At the same time the norms, values and

ideals for home are actively constructed through the very statements that people give. This way they must be considered to be both enabling and constraining people in their home-making. House and home can thus bee seen as a meeting point between structure and agency.

A further examination of the relation between situated social practices and institutions in society leads us to the daily lives and social encounters of the Collective Centres to which we will now turn.

Home-making in Collective Centres: Part 2: Daily life and social relations

Social relations as structures for support

It is my impression that relatives and friends in the Collective Centre are sources of great support, both financially and socially. I found many people describing these relations in positive terms. Most people seemed to know the other people living around them in the Collective Centres. In the large collective centres most people knew the people living on the same floor and in the same part of the building as them. After 17 years of living together this may not be very surprising. Social interaction happens on a daily basis. Describing these interactions many people mention that they meet each other in the hallways, they visit each other in their apartments, drink coffee and tea, and "do the normal chit-chatting" as my informant "Endezela" called it. Also, as "Ana" describes it, "this room is like a community house in the evenings. Sometimes we are 10 persons or more here".

An old woman who was selling fruits and vegetables on the ground floor of a quite large Collective Centre described it this way:

> "We socialise in an informal way. We meet each other in the hallways, we talk, and we drink coffee. I sit here by the entrance in my shop all day, and talk to everyone who passes by. Everyone knows who I am, and I know everybody. People stop by and talk." ("Khatia")

Another elderly woman living in a small Collective Centre, "Rita", talks about how she socialises with other people, telling me that people come by all the time, and that they spend a lot of time together, both in the hallways and in the back yard where they have a nice garden. "If people don't come by, if you don't have people around you, what's the meaning of life?" says "Rita". The importance of having close social relations is evident.

This shows us that people build social relations around their dwellings, and use the dwelling as a meeting point for social practices that also can be described as home-making practices, such as hosting guests and interacting with neighbours.

Many of the IDPs in the Collective Centres have relatives either in the same building, or living nearby. Living close to other relatives is described as a source of great

support, and in many cases this is the reason why people have made efforts to settle in that particular Collective Centre in the first place. Those who have relatives living close by tell me that they visit them often, explaining that these relations are important to them.

Her sister living on the first floor, "Kata" says "it is good to feel that someone is living close by who can help you." Through her statements, it becomes clear that it's not only about financial help and support, but also about the practical and moral support. "...you know that they are always behind you, that they are always supportive". Receiving help in the daily practices is also important.

> "Today, for instance, I am going on a picnic, and my neighbour helps me to make some food. So, as you see, it's not necessarily the money that is the most important, but helping each other out." ("Kata")

The help "Kata" receives from others in the Collective Centre extends beyond the monetary domain, and includes a broader sense of support.

This is also described by "Ani" who has 3 sisters living in the same building. When talking about sources of support and help she mentioned her sisters as important persons for taking care of her baby if she had to go out, and also for helping her out financially. Others also mention moral and financial support for funerals, birthdays and other important events. "Khatias" statement is also illustrative in this sense:

> "when someone has a rough time, we talk with each other. When someone needs support, we give it to them. We help each other out, and share our emotions." ("Khatia")

This leads us to an understanding of the social networks within the Collective Centres as important structures for support. These relations are definitely valuable to many people, and it is possible to find that a sense of unity among IDPs living in Collective Centres is developing from this. IDPs in Collective Centres have a shared history of flight, they have been subject to many of the same sufferings, and as they live side by side they still face many of the same problems. I also found many of my informants giving expressions of this. My informant "Rita" stated it this way:

> "Everyone here in the Collective Centre have the same experiences. We have the same problems." ("Rita")

The shared understanding of what everyone is going through can lead to a sense of unity.

Considering social support structures as an aspect of home, we can understand that establishing this element is a way people are building homes. Following Young (2005), social structures of support may also be seen as a way of establishing safety and stability, as is also a value for home.

However, a possibly constraining aspect to this may be the quality of the social networks that the IDPs build in the Collective Centre. As is pointed out in a study carried out among IDPs in Tbilisi, the social support structures may not always be strong enough to actually be supportive (Singh & Robinson 2010). This particular research suggests that the connections that IDPs develop are too weak to be meaningful. The researchers also point out that the rebuilding of strong social support system is hindered by the disruption produced by displacement as well as the felt or real impermanence of living situations.

We need to be aware that considering the social relations that develop within a Collective Centre as social structures of support only, does not show the full picture. It is important to also account for the deviant experiences of living in a Collective Centre. Insofar as the social networks may serve as a source of support, the social experiences of living in a Collective Centre may be various, also including negative aspects particularly in relation to privacy, as we will turn to now.

Home and privacy in Collective Centres

Many Collective Centres have shared facilities in the corridors for cooking, and shared bathrooms, often one for each floor. This brings people very close together in their daily routines, something that may also have negative consequences. Several informants complained about having to line up in the corridors for showers, having to prepare their meals in the hallways and washing their dishes in the shared bathroom.

Living on limited space, so close to other people may therefore also be a source of distress.

Following Young's (2005) conception of privacy as issue of controlling the access to one's living space as well as meaningful things and personal information, this is an issue that becomes highly relevant in the low-standard, inconvenient and sometimes over-crowded apartments in Collective Centres. Understanding privacy as the right to originate and control one's contact with others, Collective Centres may serve as an arena where the IDPs' ability to choose and to control this is heavily restricted.

One woman described to me the stress she experienced by living so close to people with serious mental problems due to their experiences of war and flight. The fact that they were so many people living together in the same building, with no doors that could be shut between the apartments, and with only thin blankets in the doorways, led to people feeling distressed.

> "We live so close to everyone here. There is no privacy, no private life. Everyone here is very emotional because of the war trauma. In normal houses you can have your own private life. If you don't like someone you can close the door. And you can keep away from the people who are distressed. When you are around people who are like this, you become aggressive and very distressed yourself." ("Tamar")

Through her story she describes the downsides to living together with other IDPs, showing us how the social relations within the Collective Centre may also be a negative force as well as a source of great support. It works both ways, and has the possibility to bring about a sense of unity as well as a sense of despair.

The importance of having control over admission to one's personal space and its contents is a central feature for privacy and a value for home (Young 2005). It is evident that this may be lacking in many of the Collective Centres, as people may not always be able to choose to be alone, or to originate and control the contact with other people. Neither do they always have the full control of what kind of information they wish to share with others, as the Collective Centres in many cases are transparent places in the sense that everyone knows what is going on. As one informant stated it:

> "Everyone knows everyone here. Nothing is hidden, private or invisible." ("Lika")

The shared facilities for cooking and shared toilets and bathrooms in the Collective Centres, as well as the lack of doors are all aspects that have negative repercussions for peoples' privacy. It is possible to suggest that the lack of privacy is further exacerbated in the Collective Centres because of the lack of choice regarding the control of one's contact with others. Others, who share the same experience of flight and deprivation, always surround people and they have to live with both the positive and negative sides to this.

Following Young (2005), I will also argue that there are certain values associated with home that should be made available to everyone. This especially concerns the right to control over access to one's person and personal space. It is reasonable to expect that at least in your own home you should be able to be in control. In this sense privacy also relates to agency in that the ability to control your private space is determined by how you manoeuvre within the structures consisting both of social and physical surroundings.

Opportunities and constraints in the everyday life of Collective Centres

The social structures of Collective Centres both have enabling and constraining features, as we can see. The support and unity that many people experience through living in Collective Centres are positive features to the life in dwellings designated for the internally displaced. The shared stories along with the shared sense of unity may well enable and facilitate the establishment of Collective Centres as homes. A positive utilization of the social relations in Collective Centres can provide people with important structures of support. This can also be an enabling factor to the fulfilment of peoples' ideals for homes in making it a safe place where one also has supportive social networks. Opportunities for home-making can be found in the positive aspects of the social structures built around Collective Centres.

Still, there are major negative implications brought upon for instance peoples' privacy by the poor living standards of the often dilapidated and neglected buildings used for

housing the internally displaced. The low standards of the Collective Centres, along with shared facilities for cooking as well as shared bathrooms have serious repercussions for the wellbeing of the residents. The lack of control and ordering of one's own affairs is therefore heavily constraining people in their home-making efforts.

Home-making in Collective Centres: Part 3: The materiality of home

The physical structures surrounding people in their everyday lives have strong repercussions for the way people are able to lead their lives and make their homes. A closer examination of how people have worked to decorate and modify the physical structures of the Collective Centres gives an interesting picture of the practices they have employed in their home-making endeavours. In this part of the analysis I will address the strategic actions that people perform in relation to the normative actions constituting ideals for home as discussed earlier. The structural constrains on home-making imposed by the physical structures of Collective Centres will also be addressed, as well as the interrelation between status, identity and dwelling.

As is argued by Mallet (2004), home is a "socio-spatial system" that represents the fusion of the physical unit of the house and the social unit of the household. Social relations are produced within physical environments. This way, the physical aspects of the home, including the location, design, and the size of the home, have the potential to both enable and constrain different relationships and patterns of action (Mallet 2004). As such, the material structures of Collective Centres must also be seen to affect home-making in terms of both enabling and constraining it.

