OVERALL QUALITY OF URBAN LIFE AND NEIGHBORHOOD SATISFACTION: A Household Survey in the Walled City of Famagusta

Derya Oktay & Robert W. Marans

Abstract
This study aims to identify key indicators affecting the residents' perception of overall quality of urban life in the Walled City of Famagusta, the historic core of the city, which reflects a decaying socio-spatial quality. The paper first presents a brief overview of the research methodology and then analyses the results from a household survey carried out in the Walled City, in order to provide a sheer understanding of people's feelings about their neighbourhood environment and the overall urban quality of life in case of implementation of a possible regeneration scheme for the area. The research contributes some empirical evidence to verify the claimed benefits and shortcomings in terms of effects of neighbourhood satisfaction, sense of community, sense of belonging, neighbourhood attributes, use/evaluation of cultural and recreational opportunities and safety on the overall quality of urban life of the residents, as well as to identify the predictors of the neighbourhood satisfaction.

Keywords: Walled City of Famagusta, Quality of Urban Life, Neighborhood Satisfaction, Sense of Neighbourhood As Home, Sense of Belonging, Neighbourhood Attributes, Use/Evaluation of Cultural/Recreational Activities, Safety.

INTRODUCTION

An underlying purpose of any environmental evaluation should be to develop a better understanding of how the physical environment or place contributes to or impedes the goals of the individuals or groups who must operate within them. Specifically, the research should attempt to clarify and supplement what is presently known about relationships between both the physical environment and its specific attributes and people's behaviors and subjective responses to that environment (Marans & Spreckelmeyer, 1981).

During the last few decades, measuring the perceived qualities of urban life and residential environments have been significant areas of inquiry for housing environment research. The Famagusta Area Study (FAS)² is one of those survey studies, through which objective and subjective measures of quality of urban life and neighbourhoods have been compiled using face-to-face interviews in 398 households in the spring and fall 2007.

In this paper, the results from a survey of the adult population in the historic core of the city of Famagusta will be analysed in order to understand their overall evaluation of the quality of urban life and the degree of satisfaction with their neighbourhood which reflects a decaying socio-spatial quality. In addition, the role neighbourhood attributes (such as accessibility, attractiveness of the place, appropriateness as a place to live, availability of things to do, appropriateness as a place to raise children, cleanliness, noise level and traffic intensity), the use and evaluation of the cultural and recreational activities, and safety might play on the overall satisfaction will be questioned.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Building on the working of Campbell et al. (1976), Marans and his colleagues began to explore the

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1 This article is a revised version of the authors' paper titled "Perceptions of Overall Quality of Urban Life among Residents of the Walled City of Famagusta" presented at the CSBE-IAPS Conference, Istanbul, 12-16 October 2009.
2 The Famagusta Area Study, pursued by the first author under the auspices of the EMU Urban Research & Development Centre, is one of the partners of the International Program of Research on Quality of Urban Life coordinated by Robert W. Marans at the University of Michigan, USA, and funded by The Scientific & Technical Research Council of Turkey (TUBITAK) for the period of September 2006 - September 2008.
issue of quality of housing environments from a conceptual and empirical perspective (Marans, Rodgers, 1975; Lee, Marans, 1980; Connerly, Marans, 1988). It was asserted that quality of a place or geographic setting (city, neighbourhood, dwelling) was a subjective phenomenon, and that each person occupying that setting may differ in his/her views about it. Furthermore, those views would reflect their perceptions and assessments of a number of setting attributes that could be influenced by certain characteristics of the occupant, and his or her needs and past experiences (Marans, 2005).

As Francescato (1998: 484) stated, there is often a need to assess how well a residential environment meets the requirements, goals, and expectations of its inhabitant - that is how satisfied they are with it. In broad terms, any such assessment may be viewed as an indicator of residential satisfaction. More specifically, residential satisfaction indicates people's response to the environment in which they live. In this context, the term 'environment' refers not only to physical aspects of residential areas, such as dwellings, dwelling environments, and neighbourhoods, but also to social, economic, and even organizational aspects, if any.

