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The Peasant House: Contemporary Meanings, Syntactic Qualities and Rehabilitation Challenges. Ramallah's Historic Core

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Ramallah’s Historic Core

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Statutory Declaration

I, Shaden Awad, declare that I have authored this thesis independently, that I have not used other than the declared sources/resources, and that I have explicitly marked all material which has been quoted either literally or by content from the used source.

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Abstract

This research tackles the inhabitants' interaction with their traditional peasant houses and its implementation in the rehabilitation measures. Despite the considerable attention that research and knowledge have given to the meaning of home, the nature of attachment to home and the experience and impact of extrication has not filtered through to our Palestinian rehabilitation strategies and procedures.

The research represents the historic core of Ramallah as an example of the Palestinian traditional peasant architecture. This core is facing major challenges in accommodating the evolving new situation of Ramallah as an administrative and service center. The traditional and functional whole of the historic core is often threatened. As well, most of Ramallah's inhabitants who live in the historic core wish to leave their houses. This problem is related to social, institutional, physical and financial reasons. The institutional efforts and the proposed rehabilitation plan for the historic core are principally concerned with the physical aspects and do not pay attention to the social context and the content of the buildings. Consequently, the main aim of the research is to investigate the inhabitants' relationship with their peasant houses and integrate the aspects of this relationship into the rehabilitation process of Ramallah's historic core.

Basically this research discusses the reasons behind the materialistic and technical approaches for the rehabilitation in order to underline the need for enhancement that is more directed toward the relativization of materiality. In addition to a deep understanding of the inhabitant-house relationship, the research refers to the concepts of proper habitation by illustrating basic issues related to the notion of home as well as the lifestyle concepts and their interrelations to the housing environment. Moreover the research focuses on the latent and functional levels of meaning and defines the main meanings of home as: physical structure, financial asset, territory, personal identity, and socio- cultural unit.

Specifically two main approaches from human-built environment relationship theories have been adopted in order to address the research's main dilemma, these are: the "Evaluation Approach" which is inspired by the "Environmental Behavior Studies" (EBS); it depends on Rapoport's "Choice Model" as a basic framework to investigate the inhabitant-house relationship as well as taking advantage of Weidemann and Anderson's "Integrated Model". And the "Space Decoding" approach which was developed by Julienne Hanson and Bill Hillier based on the "Space Syntax Theory".

Applying these two approaches in investigating the inhabitant-peasant house relationship in Ramallah's historic core gave fruitful results regarding the inhabitants' perceptions for their houses' meanings as well as defining the syntactic qualities of the transformed peasant houses. By depending on the "Evaluation Approach" it was found that the inhabitants' evaluation of their houses was affected profoundly by the legal status of ownership and by the unsatisfactory privacy mechanism. Besides, the relation between the inhabitants' evaluation of their houses and the changes in the peasant-house built form was not linked casually. The functional level of meaning was the most effective reason of change and not the latent level of meaning which is contradicted by Rapoport's "Choice Model". While, by depending on the "Space Decoding" approach, it was found that there was a fundamental conversion from an organic solidarity system to a mechanical solidarity and from a shallow-core house to a mid-core house. Based on these results, the rehabilitation plan of Ramallah's historic core should be reconsidered and improved.

Key words: The Palestinian Peasant House, Inhabitant- House Relationship, Rehabilitation, Meanings of Home, Syntactic Qualities.

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Home: It's not a map, nor a birth certificate. It's not where you are born, nor where you will die. It's your life and your essence bound up together. And before and after all of that, it's the essence of who you are.

Mahmoud Darwish

Chapter one

Research Introduction

This prologue introduces the research topic, the background and relevance of the research and the scope of the study. It also includes the rationale for the research and a definition of the key concepts used. The relation between the inhabitants and their peasant houses in the historic core of Ramallah is pointed out, as is the Palestinian rehabilitation experience and efforts.

1.1 Introduction to Research Problem

The Palestinian peasant house is a main component of the Palestinian traditional domestic architecture. It is an indigenous structure that represents the Palestinian architectural identity and rural lifestyle in the 18th, 19th and until the early 20th centuries. Nowadays the Palestinian peasant house is facing major challenges in accommodating the requirements of modernity. Generally speaking, the experience of home is paralyzed and eroded as a result of concentrating on the tangible aspects of the housing environment and ignoring the intangible meanings. In addition, the restoration theories associated with the architectural object do not observe certain cultural values impregnated within the formal and spatial architectural dimension (Amorim and Loureiro, 2007:2). This has its echo in the Palestinian rehabilitation experience which has tended to be a technical and materialistic process.

This anxiety is illustrated through focusing on the case of Ramallah's historic core which is located in the heart of Ramallah city 16 km to the north of Jerusalem on the top of a mountainous plateau (Figure 1.1) and characterized by its compact traditional architectural fabric resulting from small scale peasant houses built around extended family courtyards (*hawsh* composition).

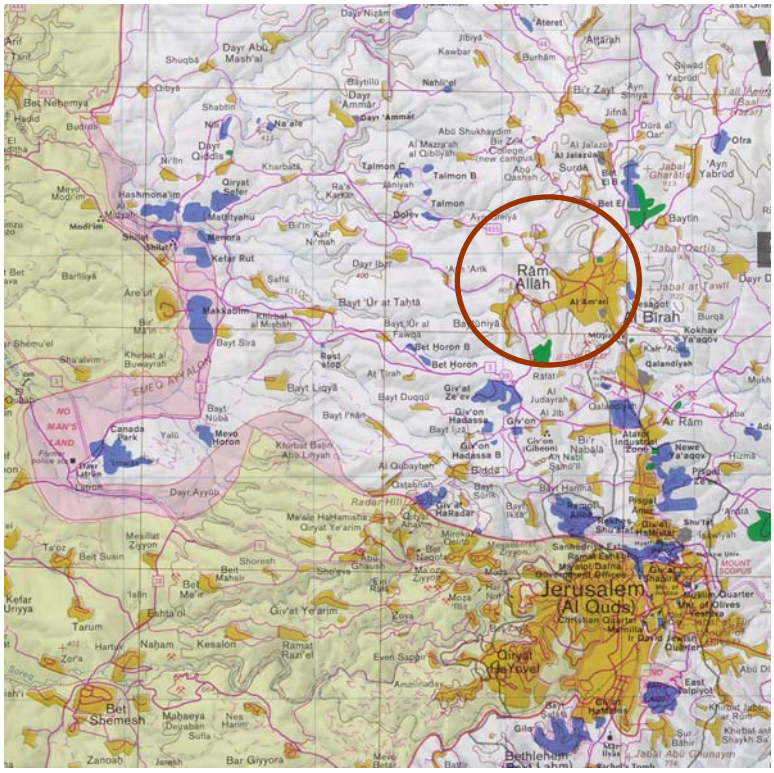

Figure 1.1: A map showing Ramallah's location in relation to Jerusalem (www.lib.utexas.edu, retrieved March, 2007)

This core is facing major challenges in accommodating the evolving new situation of Ramallah as an administrative and service center. While the traditional and functional whole of the historic core is often threatened, its fabric is suffering from neglect and it constantly misses its traditional spirit and becomes uncomfortable and crowded (see Figure 1.2). As well, 56% of the inhabitants of Ramallah's historic core wish to leave their houses (Qasem, 2006). Although, the governmental and institutional efforts to regenerate this core are limited to a few conservation projects carried out by RIWAQ - Center for Architectural Conservation-in cooperation with Ramallah Municipality who are currently working together to prepare a rehabilitation plan for this area (see Appendix I).

Indeed the inhabitants' longing to leaving the historic core is connected to their interaction with their own context starting with their peasant houses which are suffering from decay, and lack of services. Consider that the environmental interaction involves three areas: cognitive, affective and conative (Rapoport, 1977:28). The inhabitants of Ramallah's historic core took the responsibility of action with the intention of adapting their houses to their contemporary lifestyle. Consequently, this increased the inhabitants' detachment from their context and disturbed the historic fabric and the architectural image of the historic core (see Figure 1.2).

A: The neglect of the historic core

B: The additions done by the inhabitants to modify their houses

Figure 1.2: The recent situation in Ramallah's historic core (Author, 2008)

In this research the relationship between the inhabitants and their peasant houses is discussed and investigated since, despite the considerable attention that research and knowledge have given to the home environment the meaning of home and the nature of connection to home has not filtered through to our cultural heritage law, rehabilitation strategies and practice.

In light of Heidegger's explanation of dwelling: as the manner in which mortals are on the earth and his elaboration that every building is in itself a dwelling (Heidegger, 1975:146). Besides, Rapoport's point of view that the house is an institution in which the provision of shelter is the passive function, and the positive purpose of it is the creation of an environment best suited to the way of life of a people (Rapoport, 1969: 46-47). **It is vital to figure out if the traditional peasant houses of Ramallah's historic core themselves hold any guarantee for proper habitation contingent on investigating the inhabitants' relation to their houses and the meanings which are embodied in these structures.**

"The people perceive problems and possible solutions in different ways, they define basic needs differently, and also ideal life differently, they give different meanings to concepts such as privacy, density, so the perceived environment and the schemata in which it is embodied are therefore the heart of design decisions" (Rapoport, 1977:28). Based on the fact that the lifestyle of the inhabitants of Ramallah was exposed to a dramatic change starting from the twenties of the last century, which affected the inhabitants' perception and relation to their houses. Thus this research is concerned with defining the inhabitants of Ramallah's evaluation of their peasant houses through their images and preferences of lifestyle - aspects that are connected to the main meanings of home as a basic determiner in any rehabilitation process. As well, according to Hillier et al (1987:363-385) ideas are objectively present in things as much as subjectively present in minds. So the "Space Syntax Approach" is also used to examine the change in the spatial order of Ramallah's traditional peasant houses and

link it to the change in the social order and pattern of use while looking for evidence of order in human behavior.

1.2 Research Relevance

Theorists and practitioners have emphasized the demand for knowledge in architecture and the built environment. Sanoff (2003) emphasized this view when he argued that architecture should be based on knowledge of people's needs; it should not be based just on the creative impulses of architects. This research will give the opportunity of understanding the relation between the inhabitants and their peasant houses in Ramallah's historic core since when tackling any rehabilitation problem the inhabitants' needs should be a core issue as a determinist factor. Consequently this research provides a concrete basic knowledge locally and nationally as:

- Locally,
- Elevating the rehabilitation plan of the traditional peasant houses in Ramallah's historic core.
- Emphasizing and presenting the architectural identity of Ramallah's historic core.
- Reinforcing the feeling of dwelling and place attachment between the inhabitants of Ramallah's historic core and sustaining the livability of the historic core.
- Nationally,
- On an institutional level: enriching the cultural heritage law, and especially the by-law and regulations for historic areas.
- On a practical level: providing strategies and guidelines for the rehabilitation of traditional peasant houses in the historic core of Ramallah which can be applicable to other areas of traditional peasant domestic architecture.

1.3 Research Scope

The main scope of this research is to **consider the inhabitants' interaction with their peasant houses in the rehabilitation process of Ramallah's historic core**. In light of the inhabitants' evaluation of their peasant houses, their ability to maintain the aspects of lifestyle which are linked to the meaning of home as well as the syntactic qualities of the transformed

peasant houses and their relation to the change in social structure, pattern of use and meaning as well.

1.4 Research Objectives

The research objectives were developed accordingly, based on the research scope, these are:

- To define the peasant house architecture and challenges.
- To identify the inhabitants' evaluation of their peasant houses depending on the main meanings of home.
- To decode the physical transformations of the peasant house built form and define its syntactic qualities.
- To develop guidelines for the rehabilitation of the peasant house.

1.5 General Research Methodology

Here it is important to explain the different research methodologies regarding the research approach or system of inquiry as a general way of thinking in writing and conceptualization, the mid- range of methodology which explains the general research strategy or research design and the more specific levels of techniques or tactics (Groat and Wang, 1994:10).
The research approach depends on the **trans-disciplinarily** mode of knowledge production. This research approach starts from a tangible real world problem, and can be defined as: " a new form of learning and problem solving involving co-operation among different parts of society and academia in order to meet complex challenges of society" (Salama, 2007:65;Gibbons et al, 1996). According to that, there is a middle zone of exchange between disciplines. So dealing with the concept of the inhabitant-house relationship ranged from the phenomenological literature which provided a rich theoretical basis for the research, and the philosophy of Heidegger which provided a basis for understanding the essential nature of **human existence and the world** in which it enfolds, to lifestyle concepts and "Environmental Behavior Studies" (EBS) which tackled the man-built environment relation by investigating the built environment as a result of **human choices**, and finally taking the benefits of the "Space Syntax Theory" and its efforts in proposing an analytical approach to society- architecture relations through the configurational analysis and the **socio-cultural identification of space**.

The general research strategy is the case study which is explained in detail in the methodology part (see Chapter 6) as well as different research techniques.

1.6 Research Structure

The overall structure of the research is divided into eight chapters that can be categorized under three main themes. The **first theme** which is concerned with introducing the research dilemma and case by concentrating on introducing the research problem in **chapter one**, explaining the peasant house architecture and challenges in general in **chapter two** and then giving attention to Ramallah's historic core as the study site of this research in **chapter three**.
The **second theme** which is concerned with presenting the literature background of the research by explaining the gaps in the conservation theory and its impacts on the rehabilitation practice in **chapter four** and illustrating the theories of home and the inhabitant-house relationship in **chapter five** which ends with a theoretical framework that forms the base for tackling the inhabitants' relation with their peasant houses.
And the **third theme** which is concerned with the research rationale, analysis and conclusions through focusing on the methods of research in **chapter six** , analyzing the relationship between the inhabitants and their peasant houses in **chapter seven**, and finally defining the consequences on the rehabilitation process in **chapter eight**.

1.7 Definitions

In this section, certain basic terms are to be defined which are used in this research. These basic definitions are chosen to cover the major terminology found in the main ideas that are discussed in the research. The definitions are elaborated further in the coming chapters.

- **Phenomenology**

The term "Phenomenology" was used as early as 1765 in philosophy and occasionally in Kant's writings, but only with Hegel was a well-defined technical meaning constructed (Moustakas, 1994:26; Kockelmans, 1967:24). For Hegel, "Phenomenology" referred to knowledge as it appears to consciousness, the science of describing what one perceives, senses, and knows in one's immediate awareness and experience. "Phenomenology" as described by Husserl focuses on the meanings and experiences of places via a descriptive qualitative discovery of things in their own terms (Manzo, 2003: 48; Husserl, 1970)

- **Dwelling**

As a basic definition according to Heidegger (1975:146) who traced the origin of the word dwelling in *bauen*, which is evidence of the primal nature of the meaning of dwelling and it leads to (Heidegger, 1975:146):

1. Building is really dwelling
2. Dwelling is the manner in which mortals are on the earth.
3. Building as dwelling unfolds into the building that cultivates growing things and the building that erects buildings.

Phenomenologists, according to Manzo (2003:49), describe dwelling as a way of being in the world that spans a variety of settings. And here it is important to point out that the notion of dwelling highlights the contrast between house and home.

- **Lifestyle**

According to Rapoport (1969:47-48) Max Sorre used the term *genre de vie* (lifestyle) to include all the cultural, spiritual, material, and social aspects which affect form. So style of life is the sum of concepts of culture, ethos, worldview, and national character. According to Rapoport (1977:20) activities may help in understanding lifestyle and through it more global concepts such as value, world view and culture.

- **Environmental Interaction**

The interaction between man and environment involves three areas, which are, according to Rapoport (1977: 28):

1. Cognitive-involving perceiving, knowing and thinking, the basic process whereby the individual knows his environment.
2. Affective- involving feelings and emotions about his environment, motivations, desires and values (embodied in images).
3. Conative-involving acting, doing, striving and thus having an effect on the environment in response to (1) and (2).

- **Space Syntax Analysis**

"Space Syntax" is a set of techniques for the analysis of spatial configurations of all kinds, especially where spatial configuration seems to be a significant aspect of human affairs, as it is in buildings and cities. Originally conceived by Bill Hillier and his colleagues at The Bartlett, University College London (UCL) in the 1980s as a tool to help architects simulate

the likely effects of their designs, it has since grown to become a tool used around the world in a variety of research and areas and design applications. It has been extensively applied in the fields of architecture, urban design, planning, transportation and interior design[1]

[1] (www.spacesyntax.org/introduction/index.asp , retrieved January, 2008)

Chapter Two

The Peasant House- Architecture and Challenges

Traditional architecture is everyday architecture that is alive because it is inhabited, essentially civilian, domestic, and of pre-industrial construction. It is a form of architecture built using local resources, which covers materials, techniques and the skills of its constructors, and it is the fundamental expression of the culture of the different communities and their relation with nature and the landscape (RehabiMed, 2005:9). The term traditional in connection with Palestinian architecture is used to indicate those structures built in pre-modern Palestine or in other words before the use of iron and cement for construction (Hirschfeld, 1995:111).

This chapter aims to introduce the main typologies of and threats to the Palestinian traditional domestic architecture, focusing on one of the most remarkable and exigent elements of this architecture "the peasant stone house". Thus descriptions of the peasant house typologies, architectural elements, materials and original pattern of use are illustrated as well as the local Palestinian experience in the rehabilitation of the traditional domestic architecture.

2.1 Palestinian Traditional Domestic Architecture: Literature Review

The Palestinian traditional house had been studied by travelers and observers in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries who left descriptions of indigenous Palestinian dwellings and of domestic life in Palestine. A short monograph specially dedicated to the Palestinian village house appeared as early as 1912 by Karl Jäger (Fuchs, 1998:157). Besides, two main studies which were published during the British mandate are still cited as the standard sources on the subject, these are:

- Taufik Canaan's article *The Palestinian Arab House: Its Architecture and Folklore* (1932-33)

- Gustaf Dalman's volume dedicated to "The House" in his seven-tome compendium "*Arbeit und Sitte in Palaestina*"(1939)

According to Fuchs (1998:157), students of Canaan and Dalman are left with the impression that the Palestinian Arab house is synonymous with the village house. Although the urban house is a result of many European influences as Dalman stated that "Since the Palestinian house is to be considered here from an archeological point of view, the town house would remain in the background because there European influence has prompted various changes that are irrelevant to our purpose" (Dalman, 1942:1). Amiry and Tamari (1989) suggested that the peasant house has become a classic of vernacular architecture. This found its impact in Bshara and Al-Juabeh's book "*Ramallah : Architecture and History*" which reveals that the peasant house is typical of Palestinian traditional architecture and the urban house or villa house is a result of European influence, forgetting Palestine's historical, religious and regional bonds. Also this influence is clear in other scholars' work such as *Shadi Al-Ghadban's* writings and publications on the vernacular architecture[2], in which he explained that the traditional Palestinian house is the shepherd house[3] or the peasant house.

Moreover, it is essential to add that the Palestinian domestic architecture has been studied by several researchers who concentrated on its biblical, geographical and folklore aspects while the architectural aspect of it was not accorded the importance it deserved (Fuchs, 1998:158). Hirschfeld (1995:111-112) tried to explain the connections between the Palestinian traditional architecture and its Islamic and geographical context, he asserted that this subject still requires thorough research. Mainly the Palestinian village house -peasant house- was linked by researchers and travelers to the biblical way of life and evidence and they ignored its links to Islamic architecture in the Mediterranean area and also to its geographical relation with nearby countries such as Greece. Actually similar examples of the peasant house are found in Syria, Jordan and Lebanon, but the specialty of the Palestinian peasant house is the idea of a gallery in which the area beneath the platform is used. Only in Jordan are there comparable examples (Fuchs, 1998:160). In Ramallah city there is a special example of the coexistence of the village or peasant house and the urban house, because of the exceptional historical development of this city as a village.

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[2] Typology and Composition of the Traditional Palestinian House(2000)

3 Another name for the peasant house in Shadi Al-Ghadban research work

2.2 Typologies of Palestinian Traditional Domestic Architecture

According to Canaan (1932); Fuchs (1998) and Hadid (2002) there are two main components of Palestinian traditional domestic architecture: the urban house which is located in cities and the village or rural house which is located in villages. Canaan (1932:225) added a third permanent component which is the tent that is used by the Bedouins. As Palestine is known for its diverse geography and social structure, these main types cover diverse typologies. A general description of these typologies is given in the following sections.

2.2.1 Palestinian Urban House

The Palestinian urban house covers a large typological range, derived to a large extent from geographical differentiation and from its origin and historical evolution. This historical and morphological diversity was not only translated as buildings, construction techniques or materials used, it was also reflected in the configuration of the urban form. The house type that dominated the old Palestinian cities - Jerusalem, Hebron, Nablus, Al-Ramleh, Al-Lud, Gaza and Jaffa – was a significant product of Palestinian vernacular architecture and it mostly followed a courtyard house form. The heyday of this type probably ended in the eighteenth century and towards the end of the nineteenth century new construction techniques favored new house types built in new materials such as iron I-beams and tiles (Fuchs, 1998:166). This new house type was named by scholars *liwan* house (central hall house) (Hadid, 2002; Al-Juabeh and Bsharah, 2002). Consequently the urban houses are of two main types: **the courtyard house and the *liwan* house**.

The courtyard house was usually built to give more privacy and easy access to rooms surrounding a court open to the sky. In some cases the court was not fully surrounded by the same house but by additional fence walls that separated the building and the court from outside (Figure 2.1). This type of urban house was the basic model of the Palestinian urban house until the end of the nineteenth century as mentioned before, and it is characterized by (Fuchs, 1998:166-168; Hadid, 2002:15):

- The courtyard was the most fundamental feature of the house, in its center was a cistern and occasionally a small garden.
- A crooked corridor led to the courtyard from the entrance.

- Each room in this house was considered as an apartment. As a rule each apartment consisted of a single space built and equipped as an all-purpose, self-contained unit. This space would often be divided into a low entrance zone and a raised living platform.
- The apartments surrounding the court were poorly ventilated and usually used for storage and as shops.
- Some houses had *Iwan*-like ventilated spaces on the ground floor, the whole width open towards the court.
- Open staircases led up from the court to the living quarters.
- The roof served as an upstairs court that gave access to upper apartments, and was used as a private yard, sometimes as a kitchen, a bath and WC were attached.
- Privacy was protected by high balustrades that ran around the roof.
- One of the upper apartments was the "best" room where the master of the family accommodated the distinguished guests.

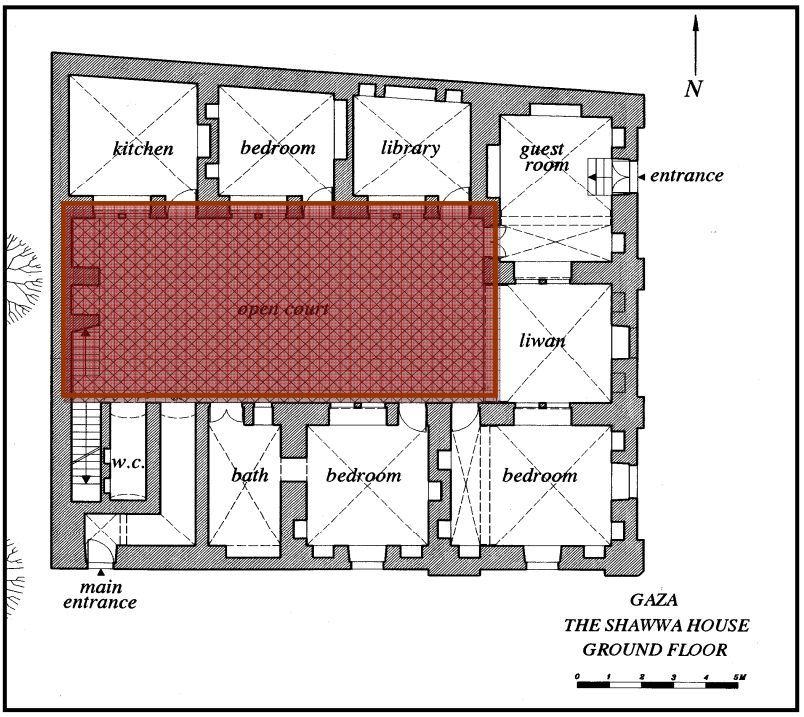

Figure 2.1: *Shawwa* house in Gaza (Khasawneh, 2001:48)

The *liwan* house started to be built by the end of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century (Figure 2.2 and 2.3). It is a nuclear family house that can be characterized by (Hadid, 2002:16 and Al-Juabeh and Bshara, 2002):

- It usually consisted of two floors.
- Most of the houses' entrances led to a hall or *liwan*.
- On both sides of the hall were the living rooms.
- The hall was used as a sitting room.
- The hall was as deep as the whole building and shows two and occasionally three cross vaults.
- There were windows in its furthest wall as well as on both sides of the entrance.
- Such a house sometimes, but not always, opens into a courtyard.
- It was known for using a vault roofing system on the lower level and flat roof depending on I-beams on the upper level and distinguished by its tile pediment roofscape.

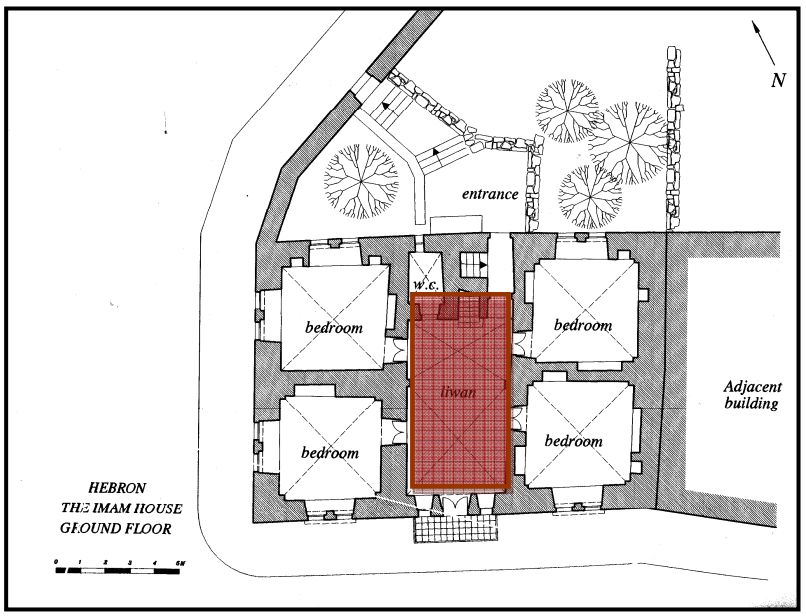

Figure 2.2: *Imam* house in Hebron (Khasawneh, 2001:66)

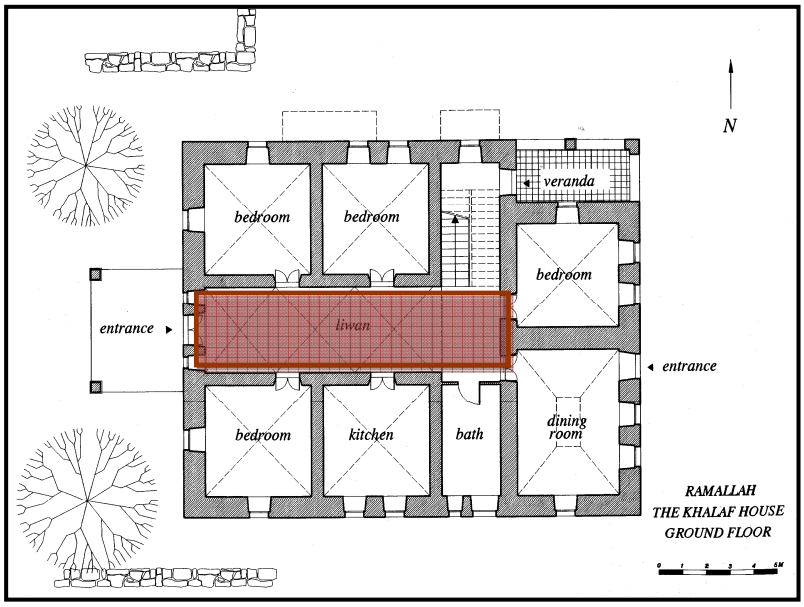

Figure2.3: *The Khalaf* house in Ramallah(Khasawneh, 2001:148)

2.2.2 Palestinian Rural House

Peasants nearly always preferred elevated sites for their villages. In the hill country they were found on the top of a hill or on a hill side, while in the plains the villages were built on small mounds or hills. The village architecture took the form of a heterogeneous variety of built typologies which were accompanied by a large variety of auxiliary elements and constructions that are vital to the domestication of the territory (dry-stone walls, ovens and kilns, cisterns, stables, etc.), and infrastructure elements (canals, paths, irrigation channels, etc). The kinship and gender were the major factors affecting the spatial arrangement of the peasant's architecture in Palestine (Amiry, 1987). A peasant house used to consist of one single room, when sons married and more room was required a second house (room) was built adjacent to the other. Both of them were not connected by a door since they represented two different dwellings and they both opened into the courtyard. In time several such houses were erected adjacent to each other, some of them being of two stories. The houses of one clan are usually built in one quarter (Canaan, 1932:229) (Figure 2.4).

Figure 2.4: Peasant house courtyard composition in Birzeit old town (RIWAQ, 2008)

The village house is of two main types: **the clay house or adobe house** (*skeefeh*) and **the stone house** (Canaan, 1932: 223-229; Hadid, 2002:14).

The clay house (*skeefeh*) consisted of a one room space made of mud bricks and spanned by a sloped roof of wooden beams and mud. This type was found mainly in the Mediterranean plains and the Jordan Valley (Canaan, 1932:230).

The stone house was well known until the beginning of the 20th century as the traditional way of dwelling construction in most mountainous villages, it was as simple as a rectangular room (*oodah, ghurfeh*). This room varied in its dimension and height and could be attached to other rooms of the same family. The openings were very small and turned the house into a badly lighted and ventilated space. The interior space of most of these simple houses was divided into two parts: the upper level (*mastabeh)* and the lower level (*rawieh or qa' al-bait)*. This type is known in literature as the peasant house and was commonly known for its thick walls and a vaulted stone roof (Canaan, 1933: 33-35) (Figure 2.5).

Another type of stone house had thinner walls and a wooden ceiling which was considered to be the link between the former kind of stone house and the clay house (Canaan, 1932:230). In the next sections follows a description of the peasant house type, in which different typologies, architectural elements, materials and the original use of its spaces are clarified.

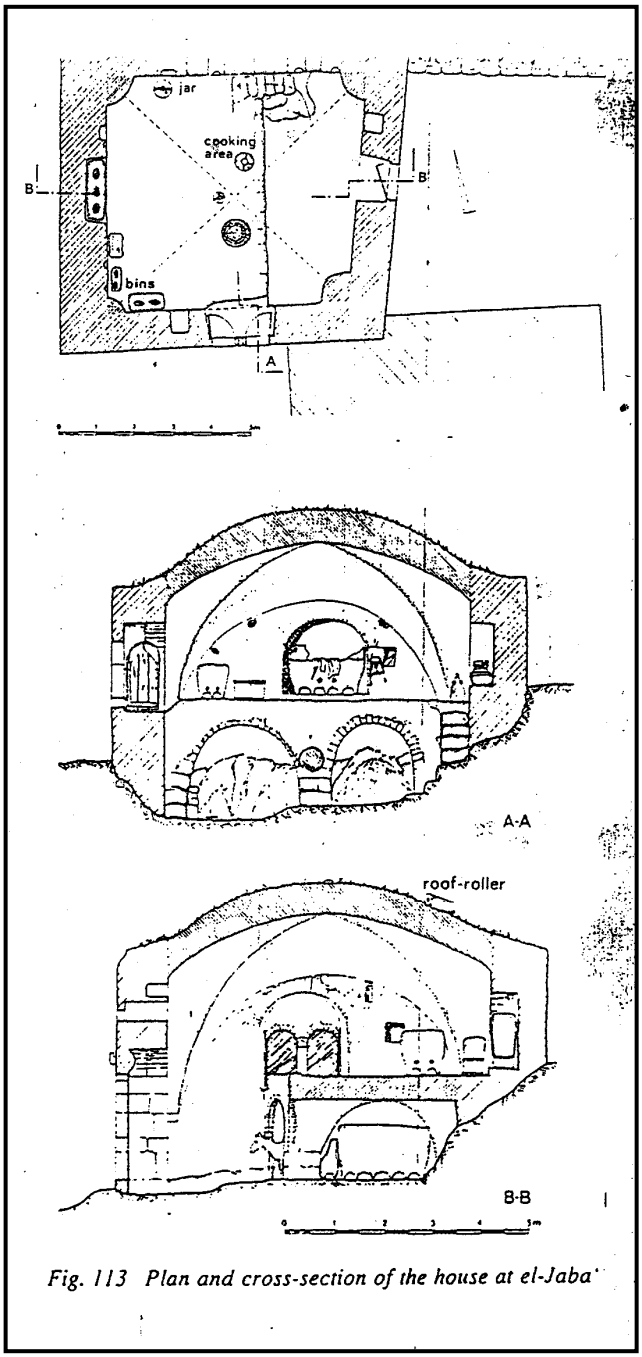

Figure 2.5: The peasant stone house at el- Jaba'(Hirschfeld, 1995:159)

Moreover, in some rich villages such as the throne villages[4] very complicated castles were built with larger scale rooms and spaces that were more developed than in other places. Throne villages were distributed in the West Bank mountains such as *Rass Karkar*, *Deir Ghasaneh*, and *Ne'leen* in the central area, and *Kur, Arabeh, Deir Istia* in the north and *Dora* in the south. (Hadid, 2002:15).

[4] The throne villages are central villages in the Palestinian rural areas controlled by big families who also owned the whole land of the villages, and collected taxes from the peasants for the Ottomans.

Finally, it is useful to mention that examples of temporary domestic architecture were found in the Palestinian villages. Caves and huts are strong examples of such primitive shelters, which were used by shepherds and field guards in summer time (Canaan, 1932: 225).

2.3 Typologies of the Peasant Stone House

Depending on Hadid (2002:14); Fuchs (1998:158); Hirschfeld (1995:132) and Canann (1933:33-39) the peasant house followed two general principles:

- The whole house consisted of an all-purpose rectangular room where all household activities such as living, sleeping, work, and storage of produce took place. The nuclear family and its dependents shared this single space.
- The space was divided into two zones by a difference in level: a lower "soiled" area (called *rawieh or Qa' al-bait*) near the entrance, and an elevated space reserved for living and sleeping (called *mastabeh*).

Fuchs (1998: 158-159) elaborated that except for these two determining principles, a great variety of layouts were possible as follows (Figure 2.6):

- A- typology: the soiled area consisted of a small square near the door, 10-15 cm lower than the floor of the house, where visitors could leave their shoes.
- B-typology: the soiled area took up a sizable part of the floor area providing space for work and stabling animals.
- C-typology: the elevated surface was constructed as a gallery, leaving usable space underneath and requiring access by a staircase.

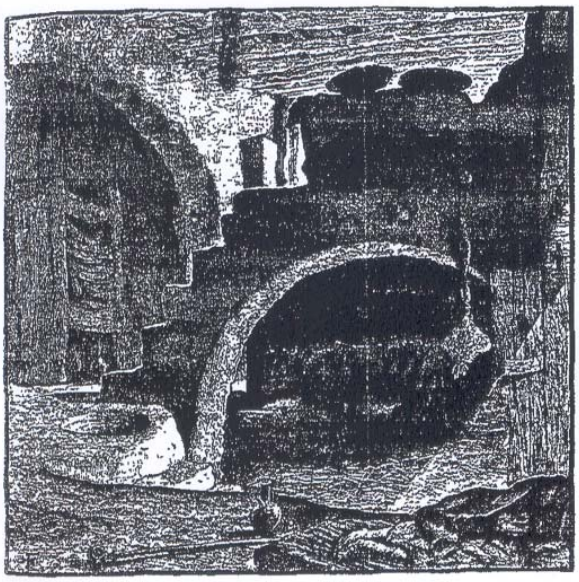

Fig. 1. Interior of a Palestinian village house. (From Charles Wilson, *Picturesque Palestine*, 4 vols. [London: 1880–1884], vol. 1, p. 129)

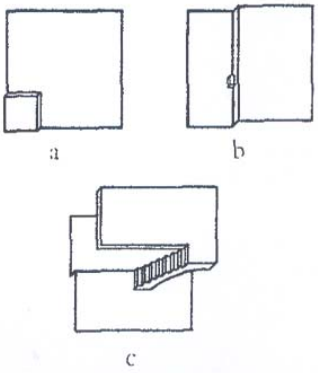

Fig. 2 Basic typology of interior arrangements in the single-space village house: (a) a depressed square inside the door, (b) elevated platform or *divan*, (c) a house with a gallery floor.

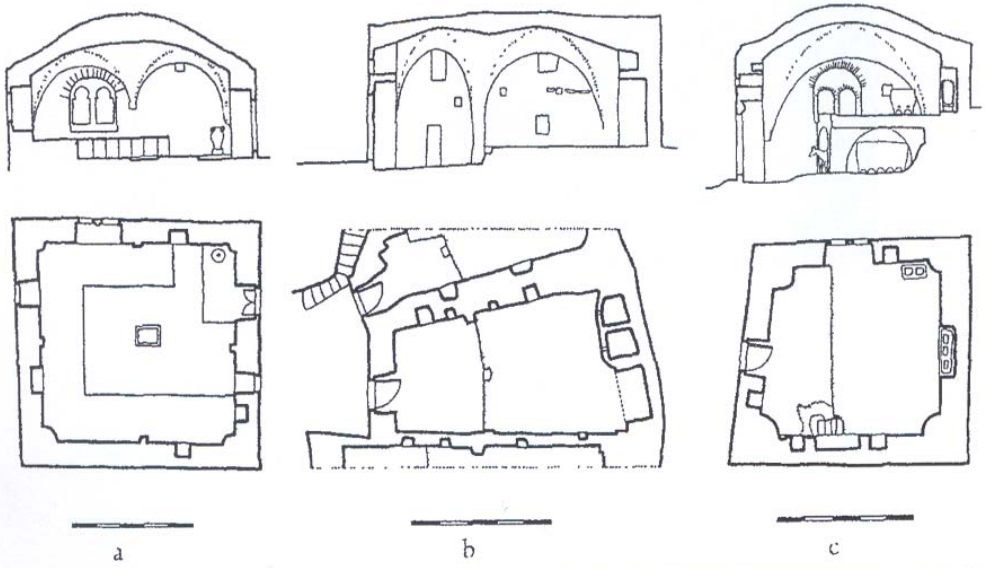

Fig 3. Palestinian village houses: (a) a guest house (*madafa*), Bani Na'im; (b) one apartment in a cluster of three, Tuffah; (c) house, al-Ja'ba. All examples are from the vicinity of Hebron. (Redrawn and simplified from Yizhar Hirschfeld, *The Palestinian Dwelling in the Roman-Byzantine Period* [Jerusalem, 1995], figs. 159, 121, 113)

Figure 2.6: The Palestinian peasant house typologies: a : a depressed square inside the door, b: elevated platform, c: house with a gallery floor(Fuchs, 1998:159)

He added that in some cases a built-in bench for sitting might be found along the wall of the *mastabeh*. In rich houses this might take the form of a complete stone divan as A-typology in Figure 2.6 shows. Some houses had an outdoor *mastabeh;* actually this *mastabeh* repeats the same idea as the indoor one.

2.4 Main Architectural Elements in the Peasant Stone House

According to Canann (1933:22-39); Hirschfeld (1995:121-131); Fuchs (1998:158-160) and Hadid (2002:20-21), the main architectural elements of the peasant stone house can be summarized as:

- **Walls:** traditional stone walls were built in a typical way. Good walls used to have a thickness that varied from 80-120cm, not only to support the weight of the roof, but also to support the thrust of the vault, and the lateral loads. Owing to their very thick walls, traditional houses remained cooler in the summer and warmer in the winter. The core of the wall, the gap between the outer and the inner courses, is made of small rubble stones and mortar (Figure 2.7). The stones are built in such a way that the joints of one course will not fall in the same line as those of the upper or lower ones. A long tying stone was also periodically incorporated breadthwise into the wall to link its inner and outer faces. Special attention was paid to the corners stones because they are important for the stability of the house.

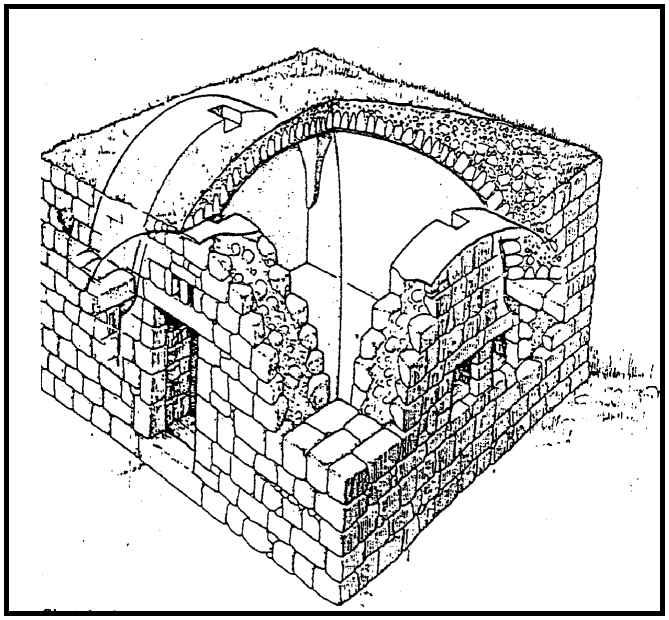

Figure 2.7: Sketch showing the peasant house cross vault and walls (Hirschfeld, 1995:129)

- **Roofs**: the traditional Palestinian buildings in the mountainous regions, both in towns and in villages, used to be vaulted (Hirschfeld, 1995:127). Cross vaulting[5] was the common technique; it allowed the dispreading of the pressure and weight at the center of the roof and divided it equally among corner pilasters. This technique had a long span structure that reached 10*10m (Figure 2.7). Rarely, a roofing system of barrel vaults was used. The roofs were more or less flat with a low dome-like elevation in the center. To prevent leakage of rain water, the roof was covered with a thick layer of a special kind of mortar. Also every roof was provided with a protruding spout for the discharge of rain water. The spout was either flat with a curved cannel stone or was a clay pipe (Hadid, 2002:14; Canaan, 1933:24-25).

- **Pottery openings** (*mashrabieh*): sometimes low mud walls were constructed on top of the roof and openings were made in these walls by pottery, these small openings in walls are used for privacy reasons, the openings were made to let the fresh air pass through to the inside (Figure 2.8). These openings were also part of an indigenous technique that was created in order to acclimatize to the hot weather. According to Hohmann[6] these pottery openings were usually wetted by water to cool the air.

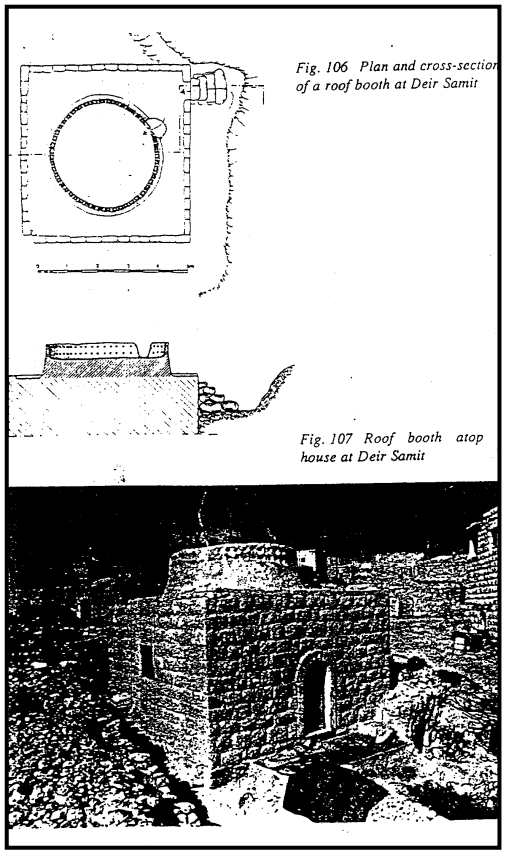

Figure 2.8: The peasant house's roof booth (Hirschfeld,1995:155)

- **Floors:** stone tiling was the main common material in building tiles, for economical reasons some houses and buildings had no stones. Tamped earth, clay or lime mortar

[5] Techniques of construction are explained in Hirschfeld (1995:127-131) and Canaan (1933:24-25)
[6] Based on Hasso Hohmann's field observations in Nablus City-Palestine.

were used in some cases instead of the expensive stones. At the beginning of the 20th century colored tiles were used in towns and in rich peasant houses.

- **Openings:** the peasant house had few or no windows; usually the windows were small and set high up in the wall, over time they became larger and were placed lower down. According to Hirschfeld (1995:122) the sides of the window were widened inward to provide more light. Also the peasant house often has single or double holes above the door's lintel for lighting and ventilating issues. Special attention was paid to the entrances in the construction process; the doorpost stones were usually large and finely dressed. The entrance's lintel was often monolithic in old houses, while in the newer houses the lintel was arched which is considered by the villagers to be more elegant. Canaan (1933:22) stated that the main arches found in peasant houses were: pointed arch, semi-circular arch, horseshoe arch and Persian arch - a very pointed arch. Wooden doors and shutters were made by the carpenter and were attached by simple hinges inserted directly into the doorposts and sides of the windows and closed by a bolt and lock.

- **Niches or recesses:** niches of various sizes were installed on the inner surfaces of the walls, these niches were used for:

    a. Water jug near the entrance.

    b. Oil lamp.

    c. Mattresses which need a large recess in the living space or on the higher level.

- **Shelves:** shelves were made of clay and sometimes from wood. These shelves were generally worked in an artistic way showing a broken frieze and drawings executed with Niles and used for the deposition of different objects (dishes, oil lamp,…) depending on their size (Canaan, 1933:28).

- **Bench:** the peasant house sometimes has a bench on one side – same elevation and connected with the wall. It is a meter or a meter and a half long and thirty to sixty centimeters high. This bench is covered with a carpet or bedding and served as a seat in daytime and as a bed at night. In rich houses this might take the form of a complete stone divan as mentioned before.

- **Storage places:** places for keeping goods, food cereals and tools were often prominent features of the interior. Grain would be stored in clay containers or more elaborately in a system of compartments constructed of a wooden frame coated in plaster. When the opening of each compartment was unblocked the grain would flow down into a bowl underneath. (Fuchs, 1998: 160). According to Canaan (1933:35) a row of these bins or jars divides the higher level of the house (*mastabeh*) into two parts and behind these dividing jars the space serves as a lumber room, while Hirschfeld (1995:132) explained that these bins were located in the wall sides and corners of the upper level and did not divide the space.

- **Fireplace:** the fireplace was located in one of the living room walls and mainly in the door elevation, a cupboard-like hollow, in the form of a horseshoe, on the level of the floor and usually had no chimney. It was used for heating and cooking in winter time. In some cases a small opening (chimney- like) was left in the roof as a vent for the smoke (Canaan, 1933:37-38).

- **Decoration:** peasants liked to decorate their houses, the walls were decorated with simple primitive drawings of indigo representing hands, palm twigs, flower-pots and friezes of undulating lines which usually represented a serpent and very rarely animals. Rich landlords decorated their interior rooms with colored earthenware dishes, one in the center of the vault and one in each haunch of the cross vault. This technique existed in urban houses more than in rural houses (Hirschfeld, 1995:130-131).

- ***Mastabeh:*** the peasant house used to have an inner *mastabeh* and sometimes an outer one. The outer one is located in front of the house or on the roof for sitting outdoors. It could consist simply of a low terrace of rubble containing a rough retaining wall or in more elaborated examples it could be a loggia surrounded by a balustrade and covered by a thatch awning or by a vine (Fuchs, 1998:158-160).

- **Small room outside:** some houses had a small, low building adjoining the door, it served as a kitchen and also for boiling coffee in summer time, when the guests assembled in the courtyard (Cannan, 1933:38).

2.5 Materials of the Peasant Stone House

Stone was the main construction material in traditional Palestinian dwellings in the mountainous areas. According to Hirschfeld (1995:111) traditional building indicates those structures built in pre-modern Palestine or before the use of iron and cement as mentioned before. Here is a list of the main materials that were used in the peasant stone house:

- **Limestone,** which is the local stone that is used in the central mountainous areas. The characteristics of the stone in the central mountains vary according to locality. The traditional classification of limestone in the area was based on use the rather than on the origin. There are two main types: the soft stones which were used for filling and the hard stones which were used for building. Traditional Palestinian builders used both field stones as well as ancient buildings stones, only the rich homeowners could afford to acquire newly quarried stones. The extent of stone-dressing also reflected the relative wealth of the owners (Hirschfeld, 1995:119).

- **Mortar** was composed of two distinct elements: the binder (lime, hydraulic lime) and the aggregates (sand, gravel, brick dust, ashes, straw or other organic elements).

a. Lime:

   Quicklime (Calcium Oxide-*CaO*) made by burning limestone (Calcium Carbonate-*CaCO3*), was slaked by adding water to create hydrated lime (Calcium Hydrate-*Ca(OH)2*) . Lumps of fresh quicklime were added to water, the mixture was stirred until the chemical reaction was complete; it was strained through a mesh and finally stored for at least two weeks under water in sealed containers. Since World War II, pre-hydrated lime- a powder form that can be mixed immediately before use- has replaced quicklime in many parts of the world.

b. Sand:

   Sand gives mortar most of its characteristic color and texture. In traditional buildings sand was not screened and graded as today and therefore had different sizes of grains. Natural sand is much better than manufactured ones for binding with lime. Other aggregates like brick-dust usually make up a small proportion of the total. Other materials like animal hair, clay particles and partially burnt lime are commonly found in old mortar.

- **Wood** had been used in traditional building in doors, windows and niches. Local woods were expensive building materials. In addition to the openings, wood was used as a structural element for roofs in the mudstone houses in the Jordan Valley and on the coastal plain.

2.6 Original Use of the Peasant House

The Palestinian peasant house is his fortress. Actually the chief festive events in the life of a Palestinian peasant or townsman are three in number: marriage, the birth of male children and the acquisition of a new house (Canaan, 1933:57-58).

