

**POLITICAL IMPACTS ON THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT
COLONISATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF PLACE IDENTITY
The Case of the Rural West Bank (Palestine)**

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ABSTRACT

Throughout history a sense of identity has been considered an essential human need in the search for significant existence. Each environment contains distinctive physical objects of historical, cultural, religious, social and economic significance, which give each place its uniqueness. Personal or group identity is expressed in part, therefore, through the identity of the built environment.

This study attempts to understand and interpret the expression of identity in the built environment in a country under colonial rule through an examination of the Palestinian villages in the West Bank, which has been under Israeli occupation since 1967. The main aim of the study is to identify the physical features that represent the Palestinian identity and the changes that have taken place in the built environment in the present century. In order to understand the complexity of the issue, the study examines the factors which have influenced the development of the built environment. Special attention has been given to the impact of the Israeli occupation.

The research approach has been both qualitative and quantitative, and ranges from the general to the specific, and from macro-level to micro-level. The methods used to collect information include: personal observations, semi-structured interviews, repertory grid technique, experiments with students and examination of proverbs, folk songs, poetry and art.

For in-depth investigation, a case study village was chosen, namely Arraba in the northern part of the West Bank. The study starts by comparing the traditional and the contemporary quarters and identifies the features that represent the identity of the Palestinian village. Then, it examines the development of the village house from the traditional to the contemporary. The study reveals that the traditional house has a clear identity, while the identity of the contemporary house is ambiguous.

In addition, this research uses the repertory grid technique to identify the features of the exterior of the house and of the interior of the guest room that reflect the Palestinian identity. Findings reveal that people perceive certain constructs as Palestinian according to their meanings, characteristics and the surrounding context.

The study concludes by noting the emerging awareness among Palestinians of identity in contemporary house-building practice in the West Bank, because of a threatened loss of identity as a result of the dramatic changes that are occurring in the built environment. It also provides feedback about the existing identity of the region in order to translate the insights gained into practical solutions.

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GLOSSARY OF ARABIC WORDS

Note: "el" in Arabic equal to "the" in English

<i>Ahwash:</i>	Spaces between the houses (courtyards), singular <i>housh</i> .
<i>Al-fina:</i>	Courtyard in the house.
<i>Al-Shabab:</i>	The youths.
<i>Allah:</i>	God.
<i>Aqed:</i>	Big room with cross vaults.
<i>Atabeh:</i>	Doorstep.
<i>Adhan:</i>	The call for the pray for Muslims.
<i>Baikeh:</i>	Room for animals.
<i>Bawabeh:</i>	Gateway.
<i>Dakakeen:</i>	Shops, singular <i>dukan</i> .
<i>Dewan:</i>	Guest room for the extended family.
<i>Dour:</i>	Houses, singular <i>dar</i> .
<i>El-bayader:</i>	Open yard.
<i>El-Jame':</i>	The mosque.
<i>El-khawabeh:</i>	Mud bins inside the house for storing food especially grains, singular <i>khabeih</i> .
<i>El-markaz:</i>	The centre.
<i>Elye'h:</i>	Room on the first or the second floor.
<i>Fallaheen:</i>	Farmers.
<i>Farshat:</i>	Mattresses, singular <i>farsheh</i> .
<i>Ghorfeh:</i>	Room.
<i>Hamulah:</i>	Clan.
<i>Harah:</i>	Neighbourhood, plural <i>harat</i> .
<i>Hawakeer:</i>	Fruit orchards within the village, singular <i>hakurah</i> .
<i>Husur:</i>	Reed mats, singular <i>hasireh</i> .
<i>Intifadah:</i>	Uprising.
<i>Kaniseh:</i>	Church.
<i>Kanun:</i>	Brazier.
<i>Khoukhah:</i>	Small wicket door for frequent use.
<i>Khusheh:</i>	Small house for low-income class.
<i>Madafah:</i>	Guest house.
<i>Mamsooh:</i>	Aslar stone.
<i>Maqam:</i>	Tomb.
<i>Maqbarah:</i>	Cemetery.
<i>Maqha:</i>	Coffee shop.
<i>Masanid:</i>	Reed pillows, singular <i>masnad</i> .
<i>Mastabah:</i>	Platform in the room or the courtyard.

<i>Matban:</i>	Storage for animal food.
<i>Mawqed:</i>	Fireplace.
<i>Me'sarah:</i>	Olive presser.
<i>Methanah:</i>	Wheat grinder.
<i>Mfajar:</i>	Medium dresses stone.
<i>Minqaleh:</i>	Tik tak.
<i>Msamsam:</i>	Finely dresses stone.
<i>Qa'el-aqed:</i>	Lower level in the room.
<i>Qanater:</i>	A constructional element which covers part of the road, singular <i>qantarah</i> .
<i>Qasabah:</i>	Main road.
<i>Qous:</i>	Arch.
<i>Ramadan:</i>	The fasting month for Muslims.
<i>Rawiyeh:</i>	Storage space inside the room.
<i>Sahah:</i>	Open space.
<i>Sahat el-balad:</i>	Main plaza.
<i>Sakan:</i>	House or calm.
<i>Sandug:</i>	Bridal chest.
<i>Sheed:</i>	White paint.
<i>Taboon:</i>	Oven.
<i>Taqah:</i>	Small window.
<i>Tubzeh:</i>	Roughly dresses stone.
<i>Turuq:</i>	Roads, singular <i>tariq</i> .
<i>Zahrah:</i>	Backgammon.
<i>Zaitounah:</i>	Olive tree.

CHAPTER ONE

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PREAMBLE

To be at peace with the universe, with society and with themselves people need to be able to situate themselves by affirming their identity.

(von Meiss, 1990: 161)

1.1 PROLOGUE

The notion of identity is an essential aspect of self-awareness. Throughout history, identity has been of extreme significance in man's response to satisfy his needs. In its basic form, identity is of vital importance to explain the notion of uniqueness. Since the initial existence of man on earth, the search for identity has been a distinctive feature of human beings. It is this search by which human beings seek to introduce a sense of meaning into their existence.

While there are many ways to express identity (e.g. language, clothing, hairstyle and so on), the built environment is an important one which people use to manifest their uniqueness as individuals and as groups. This display of uniqueness operates within limits set by the norms and defined by the culture of people (Rapoport, 1981).

Within the built environment, one of the most important objects that people use to express and display their identity is the house. Indeed, the house becomes an important part of the communicative system through which people exchange information about status, beliefs and values. For instance, in the case of housing, it is notable that each culture from pre-history until contemporary times has developed a limited number of house forms.

The subject of this study is the Palestinian identity of the built environment in the West Bank, which has been under Israeli occupation since 1967. The built environment there has undergone drastic changes. Driving through the West Bank today, two distinctive types of built landscape can be easily recognised. One type is Palestinian, and includes several features such as stone terraces, olive trees and compact villages. The other type has been introduced by the occupying power and can be distinguished easily by the military camps, wide roads, Jewish settlements and the empty farms deserted by their former Palestinian owners. The identity of each is very different. While the first is in harmony with the surrounding natural environment, the second looks alien to nature.

This mixture creates a unique opportunity to investigate the nature of identity in the built environment, and the effect of changes that have taken place on people's perception of its identity. Why is it unique? It is unique because the features of its environment were shaped as a result of two conflicting forces.

Identity is a complex concept which grows out of a history of changing responses to economic, political and cultural forces (Sadalla, *et al*, 1987). The investigation of identity in this research, therefore, will be guided by several considerations. First, in order to examine the expression of identity in the built environment, various disciplines from different subjects (e.g. anthropology, psychology, geography, planning and architecture) will be considered. Second, the concept of identity will be related to other concepts such as the meaning of things and the sense of place. Third, identity will be interpreted through social, cultural and national understanding. Finally, the specificity of the case study will be highlighted.

1.2 THE PROBLEM

Throughout history, each generation has added some features to the built environment such as buildings, streets and trees, which establish the identity of their environment. In fact, each environment contains distinctive physical objects of a particular heritage,

religion, place and time (Hough, 1990). These physical objects give the place its uniqueness which in turn reflect the uniqueness of its inhabitants; accordingly we can identify places and people.

However, this is not always the case. Under certain conditions when the influence of external powers is strong, the whole process of development will be affected and the ways of expressing identity may be distorted. Rapoport (1981) argues that people under certain conditions start to use "defensive structures" to maintain their identity. In other cases, people may search for new ways to interpret and express their identity. The question is, how do people under the influence of external forces express their identity? Throughout my literature review, I found that there is a lack of information which describe these situations.

There are many cases where people do not control the development of their environment. Generally, in most developing countries, in the last two centuries external forces have played a significant role in shaping their built environment through colonisation processes (Fig. 1.1). Consequently, the people there, had been caught in the dilemma between identity and modernity.

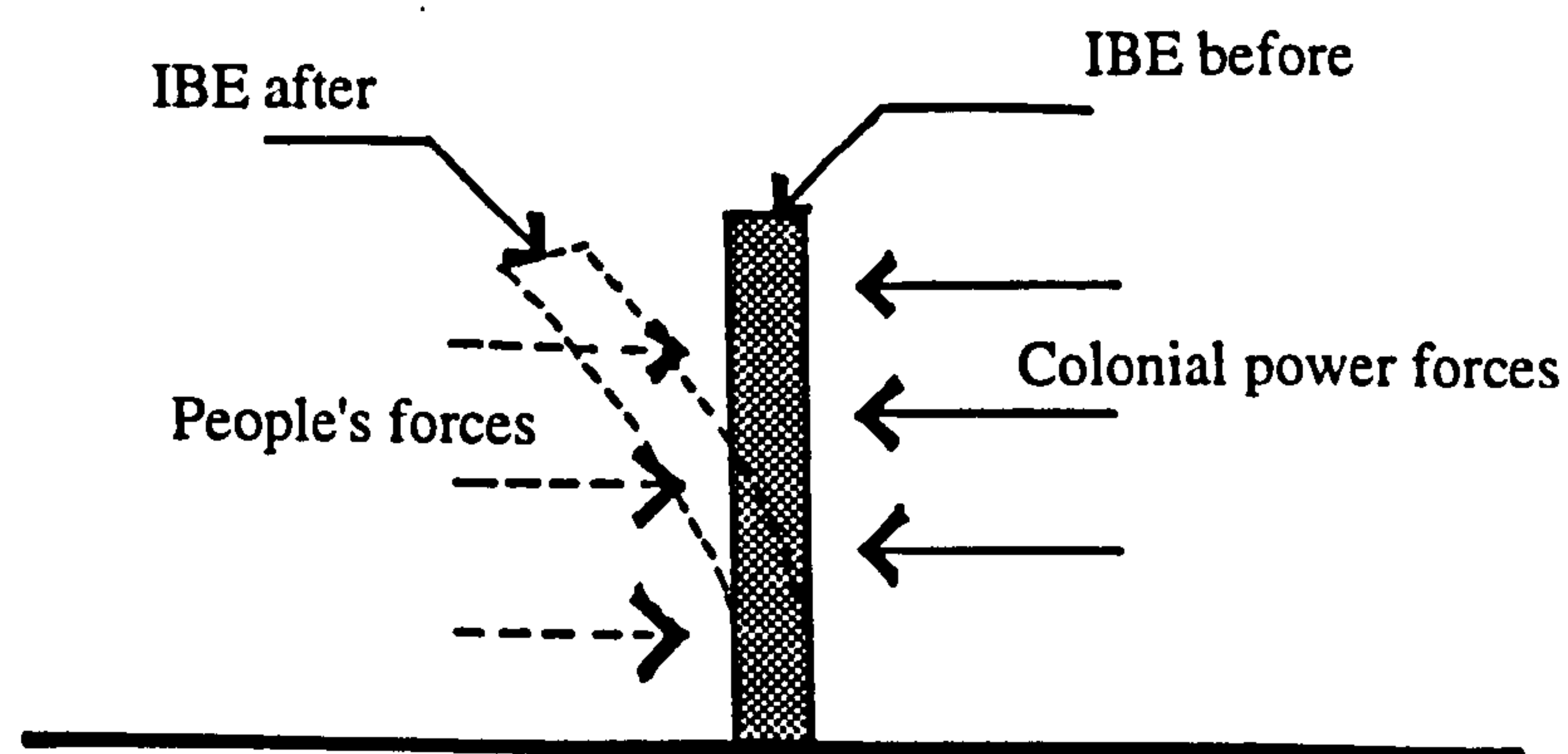


Fig. 1.1: Forces that influence the identity of the built environment (IBE).

In the field of architecture, the identity of buildings and places is an important and critical issue. One of the criticisms of the abstraction of modern architecture and the use of industrial and mass production is their lack of identity. It has become increasingly difficult to determine the identity of places and buildings as a result of producing prototype buildings which can be seen anywhere and everywhere without any concern for the place (Roth, 1980). Therefore, planning or building according to this principle has led to the loss of a sense of place and consequently weakened the relationship between people and their environment. At present, accordingly, in many places it is not easy to recognise where you are because many of them have the same characteristics. As a result, architecture is becoming faded and dim and no longer expresses its residents' aspirations and values.

Recently, there has been a growing belief that architecture should be sought in the understanding of people's personalisation and identity (Benswessi, 1987). I have argued that the role of architects and planners could also be raised in discussing the concept of identity of the built environment (Senan, 1988). For example, does the architect who designs a house reflect the owner's identity or his/her own identity? How can an architect express identity and whose identity should he/she express? And finally what are the elements to be used in order to reflect that identity? These are some of the questions that face architects and planners and need to be answered.

In trying to stress identity, solutions have been sought by studying traditional architecture. However, gradually, people started to realise that although traditional architecture has a distinctive identity, it presented, nevertheless, some functional problems due to socio-economic and technological changes that have taken place in the last few decades. It was, therefore, obvious that the solution is not to duplicate traditional architecture. The question of how to retain the identity of the built environment of certain place still remains.

In the case study area (the West Bank), identity is a sensitive and extremely important aspect in the life of the people. Within the nation, a Palestinian identity still exists which

has a certain context and meaning. Indeed, the search for a collective "self identity" covers many areas of the people's cultural and spiritual life. Therefore, the policies of the occupying power are wholly rejected because of what is regarded as a potential loss of identity. Concurrently, in order to preserve their identity, Palestinians are asking for self determination in a Palestinian state.

However, the built environment there is under pressure of change. The problem of the changing environment is linked with political conditions. Therefore, architects, planners and politicians show great concern for this matter. The Israeli authorities look at the built environment of the West Bank as a medium for controlling the population and for integrating the territory with Israel. On the other hand, Palestinians consider the built environment as a reflection of their culture and material proof of a threatened historical identity. Therefore, the problem of identity in the West Bank is central in the struggle between the inhabitants and the occupying power. While the Israeli government tries to suppress the Palestinian identity, the people struggle to retain it. The identity of the built environment as a consequence is severely affected. Within this environment, some features have been abandoned (e.g. traditional forms of the houses), some adapted (e.g. openings) and some introduced (e.g. Israeli settlements). Accordingly, at present, there are two different and distinctive types of development (one for the Israelis and one for the Palestinians), and each contradicts the other. Therefore, the question arises: do the Palestinian villages or the Israeli settlements represent the identity of the country (Fig. 1.2)?

In addition, one of the outcomes of the severe changes in the built environment of the West Bank appears in the spatial organisation and forms of the villages. It is noticeable that the villages in the West Bank at present comprise two distinctive areas: the traditional quarters and the contemporary quarters. Traditional quarters display a remarkable quality of visual richness, social interaction and above all a unique identity, where the physical characteristics are supported by a harmonious society (Amiry, 1987). Moreover, the buildings are mostly arranged according to family ties, and so the sense of identity and belonging are very strong.

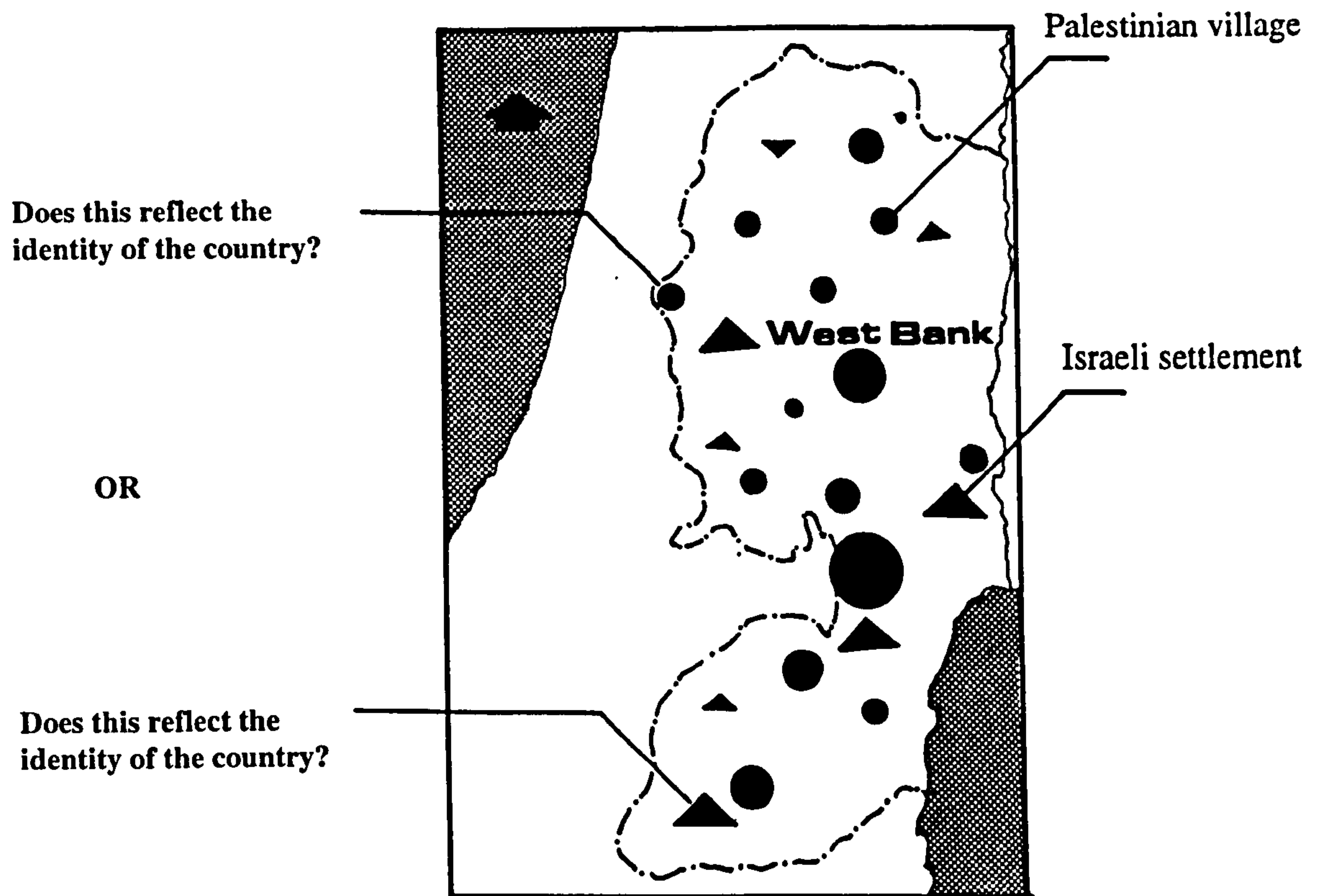


Fig. 1.2: Schematic diagram shows the problem of identity in the region.

In contrast, the new neighbourhoods look very different from the traditional quarters. They are a collection of unmatched and unrelated styles which do not reflect the culture of the inhabitants nor is there a harmony between the elements.

This contradiction between old and new, traditional and contemporary is one of the issues which threaten the loss of identity within the Palestinian villages. This mixture of styles creates a confusion about the identity of the territory and its inhabitants. For example, one of the questions which arises: does the traditional architecture or the contemporary architecture represent the Palestinian identity (Fig. 1.3)?

In this sense, there is a threat of a loss of identity; and there is an urgent need for Palestinians to retain their identity. Therefore, the question is what is Palestinian and what is not?

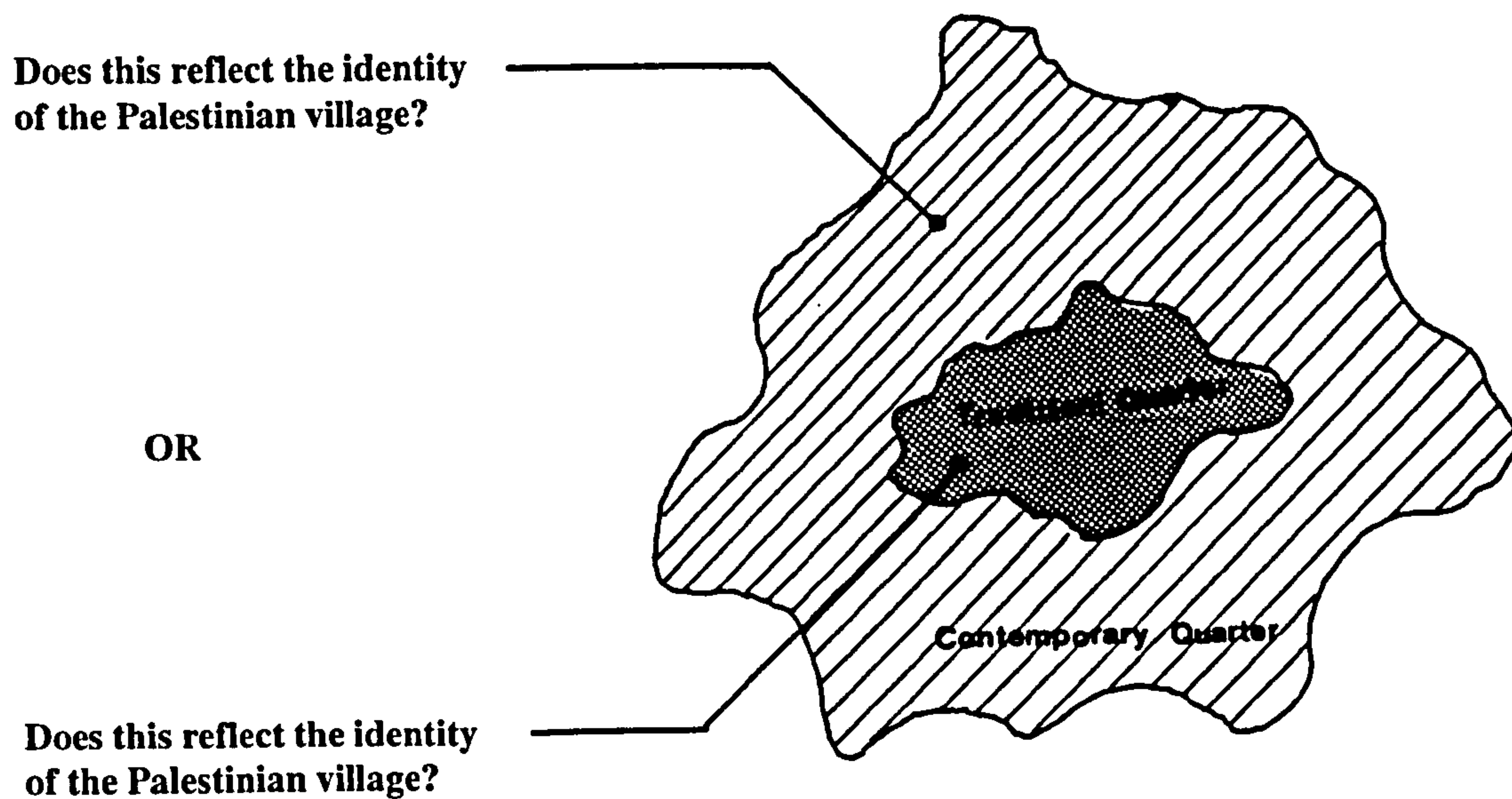


Fig. 1.3: Schematic diagram shows the problem of identity in the Palestinian village.

Moreover, the existing traditional architecture, which is regarded as a valuable national heritage, is decaying. It is noticeable that many buildings in traditional quarters have collapsed or are about to collapse at any time. The question is whether to demolish them or whether to renovate them and if so, how? Is the demolition going to affect the identity of the built environment of the place positively or negatively? To answer these questions, it seems that a study of the features that represent the identity of the people is vital to enable right decisions to be taken regarding the conservation of the traditional quarters of Palestinian settlements. In addition, the research methodology used in this study can be applied to any traditional settlement anywhere in the world.

In the face of the above mentioned problems (both at the international scale and the case study scale), architects and planners find themselves ill-equipped for making decisions regarding the use of the concept of identity.

1.3 THE SETTING

The fieldwork for this research was conducted in the central Highlands of historic Palestine, now known as the West Bank (Fig. 1.4). This small piece of land has always projected a metaphysical image emerging from its unique role in the realm of spirit and faith; an image which has both physical and spiritual dimensions. It is a holy land for the three great religions: Christianity, Judaism and Islam. This gives the territory a status that no other place can claim.

This territory has a long and distinguished history. It is a place where many cultures have left their finger prints on its environment. As a result, the built environment shows a wide variety of styles, reflecting a number of periods in its history, which represents a long succession of distinctive cultures and political situations. Until the beginning of the twentieth century, all cultures combined to create a unique and harmonious environment.

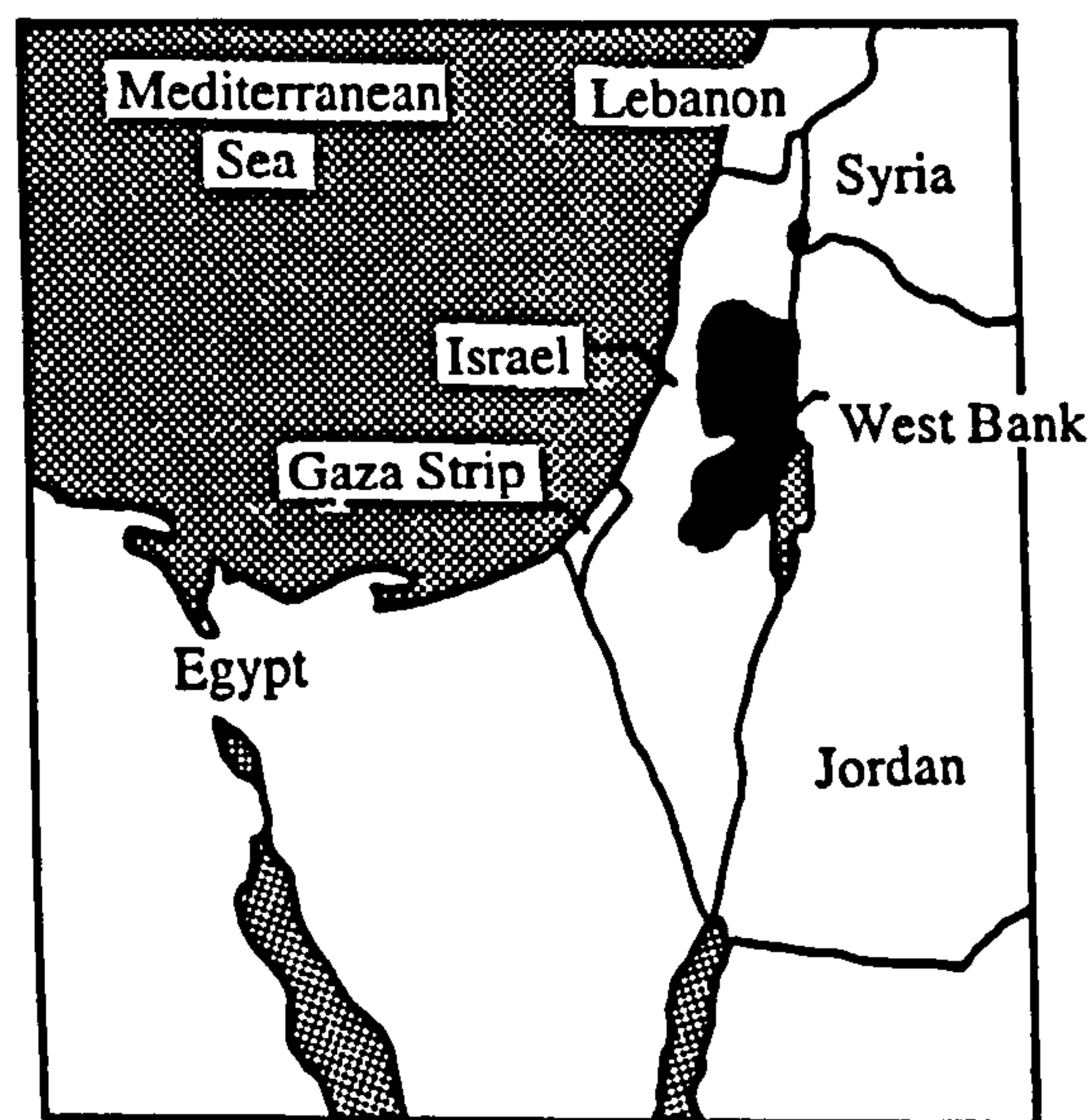


Fig. 1.4: The location of the West Bank.

The change of identity of the built environment in the West Bank started in the first half of this century. In fact, in the life span of one generation, the territory has undergone a

great shift in orientation which is reflected in its environment. It was part of the Ottoman Empire until the end of the First World War, when it was placed under the British Mandate until 1948. Then, it was administered by Jordan for almost twenty years. In 1967, it was occupied by Israel.

The extreme changes in the built environment have occurred since the Israeli occupation, because the strategy of the Israeli government has been not only to control the territory, but also to integrate it with Israel (Abu Ayyash, 1976).

During this century, four different nations have controlled the country. Throughout this period of political change, the nature and the intentions of the ruling power have influenced to a greater or lesser degree the social development as well as the physical environment of the territory. For example, each ruling nation has its own goals and special interests; those nations belong to different cultures; also the economic, technological and political situations of each nation are different.

1.4 THE FORMULATION OF THE STUDY

The origins of this research go back to early 1986, when I was doing my master's degree at the University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee. I was investigating the architecture of the Palestinian village in a course with Amos Rapoport. During that research, Professor Rapoport asked me two questions which I believe were what prompted the initiation of the present study. The first question was, "What is special about the changes in the built environment in the West Bank and is there any difference between the changes in the West Bank and the rest of the Arab countries?" The second question was "How has the occupation changed the built environment, and what did it change?" At that time, my answer to the first question was always yes, the West Bank is under occupation, but I could not answer what the difference was and in what ways it is different. These two questions, however, stayed in the back of my mind; sometimes I would ask them of other people and sometimes tried to answer them for others.

Returning to the West Bank in 1988, I found that the built environment has been changed. The uprising (*intifadah*), was then in its first year. One of the messages of the *intifadah* is to emphasize the distinctive Palestinian identity. Consequently, people tried to stress several things regarding their Palestinian identity, including their clothes, buildings and lifestyle. As an architect and researcher, the issue of conservation was the one which attracted my attention, because I believed that conserving the past is one of the ways of maintaining identity. Therefore, with four other researchers, I established a centre for architectural research to record the historic buildings in the West Bank. During that work, many questions arose. For example, what should we record in order to retain the Palestinian identity? What is significant in these buildings that make them Palestinian? And how do people perceive these buildings?

Considering the questions of Amos Rapoport about the impact of the occupation on the built environment, and trying to identify the elements which represent the Palestinian identity, I decided to investigate the identity of the built environment within the context of occupation and the idea for this research was born. I believe this study will not only help in retaining the identity of the past, but also will help in strengthening that identity in the future.

1.5 THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

When the development of the built environment in the West Bank is viewed within the perspective of identity, two conflicting forces should be taken into consideration: the inhabitants' forces and the external colonial power forces. This, indeed, is a unique situation in which to examine the development of identity, because it was shaped not only as a result of the actions of the colonial power and the inhabitants' reactions, a situation familiar to many colonial people, but also within a land holy for both the coloniser and the colonised.

Several researchers have investigated the concept of identity by relating it to personal or social background. For example, Cooper (1974) stated that the house is a symbol of self;

here, I argue, the house is a symbol of nation. Duncan (1981) examined the landscape and the communication of social identity; this study considers the landscape as a communication of national identity. In addition, within previous research, the meanings of objects and the sense of place were discussed from psychological or social perspectives; this research, in addition, examines the historical perspective and the political implications.

In this sense, the investigation in this research is taking into account all factors and implications which affect the development of identity of the built environment within the context of occupation. On one hand, it will study the occupying power actions and policies which affect the identity of the built environment; and on the other hand it will examine the objects that people use to represent their identity as a nation and as a group with specific culture. The intention is to point out the features of the place that reflect the Palestinian identity and the changes in those features which have been introduced in the last three decades.

The questions that this research starts with are the following:

1. What did the built environment in the West Bank look like before the recent changes?
2. What has been the impact of the Israeli colonial power on the development of identity of the built environment?
 - A- What actions have they taken?
 - B- What are the reasons behind these actions?
 - C- How do these actions affect the identity of the built environment?
3. How do the inhabitants express their identity through the built environment?
4. What are the elements in the region and within the villages that people consider reflect their identity?
5. What are the physical elements in the exterior and the interior of the house which people believe reflect their identity?
6. What can we learn from this study in architecture and planning, both in the West Bank and in other similar situations?

1.6 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

This study has three main objectives: first, systematic analysis of the writings on the concept of identity and its relationship to the built environment. Second, development of an understanding about the identity of the built environment through the investigation of one particular settlement. Third, instructions for future applications to consider the concept of identity in architecture. The purpose is to index the components of identity in order to be able to consciously produce an environment that expresses people's beliefs and values; in other words, that represent their identity.

These objectives are achieved through the following processes:

1. To develop an understanding of the theoretical perspective on the development of the concept of identity in specific conditions, namely in an area which is under occupation, where the external forces have a strong influence.
2. To examine the implications of the Israeli government's strategies, actions and policies on changing the identity of the territory.
3. To compare the difference in manifestation of identity of the traditional quarters and the contemporary quarters of the Palestinian village.
4. To investigate in detail how people perceive their houses as a medium for the presentation of their identity.
5. To provide feed-back for architectural design and planning in the West Bank by considering the aspect of identity.

1.7 THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The orientation of this research is exploratory and relies as far as the research methodology is concerned on qualitative approaches with analysis of some quantitative data. In the search for the features that represent identity, this study uses the inductive argument. This argument was chosen because the aim of this research is not only to analyse and define the constructs of identity, but also to elaborate meanings of things that can help relate the concept of identity to the built environment (Fig. 1.5).

For the in-depth investigation, a case study is employed: the village of Arraba was chosen for the survey. This village was chosen because it has inherited a distinctive traditional quarter and acquired large tracts of new development.

The strategy for investigation is to start from the general towards the specific, and from the macro-level to the micro-level. For data collection, multiple-research techniques are applied because the issue for investigation is complex and variant. Primary information was derived by observations, interviews with key figures and elderly persons, and the repertory grid technique. Secondary information relevant to the study was obtained from literature, newspapers, artists' drawings and experiments with students in the school of architecture at Al-Najah University. This is, in brief, an overview of the research methodology, of which a full discussion is presented in chapter four.

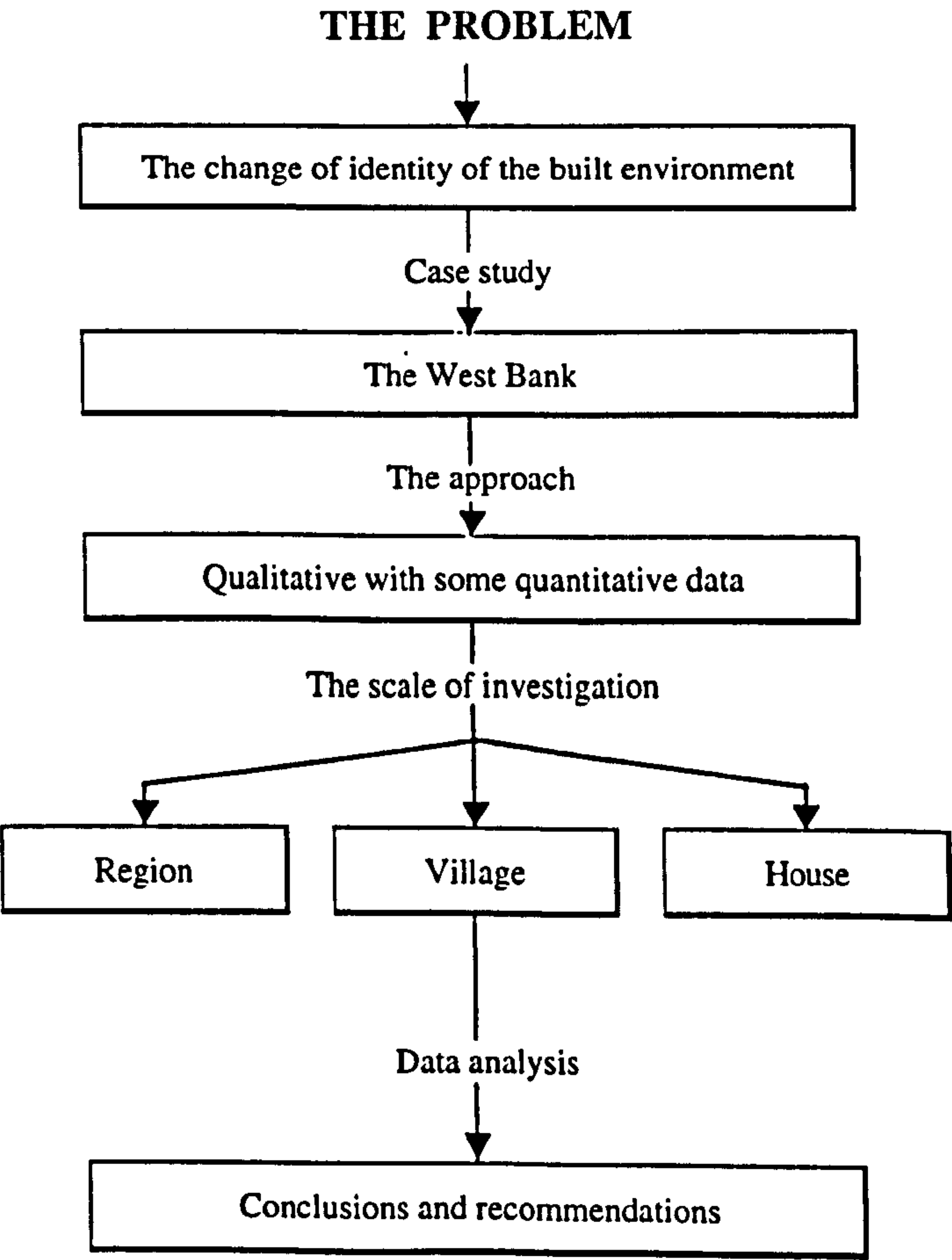


Fig. 1.5: The research methodology and the procedure for investigation.

1.8 STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

Since the purpose of this study is to investigate the identity of the built environment, its structure aims to set forth a critical and historical examination of all aspects that influence the expression of identity and its manifestations at different scales. Accordingly, this thesis is presented in ten chapters.

The first chapter serves as a preamble, wherein the problem, ideas and arguments which provided the basis for this study are presented.

Chapter two discusses the theoretical perspective of the concept of identity, including its philosophical interpretations, communication and ways of expression. In addition, it examines the basis of the relationship between identity and the built environment, both in social and physical characteristics. This chapter also reviews the theoretical basis of concepts related to identity, such as the meaning of objects, the sense of place and the aspects of colonisation. Finally, it constructs a theoretical guideline as a basis for investigation in this study.

Chapter three introduces the West Bank as the context within which this investigation is carried out. It gives an overview of the factors affecting the development of the built environment in the West Bank, including the historical and political changes that have taken place since the beginning of the twentieth century, the social and cultural characteristics of the Palestinian society and the physical features of the natural environment. In addition, this chapter describes the rural areas in the West Bank, including the location of the villages, their population and spatial organisation.

Chapter four reviews the research methodology adopted during the fieldwork for investigating the change of identity. It explains the approach to the study, the strategy for investigation, the techniques adopted for collecting information and the analysis strategy. Moreover, it points out the difficulties that faced the author during the fieldwork.