Modification of dwellings as a home-making practice

The concept of home-making practices implies that home is something that is actively created. Following Ahmed et al. (2003) this consists of the making of affective qualities of home, in close relation to the concrete materiality of objects and other physical components. People's ability to influence and shape the conditions they are living under becomes important in this sense. Modification of the physical surroundings is thus an important aspect of homemaking.

Miller (1988) adds a useful perspective to this analysis of the modification of physical structures within the Collective Centres. In his research of a London Council Estate he analyses how people have modified their dwellings, stating that this is done through engaging into creative strategies of consumption to appropriate the

apartments that they have not created themselves. The process of appropriation is seen as a process in which initially alienating structures are transformed into inalienable culture through consumption. Therefore I argue that modification of physical structures can be understood as a home-making practice. People appropriate their dwellings in the Collective Centres into personal spaces through making changes that have the potential of transforming their dwellings into homes.

Considering the limited space provided by the Collective Centres the possibilities of making improvements seem to be quite restricted. People are confined to the very few square metres that were not initially made for spending family life. Several families live in dwellings that consist of only one or two rooms where all the activities of family life are performed. Despite the limitations the creativity to the modifications is remarkable.

The way people had partitioned their rooms was a particularly striking feature. Families who had only one room made use of curtains and lining walls to separate the bed from the kitchen table for instance so that during daytime the sleeping area would be disclosed from the rest of the room. Making beds into sofas during daytime was also a strategy. Another strategy was to demarcate a separate space for preparing meals by making something that looked like an improvised replacement for a kitchen top along one of the short walls or in a corner.

Noting that a central ideal is to have separate spaces for different activities such as cooking, eating and sleeping, this improvised demarcation may be seen as a strategy applied to satisfy this ideal. This largely corresponds with the idea of individuation as a value for home as suggested by Young (2005) describing that there is often an effort to allocate separate spaces for people within dwellings. I will also argue that this is valid for the demarcation of separate spaces for different activities. Even where this is not possible it nevertheless remains an ideal, and it seems that people make their best efforts to fulfil it.

There were differences as to how extensive the modifications were. Some people had changed the wallpapers or painted the walls, changed the floorboards, and a few had even managed to build their own kitchen and toilet inside the apartment. However, such investments posed a risk for those who had not yet privatised their apartments

and therefore many of these people did not dare to take that risk. As such the lack of ownership is a constraining feature to peoples' home-making.

Some of my informants had also managed to improve their own living conditions by seizing another room in the Collective Centre so they could have two rooms, where for instance one could serve as kitchen and/or living room whereas the other could serve as a bedroom. It was my impression that these people had managed to do this out of their own efforts, and succeeded because they were lucky and because the allocation of apartments was not always strictly controlled by the state when the internally displaced populations first arrived and started to occupy state owned buildings 17 years ago. Those informants, who had managed to expand their apartments or to acquire an extra room, had had to struggle for it and assert their right to an extra room within the Collective Centre.

However, not everyone succeeded in seizing another room, and someone was actively hindered from doing so by official bodies. Both "Shorena" and "Ani" had made investments to clean and renovate rooms that were not used in the Collective Centres, but were restricted from going through with their plans because the state officials did not allow them to.

Home: a visible and spatial personal space

Following Young (2005) the preservation and making of a home can be a meaningful project. Contrary to what many feminists have criticized as oppressive domestic work, Young (2005) states clearly that giving meaning to individual lives through the preservation and arrangement of things in a home is an essentially valuable and irreplaceable part of homemaking. Assumptions that home-making consists of housework is based on a too narrow definition of the idea of home. Home must be considered personal in a visible and spatial sense.

As is argued by Young (2005), things are used to personalise properties, which do not belong to the occupants. The things that people surround themselves with are important markers of their personality thus making their apartment a personal space.

Examples of this were also found in the dwellings in the Collective Centres. Most of the dwellings I visited showed signs of long-term habitation, as people apparently had made efforts to make their living spaces as comfortable as possible over the years. Though the standards in the apartments were generally low, most people had acquired basic things such as beds, chairs and tables, cups and plates, maybe a kettle and a fridge. Also, many of the apartments were neatly decorated with photos and other ornaments. The things in the apartments were well organised despite the limited space and poor conditions provided by the building.

Tolia-Kelly (2004) also argues that objects can play an important role in the creation of new identities post-migration. In her study of South Asian migrants' homes she explores how material objects such as photos and pictures allow embodied connections to past homes. The objects from past homes can therefore be an important part of the creation of new homes after displacement. Situated in a different context, these things have the ability to make the experience of displacement present in the new homes of the internally displaced.

Some of my informants had also managed to bring items from their former homes in Abkhazia to their current apartments in Tbilisi. While very few had managed to bring anything except some clothes and possibly a family album when they fled during the war, there were examples of people who had managed to return temporarily after the war during periods of calm and enter their homes to collect some of their belongings.

Some had pictures of their former homes hanging on the wall, while other had managed to bring furniture such as cupboards and beds. Nearly everyone had at least one item in their new home that connected them to their former homes in Abkhazia. In this way, the experience of domicide has a material manifestation in their new homes thus making the migratory experience present.

This also gives us some indications to the importance of preservation in home-making. As Young (2005) argues, this concerns the right to safeguard and protect the meaningful things in which one sees the stories of oneself embodied. This may also be seen in relation to the concept of "regrounding" as presented by Ahmed et al. (2003). This concerns the process of re-attaching oneself to new places, and shows how past experience is also shaping the present through material manifestations. As argued by Tolia-Kelly (2004), the experience of re-settlement involves the creation of

a space where history, heritage and identity are inscribed in those few home possessions either carried with them on the journey, or acquired since their arrival. The past homes are present in the new homes, once again showing us that home exist through several temporalities. Still, we need to be aware that home as the materialisation of identity does not fix identity, but rather anchors it in physical being that creates a continuity between past and present (Young 2005)

As we have touched upon earlier, Young (2005) argues that recurrence is the temporality of preservation. Over and over again things must be dusted and cleaned, and over and over again the practices of home-making are repeated thus having the potential of transforming a dwelling into a home. The activities of preservation knit together today and yesterday and integrate new events and relationships into the narrative of a life, the biography of a person, a family or a people (Young 2005). Still, this does not mean that things have a meaning in themselves. The meaning needs to be created and assigned to the material objects. Young (2005) states that the confusion between acts and the level of immanence is perhaps understandable, because so many activities of domestic work are both simultaneously. "The homemaker dusts the pieces to keep away what is annoying her sinuses, but at the same time she keeps present what the objects remember or signifies." (Young 2005: 143)

It is through the recurrence of everyday activities and the continuous ordering and reordering of things that homes are made. The work of preservation entails not only keeping physical objects intact, but also of renewing their meaning in people's lives.

However, as Young (2005) states, we should not romanticize the activities of preservation. Preservation is also ambiguous as the difficult stories of loss and deprivation caused by displacement is visible in the dwellings of the internally displaced.

Modification and identification: "It's mine because I worked on it"

As we have seen, home displays the things persons surround themselves with that support their life activities and somehow reflects events and values in their lives (Young 2005). Coming to feel "at home" in a place occurs through the processes of interaction between bodily movements and actions, and the material structures people pursue their activities within. As Young (2005) argues, home can therefore serve as a material anchor for a sense of agency.

Following both Young (2005) and Miller (1988) preservation, modification and appropriation of a dwelling is important for the meanings and emotions people invest their homes with.

> "It has become my home now because I have changed everything myself." ("Irakli")

This statement is illustrative for how some people have come to consider the apartments in the Collective Centres their own homes. The attachment to the dwelling has developed because they have been able to modify the spaces they were living in into a place where they feel "at home". This is also visible in other statements:

> "It is mine because I worked on it!" ("Khatia")

> "Everything here is from my own mind. The design, the furniture... I made it myself." ("Lika")

> "I have recaulked the walls, repainted everything and put up wallpaper. It is especially difficult when you have created something yourself, and then it is taken away from you. It has already happened once, and I don't want it to happen again. It affects you emotionally when you have to leave something that is yours. You don't want to experience that again." ("Irakli")

Considering that the Collective Centres are often buildings of very low standards, the ability of doing something about their poor living conditions must be seen as very important for how people are able to build homes and to attach themselves to the dwellings. Those who have managed to make modifications and to alter the poor material conditions they are living in are also those who express the strongest sense of attachment to their dwellings, and who calls them their homes. Following Young

(2005) it is possible to say that home has thus become a material sense of agency for these people.

It is evident that people create homes through the appropriation and modification of their dwellings as well as preservation of the things they surround themselves with. These aspects of home-making must therefore also be considered critical values for home.

However, the ability to make modifications and alter the unsatisfactory living conditions then depends on the resources that people have available for making these modifications. This could either be resources in terms of having a job that provides money or social networks such as friends or relatives that can provide them with other kinds of support. Therefore it is interesting to see how some are constrained and some are enabled in their home-making judging from their possibilities to make modifications. It is clear that the people, who are employed and therefore have access to financial resources that have helped them modify their dwellings, generally are more satisfied with their dwellings. Besides this, some people have received help from family, neighbours or other persons in their social network to acquire furniture and to make repairs. This way social networks are also important in facilitating home-making.