Canaan (1933) and Hirschfeld (1995) concluded that the original use of the peasant house spaces was clear. According to Hirschfeld (1995:132) "the main principle of design in the interior of the peasant house was the creation of a combined living and storage space without internal partitions". As a matter of fact the inspection of the interior of the peasant house induces increasing wonder at how human beings can exist in such conditions (no ventilation, no lighting, crowded, sleeping side by side....). This is actually related to the peculiar habits of the inhabitants who spend most of their life outdoors, except in the few rainy days and cold weeks of the year. For example, in summer the peasants either desert their houses and move to their huts in the vineyards or spend their days outdoors and their nights on the roofs of their houses. So the use of the peasant house usually depended on the time of day and year. A description of the use of each part of the peasant house follows:

- **The main room of the house** "*Al -Biet*": This room, as mentioned before, was a multi-purpose room. The absence of large furnishings and the maximum use of wall recesses allowed this room to serve as a bedroom, guest room, kitchen, dining room and work room (Hirschfeld, 1995:132). Below, a detailed explanation showing the spatial arrangement of different uses, the related elements and timing, is given.

Table 2.1: The original pattern of use for the main room of the house

Space - Room	**Use**	**Element**	**Time**
Upper level "*Mastabeh*"	Meeting guests and sitting	- Built in bench - Niche for mattresses - Hearth	Mostly in winter-rainy and cold days
Left side of the entrance (upper level)	House owner for sleeping	- Built in bench - Niche for mattresses	Anytime in night (specially winter)
In the corner nearest the back wall (upper level)	Wife and baby for sleeping		
Right side of the entrance (upper level)	Children for sleeping		
Closer to the entrance (upper level)	Old ones for sleeping		
Near the back wall (upper level)	Young ones for sleeping		
Center of the room – near the hearth	Kitchen	- Fireplace at side wall - Hearth in center - Clay or wooden shelves - Lumber room	Anytime
Corners and side walls	Storage	- Recesses - Silos - Wooden boxes - Lumber room	Anytime
Entrance area	Water jar	- Jar niche	Anytime
	Leaving shoes		Anytime
Lower level "*Rawieh*"	Stable	- Bins - Mangers	Anytime
	Storage	- Bins - Silos - Recesses	Anytime

- **The Roof:** this element played an important role in the life of the Palestinian peasants and is considered as an extension of the courtyard as the following table shows.

Table 2.2: The original pattern of use for the house's roof

Space-Roof	Use	Element	Time
	Sleeping and resting	- Pergola (*aresheh*) - Attic (*illiyeh*) in wealthy houses	Summer nights
	Gathering and meeting guests	- Pergola (*aresheh*) - Attic (*illiyeh*) in wealthy houses	Summer time
	Storage and food drying	- In some cases: Wide opening in the roof (*rozanah)*	Summer time
	Visual and verbal communication with neighbors		Anytime

- **The Courtyard:** it was associated with many occasions in the peasants' daily lives and functioned as a barrier between private and public. According to Hirschfeld (1995:138) it was bounded by a stone wall to underline its private character and the custom of not crossing the threshold without the owner's permission expressed this symbolic function. Below an explanation of the main uses of the courtyard is given.

Table 2.3: The original pattern of use for the house's courtyard

Space-Courtyard	Use	Element	Time
Front of the house	Festivals	- Outdoor *mastabeh* - Pergola - Tree or vine	Summer
	Family for sitting	- Outdoor *mastabeh* - Pergola - Tree or vine	Sunny days
	Meeting guests	-Outdoor *mastabeh* - Pergola - Tree or vine	Sunny days
Far corner	Bread making	-Mud oven (*taboun*)	
Near the door	-Cooking -Dish washing-other kitchen activities - Laundering clothes	- Stone paved part - Sometimes :special low room near the door of the house -Ropes tied to building	Sunny days
Far corner of the courtyard	Stabling of animals	- Hen house - Dovecote - Trough - Special low room	Anytime
Front of the house	Collecting rain water	- Cistern	Anytime
Courtyard entrance	Water jug	- Recess	Anytime

It is important to add that the members of the typical rural family generally had no permanent structures for the relief of bodily functions, since permanent privies adjoining the houses were rare. For women, a place surrounded by a stone was prepared. Later everyone had a toilet in his courtyard (Hirschfeld, 1995:142-143).

2.7 Threats to Palestinian Traditional Domestic Architecture

Pressure on the traditional habitat began with the process of industrialization, though it was much accentuated by the modern movement and urbanism in the early 20th century seeking new models of dwelling and building cities that could overcome the deficiencies of traditional settlements; it went as far as denying all functional, social and even aesthetic values, and radically placed "the new" before "the old". (RehabiMed, 2005:11)

Palestinian traditional domestic architecture as a part of the structure of historic and traditional nucleuses is facing major challenges in accommodating the requirements of modernity. As mentioned before, the experience of home is paralyzed and eroded as a result of concentrating on the tangible aspects of housing environment and ignoring the intangible meanings. The historic dwellings were severely affected by the rationalism and commoditization factors. The Palestinian lifestyle has changed. Duncan wrote "the Third World societies that traditionally were highly collectivistic have been moving along the continuum toward individualism" (Duncan, 1985:134). Thus, the extended family system is rarely noticed while the nuclear family system is the usual social structure. This transformation caused major changes in the traditional domestic architecture in general and in the peasant's house built form in particular.

In sum, the Palestinian historic domestic nucleuses are affected by different factors according to each historical, political and regional circumstance, which can be summed up as five main vectors of pressure, sometimes complementary or simultaneous, and with differing degrees of influence:

- The occupation policies that affect the residency in the historical areas as well as its actions in the destruction and demolition of cultural heritage. The damage caused by the Israeli army invasion of Nablus old city in 2002 is a clear example of that.

- Overpopulation due to migration with the subsequent physical (over-occupation and modification of dwelling), social (constitution of ghettos, insecurity, etc.) and environmental (insalubrities, lack of comfort, pollution) problems. For instance,

Jerusalem old city is suffering from overpopulation because of political reasons and the occupation policies.

- Depopulation due to the abandonment of the historic fabric for the city, with the subsequent loss of social values and the deterioration of buildings and architectural heritage as well as the occupation policies. Hebron old city is facing a real danger of depopulation caused mainly by the occupational policies of establishing Israeli settlements inside the old city.

- The investment impacts through the demolition of traditional architecture for the benefit of investment projects. So the consequences are the demolition of heritage, the destruction of the historic fabric with the creation of new streets and the incoherent insertion of new architectures as is obvious in Ramallah's historic core.

- The lack of development strategies that updated the historical fabric to adapt to the modern lifestyle with subsequent modification of dwellings, constitution of ghettos, pollution and lack of comfort. The case in Ramallah's historic core and in most historical villages and cities reflect this laxness.

Concentrating on the peasant house as a simple construction and a primitive mode of dwelling, it is evident that it has its own physical burdens to overcome; these burdens are in general related to the following characteristics:

- Its area is small and inefficient for the basic needs of contemporary families.

- It has no identified spaces for different functions and different family members.

- It does not include a kitchen or a bathroom in its interior space and there are no facilities for cooking and sanitation.

- It is badly lighted and ventilated.

- Its lower part is not used for the family animals any more; the change of lifestyle has led to that. So it has been transformed into an ignored and abandoned space.

- Its court is visually strongly connected to the surrounding context.

2.8 Local Palestinian Experience in the Rehabilitation of Traditional Domestic Architecture

The Palestinian experience in the rehabilitation of domestic architecture can be traced back to the 1990s, when a few non-governmental organizations and committees started to take on the responsibility of conserving the Palestinian cultural heritage. These organizations are:

- RIWAQ Architectural Conservation Center- established in 1991/Ramallah.
- Conservation Unit-Nablus Municipality - started in 1991/Nablus.
- Old City of Jerusalem Revitalization Programme (OCJRP) -Welfare Association- established in 1994 /Jerusalem.
- Hebron Rehabilitation Committee (HRC) - established in 1996/Hebron.
- Centre for Architecture Heritage (CAH) - established in 2000/ Gaza.
- Center for Cultural Heritage Preservation (CCHP) - established in 2001 /Bethlehem.

Besides the previously-mentioned Palestinian institutions, many international agencies and institutions took part in protecting traditional Palestinian architecture, in the form of financial donations such as the Swedish International Development and Cooperation Agency (SIDA) and the RehabiMED role in funding RIWAQ's projects. And in the form of technical and practical support such as the role of *Internationales Städteforum Graz* (IGS) and Graz University of Technology (TU Graz) in preparing the rehabilitation plan for the old city of Nablus in cooperation with Nablus municipality and Al Najah University.

When reviewing the main events and accomplishments in the Palestinian rehabilitation efforts, it is important to point out the remarkable achievements of Hebron Rehabilitation committee (HRC) and the Old City of Jerusalem Revitalization Programme (OCJRP) in winning the Aga Khan Award in Architecture. These two bodies are working under special political situations, in both cases the main goal was to protect and strengthen the Palestinian existence in these two old cities. This aim was a priority and everything was done to achieve it. Rehabilitating the city, and preserving its heritage and creating a better quality of life for its inhabitants were the main tools for that. Actually both of the organizations were able to support and protect the inhabitants' existence. For example in Hebron they succeeded in rehabilitating 500 houses (see Figure2.9) (www.cpt.org/hebron, retrieved January, 2009).

Figure 2.9: Old city of Hebron, examples of rehabilitated houses (Hebron Rehabilitation Committee, 2008)

The Center for Cultural Heritage Preservation (CCHP) was an extended body of Bethlehem 2000 project focusing on Bethlehem city and province. This organization has several examples of domestic architecture preservation, its main projects are: Rehabilitation of *Al-Anatrah* Quarter-Bethlehem city and the rehabilitation of the old quarters in *Beit Jala*, in which the rehabilitation process concentrated on the beautification of the facades and did not enhance the inner spaces and the contents of the buildings (Figure 2.10). The CCHP also rehabilitated a group of different domestic buildings for adaptive reuse but not for the original domestic use such as: *Dar khamis,Dar Abu Eid* and *Dar Sansour* (www.bethlehem2000.org, retrieved January, 2009).

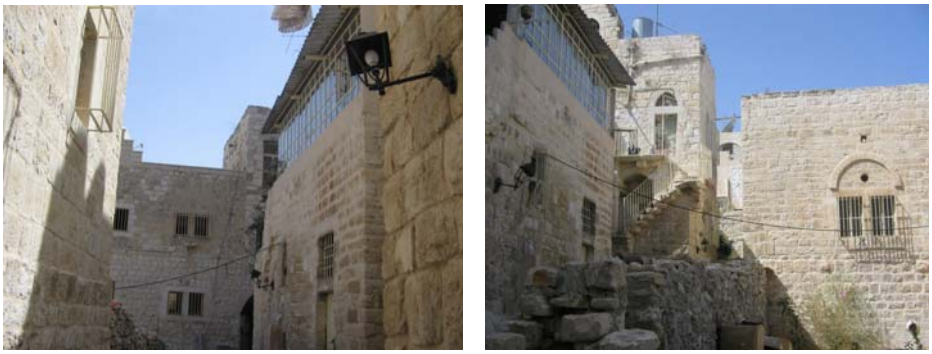

Figure 2.10: Old City of Bethlehem: elevation maintenance and beautification (Author, 2008)

Nablus municipality's conservation unit has been working from 1991 to rehabilitate the old city of Nablus in cooperation with Al Najah University and different international organizations and institutions. According to *Dr. Mohamad Abdel Hadi*[7] the Israeli invasion of Nablus in 2002 affected this process. The different efforts of the municipality did not include any examples of the rehabilitation of traditional domestic architecture for residential use, except *al khan* project which included a section as a motel.

RIWAQ Center in Ramallah is an active body in the rehabilitation of the old core of Ramallah city and its province. As well, it has several projects in different Palestinian regions in the West Bank. And it shared several projects in Hebron and Jerusalem with the HRC and the OCJRP. According to Arch. *Farhat Yousef* [8] RIWAQ is working on three main projects regarding the rehabilitation of domestic architecture, these are in Ramallah, Birzeit and Al-Taybeh. The project of Ramallah is still in the analysis stage, its focus is preparing a rehabilitation plan for the historical core of Ramalalh. The main goal of the other two projects is to develop a revitalization and rehabilitation plan for the historic centers in both towns. Concerning the rehabilitation of domestic architecture for residential use, RIWAQ has already carried out a few projects. Two of them are privately owned, these are: *Dar Yousef Fasakh* in Birzeit (Figure 2.11) and *Nassar Odeh* residence in Al Taybeh. The other one is *Hawsh Al Helo* in Jerusalem old city, which was a joint project between RIWAQ and the OCJRP (Figure 2.12).

Figure 2.11: *Yousef Farsakh* house in Birzeit (Author, September 2008)

[7] Architect and designer in the Conservation unit of Nablus municipality 1995 – 2001.
8 Chief of planning unit in RIWAQ

Figure 2.12: *Hawsh El Helo* court in the Old city of Jerusalem (OCJRP, 2008)

In Gaza strip the Centre for Architecture Heritage (CAH) started to work from 2000. It targeted the Gaza city and strip. The main goals of this center are to enhance public awareness of the heritage value, promote education of heritage conservation to the general public and foster community participation. It also accomplished several conservation projects, as for example *Al-Samrah* bathroom, but no project has been carried out on domestic use (www.iugaza.edu, retrieved January, 2009).

By reviewing the previous projects it was clear that the Palestinian rehabilitation experience could not avoid the impacts of the local political circumstances. Besides, the conservation or rehabilitation procedures tend to be technically-oriented projects and not more. The immaterial aspects were not accorded the same attention given to the material aspects in studies and analysis. Focusing on the rehabilitation of domestic architecture, the experience of home environment and the meanings related to this relationship did not filter into the rehabilitation strategies

2.9 Summary

The previous sections showed that the peasant house is attempting to overcome the surrounding difficulties which caused major changes in its built form, as well as depopulation and destruction. Globally, institutions such as UNESCO and ICOMOS have issued repeated alerts about the loss of this kind of heritage. In this respect, mention should be made of the recommendations of the International Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas (Washington Charter) of 1987 and the Charter on Built Vernacular Heritage in 1999(see Appendix II). Locally, the Palestinian experience in the rehabilitation and conservation of peasant house is concentrating on other uses than the original residential use. This emphasizes the need for a national program to conserve the livability of these traditional domestic structures that form a part of our cultural identity. The case of Ramallah's historic core is an example of this dilemma, as is elucidated in the next chapter.

Chapter Three

Ramallah's Historic Core

As explained earlier, the purpose of this research is to investigate the interaction of the inhabitants of Ramallah's historic core with their traditional peasant houses and its consequences on the rehabilitation process. Accordingly, this chapter illustrates the historical, demographical, economic, urban and architectural aspects of Ramallah's historic core as well as describing the recent situation of the traditional buildings and the different rehabilitation projects and development efforts.

3.1 Introduction

Ramallah is distinguished by its central location in the approximate middle of the West Bank in Palestine, 16 km to the north of Jerusalem (see Figure 3.1). It is built on the top of a flat plateau approximately 860 m above sea level (Al-Dabbagh, 1991: 233-234). Ramallah city is the center of Ramallah and Al-Bireh Governorate with an area of 14706 dunam[9] and a built-up area of 4959 dunam (PCBS, 2000). It is attached to Al-Bireh city on the eastern side as a twin city.

Ramallah's historical core or "*Ramallah Eltehta*[10]" as it is called by the local inhabitants is located in the heart of Ramallah city surrounded by the modern business center on the eastern side, and residential neighborhoods on the other sides (Figure 3.2, Figure 3.7). Its area is 121.2 dunam which forms 1.07% of the area of the proposed master plan of Ramallah city that is supposed to be 11358 dunam. It contains 208 traditional buildings, about 55% of the traditional buildings in Ramallah city which are, in total, 376 buildings (RIWAQ, 2006: 26)

[9] dunam=1000m²
[10] Means the lower part of Ramallah

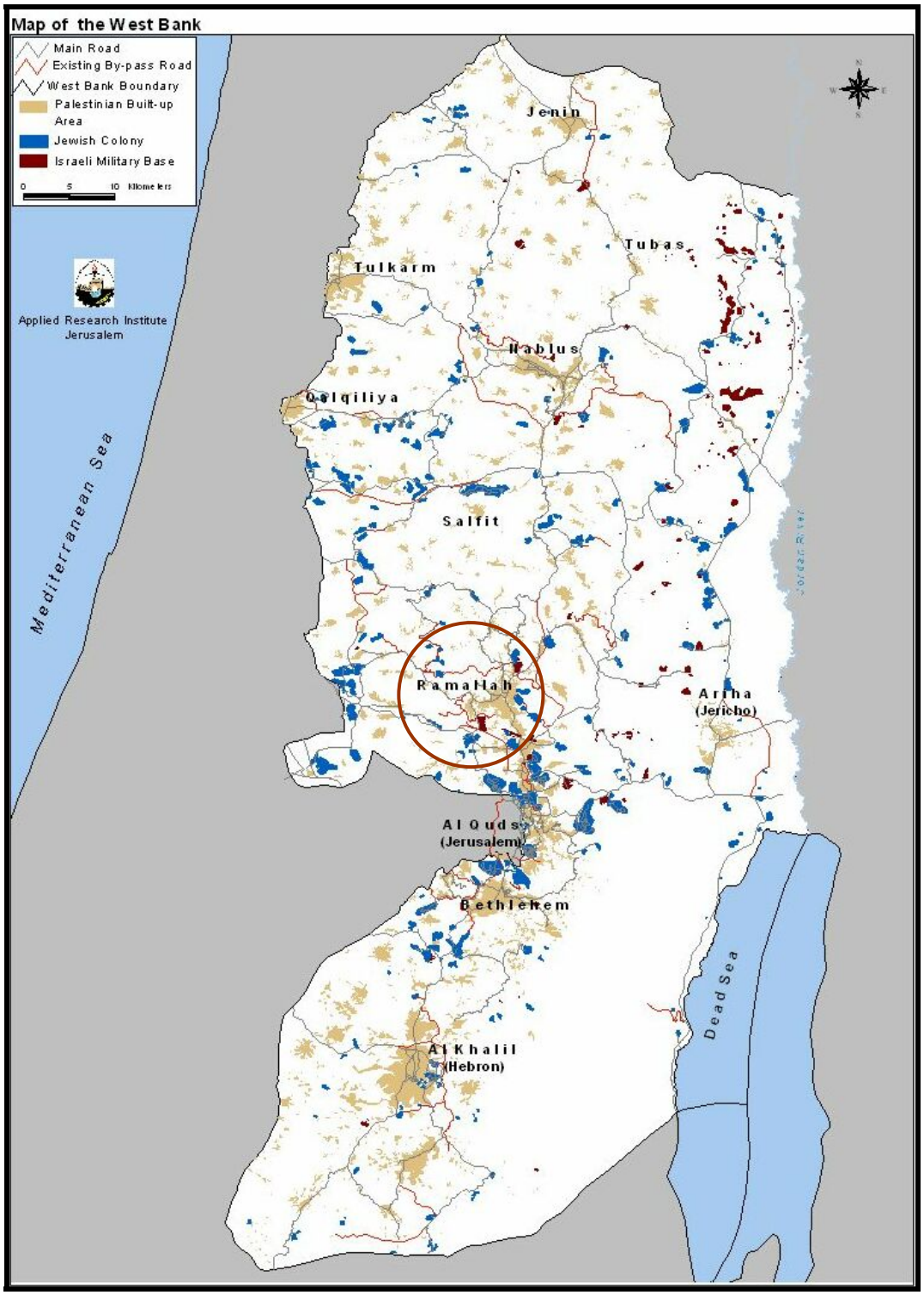

Figure 3.1: A map showing the West Bank (ARIJ, 2008)

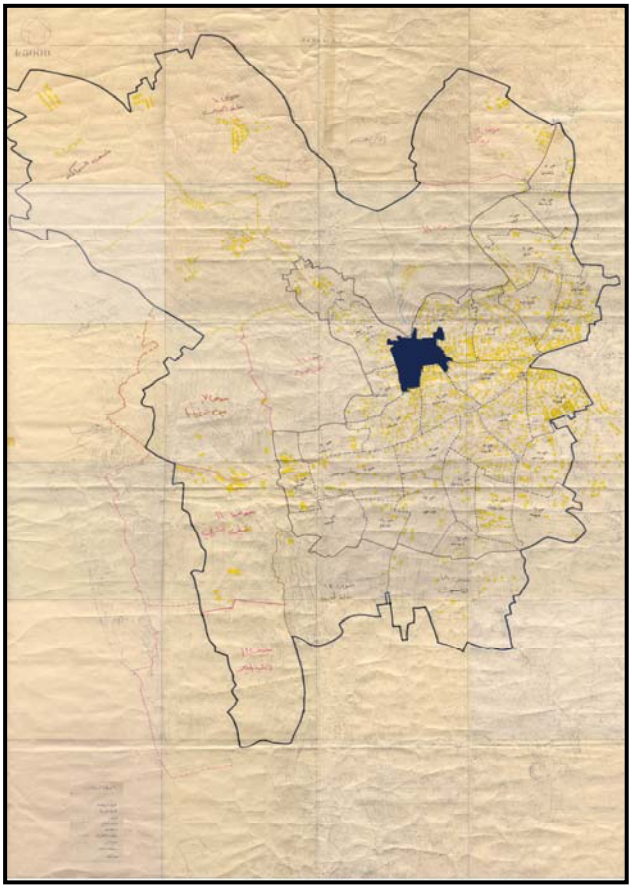

Figure 3.2: The master plan of Ramallah city 1971 showing the historic core borders (Al-Juabeh and Bsharah, 2002)

Figure 3.3: Ramallah's historic core compacted fabric (Author, 2008)

Ramallah's historic core was selected for this research because it is illustrious due to its spatiality as:

- It expresses the Palestinian peasant's lifestyle through its compacted fabric that is composed of traditional peasant houses which reflect the architectural identity of Ramallah's historic core (Figure 3.3).
- Its location in the center of Ramallah city, which is considered as an administrative, cultural, social and economical center because of its nearness to Jerusalem.
- It was chosen by RIWAQ out of 18 historical sites on the West Bank to prepare a Rehabilitation plan during the period 2005-2007.

Nowadays Ramallah's historic core is faced with a significant challenge in accommodating the new situation of Ramallah as an administrative and service center. While the traditional and functional whole of the historic core is often threatened, its historical fabric suffers from neglect and day after day it misses its authenticity and spirit and becomes uncomfortable and crowded (Figure 3.4).

A: Crowded and non-organized streets

B: Destruction of the traditional architecture

Figure 3.4: The situation in the historic core of Ramallah (Author, 2008)

3.2 Historical Background of Ramallah

There is more than one story about the present name of Ramallah. Referring to Al-Dabbagh (1991: 234-235) one story attributes the derivation of the name to the fact that Ramallah is built on a place called "Ramtaem Sofeem" mentioned in the Old Testament where the prophet Samuel was born. Another story says that the name Ramallah is composed of Ram-

an Aramaic word meaning hill or high place, and *Allah*- the Arabic word for God. Therefore, the name of Ramallah was originally either Ram or Rama, which lasted until the time of the Muslim conquest in the seventh century A.D. When the Arabs came to Rama, they seem to have added Allah to either Ram or Rama, and the site became known as Ramallah.

According to Al-Dabbagh (1991:235) modern Ramallah was founded in the early 1600s by the *Al- Haddadeen*, a tribe of brothers who were descended from Yemenite Christian Arabs. The *Hadadeens*, led by *Rashed Haddad*, arrived from east of the Jordan River near what is now the Jordanian town of *Shobak*.

As mentioned by Al-Juabeh and Bsharah (2002:9), Ramallah was settled during the period of the Crusades, it was no more than a military settlement or a military farm. Al-Dabbagh (1991:235) added that the Crusaders named it Ramallie. The Crusader tower, in the *Al-Shaqrah* neighborhood is all that remains from that era.

From the Crusaders' time till the Ottoman registration in 1596 A.D. there was no documented history about Ramallah. In this registration the population of Ramallah was approximately 400. According to oral history the *Al-Haddadeen* clan immigrated from east of the Jordan River to Palestine because of tribal struggles and settled in Ramallah during the 16th or the 17th century. The site they settled on is a hilly area near El-Bireh City with an orientation towards the west, and this site is now known as the historic core of Ramallah or *Ramallah Eltehta* as mentioned before. (Al-Juabeh and Bsharah, 2002:9; Shaheen, 1982:10).

The location of Ramallah was preferential because of water springs in the area which are important for any human settlement. Also Ramallah has suitable Mediterranean weather conditions for human settlement. It has an average annual rainfall of around 400mm and fertile soil which make it appropriate for cultivating olives, vines, figs and for raising animals.

During *Ibrahim Basha's* (1831-1840 A.D.) rule of Palestine, western culture and the Christian predicatory mission had a good chance to penetrate. This relation affected the development of Ramallah in addition to all the other Palestinian cities such as Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Beit–Jala, Jaffa…etc. As a matter of fact the Palestinian urban style of life started to develop and a few public buildings started to be founded (Al-Juabeh and Bsharah, 2002:15).

By the beginning of the twentieth century Ramallah was an active agricultural town. It was declared a city in 1908 and had an elected municipality as well as partnership projects with the adjoining town of El-Bireh. In World War I, a few locals joined the Turkish army; a number of them were killed. The Friends Boys School became a temporary hospital during

the war. The British Army occupied Ramallah in December 1917, and the British Mandate in Palestine began in April 1920 and ended in 1948. After the 1948 Arab-Israeli War Ramallah was under Jordanian control.

After the 1967 War and the Israeli occupation of Jerusalem and the West Bank including Ramallah, the Israelis controlled planning and development processes. This caused degradation in the construction and economical development of Ramallah that led to a deterioration in the quality of life.

3.3 Urban Demography of Ramallah's Historic Core

The demographical changes in Ramallah were always driven by economic and political developments besides the natural growth rate. In this regard the demographical study of Ramallah's historic core is divided to three main phases: before 1917, 1917-1994 and after 1994.

- **Before 1917**

In the Ottoman registration for the year 1596 A.D. Ramallah's population was around 400 persons, 71 Christian families and 9 Muslim families. Its economy depended on the agricultural production of cereals, olives and vines.

As mentioned before, oral history could not identify an actual date for the *Al- Hadadeen* immigration to Ramallah, so it was between the late 1600s and the early 1700s. *Al-Haddadeen* is a Christian clan that consisted of seven families: *Dar Yousef, Al-Shaqrah, Dar Awad, Dar Ibrahim, Dar Jerias*, *Al-Sharaqah*, and *Dar-Jughub*, each of these families had its own quarter in the historical core except *Dar Awad* that was replaced by *Al-Hasasneh* family (Figure 3.5). Hence Ramallah started to be an attractive place for other Christian families coming either from Palestine or from East Jordan (Al-Juabeh and Bsharah, 2002:10).

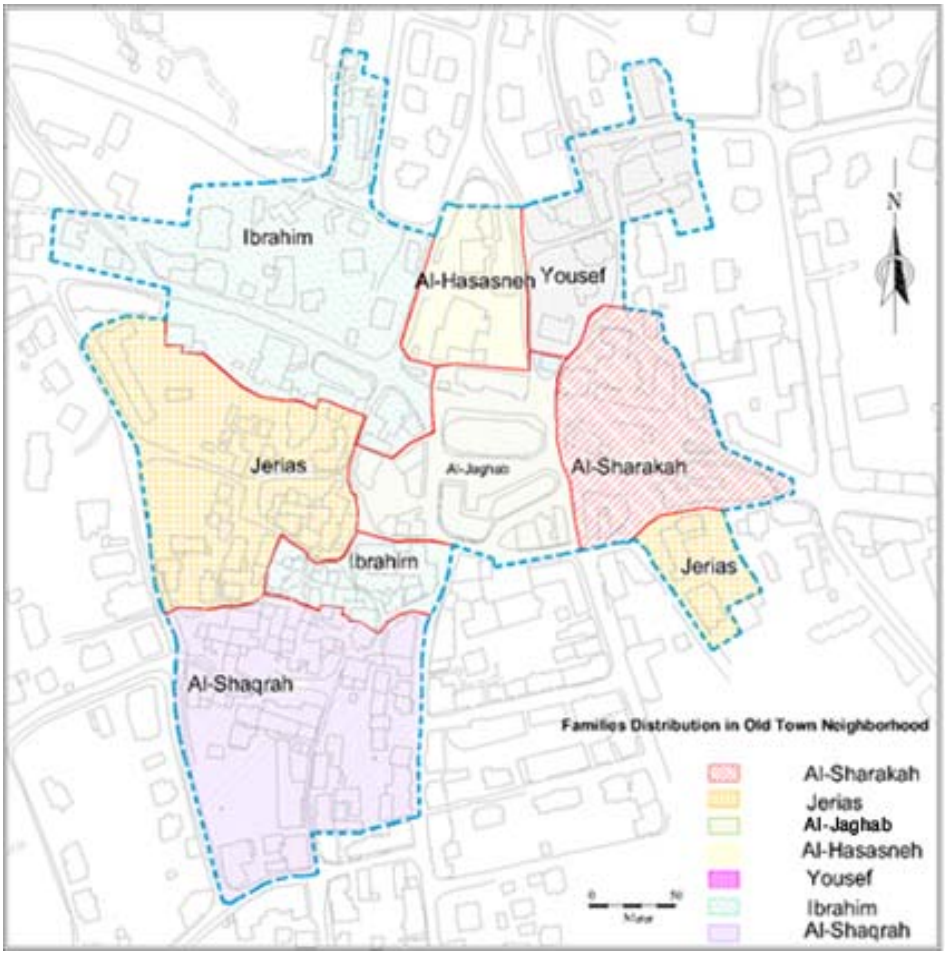

Figure 3.5: A Map of the historic core of Ramallah showing the distribution of Ramallah's original families (Author based on Al-Juabeh and Bsharah ,2002)

Because of the bad economic and political situation, the emigration movement to North and South America started in the late 1900s.

- **Between 1917-1994**

The emigration to North and South America affected the social, economical, cultural and architectural development of the region. The emigration movement accelerated during the beginning of the 20th century. The main reason for it was the bad economical and political situation in Palestine. Shaheen (1982) stated that the number of emigrants till 1946 was 1500 persons; while in 1953 it was 2580, this shows the relation between the emigration and the 1948 war.

Besides the emigration movement, the fact that Ramallah's original citizens longed to work in the institutions of the British mandate and in public institutions founded by the Christian predicatory mission, affected the nature of rural life of Ramallah. Truthfully this caused a

new style of urban life to appear. This situation led to a demographical change in Ramallah's historical core since the need for labor, especially in agriculture, made Ramallah attractive for migrants from other cities and villages, especially from Hebron villages.

Because of the new social and economic status of Ramallah's original citizens, they started to build new houses in the surrounding areas. The historic core was neglected; accordingly the new migrants from the Hebron area were settled in the deserted peasant houses in the historical core of Ramallah.

The most dramatic demographical change happened after the 1948 war, when the refugees from the occupied part of Palestine settled in Ramallah, particularly those who were exuded from Al-Ramleh, Al-Lud, Jaffa and their villages. Because of its nature as a Christian city, its economical conditions, availability of work opportunities, its proximity to the Palestinian coast and the founded charities, Ramallah became an attractive location for the refugees from these areas. According to Al-Juabeh and Bshara (2002), the number of refugees who came to Ramallah was 8500, while its citizens, including those who came from the Hebron area, were 4500. This change caused a non-planned construction movement and misuse of the historical core that exceeded its ability to absorb the change since many of the refugees were settled in its abandoned buildings.

As a result of the 1967 war and the Israeli occupation of Jerusalem and the West Bank which caused a bad political and economical situation, Ramallah faced another emigration movement especially to the United States, Arab Gulf Countries and Jordan.

Besides the impact of emigration and exile on the demography of Ramallah's historic core, another major change started to take place in the social structure of the Palestinian community in general. Due to socioeconomic changes such as: the growth of employment prospects for women, the increasing age of marriage, the rising level of education for women and the break up of the extended family, the patriarchal nature of Palestinian society underwent a redefinition. (Taraki, 1997).

- **After 1994 (Post Oslo Agreement)**

After the peace process in 1993 and the Oslo peace accord in 1994 new demographical changes took place. Besides the foundation of the Palestinian ministries, and the governmental and non-governmental institutions, many Palestinian investors returned to start up their businesses in Palestine. So a large number of the returnees who were looking for job

opportunities settled in Ramallah city in addition to the internal migration from other areas of Palestine. The following table 3.1 shows the city's population increase during 1922-2007.

Table 3.1: Ramallah city population

Year	Population	Source
1922	3104	(Al-Dabbagh, 1991:241)
1931	4286	(Al-Dabbagh, 1991:241)
1945	5080	(Al-Dabbagh, 1991:241)
1961	14759	(Al-Dabbagh, 1991:241)
1997	18017	(PCBS, 2000)
2005	24599	(www.pcbs.gov.ps, retrieved June, 2008)
2007	27460	(www.pcbs.gov.ps, retrieved October, 2009)

Therefore Ramallah's social structure has been influenced by the diverse migrants and people who came and settled in the city. The division of the city's inhabitants according to their origin is classified into four main categories:

- Original inhabitants
- Migrants
- Refugees
- Returnees

Consequently, the social structure of the historic core is no longer composed of extended family structure which depended on Ramallah's clans. The following table 3.2 shows a survey done by RIWAQ and Ramallah Municipality in 1998 that clarifies the demographical combination of this core.

Table 3.2: Origin of tenants among the historic core of Ramallah

Place of Origin	Percentage	Form
Ramallah	10.1%	Original inhabitants
Coast Refugees	20.6%	Refugees
Hebron	41.3%	Migrants
Other West Bank Areas	21.8%	Migrants
Gaza	0.8%	Migrants
Other 48 Refugees	3.2%	Refugees
Others	2.2%	

Source: (RIWAQ and the Municipality of Ramallah, 1998)

3.4 Economic Profile of Ramallah's Historic Core

According to Qasem (2006:133-135), due to the agricultural origin of Ramallah, its prosperity and development can be traced back to the simple crafts and industries that served as assisting factors for farmers and agriculture such as: the manufacture of agricultural and farming equipment, carpentry, blacksmith and ironwork of doors and old traditional windows.

Ramallah city has switched from being dependent on agriculture to relying more on trade and industry, and more recently on construction and services. The study conducted by RIWAQ (1998) stated that the historic core and the surrounding neighborhoods contained (384) commercial stores distributed according to the following categories:

- Nutrition and food stores (142 stores)
- Light industries and crafts (55 stores)
- Consumption material (49 stores)
- Restaurant and places of entertainment (5 stores)
- Public services (17 stores)
- Closed stores (116 stores)

This extremely large number of closed stores in the historic core reflects the deterioration in the economic situation of the area.

According to Qasem (2006:144), the household profession in the historic core of Ramallah was in most cases craftsmen and the monthly income was less than 2000 Israeli Shekel (approximately 400 Euro) for 78% of the study sample. The average household monthly expenditure in the urban areas is 639 Jordanian Dinar (approximately 600 Euro) (PCBS, 2006).

3.5 Urban Development of Ramallah's Historic Core

Ramallah has developed like any typical Palestinian agricultural village with a compact traditional spatial structure, accompanied by a unique and particular architectural fabric that is manifested through the integration of its structural elements and form. This fabric is composed of a number of adjacent yards that are in harmony with the rocky curved environment, and they functioned as semi-private plazas used mainly by women and children, since they are located in the heart of the residential area. Usually the demarcation between the private courtyard in front of the house and the public plaza is often a low rubble stone wall (*sinsila*) (RIWAQ, 1998). The old buildings were expanding around narrow paths (*qasabah*). The growth of construction was random and depended on family relations and ties, which gathered around the small yards of the historic quarter of the town.

Nowadays, the historical core forms one of four main parts of Ramallah city besides neighborhoods, fringe areas and open land beyond fringes (Shaheen, 2000) (see Figure 3.6). This made it essential when analyzing the urban development of the historic core to take into consideration the urban development of Ramallah city as a whole.

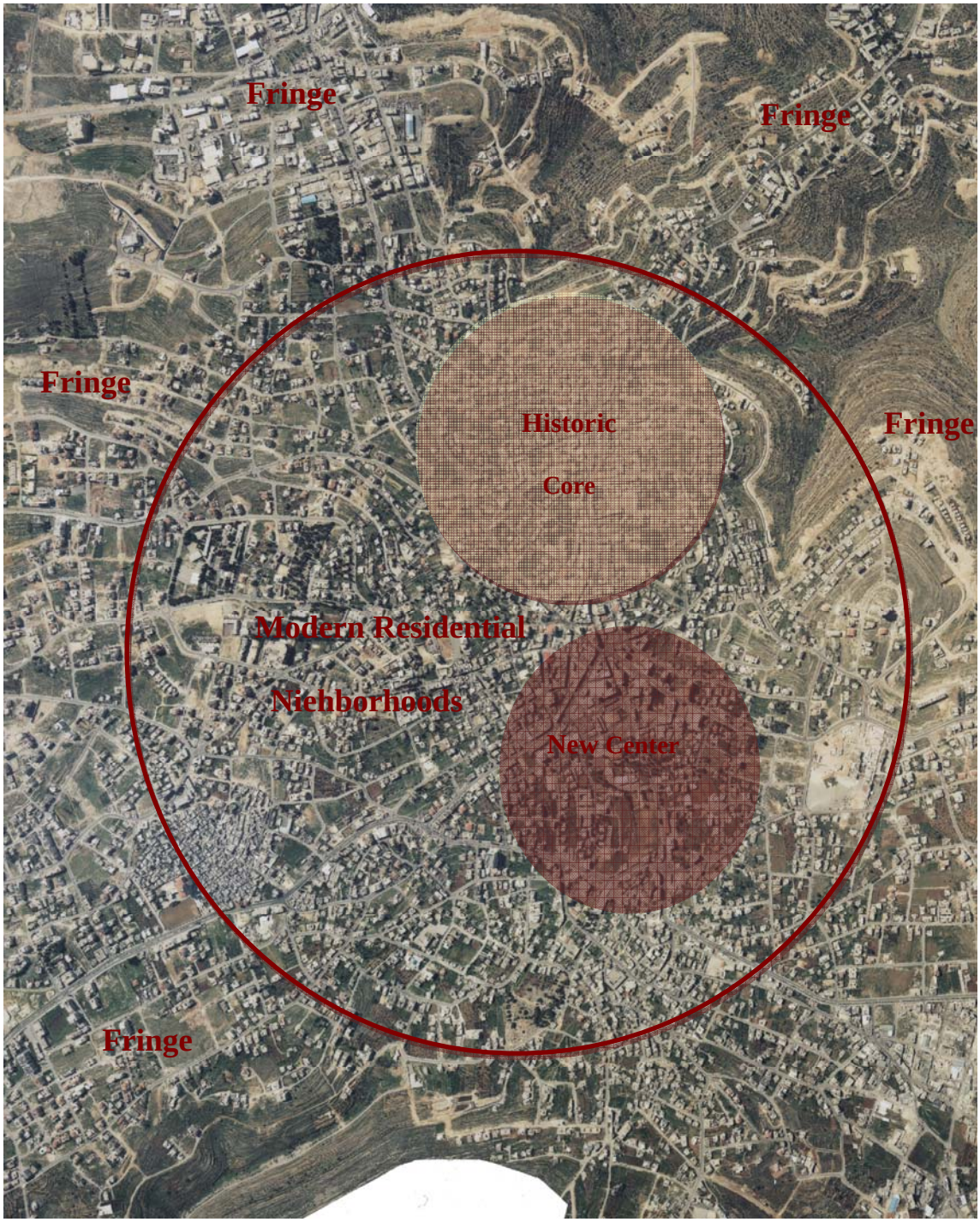

Figure 3.6: An aerial view showing the location of Ramallah's historic core in Ramallah city in 2008 (Ramallah Municipality, 2008)

After 1900, the City of Ramallah passed through different stages, which left their footprints and features on the historic core until our recent days. As mentioned before, the main causes of these stages are related to the political and socioeconomic situations the country passed through in the last century (Shaheen, 2000). The main phases of the urban development of the historic core are:

- The expansion towards the newly established churches and schools on the fringes of the historic core such as the Friends, Latin and Catholic sectarian schools at the beginning of the twentieth century, as a result of :

    1. The emigration to the United States, since the savings of these emigrants led to growth and development in construction activities.
    2. The Ottomans' assignation of the city to be an administrative center for thirty surrounding villages.
    3. The entry of the Christian predicatory missions, which came to the city and participated in establishing and building churches and schools.

- The neglect of many of its buildings, after the British mandate in 1917 and the earthquake in 1927 many of the houses of the historical core were abandoned. The increase of emigration to North and South America was a major reason for this degradation and neglect (Al-Juabeh and Bshara, 2002). Besides, many of the original residents left their houses, and built new ones in the modern prestigious neighborhoods as a direct result of:
    1. The improvement of the sustenance conditions by creating new jobs as for example: in the police, railway, education and citrus trade. Consequently, that induced new constructional progress in the city with a new distinctive architecture exemplified in the new fashion of villa houses surrounded by well-tended gardens, many of them still kept until the present day, and they clearly distinguished the image of the townscape.
    2. The first structural plan for Ramallah was released in 1940 but it took several years until it was implemented. In 1943, the government of the British Mandate in cooperation with Ramallah municipality worked on a proposal for city regulations, and suggested allocating a piece of land to be a public forest, in addition to a public plaza, city park and children's playground. This proposal did not see the light of day because of the regression in the country's political conditions (Qasem, 2005:101)

- The dramatic change after 1948 when the Palestinians from the coastal cities were exiled to the mountainous areas due to the establishment of Israel. So many of the

large number of refugees who came to Ramallah found their shelter in the abandoned houses in the historic core as mentioned before. This caused a misuse of the historic core since it exceeded the ability of the old fabric to absorb the newcomers. In addition, because of the population increase, Ramallah grew from a small town into a city (see Figure: 3.7). The need for new houses and public facilities allowed the city to expand in all directions, especially along the route that connects the town of Ramallah with the town of Al-Bireh and to the east towards *Al-Manara* Square (modern centre of Ramallah city). On this route new commercial buildings were constructed in addition to some public buildings such as the police station, the Hashemite School and the radio station. This juncture created a new architectural style in the residential buildings to serve the low-income population (Shaheen, 2000). As well it led to the formation of the modern center of Ramallah to the east of the historical core. Accordingly the historical core started to lose its importance (Figure 3.6).

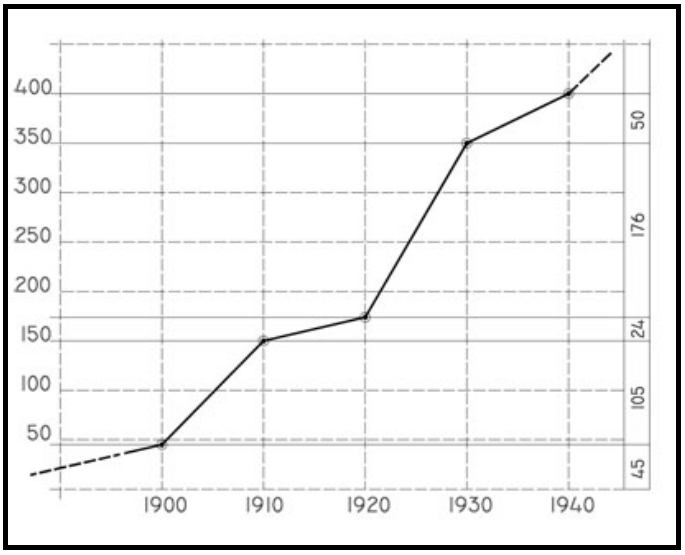

Figure 3.7: The number of registered houses in Ramallah (1900-1945) showing the urban development (Al-Juabeh and Bsharah, 2002)

Because of the 1948 war a deterioration of the economic situation occurred, so many people emigrated from Ramallah to the neighboring Arab countries, especially the Gulf countries. The money that came from these emigrants helped to develop the living conditions, and played a role in the city development. Thus Ramallah entered a period of prosperity, which made it a touristic center that attracted people from different Arab countries to visit in addition to its temperate weather.

After the 1967 war and the Israeli occupation, restrictions on the municipalities and on building permits obstructed city development. According to Coon (1992), there were more than 31 military orders regarding the planning and zoning during the occupation period in the West Bank and Jerusalem, in order for the Israelis to have power over the Palestinian urban extension. The construction process continued but not at a high impetus, and some infrastructure projects were executed. In that period, too many farmers left their lands and went to work in Israel because of the bad economic situation resulting from the occupation.

In addition to the significant changes in the Palestinian lifestyle, the break up of the extended family system and the redefinition of the patriarchal nature of society as previously mentioned affected the urban fabric of Ramallah's historic core. The peasant houses were subdivided among family members and in some cases partially abandoned and new dwellings were built in the courtyards.

- The rapid and uncontrolled construction movement as large buildings were erected to serve the needs of investors (e.g. the Arab Bank building-Figure 3.8) and the increasing number of residents, so the townscape of the historic core of Ramallah was affected badly, and the micro climate of the area changed. The main reason for this rapid change was the city development that came after the Oslo peace accord between the Palestinians and the Israelis in 1994, and the coming into being of the Palestinian authority. According to these political changes and the entry of some of the returnees to their home lands, a huge constructional movement was activated and encouraged investments in the city, in addition to the donations that came from the world community to support the establishment of the Palestinian state. Because of Ramallah's location at the center of the West Bank and its nearness to Jerusalem it became a governmental center (Qasem, 2005: 104).

The historic core of Ramallah is now a part of the city's cultural heritage, with its architecturally distinguished old houses and shops that still keep the same old functions and crafts (see Figure 3.8). Nevertheless, its old image has been changed over time, and all the green yards between the harmonious stone houses have almost vanished and been replaced either by new extensions for the old buildings, or have become neglected areas full of rubbish. The narrow paths and plazas are missing their traditional spirit, and places have become uncomfortable and crowded. Recently, a study has been carried out to prepare a rehabilitation plan for the historic core in cooperation between RIWAQ Center and the Municipality of Ramallah. Besides, a number of restoration and rehabilitation projects have

already been executed for a few buildings, which are considered to be of distinction either historically or culturally such as the Ottoman Courthouse and *Al Kamanjati* Association (Figure 3.8). But still the main concern is directed toward the buildings and no clear interest is shown in the historical fabric or the social and economic conditions as a whole.

Figure 3.8: An aerial view of Ramallah's historic core 2008 (Ramallah Municipality, 2008)

3.6 Architecture of Ramallah's Historic Core

When discussing the architecture of Ramallah's historic core it is important to elaborate on the morphological aspect of the core, the typology of the buildings, besides a description of the present conditions of the traditional buildings.

3.6.1 Morphology of Ramallah's Historic Core

The morphological structure of the historic core of Ramallah was affected by **endogenous** factors that included: **the religion, the social structure, the political system and the economical pattern**. There are also **exogenous** factors that included: the **different periods of occupation that Palestine passed through, the emigration movement and the migration movement**.

The primary social profile that marks Ramallah's society is the existence of a Christian Community. This factor affects the morphology of Ramallah by the existence of churches and schools on the fringes of the old town such as the Friends Girls School, the Latin and the Catholic sectarian schools, which caused the city to expand towards them and scattered buildings started appearing outside the borders of the historical core.

Besides the religious factor, the social structure in Ramallah was shaped by tribalism and by the extended family system. As a physical reflection, Ramallah consists of seven main clans; each has its own quarter. So the historical core of Ramallah consisted of seven main quarters. Each quarter comprised a number of *ahwash* (yards) that are defined as: a complex of single houses, or attached ones with a height of one or two floors, beside *al-illiyeh* (a small room on the roof of the house) that are organized around a court that is reached by a narrow path. Usually each complex was inhabited by an extended family since the style of living depended on community and not on individuals. The court was used for different activities such as cooking, laundry and also as a meeting place as mentioned in Chapter 2.

Referring to Al-Juabeh and Bshara (2002:11) the total number of the complexes or *ahwash* is 17. These complexes were somehow different from each other, these differences were not of social classification or cultural reasons but were brought about because of different tastes and periods of development. These complexes were also organized around plazas and open spaces that were used as public spaces for religious celebrations and social meetings, for example the plaza in front of the Orthodox church and *Al-Shaqra* plaza in front of *Illiat Dar Khalaf* (Figure 3.9).

Moreover these social factors left important impacts on the housing unit itself, since each peasant house consisted of one rectangular room that served the needs of the whole family (father, mothers and children), in summer the male members of the family used to sleep outside in the yard or on the roof. Usually a new room was added when one of the sons of the family got married (see Chapter 2). This was a main factor in the composition of the built form of the historic core.

Politics also left its impact on the structure of Ramallah's historic core, since Ramallah was involved in the struggle between the *Al-Qais* and *Al-Yaman* tribes (two main Arab tribes). The *Al-Qais* originated from Saudi Arabia and the *Al-Yaman* originated from Yemen. They fell into a struggle to control the Palestinian mountainous area during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries which was particularly concentrated in the middle mountainous area. Thus the Ramallah families were a part of the *Al-Qais* side except for the *Al-Shaqra* family that was on the *Al-Yaman* side. So, for safety reasons the houses were attached to each other in a compact structure in order to facilitate the defensive operation of the town. The architectural style of the peasant house itself was also affected by the need for security, Shaheen (1982:42) explains that the houses were stone dwellings attached to each other and each house consisted of one large room with small and high windows to keep enemies away. Besides, it is essential to mention that the environmental conditions and the privacy had a significant impact on the position and size of the house windows.

The impact of the subsistence economy which consisted mainly of agriculture and animal rearing is also evident in the morphology of the town. Houses mainly reflected the Palestinian "peasant house" style as in most villages in Palestine, in which there is a place for animals on the lower level.

If external forces were absent, growth in traditional settlements was mostly derived from the daily needs of the users and mechanisms that emerged from a symbiosis between the religious doctrine and *urf* (customs, social norms) (Besim, 1994). Exogenous factors started to affect Ramallah from 1900, since the City of Ramallah passed through different stages, which left their footprints and features on its morphological structure and were explained by the three phases that were mentioned before.

Recently, this traditional morphology has been facing major challenges to cope with the contemporary lifestyle. As mentioned before, during the second half of the twentieth century the social structure of the Palestinian community started to transform. This transformation revealed a transition from extended family households to nuclear family households which was parallel to changes in the economic system and the political situation as well. In

addition, the special nature of Ramallah's historic core as an area that was mostly abandoned by its original citizens and replaced by new migrants and refugees from other Palestinian geographical area must be considered.