Chapter five investigates the impact of the Israeli occupation on the built environment. It examines the objectives, ideologies and strategies of the Israeli authorities with respect to the territory. It also explains the two approaches which the Israeli government have adopted to colonise the region: firstly, the control of development through administrative systems, planning policies and land expropriation. Secondly, the transformation of the features of the built environment through the Jewish settlements, new infrastructure, land expropriation, building demolition and military installations. And finally, it investigates the influence of the colonial power on the identity of the built environment at different levels: the region, the village and the house.

Chapter six explores the identity of the Palestinian village. It examines the change of the physical characteristics of the village from the traditional settlement to the contemporary one. In addition, this chapter identifies the features of the village which people perceive as Palestinian. Moreover, proverbs, folk songs, poetry and paintings by some Palestinian writers and artists are examined to reveal the elements they use to describe or to symbolise the Palestinian village.

Chapter seven concentrates on one village, namely Arraba, as a case study for detailed and in-depth investigation. The aim is to provide more coherent and consistent explanations of the concepts under discussion. This chapter analyses the social characteristics of people and the historical background of the village. In addition, it describes the built environment of Arraba in the past and at present. Moreover, in this chapter, a comparison between the built environment of Arraba and two other Arab villages, one in Israel and one in Jordan, is conducted in order to assess the impact of the Israeli colonial power on changing the built environment of the villages in the West Bank.

Chapters eight and nine focus on the house. Chapter eight describes the features of the house in the case study village. It identifies the exterior and interior characteristics of both the traditional and the contemporary house, whereby the change from traditional to

contemporary is demonstrated. Chapter nine identifies the features of the exterior and the interior which distinguish the houses in the West Bank according to people's perception; in other words, the features that represent the identity of the Palestinian house. It shows the hierarchy of the houses according to their identity and the relationships between them. In addition, it clarifies the relationship between the constructs which represent the identity and the house types. Finally, this chapter proposes a method for architectural design based on an experiment with students in the school of architecture at Al-Najah National University.

Chapter ten summarises the results of the investigation. It discusses the insight gained in the investigation of identity in the light of its possible influence on the built environment of the West Bank and its political future. It discusses the research findings at the scale of the region, the village and the house. This chapter also point out several principles for enhancing the concept of identity in the built environment. Moreover, it presents recommendations regarding the identity of the built environment to guide professionals in architecture and planning.

CHAPTER TWO

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(2)

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

2.1 PROLOGUE

In order to establish an intellectual framework for the understanding of the notion of identity, it is necessary to investigate and grasp its essential aspects and characteristics. This investigation will serve as a source toward the construction of theoretical guide-lines that will help to develop a coherent view of identity within the built environment.

The aim of this theoretical perspective is to formulate more clearly the outlines that emphasize the concept of identity within the built environment. In addition, the attempt is to establish a framework that will be carried out through the investigation in this study.

Usually, in our response to an object we perceive it in relation to something else. Therefore, this study proposes interrelated components towards understanding the expression of identity in the built environment. These include the natural environment, the people and the signification and characterisation of the objects introduced. Moreover, this research considers the identity of the built environment as socially and culturally constructed, and that its development should be coherent with the surrounding context.

The approach for the discussion starts from the abstract interpretations and ends in the practical implications or special cases related to the built environment. Accordingly, this chapter is divided into four main parts. The first part discusses the concept of identity, including its philosophical interpretation, definition, communication, expression and types. The second part examines the relationship between identity and the built

environment, including both the physical and social environments. Then, the third part explores the relationship between the concept of identity and other concepts, namely the meanings of objects in the built environment, the sense of place and the concept of colonisation as a specific case for the development of the built environment. Finally, the fourth part elaborates the theoretical perspective for this study.

2.2 THE CONCEPT OF IDENTITY

2.2.1 PHILOSOPHICAL INTERPRETATIONS OF THE CONCEPT OF IDENTITY

In order to gain insights and pick up the essential aspects of identity, the relevant works of some philosophers are reviewed. The philosophers chosen are David Hume, Martin Heidegger, Erick Erikson and Eli Hirsch. The selection of the philosophers is based on their comprehensive view and their varied treatment of the concept of identity. Their views were critically examined to see how it could be associated with the built environment. In fact, their explanations and interpretations were of crucial importance for the development and implementation of the ideas in this research.

2.2.1.1 David Hume

The eighteenth century philosopher was one of the first to explain the concept of identity. To Hume, identity is the most universal relation, which is discovered by perception rather than reasoning. In explaining the idea, he said that mankind is nothing but a bundle or collection of different perceptions. Accordingly, we have a distinct idea of an object that remains invariable and uninterrupted through a supposed variation of time; he called this "identity" or "sameness".

Hume related the concept of identity to the notion of **duration** (Hume, 1967); in other words, the persistence of the qualitative properties of object over time. He stated that identity is to be found in relations with time and place. To him, an object is the same, which means that an object's existence at one time is the same at another. He argued that the identity of a mass is preserved in three cases: when the variation is small in proportion to the whole and introduced gradually; when the parts combined to a common end; and when an object is naturally variable.

Hume emphasized the importance of **memory** as a source to discover and produce identity. He argued that memory is the possible mechanism for the establishment of the

concept of identity. However, Hume did not consider the nature of identity as a continuity in space and its relationship to objects.

2.2.1.2 Martin Heidegger

Heidegger tried to explain the principle of identity. He indicated that identity expresses something about the being of existence by relating it to time (Heidegger, 1960). For him identity is not a simple formula " $A=A$ ". Heidegger argued that the more adequate formula for the principle of identity is " A is A states". This means that not only every A as such is the same, because identity does not designate two things as being the same. Rather, it states that every A is the same with respect to itself, and identity has other aspects that it expresses.

According to Heidegger also, identity appears with the character of **unity**. He added that unity of identity is a characteristic feature in the being of existence. No matter where and how people live, identity makes a claim upon them. Heidegger then explained that unity is understood in terms of structural unity that consists of certain coherent aspects, where the process of unification constitutes the uniqueness. In order to achieve the unity, he proposed an intellectual framework through which identity can be defined. This framework is based on the belief that the essence of identity is a property of concern. One point that Heidegger did not explain is how this unity could be established in an operational sense.

Heidegger explained the sameness as belonging- togetherness, which can be visualised in the sense of subsequent idea of identity. This indicated that togetherness is determined by belongingness. He defined together as being a coordination with something else, consisting of a structure which seeks a unified whole.

In sum, for Heidegger, identity is a structural unity of an appropriate synthesis that seeks unification, and appears with the character of unity.

2.2.1.3 Erick Erikson

Erikson's writings demonstrated the crucial nature of satisfactory **identifications** for personality integration and stability (Stevens, 1983). Erikson made it clear that the fundamental importance of identity of the individual starts in infancy and continues to old age. It was Erikson who was responsible for making the concepts of identity and identity-crisis key issues in social theory. He stated that identification is a social act as much as a private psychological one (Bloom, 1990).

Erikson referred to the psychological self as "**ego identity**" and he underlined this approach by using the phrase "genetic continuity" with reference to self-representation. He explicitly stated that man's need for psychological identity is anchored in nothing less than his sociogenetic evolution.

Erikson also added that, due to the crucial link between identification and the gratification of primary needs, any lack of a secure sense of identity, would trigger anxiety. In pointing out the crucial importance of ego identity, he stated that in the social jungle of human existence, there is no feeling of being alive without a sense of ego identity. Therefore, according to Erikson, a prerequisite for a psychological sense of well-being is a secure sense of identity.

For Erikson, there is also a clear continuum between identity, ideology and culture. He noted that, a threat to ideology or culture is a threat to identity; equally, an enhancement of ideology or culture enhances identity. In this understanding, a change of historical circumstances will threaten the individual's sense of identity by removing and altering the external social coordinates by which the individual recognises his/her continuity. The first point to draw out from Erikson's theory is that the individual seeks to protect and enhance his/her sense of identity in certain situations could be aggressive. The second point is that, when the sense of identity is threatened, the individual will either reinforce the already held identification or will seek to make a new identification.

2.2.1.4 Eli Hirsch

Hirsch related the concept of identity to that of **continuity**. He explained that, continuity lies in the object's physical persistence over time in which the nature of the unity-making relationship binds the successive stages of a single persisting object (Hirsch, 1982).

Hirsch identified two types of continuity that should be taken in consideration in the analysis of the unity-making relationship: the continuity of qualitative change and continuity of locational change. He suggested that the unity-making relationship which binds a succession of object-stages into a single persisting object is essentially a **qualitative and spatiotemporal continuity**. He explained **qualitative continuity** for an object means that it either does not change qualitatively at all or undergoes qualitative changes which are continuous. In other words, an object's qualitative changes are continuous if at any given time the object is very similar to the way that it is at neighbouring times. **Spatiotemporal continuity**, on the other hand, is an object's overall location in space, which is determined by the locations of its parts. He argued that where parts are added as a whole or subtracted as a whole, the object's overall location must suffer some degree of discontinuous change.

When Hirsch talks about the place which an object occupies at a given time, he considers that overall region of space will coincide with the object at that time. In addition, an object exhibits spatiotemporal continuity only if it does not move at all or moves continuously.

2.2.2 THE DEFINITION OF IDENTITY

Dictionaries give multiple meanings to the word identity, such as: individuality, sameness of essential character, the unchanging nature of something under varying aspects or conditions; the condition of being one thing and not another (Webster Dictionary, 1974 and Longman Dictionary, 1978). In this sense, identity expresses the person's sense of self, which answers two important questions: who am I and who are we?

From the examination of the philosophers' interpretations of the concept of identity, it is noted that all of them share the deficiency of not articulating the possible different types of identity by assuming that the concept of identity is undifferentiated. However, Benswessi (1987) distinguished between two types of identity: "identity of" and "identity with". He explained that "identity of" is the persistent sameness within oneself, which allow a thing to be differentiated from others (i.e. different types of buildings, plants, places or even nations). On the other hand, "identity with" is the identification with other things, which he called "harmonious identity". He noted that, each type of identity has certain emphasis on giving the idea of uniqueness. In "identity of" there is individualisation in both the process and the product, which allows individual creativity to engender uniqueness in the form and the content. In this instance, Greek Temples, Gothic churches, monuments, etc. are good examples. In contrast, the uniqueness in "identity with" is dependent on integration and harmony with a specific setting (natural environment, built environment, memory, beliefs, etc.) in determining the form and the content of objects.

The focus in this research is on the search for the understanding of the development and change in the built environment in relation to the concept of identity. According to this, objects will be examined in their relationship to the characteristics of their place and cultural milieu. Therefore, it will be considered that objects attain their uniqueness by identification with the specific culture, environment and belief systems. This does not mean copying or imitating the existing built environment, nor in seeking a complete alternative, rather it should address the issue of coexistence.

The process of establishing identity involves, according to Rapoport (1981), at least two steps: **first**, the definition of the contents by the distinctiveness of the unit which implies a contrasting set of others; **second**, setting up of some boundary separating the domains and raising questions about the nature of this boundary; how it is known; how it is reinforced; and how people are reminded of it and so on. The boundaries could be

territorial or spatial, religious or ethnic, and they could be communicated through dress, behaviour, roles, etc.

After recognising the sense of identity, people use this sense in their interactions with others through language, dress or other forms (Goffman, 1959). Concurrently, people use different objects and settings in the built environment to establish or maintain their identity.

In certain circumstances, people may become "self-conscious" of their identity, anxiously searching for new ways to interpret and express who they are now and who they will be in the future. For instance, when people are exposed to external forces, such as territorial occupation, which influence their lives and environment, they start to stress their identity.

Identity can be conceptualised as consisting of three related elements (Hewitt, 1984): **first**, symbolic placement that situates the person in the world, at once differentiating the individual from some aspects of reality and affiliating the person with other aspects. For example, I, Ziad, know that I am different from animals, trees, cars, etc.

Second, identity also involves an interpretation of both the qualities and values of self, characterised respectively in self-imagery and self-esteem. This multi-faceted nature of identity is nicely reflected in the every day language of identity and identification. We identify ourselves as people of certain type, quality and value, we also identify ourselves with others or significant objects, in order to give a sense of belonging and attachment. For example, the people in the West Bank consider themselves Palestinians and not Jordanians, British, etc.; and they consider themselves part of the Arab nations and not part of the European nations.

Third, identities embedded in culture are socially and historically specific. They are produced in individual consciousness through life long socialisation and the patterned experience of every day life (Berger, 1970). For example, most Palestinians live in a traditional Muslim society with its social structure and values.

2.2.3 THE COMMUNICATION OF IDENTITY

The significance of the notion of identity is that it could be communicated to oneself and others. This means that there is a system of messages which clearly communicates the essentials of identity. This involves the need to know the particular expression and the essential categories used.

Rapoport (1981) notes that, there is a difference between communicating identity **internally** (to members of the group or to oneself), or **externally** (to others or to outsiders). Sometimes, a certain object in the built environment is seen as positive by the group internally and asserting their identity. However, the same object could be seen as negative by outsiders. For example, Palestinians wear the black and white scarf to express their national identity. This scarf has been seen negatively by many people in the West as signifying terrorists. So, it is important to distinguish between these two aspects of communication. **First**, asserting identity to oneself and one's own group. i.e. establishing internal cohesion. **Second**, communicating identity to others; i.e. establishing boundaries between "us" and "them". In this sense, the communication and its clarity strengthen the identity. Consequently, these differences distinguish different groups, which lead to various forms of interactions and relationships. The question arises now: what are the things that distinguish one group from another?

It should be noted that a certain object, even if it represents people's identity, could be perceived negatively by outsiders if this particular object has a negative impact on them. For example, the compact spatial organisation of traditional Palestinian villages is perceived negatively by the Israeli authorities, because it makes the control of the territory more difficult for them.

2.2.4 THE EXPRESSION OF IDENTITY

Identity may be expressed through establishing noticeable differences in the system used, so people become aware of their presence. This can be done in two ways: **first**, by using strong cues which are different and have a high level of redundancy; **second**, by making sure that these differences and cues are understood (Rapoport, 1981). This can be met when the meanings and codes are understood, and this happens when the core elements, used by the group to identify itself and used by others to identify it, coincide.

However, the relative importance of cues differs, depending on whether identity is known or not. If it is known by insiders and outsiders, their importance is low. If identity is known by insiders only, the presence of systems such as roles, occupation, religion, and so on need to be well established to help outsiders to locate these groups in social space. In this case, people use different means to indicate their membership such as wearing certain clothes or having a special hairstyle. If identity is not known either internally or externally, then place identity becomes extremely important. This then, tends to be indicated by various environmental cues. Such environmental cues may include settlement pattern, landscaping, dwelling form, various elements and the like. For example, Palestinians who are dispersed around the world hang a map of Palestine or a picture of Jerusalem to assert their national identity.

In the case where identity needs to be communicated through environmental cues, Rapoport argues that, the basic question is the congruence of physical space and social space and how this congruence is indicated. Therefore, these environmental cues will be useful in reminding both "us" and "them" about the nature of the settings, their meanings, the behaviour appropriate to them, and hence about the identity of the inhabitants. Moreover, the cultural codes should be learned, and the built environment can be used as an agent in this process.

Since group identity depends on the survival of the group and its culture, identity over time becomes a central issue. Concurrently, changes in the environment under critical conditions can lead to the destruction of cultures and consequently the loss of identity.

One of the critical cases of the expression of identity is when there is an environmental stress such as a rapid cultural change or a strong influence of external power. In such cases, people take "**defensive structuring**" by concentrating on a few key elements to establish and maintain identity (Rapoport, 1981). To discover which of these elements will be used, Rapoport suggests two-stage analysis: **first**, discover which social and cultural criteria are central to the group in establishing and preserving its identity. In other words, the elements of perceived homogeneity, such as language, religion, status, age and sex. Then, one needs to discover the core elements which express and support these criteria. In the case of the West Bank, the social and cultural criteria which are central to people are religious and national identities; so people, for instance, express themselves through religious buildings and certain forms of dwellings which could be perceived as Palestinian. **Second**, given the criteria of identity of the group, and its core elements, one then needs to discover which are the specific physical elements in the built environment which play key roles in this process and thus express identity and help maintain it. For example, what are the elements that reflect the Palestinian house in the West Bank?

This study investigates one of the areas in which external colonial power is trying to suppress the identity of the colonised who can not express their identity freely. The Palestinians of the West Bank, who are under Israeli occupation, are aware that the expression of their national identity is blocked by the Israeli authorities. For example, one goes to jail if one put the Palestinian flag in front of one's house. Therefore, the expression of national identity is concentrated within the house.

In examining the expression of identity in the built environment, several questions could be asked. For instance: what are the objects that people use to express their identity; how

do people arrange these objects; what meanings do they have for them; and finally to whom are they trying to express their identity?

2.2.5 TYPES OF IDENTITY

One could assume a range of social units which might establish identity. These units can range from humanity as a whole to group, to sub-group and to the individual (Rapoport, 1981). Rapoport considers individual identity as a limiting case of group identity. Human identity can be seen through the opposition between culture (human) and nature (non-human). The opposition can be accomplished through houses, foods, or activities and so on. Group identity can be examined for different groups such as farmers v workers, Israelis v Palestinians and so on. Sub-group identity can have various aspects: religious groups, Catholic v Protestant; sex groups, men v women; kinship groups, clan A v clan B. Finally, individual identity which can be seen in me v others. The expression of these identities could be through place or through learning the meanings attached to environmental elements.

In western culture the stress is on individual identity, so the concept of self-identity is the most important. But in traditional cultures where people live in extended family houses, the stress is on group identity, and the individual expression is of small importance (Oliver, 1975).

2.2.5.1 Individual Identity

An individual as a unique person uses his environment as a medium of self-expression to signify his identity as a unique person. Hume (1967) related "self to the qualities of our mind and body". Therefore, the impression we have of ourselves is always present with us.

Cooper (1974) argues that the house is a symbol of self. Altman and Chemers (1980) note how residents of middle class suburban homes present a unique "face" to the public by adding family initials to screen doors, installing decorative lamps, etc.

Hayden (1984) points out that houses in the past were conceived of not only as shelter but also as symbols of community status. Descriptions of the landscape of village communities in diaries, letters and sermons used dwelling places as signs of civilisation rather than as signs of accomplishments of individuals (Cohn, 1979). In this sense, the good village, for instance, was primarily perceived from the village landscape, rather than an ideal home.

Cohn also notes that by the beginning of nineteenth century, people started to look at the house as a sign of the individual with growing frequency. According to this, dwelling places started to be viewed as a reflection of economic rank and personal prosperity. At present, contemporary societies use dwelling places and household objects as the symbolic medium for the display of the self and its unique personhood.

2.2.5.2 Group Identity

Any person's individualistic life participates in the collective life of the society to which he or she belongs - a collective life that shapes the group identity of the individual. Such identity involves a sense of location within the structure of the society and a more or less developed sense of belonging to certain groups within it. Some such group identities, including class, gender and racial identities, are facets of major social statuses in society and reflect fundamental social differentiation learned through socialisation, and performed through attendant roles (Rapoport, 1981).

Bloom (1990) explains how the individual identifies himself with a group. He writes:

Through a shared identification, individuals are linked within the same psychological syndrome and will act together to preserve, defend and enhance their common identity.

(Bloom, 1990: 26)

In this understanding people who share a common national identity will, within a certain configuration of circumstances, tend to act as one unit and mobilise as a coherent mass movement.

Other group identities are the product of smaller social worlds, generated in the interaction and communication of daily life. Dwellings and their furnishings often play a significant role in this facet of identity either as non-verbal signs of group identity, or symbolic settings for the enactment of socially constructed roles of identity. Dwellings and domestic objects as non-verbal signs of group identity - like other aspects of group identity as language use, behaviour style, clothing - enable the group to differentiate itself from other groups through symbolic boundaries, and in some instances, to legitimize their claims to superiority.

Objects in the built environment may also be "integrative symbols" that provide collective representations for group members and sustain group commitments (Hummon, 1989), as in the case of display of flags, team trophies, or family photographs in the house. Moreover, people may use specific features in the landscape to reflect their group identity. Duncan (1973) notes how rich people in the United States use the landscape in their neighbourhood as a symbol of group identity.

In traditional societies group identity is very significant, where social relations and values are collective. Therefore, contribution to and participation in group activities tends to be very important. Under these conditions, dwelling places are conceived and valued primarily as shelter and places of group activity, and less for personal display of uniqueness.

After discussing the concept of identity, the next part will relate this concept to the built environment. Norberg-Sculz (1965) divided the environment into: "physical", "social" and "cultural" objects. In this understanding, the following part will discuss the identity of the built environment.

2.3 IDENTITY AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

2.3.1 IDENTITY AND THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

Our actions presuppose an organisation of the environment. This organisation consists...in abstracting objects from the immediately given phenomena. The objects, or the form we assign to the world are expressed in our behaviour. But we also suggested that for many purposes it is necessary to fix the objects by means of signs, so that they may be talked about, described and ordered into systems.

(Norberg-Schulz, 1965: 53)

Man's desires are for the satisfaction of various human needs and the search for a meaningful existence. This existence represents man's wish to create a "constructed environment" that not only distinguishes him from the beasts, but also from those of other human beings (Benswessi, 1987). Therefore, a significant built environment should address the surrounding nature and the socio-cultural attitude of the inhabitants. Holod (1980) states that man's significant existence lies in the creation of a physical environment identifiable by a society as its own. One of the most important issues that manifest man's significant existence, which express his beliefs, values and aspirations, is the notion of identity.

The built environment can be conceptualised as a component of meaningful social and cultural objects that are used to demarcate space, to express feelings, ways of thinking, and social processes, and to provide arenas for culturally defined activities as well as to provide for physical shelter (Rakoff, 1977). Within the built environment, dwellings and domestic objects are thus constituted as significant objects, in which people become conscious of those objects through their beliefs, values, and attitudes.

However, modern society lives in a world of fragmented beliefs and conflicting ideologies. In addition, modern society is increasingly literate, which means that it depends less and less on material objects and the physical environment to embody the value and meaning of its culture. Instead, verbal symbols have progressively displaced material symbols and books rather than building instruct (Tuan, 1977).

The built environment is also vested with meanings. These meanings may become part of the knowledge of daily life "vehicles of conception" through which people define and interpret their reality (Geertz, 1973). This fundamental recognition that buildings, like other material objects, may act as signs or symbols- does not deny that buildings have instrumental uses. This perspective underlines the fact that human beings as symbol makers, can and do attribute multiple meanings to the world, which may reflect, cultural, social or psychological processes beyond those of instrumental use. Houses thus provide shelter, chairs a comfortable place to sit, fences protection from strangers; yet, houses may also convey achievement; chairs, authority; and fences, independence.

Hummon (1989) argues that if one recognises that both built environment and identity are socially constructed symbolic objects, the mutual relevance of built environment for identity - and identity for the built environment- becomes clear. On one hand, by learning the meanings of objects, the individual can use the built environment to create a sense of identity, drawing upon their meanings to locate himself in reality and to define self-identity. On the other hand, given a sense of identity, the individual can use the meanings of objects to display and communicate identity to himself and to others. Therefore, the built environment and its objects can, under certain conditions, speak worlds of meaning, meanings that can be used to discover, present, and maintain identity. For example, the house expresses or ought to express the inhabitants' values and attitudes through its form, style, interior or exterior decoration.

The relative use of environmental signs for identity in traditional societies is quite variable, and other aspects of the environment, such as settlement patterns, are frequently more important than the houses.

Personalisation is mostly stressed in the process of expression of identity. Two factors can affect the Personalisation process (Rapoport, 1981): **firstly**, as products, elements can be highly distinctive and can therefore, communicate a particular identity. **Secondly**, in terms of process, a sense of control or mastery over the environment is an aspect of positive self-identity.

Considering the physical features of the built environment, some argue that identity can be interpreted in relation to the concept of place (Norberg-Schulz, 1965), where it only manifests itself within certain constraints that determine the character of a place as being unique.

2.3.2 IDENTITY AND THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

Buttimer (1981) stated that "landscape is the mirror of civilisation". He said, by the way people build, so they will be known. Accordingly, people will be known by the things they choose to reflect their values, such as a sculpture, a tree or a building.

In explaining the interaction between the built environment and people, Oliver and Hayward write:

More than the buildings that they comprise, settlements and cities are the subject of human discourse and reflection. The public domain of cities - the streets and squares and public buildings - are the places of public exchange and cultural demonstration, suitably laid out and embellished. The private domain - primarily the dwelling - is the refuge where private dealings are played out.

(Oliver and Hayward, 1990: 53)

In addition, individuals actively seek to identify themselves in order to achieve psychological security, and they actively seek to maintain and protect identity in order to maintain and enhance this psychological security which is important to personality stability and emotional well-being (Stevens, 1983). Moreover, identifications can be shared, and the individuals who share the same identification will tend to act as a group in order to protect or enhance their shared identity.

2.3.2.1 Identity and Society

There are countless numbers of groups that find confidence and guidance from the fact that they each have a separate sense of being and distinctiveness, which is largely derived

from their culture. People also have ties to different scales of territory, from personal to small group to localism (perhaps at a neighbourhood, village or city scale) to a broader regionalism, possibly to a nationalism and may be even to an internationalism (Knight, 1982).

However, territory exists not for itself but its human beliefs and actions that give territory meaning. Moreover, the people who inhabit a territory will have a sense of belonging to it. Nationalism is an idea, but it is also a force. The fundamental function of nationalism is the transference of loyalty from kinship groups or local and regional levels to the larger national group. Nonetheless, people have priorities in belonging: some to their past which tie them to a specific territory because they had old memories, others who are dissatisfied with both past and present may adopt a future ideological orientation, attaining a sense of belonging by identification with a cause.

Group identity describes the condition in which a mass of people share the same identification within the society, so that they may act as one coherent group when there is a threat to, or the possibility of enhancement of their identity. Therefore, for group identity to exist in a society, the people must have gone through the actual psychological process of making that identification (Bloom, 1990).

2.3.2.2 Identity and People's Needs

Needs are numerous and they could have different connotations for different people. In fact, human needs are a reflection of man's nature of being both "matter" and "spirit". At first, man searches to gratify his physiological needs, such as food, water, shelter, etc. Then, he searches for psychological needs, such as aesthetics, belongings, identity, etc. in order to satisfy his human desires. Nonetheless, both physiological and psychological needs are manifested differently in different communities reflecting various cultures, attitudes and tastes of different people. For example, if we consider food and shelter as the most essential needs for man, the way of making them characterises different civilisations or groups.

The aspects of needs have been identified differently by different scholars. Maslow (1970) identified human needs as: physiological, safety, belongings, esteem, actualisation and aesthetics. Fromm (1949) divided human needs into five main categories: relatedness, rootedness, transcendence, sense of identity and the need for frames of orientation and devotion. In addition, he defined self-identity as the most fundamental need of man's existence. Fromm argued that identity characterises man as a distinguished person and also, determines his actions as being related to others. For example, bonds between people, which distinguish a certain group from another such as nation, religion, class, etc, constitute the source of the expression of identity. Steel (1981) related needs to the function of the built environment, the behaviour patterns and design issues. He said, in order to satisfy his needs for esteem, man's concerns will be for growth and pleasure, so the socio-physical mechanisms that should be taken into consideration are personalisation, symbolic aesthetics and control.

In this understanding, it is clear that any abstract interpretation of user needs in the built environment may fail to meet people's needs.

2.3.3 IDENTITY AND TIME

Identity, as it involves a placement of individual in reality, involves questions of time: who am I now; who was I then; and who will I be in the future? Such placement is complex and reflects both the variety of temporal processes and the multitude of cultural frameworks. The social rhythms of daily, weekly, monthly, and annual routines; the biological passage of time through childhood, adulthood, and old age, both represent actions, experiences, and ultimately identity within certain frameworks of the social world (Wiegert, 1981).

Objects of the built environment may play a significant role in mediating time and identity to the extent they become signs of temporal processes, such as festive

decorations. These facilitate the differentiation of time into socially or personally significant units, or act as material symbols of past and future periods.

In many cultures, dwellings have been used to symbolise the transition from one life stage to another. The transition from childhood to adulthood has been perceived as a major identity passage. This may involve a change of dwelling place and sometimes community; for example, leaving home for study abroad or for work. In this context, it can be said that housing types and forms may be defined as age appropriate (Steinfeld, 1981). Recently, in western countries, the movement through the life-cycle is accompanied by change of dwelling place. It may start from the single family house as a child, to student accommodation or apartment as adult, to own single family house after getting married and finally to special housing as an elderly person.

Houses and dwelling objects are also important to identity as symbols from the past which represent the continuity of society. For instance, in reflecting memories of the past, household objects, such as photographs become a significant element in an individual's personal identity as symbols of past experience and relationships

2.3.4 IDENTITY AND DWELLING

When people speak about their "home", they use this term for different meanings, ranging from the physical dwelling place, a sense of relationship with other people within a social network and a base of activity on one hand, to conceptions of a place of refuge or continuity, a personalised place and a symbol of self identity on the other. This indicates that the term "home" is popularly used in ways closely tied to identity. Some related the term "home" with the phenomenology of daily life- a place to return to; others described it as a sense of belonging or a sense of being at ease (cited in Hummon, 1989: 209).

The dwelling has been a major subject of man's symbolising perceptivity and processes from his earliest times. In turn, he has projected upon his shelter symbolic designations which relate it to nature and reflect his myth and religion (Oliver, 1975).

In contemporary society, dwelling places are significant symbols of social rank and class identity because families and individuals of different classes translate differences in economic resources into housing of different size, quality, style, and locale. Therefore, the house becomes a major vehicle for publicly defining and displaying social rank both to self and others. For example, the villa, the house or the apartment all convey associations with social rank. Moreover, the location of the dwelling also reflects social rank.

Such differences in economic resources of class are also translated into differences of group identity in interior and exterior decorations. For example, Laumann and House (1972) noted that high status people in the United States display art drawings, sculptures and plants; however, lower status families display television sets, furniture and religious symbols.

Moreover, there are connections between gender, identity, and dwelling. In traditional societies the home is perceived as a women's place. The role for women as caretakers of the home, expresses their life and status. Through these social circumstances, women come to realise their identity as women through the practical and symbolic activities of home life (Hummon, 1989).

The social and symbolic identification of women with home life, is symbolically reproduced in the division of the house into interior and exterior spaces. Women present their identity through "interior decoration", while men present themselves through public spaces and outside the house. Moreover, women's sense of identity with respect to dwelling places differs from that of men. Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton (1981) suggest that men and women invest domestic environments with different meanings. They noted that women are more likely to interpret the house as a symbol of family life, while men are more likely to interpret their attachment to dwelling places in terms of work investment or as a sign of personal accomplishment.

After discussing what we mean by identity of the built environment, how to express identity through the built environment, and what are the elements which reflect the identity of people, we shall examine in the following sections other concepts which are closely related to the development of identity of the built environment.

2.4 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN IDENTITY AND OTHER CONCEPTS

2.4.1 IDENTITY AND MEANINGS

Meaning in the environment is inescapable, even for those who would deny or deplore it. Everything that can be seen or thought about takes on a meaning.

(Jencks, 1980: 7)

Mankind creates objects as an attempt to stress his significant existence that could express his beliefs, attitudes and values. Therefore, all objects have specific meanings for people.

Charles Osgood (1976) described meaning as the product of signs which reflect the idiosyncrasies of individual experiences. Benswessi (1987) argues that meaning like emotion, is a relational or process concept; accordingly, the message of the sign as a cultural product, resides in the use of the common features of the situations in which it is used and the activities it produces. This significance applies to the interpretation of particular individuals, particular concepts and particular factors. Therefore, what is meaningful to one person or group of people may not be meaningful to another.

Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton (1981) relate the meaning to the interaction between people and things. They argue that the things that people produce are not simply tools for survival. Rather, things embody goals, make skills and shape the identity of their users. Therefore, we should view a thing as any bit of information that has recognisable identity. Such information could be a sign or a symbol. In this understanding, the clothes one wears, the house one builds or furnishes, all are expressions of one's self.

In addition, people can attach meanings to objects and therefore, derive meaning from them. Almost any object in the environment represents a set of meanings to certain people. It is not only the physical characteristics of objects that convey meaning, but also the cultural attributes and values people place on them.

Moreover, each person can discover a network of meaning out of his/ her experience. In other words, each person is free to attach any meaning to any object. However, some objects stand for memories much more than others, whereas other objects recall experience or values. In this understanding, some objects are characteristics of youth, others of old people; some are more common among men, some among women. This means that the meaning of specific objects depend on sex, age, position in addition to values, religion and so on.

Also, it is likely that the meaning of the built environment and the social community vary in terms of their roles in people's lives. To my mother, for instance, the old mirror cupboard with its worn handles, musty smell, dark wood and broken leg has memories of my father, her wedding day and many other events. Therefore, inspite of its bad condition, she keeps it tidy and clean and does not want to replace it. In other words, my mother keeps the cupboard because, for her, it is associated with several meanings.

Each society produces standardised, normalised objects, which are a realisation of a model and the substances of a significant form (Eco, 1980). Oliver (1975) relates the shelter with signs and symbols and notes that because of the abstract nature of the symbol, any connotations attached to it are projected by man and not intrinsic to the figurative character of the symbol itself. Some argue that symbols are the concrete ideas of meaning which unite the members of a group on the various levels of their existence. Others say that symbols are part of the process whereby the experienced world, the world of perception and concept, is created out of the physical reality (Eyles, 1983). In this sense, many symbols may take on different meanings in different societies.

Within the built environment, some authors consider meaning as an idea or thought that mediates between people and significant objects (Rapoport, 1982; Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, 1981). In this sense, these objects are considered as communicative elements within certain societies.

In terms of place, meaning affects the development of its built environment in two ways. On one hand, it provides identity of the place, while on the other, it enables an individual to acquire identity with a place which in turn influences his actions and behaviour (Dayaratne, 1992). In order to understand place meanings, it is essential to examine the process of change such as urban renewal, relocation and gentrification (Rivlin, 1982). In this understanding, organisation of space could also be considered as an organisation of meanings.

Meanings are expressed through signs, materials, colours, forms, furnishings and the like (Rapoport, 1982). These signs can be initiated by things in space such as ornamental objects, space dividers, doors and the like. Jencks (1980) divided the signs into two categories: a signifier and signified. The signifier could be forms, surfaces, proportions, colour, textures, etc., while the signified could be intended meanings, social beliefs, functions, activities, etc. Accordingly, these meanings form a system of non-verbal communication in the built environment, which provides clues and messages about the place and its rules for use in allocating position, rank, status or value. Moreover, meanings can be both expressed and studied as symbols representing human thought and behaviour.

Rapoport (1982) proposes that meanings of the built environment could be studied in three different ways: using linguistic models, mainly based on semiotics; using philosophical models relying on the study of symbols; and using models based on non-verbal communication that come from anthropology, psychology, and ethology (see appendix 2.1). These three approaches - **the semiotic approach, the symbolic approach, and the non-verbal communication approach** - have according to Rapoport a number of general characteristics in common : a sender (encoder), a receiver (decoder), a channel, a message form, a cultural code (the form of encoding), a topic, the social situation of the sender, and the intended receiver, the place, the intended meaning, the context or scene.

In this research, several questions about the meaning of the built environment may arise. For example, to what degree may the built environment encapsulate important aspects of

group identity and individual meaning? How and when do we begin to observe the symbolic expressions of specific culture? What do these objects or signs mean to members of the group and to outsiders?

In addition to meaning, identity of the built environment affects the environmental perception and the sense of place of that environment, which at the end affects peoples' attitude toward that place. In the case of the West Bank, for instance, the Israeli policy is to change the image of the built environment in order to change the perception of people about the occupation.

2.4.2 IDENTITY AND PLACE

The essence of place lies in the quality of being somewhere specific, knowing that you are "here" rather than "there" (Rapoport, 1975). The attachment to place, or the identity with the place is seen as both the cause and the result of the quality of the place (Dayaratne, 1992). Consequently, the attachment is less likely to occur when the quality of the environment is poor. In other words, the poor environment does not enable the individual to orientate and identify with significant points of reference. In this understanding, creating quality in places means creating a sense of place. Violich (1988) in discussing the identity of hill towns in Umbria tried to answer "How can one clarify and interpret the essential qualities underlying the uniqueness of place and consequently identify a basis for identity?" He found that the sense of place in the hill towns is related to the nature of their sites and the social interactions they accommodate.

Evidence from different cultures suggests that place is specific and tied to a particular cluster of buildings at one location as a home of certain people of specific beliefs (Tuan, 1977). In this context, every place has its own uniqueness and different places in the world have different characters, which give those places a sense of their particular setting.

Places also change over time by the introduction of new objects. Oliver and Hayward (1990) state that every new building changes the place in which it is set. In addition, they

argue that "the siting of the building will affect the lives of those who move in proximity to it in a variety of ways".

Morris (1739) introduced the concept of "situation" to the theories of architecture. He stated that, each situation implies a different attitude and therefore, each situation is characterised by a distinctive character. Morris argued that the character of the place has to be taken into consideration in the architect's concern for the design. For him, the character of the situation should dictate the character of the building. In this understanding, what seems beautiful in one area could be ugly in another. Downing (1977) related buildings to the natural environment. He assumed that good landscape and good housing should fit and complement each other.

Norberg-Schulz (1965) stated that place is a totality made up of concrete things having material substance, shape, texture and colours. These things together determine the character of the environment, which is the essence of place. These qualities as a result influence and determine the uniqueness of that place. Moreover, Tuan (1977) argues that place is an organised world of meaning. Therefore, the manifestation of identity within a particular place is the development of uniqueness of that place.

There are several issues which determine the formation of the built environment that in turn reflect a specific identity of place. These are the character, the significance and the image of the place.

2.4.2.1 The Character of Place

The expression of character is one of the most fundamental aspects to the manifestation of identity. Benswessi (1987) notes that character seems to manifest itself within the concept of identity in two ways: first, as an expression of building's intended purpose, and second, as an emotional relationship between the building and human beings. Therefore, character could be seen as a preference of taste that reflects human values and beliefs. Also character brings together the separate functions in a practical understanding.

Within the understanding of character in architecture, lies also the issue of appropriateness. This implies selection of basic forms that perform function easily and consequently give character. This interrelation between appropriate character and the purpose of building, leads to the idea of typology. Therefore, through a selection of a type, we can recognise the function of the building (house, shop, school, etc.) and its cultural meaning. This implies that typology has two aspects: practical and symbolic. In the first, typology means the selection of a suitable form that could fulfil the function needed, while in the second it seeks to establish a specific relationship that reflects origin. In sum, typology can be used to give character and thus, convey meaning through the selection of certain types.

2.4.2.2 The Significance of Place

Signification deals with the notion of attachment, rootedness and a sense of belonging. It is the thing that turns a built environment to more than a building type, rather it gives a cultural meaning. Benswessi (1987) defines signification as an attempt to establish an image through which an interpretation of certain cultural beliefs, religious ideals, etc. are meaningfully transmitted. The image is produced by the interplay between form and meaning to establish order and unification within a cultural milieu. Accordingly, this does not make a beduin think of an apartment in a high-rise building, nor does it make a city resident think of a tent as a house. In sum, the attitude of signification has been and still is a fact through which man seeks to give meaning and orientation to his buildings.

2.4.2.3 The Image of Place

Boulding (1961) defined the image as the basic bond of any culture, place, organisation, etc, which enhances its essential character and behaviour, and consequently gives it an identity. It is believed that an image is a symbolic form that seeks identification through the expression and pronunciation of emotions and feelings of people. It also gives an expression, a structure and speculations about how this image reflects our ideals about

society (Hubbard, 1980). Furthermore, an image is a symbolic expression of certain values rather than a fact that seeks to communicate messages through visual structure. Thus, the concept of identity should be manifested in the built environment through the manipulation of images.

Lynch (1960) argued that the recognition of identity has to be adopted through the building of the image, which holds its recognition from the striking physical features of different places.