The most explicit definitions of community attachment are proposed in the literature on place attachment where place attachment is defined as an affective bond between people and place or setting (Tuan 1974). This basic definition has been extended by other researchers to include a person's perceptions and feelings. In line with this, place attachment can be defined as the effective positive bond between a person and a place that embodies an emotional content; more specifically, a strong tendency of that person to maintain closeness to such a place (Hidalgo and Hernandez 2001: 274).

In most of the publications, place attachment is considered an integral part of human identity (Jorgensen & Stedman, 2001; Low & Altman, 1992; Mazumdar, Mazumdar, Docuyanan, & Mclaughlin, 2000; Stedman, 2002; Stewart, Liebert & Larkin, 2004; Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996) or is used interchangeably with concepts directly referring to identity, such as 'place identity' or 'community identity'. Place attachment is also assumed to be beneficial for the neighborhood since it facilitates involvement in local affairs, and therefore serves both the individual and larger community.

According to Connerly and Marans (1985), it is possible to distinguish satisfaction from attachment in terms of the degree to which each taps the cognitive and affective quality of life components. Because neighbourhood satisfaction is thought to be linked to the evaluation of specific neighbourhood attributes, relative to one's expectations, it is therefore expected that it will primarily tap the cognitive component of well-being.

It is postulated in this paper that satisfaction with neighbourhood, and the two measures of attachment, sense of neighbourhood as home and sense of belonging, are the three social/emotional measures which have an important influence on the overall quality of respondents' lives. It is also hypothesized that certain attributes of the neighbourhood, along with residents' ability to participate
in the cultural and recreational activities, satisfaction with local recreational areas, and satisfaction with local safety have influences on the overall quality of urban life (QOUL).

THE RESEARCH CONTEXT

The case
The city of Famagusta (Gazimagusa in Turkish), the second largest city of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, with a historic core but also with a harbour, has a population of 35,381 (TRNC 2006 Population & Dwelling Census). The city was an important trade and tourism centre and served as a regional centre before the division of the island in 1975. Today, despite some restrictions on its capacity owing to the new circumstances of the island, the harbour still plays an important part in the trade activities of the northern region. In addition to the port, the Eastern Mediterranean University (EMU), with a student population of nearly 15,000 from 67 different countries (in addition to the de-facto population), has been a major factor in the overall economic and social structure of the city in the last few decades. Today, Famagusta accommodates a wide diversity of residents, including the local Turkish-Cypriots, the immigrants of 1974 coming from the southern part of the island and different parts of Turkey, and university staff and students from many countries (Oktay 2005).

The Walled City of Famagusta
The history and urban development of Famagusta date back to the first century AD. As a historical town, it has changed many hands at different historical intervals. Founded in circa 648-1192 AD it came under Lusignan rule in 1192 until 1489. Other periods that followed are the Venetian period (1489-1571), the Ottoman period (1571-1878) and the British period (1878-1960). Cyprus gained its independence from Britain in 1960 and under self-rule until the events of 1974 which brought about the division of the island into two separate states. During the Ottoman era the non-Muslim population of the city vacated to the outskirts of the town. This was clearly the beginning of spatial segregation of the two dominant communities: the Greek Cypriot community and the Turkish Cypriot Community. The Greek Cypriots disengaged to what are known as the Varosha (Maras) and Kato Varosha (Asagi Maras) areas south of the walled city. Consequently, the city's growth took a turn towards the north (Doratli et al 2001; Oktay 2005; Oktay and Conteh 2007). The surplus housing stock left vacant by the flight of the Greek residents was eventually filled by the settler population from Turkish Anatolia and the refugees from the southern part. Although, as to be expected, the demographics of the island had changed drastically in the period immediately after the war, the spatial configuration did not change much.