Figure 3.9: A map of Ramallah's historic core in which the open spaces are defined by RIWAQ (Author Based on RIWAQ, 2006)

3.6.2 Architectural Typology of Ramallah's Historic Core

The typological study includes an analysis of the architectural style and the functional organization of the buildings that form the architectural tissue of the historic core. The main components of Ramallah's historic core are the **traditional Palestinian housing units, the commercial stores and the public buildings** such as olive mills, the church and the municipality.

The traditional Palestinian house is not only a residue of an obsolete form of habitat, but, as a historic and cultural specimen, this house denoted the continuity of settlements in this area. Architecturally there are two main kinds of houses in Ramallah city: **the peasant house** composition which simplifies the majority of structures in the historical core of Ramallah and the ***liwan* house** composition which is located mainly outside the historical core (see Chapter 2).

Based on the typological styles of the **peasant house** mentioned in Chapter 2 the following peasant house typologies were found in Ramallah's historic core:

- A Typology: which has a space of 1.5×1.0m lower in front of the door, it serves for depositing shoes, and the remainder of the room is paved at about 20-30 cm higher and serves for family living (Canann, 1933:37) (Figure 3.10).
- C Typology: in which the single space is divided into two main levels: a higher level (*mastabeh*) and a lower level (*rawieh*) with a gallery below the lower level used for keeping animals and as a storage (Figure 3.10, Figure 3.11).

Figure 3.10: *Hawsh* system arrangement shows A typology and C typology , in *Hawsh Dar Khalaf* (RIWAQ, 2008)

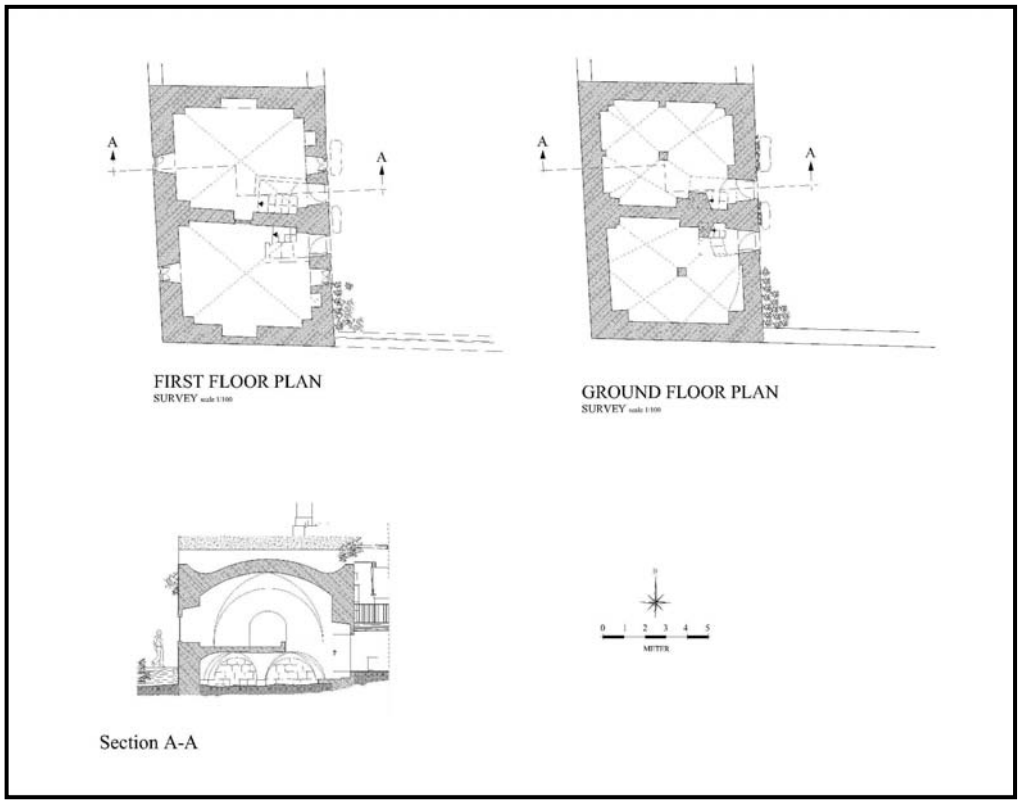

Figure 3.11: C typology of the peasant house, in *Hawsh Al Zaibaq* (RIWAQ,2008)

According to Al-Juabeh and Bshara (2002:20-22) the peasant houses are mostly organized in a court composition (*ahwash*: when units are organized around an open space), or a complex of units attached to each other. According to a RIWAQ survey in 2006, 128 residential and mixed-use traditional buildings- about 72%- are attached to other buildings.

Accordingly, the main organizational forms of the peasant house in Ramallah's historic core can be categorized as:

- The *"hawsh"* or court composition, in which a number of peasant house units are arranged together as a reflection of the social structure of the extended family. (Figure 3.10)
- The two-unit house, which consisted of two basic rooms that share one wall and are located as a semi-attached unit (Figure 3.11).

As mentioned in chapter 2, in most peasant houses there is a slightly elevated area in front of the house which is also called *mastabeh* and generally shaded by a pergola or tree. In summer it is used as a resting place in the afternoon and for sleeping in at night. In the courtyard or *hawsh* one may also find some structures serving as: a kitchen for boiling coffee in the

summer months, a hen-house and a small room for preparing bread and food named *tabun.* In most cases there will also be a well to store rain water.

In addition, the flat roofed technique is recognized in the peasant houses in the historic core of Ramallah. This style of peasant house was founded in the late Ottoman period, after the use of iron I-beams in the Scottish hospital in Nazareth in 1870. In this the flat roof was used side by side with the cross vault, in most cases the ground floor level was vaulted and the first floor was flat roofed (Al-Juabeh and Bshara, 2002). It is recognized by its tile pediment roofing, wide and extra windows and a remarkable open staircase connecting the two floors (Figure 3.12).

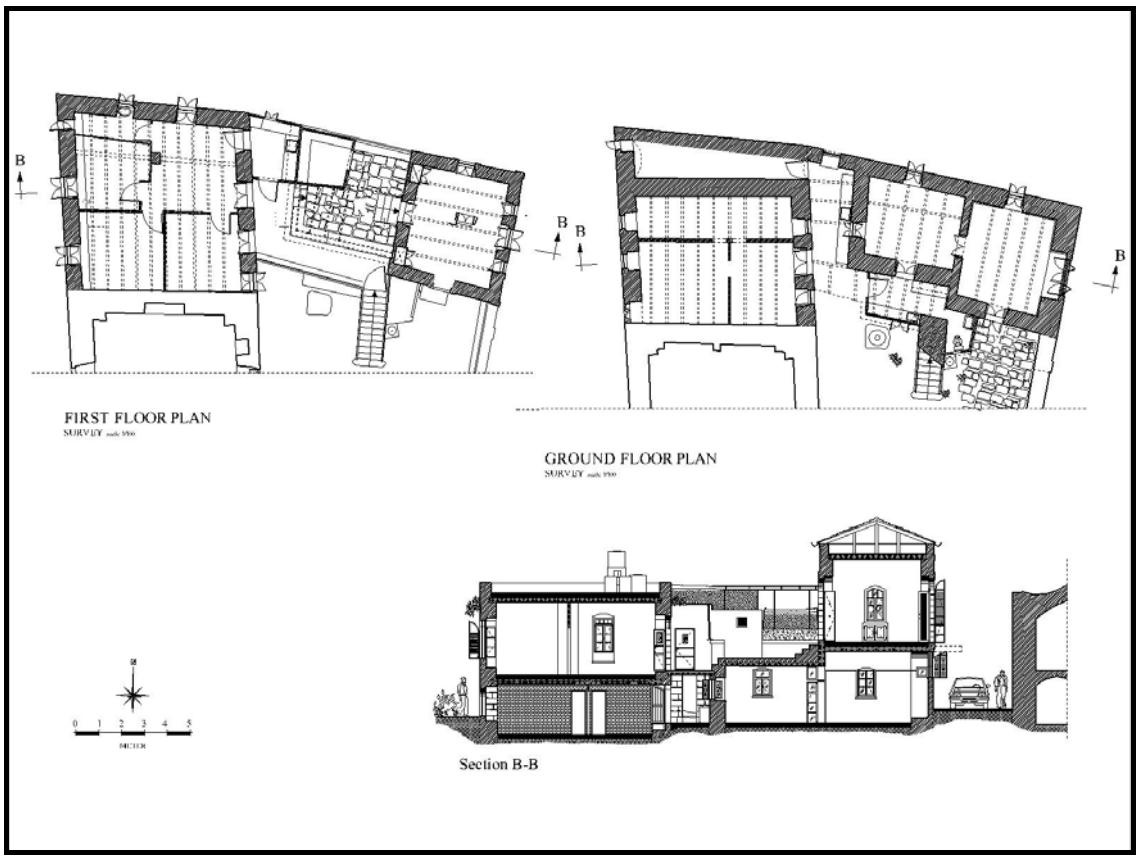

Figure 3.12: The flat roofed peasant house, in *Hawsh Al Zaibaq* (RIWAQ,2008)

Outside the borders of the historical core the ***Liwan* house** style is found, this style was introduced around the beginning of the twentieth century. The house started to be composed of more than one room (Figure 3.13). The new methods of construction, the new technologies and the introduction of new structural and architectural elements left their impacts on this style (see Chapter 2).

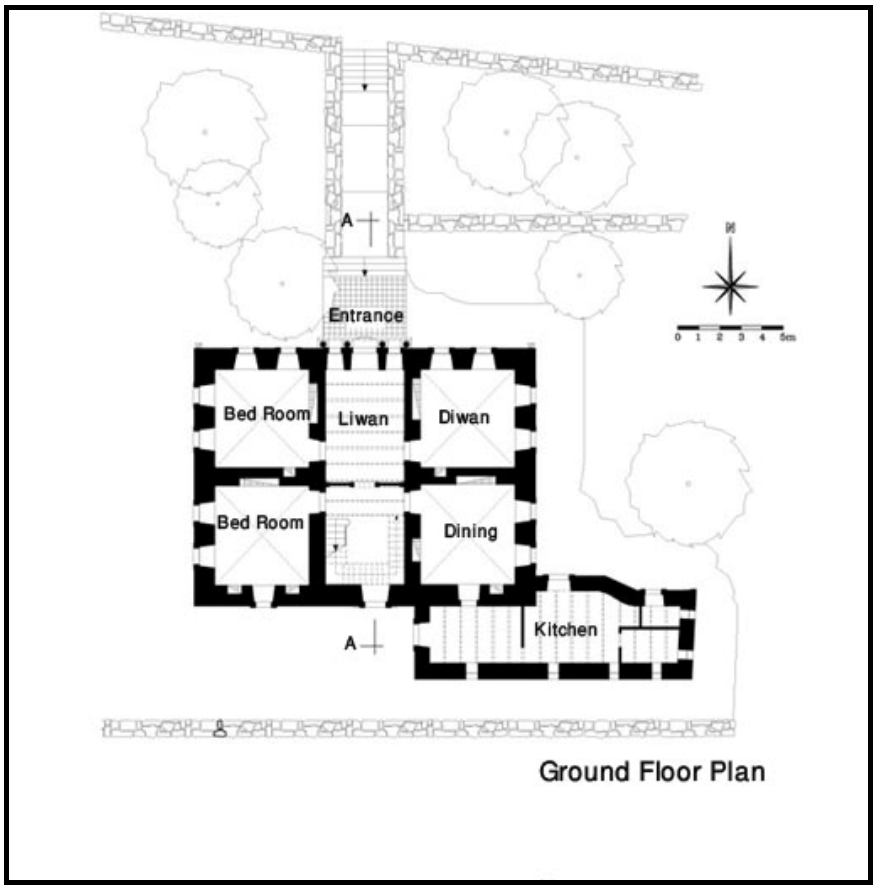

Figure 3.13: The *Liwan* house style, *Hawsh Dar Al-Derbas* (1902) (Al Juabeh and Bsharah, 2002)

Another main component of the architectural fabric of Ramallah's historic core is the **commercial stores** (Figure 3.14). These stores are of two basic styles, the market system and the linear stores system and can be characterized by:

- The wide door that opens directly onto the street
- The door opening is bridged by a segmental arch.
- The rooms are roofed by a cross-vault system.

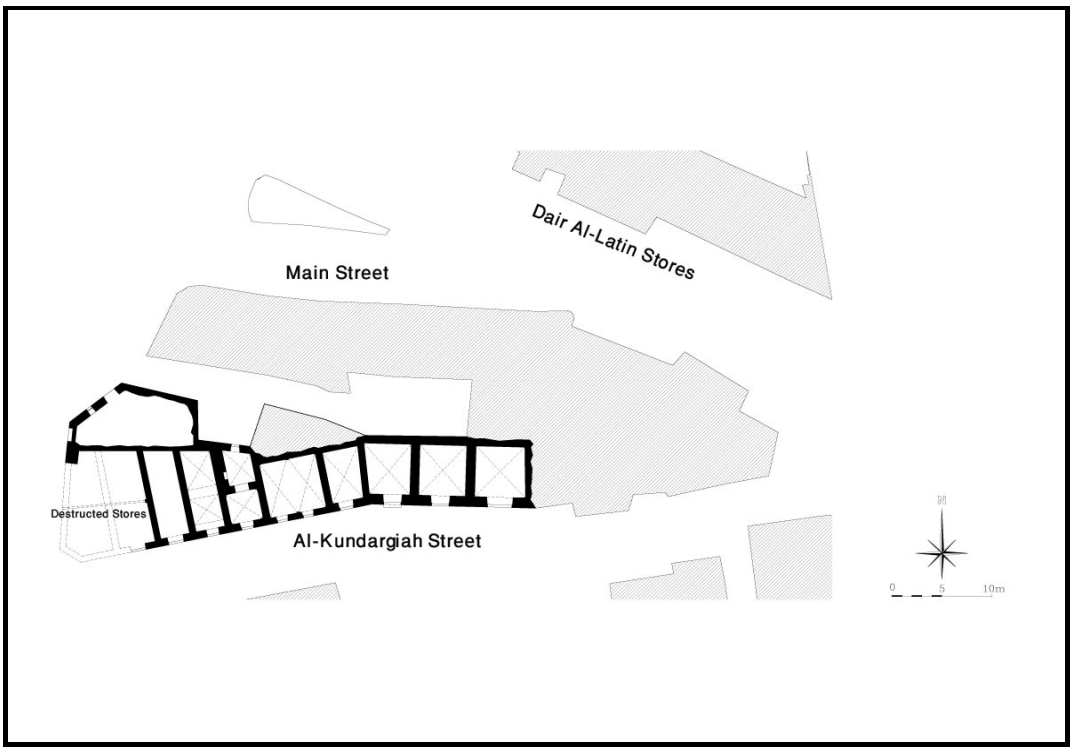

Figure 3.14: Commercial stores in a linear style, *Al-Kundargiah* Street
(Author based on Al-Juabeh and Bsharah, 2002)

Finally came the **public buildings** that started to be founded during the second half of the nineteenth century and can be classified into two styles according to their architecture:

- A new urban style that is different from the usual architectural style of Ramallah peasant houses. The main examples of this style are: the Orthodox church and the old Municipality. These public buildings show a luxury in building style that is clear in its

huge and smooth stones, wide openings that are closed by glass and different decorative details (see A in Figure 3.15).

- The other style is similar to Ramallah's peasant houses, the main examples of this style are: The Ottoman Courthouse or *Al-Khan* (see B in Figure 3.15) and the Olive Mills

A: Ramallah Municipality B: *Al Khan* (Court house)

Figure 3.15: Different styles of public buildings (Author, 2008)

3.6.3 The Present Conditions of Ramallah's Historic Buildings

According to RIWAQ (2006:27-29) Ramallah's historic core contains 208 historical buildings or about 55% of all historical buildings in Ramallah city. 78.8% of these buildings are used while 17.3% are totally abandoned, 2.9% partially abandoned and two buildings are partially destroyed

Table 3.3 shows the main architectural characteristics of the historic core buildings. 67.3% of the historic core buildings are of one floor, 31.3% of the buildings are of two floors and only 1.4% of the buildings are of three floors.

The historic buildings are constructed of limestone as the main building material, while roofs are made from lime or in some cases from concrete. About 33% of the historical buildings have pediment roofs since they were built during the British mandate.

Table 3.3: The conditions of the traditional buildings in Ramallah's historic core

Building's Occupancy	**Occupied**	**Totally Abandoned**	**Partially Abandoned**	**Partially Destroyed**
	78.8%	17.3%	2.9%	1%
Building's Use	**Residential**	**Commercial**	**Public**	**Mixed**
	73%	17.3%	3.3%	6.4%
Building's Physical State	**Good**	**Medium**	**Bad**	**Partially Destroyed**
	77.4%	21.2%	0.4%	1%
Building's Height	**One Floor**	**Two Floors**	**Three Floors**	
	67.3%	31.3%	1.4%	
Building's Roofing	**Shallow Dome**	**Pediment**	**Flat**	**Dome**
	33.7%	33%	32.9%	0.4%

Source: Author based on RIWAQ survey of the historic core buildings in 2006

It is essential to point out that according to RIWAQ (2006:26) there are 266 new constructions in the historic core of Ramallah, 66 of them are totally separate buildings. These new construction have been generally added to serve the inhabitants' needs for service utilities (kitchen, bathroom) or extra space. 70.6% of the new constructions are of one floor, 15.4% of two floors, and 8% of three floors and more, as well 14.3% of these additions are erected above a historic building. In general, this high rate of additions and new constructions is disturbing the image of the historic core and spoiling its architectural identity as a peasant compacted architecture. Moreover as mentioned before, 56% of Ramallah's historic core inhabitants wish to leave their houses (Qasem, 2006).

3.7 Recent Rehabilitation Projects in Ramallah's Historic Core

A few rehabilitation projects have been carried out in the historic core of Ramallah recently, these are:

Rehabilitation and revitalization of the historical core of Ramallah

- **1997–1999**

In cooperation with the Municipality of Ramallah, RIWAQ developed a plan for the rehabilitation and revitalization of the historical core. The project included developing planning policies to protect the architectural heritage, and a search for mechanisms to foster the economic and social revival of the area. This resulted in a plan for the rehabilitation and revitalization of the old city of Ramallah, which included specific regulations and bylaws for preservation works. At the end of the project, an architectural contest was held for proposals to develop part of the historical core. Palestinian and Arab architects took part in the contest, which was supervised by the Agha Khan Foundation. The winner of the contest was the well-known architect *Bilal Hammad*. But after the second *Intefada* in 2000 all of these projects were stopped.[11]

- **2006- Now**

Recently, RIWAQ in cooperation with the Municipality of Ramallah has prepared an enhanced and updated version of the study done in 1997-1999, and developed a draft copy of the new rehabilitation plan. This rehabilitation plan is concerned with providing measures and regulations for the rehabilitation of the historical core of Ramallah and the scattered buildings outside the borders of the historical core (see Appendix I).

[11] www.riwaq.org

Tamer Institute

Tamer Institute for Community Education is an educational non-governmental non-profit organization established in 1989 in Ramallah city. In 2007 this well-known organization decided to relocate its offices to the historic core of Ramallah. A historical complex "*Hosh Al Zeibaq*" was selected for that purpose and a rehabilitation project has almost been completed by RIWAQ.

Figure 3.16: *Tamer* Institute project (Author, 2008)

Al-Kamanjati Association

Al Kamanjati is a musical centre that mainly targets children and aims at uplifting the concept of music appreciation by providing an outlet for the younger generations.

The historical building is owned by the *Khalaf* family who has signed an agreement that allows *Al Kamanjati* to use it for ten years. This building consists of six rooms and one main courtyard. The spaces shall serve as an office, bathrooms and kitchenette, training and recital spaces. The project was completed in 2005.

Figure 3.17: *Al Kamanjati* Association (Author, 2008)

The Old Ottoman Courthouse in Ramallah: A museum and activity center

The courthouse building is located on the East side of the historical core of Ramallah. It is one of the most important historical buildings; its importance comes from its social/functional history and from the architectural beauty of the main façade and interior spaces. The building was renovated in 2003 to host municipal activities such as summer camps as well as art exhibitions. The municipality of Ramallah contributed to this project by bearing the costs of adding a new structure behind the building to host the service areas for the building and at a later stage the Municipality funded the revitalization of a garden and small theatre space behind the building as well[12].

Figure 3.18: The Ottoman Courthouse (Al Khan) (Author, 2008)

3.8 Summary

Ramallah's historic core faced major changes in its demographical, social, economic and political conditions which left its impacts on the spatial structure and architectural fabric of this historical area. The high percentage of new constructions and additions in the historical core shows that the inhabitants are not satisfied with their houses; on the other hand the rehabilitation efforts have not been helpful in resolving such problems until now.

As mentioned before this research aims for a deeper understanding of the inhabitants' interaction with their peasant houses and its role in the rehabilitation process. While the rehabilitation efforts of RIWAQ and of the Municipality of Ramallah focused on adapting the peasant house to new uses, the main concentration was on the material aspects without considering the immaterial aspect. The proposed rehabilitation plan defined measurements

[12] www.riwaq.org

and standards only (see Appendix I), the aspects below show that the plan is inefficient in solving the existing problems:

- This rehabilitation plan is not combined with a development plan for the historic core so user participation and the existing social structure are excluded from the plan.
- In the architectural approach, the typical approach is based on the existing facade type of the architecture. The content of the building is eliminated in the architectural design.
- The plan strategically emphasizes the importance of upgrading physical qualities; the social contexts are not embodied in the regulations.

Thus it is important to enhance the rehabilitation methodology and efforts and to be aware of the two poles of the rehabilitation, the human and the physical. This implies the need to develop a socio-cultural approach to the rehabilitation, in order to reach the major goal of protecting the livability and identity of the peasant house. The next chapter concentrates on investigating the reasons for this dilemma in the rehabilitation procedures.

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Chapter Four

Thoughts on Conservation

In the last two chapters it was obvious that the Palestinian rehabilitation procedures tended to be technically oriented. The immaterial aspects were not given the same attention as were the material aspects in studies and analysis. When focusing on the rehabilitation of traditional domestic architecture, the experience of home, the inhabitant-house relationship and the meanings related to this relationship did not filter into the rehabilitation strategies. The preceding projects in Hebron old city, Jerusalem old city and Bethlehem reflected this common gap while RIWAQ's plan for rehabilitating the historic core of Ramallah could not avoid this complexity either. This chapter aims to investigate the reasons behind this problematic situation which influenced the rehabilitation efforts in general. Thus, this chapter undertakes to examine the historical development of the cultural heritage conservation notion, the main challenges and gaps that the conservation faces, and the impacts and consequences on the rehabilitation methodology and criteria in light of that.

4.1 Overview of the History of the Conservation Movement

The theory underpinning restoration gained a clearer shape in the mid-19th century, especially due to the contributions made by John Ruskin (1819-1900) and his conservation approaches that called for preserving the original matter of the historical building to give the right of access to the original monument to future generations. Also Viollet Le Doc's (1814-1879) explanation of inventive "restoration" is considered as an important station in the development of conservation theory, since he called for more careful, discrete and scientific techniques that are based on the central importance of the building's completeness and its respect for "stylistic unity". These were followed by the synthesis developed by Camillo Boito (1836-1914) and the values theory developed by Alois Riegl (1858-1905). And finally

by the work of Cesare Brandi (1906-1988) which shows impressive maturity in its approach to conservation. Those were the masters who influenced the restoration and conservation theory (Vieria, 2004:65). So the influences can be grouped under four principal headings (Jokilehto, 1999: 6-9):

- Treatment of historic monuments
- Romantic restoration-stylistic restoration.
- Conservation movement.
- Modern conservation-critical historical evaluation.

These four influences have evolved in practice since the nineteenth century, and have come to form an essential part of the vast scenario of current safeguarding policies and recommendations. Each of the four trends of influence should be understood as a complex assembly of different ideas and policies, and practice can be a result of the combination of several of them.

According to Jokilehto (1994:2) "international organizations such as ICOM have drafted 'Codes of Ethics' to provide some ethical standards for those who are responsible for the protection and treatment of cultural heritage in order to guide their reciprocal professional behaviour". So conservation principles were developed according to John Ruskin's Seven Lamps of Architecture[13], in which he stressed moral issues not only in conservation but also in building higher quality into new design and architecture (Jokilehto, 1994:2).

International recommendations and charters set the main guidelines for any intervention process. The degree of intervention ranges from cyclic or routine maintenance to varying degrees of consolidation, reinforcement, restoration, preservation, protection, rehabilitation and revitalization.

According to Pereira (2007:15-18) the cultural phase of the 1960s and the communicative phase of the 1980s led conservation professionals toward a new conceptual framework. The theoretical debate was dislocated from the aesthetic-historic to the anthropological-cultural axis, resulting in new proposals on conservation practice. Thus, concentration was broadened from the conservation of isolated monuments to the consideration of the physical context, culminating in the idea of protected historic districts. This began to be implemented towards the mid twentieth century and gained increasing momentum during the seventies and eighties.

[13] A Book written by John Ruskin in 1849 which lays down seven moral principles (or "Lamps") to guide architectural practice

Besides, the values related to conservation became more complex and dynamic. In addition this found reflection in the instruments and legislation which become more flexible and practical.

4.2 International Conservation Charters

As mentioned before the international cultural heritage conservation charters set the main guidelines for the conservation methodologies. The first charter was the Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments which was adopted in Athens in 1931 (see Appendix II).

The second international charter was the Venice Charter, adopted when the Second International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments was held in Venice in 1964. This charter stated that: "it is essential that the principles guiding the preservation and restoration of ancient buildings should be agreed and be laid down on an international basis, with each country being responsible for applying the plan within the framework of its own culture and traditions". The main constraint of these two charters was on the monuments as the main component of heritage.

In 1972, the concern resulting from increased threats to cultural and natural heritage worldwide, and the desire to provide organized international support for the protection of world heritage sites and values prompted the General Conference of UNESCO to adopt a special convention concerning the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage. Concentrating on the conservation of the historical towns, four main recommendations and charters have been passed, these are:

- The Recommendation concerning the preservation of cultural property endangered by public or private work in 1968,
- The UNESCO Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas (Nairobi, 26 November 1976),
- The Washington Charter which is concerned with the built environment, this document was adopted in October, 1987 at the meeting of ICOMOS General Assembly in Washington DC,
- The Charter on the Built Vernacular Heritage adopted by ICOMOS in 1999 in Mexico (see Appendix II).

4.3 Conservation Challenges

By reviewing the literature that is concerned with conservation, it is noticeable that scholars have started to pay attention to the challenges and gaps that are facing conservation and affecting its capability to provide concrete foundations for conservation methodology considering that its present role is narrowed to offering general guidelines on the subject. These gaps are caused by different reasons, some are related to power and politics, other gaps are related to a lack of development and research. In the following a summary of the main gaps that the conservation theory needs to overcome is given:

- The gap between the aims of international conservation charters and the values and meanings of different social groups. According to Wells (2007:5), the heritage doctrine is a telic system consisting of a complex mix of beliefs, biases and excluding meanings. The international charters are an example of power, for example the Athens Charter represents a point of focus and what comes into view is the antagonism between the West and the Soviet Union (Wells, 2007:8; Deleuze, 1988:25). So these charters imbue the materiality of the object with truth as an absolute rather than the relative truths existing in the realm of cultural meanings and values. Actually these charters and recommendations satisfy the Western image of the Orient portrayed by Western scholars and elite cultural taste. Thus, there is a serious need to discuss the readymade recipes for development and common good principles and set new recommendations that accept social differences. Recently, the Burra Charter and the Nara Document on Authenticity have been trying to change the absolute truth and to involve women and minorities in the cultural heritage conservation process.
- The gap between restoration theory that is funded by classical architectural theories and the present architectural notion of space. Thus, the restoration theories associated to architectural objects do not observe certain cultural values impregnated within formal and spatial architectural dimensions. (Amorim and Loureiro, 2007:2) (Collins, 1998:285) (Vinas, 2005:147-149). This has its echo in the international conservation charters, too, which still concentrate on the materiality of the object and ignore the immaterial meanings. Recently a movement toward the trend concerning the relativization of materiality has become obvious. It transfers importance from the material to the immaterial aspects of heritage. A clear example of this trend is the move from the concept of monuments to the concept of places (Pereira, 2007:18)

- The gap between international guidelines for the conservation of the historic cities and contemporary development. As the UNESCO recommendations on urban sites were announced in 1976-more than thirty years ago, these traditional views toward development and the link to contemporary architecture need to be enhanced (Van Oers R., 2007:44). In 2003 the World Heritage Committee called for the organization of a symposium in Paris to discuss how to properly regulate the need for the modernization of historic urban environments, while at the same time preserving their values. In response, the World Heritage Centre, in cooperation with ICOMOS and the city of Vienna organized an international conference in May 2005, at which a first outline of principles and guidelines was adopted. This was the so-called Vienna Memorandum, which promoted an integrated approach to contemporary architecture, urban development and the integrity of the inherited landscape but a new or revised recommendation on the conservation of the historic urban landscape does not yet exist.

- The gap between theoretical intention and practical execution as there is no recipe for a successful intervention (Feilden and Jokilehto, 1993). This gap is a result of two main problems:

  a. Diverse influences, which certainly add to the difficulty of interpreting conservation policies in practice, international charters and recommendation.
  b. Absence of clear definitions and limitation of concepts such as restoration, conservation, authenticity, identity and ethics.

  In any conservation process the need for change is essential. This need becomes crucial for many reasons related to the economy, legislation, industry, architectural style, taste. The change must be controllable and planned in order to attain contextual compatibility in line with the main rule of unity and diversity. Thus, it is important to be aware of the main characteristics of change that affect the compatibility or contextual compatibility; these are (Larkham, 1996:29):

  - Nature.
  - Scale.
  - Direction or style.

4.4 Rehabilitation

According to Feilden and Jokilehto (1993) rehabilitation means the physical improvements that are necessary in order to provide an appropriate use for an empty or inappropriately utilized structure. They added that the rehabilitation shall always involve a use as close as possible to the original function so as to ensure a minimum intervention and minimum loss of cultural values, which also makes sense economically. Besides, nowadays concerns related to rehabilitation for domestic reasons are defined as "improving the action of dwelling by seeking a point of balance between technical aspects, the preservation of heritage values and criteria of social justice, economic efficiency and preservation of the environment" (RehabiMed, 2005:12). The difference between these two definitions can be noticed, the first definition is purely a technical definition without consideration of social values, while the second is looking for a balance between technical aspects and social aspects. This argument shows the main gap in the rehabilitation practice, which will be discussed in detail later.

The rehabilitation of traditional architecture has to be set in the framework of a process of revitalization and regeneration of the territory of which it forms a part, whether an urban or a rural environment. It has to be understood as an intervention on both the physical environment and on the population it hosts, and the series of cultural, social and economic activities that define the "social environment". Thus the rehabilitation process of any historical town or area includes planning measures which are side by side with design measures and can be categorized into four levels, these are:

- The international charters and recommendations.
- The national planning and cultural heritage laws.
- The historical town master planning regulations and measures.
- The rehabilitation at the level of buildings.

4.4.1 Reconsidering the Rehabilitation Methodology at the Level of Buildings

In this research the rehabilitation of the peasant house is the main target, so the methodology of the rehabilitation on the level of buildings will be explained and discussed to underline the main issues that must be reconsidered and improved. According to the RehabiMed guide (2005, 66-92) and the Welfare Association guide (1999), the rehabilitation process includes five main stages, which are:

Stage I: the knowledge- this stage includes two main steps:

- The preliminary step includes the client's decision to take action. And it is followed by a visit by the architect to prepare a preliminary report on the building
- Multi-disciplinary studies: includes detailed studies of the social, historical, architectural and construction aspects.

Stage II: the diagnoses or analysis- which focuses on using the results of the previous studies so as to grant the ability to explore problems and their causes, and produces an overview of the building's potentials and deficits.

Stage III: the reflection or project- which includes proposing a design that picks up the client's ideas for rehabilitation work and seeks to reconcile them with the reality of the building, its heritage values, economic possibilities for investment, etc. At this point the criteria of intervention must be guided by a solid professional ethic and the previously mentioned Charter on the Built Vernacular Heritage, which will decide the answer to three main questions:

- What to keep?
- What to destroy?
- What to add?

The outcome of this stage is the drafting of the project document that enables the contracting, constructing and control of rehabilitation.

Stage IV: the action- this stage includes execution and site work of the project, in which there are two main principles to take into consideration:

- The material used
- The techniques of repair work

Stage V: life span monitoring and maintenance- this stage comprises minor cleaning work, repairs and renovations carried out according to a timeframe throughout the building's lifespan until future rehabilitation.

Concerning the previously mentioned methodology, there are main aspects that need to be reconsidered especially in the first and second stages (the knowledge and analysis) which are actually in need of being enhanced and activated to lead the whole process. The main censure points are:

- The knowledge stage :

In the preliminary diagnoses, the decision-making process is excluded from the dialogue between the client and the architect (RehabiMed, 2005:70), while there is a need for a pluralistic approach to the rehabilitation taking account of different social groups (women, children, the elderly, etc…).

Regarding the multi-disciplinary studies, the following points must be taken into consideration:

a. The social analysis defined the social studies as: "sociological survey to detect family units and possible problem situations (overcrowding, marginalization, unemployment, abandonment, etc.)" Besides "anthropological study that provides us of all the intangible aspects related to the community's perception of its architecture" (RehabiMed, 2005:73). It is important to explore the local social structure and behavioral patterns by concentrating on the relation between the inhabitants and their buildings and to reassess the common good approach which minimizes the options and controls decisions by way of sensitive understanding for the inhabitants' preferences and lifestyle.

b. The architectural analysis defined the architectural values as "integration in the place, spatial configuration, singular structure, type of ornamentation, etc." (RehabiMed, 2005:75). In that regard the architectural analysis concentrates on the building as an artifact object which reflects meanings from outside. There is a vital need to deal with building as an object with a space that contains meanings and values. So there must be no separation between the architectural analysis and the social content of space.

c. The architectural analysis suggested investigating the building transformation with recourse to a historical study, in order to understand its present-day configuration (RehabiMed, 2005:76). The confrontational analysis required in understanding the building configuration should not only be related to the historical study but most importantly should also be combined with the social study.

- The reflection stage is still unclear and is left to the ethics of the designer even though it is based on the Charter on the Built Vernacular Heritage.
- The execution stage is the main phase in reality, since most of the time and efforts are concentrated on the execution which turns the rehabilitation into a technical process.
- The monitoring stage concentrates on physical maintenance and on repairs while no mention is made of investigating the satisfaction and preferences of the inhabitants and users.

4.4.2 Reconsidering the Rehabilitation Criteria

When carrying out a rehabilitation project, five main principles must be kept in mind in the design phase; these are (RehabiMed, 2005:18-19):

- **Integration**, understanding the traditional space, the historic city and the rural territory as part of a larger-scale territory in which they have to be set and organized in accordance with their historic singularity and not regarded as isolated enclaves.
- **Globalism**, considering a multi-sartorial approach to the process in economic, social and environmental terms, not from an exclusively technical or urbanistic viewpoint, defining an integrated strategy that strikes a balance between enhancing collective heritage and improving the population's quality of life.
- **Coordination**, aspiring, by calling for a definite context of public action, to a new framework of governability in which the agents involved in rehabilitation (politicians, experts, social agents, etc., as well as citizens) become involved in the process and seek consensus as a basis for action as the true guarantee of sustainability.
- **Flexibility**, accepting that the long duration of rehabilitation processes requires ongoing evaluation of action and the possibility of redirecting the rehabilitation strategy, adapting it to the frequently unforeseeable social and economic changes that condition the evolution of the territory.
- **Adaptability,** defining merely a framework-guide that facilitates the management of rehabilitation and does not claim to find solutions that can be generalized to the problems of traditional habitat all over the Mediterranean basin, accepting rather that the definition of strategies and proposals of action will be conditioned by the specificities of each local context.

By reviewing the RehabiMed rehabilitation criteria, it can be noticed that these criteria are general and linked to urban planning measures and technical standards. When dealing with architectural objects it is important to focus on the human- built environment relation or on

the human- building relation and to develop a methodology that is more sensitive to human needs and deals with the building as a lived space.

4.5 Summary

This research cannot ignore the main challenges that the conservation faces. So it is important to state the main guidelines or aims to enhance the rehabilitation practice in order to bridge the gaps that are caused by the international charters and conservation theories, these aims can be summarized as:

- Concentrating on the relation between the rehabilitation of architectural space and the social aspect of space, so as to parallel the development in the theories of architecture that connect the field of architecture to social practice.
- Developing the public participation in the rehabilitation process and giving the inhabitants the opportunity to reflect their meanings and values side by side with the professionals, in order to assert the diverse meanings of the objects and include different social groups in the decision-making process, aiming to reach social justice.
- Enhancing the rehabilitation process to include the modern notions of sustainability and development, by concentrating on the concept of cultural sustainability and impacts of cultural aspects on the environmental aspects of historical buildings.

Through these mentioned points, a new approach to rehabilitation in general will help in setting up rehabilitation strategies for the Palestinian peasant houses, which will cope with the main challenges that the theories face. This research concentrates on the first aim, while the second and the third aims are recommended for future research. Thus, the following chapter presents a review of the theories of home and the different approaches that tackle the inhabitant-house relationship.

Chapter Five

Thinking Home - Beyond the Residence

Investigating the inhabitant– peasant house relationship required exploring different concepts relating to the proper habitation. Through deep insight into the notion of home and the set of meanings that are related to the home experience while bearing in mind the concept of lifestyle and its links to creating the best-suited housing environment. Moreover it was essential to distinguish between different approaches to articulate the inhabitant-house relationship, in order to suggest a comprehensive approach to understanding the interaction of the inhabitants of Ramallah's historic core with their peasant houses. The experience of home environments, the relation of this experience with identity, security, mobility, and attachment to place has recently received increased attention from scholars in different fields which has made it more sophisticated.

With this in mind, the first aim of this chapter is to clarify basic issues, namely: the relationship of house and home, the notion of home and the concept of lifestyle. The second aim is to review the major concepts related to the meanings of home. The third aim is to present a review of the main theories concerning the inhabitant-house relationship in order to propose a theoretical framework that establishes the link between the theory and the research methodology.

5.1 House and Home

Dwelling carries a wide range of meanings; Oliver (1987:7) stated that "dwelling is both process and artifact". Norberg-Schulz (1985:13) classified four modes of dwelling as: natural which is related to the settlements, collective which is related to open spaces such as streets, plazas and cities, public which is related to public buildings such as governmental institutions, schools, universities…etc, and private which is related to the residential unit.

The expressions house and home are both used to describe the residential unit, they are similar in their spatial indication and different in their sensational and emotional indications. The notion of dwelling highlights the contrast between house and home, based on the phenomenologists' description of the dwelling as: "a way of being –in-the-world", Manzo asserted that the physical housing unit does not define the experience of home. It connotes a more active and mobile relationship between individuals and the physical, social, and psychological spaces around them (Manzo, 2003:49; Seaegert, 1985:287).

Rapoport's point of view concerning the term "home" is different. He raised fundamental questions about the usefulness of the term "home" and the phrase "meaning of home" in environmental-behavioral research. Rapoport pointed out the lack of consistency among researchers in the use of the term "home" with a tendency toward variation based on disciplinary orientation and personal preference, besides he elaborated on the inherent difficulty of constructing "home" as referring to both an object and a subject-object relationship, and limitations in the use of the term "home" in cross-cultural research (Rapoport, 1995; Chaudhury and Rowles, 2005:10).

Luckily, this inchoate concept of "home" turned this topic into a specialty and made it a highly potent concept from both a substantive and methodological perspective. So the notion of home provides rich potential for the understanding of human behavior and its effect in an environmental context. In the next sections the private mode of dwelling is discussed, by investigating both the notion of home as a broad set of associations and meanings that are linked to the physical structure of house to reach the optimal feeling of dwelling. And the concept of lifestyle as a rich realm that offers valuable theoretical, epistemological and substantive contributions on how the housing environment can be investigated.

5.2 The notion of Home

The etymology of the term "home" provides an interesting starting point for the consideration of the significance of home as an effective environment. It has been suggested that there is no word quite as emotionally loaded as "home" in the Romance languages (Fox, 2007:145). For example Seamon (1979:70) defines "at- homeness" as: "the usually unnoticed, taken for granted situation of being comfortable in, and familiar with, the everyday world in which one lives and outside of which one is visiting".

Scholars took Heidegger's idea of dwelling as being in the world as a starting point from which to analyze the special significance associated with our most basic dwelling-places, our houses. Levinas (1969:152) described the home as **a precondition for existence**. "Man

abides in the world as having come from a private domain, from being at home with himself to which at each moment he can retire". In his book *The poetics of Space* Gaston Bachelard (1964:7) highlighted the role of the home as a place of **safety, security and warmth.**

G.Poulet (1977:7) described the home as **a garment** that the occupier wraps around himself. He explained the idea of "identity shell" as: "Beings surround themselves with the places where they find themselves, the way one wraps oneself up in a garment that is at one and the same time a disguise and a characterization without places beings would be only abstractions". So without home the human is de-robed and loses the ability to regulate the way in which he or she appears to the outside world.

Malpas (1999:6), too, concentrated on the relation between **place and identity,** as he explained that "the stuff of our 'inner' lives is thus to be found in the exterior spaces or places in which we dwell, while those same spaces and places are incorporated 'within us' " (Malpas, 1999:6). He added that these attachments to our homes are such that "the very identity of subject, both in terms of their own self- definition and their identity of subjects, both in terms of their own self-definition and their identity as grasped by others, is inextricably bound to the particular places in which they find themselves and in which others find them" (Malpas, 1999:188).

Dovey (1985:36) asserted the meaning of home as a place of **safety, territoriality and identity** in the following description: "a sacred place, a secure place, a place of certainty and stability. It is a principle by which we order our existence in space. Home is demarcated territory with both physical and symbolic boundaries that ensure that dwellers can control access and behavior within. To be at home means to know where you are, it means to inhabit a secure centre and to be oriented in space."

In fact, while home has been used metaphorically it has also been interpreted literally. So this has two main impacts on the research, these are (Manzo, 2003:49; Moore, 2000):

- There has been emphasis in research on residence and attachment to it.
- There has been an emphasis on positive relation to places because of the importance of home as a metaphor for experience joy, protection and belonging.

It is imperative to add that the notion of home is facing major challenges to survive in an era of globalism and modernity. Heyen (1999:18-19) concluded that **dwelling and modernity are opposed** to each other, and confirmed that "dwelling is in the first instance associated with tradition, security, and harmony, with a life situation that guarantees connectedness and meaningfulness". Moreover Dovey (1985:51-58) illustrated the factors that eroded the sense

of home as: **rationalism and technology, commoditization, bureaucracy, scale and speed, the erosion of communal space and professionalism.** In that regard dwelling in the proper sense is not easy to attain, so this research will tackle the lateral and private mode of home as a residence.

5.3 The Concept of Lifestyle

In his foundational essay on cultural geography- *House Form and Culture*- Rapoport introduced the concept of lifestyle and its connections to the house environment. He wrote, "the house is an institution in which the provision of shelter is the passive function, and the positive purpose of it is the creation of an environment best suited to the way of life of a people" (Rapoport, 1969:46-47). Accordingly he defined the main aspects of lifestyle or "*genre de vie*"[14] that affect house form (Rapoport, 1969:47) as:

- Some basic needs (eating, sitting, sleeping…)
- Family structure.
- Position of women.
- Privacy.
- Social intercourse.

He also suggested that the activities may help in understanding lifestyle and through it more global concepts such as value, world view and culture (see the Choice Model). After reviewing related literature, three major theories and approaches appear to have influenced recent conceptions about lifestyle and human preferences, these theories can be summarized as:

- Status -Based Theory (1984): this concept was established by the **French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu** in the habitus theory which is considered as a useful corrective to certain theories of reflexive transformations since it avoids the deterministic approach of the structuralists and presupposes a fully rational calculating agent as in rational action theory. Bourdieu suggested that a special group of persons in specific neighboring have a specific style or unity. The best example of this is lifestyle. In 1984 **Bourdieu** introduced three concepts for understanding the concept of style of life these are: habitus, position, and distinction. "Habitus refers to past experiences and embedded preferences as well as socio-behavioral practices. Position means what agents have in terms of different kinds of capital and he means by agents people and

[14] A term used by the French geographer Max Sorre(1880-1962) which includes all the cultural, spiritual, material, and social aspects.

institutions. Distinction involves being distinguished and being individual."(Salama, 2007:69-70). This theory can be linked to understanding the house by developing inquiries about the past housing experiences that people have had and their future preferences.

- Work-Based (Profession) Theory: the **Danish ethnologist Thomas Hojrup** introduced the concept of life-mode in his book "*State, Culture and Life- Mode: The Foundations of Life-Mode Analysis*". According to Hojrup the population is divided into subgroups, or 'life-modes', which share certain social and economic characteristics and lifestyles. He argues that our values are constrained by cultural-relational dialectics and are products of cultural life modes. He attempts to address the problem that different cultural values conflict when they are brought together. The three life modes he introduced are: self-employed life mode, wage earner life mode, and career-oriented life mode" (Hojrup, 2003:20-37). Salama (2007:69) elaborated on the preceding classification of life modes and explained that based on the income level, work sector, and work style of an individual, house needs and preferences vary dramatically. In this regard the spaces of house will be affected by the changing spatial preferences according to each mode of life. For the first the house acts as both living and working place, for the second the house is regarded as a place where important free-time activities are undertaken while for the third the house reflects personal progress in order to reflect position and social status.
- Attitude-Based Theory: in her book *Thought Styles* the **British anthropologist Mary Douglas** introduced a lifestyle theory similar to the concept of life-mode. Four different sub-cultures stem from this theory; these are: competition and individualism; isolation and avoidance of social controls; equity and negotiation; and hierarchical communities (Douglas, 1996:83-84). This theory can be linked to the house typology in terms of house size, relation to the context and overall image as Salama (2007:69) has explained.

On the whole through exploring these diverse concepts of lifestyle it is clear that the house's form and spatial arrangement are connected to the way of life of the individual and the social group. Different aspects of lifestyle are mentioned and concluded as forces that affect the house's form besides the five aspects that Rapoport defined earlier. These different aspects are: **past experience, means of capital, distinction, income level, work style, work sector, social interaction and privacy.**

5.4 Meanings of Home

There are many levels of meaning and many theoretical approaches to the topic. For instance the "Transactionalists" believe that meaning is given as a perception takes place and that past experience interrupts a perception to give a new meaning (Lang, 1987: 94-95). On the other hand Hillier explained that meaning is embodied in the physical structure as well as in the human mind and illustrated that "architects should beware of espousing a "natural" philosophy of basic human needs or shared norms and values, and particularly in determining a spatial form for such nebulous concepts as those of "community and privacy" " (Hillier, 2003:110).

A number of classifications of types of meaning exist, according to Rapoport (1977:19-20) the meaning of an object is explained in a hierarchy of levels of meaning ranging from: concrete object through use object, value object to symbolic object, and he emphasized that the symbolic end of the scale seems most related to environmental choices. In addition he proposed a differentiation of meanings of the built environment, as (Rapoport, 1988 and Coolen, 2005:6):

- High level meanings cover global worldviews and philosophical systems.
- Middle level meanings cover latent functions of the built environment such as: identity, status, wealth and power
- Lower meanings cover detailed functions such as privacy, accessibility, movement and seating arrangements

Whereas Martin Krampen (1979:12) explained that the meaning of a city should not be considered merely as a reflex of cultural and symbolic structures. These aspects have an important role but have their foundation in the material and economic processes of human production.

Focusing on the meaning of home, scholars explained that it is not simple to define meanings assigned to home. Dovey wrote "the concept of home is of value as it uniquely encompasses the social, psychological and cultural aspects of domestic living including key processes and goal-making, which dwelling does not. Home is difficult to define as it has many attributes and levels of meaning, but at its centre is a highly complex system of ordered relations with place, an order that orientates us in space, in time, and in society "(Dovey, 1985: 39).

An early effort to understand the meanings assigned to the home was provided by Hayward (1975). He explained that the meaning of home embraces home **as a physical structure, as a territory, as a locus in space, as self and self-identity and as a social and cultural unit** (Hayward, 1975; Oswald and Wahl, 2005:27). Fox (2007:138-139), too, tried to categorize the meanings that the home reflects by dividing them into intangible and tangible meanings. Since Home = House + x, x factor = the meanings associated with social, psychological, emotional and cultural attachments to home. Intangible meanings of home are concentrated in **home as territory, home as identity, home as a socio-cultural unit** while tangible meanings of home are concentrated in **home as a physical structure, home as a financial asset**. She added that conceptualizing intangible subject "home" is not simple (Fox, 2007:145).

In sum it is not easy to classify the diverse meanings of home since when talking about the meanings of home there is much overlap and interrelation. When depending on literature about home from inter-disciplinary fields and focusing on the middle and lower levels of meanings it was possible to define five main concepts of the meaning of home which are: functional and physical structure, monetary and financial asset, territory, personal identity, and socio- cultural unit. More elaborated descriptions of these main meanings of home are in the following sections.

5.4.1 Home as a Physical and Functional Structure

The house is not only a geometric space, it is a lived space. It does not mean the physical structure or the style of architecture, but it actually provides the physical basis for occupiers to experience all of the attributes of home. This physical structure defines the relation with the outer environment and provides occupiers with a specific atmosphere. The physical structure of house offers the locus for family life, a place of security, a place of privacy, stability and a sense of permanence (Fox, 2007:157). Besides, it reflects the inhabitants' preferences and lifestyle, since all houses provide the ability to live, cook, eat, bathe, sleep, relax, work, for storage...etc. but a glance at the architectural record reveals a variety in the way they offer these that is characteristic of each time period and culture (Hanson, 2003:2).

5.4.2 Home as a Financial Asset

The value associated with the "home" as a financial investment is the factor that distinguishes the meaning of the owner- occupied home most clearly from the meaning of home for tenants

(Fox, 2007: 146). Based on Fox (2007: 147) the significance of the home as a financial asset for occupiers has several facets:

- The owned home provides a significant repository of capital appreciation.
- The idea of home as a financial investment to pass to your children has been cited as a significant aspect of the meaning of home for owner occupiers.