Interacting with or simply living close to people with perceived similar attributes, provides a sense of belonging; it symbolises a sense of identity with people and place. The social meaning of place, however, may be displaced in time (Hillier and Hanson, 1984). For instance, the nostalgic sense of place involves a looking back. This firmly locates the source of identity in the past.

2.4.2.4 The Sense of Place

Habraken (1983) argues that the sense of place is an outcome of mutual transactions of people and their built environments. On one hand, it is the realm of the built space, and on the other, it is also the realm of the individual. In other words, the sense of place is not brought into a place by the things in space, but also by people and their actions.

Tuan (1980) differentiates between rootedness and the sense of place. He argues that rootedness implies being "at home" in an unself-conscious way, while sense of place implies a certain distance between self and place that allow the self to appreciate a place.

A sense of place also implies that an environment provides an accurate reading of its past and present, and some idea regarding the future. However, some argue that when people speak of the need to promote a sense of place, they do not have in mind new buildings. Rather they are thinking of how to preserve old structures and develop in people a feeling of their own unique pasts.

In this context, several questions evolve. For example, how does one recognise a place, and how can one clarify and interpret the essential qualities underlying the uniqueness of place? What happens when the process of creating place is halted by external force? What happens to the sense of place among people who can not control its creation? Is it possible to lose a sense of place for certain people as a result of dramatic changes?

Eyles (1983) argues that the sense of place need not be regarded as the definitive, exclusive categories which are often the end-product. In contrast, any one sense of place may be defined by a combination of characteristics. Eyles suggests that sense of place may be significant in relation to, and explicable in terms of, identity and material existence. The social sense of place is not only activity-related but also owes much to the importance attached to people, specifically family, neighbours and friends, in shaping and defining life in general.

Violich (1985) mentioned three basic sources which give a place its uniqueness: first, character of the natural environment in which natural topographic characteristics, including geology, climate and ecology set the base for the nature of people's life and represent an important underlying determinant in spatial structural systems and land use relationships. In other words, the physical base or natural landscape of a place emerges through our living in that place.

Second, the social interaction in the built environment, in which the spatial structural system serves as the framework for the built environment. That system provides the basic source for identity of a place and for positive interaction among people. The ways in which land uses are related to each other can work positively or negatively to habitual use of a place. In turn, through facilitating communication among people, this becomes the basis for the sense of community. The human activities in places are moulded by people. However, there is a continuous change in places, and people change continuously with places. In addition, people's experiences in a place tie them to that place. Therefore, the

relationship between community and place is very strong and each of them strengthens the identity of the other.

Third, people and cultural identity, in which the key test of a sense of place rests with the degree to which a place in its physical form and the activities it facilitates reflects the culture of those who use it. In this understanding, the essence of place is that the meaning we attribute to places and their identity is largely an expression of communally held beliefs, values, and of interpersonal involvements. According to that, our human and cultural landscape reflect our tastes, values and aspirations, and these affect the creation and the sense of place.

Norberg-Schulz (1980) calls for "creative participation" as a concept of design and planning that harmonises people's cultural and social needs with natural environment. In this way, people record their particular cultural history and meaning in the built environment and breathe into their settlements a sense of place. Therefore, in order to reveal the sense of place in a certain area, we must recognise the existence of immaterial characteristics of objects beyond their purely physical properties; these intangible qualities might be essential attributes to human well being. This approach to environment lays an important basis for understanding places and for building human meaning into the places.

2.4.2.5 The Perception of Place

If a visitor enters a place for the first time, which type of building, setting, or layout will he/she admire? Why? And if you ask him/her, about the atmosphere of the place, what does he/she reply? Does he/she describe the temperature or the humidity, or will he/she comment on the quality of buildings, or will he/she talk about the social atmosphere?

In perceiving places, physical descriptions, aesthetic evaluations, personal preferences and expectations mix together and interact. The visitor, for example, recognises what he/she sees by drawing upon cultural norms about what a place should look like. In

addition, his/her perception and evaluation of the place is influenced by the context; for example, if he/she had to live in the place, he/she would evaluate it differently.

In reality, all our modes of experience, perceptual, effective and normative, are brought into action at the same time (Levy-Leboyer, 1982). It is thus obvious that the perception of the environment is more than the sum of perceptions of those objects which make up that environment. Indeed, the perception of the physical features of the environment is inseparable from the social evaluation. In other words, places and people are inseparable and mostly places exist with reference to people, and the meaning of place can be revealed only in terms of human responses to the particular environment. In this sense, whether creating environment as "insiders" or becoming familiar with this environment as "outsiders", people identify with or are alienated from places^[1].

The perception of historic places is mostly related to the characteristics of their features. In discussing what distinguishes the historic cities, Tuan writes:

A city does not become historic merely because it has occupied the same site for a long time. Past events make no impact on the present unless they are memorised in history books, monuments, pageants, and solemn and jovial festivities that are recognised to be part of an on going tradition.

(Tuan, 1977: 174)

The place where this research is conducted is the West Bank, which has been under military occupation since 1967. In this specific situation, the occupying power's attempts to colonise the territory affect the built environment. The next section, therefore, will discuss the concept of colonisation and how it influences the development of identity of the built environment.

2.4.3 IDENTITY AND COLONISATION

In normal circumstances, a group of people live in a certain territory, control the development over that territory and this territory is called a homeland to that group. Accordingly, for a person or a group, a homeland has its landmarks, which may be

features of high visibility and public significance, such as monuments, shrines or streets. These visible signs serve to enhance people's sense of identity and they encourage awareness of and loyalty to place (Tuan, 1977).

In some territories, however, an external power controls the development. In order to achieve its goals, this power changes and introduces new features to the built environment. This is one aspect of what is called colonisation; and this phenomenon influences the identity of the built environment.

There are different meanings to the word colonisation, such as: control by one power over a dependent area or people; country or territory extensively settled by migrants from a mother country, and, for a time, controlled by it; or country, territory, controlled, administered, and often developed by another (Webster Dictionary, 1974 and Longman Dictionary, 1978).

The understanding of colonialism and its relationship to development and cultural change, has gone through a variety of paradigm shifts through theories of diffusion, modernisation, dependency, world systems, modes of production and the internalisation of capital (Preston, 1986).

Bilski and Galnoor (1980) noted that national planning is not an objective process, but relates to the ideologies of the groups of people in power. These ideologies are based on the values and belief systems of the groups. These values may be either fundamental - relating to the whole society - or specific - relating to a party or group alone.

A basic value of most societies is sovereignty over their territory. Indeed, the concepts of sovereignty and territory are bound together. Therefore, a sovereign nation requires territory in which to exercise its sovereignty, while territory can not function unless it is under some sort of sovereignty (Bilski and Galnoor, 1980).

Kimmerling (1979) identifies sovereignty, ownership and presence as the means by

which control can be exercised over territory. Gottmann (1973) notes that the relationship between sovereignty and territory is built upon the connecting link of activities of the people within territory, whether as permanent settlers or as a transitory agents maintaining control. The stronger the connecting link, the stronger will be the effective control. In addition to effective control, claims based on territorial integrity and a combination of culture and history constitute the strongest justifications for territorial sovereignty.

In the case of the West Bank, the fundamental belief system that has dominated Israeli planning has been developed from the Zionist ideology, that claims the right to an independent Jewish state on the land of Palestine, in which there is a Jewish demographic majority and hence sovereignty. The common element in the strategies of major ideological powers is the use of settlements as an important means of exercising control over territory.

Taking this into consideration, we can realise the effects of planning and development policies of the colonial power on the built environment. In this context, the key question is: To what extent does colonialism distort the natural development of the built environment? There are two concepts strongly related to the colonisation processes: territoriality and control.

2.4.3.1 The Concept of Territoriality

Territory as a place requires constant effort to establish and maintain control over it. Accordingly, people and their activities can not find room in any area without forms of control over that area - this explains the concept of territoriality. Territoriality as an expression of influence and power, provides an essential link between society, space and time (Sack, 1986). Therefore, territoriality is socially constructed form of spatial relations, and its effects depend on who is controlling whom and for what purposes. It is also related to how people use the land, how they organise themselves in space, and how

they give meaning to the place. As a concept, territoriality was defined by Sack as:

the attempt by individual or group to affect, influence, or control people, phenomena, and relationships by delimiting and asserting control over a geographical area.

(Sack, 1986: 19).

The tendencies of territoriality, according to Sack (1986), should contain three interrelated facets which any territory must provide: a form of classification by area; a form of communication by boundary; and a form of enforcement by control.

Most of human behaviour occurs with hierarchies of territorial organisations (Hillier and Hanson, 1984), individuals live in cities, which are in regions, which are in nations. Territories, in addition to their hierarchical territorial organisations, can be used to assign tasks or responsibilities to different territorial levels. For example, in the context of municipalities, regions and nation, planning schemes are assigned precisely for one geographical level.

The identification and the hierarchy of territories could be helpful for: **First**, supervision and control; by constraining the movement of people in certain areas, it will be easier for the colonial power to control the people. **Second**, dividing and conquer; by dividing the territory into smaller ones, it will be easier for the dominant power to conquer people.

Territories can be of any scale; the room, the house, the street, the village and even the country are all examples of territories. People have different degrees of power and authority in each scale of territory. In this context, geographical areas are used to control actions and interactions by either excluding or including certain people within the territory.

2.4.3.2 The Concept of Control

Most definitions of territoriality have taken the aspect of control as the most essential issue. Howard (1920) used the term territoriality to mean "any defended area".

Whittlesey (1935) emphasised the effective control exercised by the government over the entire territory. In some democracies, control of peripheral regions may take place through equal allocation of the public resources, and the full participation and co-operation of local and regional leaders. Under these conditions, the control is by agreement where the relationship is agreed rather than imposed. In contrast, when the country is under occupation or ruled by an external power, the ways and means of control are mostly imposed rather than agreed.

Colonial power sometimes uses the combination of military and civilian presence for effective control (Knight, 1971)^[2]. Military control fulfils both internal and external functions, depending on the specific local conditions. Internally, the presence of armed forces and military headquarters contributes to the maintenance of physical security in the face of the subjugated population's desire of freedom from the coloniser. Externally, strategic conditions are the major factor determining both the quality and the quantity of the military presence.

Civilian presence is another way to keep the conquered inhabitants in loyalty and obedience. The use of colonies and civilian settlements as a mean of ensuring long term territorial control has been used in the past by different powers. The Roman Empire, for instance, established colonies in their conquered provinces, either through the transmigration of settlers from other parts of the empire, or through the gradual transformation of army camps into permanent communities (Salmon, 1968). In order to ensure that the new settlers would remain in the colonies, the settlers were granted special rights. In this way, many military camps transformed into civilian settlements and gradually Romanized.

It is noteworthy that colonial regimes have had various features in common all over the world. They mostly focus on different levels and stages in the production and consumption of economic, political and cultural conditions. Moreover, to varying degrees, they relate these issues to the question of race and nation (King, 1989).

2.5 SUMMARY

This chapter discussed the qualitative aspects of the built environment as being a cultural composition and manifestation of identity. The aim is to explain how the built environment is constructed as formal structure and how this structure produces cultural signs and symbols in order to reveal specific identity. The intention of this chapter has been to indicate a particular way of thinking about the concept of identity and how to approach it.

The analysis of the philosophical theories that dealt with the concept of identity showed that none of these has provided us with a broad description of identity and its manifestation in the built environment. Rather, they just focussed on some of its essential aspects and all concentrated in a limited scope and direction.

The approach adopted in this study is to investigate both the identity of the object introduced to the built environment and the identity of the built environment containing that object, i.e. the impact of that object on the built environment. For example, within the village, I will examine the identity of the house and the identity of the neighbourhood after introducing the house (Fig. 2.1).

Moreover, in this study, all aspects interpreted by the philosophers will be used to examine the continuity and change of identity, including unity, memory, continuity, ego and cultural beliefs (Fig. 2.2).

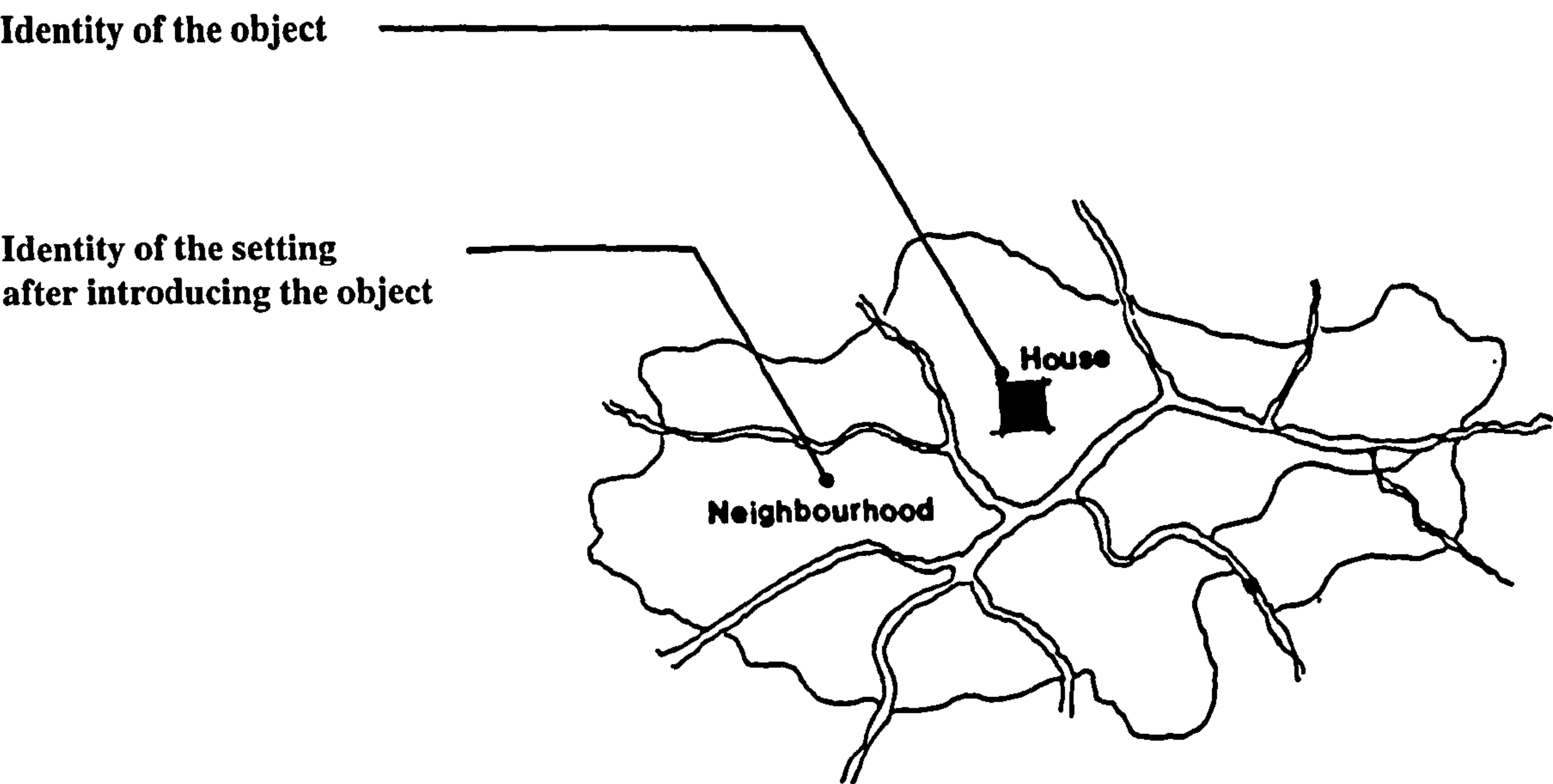


Fig. 2.1: The approach to investigate the concept of identity.

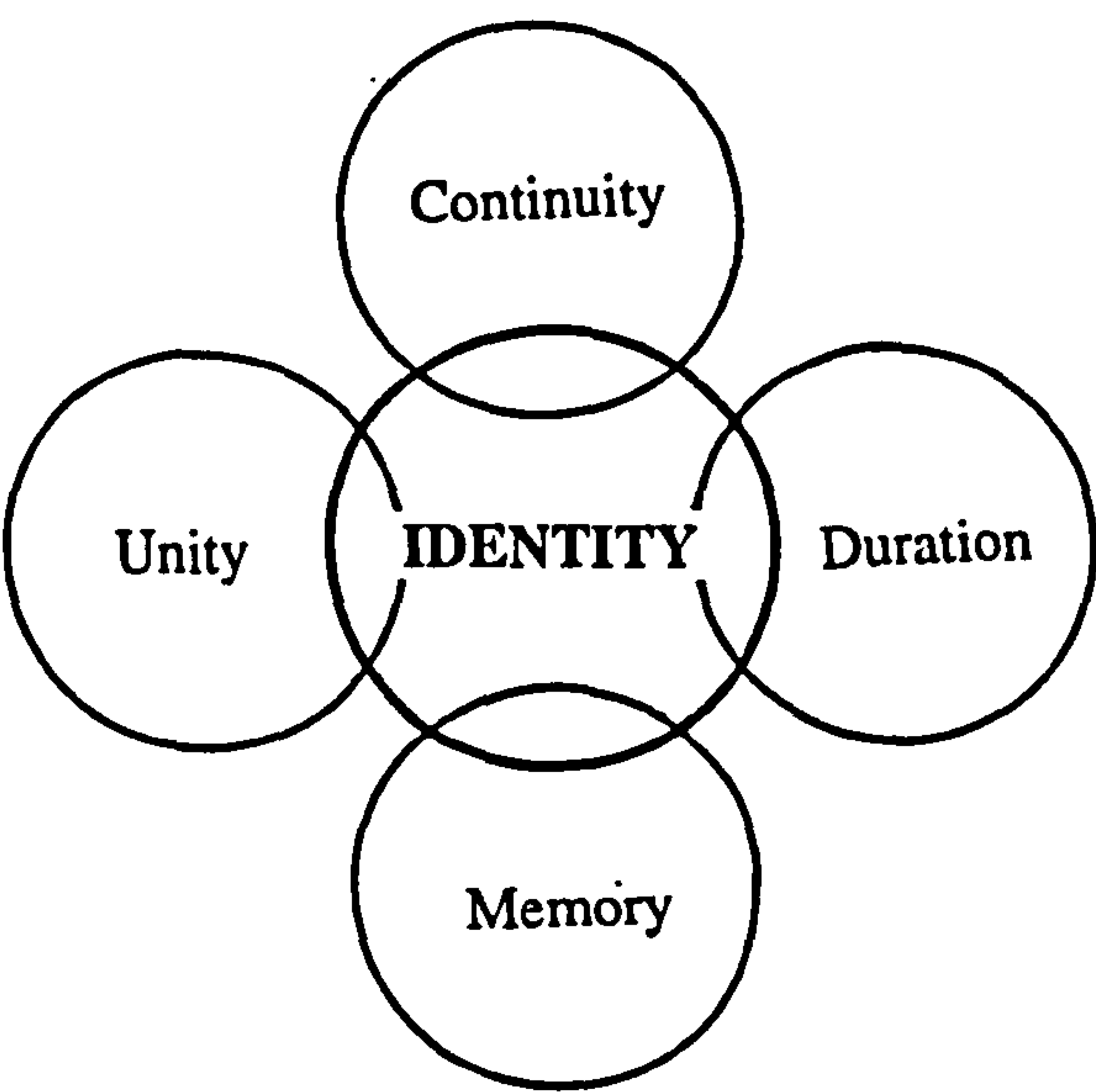


Fig. 2.2: The philosophical interpretations considered to examine the concept of identity.

In order to establish a clear understanding to the concept of identity and its manifestation in the built environment, the different types of identity (individual and group), their qualitative and quantitative aspects and the relationships between them, should be examined.

The successful use of environmental elements in communicating identity depends on the cues being noticed and the meaning understood, i.e. on the intended receivers being able first to notice and then to decode and understand the cues. The elements which are usually used to express identity whether clothing, houses or furnishing are indications of social status and social rank. The codes of identity are learned through culture, and then these codes are communicated to those who can decode the messages; consequently, these messages place people in social space and help them to act appropriately.

The specific elements used to express identity vary with life-style. For example, a good person in certain group is expected to do certain things, to dress in certain ways, to live in particular area and so on.

The focus of this study is to investigate the identity of the built environment and its relation to the self and the nature of the social order in special circumstances, namely when the group is exposed to stress from external colonial power. The study starts by focusing upon large scale socio-cultural symbolism and continues with more specific discussion of the individual meanings of things in the built environment. The concern here is to explain how social and cultural processes mediate the relation of the built environment and identity, by analysing the ways that the built environment as a meaningful objects and settings, become signs for defining and communicating identity in the Palestinian village society.

The meaning aspects of the built environment is critical and central, and it could be said that meanings mediate between people and objects. The present research suggests that meaning is a combined beliefs and values through the use of specific forms and features. Accordingly, in buildings, meaning is a combined attitude of initial function of the

building and the experience and values of a person in particular locality.

The sense of place is identified here as an outcome of mutual interactions of people and their built environment. The present study intends to examine the concept of identity by demonstrating the interaction between the introduced features such as buildings and the specific existing characteristics which represent the uniqueness of that place.

Colonisation is strongly related to the concept of territoriality, and people use the territory to express their identity. The territory can range from small room up to a village or a region, and colonial powers have a strong impact on large scale territories.

Through the investigation of the concept of identity in this research, several questions will be answered. For example: what environmental elements are used as indicators of identity? How does identity vary not only from group to group, but within the same group? What has been the impact of colonial powers in changing the identity of Palestinian territories, and how the Palestinian people react when an external power is trying to suppress their identity?

NOTES

- [1] Donald Appleyard, Inside vs. Outside : The Distortion of Distance. Working paper number 307, (Berkeley: Institute for Urban and Regional Development, University of California, 1979). Cited in F. Violic, Toward Revealing the Sense of Place, p. 113. In D. Seamon and R. Mugerauer (eds), Dwelling, Place and Environment, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, Boston, Lancaster, 1985.
- [2] KNIGHT, D. 1971: Impress of authority and ideology in landscape. Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie 62, pp. 383 - 87. Cited in D. Newman, Civilian and Military Presence as Strategies of Territorial Control: The Arab Israeli Conflict. Political Geography Quarterly 8, 1989, p. 216).

CHAPTER THREE

THE WEST BANK: IDENTITY AND CHANGE

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THE WEST BANK: IDENTITY AND CHANGE

3.1 PROLOGUE

The West Bank, as part of the historic land of Palestine, has been in the grip of turbulent changes (both social and physical) ever since the beginning of this century. These changes have come partly from the catastrophic wars that have plagued the country. In addition, they have been influenced by political, social and economic changes. Moreover, during this time, the control of change has been in the hands of other nations and not of its indigenous residents. The new forces of change have affected every aspect of Palestinian life as well as their built environment. As a result, the built environment has been transformed. Therefore, the examination of these developments is the first step towards understanding the process of colonisation and transformation of the present features of the region.

This chapter is divided into two parts. The aim of the first part is to explain the major factors influencing the built environment in the West Bank, including the historical and political changes that have taken place, the social and cultural characteristics of the people and the physical features of the natural environment. This part is divided into four main sections. The first section discusses the historical changes in the West Bank in the twentieth century during the periods of the Ottoman Empire, the British Mandate, Jordanian Rule and the Israeli occupation. The second section describes the physical characteristics of the country including the topography, the climate and the landscape features. The third section examines the social structure and main cultural characteristics of Palestinian society in order to identify the relationship between the environment and

people. The last section in this part discusses the economic conditions of the country as an important factor for development.

The second part introduces the rural areas of the West Bank including the location, spatial organisation, number of the villages and their population.

3.2 THE FACTORS AFFECTING THE IDENTITY OF THE WEST BANK

This research considers the built environment not simply as the result of physical forces, but also as the outcome of a complex set of social and cultural factors. Rapoport (1969) challenged those studies which considered climate, construction materials and economic factors as determinants of house form and demonstrated the importance of cultural systems in helping to determine the form of the house. He explained that religious beliefs, privacy, kinship ties and social organisation are important factors in shaping the built environment.

It was noted that radical transformations in political, socio-cultural and economic conditions have taken place in the West Bank since the beginning of this century. They have had a major influence in changing the identity of the built environment. However, it should be noted that the causal relationship between changes in people's culture and the built environment is complex and interdependent. This means that several factors affect one aspect in the built environment at the same time. For example, Amiry (1987) attributed the causes of change in a Palestinian village (Der Ghassaneh) to three factors: the declining power of the village sheikh, change in the land tenure and taxation systems, and changes in the occupational structure.

This research argues that many critical changes in the built environment can be understood in the context of understanding the historical, social and economic changes. Therefore, the following sections will discuss these factors and will examine how they influence the identity of the built environment in the West Bank.

3.2.1 HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

Historically, seldom have unity, self-determination, statehood and security been so bedevilled as in the case of Palestine.

(Prince Hasan Ben Talal, 1981: 11)

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, historical and political developments in Palestine have been dramatic in the aftermath of three events: the establishment of British rule after the defeat of the Ottoman Empire during the First World War, and the wars with Israel in 1948 and 1967 (Fig. 3.1). After each event, the country was ruled by a different nation: successively, Britain, Jordan and Israel. The consequences of these wars and the ruling regime's policies afterwards have had major impacts on the built environment.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the West Bank has been controlled by four different nations. Each nation influenced the built environment in a certain way. During this period, the external forces have played a crucial part in shaping its destiny and environment; Palestinians have not controlled their destinies through a government of their own choosing. This powerlessness has had both physical and cultural effects on the built environment and on the Palestinian society. The most obvious and recent of these external forces is the Israeli occupation.

This section analyses the main events of each of the four periods. These analyses are concerned with the spatial impacts on the built environment. In other words, the links between the political factors and the changing characteristics of the built environment. Therefore, this section comprises two main parts: firstly, a study of the political background and the development policies of each administration; secondly, a discussion of the impacts of each historical period on the built environment.



Fig. 3.1: The historical changes in Palestine since 1947.
Source: Abu Lughod (1971).

The Ottoman Empire brought no significant changes in the life of Palestinians until the second half of the nineteenth century, when major changes began to occur as a result of the introduction of several changes in land registration and taxation. The central aspect of the law was the call for all land holdings to be officially registered and for taxes to be raised on them. Many peasants did not register their lands and many sold them to avoid paying taxes. This had two effects in shaping the built environment: many areas of land were left uncultivated; and the registration of land affected indirectly the spatial relations between the buildings because it divided the land between people.

After the First World War, Palestine was placed under the British Mandate. Initially, the British Administration concentrated on improving communications including roads, railways, ports and telegraphs (Fig. 3.2). Later, the focus was on the development of agriculture. Then, in the 1930s, the administration concentrated on the construction of government buildings. However, the most significant action of the British Administration which changed the identity of Palestine, was the opening of Palestine to Jewish immigration. Before the Mandate, more than 90% of the population in Palestine were

Arabs (Coon, 1991). But after the Balfour Declaration of 1919, thousands of Jewish immigrants started to enter the country every year. For example, between 1920 and 1929 more than 100,000 Jewish immigrants entered the country (Biger, 1979). The opening of Palestine to Jewish immigrants was the main factor which changed the built environment of the country. During the British Mandate, a special responsibility for Palestine as the Holy Land was recognised by the authorities. This can be seen in the measures and policies by the British Administration to develop and conserve the beauty of the country, in archaeological excavations and in the restoration of old buildings (Kendall, 1949).

Following the partition of Palestine and the creation of the state of Israel in 1948, the West Bank came to be controlled by Jordan. During the Jordanian period, the changes were more in the physical than cultural. This occurs as a result of the preferential treatment of the East Bank which led to high emigration from the West Bank to the East Bank and to other Arab countries. Accordingly, development in the West Bank slowed down.

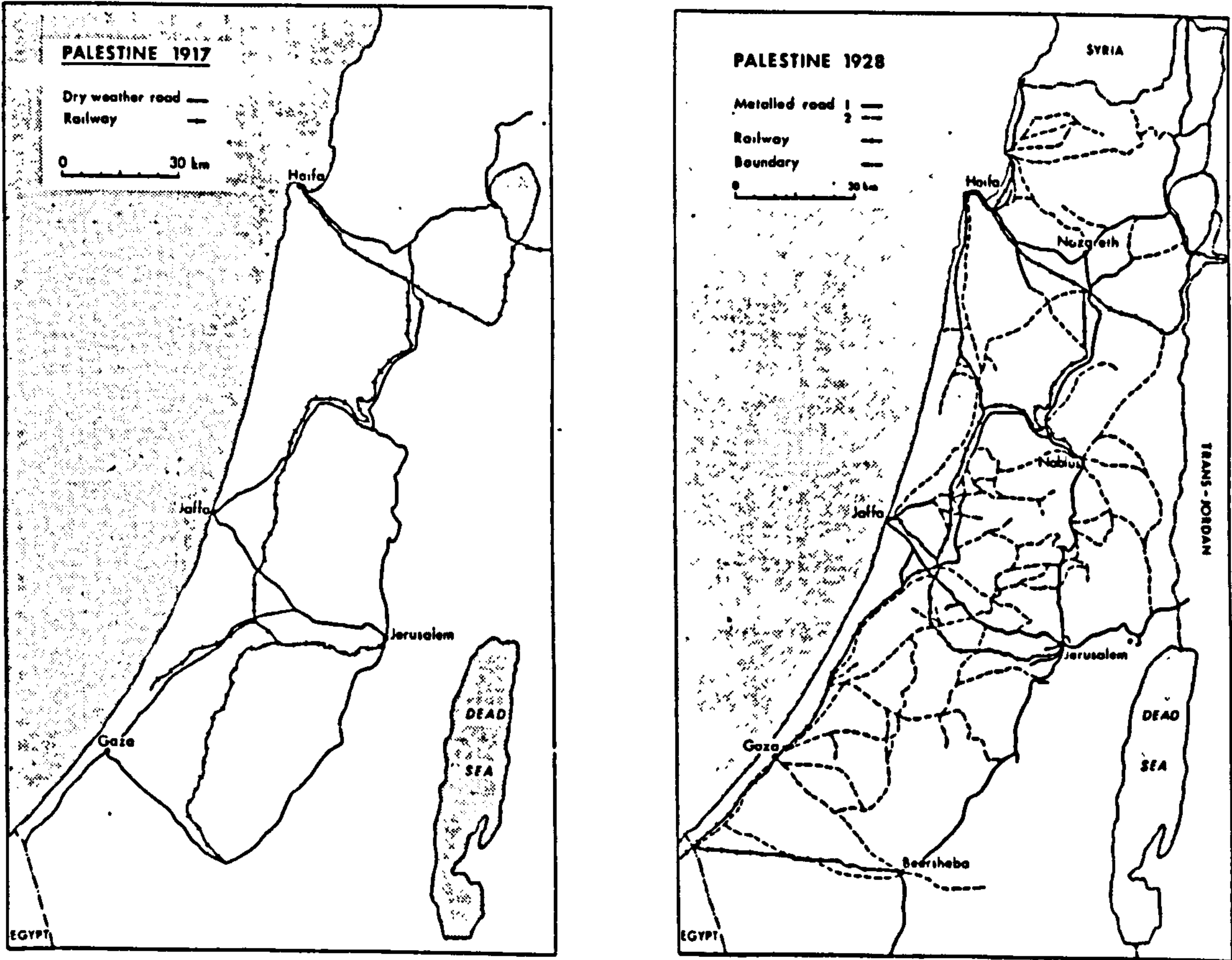


Fig. 3.2: Roads and railways introduced by the British between 1917 and 1928.
Source: Biger (1979).

In 1967, Israel occupied the West Bank and controlled the entire territory. Since then, the West Bank has been physically separated from the other Arab countries. Yet culturally and emotionally the people still consider themselves an integral part of the Arab nation and continue to struggle to assert their national identity over their land. However, the Israeli authorities have introduced several policies and actions which have drastically affected the identity of the built environment. This will be discussed in detail in chapter five.

In the four periods, each ruling nation worked towards certain goals, and in its actions towards these goals, affected the built environment of the country in certain ways. During the British Mandate, army camps, air force bases and police stations became major features in the environment. During the Jordanian period, few changes took place and were limited to new roads, public buildings and the expansion of the existing villages. Since the Israeli occupation, drastic transformations can be seen in the new Israeli settlements, the sites of demolished houses and the military landscape.

In sum, it can be concluded that the West Bank has been shaped and changed by its external rulers according to their aims. Therefore, the colonial powers left their imprints on the built environment of the country and their impact provides a starting point for examining the environmental factors which have shaped today's landscape.

3.2.2 THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The West Bank is a small territory of almost 5575 km² (Karmon, 1971). It is bordered by Israel on three sides, the north, the south and the west; and by Jordan on the east. This has had a strong impact on its development especially in the areas along the boundaries with Israel. During the period of Jordanian Rule, the development of the villages in those areas was slow because they were considered as war zones. However, after the Israeli occupation, the development in those areas became faster because of their closer relationship with the Israeli cities.

Physically, the West Bank is a region of variety and diversity. It consists of a central mass of limestone mountains which drop steeply to the east, where the Rift Valley contains the Jordan River and the Dead Sea, and slope more gently to the west to reach the coastal plains (Fig. 3.3). Each area is unique with dramatic differences. Half an hour's drive from the mountains to the Jordan Valley, takes you from 800 meters above sea level to almost 400 meters below sea level, passing thorough different landscape zones. The northern and central parts are the richest part of the land. The villages there are well built of stone, surrounded by olive groves and fields. On the other hand, the eastern part (the Jordan Valley) is remarkable for its small oases and uncultivated sand mountains. Coon (1991) described the landscape of the West Bank. He writes:

The West Bank is an area of great visual interest. The rounded slopes of the northern highlands contrast with the deep gorges and more rugged topography of the southern highlands. In the northern highlands are a number of small plains and open valleys, while north of Jenin the landscape opens out to the wide expanse of the plain of Esdraelon (Fig. 3.4).

(Coon, 1991: 13)

The climate of the country is in general "Mediterranean", except for the Jordan Valley which has a tropical hot climate. In the West Bank, there are four seasons in the year characterised by cool wet winters and hot dry summers. Rainfall is from October to April with an average of 50 cm per year.

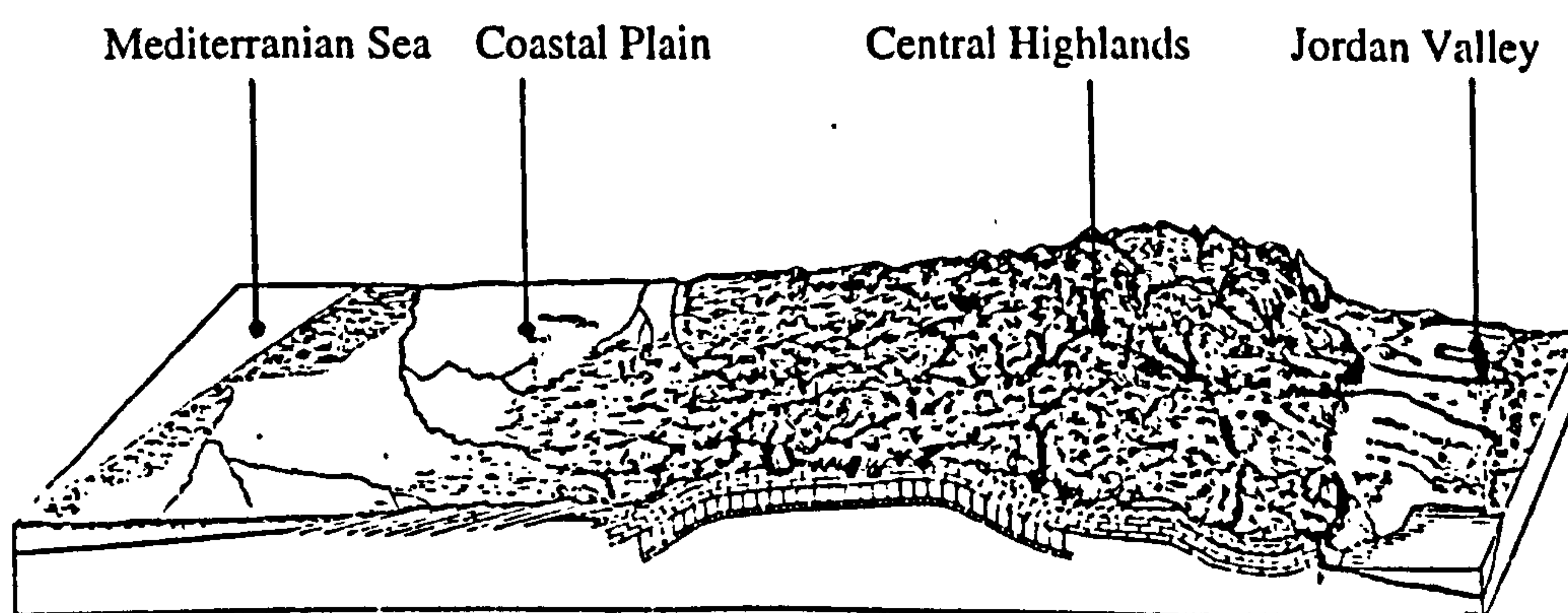


Fig. 3.3: Block diagram across central Palestine shows the topography of land.
Source: Willatts (1946).

The variety of topography and climate and the resulting different landscapes, give each area a distinctive appearance. In addition, each area looks different at different seasons of the year. For example, agricultural products, which are many and varied, are mostly planted at the end of winter. As a result, the colour of the plains is brown in the winter, green in the spring and yellow in the summer. Robinson (1897) described the local fruit of Palestine. He wrote:

The fruits of the earth are grown in plenty. There is not a day in the year when fresh fruit cannot be purchased....Oranges from Jafa are found in the towns in winter until apricots appear in the spring. These are followed by peaches, plums, nectarines, prickly pears, figs, melons, bananas and grapes. They show the fruitful land.

(Robinson, 1897: 29)

In order to give an idea about the characteristics of the physical environment of the West Bank, I will describe a journey from Jenin to Hebron, in which I crossed the West Bank from north to south. The one-way trip took almost three hours driving on the old road which passes through or closer to the main cities in the West Bank.

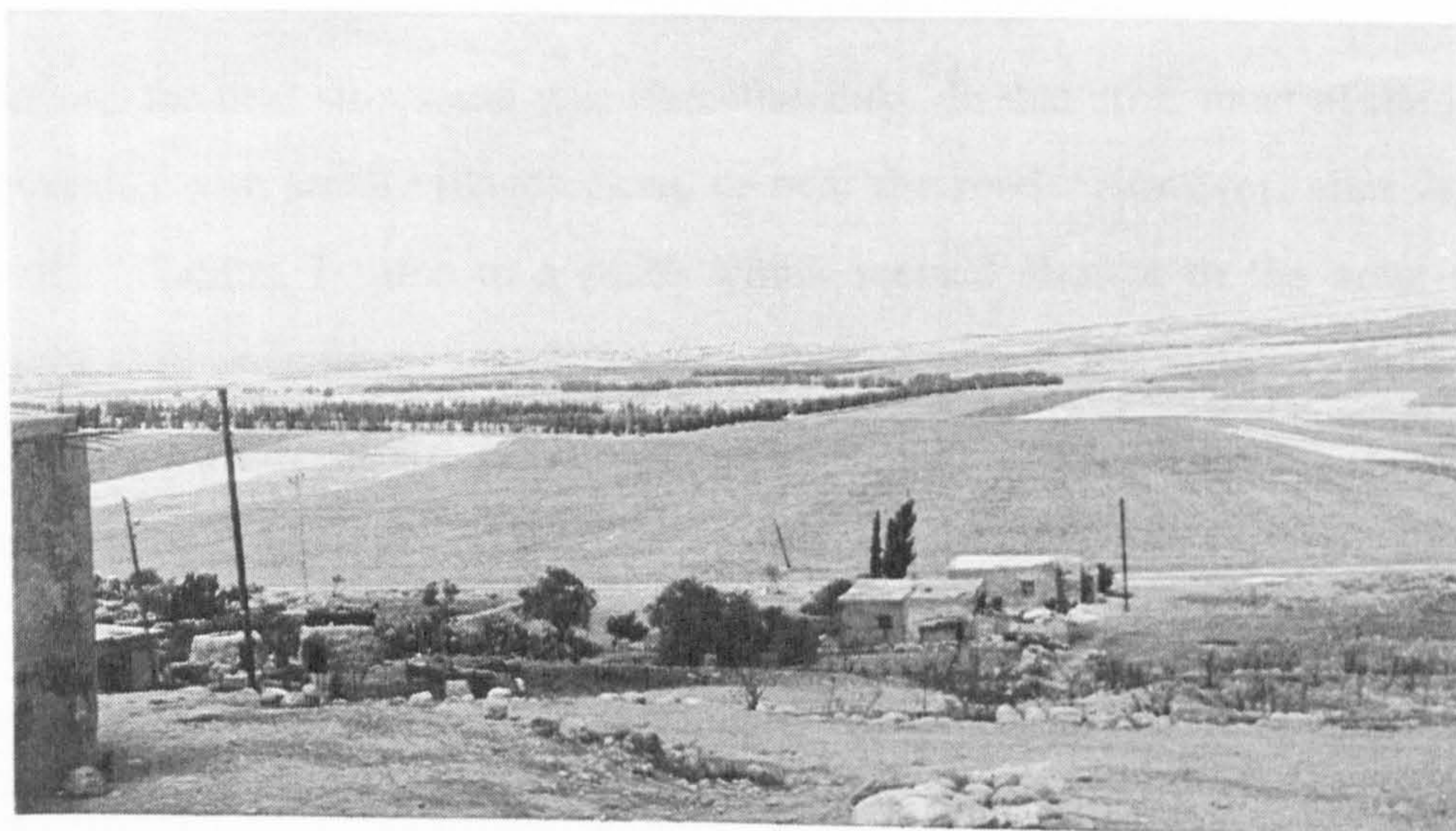


Fig. 3.4: View of the plains north of Jenin.