As explored in the first author’s previous studies (Oktay 2001, Oktay 2002), until the deterioration of traditional life, the concept of neighbourhood (mahalle in Turkish) was very important in the Walled City like elsewhere in Northern Cyprus and Anatolia. Neighbourhood was not only a physical entity within the city but also a social unit providing social and economic collaboration among neighbours. Since it was a very compact community, neighbourhood cohesion was very strong and widespread: families were concerned with their neighbours and neighbourhoods. In this context, connecting a group of houses with each other and to a larger circulation artery, the street was the most rudimentary of intersections between the private and public domains.

Although the Walled City of Famagusta, with its organic form, was declared a Conservation Area, the measures undertaken for its conservation and revitalization have not led to the attainment of a satisfactory state in terms of cultural or economic sustainability, so the area is functionally isolated from the other parts of the city. The isolation was augmented following the uncontrollable urban sprawl in the north of the city due to the lack of a master plan, the so called ‘boom’ in construction activities after the Annan Plan, and the uncertainty associated with the abandoned Varosha district in the south.

Today, the Walled City of Famagusta accommodates a population of 2,026 (TRNC 2006 Census), and this shows a 12.5 percent decline comparing to the population in 19963. The population of the Walled City makes about 18 percent of the whole city.

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3 The male population in particular has decreased drastically (24 percent) (KKTC-DPO Website www.devplan.org).
STUDY METHODOLOGY

Data for this study come from a sample of housing units selected from Famagusta neighbourhoods. Within each housing unit, a resident was selected and interviewed by trained graduate students. The interviews were conducted in the spring and fall of 2007 (Oktay 2009).

The sample

The survey was conducted among housing units in Famagusta using a multistage sampling procedure. First, the total number of housing units (13,455) within the city limits was determined by counting the parcel plots. As Map 1 reveals, eight neighbourhoods of the city were identified and housing units with each were randomly selected from each neighbourhood. The number of household units for each district was calculated considering the proportion of the number of dwellings to the total population. A total of 540 units was selected. Contacts were made with each housing unit and resulted in 398 completed interviews resulting in a 75 percent response rate. This paper summarizes survey results covering 37 respondents living in Famagusta’s Walled City4. Respondents included local residents as the dominating group (76 percent), immigrants from Turkey (18 percent), and university students from Turkey (6 percent).

The interview schedule

The Famagusta Area Study, titled “Measuring the Quality of Community Life in Famagusta” is a part of an International Research Program on Quality of Life coordinated by the University of Michigan, USA. The interview schedule included questions that tap at people’s feelings and behaviours in reference to their households and their attributes. As the city population is of international character, the survey booklets were prepared both in Turkish and English.

The survey framework for Famagusta Area Study (FAS) was closely related to that of the Detroit Area Study (DAS) 2001 model5. However, as quality of life considerations are not universal and are likely to vary from one city to another (Mazumdar, 2003), local cultural relativity of certain ideas were highlighted through modifications in the survey questions. In this study only a portion of the questions were employed. In addition to demographic variables, the schedule had questions on residential history, public services and transportation, schools, parks, recreation and children’s play environments, shopping, community participation and involvement, neighbourhood and neighbouring, housing and residential mobility, safety, health and health care facilities, and people’s perceptions of quality of urban life.

FINDINGS

Satisfaction with neighbourhood

In exploring the overall neighbourhood quality, respondents were asked the question “How satisfied are you with the overall neighbourhood quality?” by

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How satisfied are you with your neighbourhood in general?</th>
<th>Walled City</th>
<th>City of Famagusta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very dissatisfied</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissatisfied</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>8.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Satisfied</td>
<td>64.9</td>
<td>57.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very satisfied</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
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<td>100.0</td>
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</table>

Neighbourhood Satisfaction Index

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Neighbourhood Satisfaction Index</th>
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<th>City of Famagusta</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Standard Deviation</td>
<td>3.48</td>
<td>3.54</td>
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</table>

Table 1. Overall satisfaction with the neighbourhood (Percentage distribution)

4 It should be noted that findings covering respondents in the Walled City are rough approximations of how the total population of residents thinks and behaves. That is, the statistics covering the 37 respondents are subject to relatively large sampling errors or approximately 16%. For instance, if 45% of the respondents said they liked their neighbours, the true value for all Walled City residents would be somewhere between 29% and 61%.