As well, homeownership is considered fundamental in some communities; it reflects the social status and is also a cause of satisfaction with life. In their research Rohe and Stegman (1994:173-184) describe the homeownership effects on low-income people and concluded that those who are homeowners experience a significant increase in life satisfaction relative to a control group of continuing renters. In fact, home as a financial asset is related to the social, psychological, cultural and personal aspects of the meanings of home.

For Dovey (1985:53-54) the ownership issue was susceptible, since he considered commoditization to be a cause of homelessness. In that regard he explained that investment in housing led to a change in the relation between dwellers and their dwellings into a legal relationship that concentrated on the house as a source of profit. And he added that in case of housing being rented, a clash of identities would emerge between the owner and the dweller if the dweller attempted to appropriate his house.

5.4.3 Home as a Territory

The territoriality of "home" is "the act of laying claim to a geographical area, marking it for identification and defending it when necessary against others of same kind" (Fox 2007: 157-158). Brower (1980:179-180) stated that "in humans the exercise of territorial behavior is characterized generally as: the relationship between an individual or group and a particular physical setting that is characterized by a feeling of possessiveness and by attempts to control the appearance and use of space". "The function of home as territory satisfies a range of social and psychological needs: home is the sole area of control for the individual, home is the most appropriate physical framework for family and family life, home is the place of self-expression, and home provides a feeling of security" (Rapoport,1980:179-180). Porteous (1976, 383-390) explained that territory confers three substantial benefits on its occupants, they are: identity, security and stimulation. This can be secured by two means:

- Personalization of space which is an assertion of identity and means of ensuring stimulation.
- The defense of space is the means by which stimulation is achieved and security assured.

The definition of territoriality showed that it is connected to the need for privacy. Since privacy is defined as " the ability of individuals or groups to control their visual, auditory and olfactory interaction with others" (Lang, 1987:147) and when desired contact is achieved, individuals will experience a sense of autonomy, self worth and self identity, and contribution to group functioning (Harris et al, 1996:288). Also Altman (1975:10) explained that the dividing of the physical environment into defined territories contributes to the creation of privacy in the setting, and added that the defined layouts regulate social interaction and control behavior in the setting. Finally it is important to point out to that the average citizens appear to expand more effort personalizing and defending the home than other levels of fixed physical space (Porteous, 1976: 383).

5.4.4 Home as Personal Identity

Identity commonly refers to "properties of individuality, the essential characteristics that make a person distinct from others (self identity). Identity has also been interpreted as the qualities of sameness between an individual and others. The most common categories for comparisons are: education, ethnicity, gender, and nationality, place of residence, profession and religion" (Lawrence, 2008:74).

A human ecology perspective accepts that individuals and groups consciously choose their behavior, lifestyle and values in order to create a sense of self-esteem, of social acceptance and belonging. An individual's housing environment, especially the social and cultural context of daily life, is a structured framework for the expression and transmission of personal and social identities (Barbey, 1990; Duncan, 1981 and Duncan, 1985). Besides, according to Duncan (1985:135) kinship is no longer the source of status for the individual, the individual gains his status through a dependence upon private objects to affirm identity emphasizing that the house is the largest and costliest private object whereby individuals can assert their identity.

Home identity faces a debate between individualistic and social interpretations. Dovey (1985:40) explained that "the home is both a "statement" and a "mirror", developing both socially and individually, reflecting both collective ideology and authentic personal experience", he added that "if the meaning of home as identity is both collective and personal, it is also in a sense universal" (Dovey, 1985:40-41). This emphasizes the notion that the home grows from the environmental context of the place itself "genius loci" (Norberg-Schulz, 1980, 1985).

Also Dovey (1985:43) explained that the home as identity represents our connections with the past and extends into a connectedness with the future. Our home is the place that holds our memories and our dreams; it is the means that establishes who we are by where we come from.

5.4.5 Home as a Social and Cultural Unit

Culture refers to "characteristics of human societies that involve the acquisition and transmission by non-genetic means (from one person to another, between human groups and societies as well as over generations) of shared beliefs, customs, information, institutions, language, rules, symbols, technology and values" (Lawrence, 2001; 2008:73-74). Although culture was often interpreted by anthropologists to be a monolithic and static concept, today it increasingly designates a relativistic and pluralistic concept within and between human groups, societies and nations.

The role of culture in the environmental interaction may vary with the type of environment, over time, for different groups, in different situations and contexts and so on. In housing it has a strong role, moreover a large number of examples tend to be traditional and vernacular where the role of culture is stronger still. So these become model systems to study the interaction between culture and environment (Rapoport, 2008: 20-21).

Scholars such as Lawrence (1985:117) and Duncan (1985:136) emphasized that the home environment is a human construct and a socio-cultural artifact. Rapoport (1969:47), too, illustrated that house form is not simply the result of physical forces or any single casual factor but is the consequence of a whole range of socio-cultural factors seen in their broadest terms. Form is in turn modified by climatic conditions and by methods of construction as well as by what he called the socio-cultural forces as primary forces and the other forces as secondary or modifying ones.

5.5 Inhabitant -House Relationship

Dovey (1985:34) stated that "the home is an emotional and meaningful relationship between dwellers and their dwelling places" and affirmed "home is what emerges out of the dwelling activities, the appropriations and the opportunities available in each particular circumstances" (Dovey, 1985:51). In light of that, it is important to focus on the people's awareness of their houses as a fundamental issue to identify this relationship and to experience the meanings of home.

The meaning of space can only be revealed by a human's response to a particular environment. The human perception of space is influenced by different factors, such as the perception of the physical form, the aesthetic values, the personal preference and expectations that come together and interact. Norberg-Schulz (1966:30) traced the dissimilarity in perception between humans to different experiences. He argued that perception is not only problematical because we may judge the situation unsatisfactorily, it is a paradoxical but common experience that different persons, at the same time, have a similar and different experience of the same environment. Whereas Rapoport traced this difference to cultural and social reasons, he explained that people perceive problems and possible solutions in different ways, they define basic needs differently, and also ideal life differently, they give different meanings to concepts such as privacy, density, so the perceived environment and the schemata in which it is embodied are therefore at the heart of design decisions (Rapoport, 1977:28). On the whole the perception of a space can be influenced by **culture, gender, age, ethnicity, social class, experience and degree of familiarity** (Tuan, 1974).

A general overview of the main human–built environment relationship theories and its interrelation to the inhabitant-house relationship are illustrated in the following sections. Starting with the "**Phenomenologist's"** concentration on the human experience of place as a reflection of the built environment and then going through the "**Environmental Behavior Studies"** which deal with the built environment as a product of human behavior. It ends by introducing the "**Space Syntax Theory**", which explains the human movement or social order as a reflection of the qualities of the built environment, which is also manipulated to reach specific social ends.

It is noteworthy to mention that some references used the term space and others used the term place to reflect the built environment. The term space is a general term, while according to Tuan (1974) what begins as undifferentiated "space" evolves into "place" as we come to know it better and endow it with value. In this research the relation between inhabitant and house is being investigated so the term space is used primarily, as the word house. However, in the case of quotations and when discussing different scholars' work the original term is used.

5.5.1 The Phenomenologist's Approach

Heidegger (1975) argued that people cannot "be" without having some connection to a particular place, "The way in which you are and I am, the manner in which we humans are on

the earth, is *Buan*, dwelling. To be a human being means to be on the earth as a mortal. It means to dwell, man in so far as he dwells". Heidegger's and Merleau-Ponty's approach of discussing the human-built environment relationship is known as the "Existential Phenomenology", from their point of view the **human experience** reflects the meanings in the world which is also built and embodied by this experience **in absence of science and society**. According to Hillier (2005:5) "the driving idea of phenomenology is that there exist connections between minds, bodies and worlds which are independent of the conceptual frameworks imposed by society and by science, and which are in fact likely to be obscured by these frameworks".

Besides, it is important to emphasize that, however, Heidegger was not concerned with the idea that dwelling in a property gave rise to an attachment to that particular dwelling-place. Heidegger's concern with dwelling was as a means of being on the earth, for that reason the "real plight of dwelling was that human beings would learn to dwell in the world by ever searching anew for the nature of dwelling" (Heidegger, 1975).

Others took this idea of dwelling as being in the world as a starting point from which to analyze the special significance associated with our most basic dwelling-places, our houses. Norberg-Schulz (1985:13-15) argued that to dwell implies the establishment of a meaningful relationship between man and a given environment, hence there are four modes: settlement, public space, institution and house which were mentioned before. In this relationship there must be two main aspects: identification and orientation. Identification means to experience a "total" environment as meaningful and orientation means grasping the spatial interrelationship of things which can be named as the order. So we can say that man's being-in-the-world comprises a how as well as a where. Dovey (1985:34) also explained that to understand the relationship between people and their dwelling places or what he called the phenomenon of home, there are three themes and approaches:

- Order,
- Identification,
- And the dialectic processes.

He added that "an understanding of the concept of home involves an understanding of dialectical process and changing transaction over time" (Dovey, 1985:48). For him the most important dialectic that is related to the concept of home is appropriation. The appropriation is rooted in action or in the dialectic process of everyday life. Besides, in order to understand the intangible meanings of home he suggested that "the most appropriate methodological response to these characteristics is to tailor the functions of home analysis, so that it seeks not

to produce specific cause- effect relationships or explanations, it is rather to deepen our understanding of an intrinsically intangible phenomenon" (Fox, 2007:145; Dovey, 1978:27).

Nevertheless, the phenomenological approach received a lot of criticism as being an individualistic and local approach that deals with the parts, "Heidegger's idea of dwelling resonates with the types of meanings that later emerged from the empirical studies into the meaning of home for occupiers" (Fox, 2007:135).

5.5.2 The Environmental Behavior Studies' (EBS) Approach

In light of the fact that the built environment is related in **reflexive relations** to human behavior or actions, Rapoport (1969:16) affirmed that "an understanding of behavior patterns including desires, motivations and feelings is essential to the understanding of the built form, since the built form is the physical embodiment of these patterns, and second in the sense that forms once built affect behavior and the way of life". He explained the environmental interaction in three main stages as (1977:28):

1. Cognitive-involving perceiving, knowing and thinking, the basic process whereby the individual knows his environment.
2. Affective- involving feelings and emotions about his environment, motivations, desires and values (embodied in images).
3. Conative-involving acting, doing, striving and thus having an effect on the environment in response to (1) and (2).

Based on Lang (1987:93) "an understanding of the process of cognition and affect can make a major contribution to the understanding of environmental aesthetics and choices people make in the use of the environment".

Regarding the relation between the inhabitants and their houses, Rapoport (1969:47) explained that "given a certain climate, the availability of certain materials and the constrains and capabilities of a given level of technology, what finally decides the form of a dwelling and moulds the spaces and their relations is the vision that people have of ideal life". He proposed the "Choice Model" (Figure 5.1) as a conceptual framework that helps to think about the inhabitant-house relationship and explained that this framework depends on the notion that choice (which expresses preference) is important in the interaction of people with the environment and especially with the house environment (Rapoport, 1985:256).

Thus, the house's form and spaces are seen as **a result of human choices or behavior** (Rapoport, 1969; 1977; 1985); (Michelson, 1977)**.** Rapoport (1977:15) illustrated that "all man-made environments are designed in the same sense that they embody human decisions and choices and specific ways of resolving the many conflicts implicit in all decision-making". So depending on the image which people have of the good life and the appropriate setting for it, one would expect to find a variety of places designed. As figure 5.1 shows, the image is a reflection of culture, values, world view, etc. embodied in the lifestyle. This may be a key element to understand how cities operate and how people make their choices and behave in them. The activities may help in understanding the lifestyle and through it more global concepts such as values and world view and culture and how they interact with the built environment (Rapoport, 1977: 20).

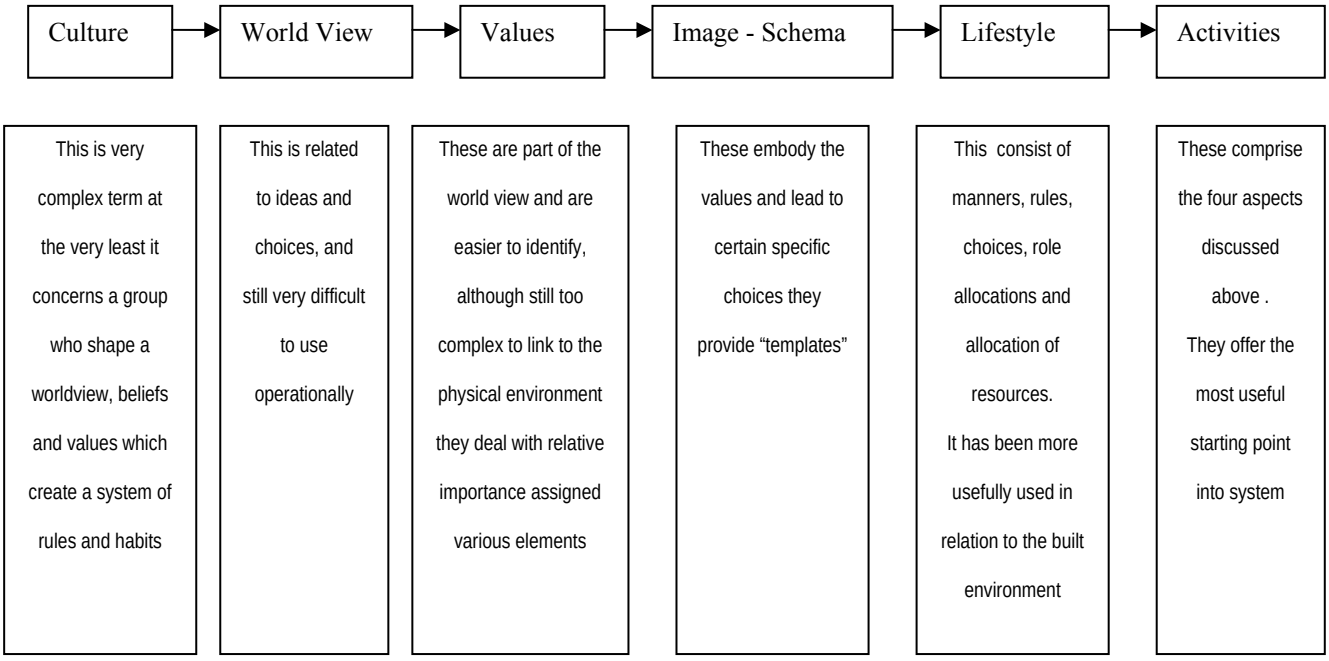

Figure 5.1: The Choice Model (Rapoport, 1977:20)

Another example related to the "Environmental Behavior Studies'" approach is the "Integrated Model" which was developed by Weidemann and Anderson (1985:160-162). This model identifies the dwellers' satisfaction or evaluation of their residences (Figure 5.2), and can be characterized as:

- Joins the three groups of human's responses to social object (cognitive, affective and behavioral) groups

- The relations in it are multi-directional
- Joins the objective and subjective measures of the objective environment.
- The linking between affective attitudes and behavior is via behavioral intentions.
- Involves the characteristics of the individual as an affective factor in the satisfaction.

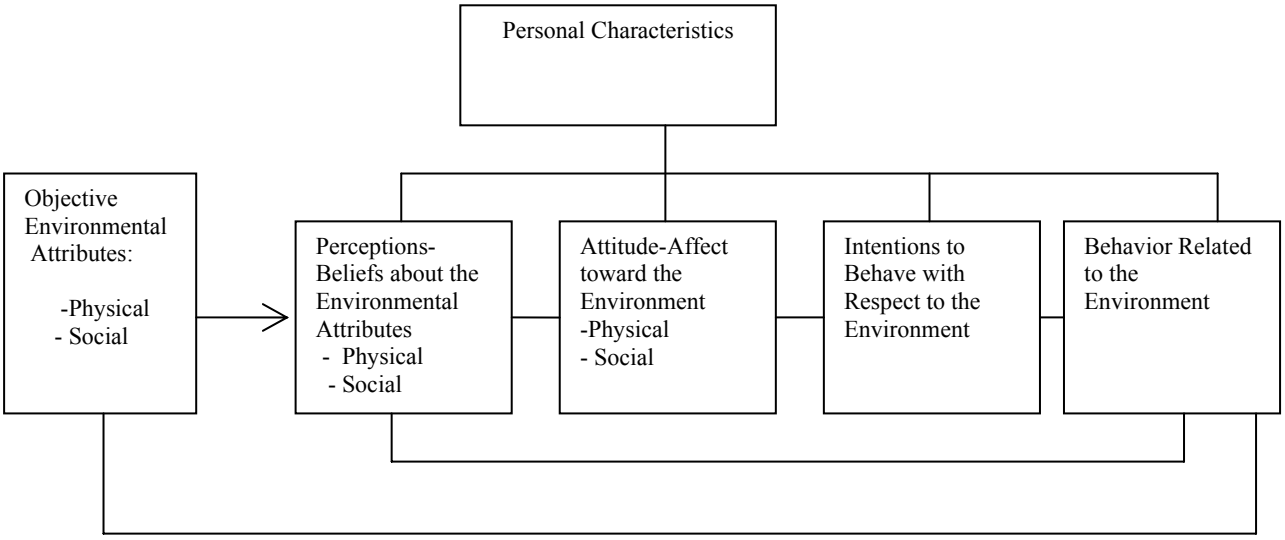

Figure 5.2: A conceptual framework for residential satisfaction (Weidemann and Anderson, 1985: 160)

5.5.3 Space Syntax Approach

The "Configuration Theory" or "Space Syntax Approach" was developed by Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson in 1984. The focus of this theory is the built environment itself. According to Hanson (2003:1) "**People's dwellings embody and express cultural and life style preferences**". Thus the "Space Syntax Theory" deals with the qualities embodied in the space itself as a basic motive for human behavior.

This theory also attempts to investigate the society-built environment relationship by combining the subject and object without a separation between the environment and culture, considering that the development of space is a social process in itself. Hillier explained that "space syntax combines social physics and phenomenology into a single theoretical model" (Hillier, 2005:8).

From Hillier's point of view "space seems to vary on a continuum with mechanical and statistical models as its poles" (Hillier, 1996:242). In addition he elaborated that the investments that societies make in space vary along three fundamental dimensions (Ibid):

- The degree to which space is structured at all "from non-order to order"
- The degree to which space is assigned specific social meanings "from non-meaning to meaning"
- The type of configuration used: it gives fundamental differences in actual spatial form from a range of spatial variables.

Accordingly, to deal with such diversity, and to suggest a model that explains the system of transformations, Hillier illustrated the morphogenetic model. Depending on this model, rules and randomness can interact to produce not only known outcomes but also new outcomes or morphogenesis (Hillier, 1996:242-243). He explained that if social encounters have their own spatial logic and space has its own social logic, and the task of the research is to understand how they relate morphologically then the naive paradigm of cause and effect between environment and behavior can be avoided (Hillier, 1996: 245).

According to Pearson and Richards (1994:30) the "Space Syntax Approach" has come in for strong criticism which concentrated on the disconnection between space syntax analysis and the cultural meanings of space. They explained that "by ignoring symbolic meanings we overlook the possibility that design structures have different meanings in different cultural contexts" and added "the approach may also ignore differing cultural strategies of privacy regulation" (Pearson and Richards, 1994:30). Other scholars such as Lawrence (1987:52-3) and Dyke (1999:470) gave significant criticism and arguments. Whereas Hillier (2005:12) explained "space syntax gives a partial view of the relations between human beings and their created environment".

Concerning the inhabitant–house relationship Hanson and Hillier proposed the "Space Decoding Approach" which was developed later and was based on the "Space Syntax Theory". In this approach they intended to connect the physical structure and the socio-cultural meanings. Hanson explained that the houses carry cultural information in their material form and space configuration and in the disposition of household artifacts within their domestic interior (Hanson, 2003:1).

The Space Decoding Analysis of houses includes three main methodological steps, (Hillier and Hanson, 1984:9-10); (Hillier, 1996:29-38; 2003:109-134) these are:

- Analyzing the order of space and defining its syntactic qualities.
- Linking the order of space to social order.

- Linking the order of space to the pattern of use focusing on hospitality, sleeping and eating behavior.

Moreover, it is vital to add that "Phenomenologists" such as David Seamon emphasized the connections between Phenomenology and Space Configuration or Space Syntax and came to a conclusion that there is a need for phenomenological studies grounded in Space Syntax that might offer helpful accounts of the experiential structures and situations of the pattern of use or of lived modes (Seamon, 2007: iii-12).

5.6 Theoretical Framework

These views and perspectives introduced by the different scholars gave a deeper insight into the rehabilitation procedures of the traditional peasant houses. Since these structures did not come out of nothingness, they represent a human experience and human product. These three main streams strengthen the statement that the social aspects of everyday life can be seen as a rich realm that offers valuable theoretical, epistemological, and substantive contributions on how traditional peasant houses can be investigated and rehabilitated. On the other hand, these views emphasized the need to understand the spatial qualities of the traditional peasant houses, to facilitate a clearer awareness of the embodied social order and meanings and link them to the pattern of use.

So to understand the inhabitants-peasant houses relationship, it is wise to integrate different research traditions in order to build a comprehensive concept. In this regard two main research approaches are used, the "Evaluation Approach" and the "Space Decoding Approach". The first started with the human and aimed at the physical. While the second approach started with the physical and examined for evidence of order resulting from human behavior. A general description of these two approaches is given in the following sections.

5.6.1 Evaluation Approach

The "Evaluation Approach" is inspired by the "Environmental Behavior Studies" (EBS); it depends on Rapoport's "Choice Model" as a basic framework to investigate the inhabitant-house relationship. Besides, it takes advantage of Weidemann and Anderson's "Integrated Model" (Weidemann and Anderson, 1985:160-162) in its multi-directional relations and specialties of involving the personal characteristics and the three levels of human response

(cognition, affection and action). So the following conceptual framework has been developed to show the relation between the main meanings of home and the lifestyle concept in affecting the built form of the peasant house through the aspects of daily life and activities.

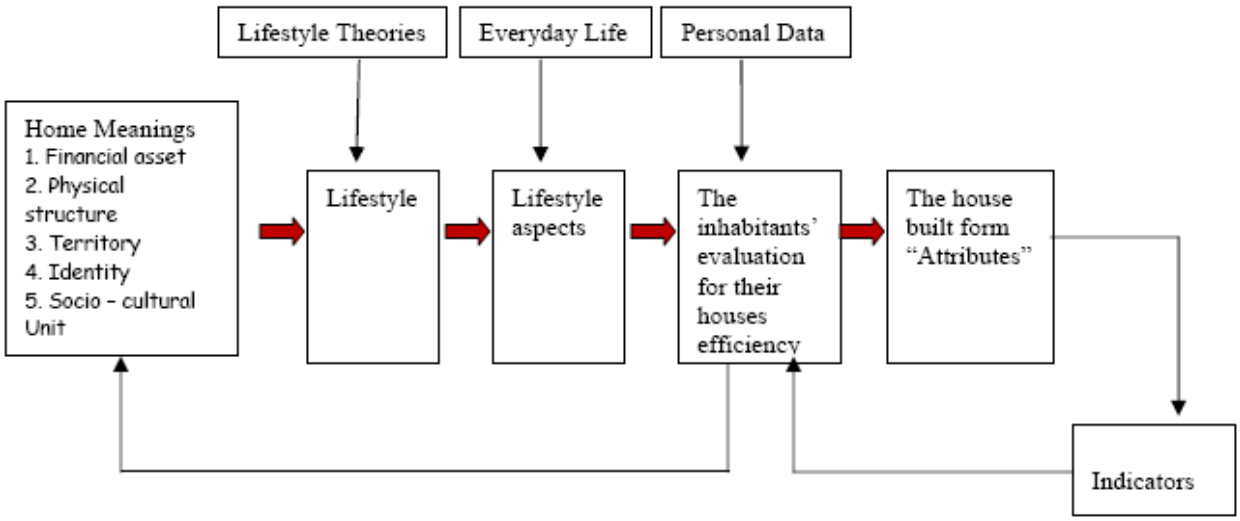

Figure 5.3: The conceptual framework of the evaluation approach

In this framework, the "Choice Model" is modified to cover different meanings of home concluded from literature (home as a physical structure, a financial asset, territory, personal identity in addition to Rapoport's concept of socio-cultural unit). The different meanings of home are linked to the aspects of lifestyle that affect the built form of the house. The lifestyle aspects are defined depending on diverse theories of lifestyle as well as descriptions and observations of everyday life in the historic core of Ramallah and then categorized in relation to home meanings. Besides, this framework examines the transformations of the peasant's house in order to define indicators for the inhabitants' evaluation of their houses. Or in other words, it links the home concepts to reality as the following diagram illustrates.

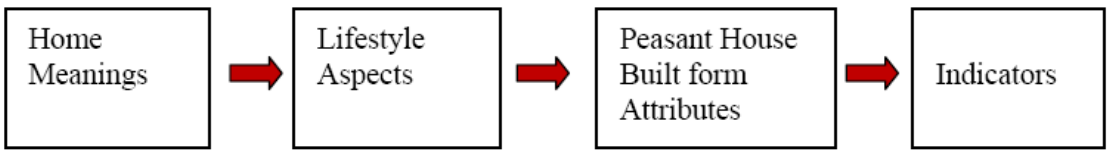

Figure 5.4: The link between the concepts of home meanings and reality

Depending on this framework a Likert questionnaire (see Appendix IV) was developed to investigate the inhabitants' evaluation of their peasant houses in order to define the meanings of home and compare the inhabitants' evaluation for their houses with the transformations in the built form of the peasant house.

5.6.2 Space Decoding Approach

The "Space Decoding Approach" is based on the "Space Syntax Theory" proposed by Hillier and Hanson (1984). This approach was selected to decode the peasant house looking for evidence of order in human behavior. So the spatial order of the houses will be decoded before transformation and after transformation to clarify the change in the syntactic qualities and the behavioral patterns in consequence. This approach is useful to testify the time and context factors as major elements in constructing the meaning. Besides, the "Space Decoding Approach" demonstrates the spatial qualities of the built environment through quantitative evidence. So researchers can see clearly the relation between the physical and human worlds (Seamon, 1994). The following diagram shows the main components of "Space Decoding".

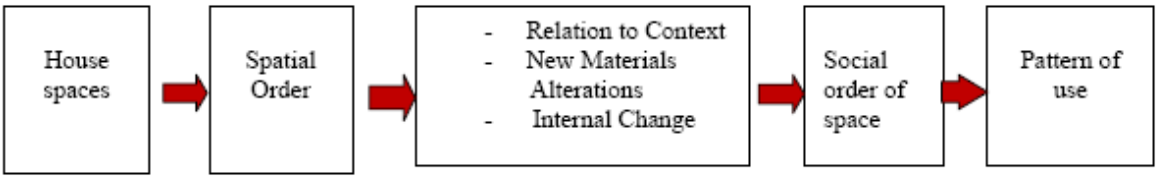

Figure 5.5: The conceptual framework of the space decoding approach

5.7 Summary

Exploring different theories and approaches concerning the inhabitant-house relationship gave the opportunity to deal with the differences between them and to reach a clear and comprehensive vision of the inhabitants' interaction with their houses. Phenomenological literature enriched this research by providing it with different concepts of home experience and the dialect of everyday life and paid attention to the individual local scale or to parts of the built environment. The EBS provided the opportunity to examine the cultural impacts and the role of human choices in constructing the house's built form focusing on the global scale or on the whole of the built environment.

Furthermore the “Space Syntax Theory” provided the base to examine the spatial structure for evidence of social order and finally link that to the pattern of use by combining the local scale and global scale by analyzing the development of space as a process while considering the parts and the whole.

Finally, the theoretical framework and debates presented in this chapter can be used as a starting point in introducing, investigating, defining and promoting the inhabitant-peasant house relation in the rehabilitation process of the historic core of Ramallah, as will be discussed in the following chapters.

Chapter Six

Methodology

The previous chapter presented a general overview of literature and theories that have provided information for this research on the notion and meanings of home, on lifestyle concepts and different approaches to the inhabitant-house relationship and have been concluded in a theoretical framework which establishes a starting point for the research methodology. The purpose of this chapter is to identify and justify appropriate methodological and empirical frameworks in addition to explaining the fieldwork processes used for collecting the relevant data.

6.1 Research Problem Statement

This research tackles the problematic situation that the traditional housing environment in Ramallah's historic core is facing because of the inhabitants' dissatisfaction with their traditional peasant houses. This main problem is related to different reasons:

- Social: due to change in values, images, lifestyle and lack of awareness.
- Institutional: due to absence of legislation and regulations regarding historical areas.
- Physical: due to the lack of development plans, lack of maintenance and services.
- Financial: due to the lack of financial support for institutions and individuals who intend to renovate their houses.

The inhabitants' image and perception of "home" cannot be separated from its context. "Home" also has diverse tangible and intangible meanings. It is perceived as a physical structure and financial asset. Besides, it is a place of territoriality, identity and a socio-cultural unit (Fox, 2007: 138-140). This research concentrates on investigating the inhabitants' relation with their peasant houses by tracing the change in the meaning of home

and its impact on the built form and spatial qualities of the peasant house in order to propose principle guidelines for the rehabilitation of peasant houses in Ramallah's historic core.

The dilemma of the inhabitants' dissatisfaction with the historic core of Ramallah is related to the change in their image of the main aspects of lifestyle which is related to the change in its meaning. This affects the built form of the peasant house which is not combined with a well thought-out improvement of the built form of the traditional houses. **"When preferred environments cannot be selected, people lives are affected by having to adapt, to reduce in congruencies and to give up certain activities"** (Rapoport, 1977: 83). While Hillier (1996:246-248) explained that, to study space and knowledge, we must begin by making a fundamental distinction between two everyday senses of the word "knowledge". The first is when we talk of knowing a language, or knowing how to behave, or knowing how to play backgammon which can be named social knowledge or knowledge A. The second is the knowledge we learn in schools such as knowing projective geometry, or knowing how to make engineering calculations, or knowing the table of elements which can be named scientific knowledge or knowledge B. And he added that all human spatial organization involves some degree of knowledge A, while the absence of knowledge A causes the spatial conditions for all kinds of generations-new relationships, new ideas, new products, and even new knowledge- which means the production of knowledge B.

As a result, in the absence of a well-prepared rehabilitation plan for Ramallah's historic housing environment that respects the social values and needs of the inhabitants, the inhabitants themselves have started to adjust their peasant houses by adding new constructions and elements that spoil the architectural identity of the historical core. So there is an essential need for proposing rehabilitation strategies which have an interface with the architectural notions that discuss the human-built environment relationship and perform the inhabitants' interaction with their houses in the rehabilitation process of the peasant house.

6.2 Research Questions

The research questions were narrowed within the framework of the research scope and objectives and were divided into a main question and secondary questions.

6.2.1 Main Research Question

How to consider the inhabitants' interaction with their peasant houses in the rehabilitation of the historic core of Ramallah?

6.2.2 Secondary Research Questions

- What are the challenges that are facing the Palestinian peasant house specifically?
- What are the diverse meanings of home and their reflections in the inhabitants' lifestyle aspects?
- What is the inhabitants' evaluation of their houses in light of the lifestyle aspects that are connected to the meanings of home?
- How does the change in the social structure affect the spatial structure of the peasant house?
- What are the syntactic qualities of the transformed peasant house?

6.3 Research Design

As mentioned before **the general research strategy was the case study**. Since according to Yin (2003:7) the case study is preferred when "how" or "why" questions are being posed, and when examining contemporary events in which the relevant behavior cannot be manipulated. The **research design** followed two main approaches, these are:

- The "**Evaluation Approach**" which concentrated on investigating the interaction between the inhabitants and their peasant house environment focusing on the three phases of the interaction: the **cognition phase** in which the world views and images of the environment of the inhabitants are identified; the **affection phase** in which the inhabitants evaluate the ability of their houses to maintain the main meanings of home according to their images of ideal life or preferences and the **conative (action)** phase in which the inhabitants conducted changes in the built form of their houses.
- The "**Space Decoding Approach"** which depended on using the space decoding method to analyze and investigate the spatial arrangement and contextual environment in relation to time of the traditional peasant houses, in order to check out, in consequence, their link to the change in social structure and the pattern of use.

While the research **data gathering techniques** depended on: documents and literature, observations, interviews, questionnaires and AutoCAD drawings as explained in the following:

- Documents and literature, which concentrated on the development and architecture of Ramallah's historic core, the peasant house architecture, use and folklore, as well the

literature concerned with home meanings and interrelation and lifestyle theories which were analyzed to form the theoretical base of the field survey.

- Observations, which concentrated on diagnosing the problem and developing the research questions and were later used to develop the questionnaire and attest its components by linking the diverse meanings of home (as a physical structure, a financial asset, a territory, an identity and a socio-cultural unit) to different lifestyle aspects that affect the house's built form. In addition, the inhabitants' behavior in the house environment was examined.
- Semi-structured interviews with conservation experts, who identified and examined the main aspects of lifestyle that are related to the change in the built form of the house.
- Questionnaire which included:
  a. Likert section[15], which tackled the affection phase of the interaction between the inhabitants and the environment of their peasants' houses, by depending on the inhabitants' rating for their houses in light of the main meanings of home.
  b. Survey of the sample houses, which tackled the action phase of the interaction between the inhabitants and their houses and aimed to describe and classify the physical changes in the built form of the traditional houses.
- AutoCAD drawings, aerial photos and maps of Ramallah's historic core and well-documented examples of peasant houses, which presented the changes in the built form of the peasant house and the urban development of the area as a whole. These drawings were used mainly to perform the space decoding analysis.

The **research analysis** depended on two main techniques:

- Statistical analysis: SPSS software
- Space decoding analysis: Gamma analysis and Depthmap analysis.

Finally the research ended with an action part which concentrated on establishing strategies for the rehabilitation of the peasant houses in Ramallah's historic core and providing guidelines for the application of these strategies (see Figure 6.1 below).

[15] The Likert scale is a psychometric scale commonly used in questionnaires, and is the most widely used scale in survey research. When responding to a Likert questionnaire item, respondents specify their level of agreement to a statement.(Wikipedia.org,2008)

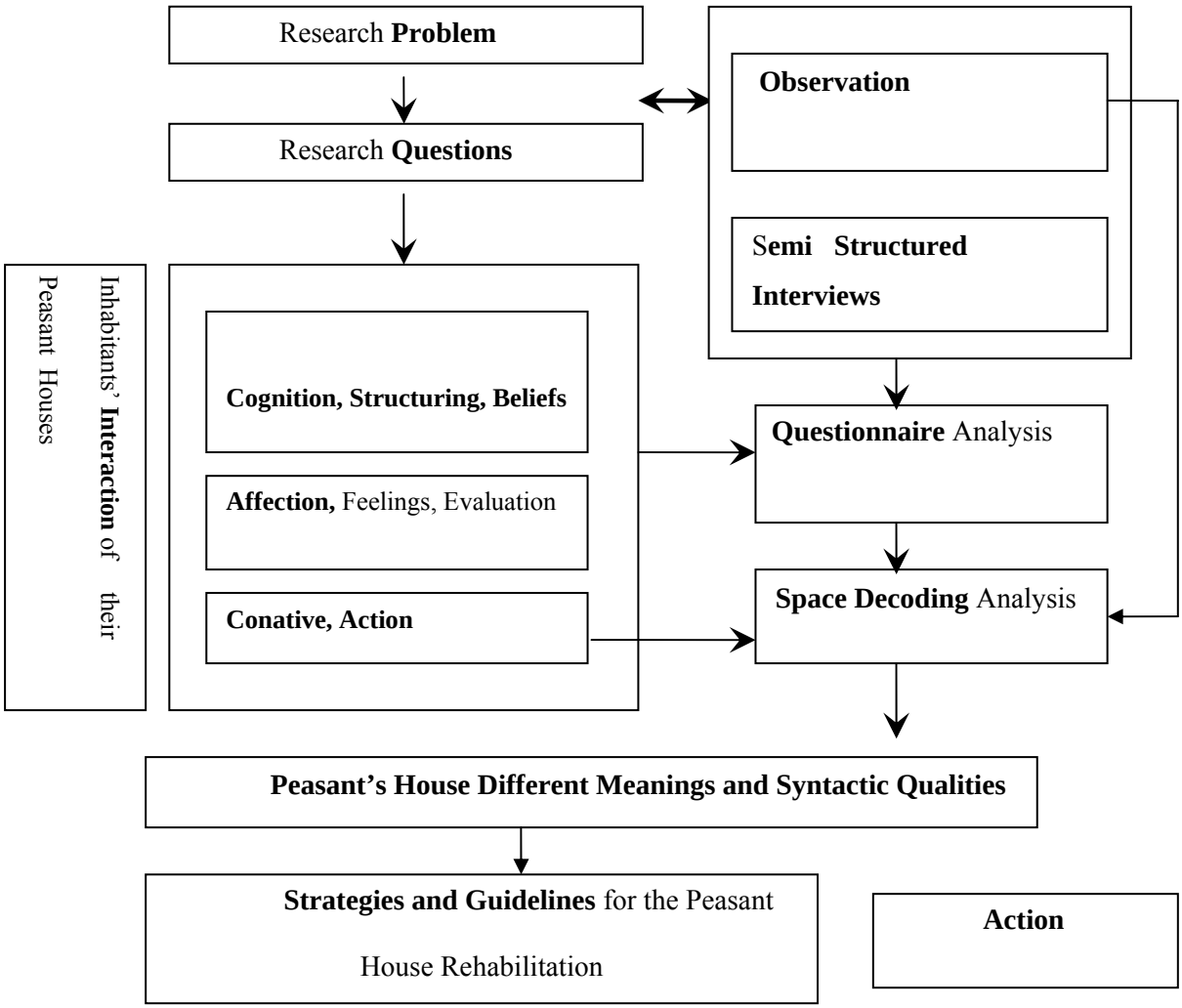

Figure 6:1 Conceptual model of research methodology

In the following sections a detailed description of the aims, methods and phases of the Evaluation Approach and the Space Decoding Approach are given.

6.3.1 Evaluation Approach Procedures

The "Evaluation Approach" aimed to investigate the inhabitant's relation to their houses depending on their meanings of home. The evaluation process concentrated on illustrating the inhabitants' assessment of the efficiency of their peasant houses in sustaining the lifestyle aspects that are linked to the main meanings of home, besides analyzing the actions of change

in the houses' built form that were carried out to meet the inhabitants' preferences. This approach depended on Rapoport's "Choice Model" (Rapoport, 1977, 1985) and Weidemann and Anderson's "Integrated Model" (Weidemann and Anderson, 1985:160-162) [16], and included three main phases:

- The first phase aimed to localize the theory by conducting site observations to check the list of lifestyle aspects that reflect the meanings of home[17].
- The second phase aimed to investigate the lifestyle aspects which affect the built form of the peasant house through semi-structured interviews conducted with experts in the field of conservation who are in touch with the situation of Ramallah's historic core. After the first and the second phases the questionnaire was developed.
- The third phase aimed to assess the peasant house in terms of its efficiency in maintaining the main aspects of lifestyle depending on the inhabitants' image of meanings of home; the Likert questionnaire was distributed for that reason. This phase also aimed to define the transformations in the built form of the house; so the physical changes were noticed and classified through the selected sample (see Appendix III). Finally, an analysis of the data was conducted using SPSS software. This led to summarizing the results and structuring the main meanings of the peasant house as defined by the inhabitants.

In the following detailed illustrations of these three phases are given.

6.3.1.1 Phase One: Observations

Both participant and direct observations were carried for the following purposes:

- To examine the main aspects of lifestyle that affect the built form of the peasant house.
- To provide a deep and thorough description of the pattern of use of the peasant house.
- To provide further explanations and interpretation for the results.

The observations started by conducting a field study of Ramallah's historic core. Later, for in-depth investigation, two main components were chosen for observation:

16 See Chapter 5
17 See Chapter 5: the Theoretical Framework

- The changes in the built form of the peasant house including the spatial changes, installations and decorative changes.
- The inhabitants' behaviors in the house and its context.

The observations were carried out in summer time and in winter time, besides they were conducted at different times of day. Written notes and photos have been used to document the observations.

6.3.1.2 Phase Two: Interviews

The main aim of the interviews was to develop the questionnaire, by checking the list of the lifestyle aspects that impact the built form of the peasant house. In the interviews shorthand writing was used, after each interview a summary of the main raised issues and uncovered concepts was written.
The major topics that were discussed covered the following:

- The general evaluation for the housing conditions in the historic core of Ramallah.
- The main meanings of home as defined by the inhabitants of traditional peasant houses.
- The main aspects of lifestyle that affect the change in the built form of the peasant house.
- The main physical changes in the peasant house that are noticed in reality.
- The relation between the inhabitants' profession, income and the change in their houses.
- The relation between the ownership type and the change in the peasant house form.

For more details of questions raised in the interviews please see Appendix IV.

The interviews targeted a group of experts in the conservation field who are in touch with the situation in Ramallah's historical core as mentioned before (see Appendix IV). All interviews were held in Arabic and translated into English for the analysis. The analysis of the interviews was based on the recursive process of content. Analysis, according to which, the elementary concepts found in the transcripts of the interviews were noted. And then these

notes were grouped into thematic categories. The final report deals with a summary of the different concepts (Gillham, 2000).

6.3.1.3 Phase Three: Questionnaire

The questionnaire attempted to examine the peasants' houses in the historical core of Ramallah, which were built before the mid-twentieth century and occupied for the purposes of housing or housing and work together. The estimated total number of the historical buildings is about 208 according to the maps and records available from the municipality of Ramallah and RIWAQ Center for Architectural Conservation. The main aims of this questionnaire were:

- To define the inhabitants' evaluation of their peasant houses in terms of their efficiency in maintaining the aspects of lifestyle that reflect the main meanings of home.
- To define the inhabitants' perceptions of their peasant houses in terms of main meaning of home in consequence.
- To define the main changes that the inhabitants had already carried out on the built form of their houses.
- To describe the current physical situation of the peasant houses depending on the observations of the researchers.

The sample size was estimated to be 50 households, making sure to select only one household in each building in the case that more than one household was living in the same building. This methodology granted the possibility for the maximum input of the houses' criteria within the framework of the study. The sample was distributed on a systematic random basis depending on the distribution of buildings in situ. Consistency and similarity in Palestinian society is not only high from a social point of view but also in this study model, so the margin of difference is not an important factor.

Based on the PCBS area sampling method - multistage sampling in which maps, rather than lists or registers, serve as the sampling frame and are used by the PCBC in particular studies[18] - the households' sample selection depended on three procedures:

[18] Depending on *Mustafa Khawaja* expert in statistics and demography in PCBS

- The counting of the buildings at required intervals and choosing the exact number (count four buildings and take the fifth).
- The building's criteria: peasant house and still being used for residential purposes.
- The selection of the household itself, which was the first household in the building in the case of more than one household.

The access to the sample followed the following procedure:

- Accessing the historic core of Ramallah, defining the borders of the region depending on the master plan adopted by the Municipality of Ramallah and RIWAQ center.
- Defining the starting point depending on the master plan, the start of the enumeration area technique for the first house used was totally random and not on purpose.
- Selecting the first building and meeting the family who live in it
- Counting three buildings located after the first building and selecting the fourth one. Depending on the equation: after 4 buildings take a building as a sample. In the case that no-one was in the building (and make sure that it will be empty till the end of the survey) or it was abandoned a shift was made to the sixth building.
- The researcher's route was from the right side and clockwise.
- The data were collected from one household in each building, being the first household on the right side of the researcher (or to the left of the building).
- The questionnaire targeted the responsive household only, and there were no questionnaire forms for non-responsive households or vacant buildings.
- The respondent was one adult from the household's members, who was at least 18 years of age.

Finally, statistical treatment was carried out; the SPSS program was used for statistical analysis. The following statistics were done:

- Frequencies
- Tables

6.3.2 Space Decoding Approach Procedures

The "Space Decoding Approach" aimed to investigate the inhabitants' relation to their peasant houses in Ramallah's historic core by depending on the decoding of the spatial transformations of the house spaces, and linking these transformations to the social order

and pattern of use. This approach decoded the changes in the peasant house by comparing the recently transformed houses with their original form. Based on Hillier and Hanson (1984:9-10) and Hillier (1996:29-38);(2003:109-134) this approach included three main phases, these are:

- Analyzing the spatial transformation of the peasant house by decoding the spaces before and after physical changes depending on material and immaterial data and then defining the syntactic qualities of the changes.
- Finding the ways that link the spatial order of the peasant house to social order by describing the changes.
- Linking the order of space to the pattern of use focusing on hospitality, sleeping and eating behavior.

The analysis depended on the AutoCAD drawings for the documentation of the floor plans of Ramallah's historic core done by a summer workshop in Ramallah in 1999 which illustrate the original building and the recent changes and additions (see Appendix V), besides the author's field observations and descriptions. Two levels of analysis were done: general analysis for the changes in the peasants' houses in Ramallah's historic core as a whole and detailed analysis for the selected houses. Taking into consideration that all the houses shared the same morphology, the selected houses were chosen to reflect the diverse changes in the peasant's houses depending on three main factors:

- Nature of setting: relation to the street, direct relation or indirect relation
- Spatial arrangements: single house, linear arrangement and complex "*hosh*".
- Size of change: simple additions and severe changes (new units added)

The following sections illustrate the methods that were used in the previously-mentioned phases.

6.3.2.1 Phase One: Investigating the Changes in the Built Form of the Peasant House

The changes in the built form of the peasant house were described and categorized with reference to the basic form of the peasant house dating from the 18th century as described in chapter 2. So the spatial decoding concentrated on two main models of the peasant house:

- The original house mostly dating from the late 19th and early 20th century.
- The recently transformed house.

The changes were categorized in two main groups depending on the nature of change:

- The alterations: the decorative changes and installations which did not affect the form of space.
- The spatial transformations: the additions to or destruction of spatial elements of the house.

These two groups were also differentiated by their settings inside the house and outside the house.

6.3.2.2 Phase Two: Linking the Spatial Order of the Peasant House to Social Order

The changes were analyzed to set up the main rules of spatial development. Initially a general analysis of the historical core was done; the main characteristics of spatial organization were discussed including: permeability, visibility, insulation, sequencing, categoric differentiation and relative position.

Later a detailed configurational analysis of the sample houses was conducted; permeability graphs of these houses were prepared depending on Gamma Analysis[19], and so it was possible to discuss the changes in the integration and segregation values. Depending on the Depthmap software analysis it was possible to investigate the change in connectivity and integration values for the selected houses and the impact of the physical changes in built form on the connectivity and mean depth (integration) values of the public spaces in the historical core as a whole. The main spatial variables or syntactic qualities that were analyzed are:

- **Permeability** means the amount of control exercised over the way in which it is possible to move from one space to another (Hillier, 2003:123).
- **Visibility** means whether or not the interior of the house can be seen from the street or whether it is possible to see clearly from one part of the domestic unit to another (Hillier, 2003:123).
- **Insulation** means the degree of discontinuity or the strength of boundaries between different spaces and between the house and the outside environment (Hillier, 2003:125).

[19] An analysis for permeability of buildings in which the elementary objects are cells with certain permeability properties and it is equivalent for Alpha analysis of urban spaces (Hillier and Hanson, 1984:148)

- **Sequencing** refers to the way that spaces connect each other into chains, frequently into rings. (Hillier, 2003:125).

- **Categoric differentiation** means to what extent there is a definition of the categories of people who can have special access to and control of the categories of space (Hillier,2003:126 and Hillier and Hanson, 1984:146)

- **Relative position** means to what extent the people's and objects' positions are identical in the house spaces (Hillier, 2003:126).

- **Integration** means to what extent each part of the house is spatially connected to the others. And this can be reflected by counting the spaces that have to be passed to reach it, the fewer spaces the more integrated space (Hillier, 2003:128). Or in other words, the integration is considered to be a normalized version of the mean depth of a node n[20] to all other nodes in the system and can be calculated by the Depthmap software (Hölscher and Brösamle, 2007:043-06)

- **Segregation** means to what extent each part of the house is spatially disconnected from the other parts. And this can also be reflected by counting the spaces that have to be passed to reach it. The more spaces, the more isolated space (Hillier, 2003:128).

- **Connectivity** means the number of other convex spaces with which the space overlaps, or in other words connectivity of a node n[21]: is a local measure which captures the amount of space directly visible from n and can be calculated by the Depthmap software. (Hillier, 1996:125 and Hölscher and Brösamle, 2007:043-06).

- **Step Depth** (between two locations a and b) means the number of edges on the shortest path between a and b in the visibility graph and can be calculated by the Depthmap software (Hölscher and Brösamle, 2007:043-06).

Finally a description of these spatial changes within their context was done so as to link them to the social order.

[20] Any node located on the two dimensional grid that consists the visibility graph
[21] Any node located on the two dimensional grid that consists the visibility graph

6.3.2.3 Phase Three: Describing the Pattern of Use

An analysis of the main recent patterns of use including the sleeping, the hospitality and the eating behavior was executed in order to examine the relation with the transformed spatial order. This phase depended on the direct and participatory observations of the inhabitants' behavior within the environment of their peasant houses[22] and the descriptions of the original pattern of use[23].

[22] See the observation part in Chapter 6
[23] See Chapter 2

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Chapter Seven

Navigating the Relation between the Inhabitants and their Peasant Houses-Ramallah's Historic Core

In this chapter the relation between the inhabitants of Ramallah's historic core and their traditional peasant houses has been investigated and identified. The contemporary meaning and syntactic qualities of these simple traditional domestic structures were defined. In the first step by presenting and discussing the results of the "Evaluation Approach" which focused on the human part and aimed to get information about the physical component of the relation, then by presenting and discussing the results of the "Space Decoding Approach" which focused on the physical part and aimed to get information about the human component of the relation. In conclusion, a summary of the inhabitants' interaction with their peasant houses is elucidated.

7.1 Evaluation Approach Results and Discussion

In the following sections the results of the observations, interviews and the questionnaire are presented and discussed. Consequently the relation between the inhabitants' evaluation of their peasant houses and the physical changes in the built form of the houses is illustrated. The inhabitants' perceived meanings of their peasant houses are also clarified.

7.1.1 Observation Results

The observation results showed that the main lifestyle aspects that were of importance in the peasant house and its context as factors of change are:

Basic needs (hygiene, cooking, sleeping...) - the basic needs were the most noticeable factors in leading to physical changes. Kitchens and bathrooms were often added as well as partitions to identify and insulate sleeping spaces.