The journey started on a fine day in September from Jenin, which is located at the northern end of the central mountains and is surrounded by plains. Leaving Jenin, I drove south across the plain for about 15 minutes. The landscape in this area is impressive with continuous mountains on the left and multi-coloured fields with green vegetables, yellow crops and citrus orchards on the right.

Then I reached the high mountains. As I started to climb, the scenery changed. One can see several villages surrounded by olive trees and other fruit trees. In that area, the speed limit is 50 km/h because the road is narrow and winding. Half way along the road, I passed through a Palestinian village, Seilet El-Daher. From there, a Jewish settlement (Shilo) could be seen far away on the top of the mountains.

I continued driving through this mountainous landscape until I reached a main intersection, Der Sharaf, which goes west to Tulkarim and east to Nablus. I turned east, driving through a valley between two ranges of high mountains. My journey took me through the city of Nablus, which is one of the biggest cities in the West Bank with a population of 120,000.

From Nablus, the next stop south was Ramallah city. In that area, most of the landscape is mountainous with small villages along or near the road. However, after 20 minutes driving from Nablus, I came to a place which seemed strange to the area; the Salfit intersection with its military check point, wide streets and big signs in Hebrew. This intersection is on one of the main east-west roads built by the Israeli government to connect the settlements in the Jordan Valley with Israel.

After leaving Ramallah and nearing Jerusalem, the natural landscape began to acquire an urban appearance with the traffic lights, shops and multistorey buildings of the Jewish settlements. Indeed, I could not recognise the Palestinian villages along the road such as Shu'fat and Beit Hanina because of the massive changes around them.

I drove through Jerusalem, and the urban picture of extensive Jewish settlement remained until I passed Bethlehem. After that, the buildings became fewer and the roads narrower. The mountains extended into this area; the hillsides were terraced and mostly planted with vineyards. At noon, I reached Hebron, the biggest city in the south. Near this historic city, there is a large Jewish settlement (Qariat Arba').

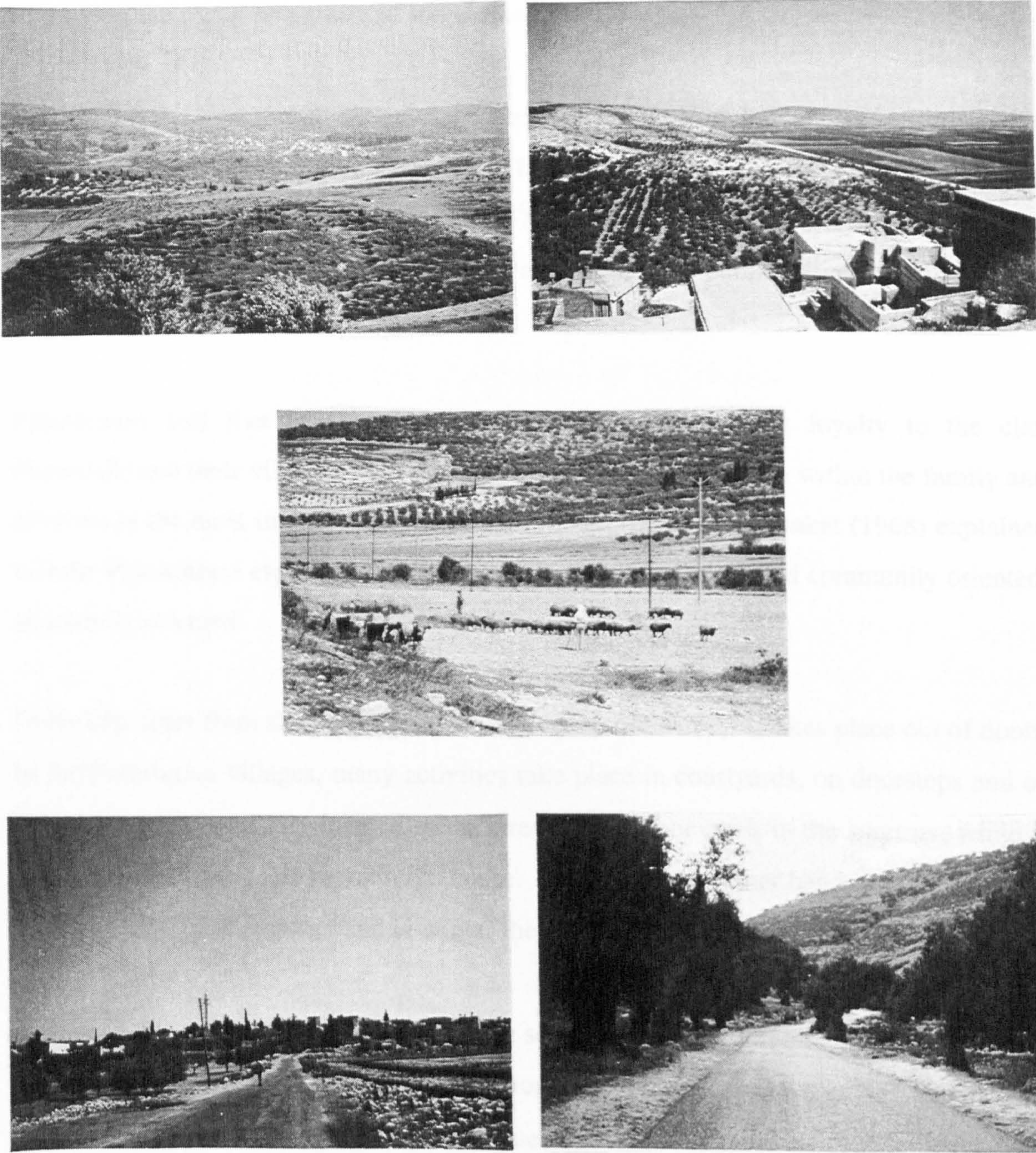


Fig. 3.5: Scenes from the physical environment of the West Bank.

3.2.3 THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

In the preceding section, I have described the natural and the built environment. The aim of this section is to shed light on the social and cultural aspects of people's life in the West Bank, including their values, customs and lifestyle, and on the changing nature of the population. In addition, the changes in the social environment will be analysed by examining the social structure and social relationships.

The West Bank villages are agricultural. Their inhabitants, predominantly Muslims, have a traditional and conservative lifestyle. The most important values in the society are privacy, security, family ties and religion. The most significant characteristics in people's lifestyle are the segregation between men and women in public places and the strong relationship between family members.

Palestinians still live in close-knit communities with a strong loyalty to the clan (*hamulah*) and their village or city. In the villages, the relationship within the family and relatives is the most important social characteristic. Dodd and Barakat (1968) explained that the Palestinians especially the villagers are person-oriented, and community oriented, and family oriented.

Daily life, apart from sleeping and sheltering from cold and rain, takes place out of doors. In the Palestinian villages, many activities take place in courtyards, on doorsteps and on the streets. For example, men sit in the streets or outdoor cafes in the summer, while in winter they use the guest room in the house. Women, on the other hand, use the extended family courtyard in summer and in winter they use one of the rooms in the house.

Births, deaths and marriages are marked by some kind of celebration. The nuclear family celebrates births by receiving congratulations and presents from relatives and friends. After a death in the family, men use the guest house (*dewan*) of the clan for three days, where the people come to share their sadness. Meanwhile, women remain in the family

house. Weddings are the occasions when the families of the groom and the bride celebrate for three days.

However, there has been a gradual and partial change in the social structure. The extended family and the clan have lost part of their role in the social system, while other factors such as individual economic achievements, educational and political spheres have become more important.

Nevertheless, the traditional structure has been preserved by maintaining its role within the family and the village community. Moreover, the control of land which also derives from the family structure, is an important factor in keeping the development in the new neighbourhoods within certain clans, because the younger generation inherits the land from the older generation. This also increases the importance and the power of old people because of their ability to provide land for the younger generation to build a house.

3.2.3.1 Population and Emigration

Estimates of the Palestinian population in the West Bank vary from one source to another because no census has been held since 1967. The Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics estimated that the population of the West Bank (excluding East Jerusalem) was 860,000 in 1984. The corresponding estimate by the West Bank Data Base Project was 1,068,000 (Benevenisti, 1984). The same source indicated that there are 136,000 Arabs living in East Jerusalem. Therefore, the total population in the West Bank was around 1.2 million.

The population of the West Bank tends to be young with 41% under the age of 15. The rate of natural increase is about 3% per annum (Coon, 1991). Most of the population is concentrated on the central highlands. Most of the towns are located on the historic route from Jenin to Hebron passing through Nablus, Ramallah, Jerusalem and Bethlehem.

Forced emigration was the most important factor affecting population growth in the West Bank. In particular, there were two main flows of immigration to and from the West Bank. The first was after the establishment of the new Israeli state in 1948, when over 90% of the Arab population were expelled from their home, (Fig. 3.6) of which 360,000 came to the West Bank (Coon, 1991). This increased the population of the territory by about 75% in one year. A large percentage of these people was accommodated in tented refugee camps, which were replaced by one or two room shelters in 1959 built with the help of the United Nation. At present, about 100,000 refugees are still living in 20 refugee camps around the main cities of the West Bank. The second forced emigration was the expulsion of almost 250,000 people from the West Bank to Jordan during the war in 1967 (Coon, 1991).

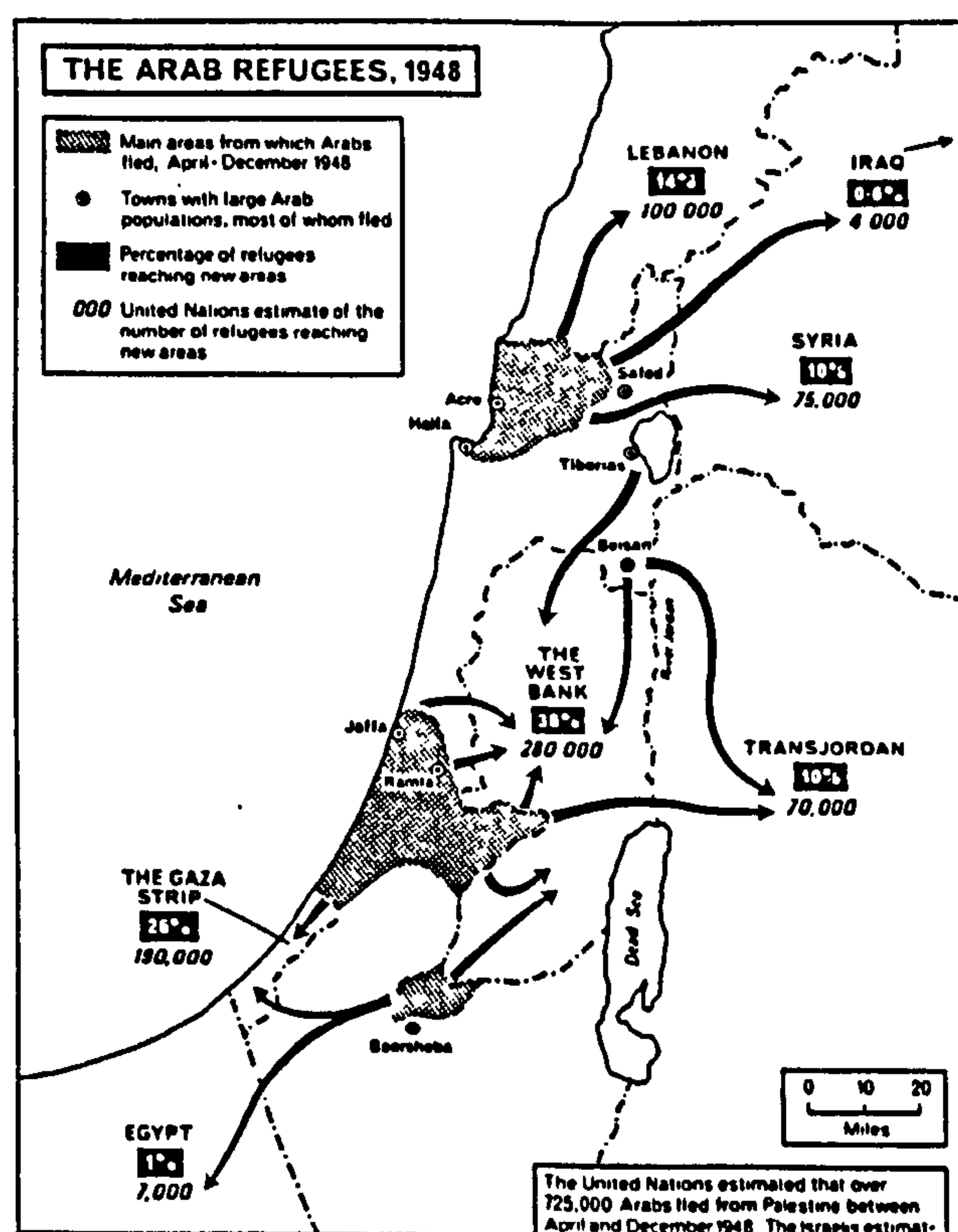


Fig. 3.6: Directions of Palestinian refugees in 1948.
Source: Gilbert (1984).

As a result of this mass emigration, many buildings and lands have been left empty. The refugee camps have become prominent features in the built environment of the territory and have indeed been preserved as a declaration of the permanence of the problem and as a symbol for the eventual return.

In addition, slow but continuous emigration has retarded the development of the built environment in the West Bank. During Jordanian rule, there was an emigration to the East Bank and to other Arab countries partly because the economic development of Jordan was concentrated in the East Bank. Since 1967, over the years of Israeli occupation, almost 140,000 persons have emigrated from the West Bank (Abid, 1987) as a result of the Israeli government's tight policies and punitive actions against the people. The majority of those immigrants were young, educated and professional people.

These drastic changes in the population structure are considered the underlying force behind many of the changes in the built environment, in particular the expansion of the villages and the introduction of the refugee camps.

3.2.3.2 Identity Crisis

Identity is a two-way relationship: it is determined by the individual's attitude toward the communities and the attitude of these communities toward the individual. In addition, this identity could be viewed positively or negatively by different groups. In the case of the West Bank, people feel that they belong to a number of communities: Islamic, Arab, Palestinian and family (Fig. 3.7). The first and the largest entity is the Islamic world community because Islam is the religion of the majority of the people. The second circle of identity is the Arab community; the people in the West Bank have always seen themselves as part of the Arab community.

The third circle of identity is the Palestinian entity, which is now probably the most important one for people because it is under threat. Despite the dispersal and statelessness of Palestinians, national identity has been maintained. Rather its characteristics are still clear in many features of people's lifestyle and their built environment. It is argued that the military rule of the Israeli occupation has accelerated the widespread adoption of a Palestinian self-identity in place of other political or religious identities (Migdal, 1980). Later, in this research, people were asked to choose

how they would identify themselves: as a person, a member of a clan, a Palestinian, an Arab, a Muslim or Christian. It was found that more than 70% identify themselves as Palestinians.

The fourth circle of identity is the family. This limited level of identity was supported by the colonial powers, including the Turks, the British and the Israelis who encouraged internal fragmentation among the indigenous population by supporting the clan divisions in order to ensure control over them. However, it should be noted that identity with the clan and the village has been weakened by the development of national identity, which has strengthened among the people, especially the young.

These different circles of identity have brought different changes to the society as well as the built environment. However, a certain constancy and stability has remained in Palestinian village life.

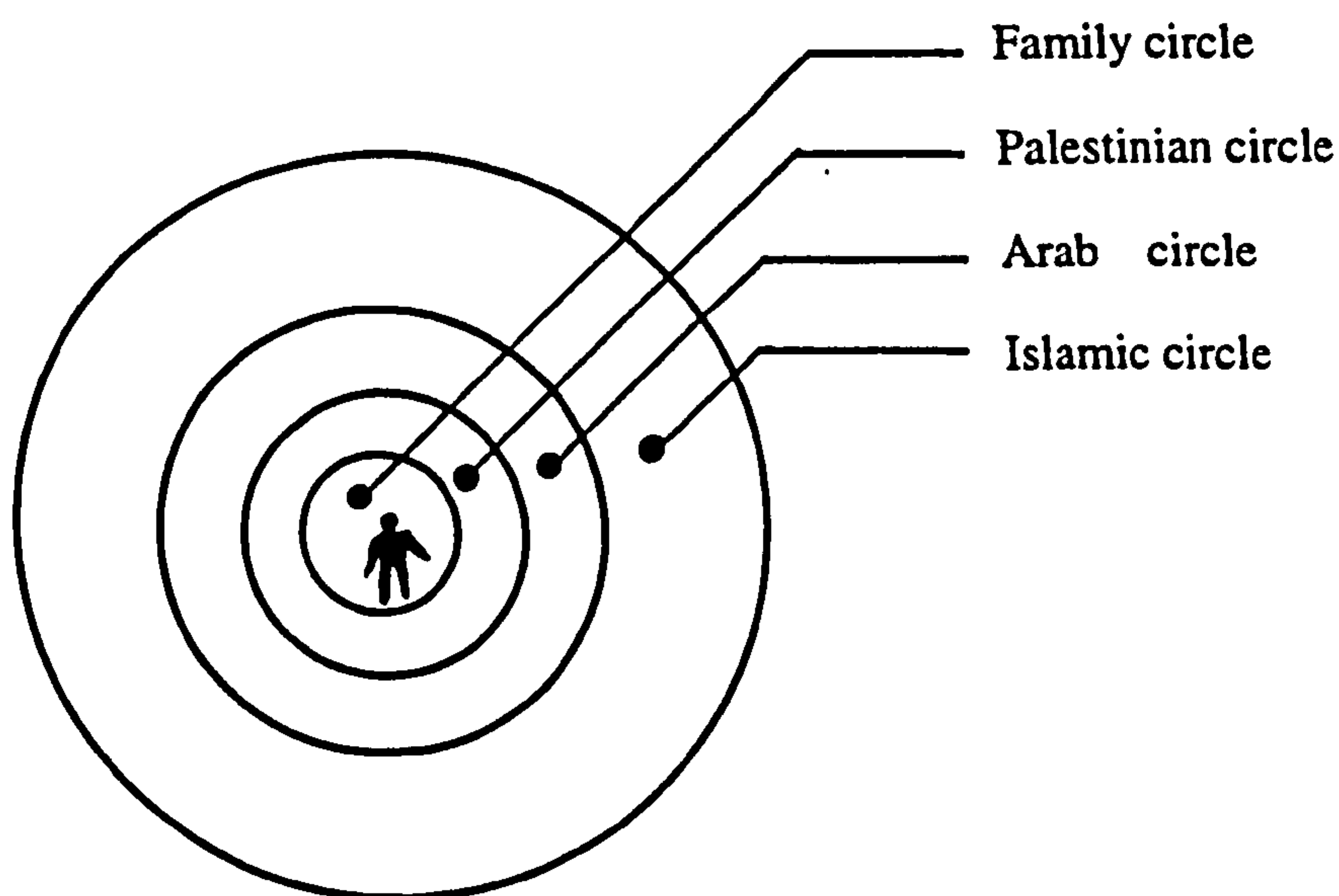


Fig. 3.7: The circles of identity in the Palestinian society.

3.2.4 THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

The economic resources of the West Bank are mainly agricultural land, underground water, international tourism and a limited amount of industry. Besides these, other sources of income contribute in developing the economy of the West Bank, such as the remittances of Palestinians who work in Israel and other Arab countries.

Until recently, the main economic activity was farming. Most of the agricultural land is concentrated in the western rainier half of the West Bank. The main crops are olives, grapes, citrus, almonds and field crops. Agriculture is highly dependent on rainfall with only 4% of the cultivated land irrigated (Abid, 1987). Thus agriculture has been badly affected by the loss of control over the water resources and the restriction of its use by the colonial power.

The industrial sector in the West Bank has no technologically advanced structure. It is limited to small scale food products, beverages, tobacco and furniture factories. These small-scale industries can be considered workshops rather than factories. One of the reasons for industrial stagnation is that the Israeli government has encouraged Israelis to invest in industries in the West Bank by offering them financial support. Meanwhile, they put many restrictions on Palestinians who wish to invest in industry.

At present, the economy of the West Bank is dependent on other economies and external influences. Abid (1987) points out four factors that determine the economic development in the West Bank: the existing resources, the policies and measures of the Israeli authorities, the development of the Israeli economy, and the economic environment in other Arab countries. Together, these factors have formed the economic environment in the West Bank.

Since the occupation of the West Bank in 1967, the objectives of the economic policies of the Israeli government have been to exploit the economic sector (Abu Ayyash, 1976) and to make the economy of the West Bank dependent on the Israeli economy. Meanwhile,

economic links have been maintained between the West Bank and Jordan, particularly in exporting agricultural products from the West Bank. Van Arkadie (1977) explained the Israeli investment policy in the West Bank. He stated that the Israelis placed many restrictions on the economy: they channelled and controlled the basic market forces while, at the same time, limiting the role of public investment and comprehensive development programs. They provided employment for the Arab labour and they utilised the West Bank as a market for Israeli products. As a result, the indigenous economy has deteriorated.

One of the characteristics which define the economic relationship between Israel and the West Bank is the labour market for Palestinians in Israel. Portugali (1986) estimated the number to be approximately 100,000 workers. Nonetheless, in 1993, the Israeli government sealed the borders between Israel and the West Bank and prevented Palestinians from working in Israel. This has added economic difficulties for people (Kessel, 1993).

Since the beginning of the uprising (*intifadah*) in 1987, there has been an economic decline in the West Bank because of the strikes, curfews and restrictions on people's movements. In 1991 the economy of the West Bank suffered another setback after the Gulf War, when almost 300,000 Palestinians lost their jobs in Kuwait and other Gulf countries. These were an important source of income to the people, who used to send money to their families and relatives in the West Bank.

These changes in the economic conditions have left their imprint on the built environment of the Palestinian village. For example, the decline in the role of agriculture as a source of livelihood and the increase in outside employment by manual workers in Israel or professionals in Arab countries, are significant factors in changing people's lifestyle and the occupational structure in society. This diminished the economic interdependence, which was based on agriculture. As a result, the new, separate house for a single family was introduced, which contributed to the creation of dispersed new neighbourhoods.

3.3 THE RURAL WEST BANK

Despite the intrusion of the colonial powers, the rural areas in the West Bank had and still have their specific identity that distinguishes them from other places. Indeed, there are many features that have survived for hundreds and even thousands of years in the region. Therefore, in order to understand the development that has taken place within the built environment, the present should be considered as a continuation of the past. This means that the evaluation of change is based on its relation with traditional features in the past. Accordingly, the investigation starts from the past and ends at the present.

W. M. Thompson gives an idea of how the region looked in 1839. He wrote:

From Samaria to Nablus is two hours' easy riding, first south, over the shoulder of the mountain, and then eastward, up the lovely vale of Nablus. Nothing in Palestine surpasses it in fertility and natural beauty, and this is mainly due to the fine mill-stream which flows through it. The whole country is thickly studded with villages, the plains clothed with grass or grain, and the rounded hills with orchards of olive, figs, pomegranate, and other trees.

(quoted in Kendall, 1949: 13)

Until the middle of this century, the landscape in the West Bank was characterised by variety and unity. While fields of grain and vegetables covered most of the plains, olive and almond trees and grapevines constituted a major feature in the landscape of the mountains. The same kinds of trees were also planted in people's gardens and courtyards, creating a harmony and unity between the buildings and the surrounding environment. The totality of the whole environment, therefore, gave the region a distinct identity in both natural and built environments.

At present, however, many changes have taken place as a result of external and internal forces: the landscape has been altered, the built environment of the villages has been distorted and the architecture of houses has been transformed. This includes the location of the villages and their relationships with each other.

3.3.1 LOCATION AND SPATIAL ORGANISATION OF THE VILLAGES

The location of the villages was influenced by the topography, water supply, roads, security and the quality of the land. However, the location pattern differs from one area to another. While more than two-thirds of the villages in Nablus district are located on mountain slopes or low ground, in Jerusalem and Hebron districts almost two-thirds of the villages are located on the hill tops (Yousef, 1989). Moreover, the alignment of the main roads affected the location of the villages of the West Bank. Amiran (1953) noted that, although the ancient highway running from south to north through the highlands passes through all the cities along its route, it bypasses the overwhelming majority of the villages.

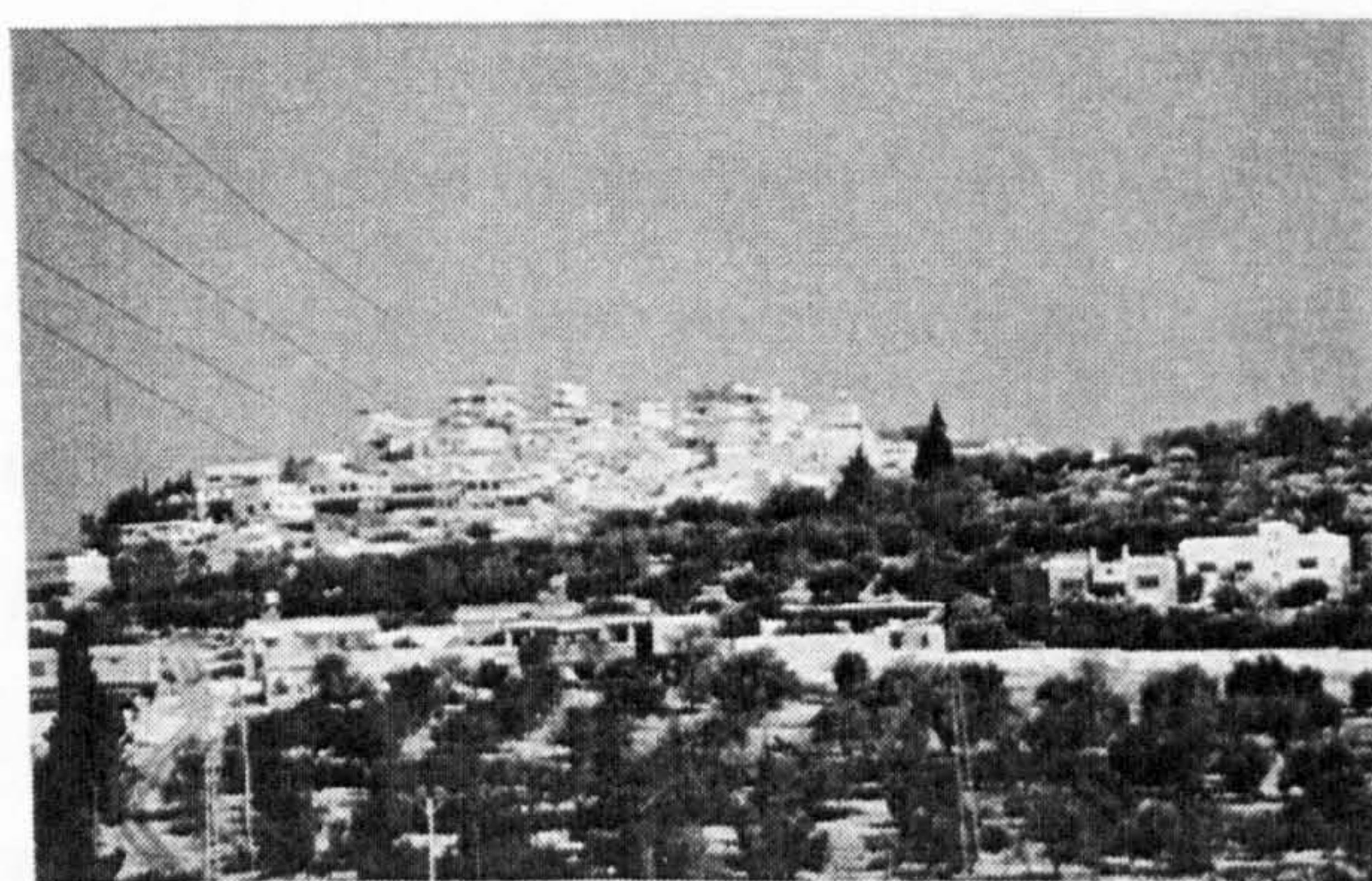
The geographical structure of the West Bank seems to have an influence on the distribution of villages. For example, the nature of the terrain was one factor creating differences in the locations and spatial organisations of the villages from one area to another (Fig. 3.8). Therefore, for the purpose of the present research, the West Bank has been divided into three main areas: the southern area, the northern area and the Jordan Valley area. Accordingly, the location of the villages in each area is discussed separately.

In the south, the layout of the rural settlements follows a linear and concentrated pattern in line with the geographical structure of mountains and valleys. To the east, the influence of the desert is very noticeable; human settlements do not extend beyond a line running about five km east of the watershed (Efrat, 1977; Amiry, 1987). To the south, the influence of the Negev Desert penetrates some distance into the Hebron mountains and, as a result, the number of villages decreases as one nears the border of the desert. However, in that area a few thousand bedouin live in tents and small scattered houses. This area is characterised by low density and uneven distribution of settlements. The villages in the mountains run parallel with the watershed, where soft stone is available for building. To the west, a further series of villages is located along a line running parallel with the mountains. Their position on the edge of the mountains ensures adequate supplies of spring water. The distribution of the villages in the Hebron and Jerusalem

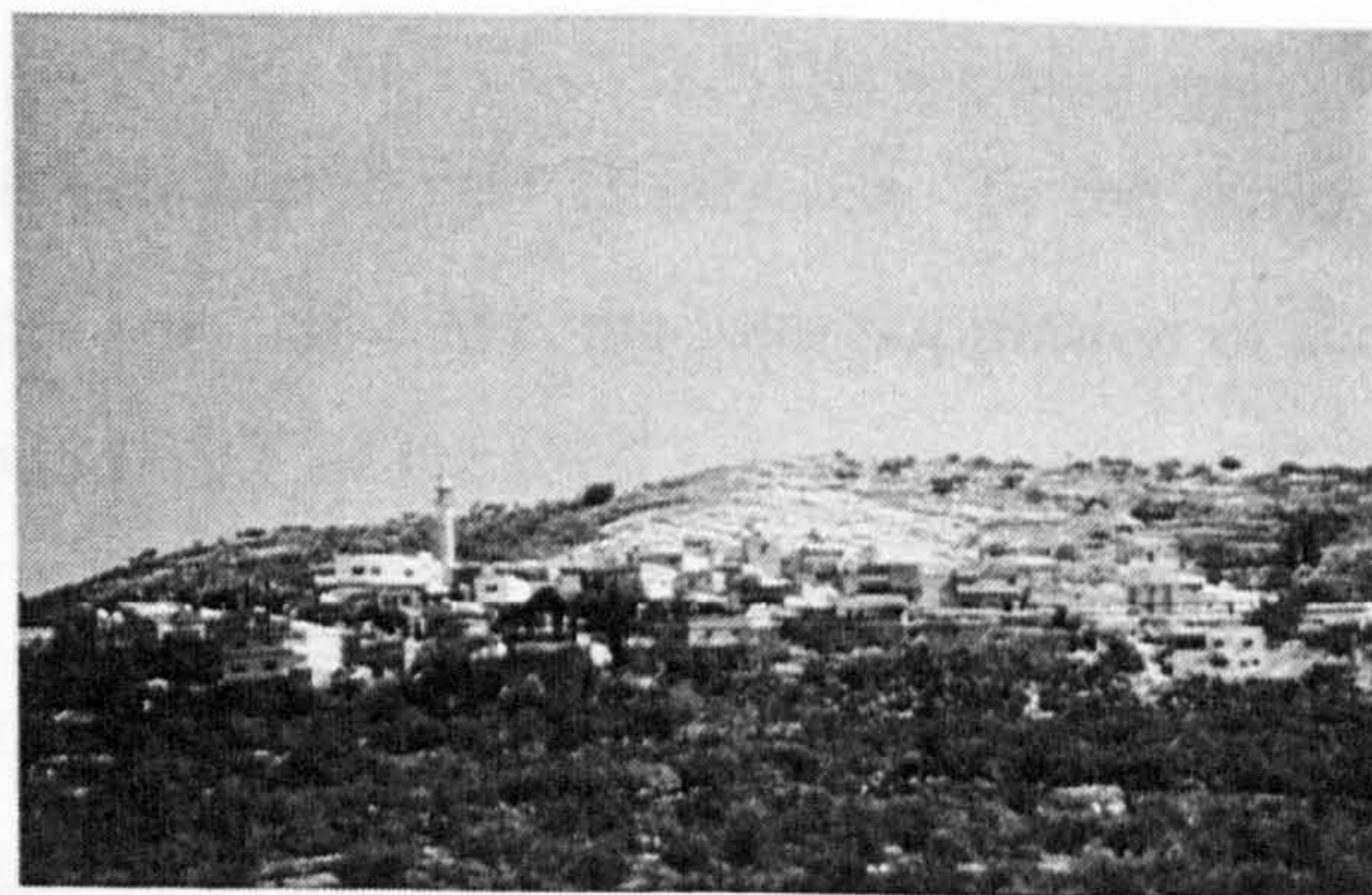
mountains is linear, clustered and concentrated owing to the limitations imposed by nature and the mountainous topography. The size of the villages in the south is generally large, both in population and in land area. The average population of the villages in this area in 1922 was 1,119 persons and this number increased to only 1391 persons in 1981 (Yousef, 1989).

In the north, the settlements are more widely distributed. The broken mountainous topography has resulted in a network of villages which are located on pinnacles and ridges dominating the surrounding countryside. The valleys are generally uninhabited, being left free for cultivation. In this area, the villages look different from those in the south; they can be described as more widely spread and less compact (Amiry, 1987). This area is characterised by the high density of villages which are scattered and cover almost the entire area.

In the Jordan Valley, the villages are concentrated near the water and the fertile land. The landscape is dominated by date-palms, bananas and vegetables. One of the new features which have been recently introduced to this area is the plastic greenhouse for growing vegetables.



a)



b)

Fig. 3.8: Location of the villages

a) Ajah, on the top of a mountain

b) Mithaloon, on a mountain slope

3.3.2 NUMBER OF THE VILLAGES AND THEIR POPULATION

The number of villages in the West Bank differs from one census to another. This may be due to the establishment of new villages, or the destruction of others. In 1961, the number of villages recorded was 453. By 1981, however, this number had fallen to 436 (Yousef, 1989). This may be due to the destruction of several villages near the armistice line after the 1967 war such as Imwas, Nuba and Yalu; or the annexation of the villages around Jerusalem city to Israel.

The wars in Palestine have had a great impact on the development of the villages in the West Bank. The number of villages was affected first by the war in 1948, and then by the war in 1967. In the West Bank there was a total increase of 156 villages (52.5%) between the end of the British Mandate (in 1948) and 1961. This increase was a striking feature in the spatial distribution of villages in the region. The degree of change differs from one area to another. For instance, the change of the number of villages in Jenin district was from 48 to 56 (16.6%), while in Hebron district, the change was from 20 to 83 (315%) (Yousef, 1989) because of the refugees who fled after the 1948 War. In the Jordan Valley, the number of villages is very small. By 1981, they were only eight villages in this area and the average village population size was 368 (Yousef, 1989).

The population of the West Bank villages has had a high rate of increase. In the period 1961-1981, the average increase was 3.78% per year. In 1981, the total population of the rural areas was 646,553, which constitute around 65% of the total population of the West Bank (Yousef, 1989).

In sum, the villages in the West Bank are small. The average size of villages in the West Bank was 911 in 1945, and reached 1483 in 1981 (Yousef, 1989). However, more than one-third of all the West Bank villages still have populations below 500. Most of the village populations now range from 500 to 1000 inhabitants and only a minority number 3,000-5,000 inhabitants (Abid, 1987).

3.4 SUMMARY

This chapter has traced certain developments and changes in the West Bank from the beginning of the twentieth century to the present day. This period has been characterised by the relocation of population for economic and political reasons. The aim has been to understand those changes that have led to the present features of the built environment in the West Bank. I have argued that we can best understand the process of change in the built environment by analysing the factors affecting its development. Therefore, the chapter has attempted to identify the factors influencing the change of identity of the built environment, as well as to examine this change in the rural areas.

The most significant factor was the historical and political development in the region since the beginning of this century because, since then, external powers have controlled the development to serve their own purposes. Accordingly, many of the changes in the built environment have been influenced by the consequences of wars and by the policies of successive regimes.

The social environment has undergone several changes of lifestyle and population. While the changes in the social structure and occupation have had a gradual effect on the built environment, the mass emigration has had a sudden impact. In addition, economic development is slow and has several problems. The restrictions imposed by the Israeli government and the over-dependency upon external sources of income have had a major impact in shaping the built environment.

In discussing the rural areas in the West Bank, it has been shown that their characteristics in terms of spatial organisation, relationships and size vary from one area to another, influenced by the topography and climate, and by the changing political situation.

CHAPTER FOUR

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RESEARCH METHODS

4.1 PROLOGUE

The aim of this study is to examine the physical characteristics of the rural communities in the West Bank which has been occupied since the 1967 war, with a view to ascertain the development of identity of the built environment. The theoretical approach to the understanding of the concept of identity within the context of colonisation would be assessed.

The main emphasis of this study is on the perception of identity of a built environment. A research based on intangible substance of this nature is a difficult one. Although the items to be assessed and examined are tangible, the perceptions of these items are intangible. The research approach, therefore, would be based on people's perception of the physical elements within the study area which they could identify with over a period of time. That is before and after the change of the built environment. According to studies of environmental perception of physical elements, different things could have different meanings for different people, and the result could range from one person to another (Lynch, 1981).

Moreover, the issue under study is complex and variant, in that, there are both external and internal forces which have contributed in shaping the development. External forces determine the characteristics of the territory which are beyond the control of people, while the internal forces through the inhabitants put their reflections on that development. In addition, there are factors, other than colonisation, which also affects the process. All these makes the investigation difficult, because no one specific method is able to unravel

these developments, their implications and meanings. Therefore, the approaches and methodologies utilized in the research were tailored to suit the different aspects of the problem in order to cover all aspects.

In his study, Dayaratne (1992) pointed out the way to give a holistic understanding to research problems. He writes:

The things which may be observed, the events which may be recorded, the interviews which may be conducted will only reveal parts of the whole; yet the whole is not merely the collection of these parts, and therefore need to be also experienced and synthesized as a whole.