However, people who are unemployed and who lack substantial social networks are heavily constrained in their home-making as their ability to alter their unsatisfactory living conditions are limited. Unemployment remains an especially pressing issue for displaced people, as they are expected to have experienced a higher rate of unemployment in comparison with the general population (Amnesty International 2010). The overall unemployment rate in Georgia in 2009 was 16.9 %, and while there are no official segregated statistics available for internally displaced people, Amnesty International (2010) states that most recent surveys suggest that they suffer from a higher rate of unemployment than the general population. Out of the 18 households I interviewed, there were 9 who had access to income through employment of at least one person, while 9 had no employed members of the household and thereby had to rely on the help of others besides the monthly allowance of 22 lari provided by the government.

The material has agency

Through what has been stated home may be understood as a means of agency and an expression of social relations as well as personal identification. People in the Collective Centres have used different strategies in order to manoeuvre within structures as well as exercising agency towards their homes. Homes then, are seen as the outcome of peoples' agency. However, as Miller (2001) reminds us, there is another side to the coin: that quite often people are not the agents that create the material environment that becomes the medium of representation in the first place. Sometimes, the material structures may have a constraining impact on people in such a way that they may appear as having their own agency. Referring to his study of a Council Estate in London in 1988, he describes how some people came to feel "haunted" by their homes due to the lack of ability to make changes in their dwellings. This lack of agency was exacerbating a feeling of oppression by their homes.

When it comes to the question of how the physical structures of the apartments in the Collective Centres restrict people I discovered that many IDPs experienced difficulties with family expansions due to the limited space provided. While some people were stuck in their apartments without the possibility to house more family members, those whose families did expand suffered from this, having to live in a crowded apartment with perhaps 9 persons in a small 3-room apartment, as one family I interviewed did. There is little doubt that this had great repercussions for their privacy. This is yet an example of how the ability to control and direct the ordering of one's own affairs is lacking.

We see here how the physical structures of an apartment in a Collective Centre put heavy restrictions on social practices. Both "Giorgi and Natia", "Tamar", and "Rita" had either personal experiences, or had stories of family members who wanted to get married, but who were not able to do so because they couldn't get their own apartment where they could house their family. In this way their social lives are restricted by the physical structures.

Another example of how the physical structures of the Collective Centres puts restrictions on peoples behaviour, is concerned with the fact that the dwellings are rarely designated for family life to begin with. My informant "Shorena" was

complaining about the lack of opportunities for her kids as they had no places to play, and kept making noise in the hallways. Another informant was clear in stating that the Collective Centre is no good place for his son to grow up in.

> "What kind of life is it for a boy to grow up here? He grows up to nothing!" ("Giorgi")

My 17-year-old informant “Mariana” described a further restriction imposed by the Collective Centre.

> "You can't have friends over, because, where will they stay? You can't invite the people in your class home after school, because there is no room here. You can't have sleepovers or birthdays. If I was in my home in Abkhazia I would have my friends there all the time." ("Mariana")

The material structure of the Collective Centre hinders her social relations with other youth who are living in other locations. She can't, or doesn't want to bring them to the Collective Centre because there is no room for them to stay except in the only room their apartment consists of.

Following Miller (2001) this shows that the very durability and physicality of things can embody an agency that makes them oppressive and alienating.

Home-making in Collective Centres: Part 4: Home and Social Status

The physical structures of home also support identity as the mark of one's social status. The size, style and location of the building, as well as the surroundings and the interiors have the possibility to determine a persons' position in the social hierarchy (Young 2005). Also, the wider community largely confirms this since everyone knows which houses or apartments are the better ones, better areas, better streets and better neighbourhoods (Young 2005). In Tbilisi, it seems that everyone knows which buildings in the neighbourhood that are housing the internally displaced. I also experienced this in person, when searching for Collective Centres to which I only had the address. If my interpreter and I found ourselves lost, it was very likely that the first person we found would point us in the direction of the Collective Centre, saying: "That one is the IDP-house".

Several of my informants expressed that they felt the negative social stigma of living in a Collective Centre. This corresponds with the ideas of Miller (2001) in which he states that the material structures also have agency. As such it may be interesting to explore the impact that material structures may have on social status.

In the following I will take a closer look at the relation between home and social status in discussing the social stigma many internally displaced people are faced with and how this is also experienced in relation to their current dwellings in Collective Centres. I will explore how status and dwelling can be related and how they also can have extended effects on each other.

IDP status: personal experiences

Talking about their IDP status, several of my informants explain that there is a certain stigma tied to the status. Many also see the community as divided between IDPs and the local population. It is their impression that there are many stereotypes tied to the category among the local population. A number of my informants also explained that there are a lot of jokes made on the expense of the internally displaced in everyday relations. As mentioned by "Gvantsa and Irakli" you may also hear people whispering

in the bus "he is IDP". Also, the internally displaced population is often blamed for other problems experienced by the local population. Arguments like "they take our jobs" and " they receive all the attention from the government" are common.

My informant "Kata" explains that the IDP status puts her in a different position in Tbilisi. She feels that she is looked down upon by the local population, and explains that there is a lot of prejudice tied to the category. One thing she emphasises is the enormous impact the sudden change in status has had on her ever since she became displaced.

> "I used to be a normal citizen, but now I am IDP" ("Kata").

She complains that displacement has made her completely dependent on receiving assistance from the government while before she used to be independent. The sudden change of life-circumstances from being independent one day and in need of assistance the next has obviously had great impact on her. She also describes how this largely has to do with her individual feeling of being deprived, as was repeated by other informants as well.

"Thatia" is not of the impression that the IDPs are discriminated by the locals, but her story is in accordance with that of "Kata" in that she also emphasises that a central feature to the IDP status is the personal feeling of being deprived. She states that IDPs may not be treated differently, but the feeling of having lost something is always there. She says that she felt free in Sukhumi, but she doesn't feel free in Tbilisi. As "Thatia" explains it, this is because you don't own anything, you always have to ask for help, and you are always dependent on others.

> "We didn't have any of these problems before we became IDPs. We used to have jobs, houses and everything." ("Thatia")

This is also consistent with "Gvantsa" and "Irakli's" statement that the most difficult thing they experience with being IDP is that "everyone knows that you have problems". Also, "Tamar" and "Ilia" explains that there are bad associations to the IDP category. They explain that the IDP status reminds you all the time of the life you have and the bad living condition you experience. They explain that the IDP category is coded negatively in the general society, but they still describe the relation to their non-IDP neighbours as good.

As much as some of the displaced people may develop good relations with their close neighbours the general impression of IDPs as a vulnerable group persists in society thus reinforcing the stigma tied to the category. The social stigma codes the IDP status in a negative way having substantial repercussions for how the internally displaced view themselves.

Status and dwelling

As I have been arguing previously in my analysis, Collective Centres are initially seen as "unhomely" places. Judging from how the Collective Centre is coded by the wider population as houses for those who have fled and therefore are in need it is possible to suggest that status and dwelling is related.

> "I don't feel like IDP in any other sense than living here. It is this apartment that makes me IDP." ("Mariana")

"Tamar" told me that her son says that outside the house he doesn't feel like an IDP. She explained that he is out among other people a lot, and has many friends that come from Tbilisi and who are not IDPs.

> "When he is out he forgets that he is an IDP. Once he comes back and sees this building, he becomes an IDP again. The house make you IDP, it is humiliating. Once there was a delegation from the Christian Democrats who visited this building. One of them is a friend of our son. When she met him here, she was very surprised, and started to cry. "I never thought you were IDP", she said." ("Tamar")

As I have discussed earlier the experience of domicide and flight is shaping the way that people both imagine and practice homes. Additionally, Collective Centres may also be seen as a materiel manifestation of this very experience of loss and deprivation. Considering the way they are coded by the wider community, the Collective Centres themselves may be seen to make the migratory experience present in peoples' everyday lives. Thus the Collective Centres may be strengthening the

negative connotations that follow with living in them. Collective Centres turn out to be physical expressions of the experience of being internally displaced.

Chapter 6: Home and privatisation

The ongoing privatisation process has increased its dimensions the last years, intending to be completed within few years, initially in 2012. Privatisation offers property rights through ownership, and has the possibility to bring on a greater sense of stability and security for the internally displaced persons who have been kept in an uncertain state for more than 17 years. Securing the internally displaced populations' right to adequate housing has become an important component in the process of finding durable solutions to internal displacement. However, the debate has been ongoing about whether the housing solutions provided can rightfully be called adequate.

In this chapter I seek to explore the personal experiences internally displaced people have of the privatisation process. Judging from what has been mentioned in the introductory chapters, the privatisation process has not been satisfactory in terms of attending to the rights and interests of the internally displaced. In the following I will discuss why people have chosen to privatise, and how has this affected them.

Further, I will analyse the opportunities and constraints that are produced by privatisation regarding the transformation of temporary dwellings into permanent homes. I will discuss the possibilities that lie within privatisation with respect to the home-making among internally displaced people in Collective Centres. Privatisation also needs to be understood in relation to values and ideals for home. Where do we find these values and ideals? Can privatisation facilitate home-making?