A: An added kitchen

B: An added partition to separate the sleeping and living zones

C: An added veranda and laundry room

D: An added partition to separate the sleeping and living zones

Figure 7.1: New physical additions that apply to basic needs (Author, 2008)

Social interaction- the inhabitants created a new behavioral pattern for meeting guests in the semi-public spaces and sidewalks. Salons and living rooms were added in some cases.

A: A sofa in the courtyard to receive guests and neighbors

B: Chairs in front of the street façade to receive guests and neighbors

Figure 7.2: Furniture arrangement that creates a semi-public area for social interaction (Author, 2008)

Relaxing activities- relaxation and entertainment facilities obviously affected the built form and image of the peasant house. Newly added elements such as walls and screens define and protect the relaxation spaces, TV aerials and satellite installations were often added.

A: An added living room, take note of the satellite fixed on the roof

B: An added high wall around the court for privacy

Figure 7.3: Physical additions and alterations to provide relaxation (Author, 2008)

Women's activities- house keeping activities and women's needs were traced as factors of change, too. Newly added spaces and installations for cooking and laundry were observed as well as different elements to afford privacy.

A: Using the sleeping room for preparing bread

B: The traditional way of drying clothes, and the newly added parapet for privacy as well.

C: A newly added laundry room

D: A newly added dish-washing sink

Figure 7.4: Physical additions and alterations that serve the women's activities (Author, 2008)

Family structure- the extended family system still affected the peasant house built form. This affect took on a contemporary expression as reflected by the newly added apartments or rooms on top or adjacent to the house and in the court area as well.

A: The steel bars that facilitate the planned future extension

B: The newly added apartments on top of the old structure

Figure 7.5: Physical additions that serve the social structure and solidarity (Author, 2008)

Privacy- the need for privacy was an obvious factor of change in the peasant house environment; different elements were added to provide privacy starting from textiles or plant screens and ending with high walls and gates.

A: A fixed textile screen from the street side to provide privacy.

B: Newly added high walls around the court to provide privacy.

Figure 7.6: Physical additions and alterations that serve the need for privacy (Author, 2008)

Security and stimulation- the need for security and stimulation were also noticed as factors of change in the peasant house built form. Newly added gates, entrances, doors and high walls were observed.

A: A new fixed metal gate

B: A new fixed metal door in the house's entrance

Figure 7.7: Physical additions and alterations that serve the need for safety (Author, 2008)

Distinction and stimulation- self identity and motivation needs were noticed in major alterations inside and outside the house. Much attention is paid to the family photos, handcrafts, religious and political symbols and plants in the house environment.

A: Taking care of plants

B: Fixing a lot of family photos on the walls

C: Expressing special taste in colors and religious symbols as well

Figure 7.8: Physical additions and alterations that strengthen the feeling of distinction and personalization (Author, 2008)

Reputation and income level- the social reputation and income level affected the peasant house built form. Based on that, the house's area, style, quality of construction materials and ornamentation are considered sources of social status in the Palestinian community in general.

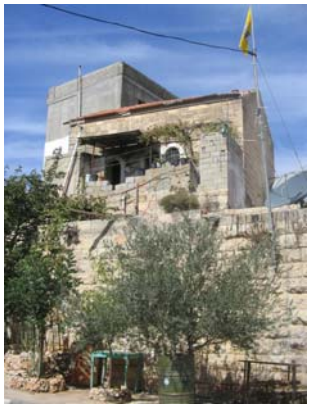
A: Newly added tidy veranda and walls that reflect reputation and income level

B: Newly added upper floors as a source of reputation and income level

C: Newly added details reflecting reputation

Figure 7.9: Physical additions and alterations that reflect the reputation and income level (Author, 2008)

Political affiliation- political statements and symbols could be noticed outside and inside houses.



A: Fixed flag on top of houses that reflects political affiliation

B: Painted political statement on wall that reflects the political affiliation

Figure 7.10: Physical additions and alterations that reflect the political affiliation (Author, 2008)

Religious beliefs- religious symbols and statements were obvious inside the houses as well as on the outside and in public spaces.

A: Fixed religious symbol inside house

B: Fixed religious statements inside house

C: Painted religious statement on the walls outside

Figure 7.11: Physical additions and alterations that reflect the religious belief (Author, 2008)

7.1.2 Interview Results

The main results of the interviews that were conducted with the conservation experts who are in touch with Ramallah's historic core situation can be summarized as:

- In general, the traditional housing environment in the historic core of Ramallah is facing severe problems especially regarding: the houses' small unventilated spaces, lack of appropriate services (bathroom and kitchen) and legal status of ownership. Consequently the inhabitants' quality of life is dreadful and they are

considered to be a low-profile social group by the other inhabitants of Ramallah city.

- The main meanings of the peasant house for the inhabitants of Ramallah's historic core are in the following order: a physical structure that offers basic needs, a financial asset and a territory that provides security and privacy.
- The main reasons for change in the peasant house built form are primarily related to the basic needs (sleeping, cooking, hygiene...) as well as further secondary reasons such as: privacy, religion as a direct and indirect factor (in forms of social power struggles), income level, profession, distinction, security, women's status, family structure, social interaction, and politics.
- The ownership status did not cause any impact on decisions related to change in the peasant house built form, but it affected the quality and the legal situation of change, since the owners added permanent structures permitted by the municipality while the tenants mostly added temporary structures without the permission of the municipality.
- The income level and profession did not affect decision related to change in the peasant house built form but they affected the quality and size of the changes. More money means permanent and massive changes.
- The main changes in the peasant house built form as noticed by the conservation experts were: newly added kitchens, baths and toilets, walls, entrances and salons.

7.1.3 Synthesizing the Meanings of Home

After reviewing the results of the observations and the interviews and based on the literature concerning the meanings of home and lifestyle theories, the relation between concepts of home meanings and the aspects of everyday life was identified. The following table shows the link between the meanings of home and the main lifestyle aspects that affected the changes in the peasant house built form. The dismantled lifestyle aspects which are illustrated in this table were developed into a Likert questionnaire form (see Appendix III).

Table 7.1: Linking the meanings of home to lifestyle aspects

Concept	Aspects
Main Meanings of Home	**Main Aspects of Life Style that affect the form of house(tangible, intangible)**
Monetary and financial asset	Type of ownership, financial security, profession income level, working activities.
Functional and physical structure	Daily basic activities : hygiene, sleeping, cooking, eating, meeting people, working, relaxing, parking
Territory	Stimulation, security, distinction, social interaction, privacy.
Personal identity	Reputation, political affiliation, religious point of view, profession, income level, distinction, privacy.
Socio-cultural unit	Family structure, women's position, privacy, social interaction, basic needs.

7.1.4 General Results of Questionnaires

The main results of the questionnaire were arranged under five main themes: the household's general data, the physical situation of the peasant house, general evaluation by the author for the houses' physical situation, the inhabitants' ranking of their peasant houses in terms of the main aspects of lifestyle and the transformations in the houses' built form. A detailed illustration of the questionnaire results is given in the following sections.

7.1.4.1 The Household's General Data

The households' sample consisted of 15.7% female and 84.3% male, 22% Christians and 78% Muslims. The households mostly originated from Hebron province villages (21.6% *Sae'er* and 13.7% *Al Thahiria*), while refugees comprised 49% of the sample. The educational level of the sample reflected that most of the respondents had not finished the high school level since only 3.9% of the sample reached secondary school level, 9.8% finished a diploma level and 5.9% finished the first university degree level (see Table 7.2).

Table 7.2: The household general data

Sex	**Female**		**Male**			
	15.7%		84.3%			
Religion	**Christian**		**Muslim**			
	22%		78%			
Refuge case	**Refugee**		**Not Refugee**			
	49%		51 %			
Original Town	**Ramallah**	**Hebron area**	**Palestinian Coastal Areas**		**Other**	
	13.7%	37.4%	9.8%		39.1%	
Education level	**Illiteracy**	**Basics**	**Primary**	**Intermediate**	**Secondary**	**Diploma and more**
	15.7%	9.8%	21.6%	33.3%	3.9%	15.7%

Most of the respondents were working as unskilled labor in workshops, on construction sites and in the services sector. In 51.1% of the sample the family income level was less than 1500 Israeli Shekel[24] (approximately less than 250 Jordanian Dinar or 300 Euro), while the average family size was more than 8 persons in 26% of the sample as the table below shows (see Table 7.3).

Table 7.3: The income level compared to family size

Income Level (NIS)	**Less than 1500**	**1501-2000**	**2001-3000**	**More than 3000**	
	51.1	28.9	17.8	2.2	
Family size(persons)	**more than 8**	**6-7**	**4-5**	**2-3**	**1**
	26	26	22	20	6

The peasant houses included in the samples were built before 1936 and 60.8% of them were attached on two sides (Table 7.4). 71.4% of the sample buildings had had maintenance or restoration carried out, 97.1% of the restoration work was done by the inhabitants themselves. The sample showed that 88.2% of the houses were rented by the inhabitants. (see Table 7.4).

[24] The Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS) has no data about the average income level, but assumes that the income is at the minimum level, which amounted to 707 Jordanian Dinar(JD) for the year 2007 for the average household size of 6.4 persons.

Table 7.4: The peasant house general data

Peasant's House Type	**Detached %**	**Attached on two sides %**	**Semi-dettached %**	**Within a Complex (*Hawsh*) %**	**Other%**
	15.7	60.8	5.9	7.8	9.8
Construction Date	**Before 1900%**	**1900-1920%**	**1921-1936%**		
	33.3	53.3	13.3		
Maintenance or Restoration	**Yes- Partial %**		**No%**		
	71.4		28.6		
Maintenance Supervision	**Owner-Tenant %**		**Other%**		
	97.1		2.9		
Ownership Type	**Owned by the inhabitant%**		**Rented by the inhabitant%**		
	11.8		88.2		

7.1.4.2 General Description of the Physical Situation of the Peasant House

Through conducting general observations of the peasant houses, it was found that the physical conditions of 52% of the sample were moderate in terms of structural conditions, the quality of stones and pointing. Besides, the general physical conditions of the interior spaces in 56% of the sample were considered moderate, 64% of the sample interior spaces were considered moderate in their style and 62% were considered moderate in their quality. The interior space appearance was evaluated as good in 38% of the sample and moderate in 44%. The roominess of space was considered bad in 32% of the sample and moderate in 44% of the sample. Regarding privacy, the interior privacy was considered low in 30% of the sample and moderate in 44%. The relation between the house and context was considered high in 58% of the sample (see Table 7.5).

Table 7.5: General description of the physical situation of the peasant house

Peasant's House Physical Situation	**Good%**	**Moderate%**	**Bad%**
Physical condition of the house from the outside	30	52	18
Physical condition of the house from inside	22	56	22
Conditions of the interior spaces: - Appearance:	38	46	16
- Style-Level of item	18	64	18
- Quality	18	62	20
- Roominess-area	24	44	32
Level of privacy in house	**High%**	**Medium%**	**Low%**
	26	44	30
Level of the relationship with the surroundings	58	24	18

7.1.4.3 The Inhabitants' Evaluation of their Peasant Houses

The following table presents the inhabitants' ranking of their peasant houses in terms of their efficiency in maintaining the lifestyle aspects which are linked to the main meanings of home.

Table 7.6: The inhabitants' evaluation of their peasant houses

Lifestyle aspect	**Number of Respondents out of 50**	**Mean out of 5**	**Agreement %[1]**
1. Bring you future safety / current financial stability	47	2.8	45
2. Commensurate with the needs of your career	49	3.3	57.5
3. Commensurate with the level of your income	49	3.7	67.5
4. Provides you and your family with the appropriate space	50	3.0	50
5. Provides adequate space to sleep	50	3.2	55
6. Provides adequate place for hygiene	50	2.2	30
7. Provides adequate space for receiving guests	50	2.9	47.5
8. Provides adequate space to eat	50	2.8	45
9. Provides adequate space to rest / relax	50	3.2	55
10. Provides adequate space to work	11	2.9	47.5
11. Provides adequate space for children	50	2.8	45
12. Provides adequate parking space for car	50	2.2	30
13. Provides adequate space for the activities of the housewife	50	2.5	37.5
14. Provides opportunities to interact with people	50	3.4	60
15. Provides privacy	49	2.7	42.5
16. Provides a sense of security "protection, safety, stability ..."	50	3.4	60
17. Provides a sense of distinction or excellence	49	2.8	45
18. Gives you a sense of belonging to Ramallah Historical Core " Ramallah Al Tahta"	50	4.7	92.5
19. Gives you good reputation and makes you proud	50	3.9	72.5
20. Gives you a sense of motivation or stimulation	50	3.5	52.5
21. A reflection of you / for political affiliation	38	1.4	10
22. A reflection of your religious beliefs	38	1.8	20

[1] The analysis followed the absolute value as 1=0, 2=25, 3=50, 4=75, 5=100

The results of this Likert questionnaire showed imperative outcomes. In general the inhabitants' evaluation for their houses reflected their dissatisfaction; they were not content with the efficiency of their houses in providing adequate space for the family's daily activities, particularly concerning hygiene, parking and the housewives' activities (cooking, washing clothes,..). The inhabitants ensured that their houses did not reflect their political affiliation or their religious beliefs. Whereas they considered their houses appropriate to their income level and evaluated them highly as a reason for feeling that they belonged to the historic core of Ramallah as well as giving them a good reputation (Table 7.6).

7.1.4.4 Changes in the Physical Form of the Peasant House

The questionnaire clarified the main changes in the peasant house built form based on the household responses and the observations of the author. The following table shows the main added spaces and elements.

Table 7.7: The peasant houses changes[25]

Added Space	Additions %	Added Elements	Additions %
Sleeping Room/s	18	Wall-Fence	44
Living Room/s	16	Gate	44
Saloon Room/s	10	Garage	2
Work Room/s	4	Veranda	24
Kitchen Room/s	54	Entrance	26
Bathroom/s	72	Windows (change to aluminum profile)	57.1
		Other: parapet in the *mastabeh* level, re-pointing, mechanical system, renew ceiling, renew doors	23.5

[25] The group marked in red is related to basic daily activities, the group marked in orange is related to defensive needs and the group marked in yellow is related to personalization needs.

Accordingly, the changes in the built form were divided to three main categories:

- Changes related to **basic daily activities and needs**: kitchen, bathroom, sleeping room/s, living, salon, veranda, working room, garage, mechanical installations and insulating roofs.
- Changes related to **defensive needs**: wall, fence, screen, gate, entrance.
- Changes related to **personalization needs**: changing windows from wooden or iron profiles to aluminum profiles, changing doors, adding parapets inside, re-pointing and painting.

Contingent on the field survey it was clear that the changes that served the basic daily needs or activities were the majority, followed by the changes that served defensive needs. And the changes that served needs of personalization and status were carried out least (see Table 7.7).

7.1.5 Discussion on Results of Questionnaire

The inhabitants' evaluation for their peasant houses can be influenced by different variables as mentioned in Chapter 5 (Tuan, 1974). The results of the Likert questionnaire, the site observations and the interviews with the conservation experts, and considering the personal characteristics (education, income level,..) in the sample as well as the demography and social structure of Ramallah's historic core (see Chapter 3) were compared. The inhabitants' evaluation of their peasant house efficiency in maintaining the aspects of lifestyle that are related to the main meanings of home was mediated by the following factors:

Sensitivity factor, the sensitivity towards some aspects such as religious beliefs and political affiliation. This was noticeable through the evaluation results for the relation between the house and political affiliation and religious beliefs, the inhabitants mostly did not see their houses connected to their political affiliation or their religion while the observations showed that the inhabitants used their house structures to reflect these aspects (see Figure 7.10, 7.11).

The inhabitants' evaluation of the role of their houses in maintaining their good reputation and pride was overstated, this is linked to the new **social structure** of Ramallah's historic core which is mostly composed of migrants from Hebron villages or refugees from the Palestinian occupied areas. In such circumstances both of these social groups are considered to be a low-profile community in Ramallah city (see the results of the interviews).

Finally it was noticed that the inhabitants' **low level of education and experience** did not qualify them to reflect their needs regarding the quality of life. For example, 55% agreed that their houses give them suitable space for rest and relaxation, while from the conservation experts' point of view these houses are not capable of providing a suitable atmosphere for

relaxation in the current situation as explained earlier. In the following sections the interrelation between the inhabitants' evaluation of their peasant houses and the changes in the built form is discussed and the main meanings of home as perceived by the inhabitants are illustrated.

7.1.5.1 The Interrelation between the Inhabitants' Evaluation and the Changes in the Peasant House Built Form

Based on comparing the results of the inhabitants' evaluation of their peasant houses and the physical changes in the houses' built form it was concluded that the changes in the built form **were not casually connected** to the inhabitants' preferences for their houses or in other words were not a deterministic result of the inhabitants' choices. For instance the inhabitants' dissatisfaction with their houses' capability of offering distinction and stimulation was not reflected in the physical changes. Actually what they did to achieve more stimulation or distinction was concentrated on changing the windows and doors and not more than that (see Table 7.7). Another example is related to the inhabitants' dissatisfaction with their houses' capability of offering space for children's activities and eating as well as parking while the changes done to enhance were very rare (see Table 7.7).

Thus the changes in the peasant house built form were not necessarily correlated to the inhabitants' choices or preferences. Depending on the current economic, legal, social and physical circumstances in the historical core of Ramallah, besides the personal characteristics of the sample, this lack of connection can be linked to different contextual reasons, which are:

- The **low-income level** which defined the inhabitants' priorities and restricted their ability to attain their preferences.
- The **lack of awareness** of the importance of the peasant house which affected the quality of transformation and adaptation.
- The **legal status**, since the inhabitants are mostly tenants and did not have the right to carry out changes which affected their priorities.
- The **gender and sensitivity factors** which played a major role in the decision-making process and determine the nature of change.

- The **availability and quality of space** which can be traced to the small empty areas and the capability of change of the peasant house itself.
- **Lack of institutional strategies** which is reflected in the absence of projects to improve the housing environment in the historical core.

Based on that, the income level and the legal status of ownership affected the inhabitants' priorities regarding decisions concerning change. This result did not agree with the experts' view which stated that the decision for change was not affected by the income level and the ownership status. Besides, the site observations showed that the inhabitants have created different approaches to express their choices or preferences. They did not depend only on reflecting their preference in a fixed physical form but they produced **non-physical forms** to reflect it such as: developing **new patterns of use** (behavior), **graffiti, symbols, language, accent and clothes**.

Rapoport's notion that the symbolic and value meanings are the major factors of change in the built environment was **not convincing** in the historic core of Ramallah. Since the basic needs or the use meaning were the main factors of change in the built environment (e.g. 72% bathroom, 54% kitchen–Table 7.7). In fact this result emphasized the conservation experts' judgment that the basic needs were the most important factors which led to changes in the built form of the peasant house in Ramallah's historic core. In that regard this issue requires more investigation in future research to clarify the relation between the contextual aspects and the change in the built environment.

While it was obvious that the five lifestyle aspects that Rapoport (1969) proposed as the main factors of change in the house's built form were highly present in the changes as Table 7.8 shows.

Table 7.8: Rapoport's five aspects and the peasant houses' changes

Rapoport's Five Aspects	**Related Transformations % (Indicators)**
Basic needs	72% bathroom, 54% kitchen, 18% sleeping,16% living room
Women's position	54% kitchen,44% walls, 44% gates, 26% entrance, 10% salon
Privacy	44% walls, 44% gates, 26% entrance, 10% salon
Social interaction	44 % walls and fences, 44% gates, 26% entrance, 16% living room,10 % saloon.
Family structure	Included in the previous 4 aspects

In sum Rapaport's "Choice Model" as a conceptual framework alone was not capable of providing a comprehensive view of the inhabitants' interaction with their peasant houses. The "Choice Model" provided a general approach to think about the phenomena (Rapoport, 1985:256). Though, the different theories of home meanings and lifestyle besides the knowledge of the context and site circumstances were necessary to develop this conceptual framework into a model and to explain the field survey results in order to identify the main meanings of the peasant house.

7.1.5.2 Defining the Contemporary Meanings of the Peasant House

Based on the inhabitants' evaluation of the efficiency of their houses in maintaining the aspects of lifestyle that are linked to the main meanings of home and the changes in the peasant house built form, besides the results of the field observations and interviews, the inhabitants' perception of the meanings of their peasant houses was identified. The following sections provide an enlightenment of the main contemporary meanings of the peasant house in Ramallah's historic core:

Functional and Physical Structure

The physical structure meaning was investigated based on evaluating the efficiency of the peasant house in maintaining daily activities and functions. In general, the inhabitants' evaluation of the physical structures of their houses showed that these houses are not adequate for their families' daily activities. In particular, the inhabitants were tremendously dissatisfied with the efficiency of their houses in providing appropriate environments for: self-hygiene, car parking and women's activities. The following table shows how the inhabitants evaluated their houses regarding the maintenance of adequate environments for basic daily activities and clarified the correlated changes in the peasant house built form

Table 7.9: The peasant house evaluation as a physical structure

Activity or Aspect	**Inhabitants' agreement %**	**Changes in the peasant's houses % (Indicators)**
Parking	30	**Activities Changes:** 2 Garage
Women's activities	37.5	**Activities changes:** 54 Kitchen **Defensive changes:** 44 Wall 44 Gate 26 Entrance
Children's activities- playing	45	No additions for children's activities
Eating	45	No additions for special eating space
Relaxing	55	**Activities changes:** 16 Living 24 Veranda **Personalization changes:** Fixing Satellites
Receiving guests	47.5	**Activities changes:** 10 Saloon
Working	47.5	**Activities Changes:** 4 Working room
Sleeping	55	**Activities Changes:** 18 Sleeping room
Self hygiene	30	**Activities Changes:** 72 Bathroom

As mentioned before when tracing the changes in the peasant house environment it was noticed that, in many cases, the inhabitants did not reflect all their choices or preferences through changes in the houses' physical structure. For example, they were not satisfied with the parking services that their traditional housing environment provided but there were no changes for adding new garages or parking places except in one case. Also they were not satisfied with the space available for children's activities and with the space available for eating but there were no changes to provide the children with suitable playing spaces or for dining (Table 7.9). The majority of changes concentrated on adding bathrooms, in the first place and were followed by changes related to maintaining suitable spaces for women's

activities. These require the provision of two main conditions, these are: the appropriate privacy mechanism (e.g. wall, screen, gate, entrance, …) and the availability of adequate spaces for housewife's daily duties (e.g. kitchen).

The mismatching between the inhabitants' evaluation of their houses and the changes in the house's built form can be linked to different reasons when the contextual circumstances are taken into consideration as explained before. Thus, the changes in the built environment are not only a matter of lifestyle parameters or cultural parameters that construct the peasant's house built form environment. There are different factors that affect the change in the built form.

Financial Asset

The financial asset meaning was investigated based on the evaluation of the houses' adequacy for: income level, profession, financial security and working needs. The financial asset meaning differentiates the meaning of home for the owners from the meaning of home for tenants (see Chapter 5). The inhabitants of Ramallah's historic core are mostly tenants, unskilled salary-paid workers and their income level does not exceed the minimum consumption level for the average family in the Palestinian West Bank. With that in mind, the majority of the inhabitants assessed their houses to be appropriate to their income level considering the low rent amount they have to pay (which did not exceed 20 Jordanian Dinar in most cases)[26] and not in terms of their houses' quality. As well the inhabitants agreed in 57.5% of the sample that their houses are suitable for their professions. Therefore the physical changes which are related to the personalization needs were rare and concentrated on replacing the window frames (Table 7.10).

The inhabitants mostly agreed that their houses do not provide adequate space for working, while their working needs did not affect the spatial arrangements of their houses, as it was found that only 4% of the sample added a working room to their houses (Table 7.10).

[26] Based on the inhabitants themselves in 2008

Table 7.10: The peasant house evaluation as a financial asset

Aspects of lifestyle linked to financial asset	**Inhabitants' agreement%**	**Changes in the peasant houses %(50 house)**
Appropriate for income level	67.5	**Personalization changes:** 57.1 Windows (change to aluminum profile) 23.5 Other: parapet in the *Rawieh* level, re-pointing, mechanical system, renew ceiling, renew doors
Appropriate for profession	57.5	
Source of financial security	45	
Provide adequate place for working	47.5	**Activities changes :** 4 working room

Only 45% of Ramallah's historic core inhabitants agreed that their houses are a source of financial security, which is connected to their ownership status. Actually, the inhabitants' rent contracts are mostly from the early twentieth century with low rent amounts as mentioned before. Nowadays the land prices in this area are increasing dramatically so the original owners want the tenants to leave in order to sell their houses or to start a new investment in them. So besides the feeling of financial insecurity the unstable legal status of ownership has three other main impacts on the inhabitants:

- They don't consider their house to be an asset for their children in future.
- They cannot get permission from the municipality for the changes and additions they need because they are not the owners.
- Their feelings of distinction and self identity are negatively affected (see Rohe and Stegman, 1994:173-184), since in the Palestinian community the ownership of a house is a source of distinction and reflects social status.

On the other hand, the financial instability, the income level and the ownership status, did not affect the inhabitants' decisions to carry out changes to their peasants' houses. These aspects affected the type (priority), size and quality of change only based on the field observations, the interviews and the questionnaire results.

Territory

The main benefits of territoriality for the occupants are: security, identity and stimulation. So the home as territory was investigated based on security, distinction and stimulation in addition to privacy and social interaction aspects. The inhabitants in Ramallah's historic core were 60% in agreement with the efficiency of their houses in providing security. While, as far as the stimulation aspect was concerned, the inhabitants' agreement was 52.2% and with regard to the distinction aspect the agreement was no more than 45%. The difference between the inhabitants' evaluation of the security aspect and the distinction and stimulation aspects can be explained due to the social structure of Ramallah's historic core. Since the inhabitants mostly originate from the same geographical area (about 36% are from Hebron villages as mentioned before) or share the same experiences and characteristics (e.g. about 49% of the inhabitants are refugees, low income level, education level...) which provided them with strong ties and security in consequence.

The inhabitants' feeling of territoriality is connected with their satisfaction of the privacy level in their houses. As explained in Chapter 5 the privacy regulations depend on the effectiveness and ease of the implementation of one's chosen mechanisms. Since only 42% of the sample agreed that their houses provide them with an adequate privacy level, the individuals' sense of autonomy, self worth and self identity, and contribution to group functioning were impacted negatively (e.g. the inhabitants agreed 45% with distinction, 52.2 % with stimulation) (Harris et al, 1996:288).

The inhabitants' evaluation of the social interaction aspect showed that 60% of the sample agreed that their houses offer sufficient atmosphere for social interaction. This mismatching between the aspects of social interaction and privacy can be traced back to the fact that the inhabitants produced new patterns of behavior in meeting people in addition to the social structure of the historical core as mentioned before that offers the possibility of social interaction. It is worth adding that the new pattern of social interaction generally served the men's needs and not the women's, since it provided the men with different possibilities or modes of interaction as follows:

- Meeting with male neighbors and friends in the semi- public space in front of their peasants' houses street façades. Seats and sofas were located there for the reason that it is also used by the old women in day time.(see Figure 7.2)

- Meeting with other male friends in the public spaces (streets and plazas) and cafes which are exclusively for men.

The following table compares the inhabitants' evaluation of their territorial lifestyle aspects and the physical changes which are related to this. This comparison led to a description of the correlation between the physical changes in the peasant houses environment and the inhabitants' evaluation of the aspects related to territory. It is obvious that changes related to strengthening the distinction are rare as well as changes to provide spaces for social interaction, while the defensive changes are relatively high. Depending on the site observation it was noticed that the materials and nature of the added walls and fences reflected that the inhabitants are in need of privacy rather than security. The inhabitants care for visibility more than accessibility, so mostly they used materials that control visibility and not accessibility even if they added gates, the gates were mostly open.

In conclusion, it is important to discuss the relation between the legal status of ownership and territoriality. Since most of the inhabitants are tenants, and they do not have the right to make any changes to the physical form of their houses which implies affects on their feeling of territoriality based on Brower's (1980:179-180) definition of territory. As well, it is useful to investigate the relation between the legal status of the inhabitants' ownership and the inhabitants' feeling of distinction (see Rohe and Stegman, 1994:173-184).

Table 7.11: The peasant house evaluation as a source of territoriality

(Aspects of lifestyle) linked to territory	**Inhabitants' agreement %**	**Changes in the peasants' houses % (50 houses)**
Security	60	**(Defensive changes)** 26 Entrance 44 Wall 44 Gate
Distinction	45	**Personalization changes:** 57.1 Windows (change to aluminum profile) 23.5 Other: parapet on the *Rawieh* level, re-pointing, mechanical system, renew ceiling, renew doors
Stimulation	52.2	**Personalization changes:** 57.1 Windows (change to aluminum profile) 23.5 Other: parapet on the *Rawieh* level, re-pointing, mechanical system, renew ceiling, renew doors **Defensive changes:** 26 Entrance 44 Wall 44 Gate
Privacy	42.5	**Defensive changes:** 26 Entrance 44 Wall 44 Gate **Basic Activity** 10 Saloon- outsiders
Social interaction	60	**Basic Activity** 10 Saloon- outsiders 16 Living-family members 24 Veranda

Personal Identity

The peasant houses' expression of the inhabitants' identity and status was examined by the evaluation of the capability of these structures to reflect and support the inhabitants' reputation, distinction, profession, income level, feeling of belonging to Ramallah, religious beliefs and political affiliation (see the following Table 7.12).

Table 7.12: The peasant house evaluation as a source of personal identity

Lifestyle aspects- linked to identity	**Inhabitants' Agreement %**	**Changes in the peasant houses % (50 houses)**
Appropriate to profession	57.5	**Activities changes:** 4 Working room **Personalization Changes:** 57.1 Windows (change to aluminum profile) 23.5 Other: parapet on the *mastabeh* level, re-pointing, mechanical system, renew ceiling, renew doors
Appropriate to income level	67.5	
Source of good reputation	72.5	
Source of distinction	45	
Strengthen feeling of belonging to Ramallah	92.5	
Reflection of religious beliefs	20	**Personalization Changes:** Graffiti and symbols inside and outside
Reflection of political affiliation	10	**Personalization Changes:** Graffiti and symbols inside and outside

As the table above illustrates, the inhabitants considered their houses to be a basis of strengthening their belonging to Ramallah's historic core. The inhabitants' belonging to their neighborhood is strong considering that this social group shares many similarities regarding origin, social background, income level and education level as mentioned before. Actually it is vital to differentiate between the inhabitants' attachment to their houses (56 % wanted to

leave)[27] and to their neighborhood (Harris et al, 1996:289). It is not necessary for the inhabitants to feel attached to their neighborhood for them to feel the same about their houses. This relation is in need of investigation and research.

The inhabitants also overestimated the role of their houses as a source of good reputation. As was clearly stated during the interviews with Ramallah Municipality and the conservation experts, the inhabitants of Ramallah's historic core are considered to be a low-profile social group by the other inhabitants of Ramallah city, especially the original owners. This overestimation can be considered as a defensive attitude toward the others' judgments and related to the social structure and social power struggles as mentioned before (see Chapter 5).

The inhabitants did not see their houses as a reflection of their religious and political views, which is contradictory to the field observations and the interview results as well. The reason for this preconceived notion can be traced to the sensitivity of these two aspects. So the inhabitants' evaluation was biased due to their own concerns as mentioned earlier in this chapter (see Chapter 5).

Most contradictions were found in the inhabitants' evaluation of their houses as a source of distinction, as the majority agreed that they did not feel any distinction while at the same time they felt proud of their houses (Table 7.12). The distinction aspect is connected to other aspects of lifestyle especially the ownership status and the adequate level of privacy (see Rohe and Stegman, 1994:173-184), further research is needed in this area as mentioned before.

In sum the inhabitants felt comfortable living in a quiet and homogeneous community that protects them. And while they tried to defend the others' judgments of them, they did not have a feeling of distinction in their houses.

Socio-Cultural Unit

The socio-cultural meaning was evaluated based on Rapoport's definition of the main socio-cultural aspects of lifestyle that affect the house built form, which are: privacy, social interaction, basic needs, family structure and women's position. These aspects are interrelated to the previous meanings of house. The following table shows the inhabitants' evaluation of the efficiency of their houses in maintaining these aspects and the related changes in the house built form as well.

[27] See Chapter 1

Table 7.13: The peasant house evaluation as a socio- cultural unit

Aspects of lifestyle linked to socio-cultural meaning	**Inhabitants' agreement %**	**Changes in the peasant houses% (50 houses)**
1. Provides you and your family with appropriate space (family structure)	50	Included in the following questions(2,3,4,5)
2. Basic needs:		
- Provides adequate space to sleep	55	18 Sleeping Room
- Provides adequate place for hygiene	30	72 Bathroom
- Provides adequate space for receiving guests	47.5	10 Saloon
- Provides adequate space to eat	45	-
- Provides adequate space to rest / relax	55	16 Living 24 Veranda
- Provides adequate space to work	47.5	4 Working room
- Provides adequate space for children	45	-
- Provides adequate parking space for cars	30	2 Garage
3. Provides adequate space for the activities of the housewife (women's position)	37.5	52 Kitchen 44 Fence 44 Gate 26 Entrance
4. Provides opportunities to interact with people	60	10 Saloon 16 Living
5. Provides privacy	42.5	44 Fence 44 Gate 26 Entrance 10 Salon

Half of the sample agreed that their houses are capable of providing the family with the appropriate space. In this regard it is important to explain that the Palestinian family structure

is not the typical extended family any more (see Chapter 3) while in many cases sons still depend on their fathers to help them in providing appropriate space for their new families. This was observed through the extensions and additions of new apartments on top or adjacent to the traditional peasant houses for the benefit of the new couples. This issue needs to be analyzed since social and economic factors are compounded together.

Regarding the basic needs, the inhabitants' evaluation showed that these houses in general have obstacles in providing for the basic needs of the inhabitants. The observed changes ensured that the inhabitants' priorities and the contextual circumstances affect the type, size and quality of change. As mentioned earlier, the changes that were executed to supply the basic needs (e.g. bathroom, kitchen…) formed the majority of changes in the peasant house built form.

The houses were also evaluated as having a low degree of efficiency in terms of providing suitable space for the housewives and suitable mechanisms for privacy. While the houses were evaluated well in terms of social interaction they were not evaluated well in terms of providing space for receiving guests which was explained in the previous sections. Finally the five lifestyle aspects that Rapoport proposed as the main factors that affect the built form of the house were well reflected in the physical changes to the peasant house as pointed out before.

7.2 Space Decoding Approach Results and Discussion

The raw material for the "Space Decoding Analysis" was the original form of the peasant house that was described in chapter 2 based on Canaan (1933) (1932); Hirschfeld (1995); Fuchs(1998); Hadid (2002) and Al-Juabeh and Bshara (2002), in light of the fact that during the 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries the extended or complex family structure was the common social structure. In that system the family senior was considered to be the patriarch of the family. Women were not able to have paid work and depended on their husbands, fathers or brothers as a source of their social and economic status. The recently transformed peasant houses are combined with the new family structure, which is commonly a nuclear family system (Taraki, 1997). The extended family members still have strong connections to one another, but are mostly economically independent. In general, the status of women was enhanced but in Ramallah's historic core the majority of the women are still not educated and are economically dependent.

In the next sections, explanations of the results of the "Space Decoding Analysis" are given. The results were arranged under four main themes which are: categorization of the changes, the general analysis, the Gamma analysis and the Depthmap software analysis. This is followed by a discussion including descriptions of the changes in the spatial order of the peasant house and its relation to the changes in the social order and pattern of use focusing on: sleeping, eating and hospitality behavior.

7.2.1 The Changes in the Peasant House and its Context

Defining the changes in the peasant house depended greatly on comparing the AutoCAD drawings done at the Ramallah summer workshop in 1999 (see Appendix IV) to the descriptions of the peasant house architecture, typology and original pattern of use (chapter 2). Basically the drawings documented the main changes in the floor plans of the peasant houses. As for the third dimension, the author's field observations compared to the previously mentioned literature in chapter 2 were the main reference. As a result of that, the main alterations[28] and spatial transformations in the peasant house can be set as:

A. External alterations:

- Lighting elements
- Roof proofing
- Water tanks
- Satellites and TV installations
- Re-pointing
- Graffiti and symbols
- Painting

B. **Internal alterations**:

- Mechanical installations
- Electrical installations
- Tiling
- Painting
- Changing doors and windows
- Symbols and photos.

[28] Changes which do not interfere with the original spatial arrangement.

C. External spatial transformations:

- Walls and fences
- Screens
- Plants
- Pergolas
- Verandas
- Stairs
- Outdoor furniture arrangements

D. **Internal spatial transformations:**

- Bathroom, kitchen, living and sleeping room as new extensions on the ground level and sometimes on the first floor level.
- Partitions inside to create new spaces.
- Furniture arrangement
- Parapet inside
- New doors and windows inside

These changes were found in the peasant houses in different settings in the historical core. The main difference between them is the quality and the extent of change which reflected **the income level, social status and legal situation of the ownership, besides the availability of space "land lots"**.

Accordingly, these changes can be categorized into two main groups: changes related to the relation with context, and changes related to the internal organization and they can be summarized as:

Changes related to the external environment of the peasant house

- Adding fences, walls, screens and outdoor entrances on the street sides.
- Adding intermediate spaces such as: verandas in front of the house on the main street side on the ground level and sometimes on the first floor level and outdoor sitting areas on the sidewalk on the main elevation side.

Changes related to the internal environment of the peasant house

- Adding new extensions for: the bathroom as a basic need in all cases, kitchen, living and sleeping. These extensions were mostly located on the front side of the house in the court area or on the top of the house.

- Adding internal partitions to divide the one space room into two areas sometimes by cupboards to use the new space as a sleeping room or kitchen and sometimes as both.
- Adding stairs to get to the first floor level in case a first floor exists.
- Adding new furniture arrangements such as: seats, tables, kitchen cupboards, closets and beds (single and double) inside.
- Adding mechanical and electrical installations.
- Renewing plastering, wall painting, doors, windows and tiling.
- Adding religious, political and family symbols and photographs inside the house.

In the following sections a description of these changes and their relation to the social order of space will be given.

7.2.2 Main Changes in the Syntactic Qualities of the Peasant House

Depending on the general investigation of the AutoCAD drawings of the floor plans of the peasant houses (see Appendix V- Figure 7.12) and observation on spatial transformation and alterations in the historical core of Ramallah, the main changes in the syntactic or configurational properties of the peasant house are:

- **Permeability** decreased in the interior spaces especially in the sleeping zones and the kitchen (control increased on moving from one space to another, doors were kept closed). Also it decreased in the interior-exterior relation (the control increased concerning guests' accessibility by adding gates and fixing bells).

- **Visibility** decreased in the house's interior spaces (partitions of different kinds were added) as well as in the interior- exterior relation (the walls that separated the interior from the exterior were higher).

- **Insulation** increased in the house's interior spaces (partitions of different kinds were added) and in the interior-exterior relation (the walls separating the interior from the exterior were higher).

- The **sequencing** stayed the same inside the house and there was still no ring in the interior spaces while the hub space was relocated from the court to the living zone or the veranda. The sequencing in the interior -exterior relation decreased (there is only one defined entrance now).

- **Categoric differentiation** increased in the interior spaces (the control increased on the movement of different groups of users in the house's spaces) as well as in the interior – exterior relation (the control increased over guests' accessibility).

- The **relative position** increased in the interior spaces (location of furniture and function were defined) as well as in the interior- exterior relation (positions of guests and strangers were defined).

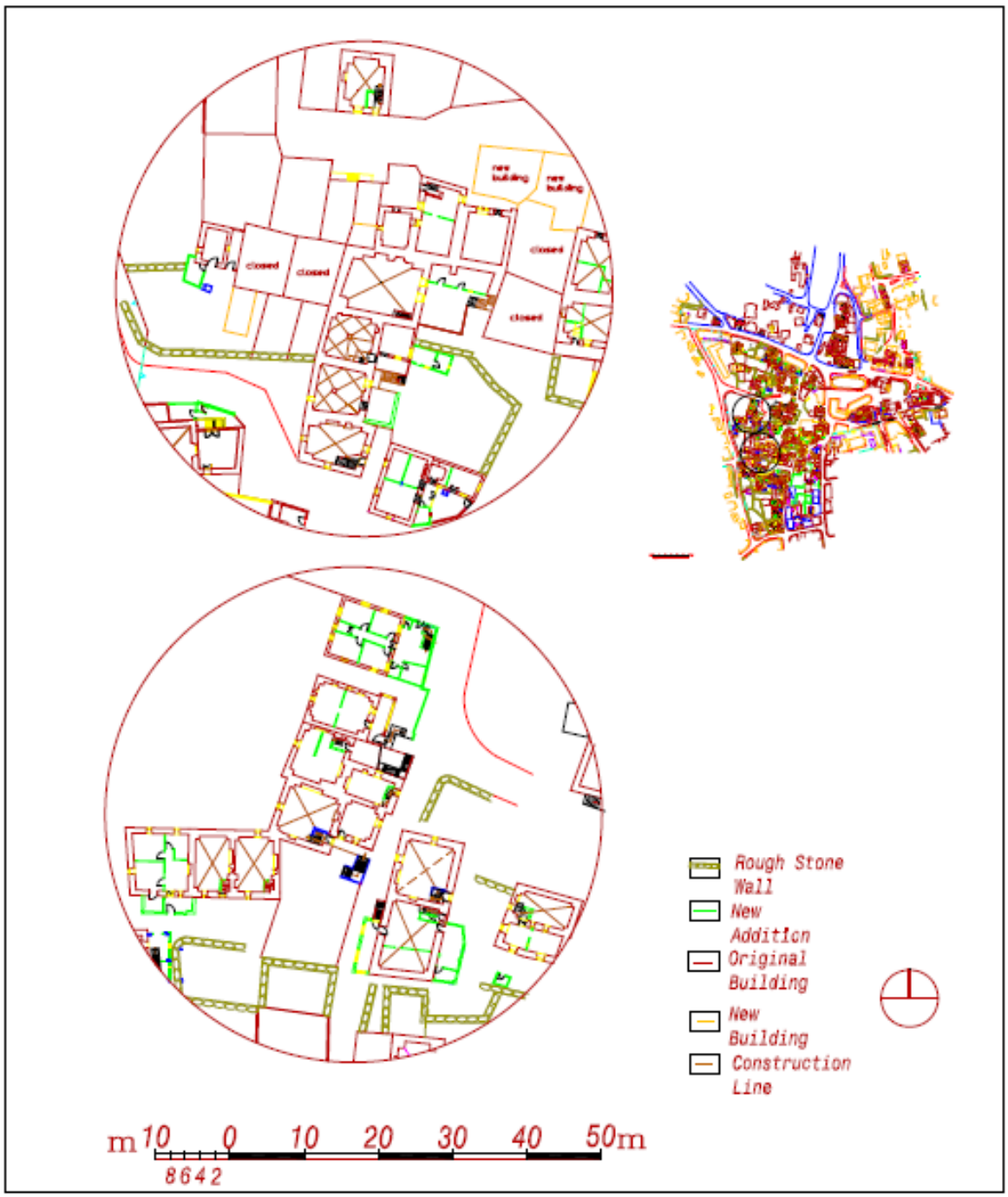


Figure 7.12: Examples showing the changes in the ground floors of the peasant houses
(Author based on Ramallah workshop, 1999)

This general analysis of the change in the spatial order was followed by a **Gamma analysis** of the selected houses to investigate the change in **the integration and segregation** values and a **Depthmap software analysis** to investigate the change in the **connectivity and integration** (mean depth) values for the selected houses and the public spaces as well.

7.2.2.1 Gamma Analysis

Gamma Analysis was carried out to define the syntactic qualities (spatial order) for the selected transformed peasant houses. A permeability graph for each house floor before and after transformation was drawn, the nodes represent the convex spaces and the exterior house entrance through which the house was entered from the street was used as the base. The following figures show the original and transformed plans of the selected houses joined by their permeability graphs and relative asymmetry (RA) values. Based on Gamma Analysis (Hillier and Hanson, 1984:147-154; Toker and Toker, 2003) the relative asymmetry (RA) was calculated as:

$$RA = \frac{2(MD-1)}{K-2},$$

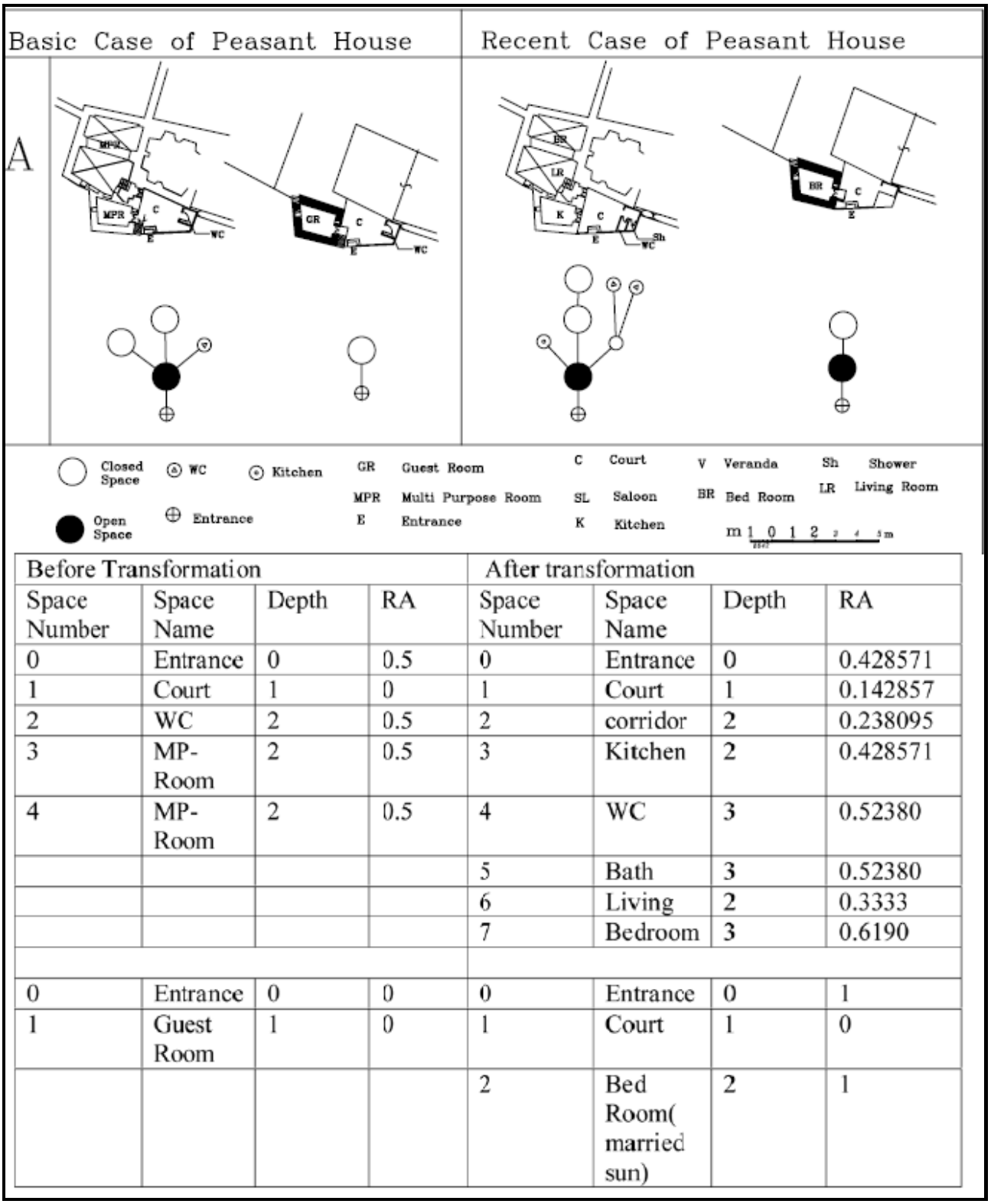
MD is the Mean Depth and calculated as: $MD = \frac{\sum Depth}{K-1}$, K is the number of spaces.

The value of RA is an indicator of the integration, an increase in RA of space means a decrease of the integration of the space relative to other spaces in the house and a decrease in RA of space means an increase in the integration of the space relative to other spaces (Hillier and Hanson, 1984:108-109).