(Dayaratne, 1992: 163)

The methodology used in this study is concerned with bridging various gaps in the approaches and techniques in order to help in understanding and clarifying the concept of identity within the built environment. In addition, it will consider people's perception of the development in order to assess the changes in the physical characteristics of the area.

Once the objectives and key questions have been identified and the theoretical basis of the study have been conceptualized, the following task is to examine how the data was collected from the case study area in order to achieve the objectives and to answer the questions raised.

On that basis, the discussion of the fieldwork which was conducted in the rural area of the West bank, including the approach, the strategy and the methods would be examined. This constitutes the major part of this chapter. It describes and justifies the methodological approach used to collect the information during the fieldwork. Starting with a brief discussion evaluating the approach to the study, it then states the strategy for investigation. After that it introduces the research methods that had been used to collect the information and the techniques used for analysis. It also discusses the credibility and the quality of the information collected, and concludes with the difficulties which faced the author during the fieldwork.

4.2 THE RESEARCH APPROACH

The competence of research activities is strongly affected by the clarity and the precision with which the researcher is able to translate the abstract meaning of the key variables within a theoretical framework into operational definitions or practical explicit descriptions that guide the research for information (Blalock and Blalock, 1982).

In environmental studies, the methods and techniques are varied and numerous. However, the choice of any research method depends on what the investigator wants to know, the specific problems, and the type of results desired (Zeisel, 1981). To study environmental meaning, Honikman (1976) identified three criteria: the physical characteristics criterion, the personal criterion and the whole environment criterion. The present research adopted the last criterion in which the role of particular physical characteristics of environment are examined within the overall environmental context, which includes the socio-cultural characteristics and political conditions. This implies that if we wish to understand the interactions between man and the environment, we must consider both as whole total entities.

Low (1987), in her discussion on the development of qualitative methods in research, pointed out the conceptualization used by Moore, Tuttle, and Howell (1985) in adopting qualitative and quantitative methods in environmental researches:

From their comprehensive discussion emerges an image of environmental design research as a field that includes qualitative methodologies, but that relies on research and data generated by quantitative methods characteristics of the psychological and social sciences. They suggest that qualitative methodologies need to be clarified and explicated and that anthropological and historical techniques should be added to the qualitative repertoire of design applications.

(Low, 1987: 279)

In general, the orientation of this study is exploratory and relies mainly on qualitative approach, but at the same time, it will evaluate some quantitative data. In short, the approach is exploring rather than testing, examining rather than proving, and getting insight rather than informing.

4.3 THE STRATEGY FOR INVESTIGATION

The first step in the methodology is the selection of the case study as a way of probing into specific situations and circumstances of the subject under investigation. In this study, the rural area of the occupied West Bank is chosen for investigation. Within it, different research techniques were employed to investigate different aspects of the development.

The fieldwork was conducted between August 1991 and April 1992. Two main issues have been the focus for the investigation: the development of the new environment of the region since the occupation in 1967, and the expression of residents' identity, within that context, through their villages and houses. The task started by identifying the colonial power's impacts on shaping the environment, while the detailed investigation focussed on the physical elements in the region, the village and the house which people believe reflect their identity. Therefore, there were three levels in the investigation: the first considered the region as a whole, the second concentrated only on one village as a case study and the third focussed on the houses. Based on literature, it was found that the colonial power impact has been a strong factor in influencing the activities at the macro-level while people can express their identity more in the micro-level. Accordingly, the investigation which was taken at three different levels: the region, the village and the house. Within the built environment of each level, major elements were identified for examination by employing different research techniques (Fig. 4.1).

In sum, the strategy as far as the methodology is concerned, and in the light of the critical review presented in the previous section, are multiple-research techniques as well as diverse sources of information. The approach used in the fieldwork has been the up-down approach, that is to say from general to specific or to put it in another way from the macro-level to the micro-level. The analysis accordingly, was carried out at different geographical scales following the investigation procedures.

The following sections examine the methods used and their application on the study area (Fig. 4.2). It is not the purpose of this overview to add to the already extensive literature on the techniques, nevertheless it is quite useful to present a brief look at their strength and weaknesses, and how they had been applied in this research.

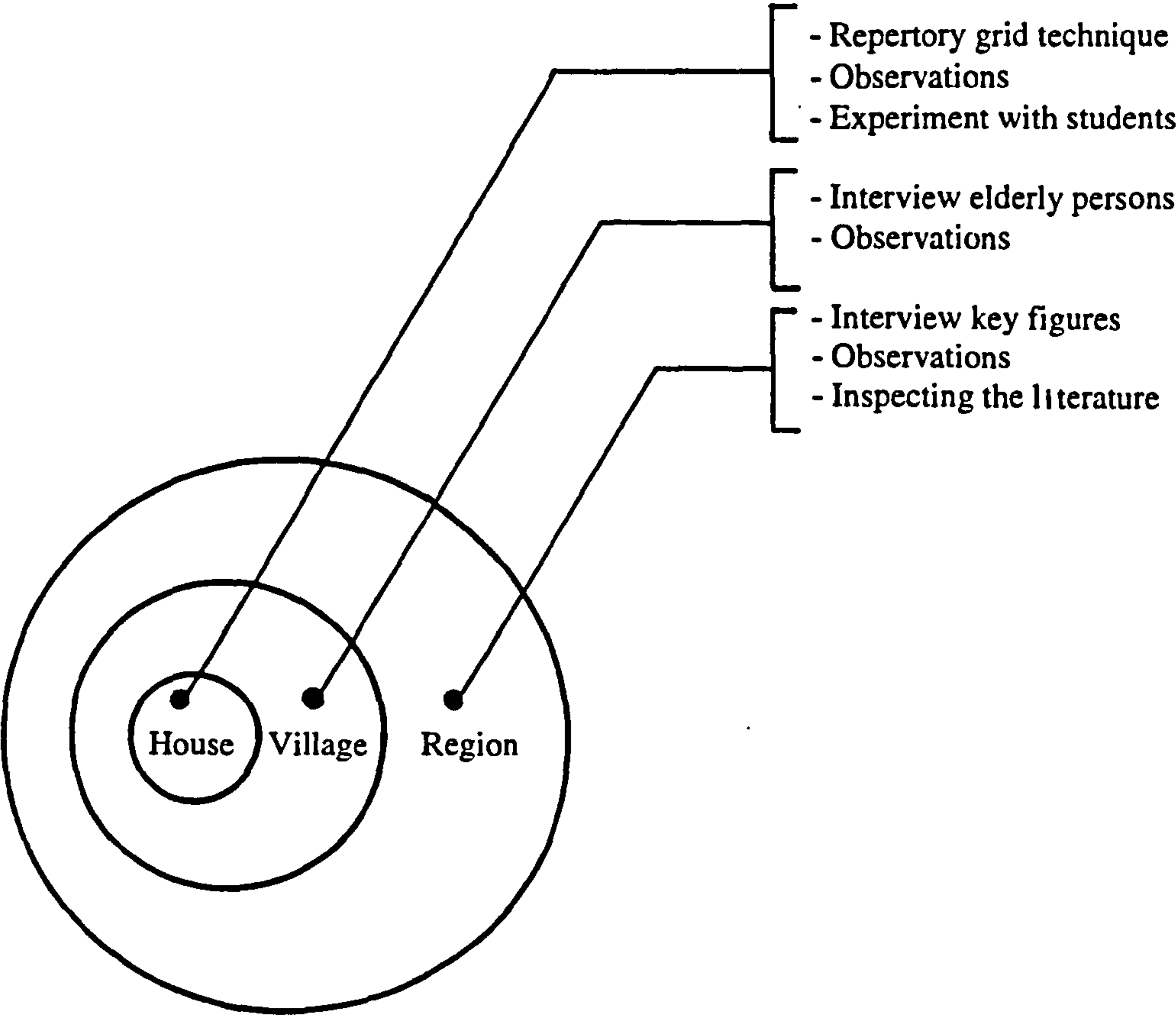


Fig. 4.1: The strategy for investigation and analysis.

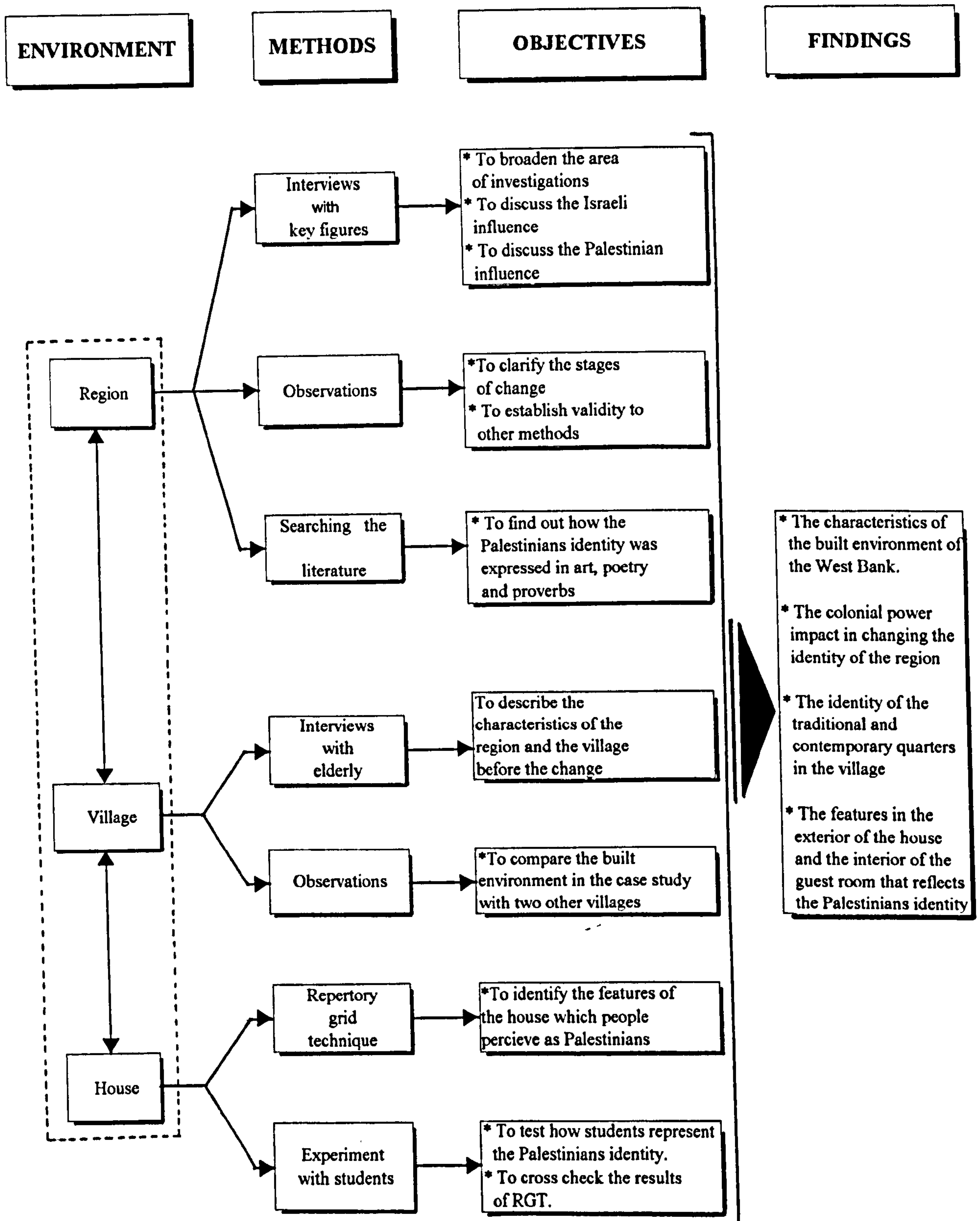


Fig. 4.2: The research methods adopted in the fieldwork

4.4 EXPLORING THE REGION

The aim of the investigation at this level was to collect information about the development in the whole region and the effects of the colonial power administration on the development of the region; and at the same time to understand the perception of the inhabitants about the identity of their environment. In order to do that, semi-structured interviews were carried out with Palestinian key figures. In addition, observation techniques and archival studies were utilised to collect information about the development of the region. Also supplementary methods including photographs, sketches and writings were used. Moreover, information from songs, art drawings and poets have been extracted to examine how the Palestinian identity has been formulated.

Before starting the fieldwork, a group discussion was organised in the School of Architecture at Al-Najah National University. Through which the process of collecting the information was designed and the critical issues were highlighted, such as the political sensitivity and the ability of people to understand the concepts. A feed-back comment was also organised to report the results from the fieldwork. This has enhanced the understanding of the change of identity in the last few decades.

4.4.1 INTERVIEWS WITH KEY FIGURES

The fieldwork started by interviewing key figures who either have knowledge of the subject or whose occupation related to the development and planning in the region. The purpose of these interviews was to broaden the area of investigation and to identify the impacts of both the colonial power and the inhabitants in shaping the built environment of the West Bank.

The type of interview used was a semi-structured interview. These interviews were conducted with Palestinian key figures from the West Bank. For that, a checklist was

prepared in advance to make it easier in focussing on the topic and save time in the analysis stage (Appendix 4.1).

The main advantage of the semi-structured interview is that it enables the respondent to express himself in his own way. At the same time it enables the interviewer to contain the discussion within a specific scope. In other words, it keeps the balance between the researcher and the respondent. In addition, the interviewer can follow up ideas, discuss motives and sense feelings (El-Masri, 1992).

The purpose of these interviews was on one side to identify how the colonial power policies and actions have changed the identity of the built environment, and on the other side to see how the inhabitants perceive their identity in the built environment. The names of the interviewees were obtained either from the literature (i. e. who wrote about the subject) or through other persons during the fieldwork. The selection was based on their speciality and occupation. The strategy was to choose from various subjects and occupations. The list was then short listed into Fifteen respondents. However, after conducting twelve interviews, the process stopped because most of the information then had been repeated. Nonetheless, because of the political situation, the time of these interviews was spread over almost two months.

All interviews were arranged in advance and all were carried out by the researcher. The time spent in each interview ranged from one and half hours to eight hours^[1]. Before starting, a cover letter introducing the researcher and the objectives of the interview was handed out. During the interviews, a check list was used to keep the discussion within the subject under investigation. The sets of information were, however, recorded on separate sheets.

The interviews covered the biography of the respondents, including sex, age and occupation; the Israeli actions and their impacts on changing the identity of the region; the Palestinian expression of identity in their villages and houses. Lastly, evaluations and predictions for the future were discussed.

4.4.2 OBSERVING THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

In order to understand the situation in a holistic perspective, to see things as they are and to be open and inductive in approach, physical observations had been carried throughout the region. The purpose of these observations was to help clarify the issue of change in the region before undertaking comprehensive follow-up interviews, and also to cross-check information collected from other methods.

Patton (1990) highlighted the importance of data collected through observations. He writes:

The purpose of observational data is to describe the setting that was observed, the activities that took place in that setting, the people who participated in those activities, and the meaning of what was observed from the perspectives of those observed. The description must be factual, accurate, and thorough without being cluttered by irrelevant minutiae and trivia.

(Patton, 1990: 202)

Observations could be carried out in different ways. Bechtel and Zeisel (1987) stratified the observer into four categories: a naive observer, a participant observer, a hidden observer and a professional observer. The approach adopted in this study was professional observation in which the author specified the elements to be observed and the features to be studied.

Two weeks were spent driving around in the territory taking photographs and notes. It should be noted that the observations had been carried out simultaneously with other techniques in most stages of the fieldwork. These observations have been employed to collect data from the region, the case study village and the houses (Appendix 4.2).

4.4.3 SEARCHING THE LITERATURE

People, in general, express themselves in different ways. Some of these expressions are manifested in their writing, painting, singing, etc. This section explains the method of investigation to research on how the Palestinian identity was expressed in the built environment by writers and artists (Appendix 4.3).

Some researchers have used diaries, journals or letters to describe the built environment in the past. Kobayashi (1980), for example, concentrated on analysis of poetry as a means of expressing landscape aesthetics by Japanese immigrants in Canada.

This section examines three separate sources of data: art drawings, poems, proverbs and folk songs. Firstly, art drawings by certain Palestinian artists were examined to see how they symbolised or otherwise represented the Palestinian villages. In other words, to see how artists drew physical elements such as stone terraces or olive trees in order to reflect a place in a Palestinian village. Secondly, poems which describe the Palestinian built environment were analysed to find out the physical elements that were most frequently mentioned and how they were described. Thirdly, proverbs and folk songs were reviewed to check how Palestinians describe their house or village.

The real advantage of using art and literature in studying how people value their environment is that they are creative processes and reflect people's insights. This technique, therefore, enables the researcher to be close to the feelings of people, and to pick up the way those people express their image and understanding of the built environment. Even though new data were not created, a great deal of inductive work was carried out to generate the required information.

4.4.4 ANALYSIS STRATEGY

Having obtained the information and data from the fieldwork, further analysis consisting of the conceptual structure and the physical features of the region is needed.

Patton (1990), in explaining the process of analysis in research, writes:

The process of data collection is not an end in itself. The culminating activities of qualitative inquiry are analysis, interpretations and presentation of findings. The challenge, therefore, is to make sense of massive amounts of data, reduce the volume of information, identify significant patterns and construct a framework for communicating the essence of what the data reveal.

(Patton, 1990: 371)

Eventually, this study was carried out through historically comparative approach between the situation in the past and at present. The analysis, consequently, is focused on the difference between traditional and contemporary features of the region based on people's descriptions and the author's observations.

In order to focus the information, the data collected from the interviews had been categorised according to subjects and issues. For example, the impacts of the Israeli settlements were collected from all interviews; then the impacts of the administrative systems were listed and so on. For the poems, art drawings and proverbs, content analysis was adopted to find out the elements which represent the identity of the Palestinian built environment. Moreover, an inductive approach was employed to extract the information and point out the elements which had been most frequently drawn or mentioned.

4.5 INVESTIGATING THE VILLAGE

The village of Arraba was chosen as a case study for detailed and in depth investigation. The selection of this village was based on three criteria: typicality, accessibility and familiarity .

Arraba could be considered as a typical Palestinian village in its size, population and location. In addition, its historical development, which include traditional and modern houses, made it an ideal example to investigate the development and change of the built environment. Another factor which influenced the choice of this village was the

familiarity with it as the researcher's home town, which made it easier to carry out the fieldwork in sensitive and even dangerous conditions. In fact, because of the mutual trust between the researcher and the residents, it was possible to obtain a maximum benefit from the fieldwork.

Within this case study, different methods had been adopted to collect the required information. The investigation started by interviewing elderly persons, accompanied by observation of the physical characteristics of the village. Moreover, observations in two other villages in Israel and Jordan were also carried out to provide material about the change of their built environment to be compared with the case study village.

4.5.1 INTERVIEWS WITH ELDERLY PERSONS

In order to understand the development and change in the case study area, interviews with elderly persons were carried out (Appendix 4.4). The objective of these interviews was mainly to draw a picture of the region in the middle of this century, i.e. before the Israeli occupation.

Seven persons were interviewed during the first two weeks, and all respondents were from Arraba village. The choice was based on the researcher's knowledge and the recommendations of the village mayor. Their age ranged from 68 to 85 years old. The time spent in each interview ranged between two and four hours. The checklist consisted of two parts; while the first concentrated on the biography of the respondents, the second part gave a description of the region and the case study village before change. Moreover, these interviews also gave examples of buildings and places which have not changed, and others in which the change was considerable. Finally, the interviewees gave their impressions about the changes and their anticipations for the future.

4.5.2 OBSERVATIONS

Observations at this stage were concerned with the collection of information about the case study village through inspecting the physical characteristics of its buildings and their spatial relations. The main advantage of this technique is that it describes the setting as it is, taking into account all the variables which have interacted to shape its physical features (Bechtel and Michelson, 1987). There are many techniques for gathering observational data, including participant observation, field observation, qualitative observation, direct observation, and field research (Patton, 1990). This study adopted the direct observations in which the village was divided into several elements to be observed.

Observations took place in the case study village during the time of interviewing elderly people. Indeed, the purpose of the observations was to check the information from that interview. The techniques for handling the observations were accomplished through written checklists, photographs and sketches.

The work was carried out with only a few structural guidelines by categorising the objects to be observed. So at each time, the observation was concentrated on certain settings or objects, such as the roads, the houses or the landscape.

In addition to the case study village, observations were also carried out in two other villages, one in Israel and one in Jordan. The reason for observing these two villages is to see the difference between villages which were colonised by the Israelis and those which were not. Then, a comparison between the three villages was conducted, in which the only differentiating factor is colonisation. The purpose of this comparison is to obtain a better understanding of the development process and the influence of colonisation on shaping the identity of the built environment of the West Bank.

The two villages chosen for this purpose are: "Jatt", an Arab village in Israel, and "Souf" in northern Jordan. The selection of the two villages in Israel and Jordan is based on the

similarities of their geographical features, demographic characteristics, history, size and location with those of the case study village.

Even though the people in the three villages used to share the same lifestyle and cultural values, the development of the built environment was different in each one. The only difference in the process of their development was the impact of colonisation. Jat has been under the influence of colonisation since 1948; Arraba has been under Israeli occupation for twenty five years; Souf, however, has never been under Israeli influence. This is a unique situation to point out the effect of the Israeli colonisation on the built environment.

4.5.3 ANALYSIS STRATEGY

After collecting the information from interviews with the elderly and the observations in the villages, the data was coded to be analysed. These codes were recorded in separate sheets according to the objects under focus. For example, the change of the courtyards, the streets, the houses, etc. were recorded for all respondents.

The first step in the process of analysing the interviews was tabulating the data and categorising them into settings in the village and the house such as yards, streets, mosque, guest house (*madafah*), shops, rooms in the house, oven (*taboon*) and courtyard. Then, content analysis was employed to identify the physical characteristics of the village before the change.

The final step was the interpretation of the data in order to examine the process of change and the influence of the different factors which affected the identity of the built environment.

4.6 DEFINING THE HOUSE IDENTITY

Altman and Gauvain (1981) in their investigation on cultural symbols of the house, subdivided the home into three general parts: location and exterior, entrance and threshold, interior layout and use. In the present research, however, the investigation concentrated only on two parts of the house: the exterior and the interior of the living room. The reasons behind that are to be manageable and to avoid repetition. The aim is to probe the physical elements which people believe represent their individual and group identity.

To collect the information during the fieldwork, two methods have been adopted: the repertory grid technique for both the exterior and the interior, and a quasi-experimental exercise with students from the School of Architecture at Al-Najah National University.

4.6.1 REPERTORY GRID TECHNIQUE (RGT)

The aim in using the repertory grid technique (RGT) in this research is to understand how people in the case study village identify the physical features in the exterior or the interior of their houses which represent the Palestinian identity. In other words, to understand how people express themselves through their dwellings.

In 1955, George Kelly introduced "Kelly's Personal Construct Theory". A fundamental characteristic of personal construct theory is that there are many constructions of the world perceived by individuals. While admitting an overlap between different individuals' constructions, at the end each person's constructions are unique to him or her (Hudson, 1980). Indeed, the grid is an attempt to stand in others' shoes, to see their world as they see it, to understand their situation and their conceptualisation of the world.

The repertory grid was initially designed to use this conceptualisation in the treatment of mental patients. It was employed largely as an interview technique with those who could

not articulate their anxieties, needs and concerns, in order to understand those significant facets of other people who had impact upon those patients lives.

A variety of techniques have been used for measuring environmental image and change. Most of them were based on relevant psychological theory. Osgood (1957) used semantic differential which is based on the rating of real or displayed environments (for example, photographs) on, for instance, a five point scale which consists of polar pairs of adjectives such as beautiful / ugly. As a research technique, the semantic scaling devices aim to discover the causal relationship between the form of the physical environment and the thoughts, feelings, attitudes and behaviours of people associated with it (Hershberger, 1969). Canter et al (1976) argued that many research questions are best answered by focussing on conceptual processes. In order to explore the categorical organisation of those processes, they recommended a method which was named the multiple sorting. Based on that method, Groat (1982), used a sorting task procedure to study the image of modern and post modern buildings.

In its basic form, the grid records an individual's perceptions of both the elements of the environment and the bi- polar psychological dimensions, the personal constructs, used to discriminate between these elements. Both elements and constructs vary between different environmental contexts. This information can be arranged as a matrix with the constructs as rows and elements as columns. Therefore, there are three variables in the repertory grid: elements, constructs and scores (Appendix 4.5).

The grid is best looked on as a particular form of structured interview (Hudson, 1980). It has been argued that, the usual way of exploring another person's construct system is by conversation. In talking to each other we come to understand the way the other people view their world, what goes within it, what implies what, what is important and unimportant and in what terms people seek to assess people, places and situations. In fact, the grid formalises this process and assigns mathematical values to the relationships between a person's constructs (Fransella and Bannister, 1977). It enables us to focus on

particular subsystems of construing and to note what is individual and surprising about the structure and content of the person's outlook on the world.

A major advantage of the repertory grid is its great flexibility. In a sense, each application of the method is an experimental structured conversation which can be changed to suit the aims and circumstances of the study. This adaptability makes it a very useful method. For example, the elements can be scored on the constructs in a variety of ways ranging from presence/absence to ranking the rating scales (Fransella and Bannister, 1977). Flexibility also exists in that some, or indeed all of the constructs can be supplied by the researcher. However, the most important point of the method is that it allows people to express their own constructs with the minimum of investigator intrusion, so that constructs are normally elicited rather than given. There are also other features that make the method particularly appropriate in ascertaining people's perceptions of their environment: the ability of the method to allow planners, administrators and researchers to "stand in the shoes of others".

4.6.1.1 Pilot Study

In order to test the reliability and validity of the repertory grid technique in measuring the environmental identity, the author chose a subject for investigation related to the research problem which could be done at the University of Newcastle. The pilot study was carried out also in order to identify the implications for the use of this technique in the fieldwork. Therefore, the objectives of the pilot study are: to decide on how the technique could be used; to see people's reactions; and to find-out the quality of the results.

The question this pilot study sought to answer is "what are the physical characteristics of the exterior of the Islamic house ?" In other words how can we say that this house is "Islamic" ? and what do these physical features mean to people ? In the context of the pilot study, the attempt was to identify the constructs of the Islamic house (Appendix 4.6).

The findings of this pilot study can be summarized in few points. Firstly, the repertory grid is an efficient method to find out people's perception about the identity of their houses. Secondly, it was possible, after conducting the pilot study, to modify the procedure in order to fit the main study. Thirdly, people understand the process and are willing to do it; even though the time of the interview was long, all informant completed the questions.

4.6.1.2 Modified Approach Used in This Study

In order to identify the features that represent the identity of the Palestinian house, repertory grid was adopted. However, before starting the interview, several questions were asked about the informant and his/her environment, including the biography of the respondent, living conditions, house conditions, the design process of his/her house and finally examples of houses and places in the village which he/she believes are Palestinian (Appendix 4.7).

The next step is to carry out the repertory grid technique. As mentioned in the description of the repertory grid, we need to identify the elements, elicit the constructs and score them in order to fill the matrix. The process begins by selecting a series of colour photographs of the exterior of houses and the interior of the guest rooms from the case study village (Arraba) as elements in the grid matrix. Through the selection, several points were taken into account: the location, the size, time of construction, building materials, and the present condition of the house. The idea was to choose from different locations, different historical periods and different building materials, in order to have a convenient sample.

To elicit the constructs, the author used Kelly's triad method, but in adjusted way, by giving the respondent three of the photographs. Then, asked him/her to choose one picture which is more Palestinian than the other two. After that, they were asked why this house/guest room is more Palestinian? In other words, what are the physical

characteristics that make this house looks Palestinian. Then, a new photo will replace the one which was chosen as most Palestinian and repeat the same procedure. This continued until he/she saw all the photos or could not elicit new constructs, or unwilling to do so.

The investigation is divided into two parts, the first part studies the exterior of the house and the second part concentrates on the interior of the guest-room.

In the first part, the author interviewed 25 residents to discover how they perceived the exterior of the house. The people interviewed were chosen randomly from the municipality records of households. Nonetheless, the author tried to choose from each household people of different ages, sexes and occupations. The number of constructs elicited was 29. Some constructs were mentioned by most respondents, such as "arched windows" or "the use of stone in the exterior of the house". Others were just elicited from only few informants, such as "the use of stone columns on the entrance" or "red bricks on the veranda".

In the second part, 21 respondents were interviewed to discover how they perceived the identity of the interior of the guest-room. The number of constructs elicited was 22. Some constructs were mentioned by many respondents such as "the use of cross vaults" or "hanging pictures of male members of the family on the walls". However, other constructs were elicited few times such as "the ceiling of the room is high" or "the colour of curtains is dark".

After that, each construct was then subjected to Hinkle's (1965) laddering technique to establish its super-ordinate network of constructs. The respondent was then asked to consider the initial constructs elicited, and to indicate the meanings of those constructs. In other words, why he/she thinks that this construct reflects the Palestinian house. For example, some explained that the compact relationships between houses reflected the strong relationships between people in the Palestinian society, while others said that they reflected the extended family. On the question about small or few windows on the facade, the answers were "response to hot climate or for privacy reasons". Furthermore,

some informants explained that certain constructs are Palestinian because they have seen them in historical or religious Palestinian buildings, or some times they simply said that they do not know why. The answer to the question was usually another construct. In this way, it was possible to ladder-up from a subordinate construct, which identified a tangible physical feature or characteristic of the element, like "small windows" to a super-ordinate one like "private".

The final step was to score the constructs. Therefore, from the 29 constructs elicited by the respondents for the exterior of the house, the author chose 14 constructs which were most commonly elicited. These constructs were subjected then to a five-point bipolar rating scale to complete repertory grid evaluations of each house photograph. The scoring had been conducted with respondents different from those who elicited them. This was adopted for two reasons: firstly, not to bother the inhabitants because the elicitation of constructs took too long (the average time was 2 hours and 25 minutes). Secondly, it was also useful to get other people's opinion on the elicited constructs. The selection of the respondents to score the grid was done on the same procedure and basis adopted on the elicitation process.

The same process was repeated for the interior of the living room. From the 22 constructs elicited, 12 only were chosen to be scored.

4.6.2 EXPERIMENT WITH STUDENTS

Quasi-experimental studies have been used to examine the constructs which represent the identity of the Palestinian house. Principally, there are two basic types of quasi-experimental studies: pre-test / post-test none equivalent control group designs, and interrupted time-series designs (Marans and Ahrentzen, 1987). In the present research, the first type was applied in which a quasi-experimental exercise was carried out with ten students from the final year in the School of Architecture at Al-Najah National University.

First of all, the students were asked to design a house which reflects the Palestinian identity in the West Bank. The time for doing the design was limited to six hours. In the following week, the author asked the same students to do the same thing. However, at this time they were given the constructs elicited from the repertory grid technique. These constructs were explained to the students and considered as positive elements in the design. Then, a comparison was made of each person's design before and after having been given the constructs.

The purpose of the first part of the experiment was two folds: to grasp the elements which the students employ to represent the Palestinian identity in the house and to examine the constructs of the Palestinian house that were elicited from the repertory grid technique. Another aim was to check the possibility of using the elicited constructs in architectural design.

4.6.3 ANALYSIS STRATEGY

Having obtained the information about the expression of people's identity through their houses and studied their meanings, further analysis is needed to explain them for respondents of different age, sex and occupation.

Each person's construct system is personal and unique; however, there is also a degree of shared meaning between different individuals' construct systems (Bannister and Mair, 1968). Downs (1976) clarified two methods for analysing grids: one focuses upon the "content" of constructs, and the other focuses upon the "cognitive structure" as underlying elicited constructs. The first is a more subjective form of analysis that involves issues such as examination of numbers, nature, and types of elements and constructs elicited. Verbal labels were given to the attached constructs, which are usually bi-polar. However, identical or similar verbal labels used by different people may have different meanings for those people. For example, two people may use the construct beautiful/ugly, but one person's beautiful may be another's ugly. This problem was overcome by comparing the elicited constructs with an independent object.

The application of the grid methods gives us the best of both worlds: to be humanistic, relevant and soft while maintaining an objective, scientific, and hard nosed stance (Downs, 1976). The advantage of structural approaches in the repertory grid is that they yield simpler description of the structure of the image. The disadvantages include a loss of much of the original richness and complexity of individuals' grids, and the reliance of this method of analysis upon an asserted equivalence between psychological meaning and statical association (Hudson, 1980).

The multivariant method used to analyse repertory grid is Principal Component Analysis. Specific data generated by this form of analysis are the "loadings" of elements and constructs on each component, the "amount of variance" included in the major components, the "degrees of similarity" with which the components were construed. Other information obtained by grid methods includes the dominance relations (hierarchical ordering) of elements or constructs, and both the stated and the implied links between them.

There is also another fascinating dimension to the grid which was explored in the analysis. That is the degree to which the constructs are interrelated. Quite simply, the question can be posed as to whether there are summary dimensions or super-ordinate constructs which group together hierarchically subordinate ones. One way of addressing this issue is to apply correspondence analysis or multidimensional scaling to individuals' grids. If both elements and constructs are standardised, individual grids can be aggregated and multivariant analysis applied to this grid.

Accordingly, the scores in the repertory grid matrix were analysed by using a fortran computer program for multi-dimensional unfolding written by M. A. Cox^[2]. By using a graphic display, by plotting both elements (photographs) and constructs in the constructs space, provides us of how meaning and importance were shared among the other elicited constructs, and how each element was treated in relation to this meaning. Therefore, the

physical world, being limited to three dimensions, imposes limitations on the number of dimensions that may be represented graphically.

The strategy for analysis followed the strategy of investigation; i.e. to take the exterior and the interior separately. Moreover, in each part the analysis was divided into three steps: First, to analyse the houses (elements), then to analyse the constructs of those houses and finally to analyse the relationships between the elements and the constructs.

In order to analyse the design experiment with the students, a comparison between each student's design before and after had been given the constructs was conducted. The analysis was based on the contents of the drawings.

4.7 ENHANCING QUALITY AND CREDIBILITY

This section reviews the ways of enhancing the quality and credibility of methods and techniques adopted to collect and analyse the data. Zeisel (1981) identified seven quality criteria in carrying out environmental research: inter-subjectivity, reliability, validity, tenability, testability, specifiability and generalizability. In this study, the researcher had taken into account these concepts in choosing the methods for investigation.

During the preparation for the field work, several questions arose. For example, do the research methods cover all the information needed? How can we separate the impact of colonisation from the impact of modernisation? How can we know that we are getting the right information from the right people? Can the research result be applied in similar situations ?

These are some of the questions this research considered in order to enhance credibility for the findings. In fact, the quality of research data rests on whether the technique used addresses topics which are salient to the respondents and fulfil the researcher's purpose (Low, 1987). Therefore, in this study several methods and techniques were employed to

investigate the problem. The strategy for investigation was to select appropriate methods to match particular research questions. This did not only give a better and more complete understanding of the problem, but also minimised any bias. In addition, this goes along with the realities of few sources, limited time and the political consideration. In other words, a combination of multiple methods have been used to get more reliable findings.

The techniques which have been adopted for the analysis in order to enhance quality and validity of the collected data, are triangulation, objectivity, explaining strength and weaknesses of the methods and lastly keeping data in context.

Triangulation in data analysis had been achieved by adopting different research methods to investigate one issue and checking out the consistency of different data sources. For instance, in order to identify the physical characteristics of the house which represent the Palestinian identity, a repertory grid technique, analysis of art drawings and an experiment with students have all been used.

The objectivity in collecting the information was another point to consider. For example, in order to explore the impact of the colonial power on changing the identity of the built environment, the author interviewed people from different occupations and backgrounds in order to get various opinions. Also a comparison was conducted between the development in the case study village and two other villages in Jordan and Israel.

4.8 DIFFICULTIES IN CONDUCTING THE FIELDWORK

Conducting fieldwork has problems anywhere in the world. A study in the West Bank however, has its own special problems. The political climate makes it difficult to conduct such a research or even any research openly and freely. The information and data collected could be considered subversive material as far as the Israeli government is concerned. Therefore, to avoid the risk, the fieldwork was conducted quietly and over a long period of time.

It is obvious that data collection in an area which is under occupation is usually confronted with more limitations and difficulties, either from the occupying power or from the inhabitants. In this research, those difficulties can be summarized in three points: first, data and statistics were both scarce and considerably hard to obtain because the Israeli government neither publishes its policies and plans nor makes them accessible to the public. Second, during the fieldwork, some Palestinian Universities, institutions and research centres, which are useful sources of information, were closed by the Israeli authorities. Third, travel was restricted, even within the West Bank, as a result of curfews and sieges. To travel to Israel or to East Jerusalem was even more difficult, because one needs a permit which is difficult to get.

The uprising (*intifada*) had greatly heightened the atmosphere of repression. Strikes, curfews and military presence increased as the confrontation intensified. For example, while the author was interviewing a woman in Arraba village, Israeli soldiers shot dead a twenty years old youth (Mahdi) from the village. This delayed the work in the repertory grid technique for almost two weeks. In addition, many appointments had to be cancelled because of the curfews or the declaration of areas as closed military zones. For instance, an interview with a planner in Ramalah was postponed three times as a result of those measures.

Sometimes, collecting data was stressful and even dangerous. Before starting any work in any village or town, a permission from the youth (*Al-shabab*) had to be obtained. Moreover, it was necessary to be accompanied by a person from each village in order to guide and to protect the researcher from the inhabitants and the Israeli soldiers. Therefore, the inhabitants will recognise the guide and trust him. On the other hand, the guide can take the researcher through safe roads so he will not be seen by the Israeli check points. Indeed, taking photographs or conducting interviews were adventures, carried with them an element of excitement and fear.

Another technical difficulty raised during the interviews is the fear of the respondents to express themselves freely. Even though the researcher explained the objective from the

research and assured them that all the information would be confidential, people, at the beginning, were afraid or suspicious about giving information, because they thought that these information could harm them if it reached to the Israeli government. In addition, some respondents tried to make up information or to give explanations or opinions either because they thought it would please the researcher or to give an impression that he/she was a nationalist.

4.9 SUMMARY

The aim of this chapter is to describe the methods used in this study. It was intended to explain the relationship between the objectives of the study, the methods of investigation and the data analysis.

Various methods were employed to investigate on certain aspects. However, each method related to the others and the findings from all were used to construct an insight about the development of identity of the built environment. The adaptation of a large number of methods is seen as a way of investigating as many aspects as possible and gaining a firm insight into the issues under investigation. It is suggested that understanding the development and change in the built environment should be constructed in a holistic view, and all factors affecting that development should be considered.

Two main forces were taken in consideration in studying the development of the built environment in the case study: the external force from the Israeli colonial power and the internal force from the Palestinians themselves. Each affected the built environment in different scales and ways. Therefore, the investigation was carried out on three levels, starting from the macro-level to the micro-level: the region, the village and the house. It was anticipated that this hierarchical sequence could assist in defining the common physical features of the region, interpreting the colonial power impacts, identifying the changes inside the villages and understanding the identity of the houses.

Two main methods were employed in the fieldwork: interviews and the repertory grid technique. Interviews were carried out with three groups: Palestinian key figures from the West Bank, elderly persons from the case study village and several inhabitants from a village in Israel (Jatt) and a village in Jordan (Soof). Repertory grid technique, however, focussed on the houses and investigated the exterior of the house and the interior of the guest room. Moreover, these methods were supplemented by observations, archival studies and an experiment with students.

As indicated before, the identity of the built environment has been influenced in the last few decades by external forces, mainly by the Israeli colonial power actions. The following chapter, therefore, discusses the Israeli administrative and planning policies and examines their impact in changing the identity of the region.

NOTES

- [1] Only one interview lasted for eight hours and it was conducted over three periods. The interviewee is an architect who is involved in conservation studies.
- [2] I would like to thank Dr. T. Cox from the Statistics Department at the University of Newcastle for his help in the computer analysis.

CHAPTER FIVE

COLONISATION: PROCESSES AND IMPACTS

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COLONISATION: PROCESSES AND IMPACTS

5.1 PROLOGUE

The built environment has physical and cultural dimensions through which people express themselves. In the West Bank, however, the cultural, the political and the physical expressions have been influenced by an external force, namely the Israeli occupation. The impact of this colonial power has been reflected in the physical characteristics of the country in addition to its social and psychological impacts on people.