Conceptualising privatisation

In addressing the issue of privatisation and home-making, we may once again find support in Holm Nielsens (2001) model for understanding the relation between structure and agency. We may see the privatisation process as yet an institutional feature for the internally displaced population living in Collective Centres. Whereas the Georgian IDP regime represents the overarching structural feature, the privatisation process is better understood as an institution in society. The idea of privatisation in itself may be seen as an expression of the structures in the IDP regime as it is ideologically based and initially controlled by the government. However, understanding the privatisation process as an institution is helpful in the sense that it can be seen to provide the framework for practices and activities that people perform, while at the same time this framework is also shaped by the very same activities and practices. The privatisation process must be understood as an outcome of the negotiation between structures in the IDP regime and the situated social practices that people perform in relation to privatisation. Again the meso-level from Holm Nielsen's (2001) model is a sensitising concept when it comes to understanding social processes through its' emphasis on the interplay between the different levels of interaction between structure and subject.

With this conception of the privatisation process as an institution, it is interesting to analyse the opportunities and constraints that are created in the privatisation process. Holm Nielsen's (2001) model can facilitate an understanding of how internally displaced people within the Collective Centres manage to exercise their agency through the analysis of the actions people perform in relation to privatisation as presented by the government. It is this interaction that constitutes the privatisation process.

Personal experiences of privatisation

Of the 18 households I interviewed there were 12 who had already gone through privatisation while 6 were waiting for it to happen and all of them were hoping that it would be carried through soon. The general picture is of a process that has happened

very fast, and with little information available to the internally displaced. Many of my informants had first heard of the privatisation process as a rumour in the Collective Centre. Many had seen it on the news, and some got the information from the ministry contact in the Collective Centre. In some Collective Centres there had also been held meetings with representatives from the ministry, providing the inhabitants with basic information.

However, the information the internally displaced people received seems to be limited and inadequate for them to make informed choices. One informant explained how the process had developed rapidly after a short informational meeting in the Collective Centre.

> "Later on someone knocked the door and the person outside asked for the head of household. We signed and got the documents the same day." ("Giorgi")

My informant "Shorena" serves as an example of how the process was implemented with little information provided and with few possibilities for internally displaced persons to influence the outcome.

> "We did not get any info. They just came and measured the rooms, they counted the people living here, and asked for ID-cards and IDP-papers." ("Shorena")

Privatisation happened shortly after without further information. When privatisation was completed she claims that she did not know what she was signing. She was not aware of that two families were included in the contract.

> "It happened so quickly, and we knew nothing."... "I was not even at home when they came with the contract. They made one of my children sign it"... "We really wanted to privatise, to get our own apartment, but not in this way." ("Shorena")

Lack of information and limited chances to effect changes upon the terms of privatisation has left her with an overcrowded one-room apartment where two families consisting of altogether 9 persons are living.

Other informants also complained that the authorities did not take into consideration any special needs or wishes from the internally displaced in the privatisation process.

> "It was not a question of what you needed or what you wanted. It was a question of what you already had." ("Dedika")

Generally, people are offered to privatise the apartments they are already residing in without any consideration to family size or individual needs. Several informants, both those who have privatised and those who are awaiting privatisation, complain about this injustice to the distribution of living spaces. This results in situations where large families are left with only one apartment and as this is one of the terms in the contract, once they have signed they can no longer claim any other living space from the state. Following Miller (2001) this must also be seen as a further strengthening of the material structures' agency in constraining the internally displaced peoples lives. Having privatised an apartment that by no means satisfies the needs of a family can be very restricting on family life and home-making practices as we have seen in the previous analysis of home-making among the internally displaced. The fact that privatisation is a final move in terms of the possible help from the government regarding housing solutions makes the situation even more difficult.

The government decree on privatisation states that people should be offered an alternative if they for various reasons refuse to privatise the apartment they currently live in. The intention is that the internally displaced persons should be allowed to make a genuine choice of whether to privatise or not, however, in many cases this does not appear to be a choice at all. Of my informants there was only one who had initially refused to privatise and to wait for a better option at a later stage. She changed her mind within short time because she did not receive any alternative option and was uncertain as to when this would be provided. Other informants had heard of people who had refused to privatise, and told that they had not yet received any alternative nearly a year later. There is no time limit as to when an alternative must be provided by the ministry. This is leaving people who refuse privatisation in a vulnerable position, as they still do not know how long their current apartment will be a safe and stable place to live, or where and how they will be settled when the alternative is provided. This uncertainty can be expected to have large repercussions to the ability to settle down and establish factors of home in a dwelling.

Influencing government structures

My informant "Elena" gives a very elaborate description of the possibilities the internally displaced population have to effect change upon their own situation. Focusing on the opportunities created by the privatisation process, she underlines that it was privatisation that made the establishment of a housing cooperative, commonly referred to as condominiums, possible. Once a condominium is established comes the possibility to apply for grants from the local government for making investments in the physical structure in the Collective Centre. As the leader of the condominium she holds elaborate knowledge on how to get in contact with the official bodies governing the privatisation process. She tells me about the plans they have for fixing the pipelines, and she hopes that the next project will be to repair the elevator.

Many other of my informants, on the contrary, don't think that they have any possibilities to effect change upon the privatisation process and the governments' response to internal displacement in general. Many perceive the distance between the official bodies and the internally displaced to be wide. "I only know my government through the TV", as "Kathia" stated it. Several informants told that they didn't know how to influence or change their dwelling situation single-handedly, and neither how to influence the privatisation process. "At least I don't know what I could do by myself," said "Kata". In general, people do not see their possibilities for altering the government policies as substantial.

"Davit" explains that he doesn't feel that there is anything they could do to influence the government. He describes how the negotiations for privatisation of the Collective Centre he is living in has been going on for one and a half year, and still nothing has happened. The building was sold illegally to a private investor a few years ago, and the government is negotiating to buy it back in order for IDPs to privatise. The situation is at a standstill.

The general impression of the privatisation process is of a government led process in which the internally displaced people themselves have had little influence regarding the outcome. Privatisation has been implemented with little attention given to the needs and wants of the internally displaced. From their point of view the lack of information and lack of partake in the process have definitely been constraining features of privatisation. The internally displaced population experience a lack of

voice towards the government regarding the privatisation of Collective Centres as well as other aspects of their lives.

Why did people choose to privatise?

As mentioned earlier 12 of the households I interviewed had already privatised whereas 6 were awaiting privatisation and hoping for it to happen soon. When asked the question of why they chose to privatise, or why they wanted to, the majority of informants expressed that the fear of eviction was a weighty factor to their decision. In this sense, privatisation may not really be a genuine choice. Many also gave expressions of this, stating that there were no other options but to go through with the process. The fear of having to move elsewhere must be seen as a very important factor, as this will represent a second displacement to many people. A new settlement in the regions of Georgia can deprive people of their jobs, as well as break up social relations established over several years in the Collective Centres. Those informants who had work in Tbilisi explicitly announced that it was not an option to move any other places and thereby jeopardise their basis of income.

Also, another reason that was often mentioned was the impression that this was the most they could possibly get from the government. Several informants expressed that it is better to have something than to have nothing, and that no one would give them anything else.

> "We only privatised this because we did not have any other choice. Some people in this building have 3 or 4 rooms, while we only have one, and our kitchen is an old room for garbage." ("Endzela & Tiesa")

> "I feel that we were almost forced to privatise. The standards here are very low, so low that we didn't really want to privatise." ("Khatia")

They did not privatise because they wanted to, but because other opportunities were lacking. For many IDPs privatisation was not an offer that was accepted out of the opportunities that it could possibly provide, but rather from the opportunities that they could lose if they didn't. All in all, privatisation was as an offer that could hardly be

refused by many of the internally displaced persons, in fear of not receiving any other assistance regarding their dwelling situation.

Opportunities brought by privatisation

Still, many of my informants also recognise the opportunities provided by privatisation. One particularly positive feature of privatisation is the stability and safety that come with owning your own dwelling.

> "Before, we owned nothing. Now, at least we have something. 18 square metres in central Tbilisi is at least something. The stability that comes with it is very important" ("Nino").

After privatisation people feel safer because they are no longer in immediate danger of being evicted. For those who are awaiting privatisation this is also mentioned as an important factor. They imagine that they will feel safer once privatisation is accomplished, as their fear of eviction then will be settled. This may be understood in relation to the safety and stability people seek as ideals related to their homes. As explained by Young (2005) these are normative values for home and it is possible to assume that people want to fulfil this ideal in their homes. Privatisation may be a step to accomplish this ideal, and may be a basis for transforming the dwelling into a stable and safe home.

Also, the status of ownership entails some formal rights and opportunities. Through ownership people have the opportunity to obtain loans from banks secured with property. My informant "Ana" is one who has managed to obtain loans after privatisation. She told that her economic situation was difficult, but that the loans she had managed to obtain with her apartment as security were of great help. She also maintained that she didn't think it would be possible to obtain loans without the apartment. This was also pointed out by other informants when being questioned about the perceived opportunities provided by privatisation, in that many saw the ownership as a possible source of lending money. In this sense, privatisation may lead to a greater financial security. This must also be understood as an important factor in

the establishment of homes, as money is a resource that can be employed to alter the physical standards of a dwelling as well as improving other aspects of life.

However, as another informant mentions, having a job and the means to pay off debt is also a precondition for obtaining loans. Those who are unemployed don't have the same possibilities for achieving this financial stability.

Another important aspect that many people mentioned is that with the legal right of owning, people are more in control of their own situation. People have the freedom to do what they want with the apartment, and their legal rights are secured through a contract. As we have seen this far, being in control is also an important factor in the creation of home. As such, the privatisation can facilitate home-making among the internally displaced in Collective Centres and lead to the transformation of these dwellings into permanent homes.