By comparing the change in the relative asymmetry values (RA) between the original peasant houses and the transformed ones, it was possible to define the change in the segregation and the integration (See Figure 7.13, 7.14, 7.15, 7.16 and 7.17) (see Table 7.14). So the main changes in the syntactic qualities of the transformed houses are:

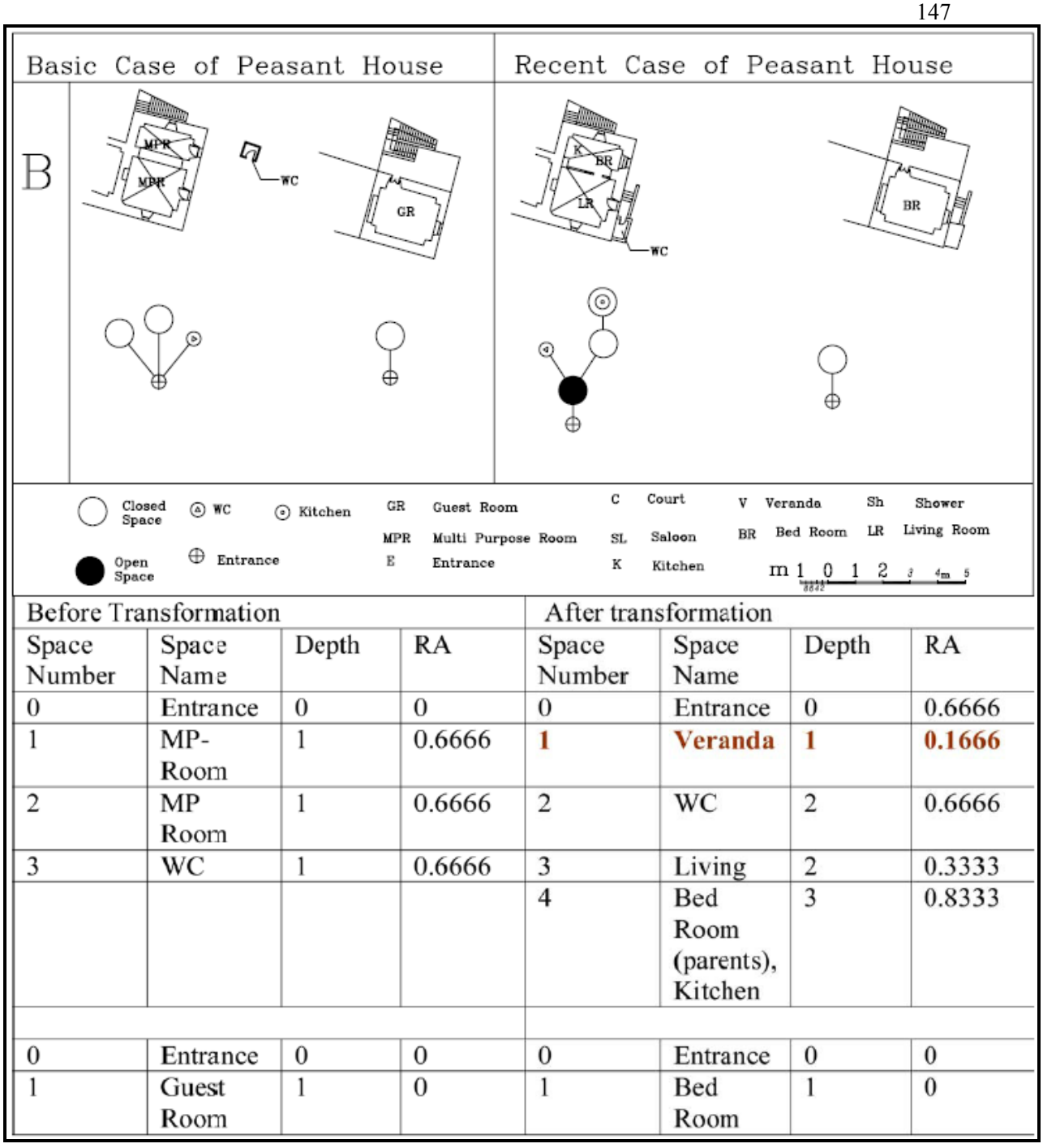
- The houses have no ring inside, both before and after transformations.
- The houses include multi-purpose spaces before and after transformations.
- The number of spaces increased after transformations since the mean number of spaces was 3.6 before transformations and became 7.2 after transformation.
- In original houses the most segregated spaces were the multi- purpose room (MP) and the WC considering that the MP contained family sleeping, living, cooking and social interaction activities (see Chapter 2). And the most integrated was the court (if one existed).
- In the transformed houses the entrance integration with the interior spaces mostly decreased.

- A new veranda element was developed in most cases with a high integration value with the interior spaces of the peasant house and was considered the most integrated space.
- The kitchen started to be located in a particular space with a low integration value.
- The integration value for the WC stayed the same or increased but the WC was still considered as a segregated space.
- In the transformed houses the most segregated spaces are the parents' bedroom (sleeping zone), kitchen and bathroom and the most integrated spaces are the living zone, corridors, veranda and court (if they still existed).



Before Transformation				After transformation			
Space Number	Space Name	Depth	RA	Space Number	Space Name	Depth	RA
0	Entrance	0	0.5	0	Entrance	0	0.428571
1	Court	1	0	1	Court	1	0.142857
2	WC	2	0.5	2	corridor	2	0.238095
3	MP-Room	2	0.5	3	Kitchen	2	0.428571
4	MP-Room	2	0.5	4	WC	3	0.52380
				5	Bath	3	0.52380
				6	Living	2	0.3333
				7	Bedroom	3	0.6190
0	Entrance	0	0	0	Entrance	0	1
1	Guest Room	1	0	1	Court	1	0
				2	Bed Room(married sun)	2	1

Figure 7.13: Peasant house A



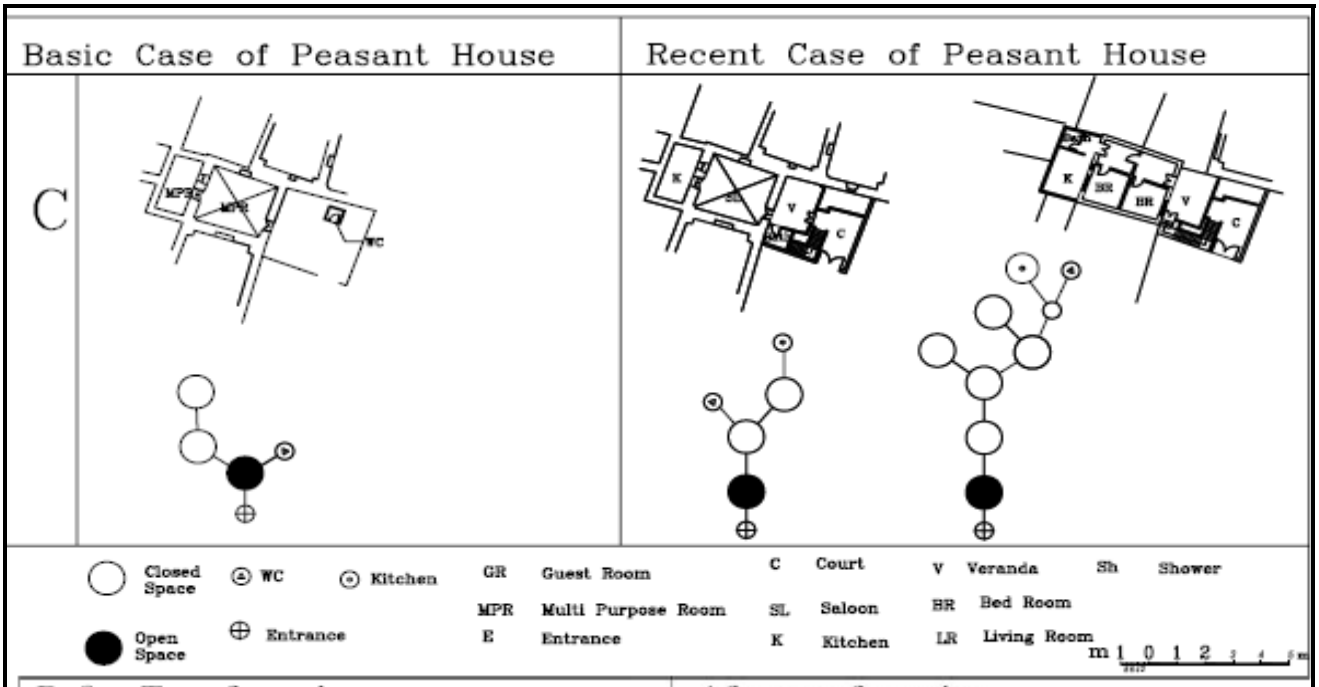
Before Transformation

Space Number	Space Name	Depth	RA
0	Entrance	0	0
1	MP-Room	1	0.6666
2	MP Room	1	0.6666
3	WC	1	0.6666
0	Entrance	0	0
1	Guest Room	1	0

After transformation

Space Number	Space Name	Depth	RA
0	Entrance	0	0.6666
1	**Veranda**	**1**	**0.1666**
2	WC	2	0.6666
3	Living	2	0.3333
4	Bed Room (parents), Kitchen	3	0.8333
0	Entrance	0	0
1	Bed Room	1	0

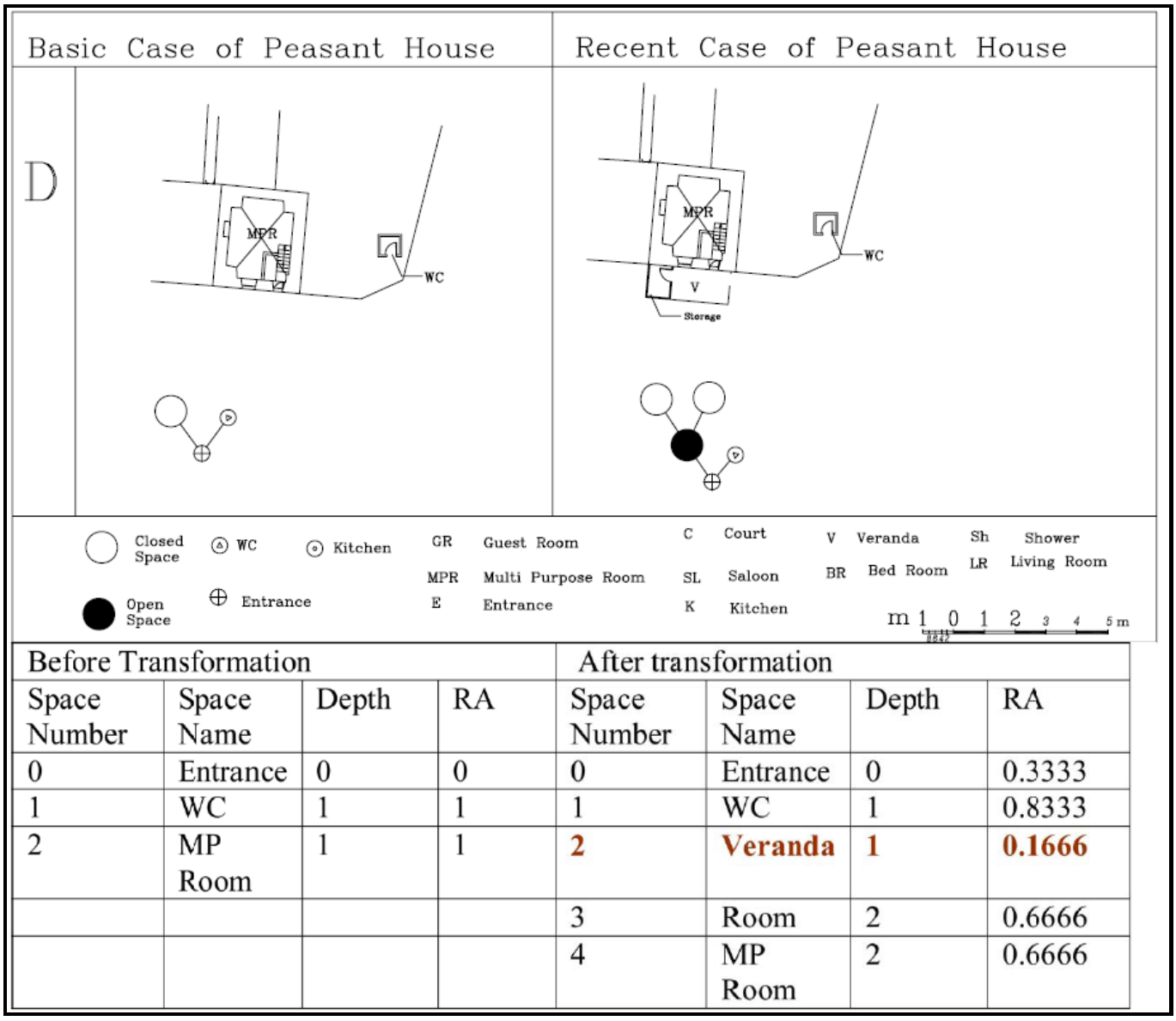
Figure 7.14: Peasant house B



Before Transformation				After transformation			
Space Number	Space Name	Depth	RA	Space Number	Space Name	Depth	RA
0	Entrance	0	0.6666	0	Entrance	0	0.8
1	Court	1	0.1666	1	Court	1	0.4
2	WC	2	0.6666	**2**	**Veranda**	**2**	**0.2**
3	MP Room	2	0.3333	3	WC	3	0.6
4	MP Room	3	0.8333	4	Saloon	3	0.4
				5	Kitchen	4	0.8

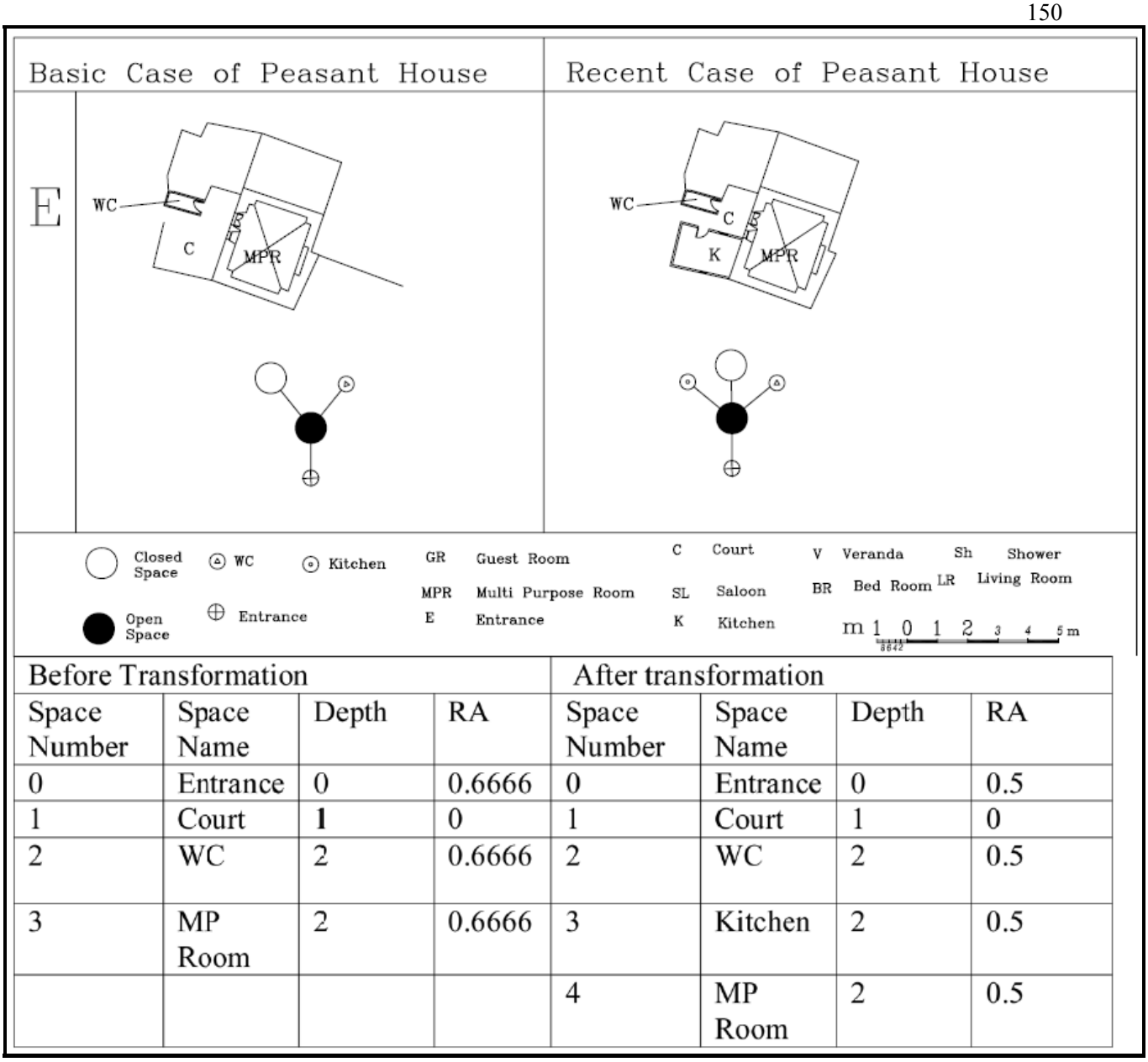
Space Number	Space Name	Depth	RA
0	Entrance	0	0.75
1	Court	1	0.52777
2	**Veranda**	**2**	**0.36111**
3	corridor	3	0.19444
4	Bed Room	4	0.47222
5	Corridor	4	0.25
6	Bed Room	5	0.47222
7	Corridor	5	0.36111
8	Bath Room	6	0.58333
9	Kitchen	6	0.58333

Figure 7.15: Peasant house C



Before Transformation				After transformation			
Space Number	Space Name	Depth	RA	Space Number	Space Name	Depth	RA
0	Entrance	0	0	0	Entrance	0	0.3333
1	WC	1	1	1	WC	1	0.8333
2	MP Room	1	1	**2**	**Veranda**	**1**	**0.1666**
				3	Room	2	0.6666
				4	MP Room	2	0.6666

Figure 7.16: Peasant house D



Before Transformation				After transformation			
Space Number	Space Name	Depth	RA	Space Number	Space Name	Depth	RA
0	Entrance	0	0.6666	0	Entrance	0	0.5
1	Court	1	0	1	Court	1	0
2	WC	2	0.6666	2	WC	2	0.5
3	MP Room	2	0.6666	3	Kitchen	2	0.5
				4	MP Room	2	0.5

Figure 7.17: Peasant house E

Table 7.14: Change in relative asymmetry (RA) values for different spaces in peasant house

Entrance (RA)		MP-room (RA)		WC (RA)		Court (RA)		Veranda (RA)		Kitchen (RA)		Living (RA)	
B	A(+)	B	A	B	A(-)	B	A(+)	B	A	B	A	B	A
0.5	o.42871	0.5		0.5	0.5238	0	0.14285		.1666		0.428571		0.3333
0	1	0.5		0.6666	0.6666		0		.2		0.8333		0.333
0	0.6666	0.6666		0.6666	0.6	0.1666	0.4		.36111		0.8		
0	0	0.6666			0.5833		0.52777		.1666		0.58333		
0.6666	0.8	0.3333		1	0.8333	0	0				0.5		
	0.75	0.8333		0.6666	0.5								
0	0.3333	1	0.6666										
0.6666	0.5	0.6666	0.5										

Bed room (RA)		Master-room (RA)		Corridor (RA)		Guest room-Saloon(RA)		Storage(RA)	
B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A(+)	B	A
	0		.8333		0.36111	0	0.4		0.6666
	0.472222				0.19444	0			
	0.472222				0.25				
	0.6190								

(B: before transformation, A: after transformation, + : mostly increase in RA, - : mostly decrease in RA)

7.2.2.2 Depthmap Analysis

The Depthmap analysis was done on two levels: the peasant house and the public spaces of the historic core.

Peasant House Analysis

The Depthmap software was used to provide visibility graphs (VG) for the selected transformed peasants' houses and their original forms as well. The Depthmap software supports only two dimensional visibility graphs so the analysis was done for each building level. The analysis calculated the connectivity and integration in the selected houses' interiors and in relation to the context. As the software cannot differentiate between transparent and solid planes the analysis was done in the case of solid walls and open entrances to calculate the integration and in the case of open walls (open windows and open entrances) to calculate the connectivity. As far as the courtyard walls were concerned, they were removed to analyze the connectivity for the original form of the peasant houses since these walls were low and gave the opportunity for visual communication. The stairs were included in the calculations as individual spaces if they connected two floors. The connectivity and integration values of the original and transformed houses were calculated and compared (see Figures 7.18, 7.19, 7.20, 7.21 and 7.22, note that red is the highest value and blue is the lowest value). This comparison led to the definition of the main principle guidelines for connectivity and integration values inside the transformed houses and in their relation with the context, which are:

- The connectivity between the transformed houses and context decreased.
- The integration between the transformed houses and context decreased.
- The high connectivity area moved to a deeper location in the transformed house.
- The most integrated spot moved to a deeper location in the transformed house.

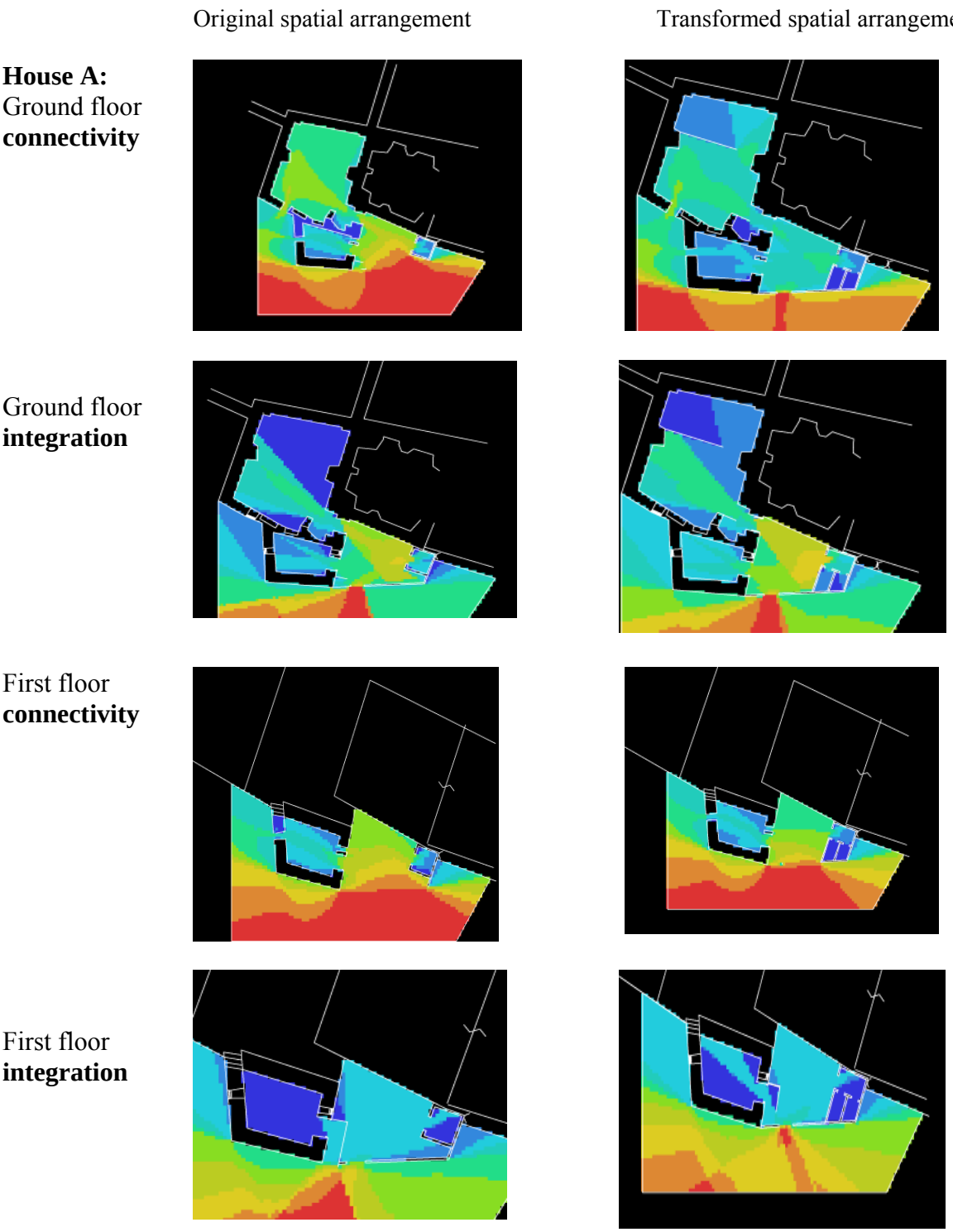


Figure 7.18: House A connectivity and integration graphs (note that the red color means the highest connectivity point or highest integration spot, and the blue color means the lowest connectivity point or lowest integration spot)

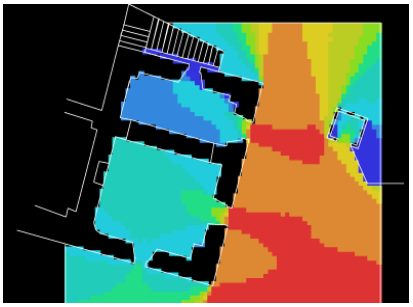
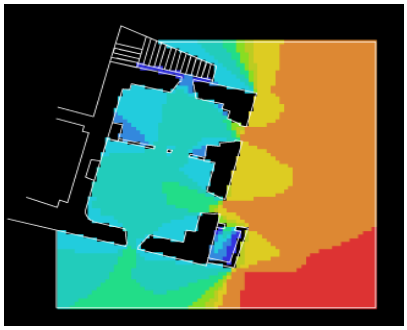
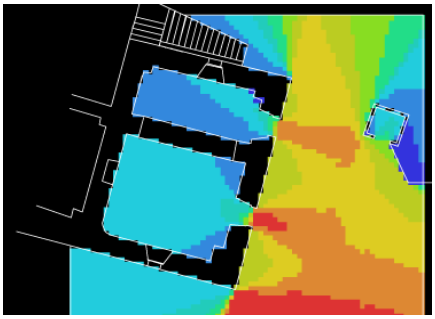
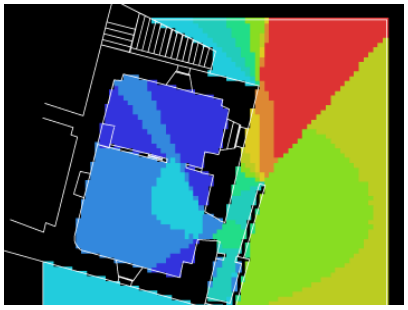
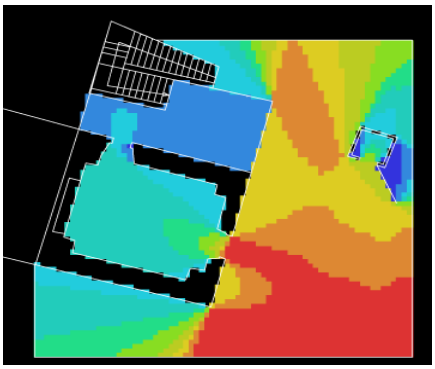
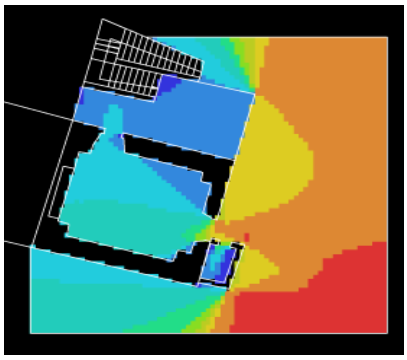
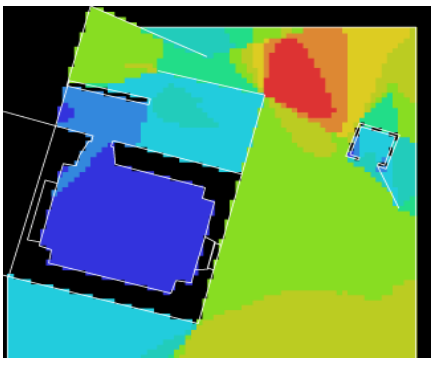
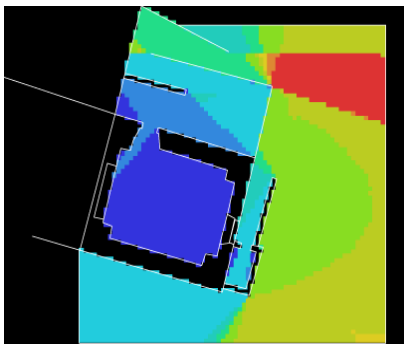
	Original spatial arrangement	Transformed spatial arrangement
House B: Ground floor **connectivity**		
Ground floor **integration**		
First floor **connectivity**		
First floor **integration**		

Figure 7.19: House B connectivity and integration graphs (note that the red color means the highest connectivity point or highest integration spot, and the blue color means the lowest connectivity point or lowest integration spot)

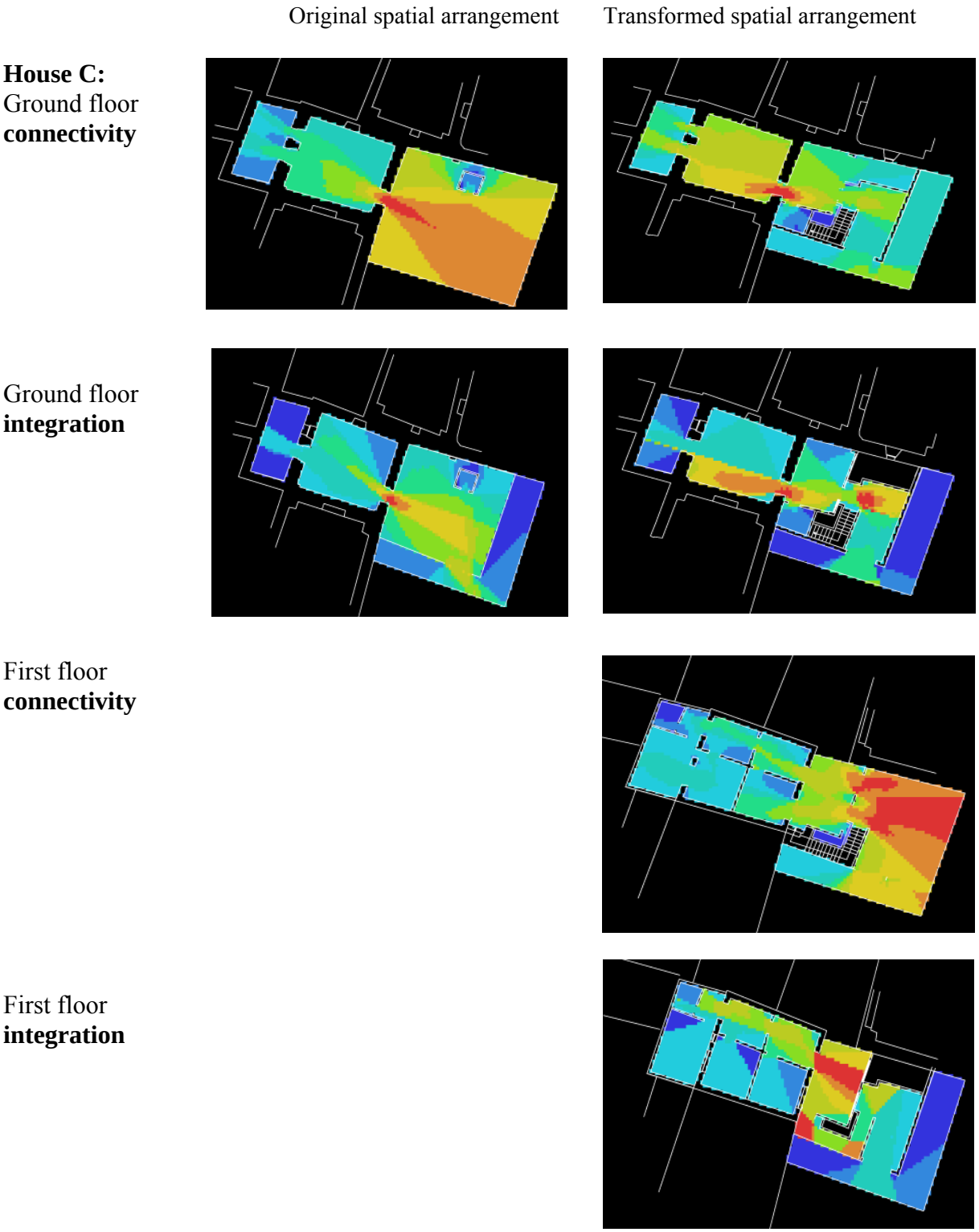
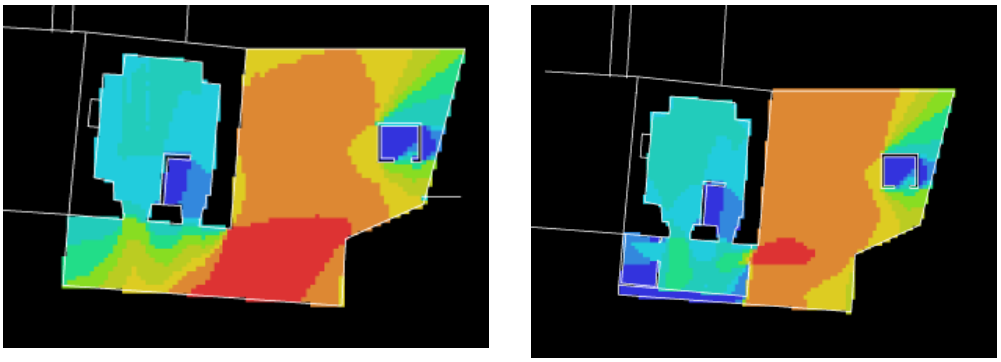


Figure 7.20: House C connectivity and integration graphs (note that the red color means the highest connectivity point or highest integration spot, and the blue color means the lowest connectivity point or lowest integration spot)

Original spatial arrangement | Transformed spatial arrangement

House D:

Ground floor **connectivity**



Ground floor **integration**

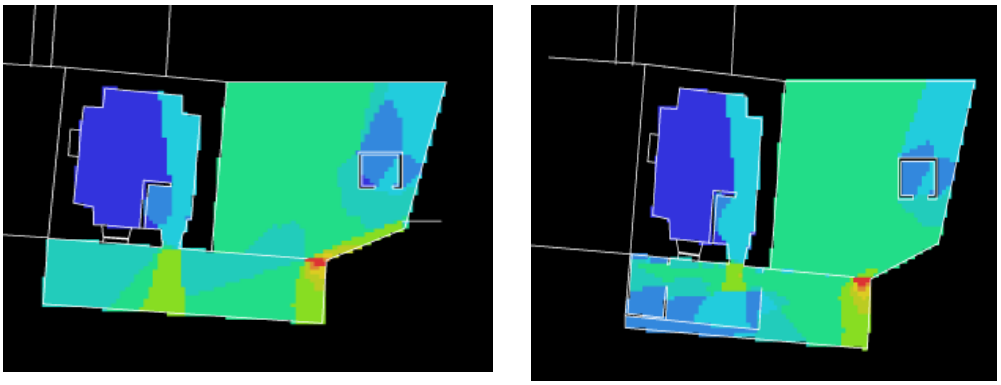


Figure 7.21: House D connectivity and integration graphs (note that the red color means the highest connectivity point or highest integration spot, and the blue color means the lowest connectivity point or lowest integration spot)

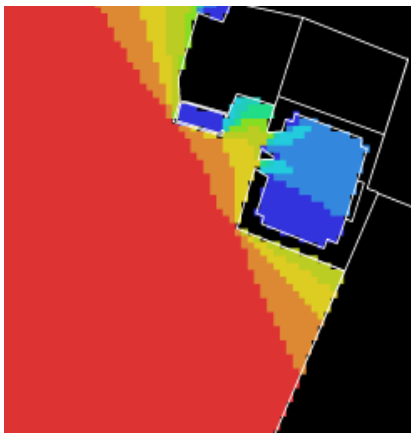
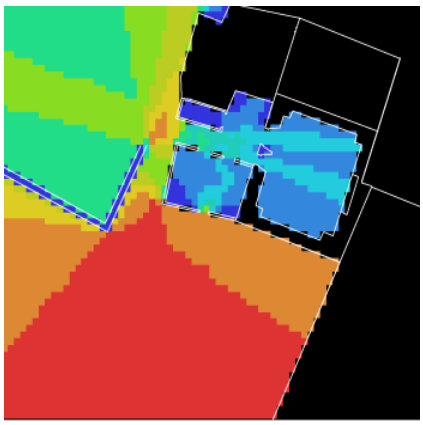
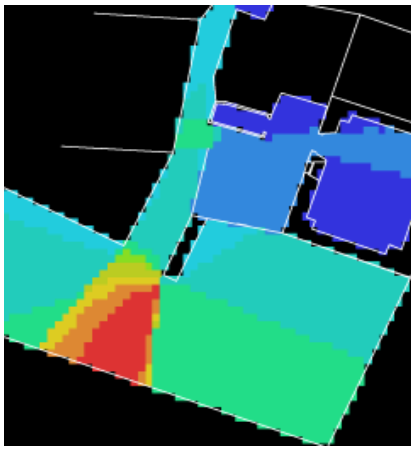
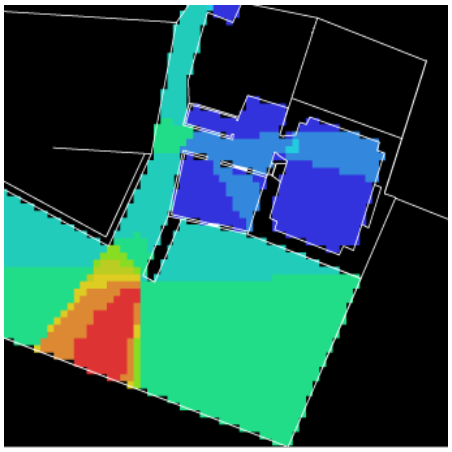
	Original spatial arrangement	Transformed spatial arrangement
House E: Ground floor **connectivity**		
Ground floor **integration**		

Figure 7.22: House E connectivity and integration graphs (note that the red color means the highest connectivity point or highest integration spot, and the blue color means the lowest connectivity point or lowest integration spot)

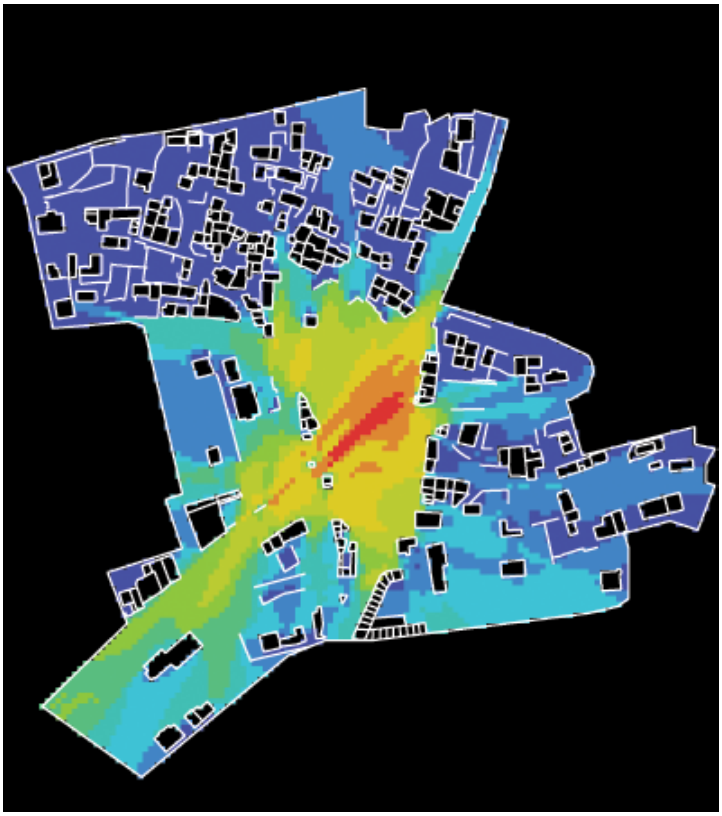
Public Space Analysis

The Depthmap software was used to provide visibility graphs for the public spaces of the historic core of Ramallah. The main aim of the analysis was to investigate the connectivity and the mean depth (integration) values of the public spaces before and after the physical changes. Since there was no documentation for the original situation of the historical core, the maps of the original situation were prepared roughly by depending on the AutoCAD drawings prepared at the Ramallah summer workshop in 1999 for the historical core and excluding the additions and new buildings.

The connectivity and mean depth values of the original and transformed public spaces were calculated and compared (see Figures 7.23 and 7.24, note that red is the highest value and blue is the lowest value). This comparison led to the definition of the main impacts of the changes in the built form on the connectivity and mean depth values of the public spaces, which are:

- The highest connectivity value spot moved from the central area to Al Rashid Street (Friends Girls school).
- The connectivity values for the public spaces in the residential quarters continue to be low.
- The mean depth values increased in general (the integration decreased).
- The mean depth value for the central area (Arab Bank area) is still relatively low; as a result it is the most integrated spot.
- The mean depth values for the residential quarters increased impressively forming segregated areas.

Connectivity values for the original situation of the public space network



Connectivity values for the transformed situation of the public space network

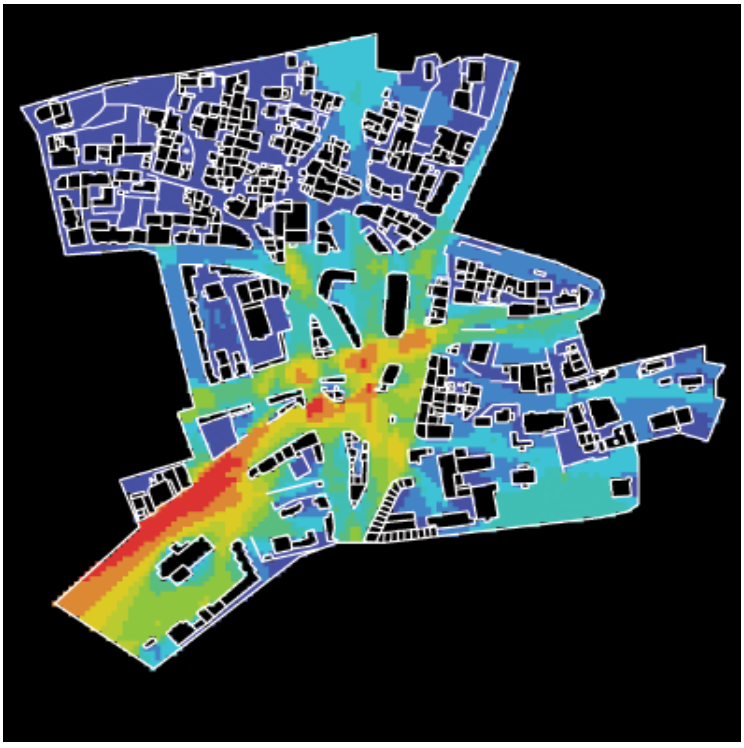


Figure 7.23: Connectivity values of the original and transformed public space network (note that the red color means the highest connectivity point, and the blue color means the lowest connectivity point)

Mean depth values for the original situation of the public space network

Mean depth values for the transformed situation of the public space network

Figure 7.24: Mean depth values of the original and transformed public space network (note that the red color means the highest mean depth value and lowest integration spot, and the blue color means the lowest mean depth value or highest integration spot)

7.2.2.3 Discussion: Linking the Physical Changes and the Social Order of Space

The main changes in the peasant house relation to the context and internal organization were analyzed and linked to the changes in the social order of space. Besides, the main impacts of the changes in the built form of the public spaces of the historic core were illustrated as follows:

The Changes in the Relation between the Peasant House and its Context

The changes regarding the relation between the peasant house and its context were categorized into two main groups, these are:

- **The relation between the house and the street**

The peasant houses started to have more defined borders which affected the dialectic transition from public to private spaces and reduced the visibility in the interior-exterior relation. Theses borders were defined by walls, fences, screens, gates and intermediate spaces.

High walls and fences defined a more clear-cut border between the public and the private zones. As well, these walls prevented visual contact between inside and outside the court. In the past, the height of the stone wall that used to surround the house allowed for visual contact between the court and the street (see Chapters 2 and 3).

Gates were added in many cases however, mostly they were left open. The guests wait outside for permission to enter the court with exceptions for female relatives and close friends. In case of a direct relation with the street, closed doors were usual to prevent the visual contact between the street and the house's interior. Similarly, the guests usually wait at the door for permission to enter. In the past the houses' doors were generally kept open as a tradition to welcome the guests.

Old sofas or a few chairs were placed in front of the houses or the houses' main fences on the sidewalk areas offering direct contact with the street. It is typically the old women who use these sofas on sunny mornings and men use them in the evenings to meet neighbors and friends. The children used to play under their grandmothers' control.

The veranda started to be the common outside gathering place instead of the outdoor *mastabeh.* This intermediate space gave the inhabitants the opportunity to control the street while the passers-by could not see them, the thick greenery and fixed textile screens helped in

achieving this goal in many cases. This new space started to be the hub space of the house while the role of the court of the house decreased and many of its functions were relocated to the veranda, living zone and kitchen.

These changes led to defining **four levels of spatial order: inside the house, the veranda or the court, the sitting area between the house and the street and the street itself, or private, semi-private, semi-public and public**. In case of the non-existence of a court, the veranda is considered to be a semi- private space as a substitute for the court. This system of spatial order existed in the past, while the main differences between before and now are: the increase in insulation, relative position and categorical differentiation and the decrease in permeability and visibility. Since, in the past, male members of the extended family could enter the house court without permission, it was a shared property with a strong connection to the surroundings. This attitude has ended now and any male waits for permission to enter the insulated court. As well, it is important to ensure that the semi-public space in front of the house cannot be used by visitors or strangers without the permission of the house's inhabitants, the same as before. Visual contact nowadays is only allowed from the house to the surroundings and not the other way round.

In conclusion, the solidarity of the historic core has changed from being an organic spatial solidarity to a mechanical trans-spatial solidarity as a consequence of the change in the social structure from an extended family to a nuclear family system. And the change in the composition of the social structure of the historic core because of the emigration of the original inhabitants and the migration of inhabitants from other geographical areas of Palestine should be mentioned, too. Moreover the impact of the religious attitudes of Islam cannot be ignored.

- **Control of the Entrance**

The peasant house changed from being an integrated ringless spatial structure to a more segregated ringless one. The house's entrance started to be more segregated and controlled with a low permeability in consequence; as well the entrance's traditional wooden door was mostly replaced by a well-locked metal one. As mentioned before, the door of the main entrance was usually closed if the house was in direct contact with the street, and was usually opened in case of the existence of a court or veranda. A bell was added in many cases to inform the inhabitants of someone knocking; in case a bell was not available the guest

habitually used his voice to shout. The main door was visually controlled by the window near to it.

Recently a gate was often fixed in the entrance to the court or the veranda, but it was rarely seen closed. Men usually do not enter the house's court or veranda; they stay at the entrance level waiting for the inhabitants' permission to enter. Women may enter the court or the veranda and knock on the main door of the house especially if they are relatives or close friends. This increase in categorical differentiation and the relative positional system and decrease in permeability and visibility are connected to the change in the family structure and the new social composition of the historic core as explained earlier, in addition to the impact of the Islamic religious attitude.

The Changes in the Internal Organization of the Peasant House

The changes in the internal organization were categorized in three main groups, these are:

- **Decorative changes: The placing of new objects within the interior**

The interior spaces of the transformed peasant houses seemed overwhelmed and untidy in most of the cases with an increase in the criterion of relative position. When reviewing the changes related to decorations, the most noticeable changes were related to the rare use of the wall niches and corners as well as the placing of new objects of furniture instead of the traditional ones; these changes can be summarized as:

- Seats, sofas and beds were normally found and used in addition to the traditional mattresses. Mostly beds and sofas were mixed in the same room, and used both for sitting and sleeping. On the other hand the habit of sleeping on the ground still existed since the space could not contain beds for all the family members.
- A double bed was located separately in another room or behind a partition for the parents.
- A wooden closet started to be used to keep clothes in and this closet was sometimes used as a partition.
- A dining table was sometimes found if there was enough space. This table was used instead of the habit of eating on floor or on a low tray table.

- A wooden cabinet and a sink for the kitchen were added in many cases while the use of mud cupboards for the kitchen did not exist. These new cabinets could be found in a special room for a kitchen or in a mixed-use room; in this space a fridge and a stove were also found. Some families had a washing machine and others did not.

In addition to these new objects of furniture and devices, it was noticed that the inhabitants changed the floors of their houses from lime slabs to a concrete or a tiled floor. In some cases the inhabitants painted their houses in new latex colored paints instead of lime paints. The traditional wooden and metal windows were replaced by aluminum profile ones and traditional wooden doors by metal ones as explained before. Electricity, lighting, water piping and sewage installations were also common changes in the interior of the houses.

In addition, a further impressive change was noticed. It was the fixing of a lot of religious symbols, political symbols, traditional handcrafts and family photos to the interior walls of the peasant houses. So the houses appeared overcrowded with objects of furniture and devices. The walls were full of a random selection of photos and posters without any taste. Moreover visible installations made the situation worse. Mostly the traditional elements such as: the mud cupboards, storage places (*khawabi*) and the fire place (*wjaq*) were not used anymore.

These changes are related to main reasons; one is contextual and reflected through the need to personalize the rented houses in an atmosphere of social ignorance as a Muslim minority and as refugees. The others are communal reasons related to the common knowledge that the media presence caused the blind adaptation to these stereotypes. Besides, the major change in the social structure was from a tribal and extended family system to an individual and nuclear family which led to focus on the individual identity as a source of status and distinction.

- **Partitions and spatial arrangement**

Generally, the spatial order of the interior of the peasant house was changed to be less permeable and visible with an increase in its categorical differentiation, relative position and insulation. These changes were related to major changes in the internal spaces in the house in the form of creating new spaces, renewing, deserting and providing new uses for others.

The most noticed significant internal change was the construction of new partitions to divide the one space multi-purpose room into two areas. Mostly the bigger space was to the left of the door and was used as a living and sleeping zone for the children, a TV was typically

found in this space. While the back space was used for the parents' sleeping zone, in some cases this new space was used as a kitchen or was a mixed-use space for the parents' sleeping zone and as a kitchen. The partitions were mostly made of concrete bricks and sometimes of wooden closets or curtains.

Another main change was the end of using the outdoor *mastabeh* and the development of the veranda element. This veranda was erected on the main street facade on the ground floor or the first floor level, sometimes with a roof in other cases without one. In the case of a direct relation with the street this veranda was closely protected to avoid the eyes of passers-by while at the same time giving the inhabitants the opportunity to control the street. The veranda was used for family gatherings, meeting people on sunny days and sleeping in summer time (the same as the use of the *mastabeh* and the roof before).

The upper guests' room "*illiyeh*" stopped being used for hosting guests and for men's gatherings as it had been used for before. Mostly it started to be used as a sleeping room for the adult male children or sometimes for the newly married sons. The lower part of the house was no longer used as a place for family animals; it was used as a storage area only. The bathroom rarely existed in the internal space of the house and had mostly been renewed and was to be found on the far side of the courtyard as before. If there was no court the bathroom was found on the far side of the veranda, while the kitchen sometimes started to appear as a separate segregated space.

The house's roof was not used as before for family gatherings and sleeping, it was used only to fix water tanks and satellites. This change is related to the protection of the neighbors' privacy, since it is easy to control the neighbors' courts via the roofs.

These physical changes in the peasant house led to the creation of segregated spaces inside. As the Gamma and Depthmap analyses showed earlier; the parents' sleeping zone and the kitchen were the most segregated areas due to the impact of the incest taboo, to gender notions and to Islam religious attitudes. The bathroom space continued to be one of the most segregated spaces in the peasant house environment, this could be related to the inherited purity beliefs (*tahara*) originating from Islamic attitudes and traditions (*urf*). The most integrated parts in the house were the veranda, the living room and the court if it still existed, while the integration of the entrance into the house's spaces decreased relatively.

It is important to add that the users of the transformed peasant house can be categorized in two main groups: the **inhabitants** (nuclear family members and their dependents) **and the visitors taking both male and female visitors into account**. In the past there were three main categories of house users: **the nuclear family members, the extended family**

members, and the visitors, taking both male and female visitors into account. The **house's inhabitants** (nuclear family and their dependents) are categorized into: **parents, children, male members and female members**, in the past the parents were not considered to be a couple (see the sleeping behavior in Chapter 2).