Since the Israeli occupation of the West Bank in 1967, its environment has been changed dramatically. The Israeli government has systematically distorted the development of the built environment which used to reflect the Palestinian people and their culture. In its strategic colonisation plans, it has employed the environment as an effective medium of attacking the culture of Palestinians by creating new facts in the territory. In other words, the Israeli government is carrying architectural and cultural vandalism, which is ultimately planning to destroy the ethos of people's culture. An understanding of environment-culture relationships is thus central and basic to the understanding of the colonisation process and its impact on the built environment.

This chapter investigates the development of identity of the built environment in the occupied West Bank. It starts by pointing out the Israeli objectives and ideologies regarding the planning of the West Bank. Then, it discusses the colonisation strategies which were adopted to control the territory. Finally, the rest of the chapter defines the

process of colonisation and its implications on the physical characteristics of the territory. It is divided into two main parts. The first part investigates colonisation of the region by controlling the development through administrative systems, planning schemes and land expropriation. The second part examines the colonial power impacts by transforming the physical environment, including the Israeli settlements, the demolition policy and the military landscape.

5.2 ISRAELI COLONISATION OF THE WEST BANK

Following the occupation of the Arab territories^[1] in 1967 (Fig. 5.1), the Israeli government had to decide what to do with the occupied areas, and to consider what type of relationship they wanted to establish with them. While annexing immediately Jerusalem, the Israeli authorities applied the concept of "integration" on the West Bank (Abu-Ayyash, 1976).

The colonisation process in the West Bank started in 1967 and it was concentrated at the beginning in the Jordan Valley and around East Jerusalem. However, after the Camp David Treaty between Israel and Egypt, several measures - legal and physical - were taken by the military government in order to colonise the occupied territories (Shehadeh, 1985). These measures include the survey of unregistered lands; the approval of the new definition of state land; the massive construction of Israeli settlements; the reorganisation of the function of the military government administration; the creation of Jewish regional and local councils; and finally the introduction of a civilian administration.

In the last few years, there has been a dramatic increase of number and size of the Israeli settlements in the occupied West Bank. Since 1990 - the beginning of Soviet Jewish immigration - the settlement process has been accelerated at a greatly expanded pace, with no regard to their impacts on the Palestinian inhabitants and the environment of the region, nor to the illegal status of the settlement under international law. Recent estimates for the number of Jewish settlers in the occupied West Bank (excluding East

Jerusalem) is 99,000 (Al-Quds, 1991). In addition, more than 127,000 Jewish settlers reside in Occupied East Jerusalem (Focus, 1991).

Zureik (1979) noted that most of the methods adopted to colonise the West Bank, had been developed and refined between 1948 and 1967 on the Arab population in Israel. In fact, Israeli authorities have repeatedly indicated that they have no intention of either reversing or halting their settlement policies and practices, which are clearly illegal and whose continuation changes the identity of the built environment, disturb the livelihood of Palestinians living under occupation and, as a result, threaten the peace in the region (Appendix 5.1).

Fraction, a British journalist, described the changes in the built environment of the West Bank as a result of colonisation. He writes:

From above, the West Bank looks like a many coloured chess-board: standing out against the greenery and rocks are ever more numerous splashes of red and ever scarcer dots of white. The red splashes are the Israeli settlements, unmistakable by the red tile roofs of the houses. The white dots are the flat roofed houses of the terraced Palestinian villages. The Israeli settlements display a bit of the ostentatiousness of new arrivals not quite sure of themselves. The Palestinian villages melt familiarly into the surrounding hills

(Fraction, 1991:16)

There are two ways in which the colonial power can affect the identity of the built environment: by adjusting the cultural identity of the inhabitants and by changing the physical characteristics of the region (Fig. 5.1).

Firstly, to adjust people's identity, the colonial power is trying to change Palestinian cultural identity through actions which affect peoples' attitude towards their built environment and even towards themselves. These actions were manifested in closing schools, universities, non government organisations, associations, theatres, etc. This has influenced peoples' lifestyle and their social relations. Moreover, through the interactions between the Palestinian society and the Israeli society, the inhabitants attitudes in the

West Bank was affected by the Israelis. So unconsciously, they start imitating the way the Israelis live, build, dress and so on. As a ruling power, the impact of the Israelis has been strong on Palestinians as a result of the daily relations between them, especially Palestinian workers in Israel.

Secondly, to change the physical characteristics of the region. In order to achieve this purpose, the colonial power sometimes takes direct actions such as bulldozing mountains, cutting trees and building settlements or indirect actions such as planning policies, administrative systems and land expropriation. Their main purposes through these actions are to change the identity of the region and to control its inhabitants.

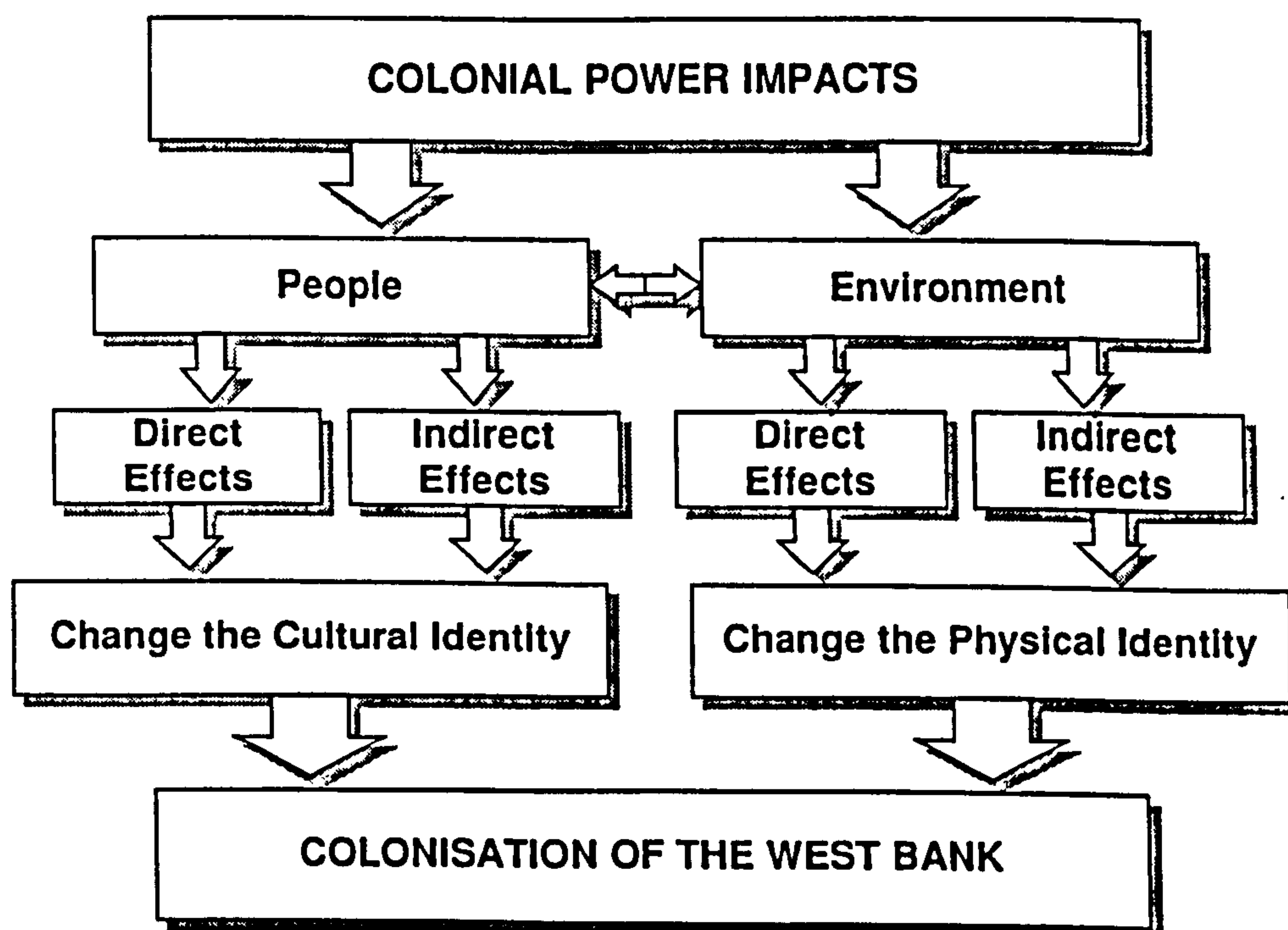


Fig. 5.1: The influence of the colonial power on the West Bank.

This research concentrates only on the second part which examines the changes of the built environment and will not investigate the influences on people's attitudes. Therefore, all aspects to be discussed are concerning the built environment. In this sense, the

investigation examines the nature of the colonisation process and its impact on the development of a unique pattern of the built environment. This includes the actions that the colonial power is taking to have an effective control and the implications of these actions on the built environment.

Indeed, the study of the colonisation process enables us to understand the development of new features in the landscape of the region, which have evolved over the last twenty five years. This explains the extensive existence of the Israeli settlements, the new wide roads and the military camps in the West Bank.

5.2.1 IDEOLOGIES AND BELIEFS

Even though the Israeli society is divided over the future of the West Bank, the ideology of the Israeli government considers the West Bank as part of Israel. The Israeli society is divided into two groups regarding this matter: one considers the West Bank as part of the Land of Israel, while the other group believes that it is an administered territories under the Israeli control and they should pull out when the time is appropriate. This belief has greatly affected the policy of Israeli authorities towards the occupied areas; according to which, the Israeli planners treated those areas as an extension to the State of Israel and not as occupied lands. This ideology has clearly expressed in "The Guide-lines for Regional and Physical Planning in the West Bank" (Efrat,1970).

The liberation of Judea and Samaria (West Bank) has given the country a new dimension and orientation. Its area has increased by 2,200 square miles, adding about 40 per of its cultivated land resources. The population has grown by 27 per cent and the labour force by 20 per cent"

(Efrat, 1970:1)

Even people who believe that the West Bank is not part of Israel, supported the settlements policy. Mosheh Dayan- the Israeli former Defence Minister- in explaining the idea behind the settlements in the West Bank, said in 1968: The Jewish settlements in the Occupied Territories are important not because^{they} save the security more than the army; but because the army without the settlements can not stay in the territories. He

aded, "without them the Israeli Army will be a foreign army who control a strange nation" (Al-Quds, 1991: 8).

It has been argued that there is a direct link between the Israeli policy in the West Bank and the Zionist ideology^[2] concerning Palestine. Indeed, Zionist ideology considers the West Bank as part of Greater Israel. In 1967, a Zionist official explicitly said:

Among ourselves, it must be clear that there is no place in the country for both peoples together (Arabs and Jews) The only solution is Eretz Israel.... without Arabs and there is no other way but to transfer the Arabs from here to neighbouring countries, transfer all of them, not one [person] or [a] tribe should remain.

(Monroe, 1977: 411).

In sum, at the ideological level, colonisation and controlling the West Bank relates to a specific perspective within the Zionist ideological framework, and it is perceived in different ways by different groups within the Israeli society. Newman (1984) pointed out four sets of beliefs that the Israelis used in their arguments towards the West Bank occupation:

1. The **"strategic"** argument emphasizes on maintaining secure and defensible boundaries for the State of Israel.
2. The **"historical"** argument is based on the right to settle within the regions occupied by the Jewish Kingdom thousands of years ago.
3. The **"religious"** argument which claims possession of the whole of the "land of Israel" due to the Devine Promise given to the Jewish people.
4. The **"negotiation"** argument in which peace with the Arabs can be obtained by the return of the territories captured in 1967.

Nonetheless, the **"economic"** argument can be added to the beliefs of the Israelis in which the West Bank becomes a market for the Israeli products, and a source of raw materials. In addition, some Israelis settle in the West Bank because of the economic benefits they can get from the government with regards to loans, taxes and subsidied houses.

5.2.2 STRATEGIES

The Israeli settlement in Palestine, since the end of the nineteenth century, has been carried out and implemented within a framework of a comprehensive plan which has aimed at the maximum exploitation of the natural resources of the area, and the integration of settled areas into an efficient regional system of interrelationships (Davis, 1973).

During the past twenty five years, the Israeli goal has remained to consolidate its hold over the occupied territories. The implicit aim of the colonial power policies is to integrate the region with Israel. The explicit aim, however, is to establish Israeli settlements in the West Bank, and to achieve a demographic balance in favour of Jews. Within these goals, the nature of colonisation has taken different methods: introducing policies, planting settlements, expropriating lands and so on. In fact, Israel has systematically planned and operationalised a complex set of policies in order to control and hence to absorb the territory of the West Bank. Therefore, in their planning guidelines for the West Bank, the Israeli planners' task was not to organise an existing entity so much as to carry out a continuing process of transformation, both territorial and demographic (Abu-Ayyash, 1976).

Monroe, in explaining the Israeli policy and strategy in the West Bank, writes:

For the policy of the Israeli governments... All these governments played for time and meanwhile practiced "creeping annexation" with religious support. They also called their policy "creating facts" and by these two phrases they meant colonisation of the occupied territory with a view to making it Israeli forever.

(Monroe, 1977 :399).

Territorial control has been one of the most important factors which affect the colonisation process. Since the region is inhabited by Arab population and the Israeli ideology considers it as part of the land of "Eretz Israel"[3]. Therefore, the Israeli government strategies have aimed to create new physical features which change the identity of the built environment of the region. Indeed, such a process is a well-known

phenomenon in history. It usually involves infiltration into a region by means of military presence and permanent garrisons, seizure of lands for development, and eventually the establishment of civilian settlements (Newman, 1985).

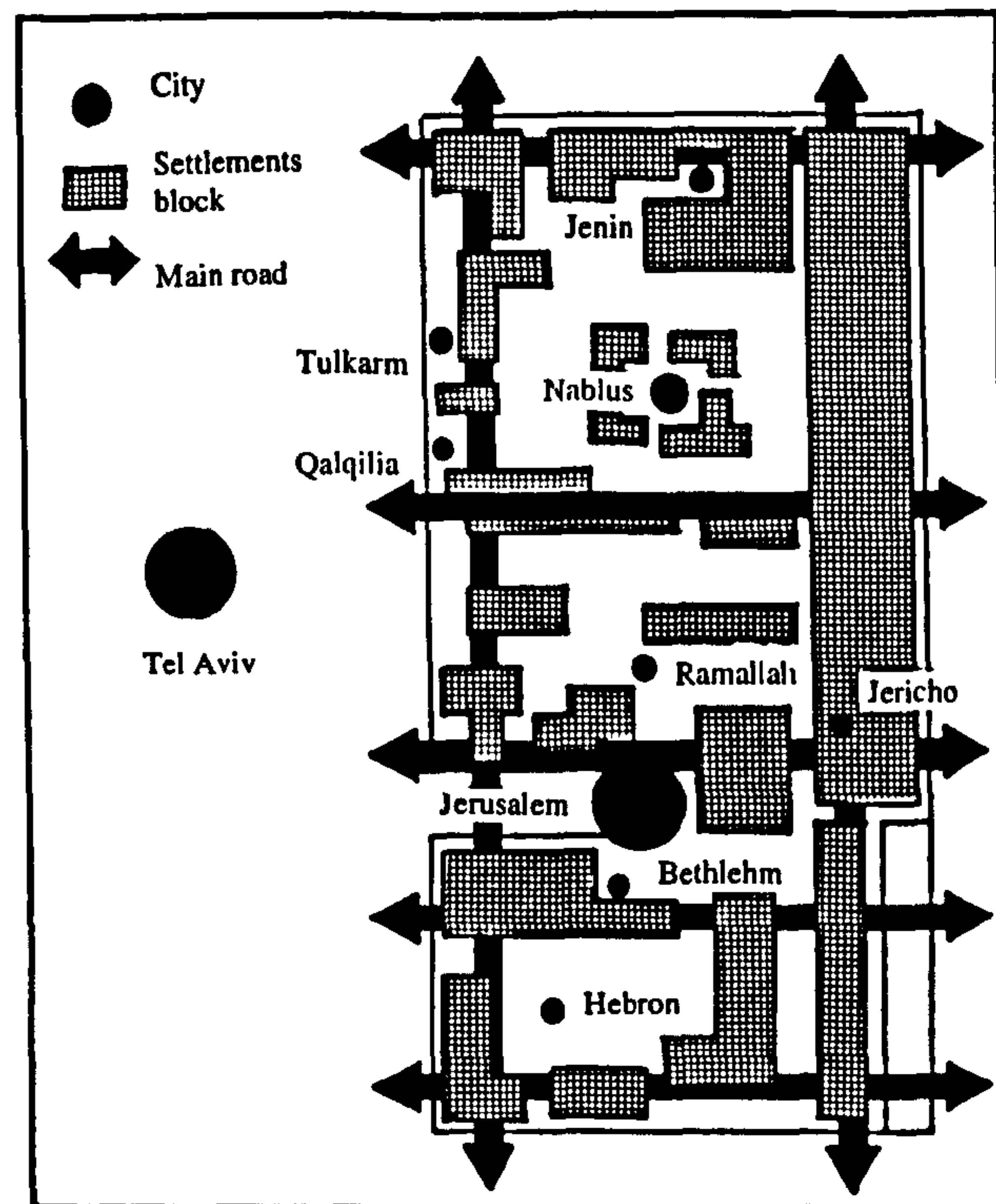


Fig. 5.2: The Israeli colonisation strategy on the West Bank.
Source: Waltz and Zsciesche (1986).

The objectives of the Israeli colonisation are two-fold: the "interconnection" between the Israeli settlements for the creation of settlement continuity; and the "separation" between the Palestinian villages and cities to restrict their cooperation (Fig. 5.2) (Shehadeh, 1985; Waltz and Zsciesche, 1986; Coon, 1991). Therefore, all settlements are interconnected by an efficient transportation and communication networks, which at the same time enable the Israeli government to tighten its grip on the Palestinian population. An Israeli official said explicitly that the aim of the government and the Likud party is to prevent the division of the land and the establishment of the Palestinian State by cutting the geographical continuation between the Palestinian cities and villages. Accordingly, the image of the Palestinian village can be seen in a Palestinian child drawing (Fig. 5.3)

Dr Shahak (an Israeli lecturer) explained the strategy behind the pattern of Jewish settlements on the West Bank as a:

Process of ghettoization which shows the intention not only of permanent occupation but of permanent ghettoization, of keeping the population in permanent subjection by keeping them in squares whose lines will be the divisions of settlements.

(Tillman, 1978: 75)

The strategies Israel has employed, to colonise the West Bank, have been diverse according to the specific characteristics of sub-areas. Nonetheless, two main approaches have been adopted by the Israeli government: **firstly**, control of the development on Palestinian villages through their administrative systems, planning schemes and land expropriation. **Secondly**, the transformation of the physical features of the built environment accomplished by planting Israeli settlements, demolishing houses and intensifying the military presence (Fig. 5.4).

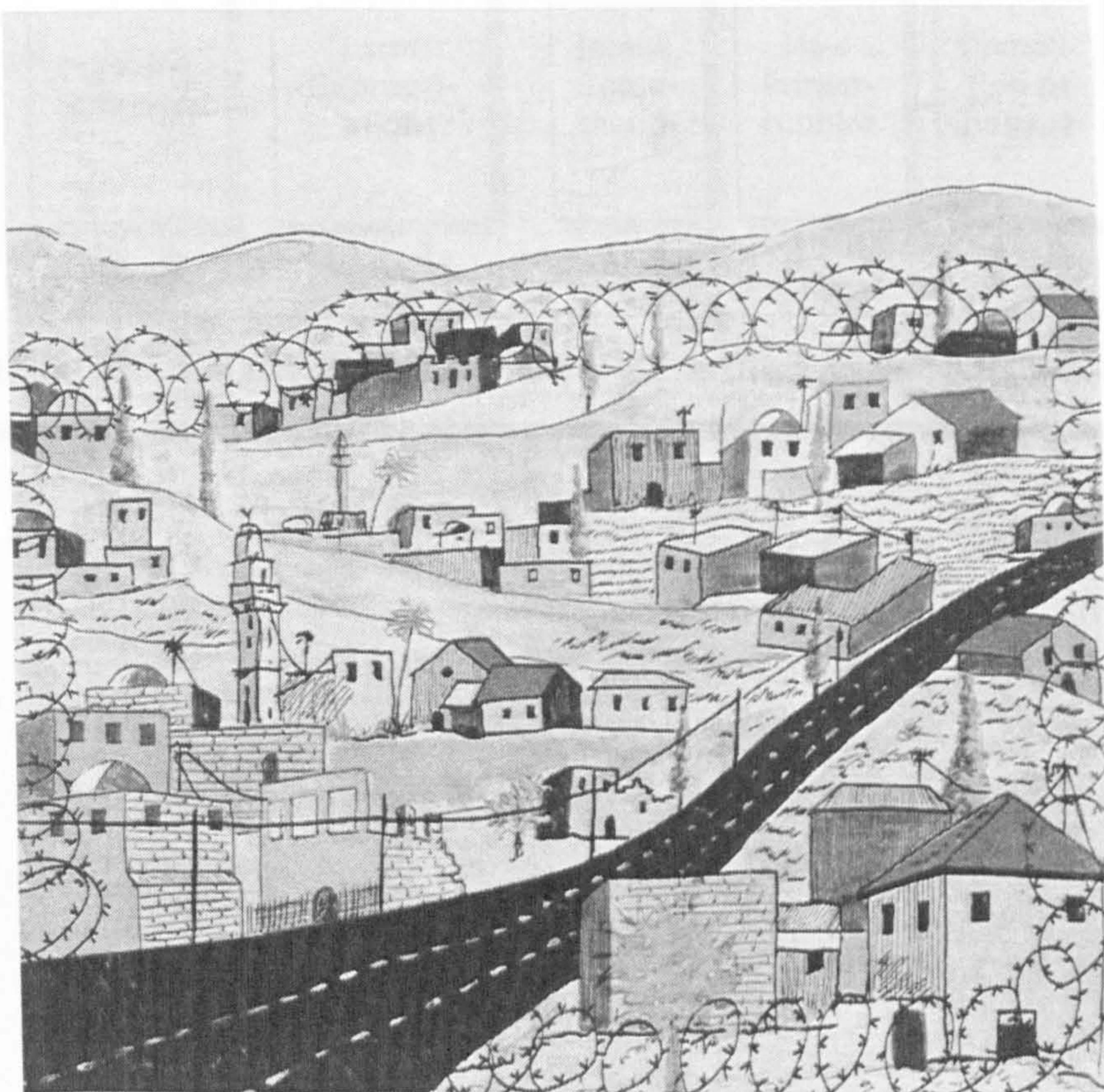


Fig. 5.3: A drawing of a Palestinian child shows the village under occupation.
Source: Al-Mohandis Al-Falestini, June 1991.

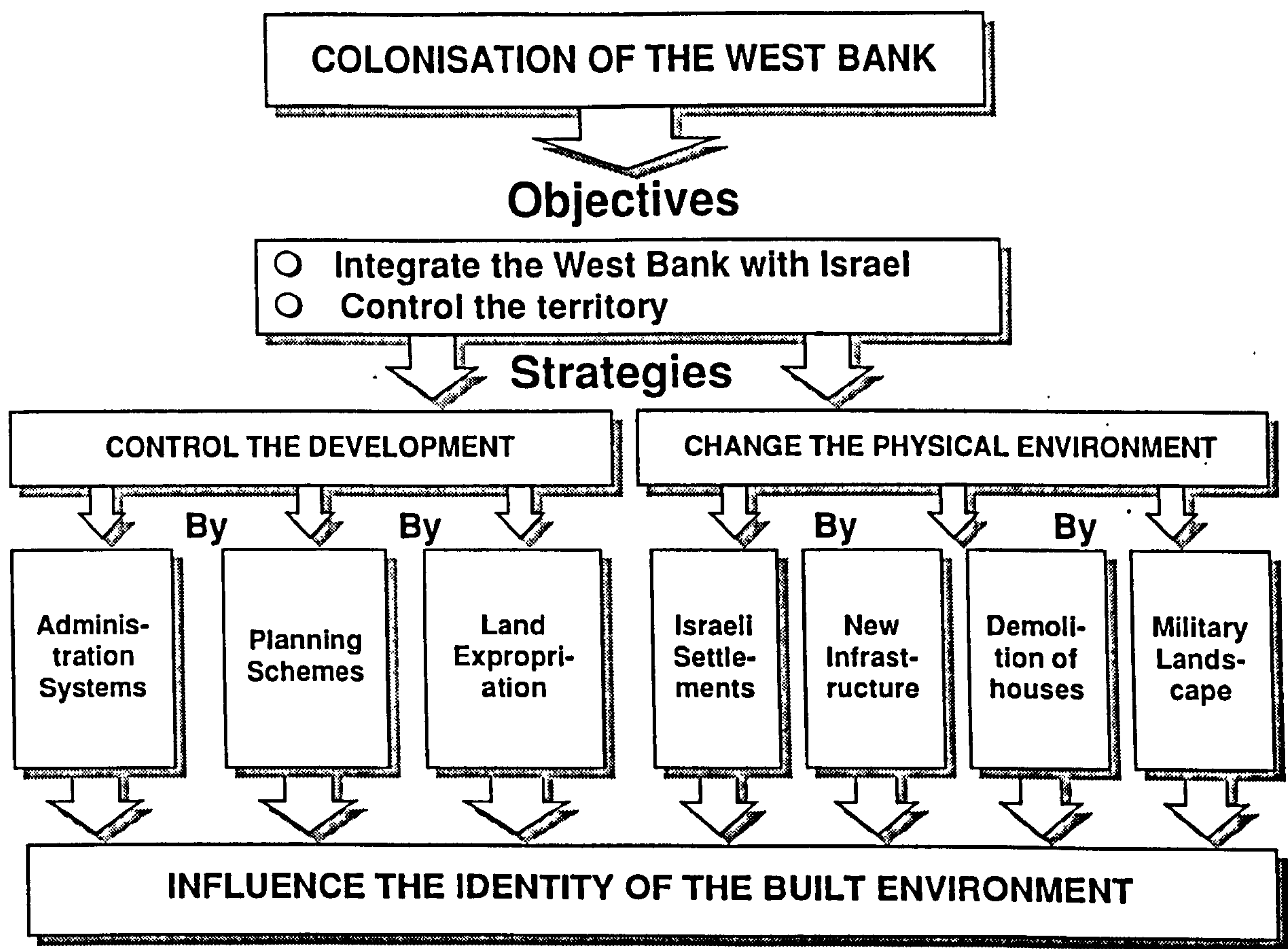


Fig. 5.4: The colonisation process of the West Bank.

5.3 THE CONTROL OF THE DEVELOPMENT

In order to control the development in the West Bank, the Israeli authorities introduced a set of policies and amended several laws. Indeed, they issued military orders and prepared planning schemes to restrict and to control the development in the Palestinian cities and villages, while the same orders and policies used to facilitate the planting of new Israeli settlements.

Three political instruments have been utilised by the Israeli authorities. First, the adjustment of the administrative systems in order to control the inhabitants. Second, the expropriation policy of the Palestinian land to save them for the Israeli settlements. Third, the introduction of new planning schemes to the region in order to arrange and legalize the colonisation process. The following sections, will discuss each one separately and examines how it affects the identity of the built environment.

5.3.1 THE ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEMS

The current legal and administrative situation in the West Bank considers the region as occupied territories. Therefore, the Israeli government faced legal problems in administering the West Bank, among them, as Shehadeh (1985) points:

- How to apply the Israeli law to the Jewish settlement in the West Bank while the area has not been annexed?
- How to avoid applying the Israeli law and legal system to the Palestinian inhabitants?
- How to reconcile with the requirements of the international law ?

This section concentrates on the institutions which the colonial power has established in order to control the development in the West Bank (Fig. 5.5).

Under the International Law regarding the administration of the occupied territories, the occupant should uphold the law which was in existence in the country before the occupation. This should include the social and economic conditions (Coon, 1991).

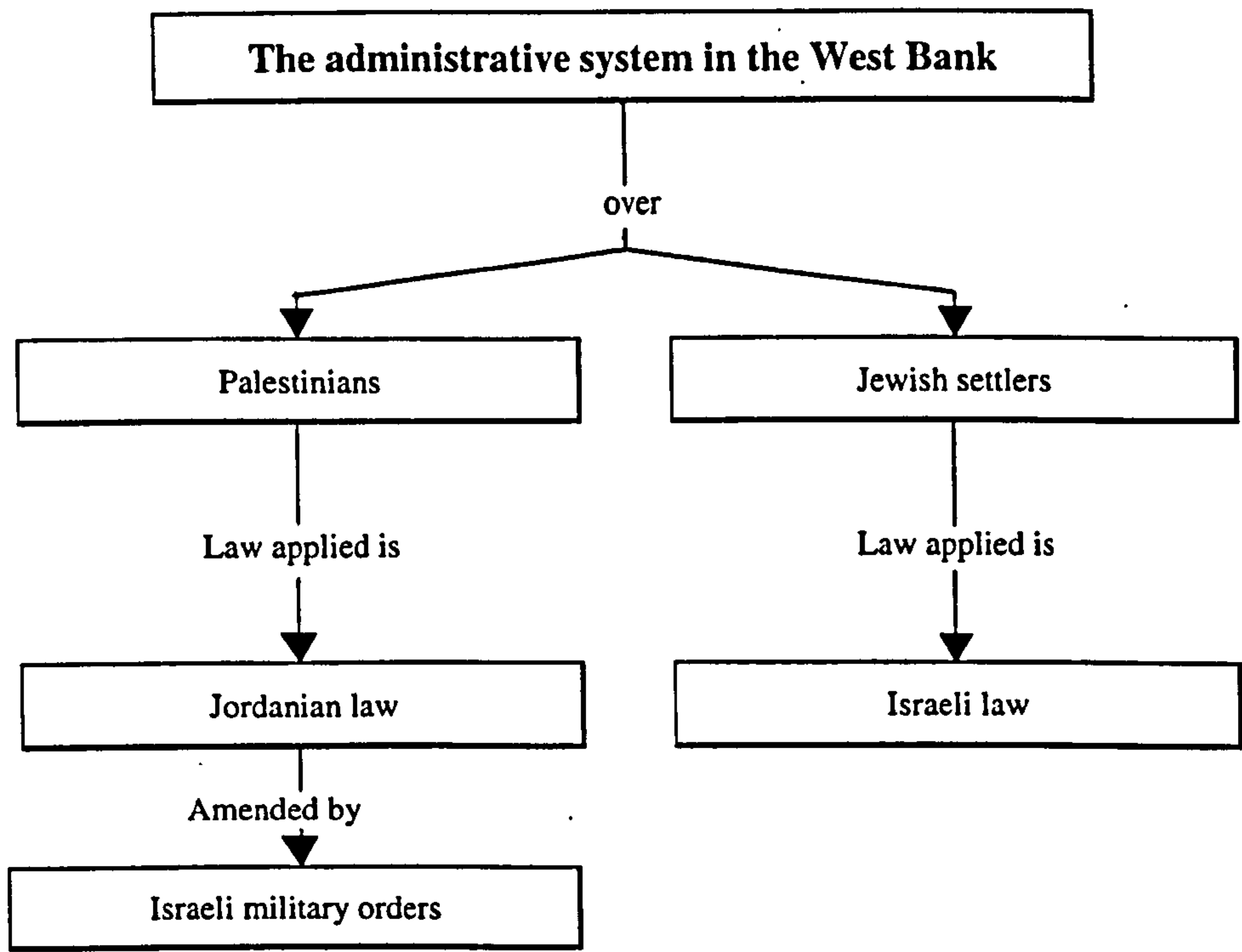


Fig. 5.5: The administrative systems in the West Bank.

The law that applied to the West Bank when Israel occupied it in 1967 was the Jordanian Law. This law has undergone many changes in the course of the occupation through military orders which amended and added to it. Although the Jordanian Law remains in operation for the West Bank Palestinian residents, day to day administration is carried out by Israeli military ordinances.

In 1967, immediately after the occupation, the Israeli authorities established a "**Military Government**" to rule the territory. In 1981, after Camp David treaty between Israel and Egypt, the Israelis created a "**Civil Administration**" as a substitute of the military administration (Rishmawi, 1986). The Civil Administration , as an Israeli official described it, is not an administration operated by civilians., but an administration dealing with the affairs of civilians (Peretz, 1986). Indeed, all the heads of Departments are Israelis and most of them are Israeli soldiers. Coon identified four divisions in the Civil Administration in the West bank: Administration, Interior, Infrastructure and Health.

The Israeli government changed the administrative districts of the West Bank by increasing the number of districts to seven; abolishing Jerusalem district; making the Jordan Valley as a separate district; and cancelling the pyramidal hierarchy in planning.

Before the occupation, there were 26 municipalities in the West Bank (including East Jerusalem), and 87 village councils. The boundaries of the municipalities are established by law, while the boundaries of villages are agreed informally. Therefore, the colonial power controls the development in the villages. It also tried every possible way to restrict and control the municipalities; since 1976, local council elections have been cancelled; in the early 1980s, the military government replaced most of the city mayors in the West Bank by Israelis or by Palestinians who cooperated with them. In 1991, nine of the 26 municipalities have mayors who were elected in 1976 and 14 have mayors appointed by the Israelis (Coon, 1991).

Similar practices of controlling the administration have taken place in most other service institutions such as education, health and agriculture. In addition, the occupying power imposed restrictions on freedom of expression, publication, travel and political parties. Moreover, the decisions for planning and development have been taken by Israelis whose objectives almost always contradict those of the residents, resulting in ad-hoc developments in the region. In short, the Palestinians have no role in administering themselves. A report to the American government stated that:

Palestinians are not permitted to participate in significant public policy decisions concerning land and resource use and planning.

(Quoted in Coon, 1991: 38)

and

After the increasing number of small[^]scattered Israeli settlements throughout the West Bank, the Israeli authorities established a form of administrative framework for the Jewish settlements, which links the settlements together within a regional administration, and also provides the foundation to control the whole territory of the West Bank. This has resulted in the designation of a number of regional authorities throughout the territory (Newman, 1985). These authorities are responsible for all civilian development within

their boundaries. The boundaries of these regional authorities are extended so that no part of the West Bank territory is left out. The main purpose of these authorities is to enhance regional development and interaction between the Jewish settlements and also, to plan for a new ones. Nonetheless, the development of the Jewish settlements affected the Israeli policies towards the development in the West Bank. Coon (1991) argues that the Israeli policies towards Palestinian development are determined mainly by their policies for the Jewish settlements. Mostly the development of Palestinian villages and cities has been restricted in order to allow Jewish colonisation to take place.

In sum, there are two bodies of law which are being applied in the West Bank: the Jordanian law and the Israeli military orders on Palestinian residents; and the Israeli law is applied on Jewish settlers. Therefore, the development in the West Bank has two separate circuits of development and administration, and there is no interaction between them.

5.3.2 PLANNING

Planning for people should satisfy the inhabitants' needs and wants and not to be imposed on them from the top. Therefore, before starting in any planning scheme, it is important to do a demographic, geographical, social and economic survey, including all people's desires and activities. In addition, the planner should take into consideration the present and future needs for roads, electricity, water supply, and telecommunications. Moreover, public buildings such as schools, hospitals, parks, playing grounds and cemeteries should be considered. However, the Israeli authorities did not regard many of these in their planning schemes in the West Bank, neither in the regional plans nor in the villages planning schemes. Al-Quds (1991) described these schemes of being not practical because they did not conduct social survey, and they did not take into consideration the population growth. It added that these schemes are illegal because neither the Israeli authorities co-operate with the local authorities nor they took people's objections to these schemes.

In their planning schemes, the aim of the Israeli planners was to stress two concepts, namely **"domination"** and **"integration"** (Abu Ayash, 1976). Domination means the exploitation of the available natural endowment and the control of people's life and development. This could not succeed without an efficient transportation network, which has been constructed to enable better control of the hinterland. Integration means the incorporation between Israel and the West Bank into a larger unit. The policy of "integration" have demanded the planting of settlements and necessitated the structural changes in transportation network to increase the flow of goods and people to and from the West Bank, in particular the flow of raw materials as well as cheap labour from the occupied territories into Israel and the flow of manufactured goods from Israel into the markets of the West Bank (Fig. 5.6). To achieve these objectives, the Israeli authorities issued new plans for road networks, infrastructure and part of the villages. However, the Israelis have approved almost no plans for Palestinian development since 1967. The following section will discuss the Israeli planning schemes, their objectives and how they affect the identity of the built environment of the region.

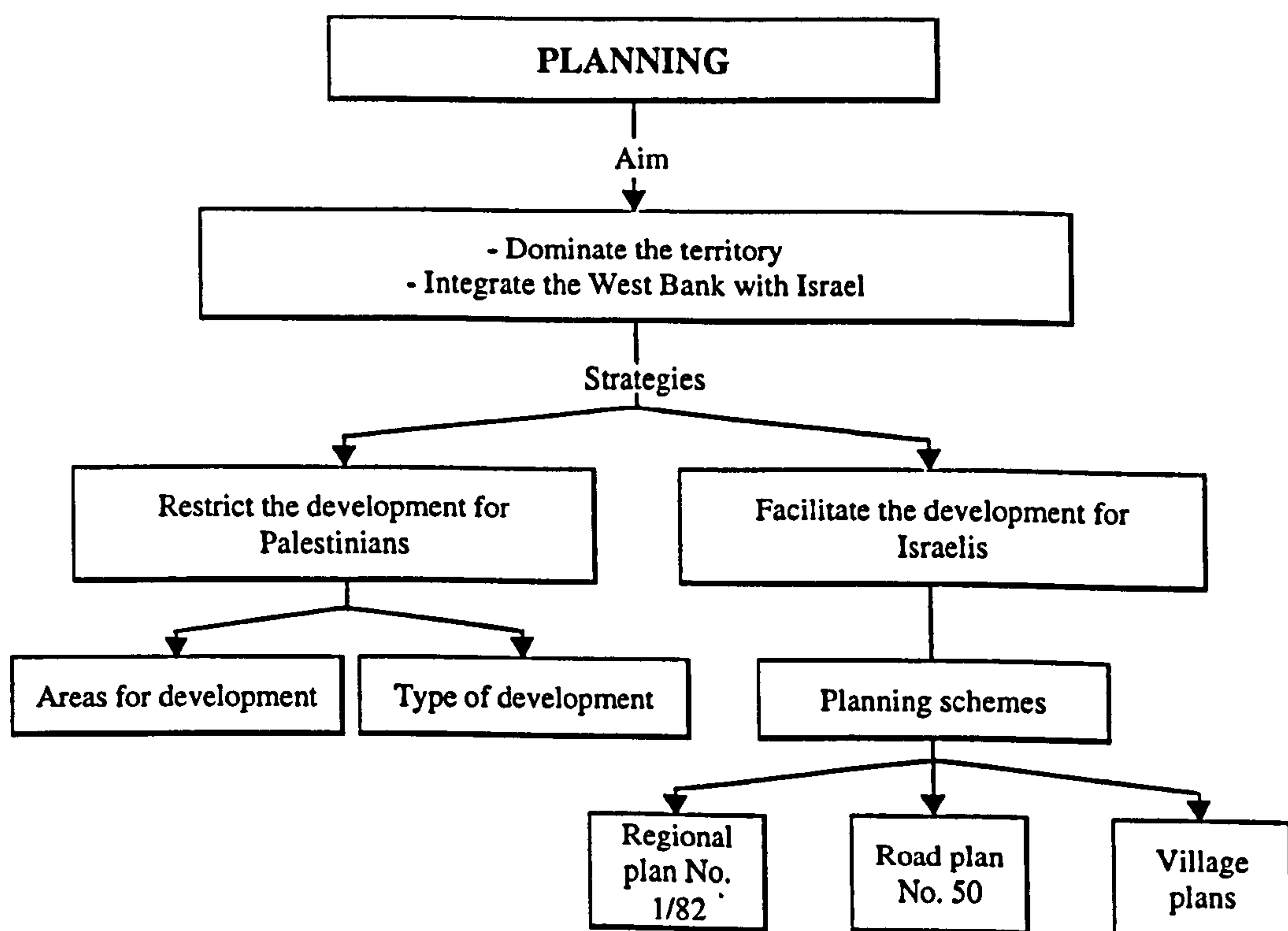


Fig. 5.6: The strategy of Israeli planning schemes in the West Bank.