This sense of self-determination and control is certainly an important aspect of privatisation. However, taking into consideration that the privatisation process itself left the internally displaced with few options and chances for influencing their own situation, it is hard to say how substantial this sense of self-determination and control really is.

Privatisation and modification

Nonetheless, the sense of control and self-determination that privatisation can bring about may manifest itself in the physical modifications people make in their dwellings. While almost all IDPs in Collective Centres have made certain modifications to their physical surroundings, there are differences as to how extensive and radical these changes have been. Some have furnished their apartments without making any other changes, while others have painted the walls or changed wallpapers, built kitchen tops and lining walls.

The stability that comes with ownership may pave the way for more thorough modifications because making investments when owning no longer constitute the same constraining element of risk. Many of my informants also acknowledged this,

stating that they were more willing to make investments now that they owned their apartment. As one informant said:

> "Before, we were afraid to make any changes in our apartment, because maybe we could be forced to move. Now that we know it belongs to us, we are thinking of making bigger repairs." ("Mariana")

For those who have not yet privatised their apartments the general statements seem to be of a fear of making changes as long as the situation remains unsettled.

> "Of course, when the situation is so uncertain as it is, you don't want to invest a lot of money into it (the apartment). Until the situation is settled, I won't make any bigger changes." ("Davit")

Others have pronounced wishes to make modifications once privatisation is carried through.

> "After privatisation we hope to build or own bathroom."... "Once we privatise we can make this space nicer." ("Tamar and Ilia")

Based on the theoretical approaches of Miller (1998) and Young (2005) we have already seen that the preservation, modification and appropriation of physical structures should be considered critical values for home. In this way, the privatisation of Collective Centres may facilitate these practices and thus also encourage home-making.

With privatisation completed in a whole Collective Centre follows a shared responsibility for maintaining the entire building. The residents are expected to form condominiums that are responsible for making repairs. Some people see this as an advantage.

> "Then we can share the responsibility of rehabilitation. We can also apply for money from the local government." ("Tamar and Ilia")

Having said that, being responsible for repairs in the whole building may well be a constraining factor for people living in buildings that are in dire conditions and where its residents do not necessarily hold the resources to mobilise values that can be used for rehabilitation.

Ownership as a possible resource

Analysing the changing role of housing assets in post-socialist countries, Mandic (2010) discusses how home ownership may serve as an additional source of welfare and possibly as a latent wealth reservoir. Mandic (2010) underlines that privatisation may unleash several benefits, but also risks and burdens. She emphasises that the questionable gain from privatisation is particularly apparent in the difficulties experienced by poor homeowners who have problems paying utility and maintenance costs. Relevant variables to the possibility of homeownership to serve as a latent wealth reservoir include the quality of housing and the economic situation of homeowners. These variables tells us that the relation between the quality of your apartment and the means and resources you have to make changes or pay off debt is largely affecting the opportunity of housing to serve as a wealth reservoir.

Relating this to the situation in Georgia, it is evident that these variables are important to understanding the opportunities and constraints brought on by the privatisation process. While property may well be a valuable asset, as is recognised by many of my informants, it also requires up-keep and maintenance. This then depends on the resources people have to make changes. Homes that are in a state of disrepair and who are requiring investments represent a heavy burden, not simply an asset (Mandic 2010). People living in unfit shelters such as low-standard Collective Centres without functioning facilities for water and sewage, electricity etc. may experience privatisation as a burden, as they are now left with the responsibility for rehabilitation. There is also a danger that people will be forced to leave their dwellings because of economic issues.

Still, for those who possess sufficient resources to handle the new situation, the increased room for manoeuvre may well be a positive aspect to taking over this responsibility. In this sense, privatisation may have increased peoples' agency. As mentioned earlier, after privatisation people generally feel safer to make the modifications they wish without the risk of losing the money they invest in their apartments.

Similar findings related to agency are also found in Baghdasaryans (2009) analysis of the State Housing Program in Armenia. Her research shows that the provision of housing for Azeri refugees living in Armenia has lead to a greater agency because

they became responsible for renovating the houses provided by the state. Baghdasaryan (2009) explains how families were struggling with collecting resources for rehabilitation, but that they nonetheless were enthusiastic in their endeavours. At least now they had a goal to work toward, and for the first time they felt that they were able to add to their wellbeing. They also started to see that improvements of their living conditions were under their own control. By giving people responsibility for their own housing they are no longer just passive recipients of official aid, and may instead be empowered to make changes and consequently increase their agency. The establishment of condominiums may also have a positive effect on the living situation of the internally displaced as well as their agency in that they receive the possibilities to apply for grants for maintenance and renovation of the buildings they live in.

Privatisation and home

It is hard to say whether the apartments to a greater extent will be seen as homes in the sense of a site of emotional attachment after privatisation. If this is to happen, we must consider modifications as an important factor with the possibility to create this kind of emotional attachment. If we also take into consideration that many people think privatisation will increase these modifications, we may suggest that privatisation can increase people's attachment to the dwellings. Also, privatisation may be seen to bring about safety and stability that are important values for home. Altogether, it may be possible to say that privatisation can facilitate a greater sense of attachment and lead to a situation where the apartments in the Collective Centres may be considered homes.

A few informants also suggested this, by saying that the stability made the apartment more homely.

> "Now it is more permanent, more like a home." ("Nino")

Some also emphasised that the actual owning made the apartment a home. When asked what a home is, one informant answered:

> "The feeling that it is yours! Privatisation will therefore be important." ("Rita")

Nonetheless, there are various opinions to the "homely" effects of privatisation. Some informants stated that privatisation would not constitute any important changes for them in their relation to their dwelling. Challenging the idea that privatisation may make the apartments more homely one informant expressed that;

> "Privatisation is only a formal change. We have confirmed the ownership, but apart from that nothing has really changed. I already made some repairs. Privatisation changes nothing in that manner. I took the chance even if we could have had to move out." ("Khatia")

Others, who are living in particularly low-standard buildings and with limited space, are careful to underline that the apartment in the Collective Centre will never become their home.

> "It doesn't matter if it is property when it is so small! This is like living like a rat." ("Dedika")

To "Dedika" ownership doesn't mean anything when there is not much to own in the first place.

These expressions are obvious articulations of dissatisfaction with the way the privatisation process has been carried out. Failures to comply with minimum standards of living, such as making decent repairs in water and sewage systems, electricity and heating, as well as allocating sufficient space for large families, leads to people being alienated from their own dwellings. This must be seen as a major impediment to the process of home-making.

Privatisation may bring with it certain values that fulfil peoples' ideals of what a home ought to be in terms of ownership, safety and stability. Securing peoples rights to stability and to control their own situation are definitely positive aspects to privatisation. However, there are highly problematic sides to the implementation of the privatisation itself, and there is a great need to monitor and secure the rights of the internally displaced in this process.

Changing prospects of return and integration; privatisation as a way towards a durable solution?

As mentioned earlier in this thesis, the political objectives of the Georgian government solidify the status and dependency of IDPs, as they have been kept on the side of society without the possibility of integrating or to fully restart their lives. As stated by Mundt and Ferris (2008), the meagre benefits and compensation provided by the Georgian Government have kept the IDPs in a state of perpetual limbo; enough to be kept alive, but far too little to re-establish themselves and to restart their lives in a meaningful way.

The Georgian governments response to internal displacement follows a two-pronged approach based, on the one hand, the right to return, and on the other hand a temporary form of local integration where IDPs are allowed to lead normal lives until return in safety and dignity becomes possible. However, this temporary form of local integration also poses the risk that displacement is more likely to become permanent within the passage of time (Mundt & Ferris 2008).

Kälin (2006) also puts emphasis to the lack of political solutions to the regional conflicts, as one of the main obstacles to finding durable solutions to the problem of internal displacement. However, when it comes to Georgian authorities' one-sided focus on return, Kälin (2006) underlines that return and integration need not be mutually excluding. Integration and return can be complementary, as well-integrated people may be more likely to be productive and contributing to society, and thus strong enough to return if the possibility occurs. Providing the IDPs with the stability and security to lead independent and self-sustaining lives should be a requirement.

Thus, a question that arises is whether privatisation can be part to finding a durable solution, or at least a solution that allows the internally displaced to lead independent and self-sustaining lives? Privatisation will make people less dependent on the state, or at least they will have to become less dependent as they are then responsible for their own dwellings. Can privatisation then change the way people view themselves, or their dwellings?

Regarding the privatisation process it is an important aspect that the internally displaced retain their formal IDP status even after privatisation. It may appear as a contradiction in terms that the government changes their approach to IDP assistance

from a status-based to a needs-based approach when integrating IDPs in the general Social Targeted Assistance (STA) while at the same time they retain the IDP status.

Once again, this confirms the highly political nature of internal displacement. Keeping the IDP status seems to be a political question, however a very significant one. As such, the privatisation process changes the content of the IDP status as there are no longer any rights tied to it except the formal "right to return". However, one may expect that the social stigma often following the status will remain strong. Additionally, this may also preserve peoples' own perceptions of being IDP as well as maintaining their aspirations to return eventually.