5 The Detroit Area Study (DAS), which was organized by scholars at the University of Michigan (2001) as a revised larger application of studies started in the beginning of 1950s, is among the best known examples of studies that focus on assessing the quality of urban life in the United States of America.
taking into consideration physical (built and natural) and social dimensions. On a scale of 1 being the most negative response and 5 being the most positive response, results indicate that the majority of the Walled City respondents (67%) are satisfied, one-fifth (19%) are dissatisfied, and a smaller group (14%) are neither satisfied nor dissatisfied (Table 1). As the neighbourhood satisfaction indexes (mean scores) show, the differences between these values and the average rating for the overall sample are small and statistically insignificant.

**Sense of neighbourhood (mahalle) as home**
Feelings about overall sense of community were measured through a single question of ‘Do you think of this neighborhood ‘your home’ or ‘just a place you happen to live’?

In total, more than half of the respondents (57%) agreed that there was a good sense of community while the rest (43%) disagreed (Table 2). The indexes for the sense of neighbourhood as home for the Walled City and the overall sample are almost equal.

**Sense of belonging**
In order to get a feel of personal belonging and closeness to neighbourhood ties, respondents were given some statements about neighbours and neighbourhoods and asked to say whether they strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree and strongly disagree. The main statement was: ‘I can’t feel I belong to this community’. In terms of belonging, respondents were divided. 43 percent appear to have some feeling of belonging to their neighbourhood, 40 percent do not feel they belong to their neighbourhood, and 16 percent do not have a clear idea (Table 3). The difference between the results of the Walled City and the overall sample is not significant.

**Neighbourhood attributes**
Various physical, urban/environmental and social attributes, and residents’ views of these attributes are reflected upon the neighbourhood satisfaction. In exploring overall neighbourhood quality, respondents were asked to describe their environment as it appeared to them by ranking a number of indicators on a scale of 1-5 with 1 being the most negative response and 5 being the most positive response. In the scope of this paper, responses to a number of questions in relation to the following attributes were examined:

- **Urban/environmental attributes:** accessibility, attractiveness of place
- **Social attributes:** appropriateness as a place to live, appropriateness as a place to raise children, availability of things to do
- **Physical attributes:** cleanliness, noise level, and traffic intensity

**Urban/environmental attributes**
**Accessibility**
Considering accessibility, more than half (59%) of the respondents in the Walled City found it easy to get around, while almost one-third (32%) found it fairly accessible, and only a small percentage (8%) found it difficult to get around. These rankings could be considered positive comparing to the average value for all Famagusta neighbourhoods.

**Attractiveness of the neighbourhood**
Considering attractiveness of the neighbourhood, more than half (57%) of the respondents felt positive about the attractiveness of their living environment, while more than a quarter (27%) felt that their environment was neither attractive or unattractive, and less than one-fifth (16%) were negative.

**Social attributes**
** Appropriateness as a place to live**
In terms of appropriateness as a place to live, findings reveal that a majority of respondents (65%) felt that they lived in an appropriate place, one-fifth (21%) felt that they lived in an inappropriate place,
and a minority (1.4%) was neutral. These values are slightly higher than the average value at the city level (56% positive).

**Appropriateness as a place to raise children**
In terms of appropriateness as a place to raise children, the majority of the respondents (62%) thought their neighbourhood is a good place to raise children, while one-fifth (22%) were negative, and a small group (16%) were neutral. These ratings are comparable to ratings at the city scale (58%).