5.3.2.1 Planning Schemes

Planning schemes usually concentrate on two main ideas: **"development plans"** and **"development control"** (Coon, 1991). Development plans are not an end in themselves, but they are a means of identifying desired directions of development and change, so the planning authority can choose and encourage the development which is compatible with their desires. The law defines four types of development plans: regional plans, outline plans, detailed plans, dealing mainly with land use, parcellation schemes and land ownership (Coon, 1991).

In the case of the West Bank, the Israeli government applied the development on the Israeli settlements, while applying the development control on the Palestinian cities and villages. Therefore, there are two separate but related systems of development plans in the West Bank: one for the Palestinians, and the other for the Jewish settlers.

The relevant planning law in the West Bank is Jordanian law no. 79 of 1966, which defines the planning authorities and their responsibilities in preparing planning schemes. The Israeli authorities issued several military orders to amend the law no. 79 to accomplish their objectives. During the British Mandate, two plans which were developed are still affecting the planning practice in the West Bank: Samaria Regional Plan (referred to as "S15") which covers Jenin, Nablus and Tulkarm districts, and Jerusalem Regional Plan (referred to as "RJ5") which covers the southern part of the West Bank. These plans were prepared to meet the needs of the people at that time (Kendall, 1949). These regional plans consist of maps for the future development and a set of regulations to control that development. The significance of these two schemes is that the Israeli authorities are still using them in order to justify their restrictions for the development of the Palestinian villages. The regional plans defined land use zones for different types of developments: agriculture, development and nature reserves. These zones have been used by the Israeli authorities to control the development in the territory and to refuse building permits for Palestinians.

Indeed, most of the land in the West Bank outside the existing towns and villages were designated as agricultural lands, and the regulations in Plan S15 and Plan RJ5 prohibit building more than one house on a plot; to make it more complicated, the Israeli authorities at the same time prevented the subdivision of land. This make it almost impossible for the Palestinian cities and villages to expand normally.

In addition to the restrictions, the colonial power introduced three main planning schemes. These new planning schemes defined certain rules and regulations which lack the logic and the practicality. For example, in certain areas they have to demolish almost 70% of the buildings around a suggested road (Safadi,1991).

Regional Plan No. 1/82

This plan was the first attempt by the Israelis to update the regional planning framework which remained unchanged since the British Mandate. This plan covers a belt about 5 km around Jerusalem which covers an area of 275,000 donums (Coon, 1990; Shehadeh, 1985). It specified the "built up areas" for the Palestinian villages, the "reserved areas", "future development zones", "nature reserve", "agricultural lands" and roads. However, the plan neither give an indication of how to cater^{for} the development in the Arab villages , nor an indication of the existing or proposed Israeli settlements. In addition, no Palestinian has been consulted in the preparation of this plan. Shehadeh (1985) commented on it:

This plan (1/82) determines the use of the land outside the municipalities and villages within the area it covers. The boundaries of these population centres have been fixed by the plan. Some villages have been left out altogether. The areas surrounding the Palestinian towns and villages are designed either as agricultural areas in which building is almost entirely prohibited or special areas comprising approximately 35% of the area which are not defined by the plan but which are implicitly for the expansion of Jewish settlements.

(Shehadeh, 1985: 52)

Road Plan No. 50

Another critical plan introduced by the colonial power is "Road Plan No. 50" which was published in 1981 (Shehadeh, 1985; Coon, 1990). This plan shows a network of "main", "district" and "local" roads extending over the West Bank. A significant aspect of this plan is the width of roads and their set-backs. The road width ranged between 40 and 120 meters. It should be noted that most of the existing roads are less than 10 meters wide. As a whole, the total road reservations become at least 250 meters. The estimated total area of the roads included in the plans is 37,000 ha, while the total built up area in the West Bank is 43,000 ha (Benvenisti and Khayat, 1988). Moreover, the main road pattern has a strong east-west orientation with eight links with Israel. It is worth mentioning here that many of the roads included in this plan had been built by the time it was deposited in 1984. Shehadeh (1985) described the objectives and the impacts of the plan. He writes:

The plan (Plan No. 50) is clearly designed to serve Israel's local, regional and national interests while Palestinian transportation needs are ignored or are served as a by-product of Israeli interests. The plan is also intended to restrict Arab development by restricting building along a width of 100-150 meters on each side of the road.

(Shehadeh, 1985: 54)

Village Plans

In 1981, the Central Planning Department in the Civil Administration prepared outline plans for 183 Palestinian villages. These plans were not based on field survey, and the planners did not differentiate between the villages, nor did they take the social, cultural or economic factors into account (Safadi, 1991). The over-riding aim for the planners is to condense the Palestinians in isolated ghettos. Coon commented on these plans, he writes:

It seems clear that the purpose of the plans is not to provide for development, but to confine development. The plans would allow "infill" development to take place, but they make no attempt to anticipate the future scale or diversity of development needs of these communities which were experiencing unrepentantly rapid development at the time.

(Coon, 1991: 95)

The most significant feature of these plans is their boundaries. This signifies the zones within which the development should be confined. Indeed, these plans are negatively coordinated with the population growth. Safadi (1991) commented on the outline scheme of Oreef village (with a population of 2000) near Nablus. The built up area of this village according to the new plans is 256 donum. Within it, there are 5 km long streets. The average width with the set backs around 24 meters. Therefore, the area of streets with the set backs is 120 donums. There are also three donums for public buildings, so the rest for housing construction will be only 133 donums; which is very difficult to absorb the population growth.

A quick look at these planning schemes for any village will easily identify that the boundaries of the new scheme are very close to the existing buildings and even sometimes a number of houses were excluded and become outside the boundaries of the village to keep the size of the village as small as possible. Moreover, it is not surprising to find in these plans one piece of land is divided into two parts: one within the boundaries of the plan of the village and one outside its boundaries. This is because these schemes were created by a political decision and carried out by politicians, in order to achieve political objectives without considering the inhabitants needs.

5.3.3 LAND EXPROPRIATION

The issue of land ownership is central in the Arab-Israeli conflict. It is probably the most complex issue as it carries with it a mixture of rational, emotional and religious feelings. For Palestinians, land is very important and people value it above most other possessions. Land also constitutes a strategic resource; it is a factor of production for more than 40% of the residents in the West Bank (Newman and Portugali, 1987). In addition, land for Palestinians has a symbolic and religious meanings. Some believe that they should have the right to keep their own land in order to have self determination, others look at it from historical or religious viewpoint.

For the Israelis, the way they look at the land of the West Bank is different from one group to another: some consider the West Bank as part of greater Israel for religious reasons, others supporting the Israeli presence in this area for security reasons. Furthermore, some Israelis, look at it from economic viewpoint; it is an opportunity for them to get a free land and sometimes with a house. The problem is that both Palestinians and Israelis argue over the same piece of land. Therefore, there was a struggle between them to control it.

The Israeli authorities, therefore, introduced several policies and military orders regarding the land, strategically aimed at taking the land from Palestinians, and giving it to Jews. Under international law, land acquisition by an occupying power is illegal. Israeli policies of land acquisition violate the requirements of article 43 of the Hague Regulations in 1907 - in relation to land acquisition- which clarify that : Requisition shall not be demanded except for the needs of the army of occupation (cited in Coon, 1991). This means that an occupied territory must be administered for the benefit of local population and the occupying power can only use the land for military reasons.

Since 1967, land registration in the West Bank has been closed to the public. This action has prevented the Palestinians from formalizing ownership rights since that time. Before the occupation only 0.5% of the West Bank was in Jewish ownership (Abu-Lughod, 1982). In 1980, Israel had taken possession of about 27% of the total land area of West Bank, This increasing to some 38% in 1982 (Sahliyah,1982). By 1984, this percentage was increased to 41% of the land (Coon, 1991). By 1989, estimates indicated that between 50 and 60% (Table 5.1) of the occupied territories has already been expropriated (Focus, 1991).

The Year	Percentage of Land Expropriated
1967	0.5%
1980	27%
1982	38%
1984	41%
1992	60%

Table 5.1: Percentages of land expropriated by the Israelis since 1967.

Recently, *Al-Haq* (International Commission of Jurists) noted that illegal land acquisition by the Israeli authorities has escalated significantly since the beginning of the *intifadah* and especially since January 1990. This increase in land acquisition has accompanied the significant rise in Jewish immigration from the former Soviet Union. The same report added that between 1988 and 1991 over 504,120 dunums of land were confiscated by the Israelis, which constitutes 8.78% of the total land area.

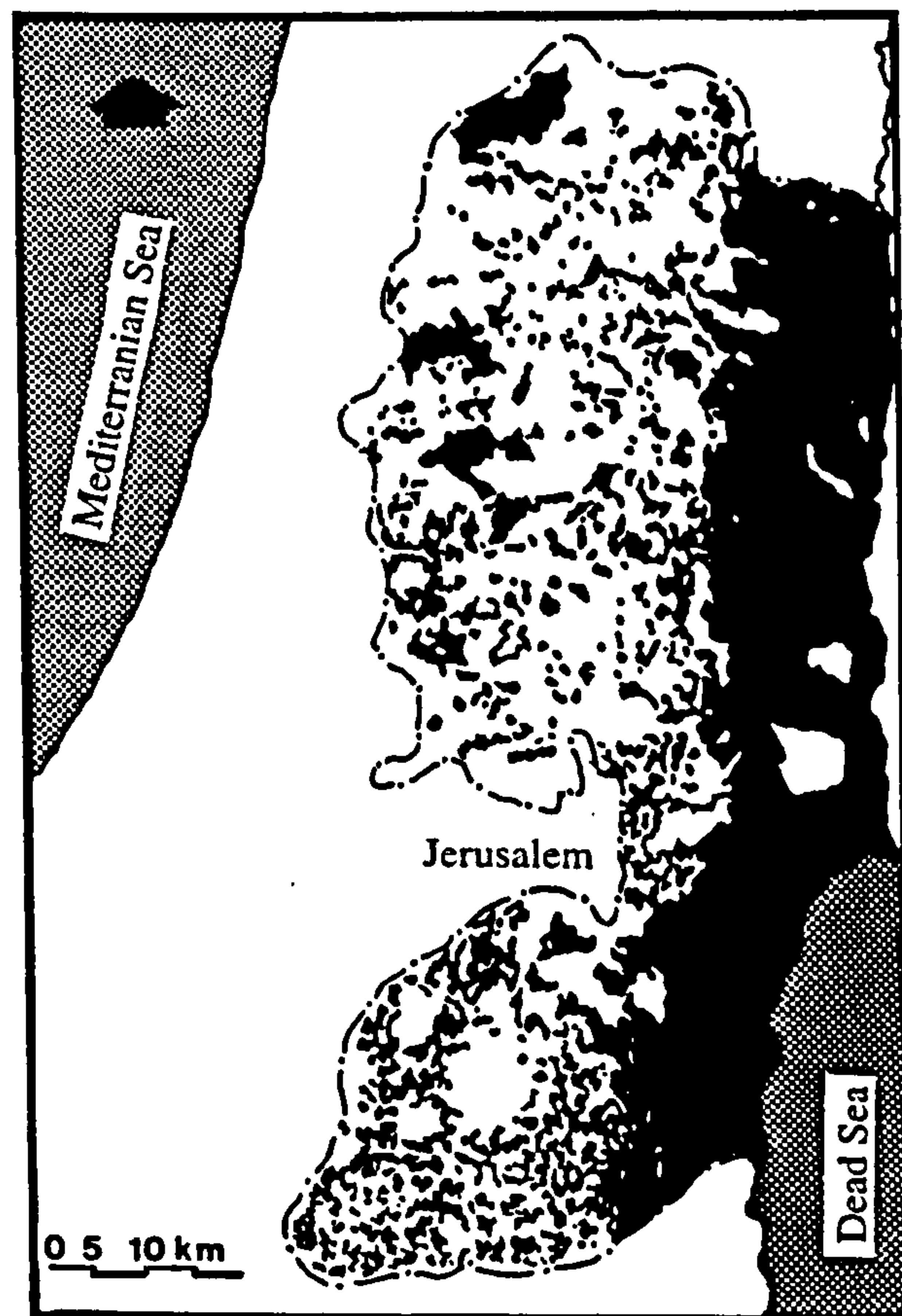


Fig. 5.7: Land expropriated by the Israeli authorities.
Source: Benvenisti (1984)

From these diverse resources, even there is a slight difference between them, but it can be concluded that by 1992, the Israeli government expropriated almost 60% of the total area of the West Bank (Fig. 5.7). This means that the residents in the West Bank have control over very limited areas, which they can prove their ownership.

The mechanism which has been used to expropriate the land, was designed to place as much land in state ownership as an indirect way of expropriation. Sharon (1981) - the Israeli Minister for Housing - stated that:

Israel has proposed that land (in West Bank and Gaza Strip) be placed in three categories : privately-owned, which would be under the local Palestinian authority; publicly-owned, without a usage designation, to be administered jointly by Israel and the Palestinians; and state-owned for military or settlement purpose.

(quoted in Abu-Lughod, 1982: 44)

In order to expropriate land from its Palestinian owners, the Israeli government used different ways and legislations (Appendix 5.1), either by applying specific policies or by issuing military orders (Jeryis, 1976; Abu-Lughod, 1982; Coon, 1991). **First**, they seized the land belong to the people who fled during or after the 1967 war, which they called an absentee property^[3]. **Second**, they closed a vast amount of land for military purposes. In 1989, 20% of the land of the West Bank was considered a closed area for military training (Focus, 1991). Although the land was acquired for military purposes, most of it has been used for non-military purposes such as Jewish settlement. **Third**, they designated many portions of the territory as security zones. **Fourth**, Israeli authorities seized land for public purposes, but they mostly used this land for the Israeli settlements or to serve those settlements. **Fifth**, in order to transfer the Palestinian land to Israelis, the Israeli authorities allowed the purchase of lands in the West Bank by Israelis. This, however, did not have a significant impacts for two reasons: Palestinians were unwilling to sell their land especially to Israelis and the Jordanian government considered this an illegal action and threaten to punish anyone sells his land to an Israeli. **Finally**, the most significant method in the last few years is to expropriate land by declaring non-registered properties as "state lands" (Focus, 1991). They used a device of announcing that piece of land is already in state ownership and designate it for construction of Jewish settlement. Then ask the Palestinians who claim to own the land to prove their ownership (Shehadeh and Kuttub, 1980). In this way, the burden is placed on the owners to prove their ownership. It is worth reminding, here, that only a small percentage of land on the West bank had been fully surveyed and titled to ownership. This device, therefore, was an important mechanism for creating state land.

5.3.4 THE IMPACT OF THE CONTROL OF THE DEVELOPMENT

The Israeli authorities in the West Bank have no criteria to encourage the development for the benefit of the indigenous inhabitants. In fact, the administrative systems were put to serve the interests of the colonial power and to control the inhabitants. Therefore, their strategy of the administration is to postpone, delay or even refuse any application in order to make life more difficult for the people, through which the Israelis believe that Palestinians will leave their home land.

The mechanism that the Israeli government used in order to achieve its objective of controlling the Palestinian population and to build Israeli settlements is planning. Therefore, all planning schemes issued by the colonial power authorities were designed to encourage the development in the Israeli settlements and to restrict the extension of the Palestinian villages.

In order to achieve their plans, the first step in the colonisation process was to expropriate land. The main objective is simply to take the land and give it to Jewish settlers as a slow annexation process. This has had many impacts on the Palestinians and their built environment. The life style of people has changed after the expropriation of their lands and they become workers rather than farmers. Moreover, the development in the villages has been restricted and the landscape of the region has been distorted.

This section discusses the impact of the colonial power policies in controlling the development of the West Bank on shaping the identity of its built environment. It examines the implications of the administrative system, planning schemes and land expropriation policy on identity of the built environment at three levels: the region, the village and the house. The information here is based on the observations and interviews conducted by the author during the fieldwork in the West Bank in 1991. They were coded and compared to cross-check different views for each point.

5.3.4.1 The Region

The Israeli government applied its policies on the entire region and not on one part. Therefore, the implications of these policies appeared clearly on its built environment. The influence of controlling the development on identity of the built environment can be seen in several ways:

The change of landscape features

As a result of controlling the water resources, the number of citrus trees in the territory has been decreased, because people can not plant new trees and many of the existing ones are drying. This is to eliminate one of the significant landscape trees from the region. In addition, the Israeli authorities issued a military order to uproot trees owned by Palestinians as a punishment if the owner or one of his family were accused of having political activities against the military government, or if any one used the land for activities against the government, including children throwing stones. Jewish settlers also cut trees in the West Bank as a revenge and sometimes to force people to leave their lands. As a result, these trees which used to distinguish the roads are mostly now uprooted.

Moreover, many agricultural lands have been neglected which belong to absentees, and many others are now just empty lands closed for military purposes. These lands could have been developed and cultivated. Mr Al-Fara- a university lecturer - in an interview in 1991 explained this point. He said, "if the Israelis did not expropriate these lands, we could have seen thousands of olive trees more than what you see now; and this also could be the case for other agricultural products".

Another result of land acquisition is that the inhabitants are not in control over almost half of their territory, which as a result affected the image of the region because people can only develop part of the territory only, while the other part has been developed by different people to achieve different purposes. A farmer from Arraba described how land

expropriation affected the built environment, he said, "I have been working in our land for more than forty years. I used to help my father, and we mostly depend on this land to survive. Sadly my father died in 1986. Three years ago, the Israeli authorities prevented us from using the whole land because two of my brothers and one sister fled to Jordan during the War in 1967. The Israeli government considered them "Absentees" and they acquired their lands. Now, when I see the trees in their parts drying, I feel so sad: the olive trees, the almond trees are in bad condition and I can not do any thing".

In fact, the division of the land is in itself a distortion. It looks like taking parts from a body which makes the image of that body strange (Fig. 5.8a).

Finally, it should be noted that land acquisition does not affect only the acquired land, but also influences the surrounding area. For example, if the Israelis put a military camp on an expropriated land, the people cannot cultivate the neighbouring lands.

The weakening of the relationships between the villages

In their planning schemes, the Israeli authorities do not try to strengthen the relationships between the Palestinian villages and cities. Instead their objective is to separate them. So the Palestinian communities will be concentrated in separate ghettos. In addition, the Palestinian villages in the West Bank were usually surrounded with agricultural areas, trees and grazing fields as common places between the villages. At present, part of these areas have been seized for building new settlements or as military zones. Therefore, the relationships between the villages have been weakened after the expropriation of those common areas (Fig. 5.8b).

The distortion of the historical image of the region

The historical image of the region has been affected as a result of the neglect of some historical sites in the territory by the Israeli authorities, which reflect the Palestinian civilisation and prove their roots in the area.

The change of the landuse

The expropriation of land affected the land use in the region. For example, in Palestinian villages, mountains were usually used for buildings, while the plains for agriculture. However, after the expropriation of the mountains, people were forced to build in the plains.

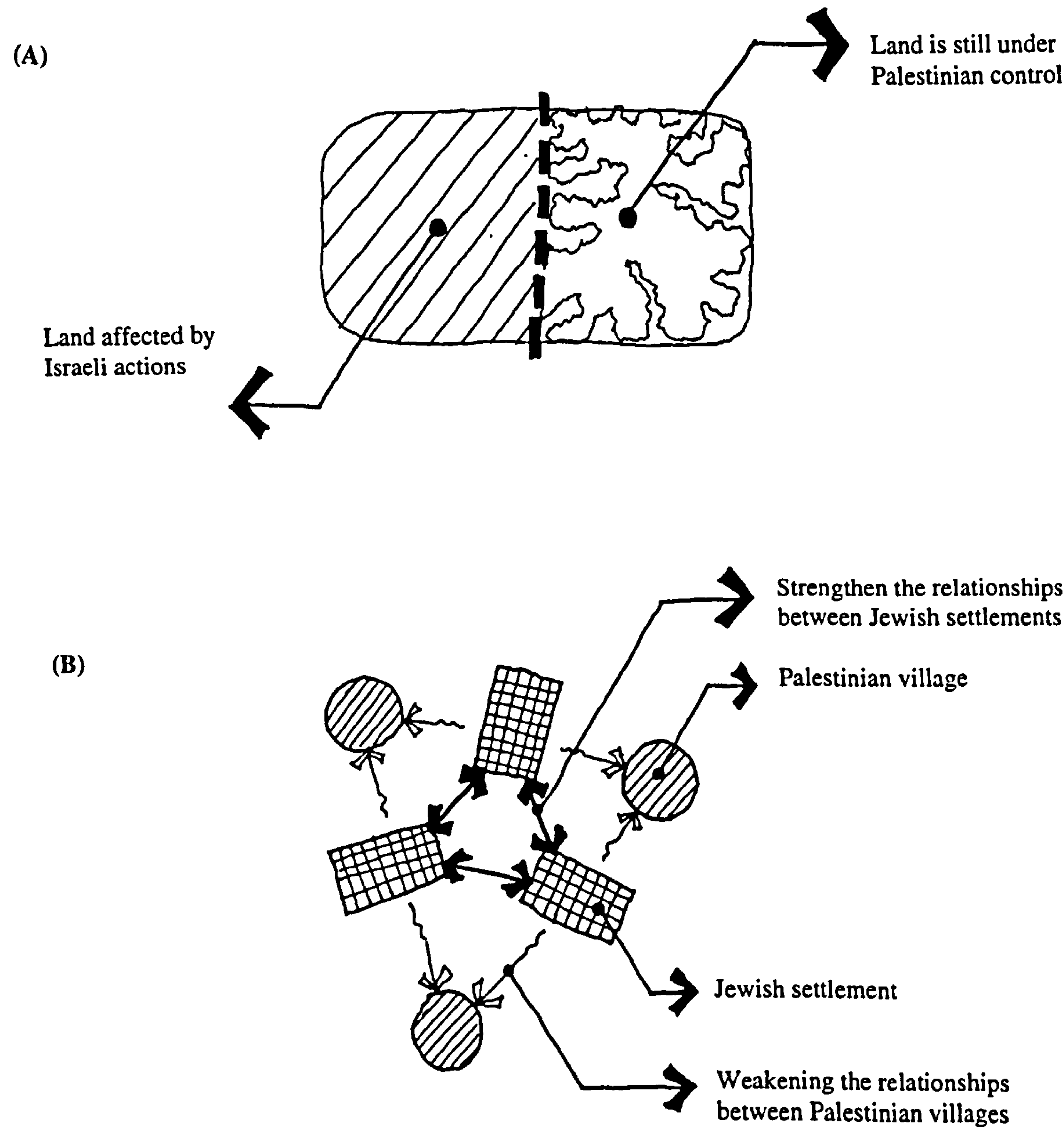


Fig. 5.8: The impact of the control of the development on the built environment of the region.

- (a) Deserted land as a result of land acquisition.
- (b) The Israeli settlements influenced the relationship between the Palestinian villages.

5.3.4.2 The Village

The control of the development has distorted the identity of the villages either directly by imposing new policies and planning schemes or indirectly influenced by the plans around the villages. The main influence of controlling the development on the villages can be summarised in three points.

The restriction of the expansion

Planning schemes introduced by the Israeli government did not take into consideration the population growth. This disturbed the normal development processes inside the villages and force people either to crystallize within their villages or to freeze the development. In addition, the development of the villages have been affected by restricting the land which could be used for building development in just small plots. For example, the expropriation of lands around certain villages directed the extension of those villages within their old boundaries. Therefore, within the villages, the thrust of the development has been changed and directed inwards. This has changed the spatial relations and organisations inside the villages. Moreover, new planning restrictions were added which created awkward alignments of the boundaries of the villages, because the priorities were not to the village, but to the nearest Israeli settlement (Fig. 5.9).

The change of the spatial organisation

As a result of the new planning restrictions, the villages become densely populated areas and they started to loose their agricultural image. Indeed, people are now constructing their new houses on agricultural lands because the planning schemes reserved the mountains for future Jewish settlements. This can be seen clearly in the Arab villages in Israel.

Moreover, one of the significant features of the plans of the villages, which have been done by the Israeli planners, is the width of streets. Some of these streets are almost 50 meters wide. These roads distorted the image of the village and changed the spatial relationships between the buildings.

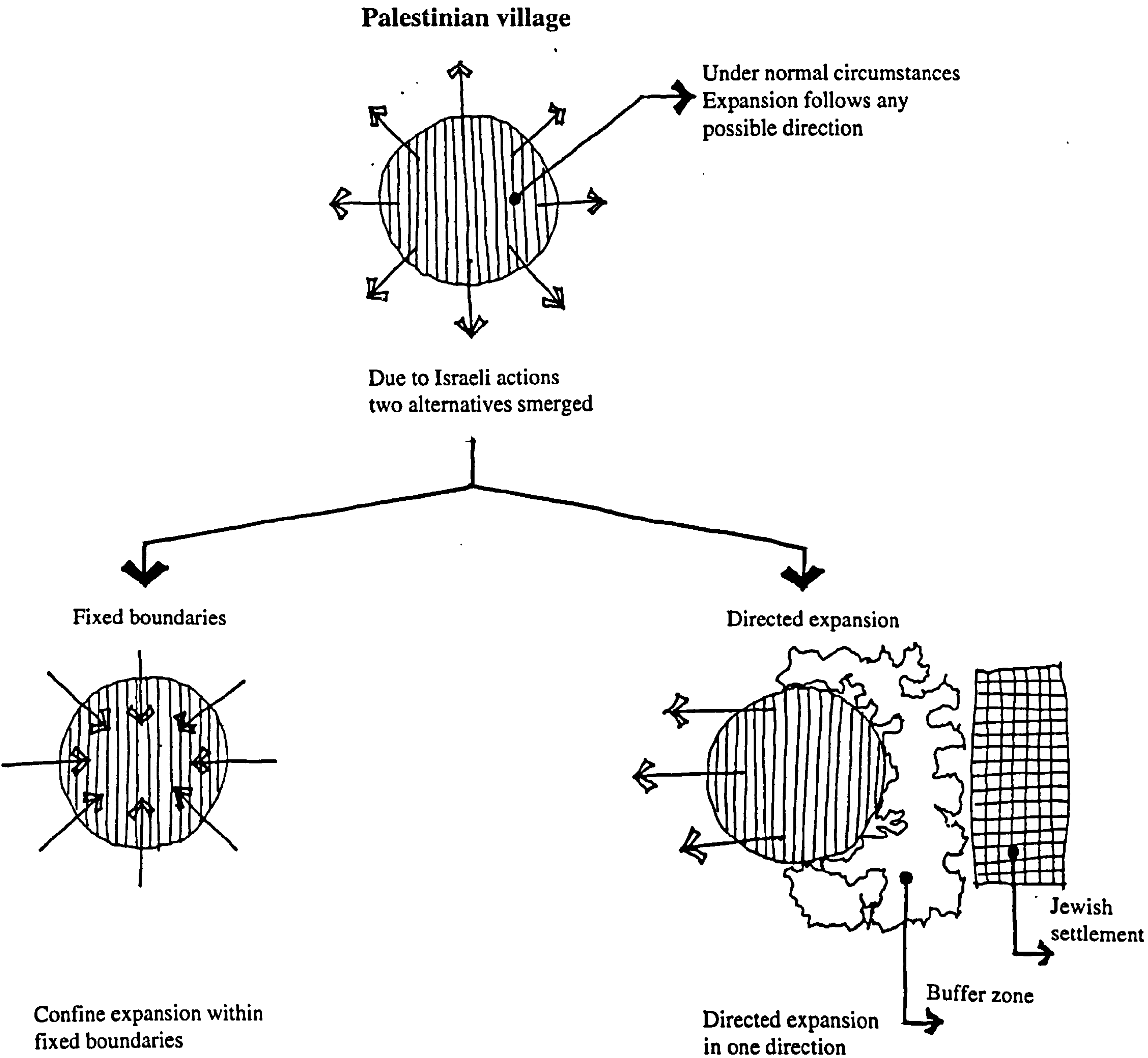
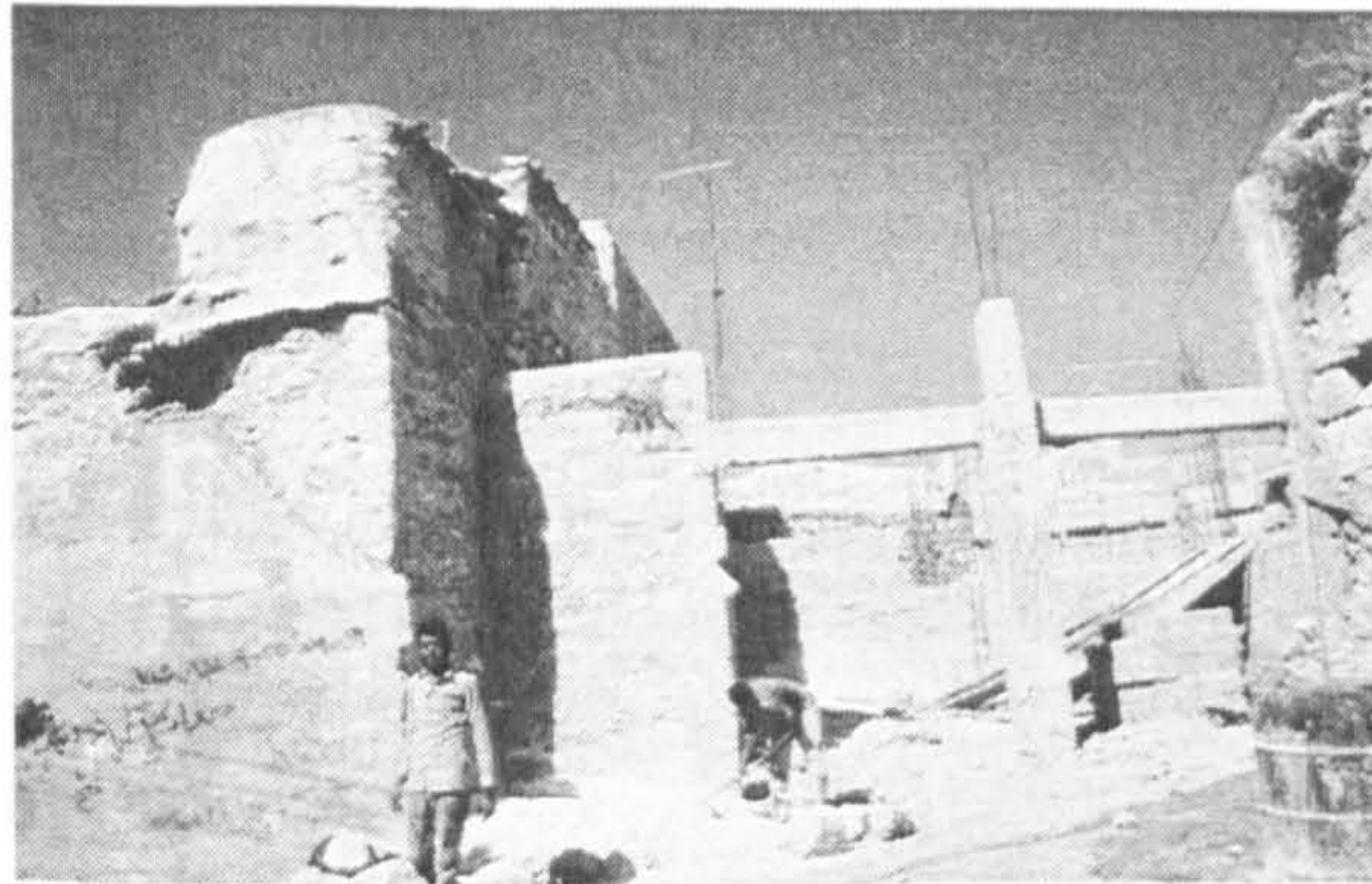


Fig. 5.9: The impact of the control of the development on the expansion of the Palestinian villages.

The distortion of the historical image

After re-aligning the boundaries, the Palestinian villages started to lose their traditional and historical image because people now are forced either to demolish their old buildings in order to construct new houses or to add rooms to their houses but using different building materials and different forms which created a mix of building types (Fig. 5.10).



a) A demolition of an old house to build a new one.



b) An addition to an old house.

Fig. 5.10: The change of the traditional image.

5.3.4.3 The House

The identity of the Palestinian house has been affected indirectly by the colonial power policies and its administrative systems. At this scale, the impact can be summarised in three points.

The change of the physical features

Because of the difficulties imposed by the occupying power to get a building permit, many Palestinians now try to solve their problem by adding rooms to their existing houses, which gives a new character to the houses as a mixed of old and new.

The transformation of the design

For example, by forcing people to build on the plains instead of the mountains, the design of the house has been affected. This was one of the reasons why people are now raising their houses on columns.

The change of building materials

The main building material has been changed from stone to concrete as a result of expropriating most of the mountains, which used to be the source of stones. Accordingly, the use of stone as a building material becomes very expensive. So people now tend to build with concrete as a cheaper alternative. Miss Amal- an architect- said while interviewed in 1991 that in the past, Palestinians used to build with stones which they used to bring from the mountains around their village. At that time, stone was not an expensive building material. Therefore, it is noticeable that most of the traditional buildings are built of stone. After the Israelis expropriated the mountains, stone becomes very expensive and people started to use concrete.

In sum, the impact of the control of the development can be summarised in the following diagram (Fig. 5.11).

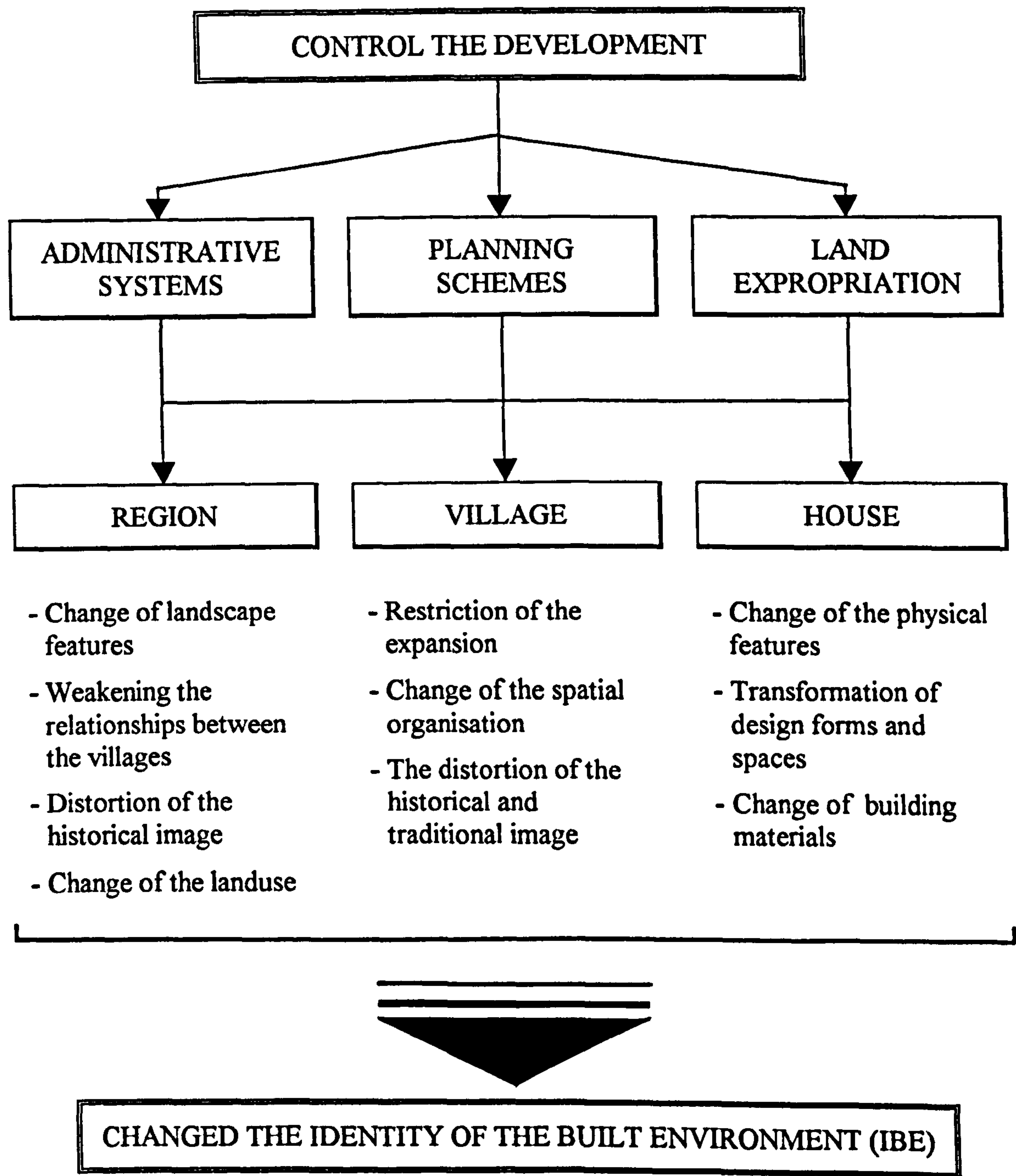


Fig. 5.11: The impact of the control of the development on the built environment of the region, the village and the house.

5.4 THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The main objective for the Israeli government is to integrate and then to absorb the entire territory. However, the West Bank is inhabited by Palestinians and there was no Israeli living in it at the time of occupation in 1967. Therefore, the first step had been taken by the Israeli government was to transfer part of its inhabitants into the occupied Palestinian land. To change the perception of both Israelis and Palestinians towards the region, the first task for the Israeli government was to transform the identity of the territory, and to change the sense of place in the region.

In order to achieve these objectives, the Israeli authorities have planted settlements, established new roads, demolished houses and installed extensive military elements. As a result of these actions, the physical environment of the West Bank has changed dramatically. This section discusses these actions and their impact on the development of the built environment.

5.4.1 ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS

The establishment of Israeli settlements in the West Bank has undergone a number of changes of emphasis. In fact, it is possible to distinguish four phases in the colonisation process of the West Bank. In the first phase, new settlements were established according to what so-called Allon Plan (Allon was the Deputy Prime Minister of Israel between 1968 and 1977), along the eastern border in north-south belt. The second phase of settlement activity, following the elections of 1977 and based on Gush Emunim movement^[5], witnessed a redirection of settlement colonisation to the heart of the densely populated Arab region in the mountain interior (Abu-Lughod, 1982). The third phase concentrated the settlements in the westerns parts of the West Bank (Benevenisti, 1984a). Lately, locating settlements is concentrated around the Green Line (the border between Israel and the West Bank) (fig. 5.12).