Through interviews I discovered that return was emphasised by many of the informants as the main solution to their plight. "Tamar" states that her IDP status can only end if she goes back to Abkhazia. Another informant, "Davit", maintains that Sukhumi will always be his true home and that he'll always be IDP, while "Shorena" pronounces that she will always be IDP because she can never go home to Abkhazia. Expressions like these were frequent.

> "Personally I will never stop being IDP. My husband and I had worked so hard for what we had in Abkhazia. We managed to build our lives there with an apartment and jobs. Now we have lived in Tbilisi for 17 years and all we have managed to get is this." ("Dedika")

Her family of seven is sharing a three-room apartment in a dilapidated Collective Centre, and her son-in-law is the only person in the household to have a job.

Clearly, many people assert that they will always consider themselves IDPs because they can never get back what they have lost. As we have also seen that my informants imagine home through the lens of past homes, this is not all too unexpected. The experience of displacement will most probably follow them through their entire lives, and is a story that they will always carry with them. Still, it is also possible to see that the privatisation of living spaces in Collective Centres may somehow change people's attitudes towards return as well as their perceptions of local integration.

Privatisation is regarded as a final move in terms of housing by several of my informants. After this they can't expect to receive any other housing support from the government. Also, as IDPs are to be integrated in the general social targeted

assistance (STA) programs and no longer receive governmental assistance based on their status as IDPs, they can no longer rely on the government as a provider of benefits.

"Rita" explains that in her opinion, Abkhazia as they knew it will never come back, and therefore once they privatise this will become their permanent place of residence. Then, this is what they got.

> "The day we came here and had nothing, everything was worse. We feel better now. Little by little we have started to own things again. A bed, a table a cupboard. The difficult feelings are disappearing day by day, and we become more and more established here. The same is true of the feeling of being IDP, it also disappears little by little, day by day." ("Rita")

The perception of privatisation as a final move may change people's attitude towards return and local integration. This is also seen in the reasons people mentioned of why they wanted to privatise; that they want a place to live that is stable and safe. Such expressions are evident articulations of a wish to establish themselves and restart their lives. Privatisation may be a means that could facilitate this.

> "In the beginning it was very humiliating because all the neighbours were sceptical and asked "are these people really going to live here?" It has improved now, and it happens that we socialise with the locals. They say hello to us in the streets. After privatisation we feel more like established neighbours. More equal to the neighbours. ("Shorena")

Expressions like these are supporting the assumption that privatisation can possibly contribute to the local integration of IDPs in their areas of habitual residence.

This leads on to the more pragmatic answer to what my informants consider a solution to their plight. "Kata" says she doesn't know if the feeling of being displaced can ever end. If so, this would be the result of her having a good income a nice place to live. A dwelling that answers to her expectations as well as monetary resources to lead a normal life. The importance of having satisfactory living conditions is emphasised by several informants as a precondition for the end of their status and hence the end of their plight.

> "The IDP status can end as soon as we get a proper apartment." ("Mariana")

Another informant states that the end of their status and their difficult situation can take place:

> "when everyone is satisfied with their living space, and there is at least one person with a job in each family." ("Shorena")

Ownership of a dwelling with the potential of becoming a home is considered to be a resource that can end their status, and lead to a more "normal" life. With reference to Young's (2005) theories, the provision of long-term housing solutions can serve as a material sense of agency where people can be enabled to re-establish themselves and to restart their lives in a meaningful way. However, the housing provided must be adequate and be in accordance with certain standards regarding living space and physical conditions, if they are not to become alienating and oppressing.

As stated by The Brookings Institution (2010) a durable solution needs to ensure long-term safety, security and freedom of movement, an adequate standard of living, access to employment and livelihoods as well as the restoration of housing, land and property or compensation for these.

The Georgian Governments focus on finding durable housing solutions may initially be too narrow for ensuring an overall durable solution where the IDPs are enabled to establish themselves and lead self-sustaining and independent lives. Nevertheless, privatisation can be seen a step in the right direction of providing the IDPs with a greater degree of long-term safety and stability. Also, privatisation may pave the way for more extensive modifications that potentially assists the making of a "proper" home. If people are also enabled to acquire resources to establish homes, they may also be able to re-establish themselves and restart their lives in meaningful ways.

The overall picture needs to be one of attending to the rights and needs of the internally displaced and to ensure that they have options to choose from, and the ability to restart their lives in a meaningful way (The Brookings Institution 2010). It is important that the privatisation process is monitored and that the rights and needs of IDPs are attended to. It is also important that the narrow focus on housing is widened to also include local integration that allows IDPs to establish self-sustaining and independent lives.

It is in this respect that a refined understanding of how homes are made can facilitate a better understanding of how people seek to re-establish themselves after displacement. This understanding of how homes are both imagined and practiced must inform the search for durable solutions to displacement.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

Imagining and practicing home

This last chapter aims to review the conclusions and bind together the analysis as well as attempting to answer the research questions more explicitly. In my introduction I first presented the following questions: How do IDPs make homes in the temporary dwellings in Collective Centres? How are homes imagined and practiced in the Collective Centres? How is home-making practices enabled and constrained in Collective Centres?

As we have seen, home-making practices involve both imaginary and physical aspects. Following Blunt and Dowling (2006) we consider home to be a "spatial imaginary" where ideas and feelings related to a context, construct places. Home is considered a valued and personal space saturated with feelings, ideals, norms and values. When we look at the imaginaries of home that the IDPs give expressions of, the initial observation is of the Collective Centres as "unhomely" homes. The living spaces in Collective Centres are not considered to be "proper" homes, and neither to be ideal places for making home in the first place. The construction of Collective Centres as largely unhomely places relates to the norms, values and ideals that people have for home. These are expressions of normative values of home; that is what people consider a home to be, and what they would want for their own homes.

Home is thus also an ideological construct, as Somerville (1992) states. According to Mallet (2004) homes are imagined and practiced in the tension between the real and the ideal, what people have and what they want or wish for. Thus, understanding this through the model of Holm Nielsen (2001) ideals can be seen as a social structure that people have to negotiate in their home-making. Ideological constructs of what home is and what it should be are ideals that the IDPs themselves both construct through their normative statements, and which they have to negotiate in their home-making in Collective Centres. The ideological constructs of home are therefore both enabling and constraining IDPs in their home-making efforts.

One of the central aspects to the way my informants imagine home concerns the physical environments of their dwellings. People say that they "just want better

conditions" as one of my informants states, in order for their dwellings to become "proper" homes. A central feature to this is the ideal for separating different spaces for different activities. Particularly mentioned was the wish for separate spaces for eating and sleeping, as well as private facilities such as a kitchen and bathroom. This also relates to values for home such as privacy and individuation that Young (2005) refers to. Privacy and individuation concerns the right to order and control access to one's personal space as well as the basic activities of life, such as sleeping, eating, bathing and making love. People need stable places that can allow the performance of these activities with basic routine and security, and we can see that they seek to establish these ideals in their homes.

Another central aspect to the way home is imagined concerns temporality. Present homes are imagined through the lens of past homes. The experience of domicide, to have witnessed the destruction of your home, is largely influencing the way people imagine homes at a later point. To lose a home is to lose something meaningful. As stated by Tuathail & Dahlman (2006), displacement and domicide leads to the loss of whole life worlds, a "modus vivendi" that is unlikely to be rebuilt just by restoring material property. Ideals for present and future homes can be found in the lost home. Many informants describe Abkhazia and their former home in somewhat elevated terms, thus creating idealised notions of past homes. As an example, family life is a central element that is mentioned in relation to past homes. Before, many people used to live close to their families, in the same village or in houses surrounding the same garden. While some have managed to settle in the same Collective Centre as other family members, many are also settled in different parts of the country. Nevertheless, living close to other family members the way they used to, appear to be an ideal that is difficult to fulfil in their current situation. This again shows that homes are imagined in the tension between the real and ideal, and that idealised notions of past homes shape the current imaginaries and expressions people create of home.

Understanding the effects of imaginaries for home can be conceptualised through Holm Nielsen's (2001) model. The imaginaries for home that people create can be seen as situated social practices that people perform, whereas the Collective Centre is the institution, both physically and socially, within which these practices are performed. These two factors are mutually constitutive. This means that the ideals, values and norms that people create regarding home are both influencing and

influenced by the Collective Centre as an institution. Through this understanding, home is a meeting point between structure and agency. Home is where people have the opportunity to create their own imaginaries, while they are simultaneously constrained by the ideals, norms and values that these imaginaries consist of.

Addressing more specifically the question of how homes are practiced, we turn to the role of social relations in the making of homes. As we have understood, social relations that have developed within the Collective Centre over the years serve as important structures for support to many people. They receive help and assistance in their daily doings, and many also describe these interactions as meaningful and important for the development of a sense of support and unity from living together in a Collective Centre.

However, the poor standards of the buildings that serve as Collective Centres, along with the war trauma and personal problems that the internally displaced experience have serious implications for among other things peoples' privacy, and is to a great extent also influencing the quality of the social networks negatively. As such, the social networks in and around the Collective Centres may also involve constraining elements. The low-standards, inconvenient and often over-crowded living spaces in Collective Centres put heavy restrictions on people's abilities to choose and control their contact with others. Further it is also largely impeding their opportunities to control the access to their living spaces, meaningful things and personal information.