**Availability of things to do**
Almost half (49%) of the respondents felt that their neighbourhood environment did not provide them with enough to do, while more than a quarter (27%) felt neutral, and a quarter (24%) were positive. Although these values are slightly better than the average values for the overall sample, the level still remains low.

**Physical attributes**

**Cleanliness**
In terms of cleanliness of the neighbourhood, a significant portion of the respondents (41%) found their neighbourhood environment dirty, an equal percentage (41%) gave a neutral response, and only about one-third (19%) found it clean. These ratings are lower than the average ratings on cleanliness for the overall sample.

**Noise level**
The responses were more negative in terms of noise level. Half of the respondents (51%) found their neighbourhood noisy compared to perceptions of noise (34% negative) for the overall sample.

**Traffic intensity**
In terms of traffic intensity, respondents were concerned about the intensity of traffic. Half of them (49%) found the traffic in their neighbourhood heavy, and this is in agreement with the responses to traffic (48%) by respondents in all neighbourhoods.

**Use/Evaluation of cultural/recreational activities**

**Participation in the cultural and recreational events**
Since participation in the cultural and recreational events is one indicator of quality of urban life, respondents were asked whether or not they attended a cultural and recreational event during the past 12 months. Findings indicate that nearly half (44%) of the Walled City respondents have never attended a cultural and recreational event during the past 12 months. This result indicates a lower participation rate than that of the overall sample (32%).

**Satisfaction with local recreational areas**
Respondents were also asked the question “All things considered, how satisfied are you with the recreational areas available to you?”. On a scale of 1 to 5 with 5 being the most positive response, results indicate that the majority of the respondents (70%) were not satisfied with the recreational areas available to them, a quarter of the respondents (24%) were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, and only a very small portion (5%) were satisfied (Table 4). As the satisfaction indexes show, the satisfaction with recreational areas in the Walled City is much lower than the overall sample.

**Perceived safety**
In terms of assessment of feeling safe outdoors in the immediate surroundings of neighborhood during the day, the great majority (89%) of the respondents expressed positive views, and this is much higher than the average satisfaction rate for the whole sample. However, respondents were divided concerning the perceived safety in the outdoor environment at night. More than half of the respondents (56%) thought it is safe outdoors at night as well,
whereas nearly half (45%) of the respondents were negative. Respondents were equally divided (50% positive and 50% negative) when the felt safety for women was concerned.

Respondents were also asked the question "how satisfied overall are you with your neighbourhood?". Responding on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is completely dissatisfied and 5 is completely satisfied, it appears that more than half of the respondents (53%) are satisfied, a significant portion (39%) are not satisfied, and a small portion of the respondents (8%) are neither satisfied nor dissatisfied (Table 5). All these ratings were lower than the average rating for the overall sample.

Overall quality of urban life
The overall quality of life in Famagusta was measured with a single question: "In general, how would you rate the overall quality of life in the city of Famagusta today?". Based on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is negative and 5 is positive, findings indicate that almost half (44%) of the Walled City respondents thought that the quality of life in Famagusta is neither good nor poor, more than one-third (36%) of the respondents thought it is poor, and only one-fifth (19%) thought it is good (Table 6). In this context, the mean score (average) for the overall quality of life is worse than the average of the quality of life for the whole sample.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quality of Urban Life Index</th>
<th>Walled City</th>
<th>City of Famagusta</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-NOT good at all</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-Poor</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-Neither good nor poor</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>46.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-Good</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>37.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-Very good</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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</table>

Table 6. Perceived Overall Quality of Life in Famagusta (Percentage distribution)