It is worth clarifying that the extended family members still have some privileges regarding the ability to be entertained inside the house at any time after the permission of the inhabitants has been given. So in that regard the **visitors** can be categorized as: **extended family members and close friends besides strangers or formal visitors, taking both male and female visitors into account**. Again this is related to the change in family structure as well as the impacts of Islamic religious attitudes and the contemporary notions of the incest taboo and gender.

- **Spatial Extensions**

The extensions in the peasant house environment **reflected the basic needs of the family in the first place**. They led to: strengthening the categorical differentiation and relative position, increasing the insulation, decreasing the permeability and visibility in the house's interior and in relation to the exterior.

The spatial extensions were different in type, size and quality depending on the availability of money and space. They can be located on the ground floor level and on the upper floor level too. They can also be categorized in two main groups: The **first** are the extensions that were done to **compensate for the unused spaces on** the house's lower level, roof, old toilet and court in addition to **coping with the newly addressed positional system** due to: the separation between parents and children, males and females in sleeping zones, the new mode of receiving guests in defined spaces taking different categories of visitors into consideration and the location of cooking activities in a defined space. Examples of such extensions are: the newly added rooms for living, receiving guests and sleeping and in some cases a kitchen, as well as the commonly added bathroom at the far end of the court or sometimes near the main door of the house. This bathroom sometimes consists of two spaces: a squat toilet and a separate shower constructed from concrete bricks. In other cases it is only a squat toilet and the family members used to bathe in other spaces such as the kitchen or the multi-purpose room.

The **second** group comprises the extensions that were done to serve the **family structure,** especially for the benefit of the sons of the family who intended to get married in the old

tradition of the extended family, but in this case the new couple is mostly economically independent. That led to the idea that the extended family system did not stop but was redefined or converted into a new form. This phenomenon is common in most of the Palestinian rural communities.

Impacts of the Physical Changes on the Social Order of the Public Spaces

As a result of the uncontrolled and incompatible physical changes in the built form of the historic core of Ramallah, the spatial properties of the public spaces have changed. The central area (Arab Bank area) of the historic core became fragmented; it is no longer the most visually connected spot (Figure 7.25), since the most visually connected spot has been moved towards *Al Rashid* Street which links the historical core to the new location of Ramallah Municipality and the main recreational spot in the city. On the other hand, the central area is still the most accessible area or the highest integration spot.

Figure 7.25: The situation in the central area-Arab Bank area-(Author, 2008)

The public plazas are not connected to their surroundings and they are mostly empty and not used by the inhabitants or by pedestrians. For example the plaza in front of the Orthodox Church is not visually connected to the context any more and not accessible because of its walls and gate. So it is used only by the Christian community on Sundays, for religious fests and social celebrations (weddings,…) . Another example is *Al Shaqra* plaza near the mosque which is not visually connected to the context and not used for social activities anymore (Figure 7.26).

A: Orthodox Church Plaza

B: *Al Shaqra* plaza

Figure 7.26: The situation in the public plazas (Author, 2008)

Regarding the network of streets, the connectivity of some main streets became low which created a serious traffic problem especially in the centre of the historical core (near the gas station and the Arab Bank building) and made the streets of the historical core inconvenient and unattractive for pedestrians in consequence. For example the Old Municipality Street (*El Hisbeh*[29] Street) and the western segment of *Dar Ibrahim* Street (the main street) are not visually connected to the surroundings. These conditions are linked to the obstacles facing the economic situation of the historical core and especially the high number of closed stores as mentioned in chapter 3 (Figure 7.27).

A: The inconvenient situation in the streets in Ramallah's historical core

B: The closed stores in *Al-Kundargiah* street in Ramallah's historical core

Figure 7.27: The situation in the streets of Ramallah's historic core (Author, 2008)

[29] *El Hisbeh* means vegetable market

The residential quarters become more segregated as their low connectivity and high mean depth values made them unattractive for the pedestrians and excluded their inhabitants. This situation is correlated with the social power struggle factor as mentioned before.

In sum the historic core **did not seem to be attractive for the pedestrians and inconvenient for traffic, its residential quarters are segregated and its public spaces are in need of upgrading** (Figure 7.28).

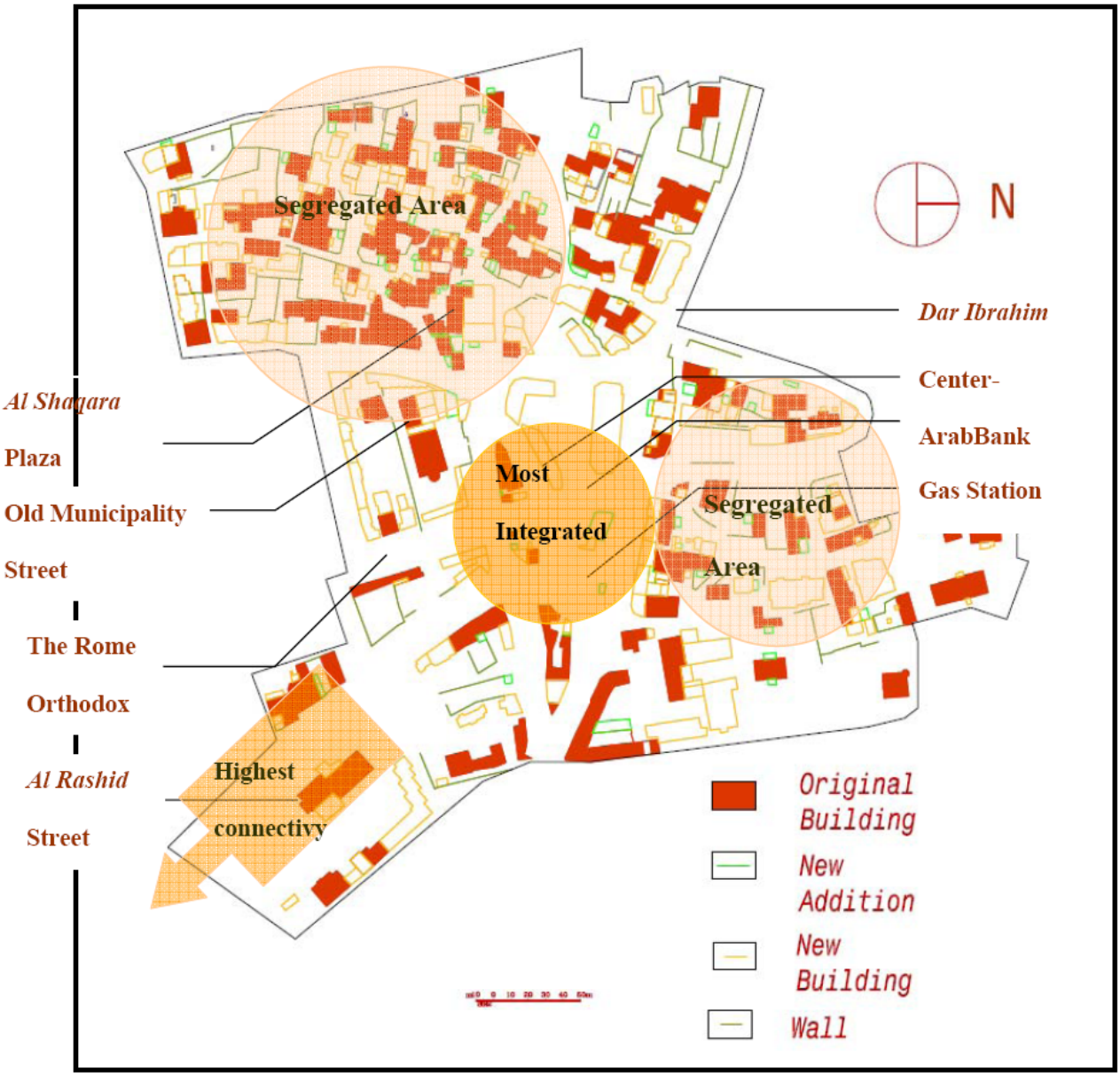


Figure 7.28: The impacts of physical change on the social order of public spaces

7.2.3 Description of the New Patterns of Use of the Peasant House

In the following sections, a description of the change in behavioral patterns in three main activities: **sleeping, eating and hospitality,** is given. This analysis concentrates on the changes in behavior and use between the basic peasant house model (see Chapter 2) and the recent transformed model. These changes show that the pattern of use still depends on kinship relations and on gender in addition to the impact of Islamic religious attitudes and the appearance of the incest taboo and the media as another affecting factor. Moreover, contextual factors such as: the social and political power struggle due to the change in the social structure of the historic core have their effects on the behavior of the inhabitants. All of these factors led to a new form of categorical differentiation and positional system as elucidated below.

7.2.3.1 Sleeping Behavior

When analyzing the inhabitants' recent sleeping behavior and comparing it to the former behavior (see Chapter 2) the following main differences were noticed:

- The parents started to sleep separately from the children in their own private space.
- The other male and female members of the family started to have separate rooms or spaces for sleeping. Before they use to sleep in the same room but in different locations.
- The male members may sleep on the veranda in summer time but no longer sleep on the roof.
- The sleeping room was rarely used just for sleeping; it can be used for living and in some cases as a kitchen, it is a "multi-purpose room"
- Single and double beds were used in most houses in addition to mattresses and sometimes instead of mattresses.

These changes in behavior were reflected in the new spatial properties of the peasant house, in which the parents' sleeping space was the most segregated as mentioned previously. Besides, two other separate sleeping spaces were available for male and female members. These changes are linked to the change in family structure, the incest taboo and gender

notions, the role of Islamic religion which requires that females and males are separated when sleeping and the impact of the media on promoting this new style of behavior which reflects the family status as well.

7.2.3.2 Eating Behavior

Regarding the new eating behavior or patterns in comparison to the old eating behavior, the main remarkable changes can be stated as:

- The family rarely gathers for meals as they did before, so it was noticed that eating activities started to be a much more individual activity.
- The guests are invited to the family's house for meals, and not as before, when the family senior (*Al-sheikh*) used to invite the male guests to his guest house *(diwan* or *illiyeh)*. So this activity began to be a nuclear family activity and included both male and female guests. Although the separation between males and females in the dining space still exists in some cases.
- The dining table started to be found in some houses, others still follow the traditional dining behavior: on the floor over a large cloth or around a low tray .
- The dining room did not exist in most cases, so dining takes place in the living room or in the saloon for guests.

The physical changes that reflected this pattern of use were rare. The new eating behavior was mainly expressed through the crowdedness of furniture because of the dining table and low tray. Sometimes, the newly added saloon or living room serves for dining purposes as well.

These changes in behavior are related to the change in social structure since mainly there is no longer any existence for the authority of the family senior (*Al Sheikh*) as before. Nor is it possible to ignore the media role in marketing the new eating behavior.

7.2.3.3 Hospitality Behavior

The hospitality behavior continued to depend on kinship relations, gender and in addition on the Islamic religious attitudes as determinants for accessibility and permeability. The male strangers' ability to enter into the house continued to be uncommon, unless in case of

necessity in winter time and of course after permission had been given. The analysis showed the following main changes in the hospitality behavior:

- The male members of the extended family who used to be among the house users in the past and were now considered as visitors, but with the privilege of entering the house after permission had been given.
- The old women and men used to sit in front of their fences on the sidewalk in order to interact and meet neighbors and immediate relatives especially on sunny mornings, before they used to sit in the court or in entrances and doors of their houses.
- Young women meet their friends mostly in the morning inside the house, on the veranda or in the court (if it still exists) but not outside; they do not use the roof to communicate with neighbors as before.
- Young men meet their friends in the street or in the cafes during the evenings, before it was usual to meet at *al- Sheikh's* or in the *diwan or illiyeh* of the family senior.
- Invitation to meals started to take place in each family house for female and male guests and not as before at *al Sheikh's* or at the family senior's *diwan* or *illiyeh* and exclusively for male guests.
- The court mostly lost its location as the primary space in which to welcome guests.
- The veranda and sidewalks in summer and in sunny weather and the living room or saloon in winter time have taken the place of the court, roof and the guest house (*illiyeh*). These gatherings included: nuclear family members, extended family members and close friends or neighbors.
- The saloon was used in winter time or when highly-valued guests other than neighbors and immediate relatives visited the house.
- Usually seats and sofas took the place of mattresses for sitting.

For the needs of this new pattern of hospitality the main changes were found in the physical form, such as: walls, fences, screens, entrances, gates, verandas, living rooms and saloons. This new pattern of use was reflected in the house's spatial order, which depended on four main spatial levels:

- The street which is a public area, the existence of high fences provided this opportunity.

- The transition or intermediate area between the street and the front fence of the house (sidewalk). This area can be used with the inhabitants' permission and for family visitors only, the existence of sofas and chairs give the sense of territoriality.
- The veranda or the court (if one still exists) which can be entered without permission by female visitors only. Any other people, even members of the extended family, need permission. The existence of high fences and the entrance increases the need for permission.
- Inside the house, which may be entered only after its inhabitants' permission has been given and male strangers[30] can enter it on rare occasions, especially if there is not a separate saloon room. Note that the parents' sleeping zone cannot be entered or seen by any strangers or visiting men.

Finally, this new pattern of hospitality is linked to the new social system of the nuclear family, the ongoing unsatisfactory and contradictory status of women in the historic core of Ramallah, the impact of new Islamic orientation and the role of the media. Furthermore it is linked to the new social structure of Ramallah's historic core as migrants and refugees who found themselves to be underestimated outsiders and its reflections on the form of social and political struggle.

7.2.4 The Social Logic of the Peasant House in Ramallah's Historic Core

The "Space Syntax Theory" states that knowledge is in things as well as in the human mind. The "Space Decoding Analysis" of the changes in the peasant houses in the historic core of Ramallah led to detection of the main socio-cultural factors which form the syntactic qualities in the transformed peasant houses and which can be categorized into two main groups:

- **Communal factors:** new forms of kinship and family structure, the contemporary notion of gender, incest taboo, global media and in addition, the impact of the Islamic religious attitude[31]
- **Contextual factors:** the social power struggle and politics.

[30] Male strangers can be any men outside the nuclear family circle

[31] The orientation toward Islamic behavior relates to the purity (*Tahara*) notion, separation between males and females in sleeping and in receiving guests.

As mentioned in chapter 2, kinship and gender were always the main factors that affected the built form of the peasant house (Amiry, 1987). Nowadays the new form of **kinship and family structure** and the contemporary **notion of gender** besides the **incest taboo** are playing a major role in transforming the basic built form of the peasant house. The change from the extended family system to the nuclear family system and the move from a tribal society towards an individual one have their affects on the built form of the peasant house. As a result, **social solidarity** has changed from being **organic** in which a **spatial form of solidarity** was **joined** by a **trans-spatial form**, to a **mechanical form of solidarity** in which the **trans-spatial solidarity** emphasizes the nuclear family system, gender restrictions and incest taboo.

As well, the change in the kinship system to a more individual system rather than a tribal and extended family one has caused the individual's dependence on his own private objects as a source of status, rather than the extended family which tended to be a source of status and distinction. Accordingly, the impacts of that change were obvious in the recent transformations in the spatial structure of the house.

Actually the extended family system has not ended but has taken another form of existence, it has been reformed. The sons still prefer to live near to their parents and the newly built apartments beside or above the old peasant houses are evidence of that. While the main difference is that the new couples are mostly economically independent.

The contemporary role of gender is one of the noticeable factors of change in the peasant house. On the one hand the transformed houses reflect a relative enhancement in the status of women especially when talking about the creation of kitchens, parents' sleeping zones and offering special sleeping space for female family members. On the other hand one can see the increase in the segregation of the kitchen which is connected to the notion of separating females and males. Additionally, the increase in the segregation and decrease in permeability and visibility between the interior of the house and the exterior reflects the need to offer the women secure and private spaces from **a religious and traditional point of view "*urf*"** (see Chapter 3).

The **role of the media** in the transformation of the peasant house cannot be forgotten; different kinds of media led the inhabitants to adopt contemporary stereotyped behavior patterns which cannot be performed inside the original peasant's house structure.

The changes in the peasant house were affected by other **contextual factors**, since the inhabitants in the historic core of Ramallah are considered to be a **minority** (mainly Muslims originating from the Hebron rural area and refugees from coastal cities- see Chapter 3). This

led to a more **segregated and isolated transformed spatial order,** in addition to the reduction in visibility and the permeability that are associated with ensuring the inhabitants' religion and social traditions. These changes can be linked to the need for personalization as a Muslim community existing in an originally Christian city. In other words the **social power struggle** is one of the main reasons for change in the built form of the peasant's house.

So it is understandable that the changes in the peasant house built form defined **four fixed levels of spatial order**, as being: inside the house, the veranda or the court (if it exists), the intermediate space between the house and the street and the street itself, or private, semi-private, semi-public and public in sequence. Thus the **syntactic qualities** of the transformed peasant house can be summarized as:

- Both before and after the changes the houses have no ring inside and include multi-purpose spaces.
- The most integrated spaces are: the veranda, the living zone and the court. The most segregated spaces are: the parents' sleeping zone and the kitchen and the bathroom.
- The most integrated spot moved inward from the court area to the veranda or living area.
- The highest connectivity spaces are: the veranda and living area and the lowest connectivity spaces are: the kitchen and bathroom.
- The highest connectivity spot moved inward from the court to the veranda or living area of the house.
- The visibility values decreased inside the house and in relation to the context.
- The permeability inside the house spaces and in relation to the context decreased.
- The categorical differentiation and the relative positioning of objects and persons increased inside the house and in relation to the context while the most of the house spaces still do not have significant space rules and depend on multi-purpose spaces.
- The insulation increased inside the house and in relation to the context. There was still no sequencing inside the house and it decreased in relation to the context. No ring existed inside the house's spatial arrangement.

7.3 Summary: the Inhabitants' Interaction with their Peasant Houses

Based on the two approaches it was feasible to construct a deep understanding of the inhabitants' interaction with their peasant houses. It is obvious that the relation between the inhabitants' meanings of their houses and the syntactic qualities of the transformations can be defined and linked.

Through the "Evaluation Approach" it was possible to concentrate on the different meanings of home and investigate issues of financial stability and ownership status, and to involve the characteristics of the individual as an effective factor in the evaluation process, which cannot be investigated easily through the Space Decoding Approach. Also the Evaluation Approach allowed for the third dimension to be recognized within the analysis and provided concrete statistics of the physical changes.

On the other hand the inhabitants' evaluation of their houses was mediated by different factors. This bias is related to cultural, religious and political impacts besides the local social, legal and educational factors. Through the "Space Decoding Approach" the bias of the Evaluation Approach could be avoided and the relation between the order in the spatial structure and its evidence and links in the social order and patterns of use could be concentrated on.

The relation between the inhabitants' evaluation of their houses and the changes in the built form was not linked casually because of different contextual reasons related to the recent situation in Ramallah's historic core, these are: the low income level, lack of awareness, gender and sensitivity factors, the nature of space besides the lack of institutional strategies and the ownership and legal issue. This led to the identification of three main categories of changes in which priority was given to changes related to daily activities and needs rather than to changes related to the defensive aspects, while changes related to the personalization aspects came last. This result did not match Rapoport's "Choice Model" which stated that the value and symbolic meanings (latent meanings) are the major factors of change in the built environment, since the use and physical meanings (functional meanings) were the main factors of change in the case of Ramallah's historic core. Here it is important to consider the contextual circumstances and its impact on the decision to make changes.

The decoding of the physical changes also showed that the inhabitants' relation to their houses was shaped by different communal and contextual socio-cultural factors. The kinship and family structure, gender, religion, the incest taboo, media and social struggle were the major components. In that regard the peasant house became the place which afforded the

nuclear family and its dependents the basic needs without being interrupted by outsiders in an appropriate atmosphere for both male and female members to perform their activities and to interact with the others. This was marked by the conversion from an organic solidarity system to a mechanical solidarity system and from a shallow core house to a mid-core house.

This image or preference of the peasant house was reflected in the inhabitants' evaluation and affection for their houses. So the inhabitants felt dissatisfied with their houses' physical structures as they mostly considered them to be inefficient in providing suitable spaces for basic daily activities and needs ranking the hygiene services, parking services as well as the spaces for housewives' activities low. The inhabitants' evaluation of their houses also showed that they did not see their houses as a source of financial stability and at the same time most of them found their houses appropriate to their income level.

Besides, regarding the meaning of territory, the inhabitants considered their peasant houses to be a source of safety and security more than a source of distinction and stimulation, and ranked them capable of providing opportunities for social interaction more than a suitable mechanism for privacy. In terms of personal identity and self expression the inhabitants saw their houses as a source of good reputation and belonging to Ramallah's historical core. On the other hand they did not see their peasant houses as a distinction or a source of reflecting their religious and political affiliation.

When evaluating their peasant houses as a socio-cultural unit the inhabitants mostly did not see their houses as being appropriate for their families' structure or able to provide suitable spaces for basic needs concentrating on the inability to provide hygiene services and parking. Regarding the women's position, the inhabitants were not satisfied with their houses' ability to maintain appropriate spaces for women's activities as mentioned before. Also they were not satisfied with the level of privacy which their houses provided while at the same time they were more satisfied with their houses' ability to afford social interaction.

Consequently this change in social knowledge and order was evident through the changes in the peasant house built form. Since the inhabitants provided new specific spaces for different daily activities such as: bathroom, kitchen, sleeping zones and saloon, this produced a new system of intermediate spaces represented by: an outdoor sitting area and the veranda, and created new defensive elements of doors, walls and fences to define the territoriality, interact with others and to maintain privacy. The most integrated spaces within the transformed houses are: the veranda, living area and the court (if one still exists). And the most segregated are: the parents' sleeping zone, kitchen and bathroom. Accordingly these transformations are linked to changes in sleeping, eating and hospitality behavior.

Furthermore the inhabitants depended on their houses to provide social status in a more individual social system and they see them as an environment to reflect their identity regarding their origin, religion and political affiliation in a context of social struggle. The religious and political symbols were the simple indication of that while exaggerated changes in the house's built form such as high walls and entrances were related to that, too. The inhabitants' behavior and attitudes could not avoid the impact of the global media which encouraged new stereotyped forms of living and affected the image of the peasant house by: satellite installations, water tanks, crowded and very large objects of furniture.

The changes in the built form caused the transformation of the residential quarters in the historic core into segregated areas excluding their inhabitants. The use of the public plazas declined, as the transition from public space to private space become more mechanical. The old center became fragmented and inconvenient. The main commercial streets were not attractive for pedestrians and the shops there suffered from economic obstacles.

In conclusion it is vital to implement the inhabitants' interaction with their peasant houses in the rehabilitation plan of Ramallah's historic core and especially in the rehabilitation of the peasant house. The following chapter presents the main strategies and guidelines to achieve this purpose.

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Chapter Eight

Conclusions and Consequences

Implementing the Inhabitant-Peasant House Relationship in the Rehabilitation

This research provides us with important findings to answer the main question of this dissertation regarding the performance of the inhabitants' interaction with their houses in the rehabilitation of the peasant houses in Ramallah's historic core. The aim of this concluding chapter is to outline the main findings of the research and the consequences of the inhabitant-peasant house relation on the rehabilitation strategies and guidelines in Ramallah's historic core.

8.1 Main Conclusions

Using the "Evaluation Approach" and "Space Decoding Approach" gave fruitful results to develop a clear vision of the inhabitant-peasant house relationship. Actually it supplied the research with a comprehensible view of the contemporary meanings and syntactic qualities of the peasant house. Accordingly, this understanding is vital for proposing any rehabilitation plans for the peasant house in Ramallah's historic core specifically and in other Palestinian localities in general. The main findings of this research are:

- The inhabitants evaluated their peasant houses in light of the meanings of home as:

    a. Concerning the peasant house as a physical structure, the inhabitants felt dissatisfied with their houses' efficiency in providing basic needs giving the hygiene services, spaces for women's activities and parking services the lowest evaluation.

b. Concerning the meaning of home as a financial asset, the inhabitants did not see their houses as a source of financial stability and at the same time most of them found their houses appropriate for their income level.
c. Concerning the meaning of territory, the inhabitants considered their peasant houses as a source of safety and security more than a source of distinction and stimulation and they ranked them capable of providing chances for social interaction more than a suitable mechanism for privacy.
d. In terms of the peasant house as a personal identity and self expression, the inhabitants saw their peasant houses as a source of reputation and as a reason for strengthening their belonging to Ramallah's historic core. On the other hand they did not see their peasant houses as a source of distinction or as a basis of reflecting their religion and political affiliation.
e. And in terms of the peasant house as a socio-cultural unit, the inhabitants mostly did not see their houses as being appropriate for their families' structure or able to provide basic needs as well as appropriate spaces for women's activities as mentioned before. Moreover the inhabitants mostly saw their houses as not being efficient in providing the suitable mechanisms for privacy, while they found them more efficient in terms of providing opportunities for social interaction.

- The two major factors that affected the inhabitants' evaluation of their peasant houses were: the ownership status and its connections to distinction and financial sustainability, and the unsatisfactory level of privacy which mainly affected the individuals' feeling of territoriality, self worth and self identity in a negative manner.
- The inhabitants' evaluation of their houses and the transformation in the built form of the peasant houses were not linked casually. This is related to different contextual reasons, which are: the low income level, lack of awareness, gender and sensitivity factors, the nature and availability of space besides the lack of institutional strategies and the ownership and legal issues.
- The use and physical meanings (functional meanings) were the main factors of change in the physical structure of the peasant houses in the historic core of Ramallah. This result does not match Rapoport's "Choice Model" which stated that

the value and symbolic meanings (latent meanings) are the major factors of change in the built environment.

- The major socio-cultural factors which formed the syntactic qualities in the transformed peasant houses can be categorized into two main groups:
    a. Communal factors: new forms of kinship and family structure, the contemporary notion of gender and incest taboo, global media and the impact of Islamic religious attitudes.
    b. Contextual factors: the social power struggle and politics.
- The "Space Decoding" for the peasant houses in Ramallah's historic core showed the conversion from an organic solidarity system to a mechanical solidarity system and from a shallow core house to a mid-core house. The main syntactic qualities in the transformed house are:
    - Both before and after changes the houses have no ring inside and include multi-purpose spaces.
    - The most integrated spaces within the transformed peasant houses are: the veranda, the living area and the court. And the most segregated are: the parents' sleeping zone, the kitchen and bathroom. The most integrated spot moved inward from the court to the veranda or the living zone.
    - The highest connectivity spaces are: the veranda and living area and the lowest connectivity spaces are: the kitchen and bathroom. The highest connectivity spot moved inward from the court to the veranda or the living zone.
    - The permeability and visibility decreased inside the peasant's house spaces and in relation to the context.
    - The relative positioning and categorical differentiation for persons and objects increased in the peasant house spaces and in relation to the context.
    - The insulation increased inside the house and in relation to the context. Sequencing still did not exist inside the house and decreased in relation to the context.
- The changes in the built form of the peasant house defined four fixed levels of spatial order, as: inside the house, the veranda or the court (if one existed), the intermediate

space between the house and the street and the street itself, or private, semi-private, semi-public and public in sequence.

- The inhabitants depended on their houses to provide social status in a more individual social system.
- The inhabitants' behavior and attitudes could not avoid the impact of global media which encouraged new stereotyped forms of living and affected the image of the peasant house.
- The physical transformations in the built form of Ramallah's historic core in general and in the peasant house in particular caused deterioration in the public spaces, these are:
    a. The main center (Arab Bank area) became fragmented and visually confused.
    b. The two main public plazas in front of the Orthodox church and in front of the mosque (*Al-Shaqra* plaza) became inactive and segregated as well.
    c. The residential quarters became segregated and the public spaces within them were degraded and ignored.

The research findings underlined that in order to enhance the rehabilitation practice concerning the peasant houses in Ramallah's historic core **a new integrated approach should be adopted which focuses on the relativisation of materiality by taking the immaterial aspects of the building into account as well as the physical material aspect**. This means that rehabilitation for domestic use must deal with the social aspect of space concentrating on the inhabitants' interaction with their houses as well as on the technical aspects and the preservation of heritage values, which emphasize the need to develop the rehabilitation methodology to be able to cope with the buildings as a lived space and not only as an artifact.

Thus, the rehabilitation strategies of the Palestinian peasant house must be developed in light of the inhabitants' contemporary meanings of their houses and the syntactic qualities of the built form of the peasant house in addition to the conservation values, measurements and regulations.

The results of the research showed that the inhabitants' evaluation of their houses, specifically their feeling of financial stability, territory and identity were affected severely by the **legal status of their ownership**, which brings to focus the need to propose a new

mechanism that organizes the inhabitants' legal situation. Besides, it was obvious that the inhabitants' decisions concerning the evaluation of their peasant houses were biased by their **educational, social and cultural backgrounds**. Regarding the inhabitants adaptation of their houses, it was clear that their **priorities** were affected by their **income level, ownership status, awareness, gender and sensitivity factors.**

So the rehabilitation process must take place in parallel to a **development plan as far as** social, economical and legal aspects are concerned. This development plan will provide the atmosphere for the rehabilitation to reach its optimal goals by **establishing a concrete social, economical and legal base for the rehabilitation**.

As mentioned before, RIWAQ and Ramallah municipality are working on developing a rehabilitation plan for Ramallah city. Special regulations and measures were developed to protect and manage the new constructions, the historical core and the scattered or single historic buildings (see Appendix I). Unfortunately this rehabilitation plan, besides its ignorance of the content of buildings and their social contexts, was, in consequence, not in parallel to a development plan for Ramallah city and the historical core.

In the following sections the consequences of these research results on the development of the historic core of Ramallah as well as the consequences on the rehabilitation strategies and main design guidelines at the historical core level and the peasant house level are illustrated.

8.2 Consequences on the Development Strategies of Ramallah's Historic Core

To perform the inhabitant- peasant house relationship in the rehabilitation of Ramallah's historical core, the following social, economical and legal strategies must be considered in the development plan of the historical core:

- The social aspect:
    a. Raising public awareness toward the cultural and historical value of their houses.
    b. Providing suitable educational infrastructure for the inhabitants and activating the role of the already founded institutions.
    c. Adopting the new form of family structure and strengthening social solidarity.

d. Encouraging public participation in the decision-making process of rehabilitation.

e. Encouraging the local community organizations and research centers to relocate to the historic core of Ramallah.

- The economic aspect:

a. Creating job opportunities.

b. Encouraging investment.

- The legal aspect:

a. Developing a legal mechanism to organize the ownership issues, which focuses on creating a system of long-term real estate loans ending in house ownership

b. Developing a legal mechanism for maintenance and construction operations.

8.3 Consequences on the Rehabilitation Strategies and Guidelines concerning the Peasant House

Concentrating on the rehabilitation of the peasant house environment, specific strategies and design guidelines should be considered both on the macro level and on the micro level. These strategies and guidelines are explained in the following sections.

8.3.1 The Historic Core Level

The rehabilitation strategies of the historic core must take the following into consideration:

- Respecting the new form of social structure and kinship relations.
- Strengthening and creating social solidarity in the historic core and in relation to the context.
- Softening the borders between the historic core spaces and in relation to the context.

So, to accomplish these strategies the following design guidelines should be considered on the macro level:

a. Providing new apartments for young couples in the empty lots.
b. Encouraging integration with the surrounding neighborhoods by creating green spaces between the historical core and the surrounding neighborhood especially on the western side (Figure 8.1).
c. Enhancing the streets, providing suitable sidewalks and street furniture to attract the pedestrians.
d. Enhancing *Al Rashid* Street and strengthening its relation with the commercial part of the historical core considering it to be an important link with the recreation spot of Ramallah city (Figure 8.1).
e. Enhancing the central area (Arab Bank area) of the historic core, improving its visual relations, quality and relocating the gas station (Figure 8.1).
f. Enhancing and activating the two main public plazas in front of the Orthodox church and in front of the mosque (*Al Shaqra* plaza (Figure 8.1)).
g. Upgrading the existing public spaces and green structures in the residential quarters and strengthening their integration in the context.
h. Creating children's playing areas.
i. Providing parking lots.
j. Proposing suitable regulations for walls and hedges in public spaces that afford the dialectic transition between public and private spaces (public- semi public- semi private-private spaces).

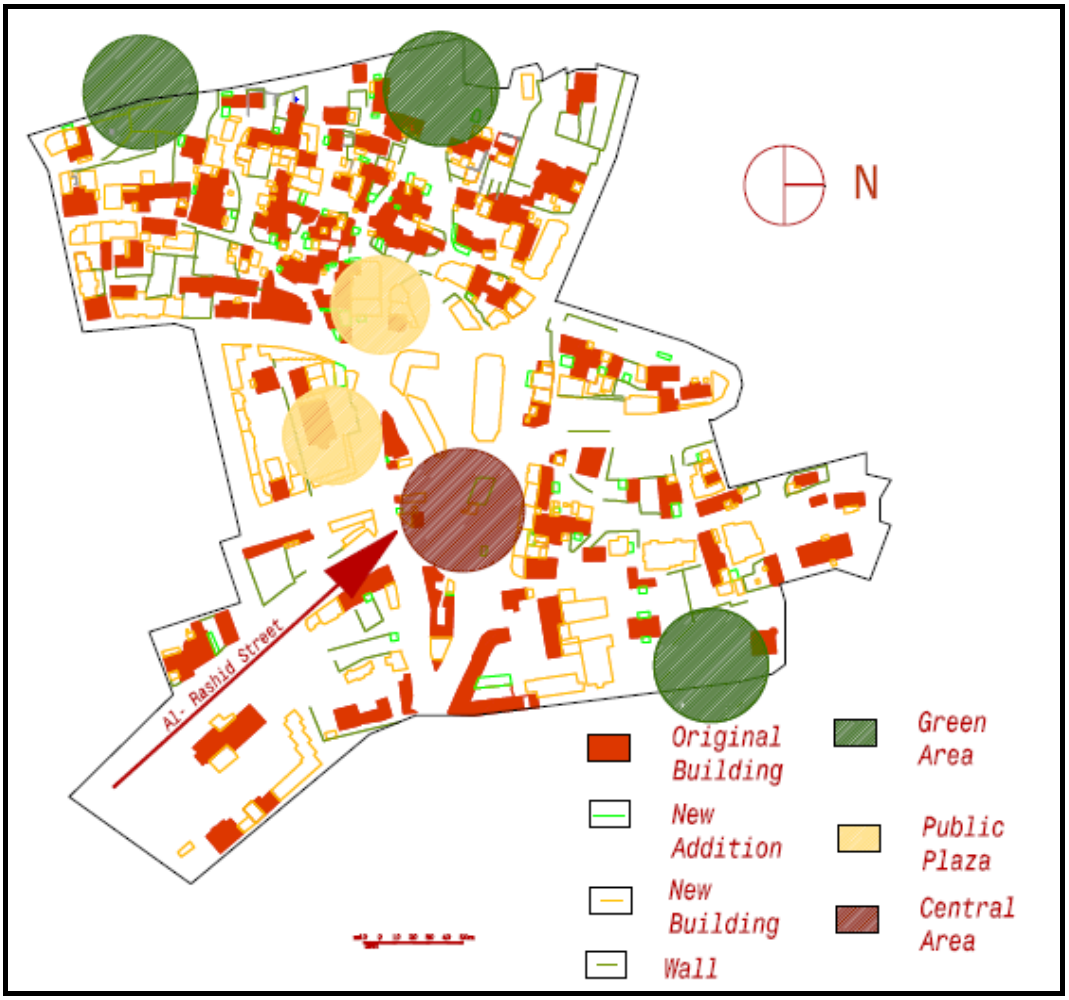


Figure 8.1: Proposed rehabilitation guidelines for Ramallah's historic core.

8.3.2 The Peasant House Level

The rehabilitation strategies of the peasant house must take into consideration the following:

- Providing suitable facilities for basic domestic needs: hygiene, sleeping, cooking, eating, receiving guests and parking.
- Respecting the women's and children's needs.
- Respecting the new definition of social structure (new form of nuclear family)
- Considering the incest taboo and gender restrictions.
- Supporting social solidarity, softening the borders and providing dialectic transition between outside and inside.
- Providing a suitable atmosphere for self-personalization and distinction.
- Respecting Islamic religious attitudes.

- Providing suitable mechanisms for privacy inside the house and in relation to the outside.
- Dealing with the increase in relative positioning and categorical differentiation by supporting the traditional use rules, especially the multifunction use and the habits of using niches and corners.

So, to realize these strategies the following design guidelines are important and can be categorized into two main groups:

8.3.2.1 Design Guidelines concerning Spatial Organization

a. Increasing the house area by unifying the adjacent rooms (peasant houses related to extended family) to form one house for one family and its dependents (grandmother, grandfather, etc).

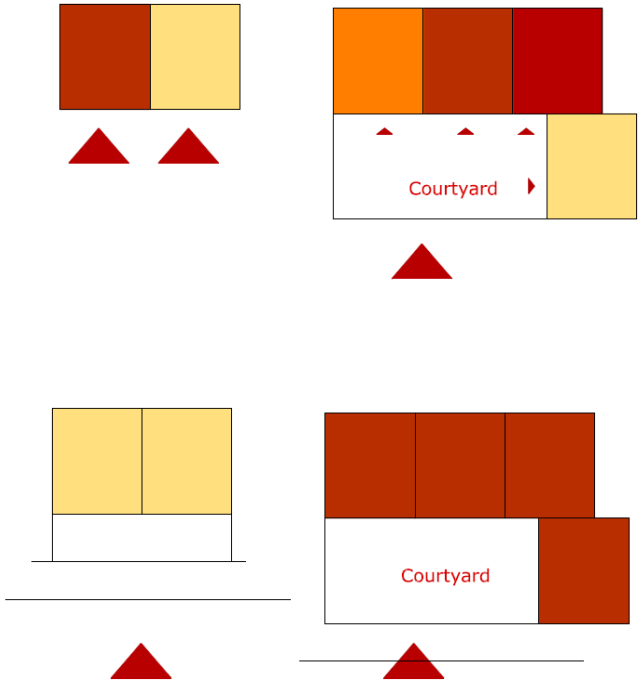
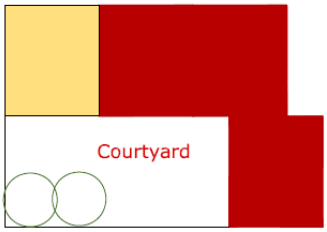
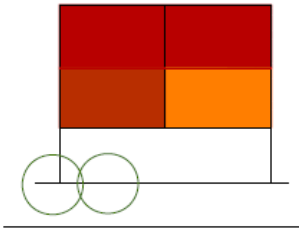


Figure 8.2: Unifying the peasant houses (rooms) related to extended family to form one house for one family.

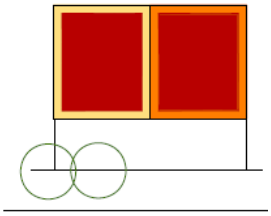
b. Adding a suitable kitchen and a suitable bathroom with inner connection if possible.
c. Providing three sleeping zones or spaces in each housing unit for: parents, female family members and male family members.



A: Three different rooms are used for different categories of users if the peasant house's area is sufficient.



B: Adding low partitions to divide the house rooms in order to provide three sleeping spaces



C: Multi-purpose use of the different peasant house rooms

D: Adding mezzanine level to the peasant house rooms in order to provide sleeping spaces.

Figure 8.3: Providing three sleeping zones or spaces.

d. Availability of a space assigned for married son's family if possible.
e. Emphasizing the dialectic transition from outside to inside following this order: (public -semipublic – semiprivate – private).

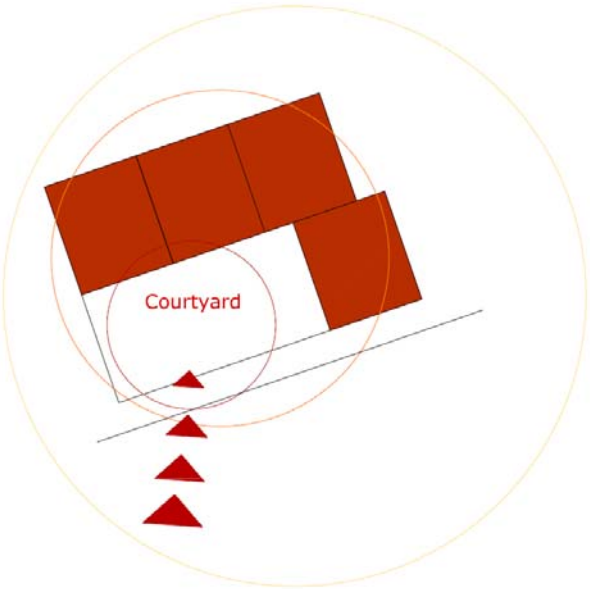


Figure 8.4: Dialectic transition between public and private spaces.

f. Enhancing and encouraging the sidewalk sitting area in the semi-public area and offering shade for it.

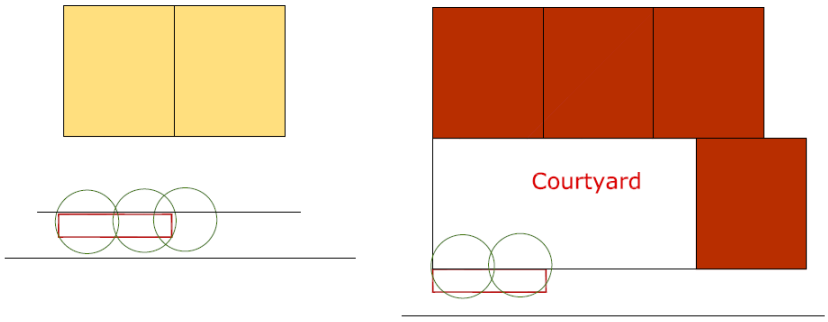


Figure 8.5: Providing suitable sidewalk sitting areas in semipublic spaces.

g. Conserving the original rough stone fences and setting measures for the new fences and borders surrounding the house considering that:
    a. The fence's height must not exceed 1.8 m.
    b. The height of the solid part of the fence must not exceed 1.25m.

Figure 8.6: Setting regulations for hedges that determine their proportions (heights, solid to void,…etc) and qualities.

h. Adding an entrance or gate for the court area to control the court and in case of direct relation with the street to provide a green hedge and suitable sidewalk if possible.

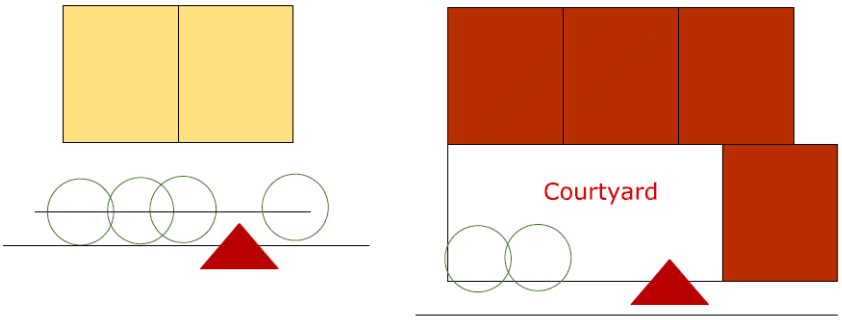


Figure 8.7: Defining the territory and entrance of the house.

i. Enhancing the court and providing space for children's activities in it (if one exists).

j. Developing the veranda role as an intermediate space in case of direct relation with the street, emphasizing its connection to the *mastabeh* element and determining its proportions and characteristics considering that:

   a. The use of light, reversible material for the parapets.
   b. The veranda's parapet height should not exceed 1m with the exception of the corners.
   c. The veranda must be unroofed, the shade can be offered by climbing vines, plants or textiles.

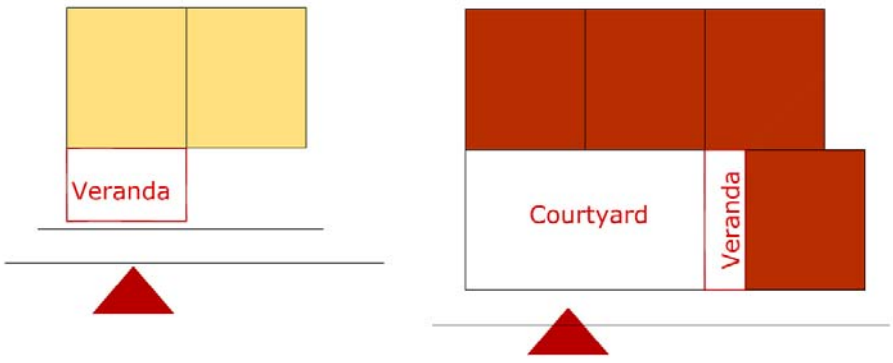


Figure 8.8: Developing the veranda element and defining its proportions and qualities.

k. Considering the integration and connectivity order inside the house in view of the following:

    a. The veranda and living area are the most integrated and visually connected spaces.
    b. The parents' sleeping zone, kitchen and bathroom are the most segregated and the least visually connected spaces.

l. Emphasizing the house's core which is mostly the veranda or the living zone.

m. Availability of a ring inside the house if possible and adding doors if necessary to increase sequencing and provide sense of control (supports privacy).

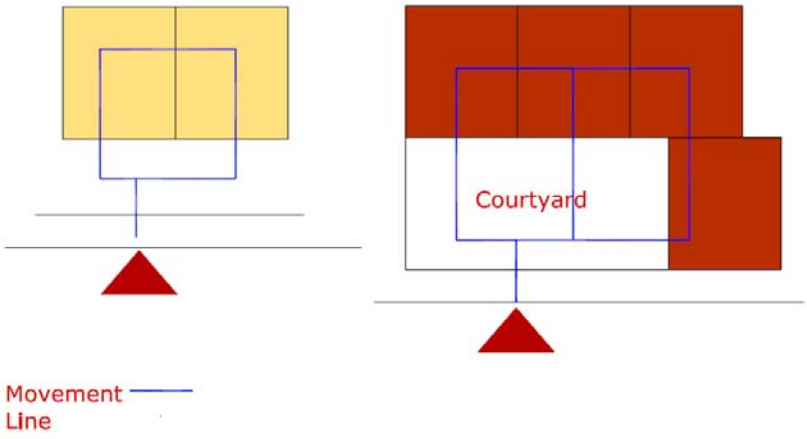


Figure 8.9: Availability of ring inside the house.

n. Availability of multi – purpose flexible spaces depending on similar groups of users, such as combining: living- children's sleeping zone or saloon- guest sleeping zone– dining.

o. Adding windows where necessary for controlling the outside, lighting and ventilation.

p. Reusing the roof for summer activities, considering that:
    a. Respecting the privacy measures
    b. Providing suitable access.
    c. Protecting the image of a shallow dome.
    d. The height of the structure must not exceed 1 m
    e. The material used should be light and suitable for the image of the historical core

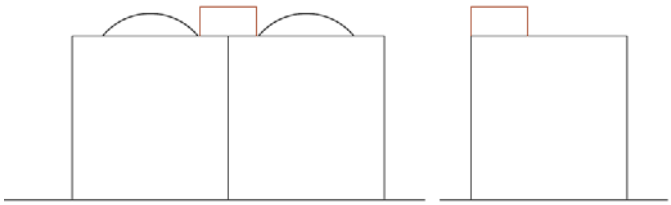


Figure 8.10: Reusing the house's roof and providing suitable proportions and qualities for the roof pergolas

q. Reusing the lower level (*rawieh*) as storage or for service units if possible and adding dehumidifier instruments to it.

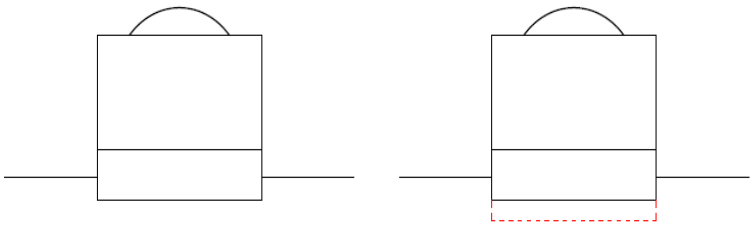


Figure 8.11: Reusing the house's lower level (*rawieh*) and increasing its height.

r. Hiding the installations on top of the houses and using a central TV aerial for the whole historical core or for each neighborhood if not possible.

Figure 8.12: Hiding the installations on top of the roof.

8.3.2.2 Design Guidelines for Decorative Changes and Alterations

a. Reconsidering the furniture style and scale in order to deal with the increase of relative positioning. This leads to the need to design suitable mobile furniture objects.

b. Reuse of the interior niches and corners.

c. Repairing or replacing the floors considering using local tiles (see Appendix I).

d. Repairing and renewing painting and plastering, repaint and plaster the houses taking the painting and plastering measures for the peasant house - lime plastering and painting- into consideration. (see Appendix I)

e. Repairing and replacing the windows and doors using of wooden frames if possible or iron frames depending on the original frame type.

f. Providing suitable electrical and mechanical installations which must be hidden in suitable ways.

g. Proofing and insulation.

8.4 For Future Research

Finally this dissertation formulated suggestions for future research, these are:

- Developing public participation in the rehabilitation process is a valuable subject for future research in order to include different social groups in the decision-making process.

- Enhancing the rehabilitation process to include the contemporary concept of cultural sustainability and studying the impact of cultural aspects on the environmental aspects of historical buildings is an important research theme.
- It is worth replicating this methodology to improve this line of research considering different contexts to propose general guidelines for rehabilitating the Palestinian peasant house.
- It will be useful in future research to check the application of Rapoport's notion of the latent meanings' role in the built environment in different contexts to check its viability.
- Applying the "Space Syntax" techniques for investigating the syntactic quality of different types of historical buildings and its interrelation in conservation is important in future research.
- The relation between the legal ownership status and the inhabitants' feeling of distinction is in need of more investigation and can be an interesting topic for future research.
- The Palestinian community is composed of about 50% refugees thus it is worth discussing the meaning of home for refugees as a future research topic.