Social structures in the Collective Centres are thus both enabling and constraining the internally displaced in their home-making. The social relations built around Collective Centres can be enabling in the sense that they can fulfil people's ideals for home as a safe place where one has supportive social networks. This also gives opportunities for, and thereby facilitates, home-making. However, the social networks also have negative implications regarding privacy, resulting from the poor living standards along with war traumas and personal problems that those living in Collective Centres frequently experience. The lack of control over access to one's personal space is therefore also seriously constraining home-making.

Regarding the materiality of home, it is clear that the physical structures of dwellings have strong repercussions for the way people are able to lead their lives and make their homes. Following Mallet (2004) home is a "socio-spatial system" where the

physical unit of the house and the social unit of the household produces social relations. The physical aspects of the home, including the location, design, and the size of the home, have the potential to both enable and constrain different relationships and patterns of action (Mallet 2004). The physical structures of dwellings are therefore both enabling and constraining home-making.

Modification of a dwelling must thus be considered a home-making practice. Following Miller (1988) this happens through engaging with creative strategies of consumption and appropriation in which initially alienating structures are transformed into inalienable culture through consumption. The dwellings in Collective Centres are appropriated and made into personal spaces through modifications that have the potential of transforming the dwellings into homes. Modifications have the potential to imbue the living spaces with affective qualities of home.

The limited space of the individual dwellings in Collective Centres as well as the poor standards largely imposes the opportunities for making modifications. Many families share only one, or maybe a few rooms, where all the activities of family life have to be performed. These are dwellings that were not designed for family life in the first place. However, all families have made such modifications in their efforts to make their dwellings liveable spaces.

What is interesting to note, is that the modifications are often performed in correspondence with the ideal constructions of home produced through people's imaginaries of home. This relates in particular to the ideal of having separate spaces for separate activities. For instance, several people have partitioned their rooms with the use of blankets, curtains and lining walls in order to separate, for instance, the sleeping area from the rest of the room. Many have also sought to demarcate separate spaces for preparing meals through building improvised kitchen tops.

Thus, such modifications can often be understood as strategic actions that are performed in correspondence with normative actions such as statements that create ideals for home through imaginaries for home.

Things, decorations and interiors are also important aspects of home-making. Things are used to personalise properties that do not belong to the occupants (Young 2005). Though standards were generally low, most people had acquired basic things such as

beds, chairs and tables, cups and plates, maybe a kettle and a fridge. The living spaces were also decorated with photos and other ornaments.

It is interesting to see that the presence of objects from past homes also make the experience of migration present in peoples' new homes in Collective Centres. Objects such as photos or even beds and cupboards from their homes in Abkhazia makes their former homes present and serves as a material manifestation of their story of displacement. This is yet an example of how imaginaries of home meets with materiality, thus creating home as a "spatial imaginary". The experience of having lost a home is also visible in their new homes.

The importance of interiors and decorations also gives emphasis to the importance of preservation in home-making. As Young (2005) argues, preservation is a critical value for home and concerns the right to safeguard and protect the meaningful things in which one sees the stories of oneself embodied. However, as Young (2005) states, we should not romanticize the activities of preservation. Preservation is also ambiguous as the difficult stories of loss and deprivation caused by displacement is visible in the dwellings of the internally displaced.

Returning to peoples' efforts to alter their unsatisfactory living conditions it is clear that their abilities to do so have large repercussions for their emotional attachment to their dwellings. The extent to which people have managed to make modifications seems to have great influence on their sense of home and the affective qualities they imbue their dwelling with. This is clear through statements such as "It's mine because I worked on it", as one of my informants tells. The sense of having a home in terms of emotional attachment comes from the success of the "working" with the material structures. It is interesting to note that while many people do not consider their dwellings homes when speaking of their imaginaries of homes, they do to a greater degree talk about their dwellings as homes when they talk about home-making practices.

Following Young (2005) home can serve as a material sense of agency. The success of preservation, modification and appropriation that can transform dwellings into homes depends on peoples' abilities to exercise their agency to complete these transformations. As I discovered, it is evident that this depends on the resources that people have managed to mobilise in order to make modifications and to alter the

conditions of their living spaces. This could be resources in terms of having a job that provides income, or a social network that can provide both money and other resources. Those in lack of employment or other social networks to rely on are to a great extent hindered from making modifications and are therefore also to a lesser degree attached to their dwellings. Those who have the financial resources (or other support structures) that facilitate modifications are significantly more attached to their dwellings and are more likely to call them their homes. For those people, home may serve as a material sense of agency according to Young (2005). The modifications are thereby facilitating peoples' home-making.

However, as stated by Miller (2001), often people are not the agents that create the material environment that they reside in, in the first place. Sometimes the material structures may have a constraining impact on people in such a way that they may appear as having their own agency. Where people lack the resources to alter their unsatisfactory living conditions, people may become oppressed and alienated by their own homes. The lack of agency is heavily constraining peoples' home-making. This is the case for very many IDPs living in dilapidated Collective Centres.

The lack of agency has serious repercussions regarding for instance family expansions, that people cannot marry or have children because their living space is so limited that they can't house more persons. The material structures are also constraining in that they are not designed for family life, and there are also examples that the physical structures are constraining interactions with the wider community. As such, the physical structures of Collective Centres are to a great extent constraining home-making among the internally displaced.

The constraints for home-making in Collective Centres may also be further exacerbated by the conflation of status and dwelling. There is generally a negative social stigma tied to being IDP and living in Collective Centre, and some people also suggest that the very structures of the building impose their status upon them. As one informant states, she doesn't feel like IDP in other sense than living in the Collective Centre. It is possible to suggest that status and dwelling is related, and that the negative social stigma tied to Collective Centres is further constraining the home-making efforts of IDPs living there. Once again we see that domicide, and the

experience of loss and deprivation is shaping the way people both imagine and practice home.

Though people do by all means actively engage in home-making, the constraining factors seem to be weighty, which causes many people to feel alienated from their dwellings. The determining factor for people to exercise their agency seems to be the mobilisation of resources to alter their living conditions and thus create a personal and valued space they can call home. The constraints to home-making are further exacerbated by the Georgian governments policies of keeping IDPs on the side of society without sufficient possibilities to re-establish themselves and restart their lives in a meaningful way.

Privatisation and its influence on home-making

In the introductory chapter the following questions were also presented: How does privatisation of Collective Centres influence the IDPs' home-making? Sub-questions to this were; what was people's involvement in the privatisation process? How can privatisation be enabling and constraining people in their home-making? Has the privatisation process changed people's attitudes towards their dwellings? And how? And finally, can privatisation contribute to the search for durable solution that can end the plight of the internally displaced?

First of all, I have suggested through using Holm Nielsens (2001) model, that we can understand privatisation as an institution as it provides the framework for situated social practices and activities that people perform, while at the same time this framework is also shaped by the very same activities and practises. This is a sensitising conception of the privatisation process that allows us to analyse the opportunities and constraints that are created in the privatisation process.

It is apparent that the IDPs' involvement in the privatisation process so far has been minimal. Privatisation started quickly after the government degree on this was launched. Some people had only heard rumours of privatisation through their neighbours, while others had attended meetings with state representatives that took place in the Collective Centres. However, the information that was provided must be

called inadequate for people to make informed choices about privatisation. The general impression is of a process that is happening at a fast pace and with little attention given to the needs and wants of the IDPs themselves. As several informants state, it was not a question of what you needed, but what you already had. People are generally offered to privatise the living spaces they currently reside in, with little attention given to individual needs. This has left many people in very difficult situations as they have been left with the option of privatising spaces that by no means satisfy the needs or their wants. This must be seen to put heavy restrictions on both family life and home-making practices. Furthermore, it must also be considered as strengthening the material structures' agency in constraining the IDPs lives.

Though by official statements alternatives are to be provided if people are not satisfied with their living conditions, there are many who do not dare to take the risk of refusing a privatisation offer as there are uncertainties tied to when and where an alternative will be provided.

From the IDPs' personal statements it is clear that they perceive their own opportunities to influence Government structures to be very restricted. The lack of information as well as the lack of involvement of IDPs themselves is definitely constraining sides to the privatisation process. IDPs experience that they don't have a voice towards the Government.

Still, many choose to privatise, mainly in search of the safety and stability that a permanent dwelling can add to their lives. Also, several informants state that a weighty factor to their decision to privatise was the fear of being evicted or forced to move to the regions where all the new settlements for IDPs are constructed. For those who were employed in the capital this also included a fear of jeopardising their basis of income. Also, many mentioned that they did not want to break up the social relations that they had established over the years in displacement.

As for the opportunities that are brought by privatisation, many informants state that they value the safety and stability that comes with owning their dwellings. Following Young’s (2005) theories, this can also be understood as important values for home. Also, ownership in a dwelling can give the opportunity of obtaining loans that can lead to a larger degree of financial stability that in turn can facilitate home-making.

However, obtaining loans is difficult for those who do not have a basis of income that can support the repayment of debt.

As we have seen through the analysis, preservation and modification of dwellings are central to home-making. People who do not own their dwellings are generally afraid to make investments in their living spaces because they can risk losing all the values they have invested if they are forced to move elsewhere. The stability of ownership may facilitate preservation and pave the way for more thorough modifications when making investments in one's dwelling no longer poses the same risk. After privatisation people generally feel safer to invest money and resources into altering their living conditions.