RESULTS
Because of the small sample size in the Walled City of Famagusta (n=37), we present simple correlations between sense of community, sense of belonging, several attributes of the neighborhood, safety, use and evaluation of cultural and recreational opportunities and 1) quality of urban life and 2) neighborhood satisfaction (Figures 3a-4a; Table 7). First, we were surprised to see that for the Walled City respondents (as well as for the overall sample) there is no relationship between neighborhood satisfaction and quality of urban life. Second, the only items that affect both neighborhood satisfaction and the QOUL are feelings about safety and feelings about cleanliness; and third, feelings about noise level (as the strongest) and sense of belonging are other predictors of QOUL. The find-
ings also indicate that QOUL for the Walled City respondents is not associated with their perceived attractiveness of the neighborhood, and sense of community although these two aspects have strong relations with the satisfaction with their neighborhood. Appropriateness as a place to live and appropriateness as a place to raise children are both significantly related to neighborhood satisfaction as well (Figures 3b-4b).

The worst ratings were achieved regarding the physical attributes of the neighborhood. Noise level, cleanliness and traffic intensity are all rated negatively by a significant number of respondents (at least 40 percent). The social attributes, namely appropriateness as a place to live and appropriateness as a place to raise children, were rated positively by the majority, and urban/environmental attributes were rated positively by more than half of the respondents. Despite the reflection of negative feelings regarding the physical attributes and lacking neighborhood facilities, a significant group of respondents were satisfied with their neighborhood owing to their somewhat sufficient sense of community and sense of belonging, their relatively more positive feelings about quality of the neighborhood as a place to live and the quality of the neighborhood as a place to raise children.

DISCUSSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This paper has investigated the degree of satisfaction with quality of urban life and satisfaction with neighborhood among residents living in the Walled City of Famagusta. The study aimed to contribute some empirical evidence to verify the claimed benefits and shortcomings in terms of
effects of neighbourhood satisfaction, sense of
neighbourhood as home, sense of belonging,
neighbourhood attributes, use/evaluation of cul-
tural and recreational opportunities and safety on
the overall quality of urban life of these residents, as
well as to identify the predictors of the neighbour-
hood satisfaction.

Since there is no relationship between neigh-
borhood satisfaction and the QOUL for the Walled
City residents, and the degree of their satisfaction
with the QOUL is lower than that for the overall
sample, strategies should be developed to integrate
the Walled city residents with the other urban areas
in order to help them benefited from the available
urban facilities while making efforts to increase their
overall QOUL in the city. In this context, the level of
noise, cleanliness, safety, and sense of belonging,
in order of significance, should be the major con-
cerns in future urban policy and management. The
level of noise and the cleanliness in particular need
serious attention as they were rated more negatively
by a significant percentage of respondents and
these issues also have strong relations with neigh-
bourhood satisfaction. Although the degree of sat-
faction with local safety is not too low, it is still
lower than the average score for the overall sam-
ple, and should therefore not be neglected in the
future urban policy and management.

As the majority of the Walled City residents
have low-to-middle income level and low mobility⁶,
their neighbourhood may mean a 'world' to them.
Therefore, the aspects which have strongest rela-
tions with neighbourhood satisfaction should be
seriously taken into consideration in the further pol-
icy and applications. These aspects are attractive-
ess, appropriateness as a place to raise children,
sense of community, appropriateness as a place to
live, sense of community, cleanliness, safety, and
neighbourhood as home, in order of significance.

This paper has investigated the degree of satis-
faction with quality of urban life and satisfac-
tion with neighbourhood among residents living in
the Walled City of Famagusta.

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pices of the Urban Research & Development Centre
(URDC) of the Eastern Mediterranean University,
TRNC.

⁶ In the Walled City, the average monthly income for the 20% of the respondents is less than 850 YTL ($580). The percentage
of households who do not own a car is 48%, while the average (mean score) for the overall sample is 2.04.
REFERENCES


Authors’ Addresses:
Derya Oktay, Ph.D
Director, Urban Research & Development Center
Eastern Mediterranean University
Famagusta, N. Cyprus
derya.oktay@emu.edu.tr

Robert W. Marans, Ph.D.
Research Professor
Institute for Social Research
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, USA
marans@umich.edu