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Abbreviations

ARIJ	The Applied Research Institute Jerusalem
CAH	Centre for Architecture Heritage
CCHP	Center for Cultural Heritage Preservation
EBS	The Environmental Behavior Studies
HRC	Hebron Rehabilitation Committee
ICOM or	
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IGS	Internationales Städte Forum Graz
OCJRP	Old City of Jerusalem Revitalization Programme
PCBS	Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics
VG	Visibility Graph
RIWAQ	Center for Architectural Conservation
SIDA	Swedish International Development and Cooperation Agency
UNESCO	United Nation Educational Scientific and Cultural

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Appendix I

Ramallah's Rehabilitation Plan[32]

A. Regulations for the historic areas (A, B):

The special regulations on the protection of the historical area are divided into two parts. The historical core was divided into two areas (area A, area B) in the master plan depending on the different nature of these two areas. Following are these regulations:

First

The regulations of area A, the historical monuments and the scattered single historic buildings outside the historical core:

Construction Works

Regulations:

I. **New constructions in the empty land lots in the historical core:**

- New constructions in the empty land lots adjacent to the historical buildings are allowed in case of:
  a. At least 5 meters continuous set back from any side of the land adjacent to the historical building.
  b. Coordination with responsible authorities to set the line of demarcation.
- New constructions in identified and surveyed empty land lots in the historical core are allowed after taking into account the following regulations:
  a. The built up area must not exceed 30% of the land lot area.
  b. The building's height should not exceed one floor, or 3 meters, whichever is less.
  c. Regarding the demarcation line in coordination with the specialized authorities.

II. **Constructing a new building in the location of a historic building which was completely destroyed** (pre- the application of these regulations) is allowed. taking into account the following:

- The height of the new building must be equivalent to the height of the original demolished historic building (in the absence of the ability to determine the height of the demolished historical building, the height of the new building must be equivalent to one floor or 3 meters whichever is less, by referring to the average street level from the front elevation).

- The original demarcation line of the historical demolished building must be regarded, based on the drawing maps of the historical area done by the British Mandate (Built up Area Map) that are survived in the thirties and forties of the twentieth century. In

[32] Translated by the author

absence of these maps the assignment to identify the demarcation line is done in coordination with the specialized authorities.

III.Additions to the existing buildings:

- Additions to the new buildings within the historic areas or to individual historic building out-of-historical area is allowed, taking into account the following:

  a. The new construction's height must not exceed 3 meters or one floor after additions, whichever is less.

  b. The vertical additions are banned to add any new story except for the roof floor, according to the regulations.

  c. The horizontal additions are allowed taking into consideration that the built up area of the addition and the existing building must not exceed 30% of the land lot.

- The internal additions are allowed in order to make some changes in the use of spaces within the historic buildings. Taking into considerations that these changes must not include any affects on the external appearance of the building or the structural situation. The monuments are excluded from that.

Directions and Recommendations:

I. The new additions must not disturb the historical urban fabric and image by adapting the material of the construction and height.

II. The additions (basic services) must be proportionate to the historical context and fabric in terms of shape, size and material of construction.

III. The new constructions in the empty land lots must be appropriate in its form and style to the surrounding architectural environment.

Destruction and Removal Works

Regulations:

I. Prevent vandalism or destruction of wells, or use it as septic tanks.
II. Allow the demolition of the modern additions to historic buildings.
III. Demolish the new buildings and additions or part of it, if such buildings or additions affect the structural status of the monuments or historic buildings.

Directions and Recommendations:

In general the destruction of any of the historic buildings or architectural elements of the urban fabric the in the historic area is prohibited. Although it is possible to identify the destructed historical buildings in whole or in part, and allow carrying out the destruction and removal of the remaining parts of them. This depends on the value of the destructed building by identifying the level of importance besides the financial costs needed for its re-construction and the threats to public safety and the structural situation of surrounding buildings.

Consolidation Works

Regulations:

I. Owner must consolidate the historic buildings or its parts, which threatens the public safety in order to avoid collapses.

II. If the owner fails to do the consolidation works, the local bodies for planning may do the work on behalf of the owner and at his own expense.

Second: The Special Regulations of Historic Area B

Construction Works

Regulations:

I. **Constructing a new building in the empty land lots in the historic center:**

- Allow construction in the land lots adjacent to the lots containing monuments in case of:
  a. At least 5 meters continuous set back from any side of the land adjacent to the historical building.
  b. Regarding the regulations of the zoning area, " housing A"
- Constructing new structure on identified empty lands that building on it is not forbidden within the historical core is allowed after taking into account the zoning area " housing A" regulations.
- Constructing a new building in the location of a historic building which was destroyed completely (pre-application of these provisions) is allowed. In accordance with the regulations of the planning zone, "housing A".

II. Additions to the existing buildings:

- Additions to the new buildings within the historic areas or to single historic building out-of-historical area is allowed taking into account the regulations of the planning zone, "housing A"
- The internal additions are allowed in order to make some changes in the use of spaces within the historic buildings. Taking into considerations that these changes must not include any affects on the external appearance of the building or the structural situation. The monuments are excluded from that.

The Destruction and Removal Work

Regulations:

I. Prevent vandalism or destruction of wells, or use it as septic tanks.

II. Allow the demolition of the modern additions to historic buildings.

III. Destructing the new buildings and additions or part of it, if such buildings or additions affect the structural status of the monuments or historic buildings.

Consolidation Works

Regulations:

I. Owner must consolidate the historic buildings or its parts, which threatens the public safety in order to avoid collapse.
II. If the owner fails to do the consolidation works, the local bodies for planning may do the work on behalf of the owner and at his own expense.

B. Special Regulations Attached to the Detailed Master Plan

The special regulations attached to the detailed master plan are considered detailed regulations, which focused on the protection of all the constituent elements of the architectural fabric of the traditional historical area. These regulations are divided according to the division of the architectural elements of the traditional fabric into buildings and spaces. The regulations of the historic buildings are applied to the historic area A and B, while the regulations of the spaces are applied for the historic area A only.

The buildings included of the historic monuments and buildings, fences, chains, various architectural elements, Al Qanater and Al Alali. In addition to the elements that form these structures such as surfaces, ceilings, walls, floors and openings. Also these regulations covered the infrastructure networks, advertising panels, banners, and buildings' uses to ensure the protection and preservation of these structures.
The architectural spaces included all of courts, passages, streets, alleys, squares, gardens, terraces and natural land " hawakeer". Also enclosed to the set of regulations, guidelines to lead the process of rehabilitating the historical root or core of the area, in the form of manual.

A. Architectural buildings (monuments, historical buildings, the individual historical buildings and natural stone walls and stone walls)

Protection of the Elevations or the Surfaces

Regulations:

I. The change of the exterior of historic buildings and individual historical buildings and monuments is prevented, including of the height, dimensions, building materials and architectural elements. Besides, the replacement of these elements in the historic buildings and individual buildings that are not compatible with the surrounding environment is prevented.

II. In cases of necessity it is possible to add new openings in the facade (see item openings)

Directions and recommendations

The various historical layers that forms the facades of historic building must be preserved and not focus more on one layer than the others.

The Protection of the External Surfaces :
Regulations:

I. Traditional form of the roofs must be maintained in the historic buildings, monuments and single buildings.

II. Surfaces must be water proofed and had a rain water discharge installations to preserve the historic building.

III. The use of asbestos or tin to cover the roofs is prohibiting neither in historic buildings, monuments, single buildings, nor in the existing modern buildings.

IV. Water tanks and TV Aerials, the satellite dishes and radio relay towers are not allowed on the roofs of the monuments.

Directions and recommendations

I. *Rullac Alzftp* are not preferred not be used to proof the roofs of historical monuments and buildings, and the single buildings.

II. Water tanks and TV Aerials, the satellite dishes and radio relay towers are not preferred on the roofs of historic buildings and the individual and the roofs of modern buildings in historic areas.
III. The use of tin gutter or pig iron instead of plastic is preferable.

The Protection of Ceilings
Regulations:

I. The traditional form of ceilings and their traditional elements such as: iron I-beams "*Dawamer*", vaults or wooden beams must be maintained in monuments, historical buildings or single buildings.

II. Traditional materials must be used in plastering and pointing according to specifications attached to the renovation.

III. The main features of the ceilings must be protected in the consolidation of the monuments, historic buildings and individual buildings.

IV. The ceilings must be plastered in the traditional techniques and materials in the monuments, historic buildings and individual buildings.

V. Any destruction for traditional plastering is not allowed.

Interior Walls
Regulations:

I. The change of traditional building materials of the interior walls of the monuments, historical buildings and individual buildings is not allowed.

II. The addition of internal walls (the use of modern or traditional materials) is allowed, considering that this change will not affect the structural situation of building in the historic buildings and single buildings only.

III. The demolition or change in the interior walls is not allowed in the monuments.

IV. The demolition of the bearing interior walls or the walls that are important in understanding the building identity is not allowed in the historical buildings.

V. Traditional materials must be used in plastering and pointing according to specifications attached to the renovation

Directions and Recommendations

I. Changing any of the niches, recesses, descends, arches, fireplaces, in the interior walls in historical buildings or single buildings is not preferable .

II. Any destruction for traditional plastering is not allowed.

Flooring
Regulations:

I. The destruction of floors (including *Al rawieh*) is not allowed in the monuments, historic buildings and the single buildings.

II. The change of the internal floor level of historical buildings and the single buildings only is allowed, considering that this change will not affect the structural situation of building.

III. The change in the materials (traditional or modern) used in interior flooring is allowed in the historical buildings and single buildings only, according to the attached terms and specifications.

IV.

Directions and recommendations

I. The use of traditional tile or traditional lime mortars to cover the interior floor is preferable.

II. The use of irregular stone tiles or *Sultani* stone tiles floors in outdoors is preferable.

Openings

Regulations:

I. The additions of new openings in the historic buildings and individual buildings are allowed considering that this change will not affect the structural situation of building.

II. The new openings in the historic and modern buildings in historic areas and single buildings must be rectangular in its shape ,distinguishable from the original openings , integrated with the spirit of place and does not affect the image of the building and the surroundings.

External appearance (image) of the Building

- **Colors**

Regulations:

I. The use of modern paint to cover the stone facades and walls is not allowed.

II. The use of color that integrated with the surrounding environment in the historical buildings, modern buildings and single buildings out of the historical area.

- **Cleaning**

Regulations:

I. The owner or operator of the building must remove the plants and herbs from the historic buildings and the single buildings, because they adversely affect the structural situation of the historic buildings.

II. The owner or operator of the building must clean the courts, historic buildings, single buildings and public squares from rubbish, land fill, the remains of animals or all of what affect the public health in the historical area.

Advertising Panels and Signage

Regulations:

I. Panels and propaganda posters must be standardized (size and shape) in the case and placed in the historic area.

II. Installation and fixing of the panels and commercial advertising on the monuments, historic buildings and the individual buildings is not allowed.

III. The installation of electronic business advertising panels in the historic areas is not allowed.

Distinctive Architectural Elements

Regulations:

I. The distinctive architectural elements inside the buildings such as paintings, floors and engraves and to prevent and outside the buildings such as doors, entrances and *mashrabiat* must be preserved and protected.

II. The restoration of the distinctive architectural elements must be according to the attached terms and specifications. In case of replacing it with new one it must be integrated to the image of the historical building.

III. Any change or replacement of the distinctive architectural elements of the monuments is not allowed, except in the case of a threat to public safety.

Infrastructure

Regulations :

The use of modern paint to cover the stone facades and walls is not allowed. Besides the entire infrastructure networks such sewerage, electricity, water are not allowed under the outdoor floors.

Electrical, mechanical internal installations

Regulations:

The work of electrical and mechanical installations is allowed in the historic buildings, monuments and the single buildings, considering that this change will not affect the structural situation of building and the distinctive architectural elements as well.

Building Materials

Regulations:

I. The use of stone in the main elevations of buildings and additions is a must, considering that the form, color and type of stones are suitable to the existing traditional stones.

II. The use of brick or cement or tin to cover the external facades of the buildings is not allowed.

Directions and Recommendations

The use of stone to cover the existing concrete surfaces or elevations is preferable. Considering that the type and color of stone is suitable for the traditional stones.

Rough Stone Walls and Fences

Regulations:

I. The demolished parts of the fences and stone walls must be rebuilt.

II. The construction of cement walls and is not allowed and any new walls must follow the traditional stone walls techniques.

Directions and recommendations

Covering the concrete walls with stones or plastering it is preferable to create harmony in color with the surroundings.

Use of Historic Buildings and Single Buildings

Regulations
The use of any of the historic buildings and single for any function that affect its conservation or affect its structural stability or its environmental conditions is not allowed.

B. **Spaces of Urban Fabric**

Internal Yards or Courts

Regulations:

I. The Removing trees or destructing wells is not allowed in the courts.

II. The addition of basic services in the court is not allowed in case of the availability of other place.

Terraces " *masateb*" and Natural Areas

Regulations:

I. The removing of trees is not allowed in the historical area.

II. Maintain the system of terraces within the historical area and its complementary elements such as stone fences, stone huts"qosoor" or soil is a must.

Public Squares

Regulations:
The construction of temporary facilities for the public is allowed such as lighting elements, benches and art works…etc.

Directions and recommendations
Green areas in the public squares are preferable.

Gardening

Regulations:
The parameters or features of the home gardens in the historic area or in single historical buildings must not be changed.

Directions and recommendations:
Encouraging the planting of trees and vegetation in the houses of the historical area and in the gardens of the single historical buildings.

Streets and Alleys

Regulations:

I. The expansion of the narrow alleys is not allowed as they are an essential part of the traditional urban fabric.

II. The entry of heavy vehicles in the alleys is not allowed.

III. Maintaining the original floors if any.

Appendix II

International Charters

The Athens Charter

for the Restoration of Historic Monuments

Adopted at the First International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments, Athens 1931

At the Congress in Athens the following seven main resolutions were made and called "Carta del Restauro":

1. International organizations for Restoration on operational and advisory levels are to be established.
2. Proposed Restoration projects are to be subjected to knowledgeable criticism to prevent mistakes which will cause loss of character and historical values to the structures.
3. Problems of preservation of historic sites are to be solved by legislation at national level for all countries.
4. Excavated sites which are not subject to immediate restoration should be reburied for protection.
5. Modern techniques and materials may be used in restoration work.
6. Historical sites are to be given strict custodial protection.
7. Attention should be given to the protection of areas surrounding historic sites.

General Conclusions of the Athens Conference

I. -- DOCTRINES. GENERAL PRINCIPLES.

The Conference heard the statement of the general principles and doctrines relating to the protection of monuments.

Whatever may be the variety of concrete cases, each of which are open to a different solution, the Conference noted that there predominates in the different countries represented a general tendency to abandon restorations *in toto* and to avoid the attendant dangers by initiating a system of regular and permanent maintenance calculated to ensure the preservation of the buildings.

When, as the result of decay or destruction, restoration appears to be indispensable, it recommends that the historic and artistic work of the past should be respected, without excluding the style of any given period.

The Conference recommends that the occupation of buildings, which ensures the continuity of their life, should be maintained but that they should be used for a purpose which respects their historic or artistic character.

II. -- ADMINISTRATIVE AND LEGISLATIVE MEASURES REGARDING HISTORICAL MONUMENTS

The Conference heard the statement of legislative measures devised to protect monuments of artistic, historic or scientific interest and belonging to the different countries.

It unanimously approved the general tendency which, in this connection, recognises a certain right of the community in regard to private ownership.

It noted that the differences existing between these legislative measures were due to the difficulty of reconciling public law with the rights of individuals.

Consequently, while approving the general tendency of these measures, the Conference is of opinion that they should be in keeping with local circumstances and with the trend of public opinion, so that the least possible opposition may be encountered, due allowance being made for the sacrifices which the owners of property may be called upon to make in the general interest.

It recommends that the public authorities in each country be empowered to take conservatory measures in cases of emergency.

It earnestly hopes that the International Museums Office will publish a repertory and a comparative table of the legislative measures in force in the different countries and that this information will be kept up to date.

III. -- AESTHETIC ENHANCEMENT OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS.

The Conference recommends that, in the construction of buildings, the character and external aspect of the cities in which they are to be erected should be respected, especially in the neighbourhood of ancient monuments, where the surroundings should be given special consideration. Even certain groupings and certain particularly picturesque perspective treatment should be preserved.

A study should also be made of the ornamental vegetation most suited to certain monuments or groups of monuments from the point of view of preserving their ancient character. It specially recommends the suppression of all forms of publicity, of the erection of unsightly telegraph poles and the exclusion of all noisy factories and even of tall shafts in the neighbourhood of artistic and historic monuments.

IV. -- RESTORATION OF MONUMENTS.

The experts heard various communications concerning the use of modern materials for the consolidation of ancient monuments. They approved the judicious use of all the resources at the disposal of modern technique and more especially of reinforced concrete.

They specified that this work of consolidation should whenever possible be concealed in order that the aspect and character of the restored monument may be preserved.

They recommended their adoption more particularly in cases where their use makes it possible to avoid the dangers of dismantling and reinstating the portions to be preserved.

V. -- THE DETERIORATION OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS.

The Conference noted that, in the conditions of present day life, monuments throughout the world were being threatened to an ever-increasing degree by atmospheric agents.

Apart from the customary precautions and the methods successfully applied in the preservation of monumental statuary in current practice, it was impossible, in view of the complexity of cases and with the knowledge at present available, to formulate any general rules.

The Conference recommends:

That, in each country, the architects and curators of monuments should collaborate with specialists in the physical, chemical, and natural sciences with a view to determining the methods to be adopted in specific cases;

That the International Museums Office should keep itself informed of the work being done in each country in this field and that mention should be made thereof in the publications of the Office.

With regard to the preservation of monumental sculpture, the Conference is of opinion that the removal of works of art from the surroundings for which they were designed is, in principle, to be discouraged. It recommends, by way of precaution, the preservation of original models whenever these still exist or if this proves impossible, the taking of casts.

VI. -- THE TECHNIQUE of CONSERVATION.

The Conference is gratified to note that the principles and technical considerations set forth in the different detailed communications are inspired by the same idea, namely:

In the case of ruins, scrupulous conservation is necessary, and steps should be taken to reinstate any original fragments that may be recovered (anastylosis), whenever this is possible; the new materials used for this purpose should in all cases be recognisable. When the preservation of ruins brought to light in the course of excavations is found to be impossible, the Conference recommends that they be buried, accurate records being of course taken before filling-in operations are undertaken.

It should be unnecessary to mention that the technical work undertaken in connection with the excavation and preservation of ancient monuments calls for close collaboration between the archaeologist and the architect.

With regard to other monuments, the experts unanimously agreed that, before any consolidation or partial restoration is undertaken, a thorough analysis should be made of the defects and the nature of the decay of these monuments. They recognised that each case needed to be treated individually.

VII. -- THE CONSERVATION OF MONUMENTS AND INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATION.

a) Technical and moral co-operation.

The Conference, convinced that the question of the conservation of the artistic and archaeological property of mankind is one that interests the community of the States, which are wardens of civilisation,

Hopes that the States, acting in the spirit of the Covenant of the League of Nations, will collaborate with each other on an ever-increasing scale and in a more concrete manner with a view to furthering the preservation of artistic and historic monuments;

Considers it highly desirable that qualified institutions and associations should, without in any manner whatsoever prejudicing international public law, be given an opportunity of manifesting their interest in the protection of works of art in which civilisation has been expressed to the highest degree and which would seem to be threatened with destruction;

Expresses the wish that requests to attain this end, submitted to the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation of the League of Nations, be recommended to the earnest attention of the States.

It will be for the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, after an enquiry conducted by the International Museums Office and after having collected all relevant information, more particularly from the National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation concerned, to express an opinion on the expediency of the steps to be taken and on the procedure to be followed in each individual case.

The members of the Conference, after having visited in the course of their deliberations and during the study cruise which they were able to make on this occasion, a number of excavation sites and ancient Greek monuments, unanimously paid a tribute to the Greek Government, which, for many years past, has been itself responsible for extensive works and, at the same time, has accepted the collaboration of archaeologists and experts from every country.

The members of the Conference there saw an example of activity which can but contribute to the realisation of the aims of intellectual co-operation, the need for which manifested itself during their work.

b) The role of education in the respect of monuments.

The Conference, firmly convinced that the best guarantee in the matter of the preservation of monuments and works of art derives from the respect and attachment of the peoples themselves;

Considering that these feelings can very largely be promoted by appropriate action on the part of public authorities;

Recommends that educators should urge children and young people to abstain from disfiguring monuments of every description and that they should teach them to take a greater and more general interest in the protection of these concrete testimonies of all ages of civilisation.

c) Value of international documentation.

The Conference expresses the wish that:

Each country, or the institutions created or recognised competent for this purpose, publish an inventory of ancient monuments, with photographs and explanatory notes;

Each country constitute official records which shall contain all documents relating to its historic monuments;

Each country deposit copies of its publications on artistic and historic monuments with the International Museums Office;

The Office devote a portion of its publications to articles on the general processes and methods employed in the preservation of historic monuments;

The Office study the best means of utilising the information so centralised.

The Athens Charter (1943/1973)

The City and Its Region

Observations

1 The City is only one element within an economic, social, and political complex which constitutes the region.

The political city unit rarely coincides with its geographical unit, that is to say, with its region. The laying out of the political territory of cities has been allowed to be arbitrary, either from the outset or later on, when, because of their growth, major agglomerations have met and then swallowed up other townships. Such artificial layouts stand in the way of good management for the new aggregation. Certain suburban townships have, in fact, been allowed to take on an unexpected and unforeseeable importance, either positive or negative, by becoming the seat of luxurious residencies, or by giving place to heavy industrial centers, or by crowding the wretched working classes together. In such cases, the political boundaries that compartmentalize the urban complex become paralyzing. An urban agglomeration forms the vital nucleus of a geographical expanse whose boundary is determined only by the area of influence of another agglomeration. The conditions vital to its existence are determined by the paths of communication that secure its exchanges and closely connect with its particular area. One can consider a problem of urbanism only by continually referring to the constituent elements of the regions, and chiefly to its geography, which is destined to play a determining role in this question – the lines of watersheds and the neighboring crests that delineate natural contours and confirm paths of circulation naturally inscribed upon the earth. No undertaking may be considered if it is not in accord with the harmonious destiny of the region. The city plan is only one of the elements of this whole that constitutes the regional plan.

2 Juxtaposed with economic, social, and political values are values of a physiological and psychological origin which are bound up in the human person and which introduce concerns of both an individual and a collective order into the discussion. Life flourishes only to the extent of accord between the two contradictory principles that govern the human personality: the individual and the collective.

In isolation, man feels defenseless, and so, spontaneously, he attaches himself to a group. Left to his own devices, he would construct nothing more than his hut and, in that state of insecurity, would lead a life of jeopardy and fatigue aggravated by all the anguish of solitude. Incorporated in a group, he feels the weight of the constraints imposed by inevitable social disciplines, but in return he is to some extent ensured against violence, illness, and hunger. He can think of improving his dwelling and he can also assuage his deep-seated need for social life. Once he has become a constituent element of society that sustains him, he contributes, directly or indirectly, to the innumerable undertakings that provide security for his physical life and foster his spiritual life. His efforts become more fruitful and his more adequately protected liberty stops short only at the point where it would threaten the liberty of others. If there is wisdom in the undertakings of the group, the life of the individual is enlarged and ennobled by them. But if sloth, stupidity, and selfishness preponderate, the group – anemic and given over to disorder – brings its members nothing but rivalry, hatred, and disenchantment. A plan is well conceived when it allows fruitful cooperation while

making maximum provision for individual liberty, for the effulgence of the individual within the framework of civic obligation.

3 These biological and psychological constants are subject to the influence of their environment – the geographical and topographical condition, the economic circumstances, the political situation. In the first place they are influenced by the geographical and topographical condition, the constitution of the elements, land and water, nature, soil, climate …

Geography and topography play a considerable role in the destiny of men. It must never be forgotten that the sun dominates all, imposing its law upon every undertaking whose object is to safeguard the human being. Plains, hills, and mountains likewise intermediate, to shape a sensibility and o give rise to a mentality. While the hillsman readily descends to the plain, the plainsman rarely climbs up the valleys or struggles over mountain passes. It is the crestlines of the mountain ranges that have delimited the "gathering zones" in which, little by little, men have gathered in clans and tribes, joined together by common customs and usages. The ratio of the elements of earth and water – whether it comes into play on the surface, contrasting the lake or river regions with the expanses of the steppes, or whether it is expressed as comparative rainfall, resulting in lush pasturelands here and heaths or deserts elsewhere – it also fashions mental attitudes which will be registered in mens' undertakings and which will find their expression in the house, in the village, and the city. Depending on the angle at which the sun strikes the meridional curve, the seasons collide abruptly or succeed one another with imperceptible transitions; and although, in its continuous roundness, the Earth admits of no interruption from one parcel of land to the next, countless combinations emerge, each with its particular characteristics. Finally, the races of mankind, with their varied religions and philosophies, multiply the diversity of human undertakings, each proposing its own mode of perception and its own reason for being. […] [pp. 43-45]

Habitation

Observations

9 The population is too dense within the historic nuclei of cities, as it is in certain belts of nineteenth-century industrial expansion – reaching as many as four hundred and even six hundred inhabitants per acre.

Density – the ratio between the size of a population and the land area that it occupies – can be entirely changed by the height of buildings. But, until now, construction techniques have limited the height of buildings to about six stories. The admissible density for structures of this kind is from 100 to 200 inhabitants per acre. When this density increases, as it does in many districts, to 240, 320, or even 400 inhabitants, it then becomes a slum, which is characterized by the following symptoms:

1. An inadequacy of habitable space per person;
2. A mediocrity of openings to the outside;
3. An absence of sunlight (because of northern orientation or as the result of shadow cast across the street or into the courtyard);
4. Decay and a permanent breeding ground for deadly germs (tuberculosis);
5. An absence or inadequacy of sanitary facilities;
6. Promiscuity, arising from the interior layout of the dwelling, from the poor arrangement of the building, and from the presence of troublesome neighborhoods.

Constrained by their defensive enclosures, the nuclei of the old cities were generally filled with close-set structures and deprived of open space. But, in compensation, verdant spaces were directly accessible, just outside the city gates, making air of good quality available nearby. Over the course of the centuries, successive urban rings accumulated, replacing vegetation with stone and destroying the verdant areas – the lungs of the city. Under these conditions, high population densities indicate a permanent state of disease and discomfort.

10 In these congested urban sectors the housing conditions are disastrous, for lack of adequate space allocated to the dwelling, for lack of verdant areas in its vicinity and, ultimately, for lack of building maintenance (a form of exploitation based on speculation). This state of affairs is aggravated further by the presence of a population with a very low standard of living, incapable of taking defensive measures by itself (its mortality rate reaching as high as twenty percent).

The interior of a dwelling may constitute a slum, but its dilapidation is extended outside by the narrowness of dismal streets and the total absence of those verdant spaces, the generators of oxygen, which would be so favorable to the play of children. The cost of such a structure erected centuries ago has long since been amortized; yet its owner is still tacitly allowed to consider it a marketable commodity, in the guise of housing. Even though its habitable value may be nil, it continues with impunity, and at the expense of the species, to produce substantial income. A butcher would be condemned for the sale of rotten meat, but the building codes allow rotten dwellings to be forced on the poor. For the enrichment of a few selfish people, we tolerate appalling mortality rates and diseases of every kind, which impose crushing burdens on the entire community. […] [pp. 53-54]

13 The most densely populated districts are located in the least favored zones (on badly oriented slopes, or in sectors invaded by fogs and industrial gases and vulnerable to floods, etc. …).

No legislation has yet been effected to lay down the conditions for the modern habitation, not only to ensure the protection of the human person but also to provide him with the means for continual improvement. As a result, the land within the city, the residential districts, the dwellings themselves, are allocated from day to day at the discretion of the most unexpected – and at times the basest – interests. The municipal surveyor will not hesitate to lay out a street that will deprive thousands of dwellings of sunshine. Certain city officials will see it, alas, to single out for the construction of a working-class district a zone hitherto disregarded because it is invaded by fog, because the dampness of the place is excessive, or because it swarms with mosquitoes … They will decide that some north-facing slope, which has never attracted anyone precisely because of its exposure, or that some stretch of ground reeking with soot, smoking coal slag, and the deleterious gases of some occasionally noisy industry, will always be good enough to house the uprooted, transient populations known as unskilled labor.

14 Airy and comfortable structures (homes of the well-to-do) occupy the favored areas, sheltered from hostile winds, and are assured of pleasing views of the landscape – a lake, the sea, the mountains, etc. – and of abundant sunshine.

The favored areas are generally taken up by luxury residences, thus giving proof that man instinctively aspires, whenever his means allow it, to seek living conditions and a quality of well-being that are rooted in nature itself. […] [p. 56]

17 The traditional alignment of habitations on the edges of streets ensures sunlight only for a minimum number of dwellings.

The traditional alignment of buildings along streets involves an inevitable arrangement of the built volume. When they intersect, parallel or oblique streets delineate square, rectangular, trapezoidal, and triangular areas of differing capacities which, once built up, form city "blocks". The need to admit light into the centers of these blocks gives birth to the interior courtyards of varied dimensions. Unhappily, municipal regulations leave the profit-seekers free to confine these courts to utterly scandalous dimensions. And so we come to the dismal result: one façade out of four, whether it faces the street or the courtyard, is oriented to the north and never knows the sun, while the other three, owing to the narrowness of the streets and courts they face and to the resulting shadow, are half deprived of sunlight also. Analysis reveals that the portion of city façades that get no sun varies from one-half to three-quarters of the total – and in certain cases, this ratio is even more disastrous. […] [p. 58]

Requirements […] [p. 61]

25 Reasonable population densities must be imposed, according to the forms of habitation suggested by the nature of the terrain itself.

The population densities of a city must be laid down by the authorities. They may vary according to the allocation of urban land to housing and may produce, depending on the total figure, a widespread or a compact city. To determine the urban densities is to perform an administrative act heavy with consequences. With the advent of the machine age, the cities expanded without control and without constraint. Negligence is the only valid explanation for that inordinate and utterly irrational growth, which is one cause of their troubles today. There are specific reasons for the birth of the cities and for their growth, and these must be carefully studied in terms of forecasts extending over a period of time: fifty years, let us say. A population figure can then be envisaged. It will be necessary to house this population, which involves anticipating which space will be used, foreseeing what "time-distance" function will be its daily lot, and determining the surface and area needed to carry out this fifty-year program. Once the population figure and the dimensions of the land are fixed, the "density" is determined.

26 A minimum number of hours of exposure to the sun must be determined for each dwelling.

Science, in its studies of solar radiations, has disclosed those that are indispensable to human health and also those that, in certain cases, could be harmful to it. The sun is the master life. Medicine has shown that tuberculosis establishes itself wherever the sun fails to penetrate; it demands that the individual be returned, as much as possible, to "the conditions of nature." The sun must penetrate every dwelling several hours a day even during the season when sunlight is most scarce. Society will no longer tolerate a situation where entire families are cut off from the sun and thus doomed to declining health. Any housing design in which even a single dwelling is exclusively oriented to the north, or is deprived of the sun because it is cast in shadow, will be harshly condemned. Builders must be required to submit a diagram showing that the sun will penetrate each dwelling for a minimum of two hours on the day of the winter solstice, failing which, the building permit will be denied. To introduce the sun is the new and most imperative duty of the architect.

27 The alignment of dwellings along transportation routes must be prohibited.

The transportation routes, that is to say, the streets of our cities, have disparate purposes. They accommodate the most dissimilar traffic loads and must lend themselves to the walking pace of pedestrians as well as to the driving and intermittent stopping of rapid public transport vehicles, such as buses and tramcars, and to the even greater speeds of trucks and private automobiles. The sidewalks were created to avoid traffic accidents in the days of the horse, and only then after the introduction of the carriage; today they are absurdly ineffectual now that mechanized speeds have introduced a real menace of death into the streets. The present-day city opens countless front doors onto this menace and its countless windows onto the noise, dust, and noxious gases produced by the heavy mechanized traffic flow. This state of things demands radical change: the speed of the pedestrian, some three miles an hour, and the mechanized speeds of thirty to sixty miles an hour must be separated. Habitation will be removed from mechanized speeds, which will be channeled into a separate roadbed, while the pedestrian will have paths and promenades reserved for him.

28 The resources offered by modern techniques for the erection of high structures must be taken into account.

Every age has used the construction technique imposed on it by its own particular resources. Until the nineteenth century, the art of building houses knew only bearing walls of stone, brick, or timber framing and floors made of wooden beams. In the nineteenth century, a transitional period made use of iron sections; and then, finally, in the twentieth century came homogeneous structures made entirely of steel or reinforced concrete. Before this completely revolutionary innovation in the history of building construction, builders were unable to erect premises exceeding six stories. The times are no longer so limited. Structures now reach sixty-five stories or more. What still must be resolved, through a serious examination of urban problems, is the most suitable building height for each particular case. As to housing, the arguments postulated in favor of a certain decision are: the choice of the most agreeable view, the search for the purest air and the most complete exposure to sunshine, and finally, the possibility of establishing communal facilities – school buildings, welfare centers, and playing fields – within the immediate proximity of the dwelling, to form its extensions. Only structures of a certain height can satisfactorily meet these legitimate requirements.

29 High buildings, set far apart from one another, must free the ground for broad verdant areas.

Indeed, they will have to be situated at sufficiently great distances from one another, or else their height, far from being an improvement of the existing malaise, will actually worsen it; that is the grave error perpetrated in the cities of the two Americas. The construction of a city cannot be abandoned, without a program, to private initiative. Its population density must be great enough to justify the installation of the communal facilities that will form the extensions of the dwelling. Once this density has been determined, a presumable population figure will be adopted, permitting the calculation of the area to be reserved for the city. To determine the manner in which the ground is to be occupied, to establish the ratio of the built-up area to that left open or planted, to allocate the necessary land to private dwellings and to their various extensions, to fix an area for the city that will not be exceeded for a specified period of time – these constitute that important operation, which lies in the hands of the city authority: the promulgation of a “land ordinance.” Thus, the city will henceforth be built in complete

security and, within the limits of the rules prescribed by this statute, full scope will be given to private initiative and to the imagination of the artist. […] [pp. 63-65]

Traffic

Observations

51 The present network of urban streets is a set of ramifications that grew out of the major traffic arteries. In Europe, these arteries go back in time far beyond the Middle Ages, and sometimes even beyond antiquity.

Certain Cities built for purposes of defense or colonization have had the benefit, since their origin, of a concerted plan. To begin with, a regularly formed fortification wall was laid down, against which the roads came to a halt. The interior of the city was arranged with useful regularity. Other cities, greater in number, were born at the intersection of two cross-country high roads or, in some cases, at the junction of several roads radiating outward from a common center. These transportation arteries were closely linked to the topography of the region, which often forced them to follow a winding course. The first houses were established along their edges, and this was the origin of the principal thoroughfares, from which, as the city grew, an increasing number of secondary arteries branched out. The principal thoroughfares have always been the offspring of geography, and while many of them may have been straightened and rectified, they will nonetheless always retain their fundamental determinism. […] [p. 79]

Requirements

59 The whole of city and regional traffic circulation must be closely analyzed on the basis of accurate statistics – an exercise that will reveal the traffic channels and their flow capacities.Traffic circulation is a vital function whose present state must be expressed by graphic methods. The determining causes and the effects of its different intensities will then become clearly apparent, and it will be easier to detect its critical points. Only a clear view of the situation will permit the accomplishment of two indispensable improvements; namely, the assignment of a specific purpose to each traffic channel – to accommodate either pedestrians or automobiles, either heavy trucks or through traffic – and then the provision of each such channel with particular dimensions and features according to the role assigned it – the type of roadway, the width of the road surface, the locations and kinds of intersections and junctions.60 Traffic channels must be classified according to type and constructed in terms of the vehicles and speeds they are intended to accommodate.

The single street, bequeathed by centuries past, once accepted both men on foot and men on horseback indiscriminately, and it was not until the end of the eighteenth century that the generalized use of carriages gave rise to the creation of sidewalks. In the twentieth century came the cataclysmic hordes of mechanical vehicles – bicycles, motorcycles, cars, trucks, and tramcars – traveling at unforeseen speeds. The overwhelming growth of certain cities, such as New York, for example, brought about an inconceivable crush of vehicles at certain specific points. It is high time that suitable measures were taken to remedy a situation that verges on disaster. The first effective measure in dealing with the congested arteries would be a radical separation of pedestrians from mechanized vehicles. The second would be to provide heavy trucks with a separate traffic channel. And the third would be to envisage throughways for heavy traffic that would be independent of the common roads intended only for light traffic.

61 Traffic at high-density intersections will be dispersed in an uninterrupted flow by means of changes of level.Through vehicles should not be slowed down needlessly by having to stop at every intersection. Changes of level at each crossroad are the best means to assure them of uninterrupted motion. Laid out at distances calculated to obtain optimum efficiency, junctions will branch off the major throughways connecting them to the roads intended for local traffic.62 The pedestrian must be able to follow other paths than the automobile network.

This would constitute a fundamental reform in the pattern of city traffic. None would be more judicious, and none would open a fresher or more fertile era in urbanism. This requirement regarding the pattern of traffic movement may be considered just as strict as that which, in the area of habitation, condemns the northern orientation of any dwelling. […] [pp. 83-84]

(From: Le Corbusier, The Athens Charter, New York 1973.43-45, 53-54, 56, 58, 61, 63-65, 79, 83-84)

CHARTER ON THE BUILT VERNACULAR HERITAGE (1999)

Ratified by the ICOMOS 12th General Assembly, in Mexico, October 1999

INTRODUCTION

The built vernacular heritage occupies a central place in the affection and pride of all peoples. It has been accepted as a characteristic and attractive product of society. It appears informal, but nevertheless orderly. It is utilitarian and at the same time possesses interest and beauty. It is a focus of contemporary life and at the same time a record of the history of society. Although it is the work of man it is also the creation of time. It would be unworthy of the heritage of man if care were not taken to conserve these traditional harmonies which constitute the core of man's own existence.

The built vernacular heritage is important; it is the fundamental expression of the culture of a community, of its relationship with its territory and, at the same time, the expression of the world's cultural diversity.

Vernacular building is the traditional and natural way by which communities house themselves. It is a continuing process including necessary changes and continuous adaptation as a response to social and environmental constraints. The survival of this tradition is threatened world-wide by the forces of economic, cultural and architectural homogenisation. How these forces can be met is a fundamental problem that must be addressed by communities and also by governments, planners, architects, conservationists and by a multidisciplinary group of specialists.
Due to the homogenisation of culture and of global socio-economic transformation, vernacular structures all around the world are extremely vulnerable, facing serious problems of obsolescence, internal equilibrium and integration.
It is necessary, therefore, in addition to the Venice Charter, to establish principles for the care and protection of our built vernacular heritage.

GENERAL ISSUES

1. Examples of the vernacular may be recognised by:

a) A manner of building shared by the community;

b) A recognisable local or regional character responsive to the environment;

c) Coherence of style, form and appearance, or the use of traditionally established building types;

d) Traditional expertise in design and construction which is transmitted informally;

e) An effective response to functional, social and environmental constraints;

f) The effective application of traditional construction systems and crafts.

2. The appreciation and successful protection of the vernacular heritage depend on the involvement and support of the community, continuing use and maintenance.

3. Governments and responsible authorities must recognise the right of all communities to maintain their living traditions, to protect these through all available legislative, administrative and financial means and to hand them down to future generations

PRINCIPLES OF CONSERVATION

1. The conservation of the built vernacular heritage must be carried out by multidisciplinary expertise while recognising the inevitability of change and development, and the need to respect the community's established cultural identity.
2. Contemporary work on vernacular buildings, groups and settlements should respect their cultural values and their traditional character.

3. The vernacular is only seldom represented by single structures, and it is best conserved by maintaining and preserving groups and settlements of a representative character, region by region.
4. The built vernacular heritage is an integral part of the cultural landscape and this relationship must be taken into consideration in the development of conservation approaches.

5. The vernacular embraces not only the physical form and fabric of buildings, structures and spaces, but the ways in which they are used and understood, and the traditions and the intangible associations which attach to them.

GUIDELINES IN PRACTICE

1. Research and documentation

Any physical work on a vernacular structure should be cautious and should be preceded by a full analysis of its form and structure. This document should be lodged in a publicly accessible archive.

2. Siting, landscape and groups of buildings

Interventions to vernacular structures should be carried out in a manner which will respect and maintain the integrity of the siting, the relationship to the physical and cultural landscape, and of one structure to another.

3. Traditional building systems

The continuity of traditional building systems and craft skills associated with the vernacular is fundamental for vernacular expression, and essential for the repair and restoration of these structures. Such skills should be retained, recorded and passed on to new generations of craftsmen and builders in education and training.

4. Replacement of materials and parts

Alterations which legitimately respond to the demands of contemporary use should be effected by the introduction of materials which maintain a consistency of expression, appearance, texture and form throughout the structure and a consistency of building materials.

5. Adaptation

Adaptation and reuse of vernacular structures should be carried out in a manner which will respect the integrity of the structure, its character and form while being compatible with acceptable standards of living. Where there is no break in the continuous utilisation of vernacular forms, a code of ethics within the community can serve as a tool of intervention.

6. Changes and period restoration

Changes over time should be appreciated and understood as important aspects of vernacular architecture. Conformity of all parts of a building to a single period, will not normally be the goal of work on vernacular structures.

7. Training

In order to conserve the cultural values of vernacular expression, governments, responsible authorities, groups and organisations must place emphasis on the following:

a) Education programmes for conservators in the principles of the vernacular;

b) Training programmes to assist communities in maintaining traditional building systems, materials and craft skills;

c) Information programmes which improve public awareness of the vernacular especially amongst the younger generation.

d) Regional networks on vernacular architecture to exchange expertise and experiences.

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Appendix III

The Inhabitants' Perception of Peasant House

Ramallah Historical Core- September 2008

Household Addressing Data:

A01- Questionnaire Number:	☐☐
A02-Building address: Neighborhood	

Household Data

B01-Household Name:	
B02-Gender: 1.Male 2.Female	☐
B03-Age	☐☐
B04-Education Level: 1. Illiteral 2. Primary 3.Preparative 4.Secondary 5.Diploma Average 6.Bacheolar 7.High Diploma 8.Master	☐
B05-Refugee Status:1.Refugee 2. Not Refugee	☐
B06-Original Town:	☐☐
B07-Profession:	☐☐☐
B08-Family members at house:	☐☐
B09-Average monthly household income "shekel"	☐☐☐☐☐

Building Data

C01- Type of Ownership: Owned Rented Charity Other	☐
C02- Type of House: 1-Single Peasant's house 2-Peasant's house connected from both sides 3-Peasant's house within Complex 4-Other	☐
C03- Construction Date	☐☐☐☐

C04-Has the home been renovated or repaired: 1-Yes 2-Yes, Partly 3- No	☐	C06-who supervised the restoration are: (If more than once to write the final) 1. Landlord / tenant 2. Municipal 3. The Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities	☐
C05- Date of Renovation:	1-☐☐☐☐ 2-☐☐☐☐ 3-☐☐☐☐		

C07-Have you ever been addition of any facility / establishment of the following: (1. Yes 2. No)			
1. Room/s sleep 2. Room/s living 3. Room/s Saloon 4. Room/s work 5. Kitchen 6. Bath 7. Other / set	☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐	1. Wall-Fence 2. Gate 3. Garage 4. Thrace 5. Entrance 6. Windows 7. Other / set	☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
Please evaluate your house regarding the following from 1 (1 means the worst, lowest, least) to 5 (5 means the best, highest, most):			

1. Bring you the future safety / current financial stability	1. ☐
2. Commensurate with the needs of your career	2. ☐
3. Commensurate with the level of your income	3. ☐
4. Provides you and your family with the appropriate space	4. ☐
5. Provide adequate space to sleep	5. ☐
6. Provide adequate space for self hygiene	6. ☐
7. Provide adequate space for receiving guests	7. ☐
8. Provide adequate space to eat	8. ☐
9. Provide adequate space to rest / relax	9. ☐
10. Provide adequate space to work	10. ☐
11. Provide adequate space for children	11. ☐
12. Provides the adequate parking space for car	12. ☐
13. Provide adequate space for the activities of the housewife	13. ☐
14. Provide opportunities to interact with people	14. ☐
15. Provides privacy	15. ☐
16. Provides a sense of security "protection, safety, stability ..."	16. ☐
17. Provides a sense of distinction or excellence	17. ☐
18. Gives you a sense of belonging to Ramallah old "Tahta"	18. ☐
19. Gives you good reputation and pride	19. ☐
20. Gives you a sense of motivation	20. ☐
21. A reflection of you / for political affiliation	21. ☐
22. A reflection of your religious beliefs	22. ☐

For Researcher, Evaluate the house following this ranking: (1. Good 2. The average 3. Bad!)	
E01-physical condition of the house from the outside (the case of stone, construction defects, Alekhalp .....)	☐
E02 - the physical condition of the house from inside "style"	☐
E03- Conditions of the interior Spaces: 1.Appreance: 2. Quality: 3. Quality: 4. Widening:	 ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
E04-level of privacy at home (1. High 2. Medium 3. Low)	☐
E05-level of the relationship with the surroundings, "the high fence, the entrance appearance on the neighbors, the separation of construction .." (1. Strong 2. Medium 3. Weak)	☐

E06-Any other observations highlighted in particular by the responder regarding the situatin of his house in Ramallah Tahta (needs, problems, suffering, the point of view ...):

Appendix IV

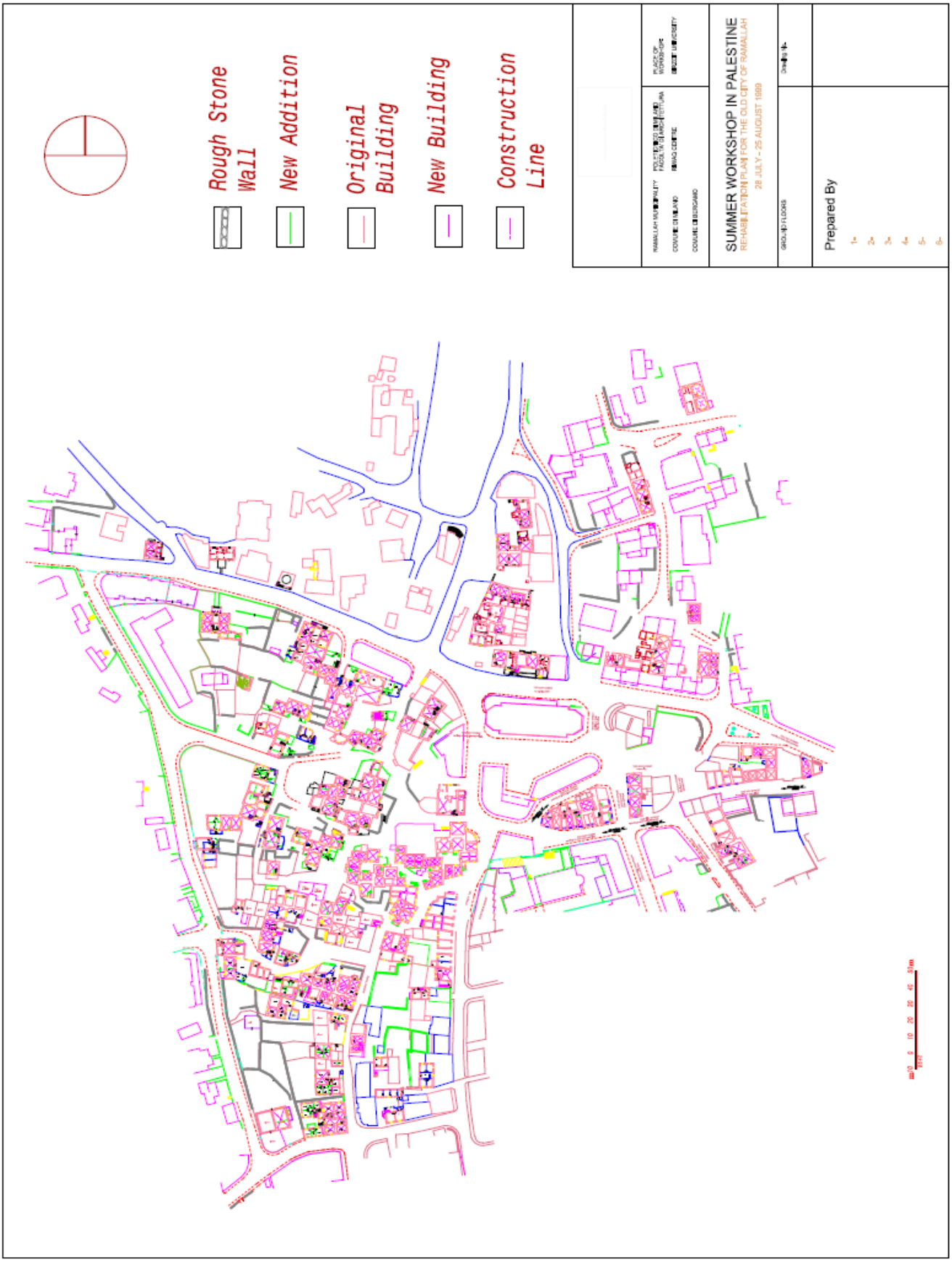
Semi Structured Interviews Questions

1- How do you evaluate the housing conditions in the historical core of Ramallah?
2- What are the main meanings of home by the inhabitants that affect the rehabilitation of historic houses?
3- What are the main aspects of life style that affect the change in house form?
4- How do they affect the rehabilitation process?
5- What are the main physical changes in the house form that you notice in reality?
6- Is there relation between the inhabitant's profession and the change in house form?
7- Is there relation between the inhabitant's Income and the change in house form?
8- What is the relation between ownership type and change in house form?
9- What are the basic needs that affect the change of house form?
10- What is the relation between inhabitants attitude and house form?
11- What is the relation between the inhabitants' social status and rehabilitation?
12- Does the women's role affect the change in house form?

The following experts were interviewed

- *Eng. Mahmoud Abd Allah*- Vice mayor of Ramallah Municipality.
- *Arch. Nadia Habash*- Owner and founder of Habash Consultant Engineers.
- *Dr.Mohamad Abdel Hadi*- Assistant Professor in the Department of Architecture, Birzeit University. Prior position - Conservation Unit, Nablus Municipality.
- *Arch. Farhat Yousef* - Head of Planning Unit. RIWAQ.
- *Arch. Nabeel Shalaldeh* - Owner of *Tiebah* Engineering firm located in Ramallah's historical Core.

Appendix V


Rough Stone Wall
New Addition
Original Building
New Building
Construction Line
SUMMER WORKSHOP IN PALESTINE
REHABILITATION PLAN FOR THE OLD CITY OF RAMALLAH
28 JULY – 25 AUGUST 1999
Prepared By

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