Following Young (2005) and Miller (1998), preservation, modification and appropriation of physical structures are critical values for home. Thus, privatisation may facilitate such practices and thereby enable home-making. However, as much as ownership can be an asset, it may also be a burden for those who do not possess the resources to alter their conditions or to pay for utility and maintenance costs. As has been found in other similar studies, people living in unfit housing may just as well experience privatisation as a burden (Mandic 2010).

Those who possess sufficient resources to handle the new situation may experience an increased sense of agency, as they are now more independent and personally responsible for their dwellings. Thus privatisation may also be a way of empowering people to lead self-sustaining and independent lives. However, it seems that a requirement for this to happen is that people have at least a certain amount of resources that enables them to handle the housing asset in a sustainable way.

Regarding the question of whether and how people's attitudes to their dwellings have changed with privatisation, it seems that some informants feel that their dwelling has become more like a home after privatisation. Ownership, and the safety and stability this brings are valued as homely features. However, those who are living in low-standard buildings with limited space are careful to underline that their dwellings will never become a home in their eyes. Failures from the Governments' side to comply with minimum standards such as ensuring the rehabilitation of Collective Centres as well as the allocation of sufficient space for large families are frequent in Tbilisi. This

alienates many people from their dwellings and must be considered a major impediment to the process of home-making.

The lack of political solutions to the regional conflicts has been pointed out as one of the main obstacles to finding durable solutions to the problem of internal displacement. However, as is suggested by Kälin (2006), return and local integration need not be mutually excluding, because well-integrated people may be more likely to be productive and contribute to the society they live in, and thereby they may also be strong enough to return if the possibility occurs.

The question arises whether privatisation then can be part of finding a durable solution that allows the internally displaced to lead independent and self-sustaining lives. And further, whether privatisation can change the way people view themselves and their dwellings. Return is emphasised by many as the only true solution to their plight. As we have seen, there are many who assert that they will always consider themselves IDPs because they can never get back what they have lost.

Still, it is possible to suggest that the privatisation of living spaces in the Collective Centres may somehow change people's attitudes towards return as well as their perceptions of local integration. Privatisation is considered by several informants to be a final move in terms of housing and other forms of support directed specifically towards IDPs. As IDPs are integrated in the general Social Targeted Assistance they will no longer receive benefits based on their status. Some informants also acknowledge that Abkhazia as they knew it will never come back, and that they will most probably stay in Tbilisi the rest of their lives. Some also state that they feel more like established neighbours now that they have privatised and own their dwellings. Many of my informants also express that they wish to establish themselves and live their lives where they are now. Privatisation may be a means that could facilitate this.

Having a proper place to live and good living conditions are important sides to what some of my informants also consider the solution to their problems. Ownership of a dwelling with the potential of becoming a home is considered to be a resource that can end their plight.

Provision of long-term housing solutions can serve as a material sense of agency where people are enabled to establish independent and self-sustaining lives. However,

it is important that the housing that is provided is adequate and in keeping with certain standards of physical structures and living space if they are not to become oppressive and alienating. The privatisation process needs to be monitored and reviewed to ensure that the rights and needs of IDPs are attended to.

Privatisation can be an important step towards providing long-term safety and stability that may also have wider effects towards finding durable solutions to internal displacement. However, these efforts also need to include wider aspects of integration where the IDPs are enabled to enter the wider social, cultural, economic and political fabric of their community.

As Mundt and Ferris (2008) suggest the internally displaced have for long been kept in a perpetual state of limbo; enough to be kept alive, but far too little to re-establish themselves and to restart their lives in a meaningful way. For years they have been hostage to larger intractable political phenomena over which they have no control, thus being defined by their status as interminably displaced. The achievement of durable solutions to internal displacement in Georgia still seems to be a long way off. Though, it is clear that the privatisation of Collective Centres represents a shift in the Georgian Governments policies towards internal displacement in that it slowly allows for a certain degree of local integration as people are more permanently settled. However, the privatisation process must be constantly monitored and improved, as it has not this far attended sufficiently to the rights and needs of the internally displaced.

Also, I will argue that the provision of housing alone will not automatically enable people to establish themselves and restart their lives. With reference to Stefansson (2006), I suggest that this is to disregard the distinction between house and home. Home is not made out of the physical structures alone, but is also located in wider political and social contexts. Also, home is something that must be actively created and nurtured. An exploration of how people make homes, how homes are both imagined and practiced, can then help us to achieve a better understanding of how people seek to re-establish themselves after displacement. Greater attention therefore needs to be paid to the processes of home-making in the search of durable solutions to displacement.

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Appendix 1: List of informants

Informant	Age/Gender	Privatized?	Size of CC (families)	Family Size (persons)	Number of rooms
"Giorgi" and "Natia"	47/M 35/F	Yes	480	3	1
"Nino"	30+/F	1 yes 1 no	480	3	2
"Ana"	60+/F	1 yes 1 no	480	5	2
"Lali and Tika"	22/F 23/F	Yes	480	3	1
"Mariana"	17/F	Yes	334	2	1
"Elena"	40+/F	Yes	334	3	4
"Rita"	65+/F	No	45 (persons)	9	3
"Kata"	40+/F	No	45 (persons)	3	1
"Davit"	50+/M	No	12	4	3
"Thatia"	65+/F	No	12	3	2
"Gvantsa" and "Irakli"	60+/F 63/M	No	12	4	3
"Khatia"	60+/F	Yes	505	5	1
"Lika"	26/F	Yes	505	1	2
"Tamar" and "Ilia"	50+/F 50+/M	No	74	3	2
"Dedika"	65+/F	Yes	320	7	3
"Endzela" and "Tiesa"	40+/F 60+/F	Yes	320	5	1
"Shorena"	30+/F	Yes	40 (persons)	9	1
"Ani"	42/F	Yes	40 (persons)	3	1

Appendix 2:Interview Guide IDPs

About privatization

Is your apartment privatized? How about the rest of the collective centre? Do you know if it will be?

When did you first hear about privatization?

What were your initial thoughts?

What kind of information did you receive prior to privatization?

Why did you choose (not) to privatize?

Have you received any legal documents?

Were you informed about the terms of the contract?

Who is head of household? And who else is in the contract?

Has a condominium been set up in this CC? Do you think that this can help to improve the living conditions?

Livelihoods

What kind of support you receive from the government?

How do you make a living? Do you have a job?

Do you get assistance from any organizations?

Do you get any assistance from relatives and friends?

If you need to borrow money, where do you go/who do you ask?

Social networks

Do you have relatives living nearby? In the same Collective Centre?

Do you know everyone in this Collective Centre?

If you need assistance, who do you approach? (other people in the CC, other people from your homeplace (where are they living, who are they) organizations, government, local people?)

Are you member of any organizations? (Are there any community based IDP organizations that some people are engaged in?)

Home

Where do you come from in Abkhazia? Where did you live in Abkhazia? Apartment? House? Tell me about the place.

Where have you lived since?

How long have you lived in this place?

Did you know the other people in the centre when you first arrived?

Have you modified the living space much since then? (Have you received assistance to modify the living space?)

How did you accumulate the furniture etc that are here now?

How do you spend a normal day here? Do you interact with the neighbours?

Is it important to you to make your dwelling look nice?

Do you feel safe in this place?

What makes home for you? (Follow up questions about home as the place they came from, home as the community/people they lived with, home as the house etc.

Is this your home? Why? Why not?

What measures needs to be taken for this to become your home?

Do you think it is possible to think of home in different ways? In which ways could this place be your home?

Does it feel more like home after privatization?

Will you invest more in this apartment after privatization? What plans do you have for this dwelling? Are you planning to renovate, planning to buy new furniture etc.

Identities and IDP status

What does it mean to you to be an IDP?

What rights and entitlements come with the IDP category?

Do you feel that you are treated differently from local people?

Do local people treat you differently?

Do you feel that you have any influence over your own life? (A voice towards the governments and the policies for IDPs?)

What kinds of rights are important for you to maintain as an IDP?

How could your treatment as IDPs be changed in order for your lives to improve?

How can the IDP status end?

If you cannot return, what do you see as the best solution to your plight?

Appendix 3:Interviewguide NGOs

-How does the privatization process work? Which actors are involved? (local, national, international)

- When did it start?

- Is this a part of a broader process of change around the IDPs rights? If so, what were these changes?

- Why did this process start? What was the aim?

- What are the main challenges in the privatization process?

-Can IDPs own apartments\property the same way as everyone else? What are the legal rights of IDPs?

- Who have gotten the possibility to buy apartments? Who buys, and what kind of apartments do they buy? (small, large, quality, location)

- How does the purchase happen? How are they financed? Do they get deeds to the apartments they buy?

- What happens to people who are not buying? Where do they move if they are evicted? Is there any compensation to people who are evicted?

- What compensation or support is given to IDPs?

- Do you think that the privatisation will lead to a more permanent settlement of IDPs?

- Do you see any wider social benefits from owning an apartment\property?

-Has the privatisation process affected the real estate market in Tbilisi or other cities? Has it affected the poorer part of the population? Have there been increased competition?

-How do IDPs make a living? Livelihood strategies? What kind of support do they get?

-Can you provide me with any background info? Statistics of who lives where? If anyone have returned or come back again? How do people keep contact with the area they came from? Is there a process of integration? Or are IPDs kept on the side of the society? What do you consider to be the level of integration?