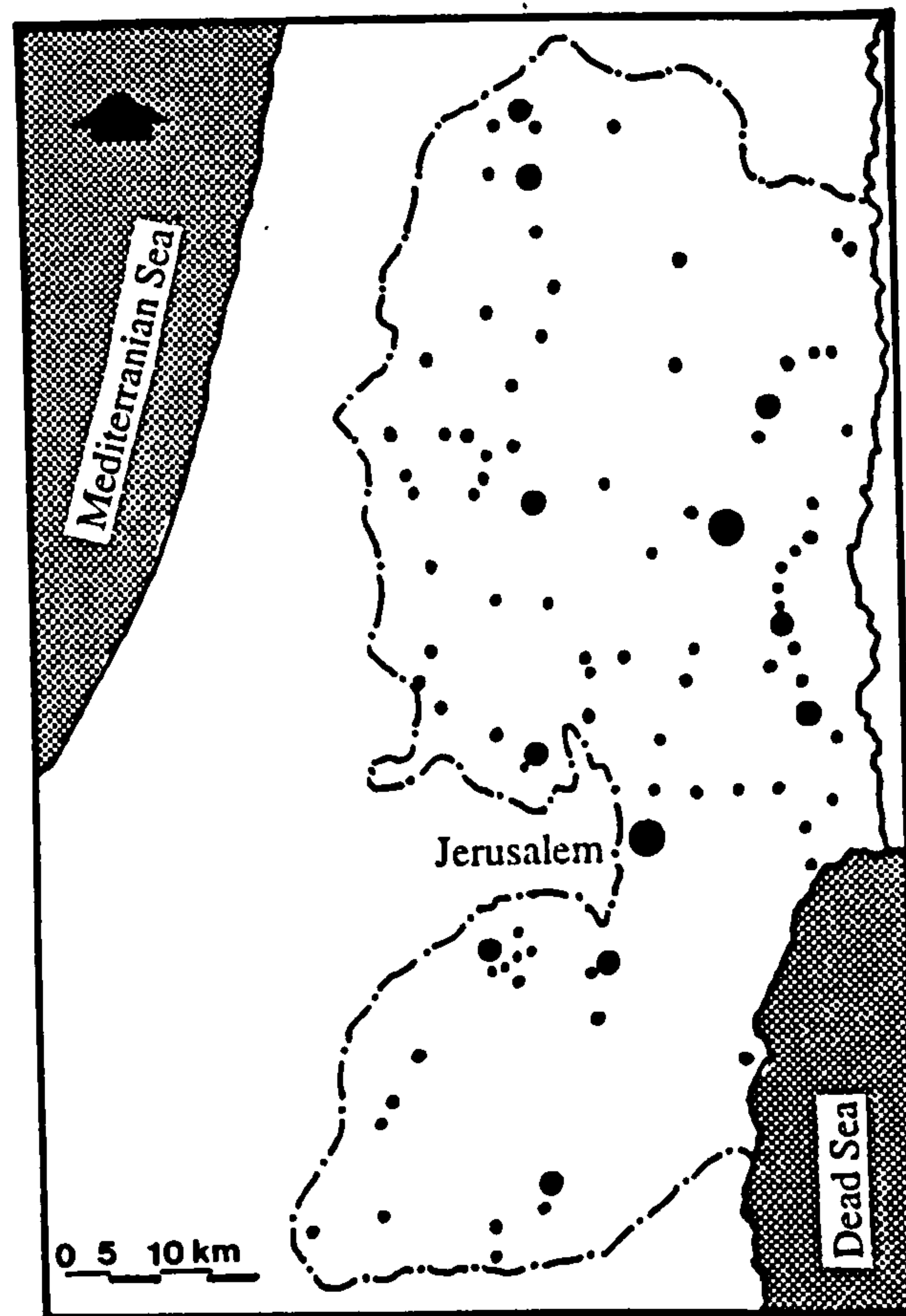


Fig. 5.12: The Israeli settlements in the West Bank.
Source: Benvenisti (1984)

The last plan which was launched by the Housing Ministry is the "Stars Plan", whose goal is to establish new settlements straddling the Green Line. The plan will bridge large Jewish settlements in the West Bank with the Israeli cities by a road network in order to encourage the potential growth of Jewish communities on both sides of the Green Line. The first stage of this plan started in 1992 whose aim is to construct 16,000 housing units, and an additional 31,000 units are planned in subsequent years (Al-Quds, 1992b :8). Latest figures indicated that the number of Israeli settlements in the West Bank reached 157 settlements by 1991 (Al-Quds, 1992a). For more details about the phases of Israeli settlements in the West Bank, please see Appendix 5.3.

The changing emphasis of the colonisation policy under different Israeli governments, however, has not resulted in any basic transformation of the nature of the goals to be achieved by such a process (Newman, 1985). In fact, the development of civilian Israeli

settlements has always been viewed by successive Israeli governments as constituting a major factor in the establishment of territorial control over the region (Kimmerling, 1979). In addition, the Israeli authorities hope that such settlements could support the formation of physical and emotional attachment of the Israelis to the land of the West Bank, and to change the demographic balance in favour of Jews (Appendix 5.4).

In sum, all Israeli governments since 1967 are in favour of building settlements in the occupied territories, but there is a difference in their strategies for the settlements and their location. The main difference between them is where to build the settlements and not if the settlements should be built or not.

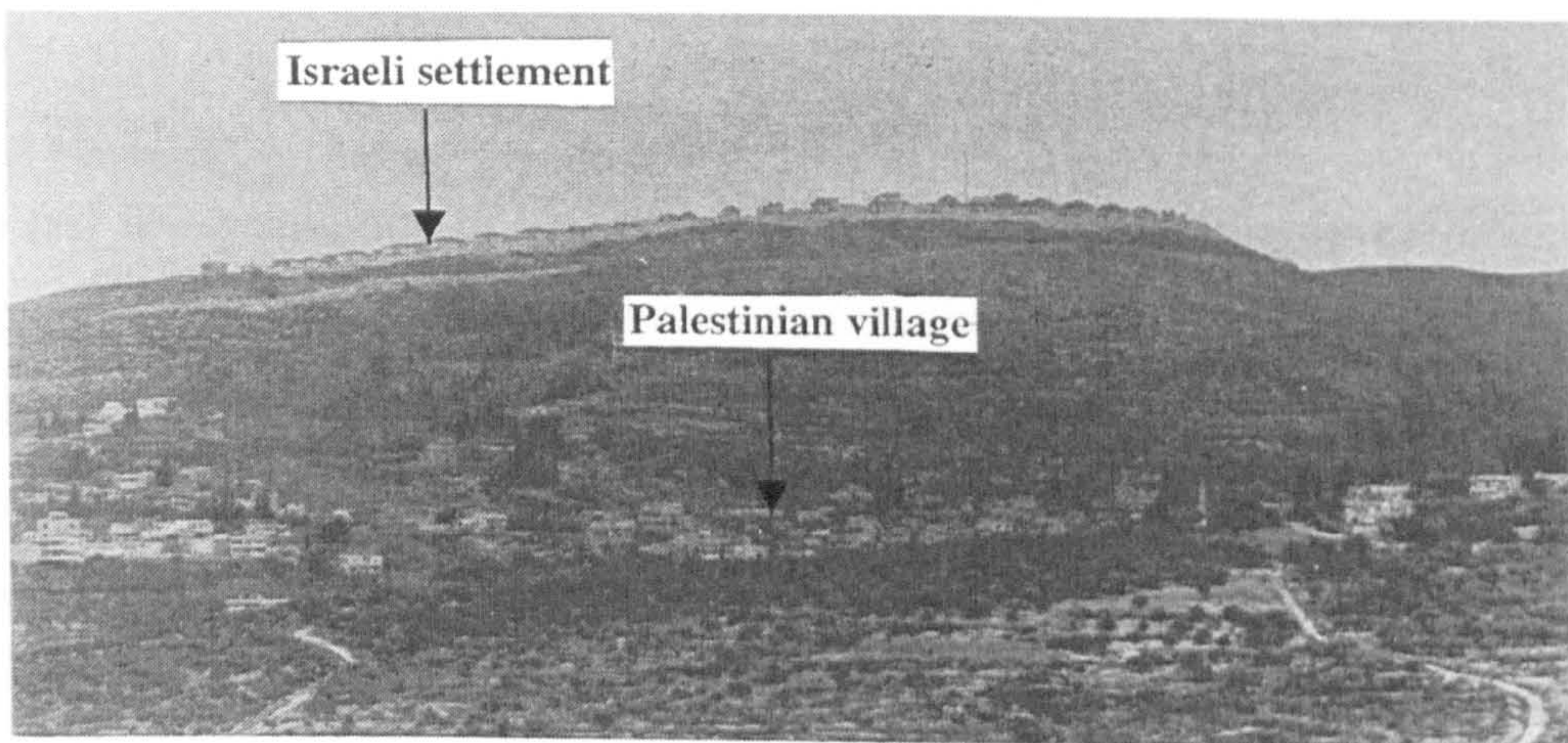


Fig. 5.13: An expansion of an Israeli settlement in the northern part of West Bank.

It is worth remembering here that the creation of colonial settlements in occupied territories is prohibited by international law. The Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 on the behaviour in occupied areas specified that an occupier shall not transfer parts of its own population into the territory it occupies (Monroe, 1977).

In 1983, the World Zionist Organisation prepared "Master Plan 2010" (Focus, 1991). The plan called for increasing settlements in the occupied territories (excluding East Jerusalem) up to 85,000 settlers by 1986. The "priority zones" are the central mountains,

thereby surrounding and fragmenting the "Palestinian blocks". The objective of this plan is to settle 800,000 Jews in settlements spread over the entire West Bank and to restrict the growth of Palestinian villages.

The number of Israeli settlements^[6] and settlers in the West Bank varies depending on the source of information. According to the Settlements Council, the number of settlements is 142, and the number of settlers is 112,000 (Al-Quds, 1992a). Their report claimed that 66,850 settlers are living in 13 big settlements and 44,000 settlers are living in 129 small settlements. However, Peace Now (an Israeli political movement) confirmed in 1992 that the total number of Jewish settlers is 99,000 and the number of settlements is 157. It added that in 105 settlements the number of families is less than one hundred (Al-Quds, 1992a).

In the last few years, one of the most significant features in the development of Israeli settlements in the West Bank, is the extension phenomenon of the existing settlements (Fig. 5.13) and the increasing number of Jewish settlers. At the beginning of 1992, the number of units under construction in the Israeli settlements were 13,650 units: 9,980 permanent units and 3,670 mobile units. In 1989, however, the number of units under construction were only 900. For example, "Ely" settlement, which is located in the middle of the West Bank, a year and a half ago the number of families living in this settlement was 40 families. Now, in this settlement there are 300 permanent units and 200 mobile units under construction - which means that the units are now twelve times as they were in 1990 (Al-Quds, 1992a).

From reviewing the developments and phases of the Israeli settlements, it was noticeable that the strategy of the Israelis has been changed in the last few years. At the beginning their strategy was to build as much as they can new settlements even with a small number of units. Lately, however, their strategy is to develop the existing settlements and strengthen the relationships between them.

The influence of the settlements on the development of the West Bank can be better understood if we look not only at the number of settlements, locations and types, but also on how the settlement policies are related to different activities, such as land expropriation, transportation network and law within the region. Moreover, in order to get a better picture, the impact of these settlements on the Palestinian residents and on the development of the region as a whole should be investigated (Senan, 1992). For example, what are the impacts of settlements on the expansion of Palestinian villages? What happened to the farmers whose land was expropriated? And how these settlements influenced the development of the built environment of the West Bank?

In order to imagine the extent of change caused by the Israeli settlements, I will compare the physical features of the Palestinian village with those of an Israeli settlement. Indeed, there are many differences between them in terms of process and product (Fig. 5.14). A comparison between them, therefore, will show the extent of change in the built environment. According to the observations and the interviews during the fieldwork, the author listed some of the differences between the Palestinian villages and the Israeli settlements in the followings table:

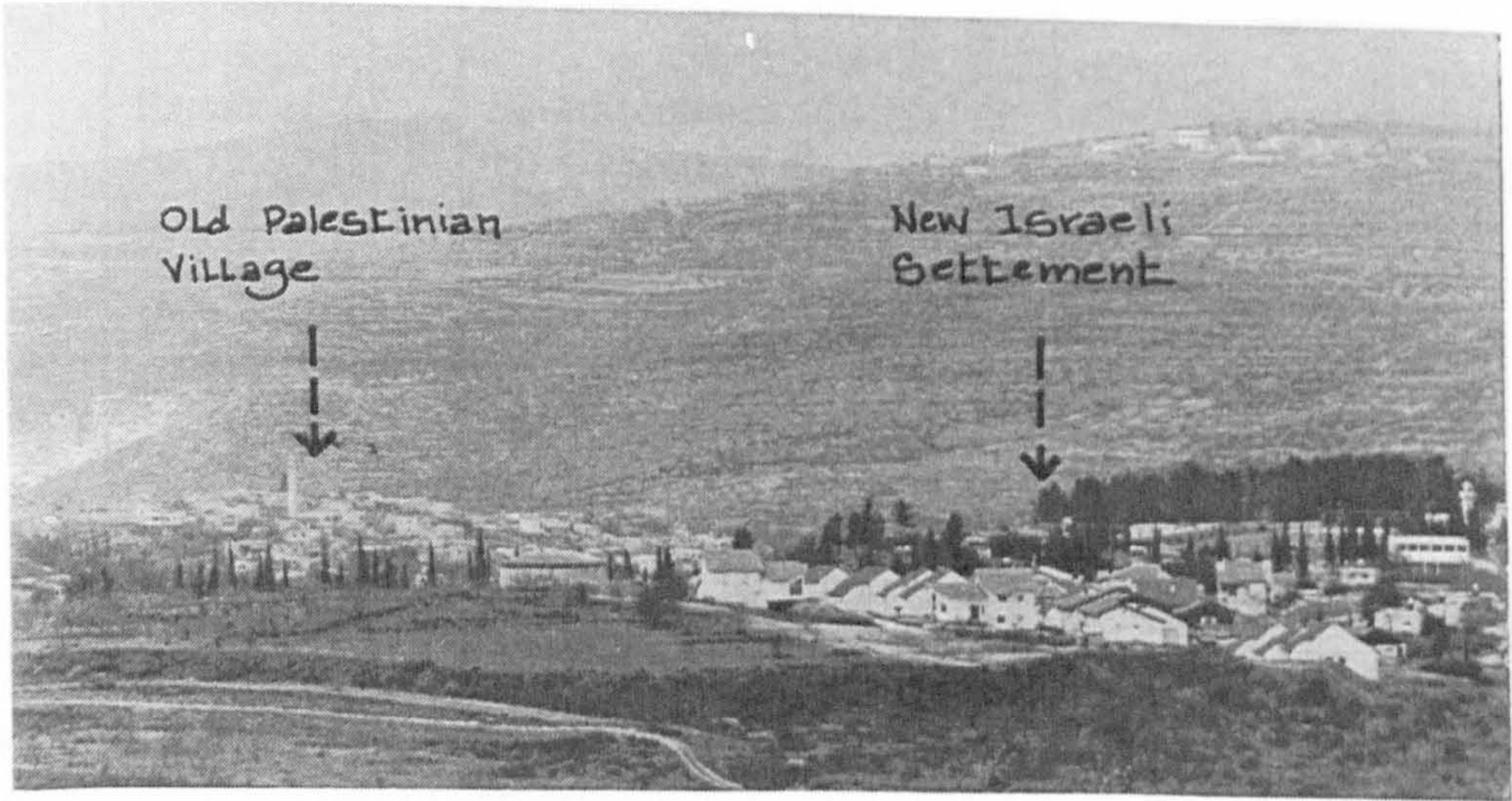


Fig. 5.14: A Palestinian village (Der Sharaf) and an Israeli settlement (Shilo) near Nablus.

ENVIRON -MENT	ISSUE	PALESTINIAN VILLAGE	ISRAELI SETTLEMENT
Region	Relationship with the natural environment	Respond to the environment	Control and dominate the environment
	Process	Developed over time	Constructed in a short period of time
	Location	Mountain slopes and tops	On mountains tops
Village	Spatial organisation	Have a centre Organic planning Density is high and it is different from one part to another	Does not have a centre Grid planning Density is low in general and the same all over the settlement
	Boundaries	Irregular and open according to the natural growth Surrounded by olive orchards and fields	Fixed and planned Surrounded by deserted lands and rounded by fences
	Entrances	Several entrances connecting the village with the surrounding villages and farms	One entrance which is controlled and guarded
House	Form	Each house has its uniqueness	Similar types of houses
	Building materials	Traditional building materials and appropriate technology	Modern building materials and advanced technology

Table 5.2: A comparison between the Palestinian village and the Israeli settlement.

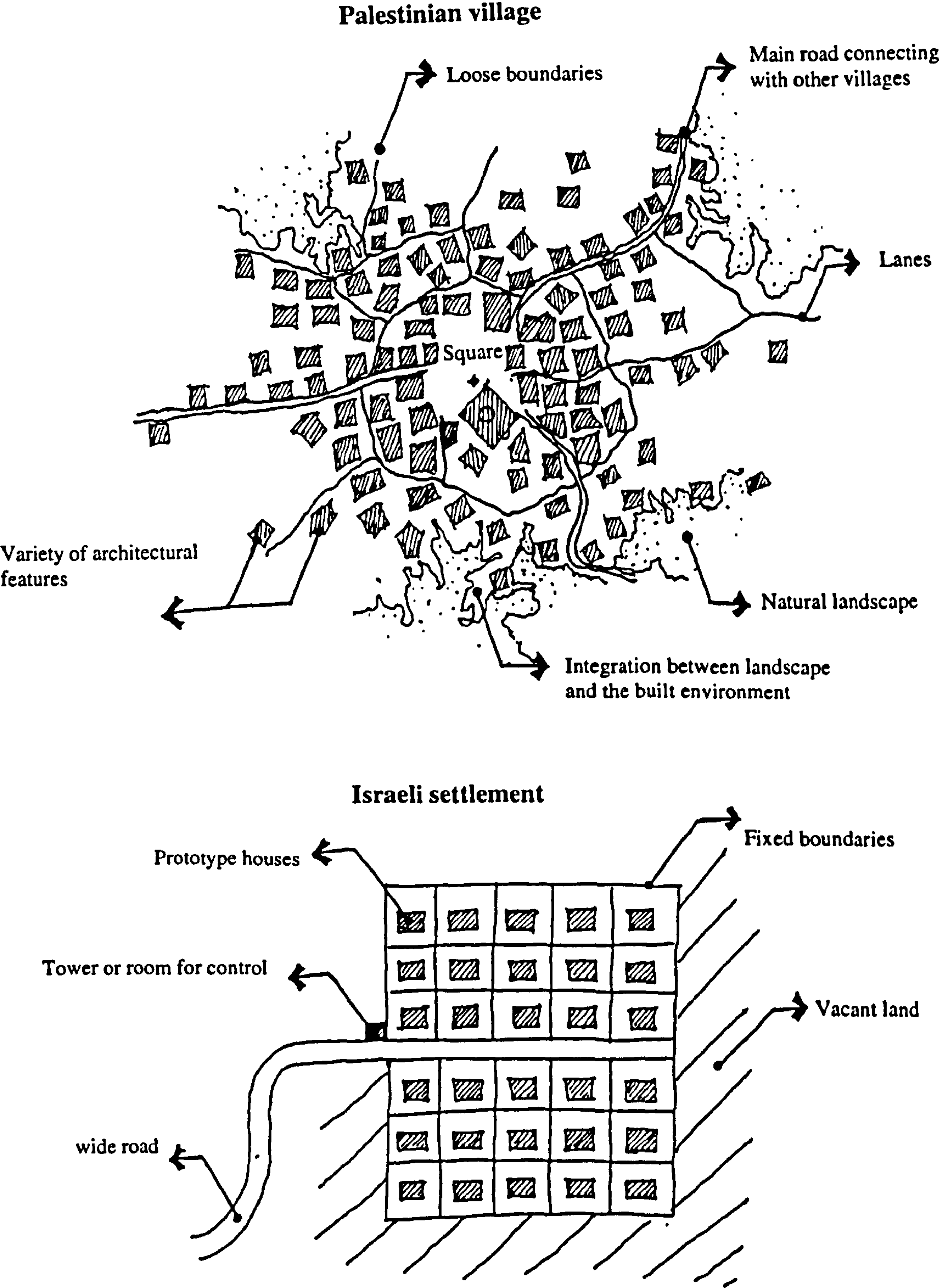


Fig. 5.15: Schematic diagram compare between the physical characteristics of the Palestinian village and the Israeli settlement.

5.4.2 THE INFRASTRUCTURE

Infrastructure development has taken place in order to serve the Jewish settlements and to provide speedy and safe access from the coastal plain to the Jordan Valley. These including new roads, electricity, water supply and telephone. Newman (1985) stated that the Israeli Electric Corporation has inserted 200 kilometres of electricity lines in the West Bank. Some 2-3 million cubic metres of water are supplied to the Israeli settlements from wells in the West Bank. Telephone installation has been increased with the additional of some 1,400 in 1982. Industrial infrastructure has consisted of some 200 small plants and workshops have been added (Newman, 1985).

Furthermore, the military establishment whose basic doctrine is based on high mobility considers the existence of an efficient interconnected network of transportation essential for national security. Before 1967, the major axis of interrelationships of the West Bank ran from Jenin in the north to Hebron in the south, passing through Nablus, Ramallah and Jerusalem. After the occupation, the Israeli transportation network was reconstructed to facilitate the integration of the occupied areas into Israelis regional structure. New roads were constructed to link the Israeli settlements established in the West Bank area with major roads and highways. In addition, the function of some roads have been changed and new axes of interrelationships have emerged as major nodes in the network structure. For that purpose, a number of new east-west roads have been constructed. The two major east-west roads are the "Trans-Samaritan" and "Trans Judean". Altogether, five roads are planned to cross the West Bank (Fig. 5.16).

The Israeli government did not install the infrastructure for the benefit of the Palestinian inhabitants. On the contrary, they are using them to control the people, while the main purpose is to serve the Israeli settlements and the Israeli army. The impacts of these developments on the built environment could be seen clearly in the wide roads, electrical pylons and huge water towers.

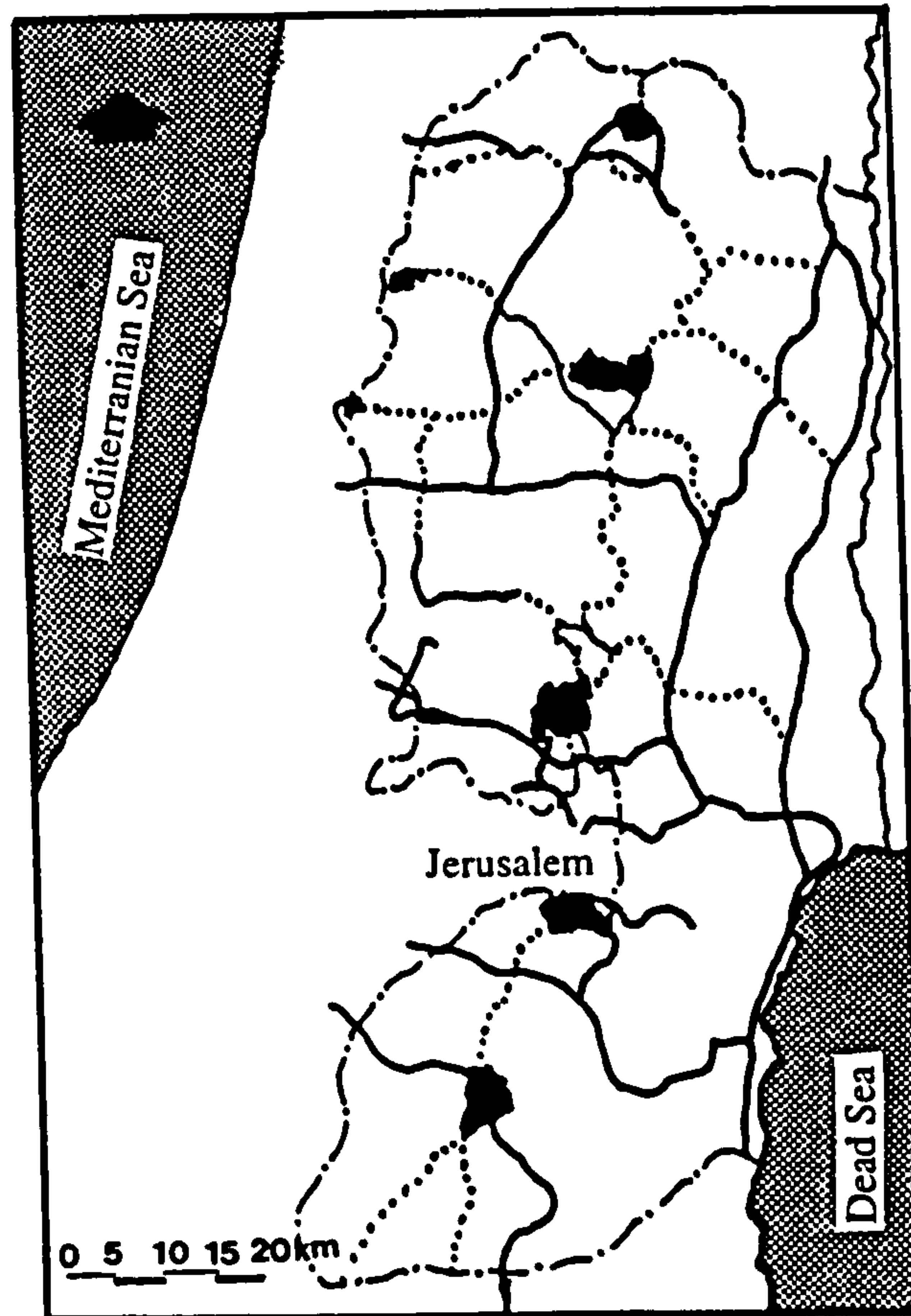


Fig. 5.16: New road network in the West Bank.
Source: Benvenisti (1984).

5.4.3 THE DEMOLITION OF HOUSES AND VILLAGES

One of the physical traces of the Israeli occupation in the West Bank is clearly seen in thousands of demolished Palestinian houses. In order to achieve their goals, the Israeli authorities demolished houses and sometimes villages or refugee camps. For example, the villages of Yalu, Amwas, Beit Nuba, Nusairat, and the camps at Jiftlik and Jericho were completely bulldozed in 1967.

Amwas was one of the Palestinian villages in the West Bank which the Israelis bulldozed and destroyed in 1967. It appears in the Gospel of St Luke as Emmaus, the place where Jesus appeared to two of his followers shortly after the crucifixion (Adams, 1991). Amwas had been situated on sloping ground west of Jerusalem and much of its land is planted with fruit and olive trees. On the ruins of this village a park (Canada Park) had been laid out. Michael Adams - a British journalist - visited the area in 1968. He noted:

Without a guide, I should probably have driven straight through without realising that there had been villages at all. The demolishing squads had been thorough. But when we stopped the car and got out to look, there were plenty of tell-tale signs; it is not easy, even in six months, to wipe out a thousand years of history without leaving a trace. There were a few pieces of masonry, a broken tile. the cactus hedges - a sure sign that people had once lived here.

(Adams, 1991: 8).

Adams commented on that by saying: "The Israeli government, who gave the order to destroy the village must have thought that it was possible to rearrange both history and geography in this way." (Fig. 5.17).

The Israeli authorities also wanted to dismantle the refugee camps under the cover of urban renewal and health improvement programmes. The demolition of Jiftlik camp left hundreds of homes destroyed and thousands of people homeless. Moreover, the hearts of some camps were destroyed and wide roads were laid out for security reasons. In their planning schemes, the Israeli government considered them as part of the cities. The objective is to make sure that these camps are under control. The aim at the end is to relocate and resettle the Palestinian refugees so that the Palestinian problem would be forgotten. The impact of that policy of urban renewal and health development which destroyed hundreds of houses in the camps created thousands of new refugees out of the old refugees.

In addition to the mass demolition of villages and camps, thousands of houses have been demolished by the Israeli army. The Israeli authorities demolish the houses if there is no building permit- it is worth remembering here that obtaining a building permit is very difficult, costly and takes about two years (Appendix 5.5). In 1989, 1586 residents applied and only 358 have been given a permit (Coon, 1991). Another reason always given for demolishing Palestinian houses is "security". The military government demolishes houses of people whom they consider as political suspects. In the first three years of the "intifadah", 634 homes have been demolished or sealed for security reasons (Al-Haq files, 1992). The Israeli Defence Minister pointed out, "about 500 houses were demolished in 1988 and 200 in each of the two preceding years" (Coon, 1991).

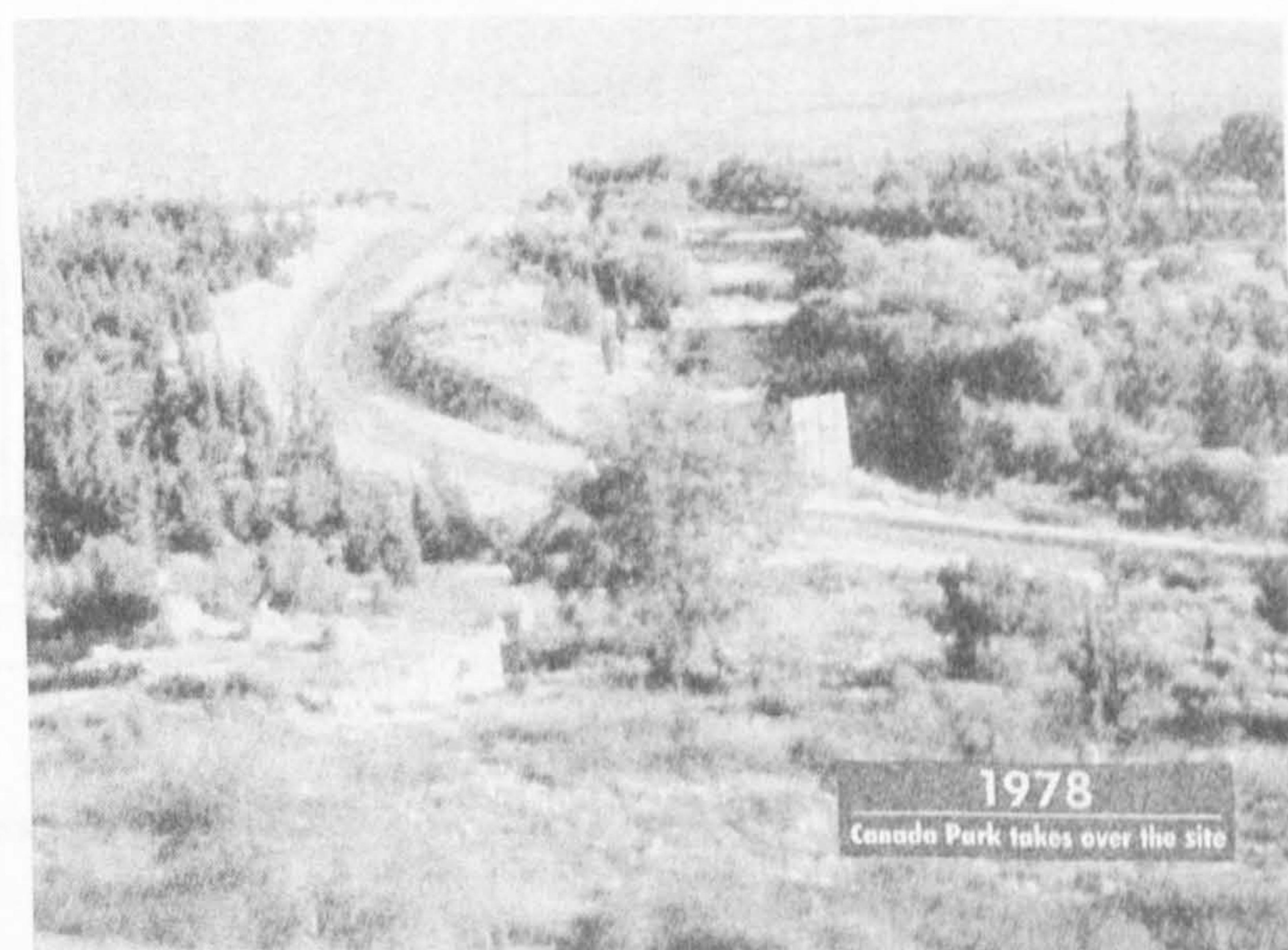
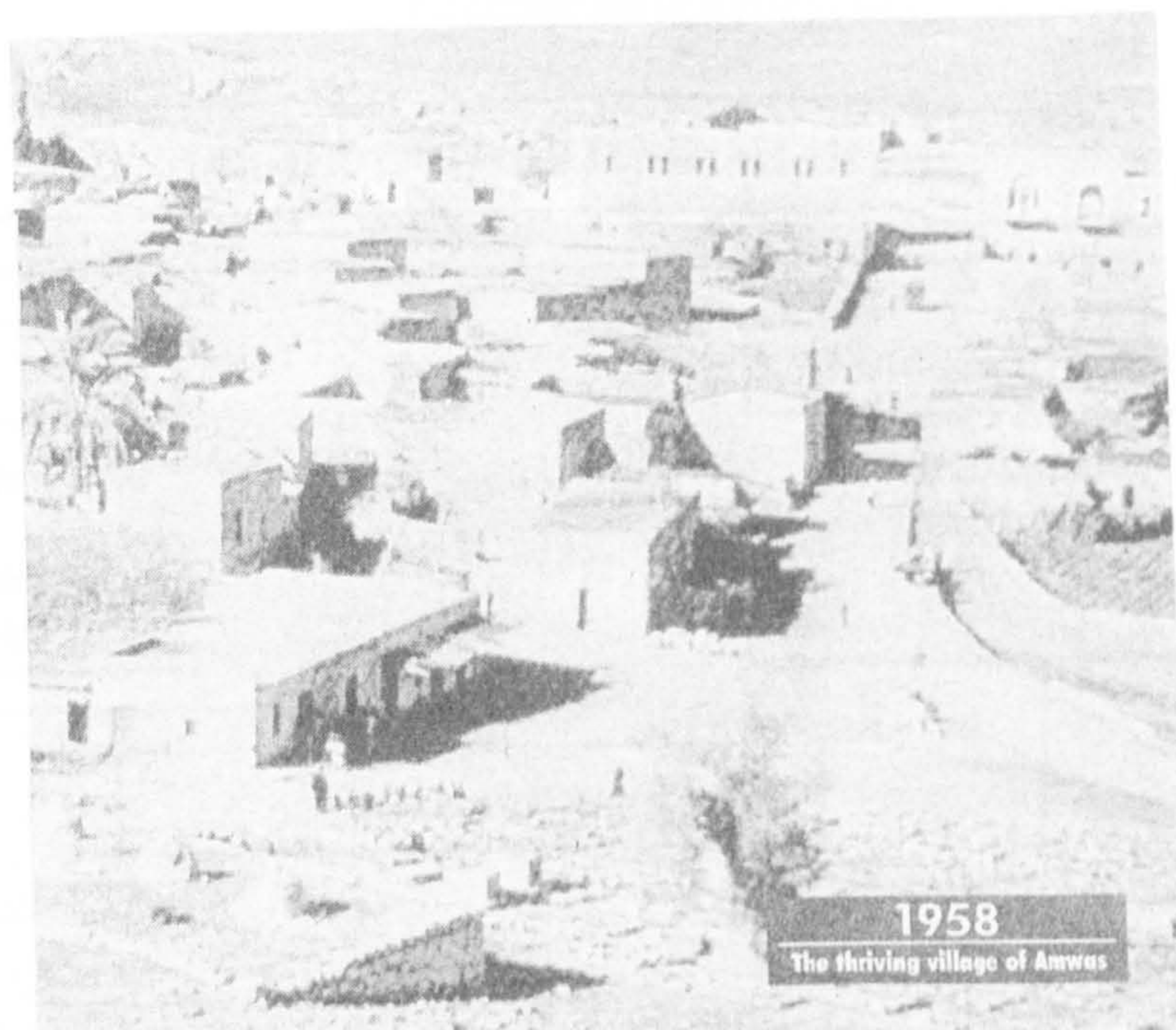


Fig. 5.17: The site of Amwas village before and after the demolition.
Source: Adams (1991).

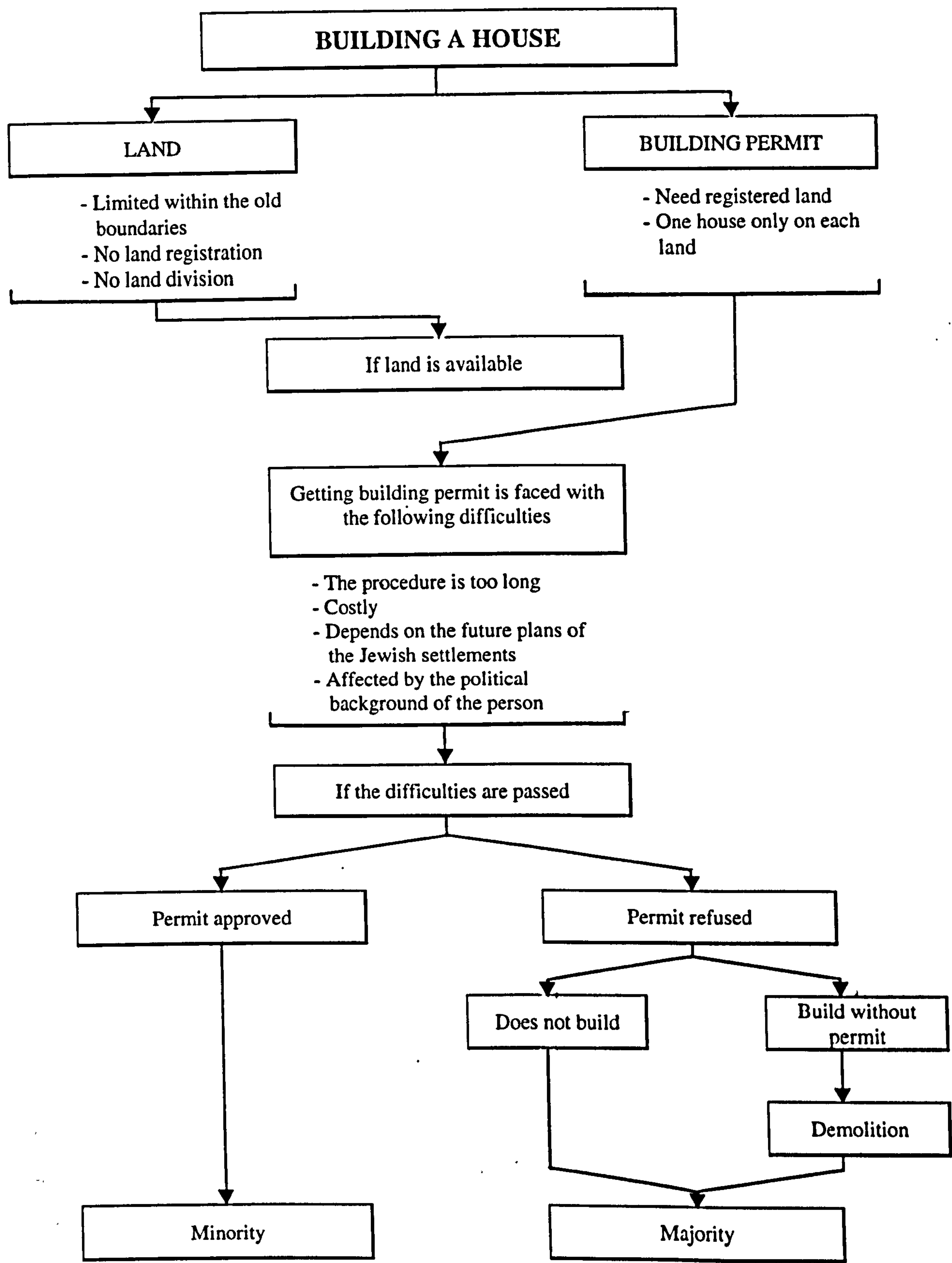


Fig. 5.18: Constraints and difficulties for building a house which face Palestinians in the West Bank.

In general, two problems face any Palestinian wants to build a house: to find a separate piece of land and to get a building permit. The land is scarce because it is mostly shared, unregistered or expropriated and to get a permit is very difficult (Fig. 5.18). Coon estimated that almost 80% of applications are rejected. The number of permits issued (outside the municipalities) in recent years has been about 350 annually, while the Israeli authorities demolished 1500 houses in three years which is more than the number of houses the Israelis issued permits during this period. As a result, most of the development now in the West Bank is not more than an "infill" houses within the old boundaries of the existing villages.

Even though the vast majority of the demolished buildings are houses, other properties have been demolished including farm buildings, factories, storage sheds, shops, clinics, churches and mosques.

5.4.4 THE MILITARY LANDSCAPE

While military landscape is paramount in many countries in the world, it dominates the environment of the West Bank. Since the occupation in 1967, the Israeli military presence has a big impact on the landscape of the region and on its physical features.

Two principal types of military landscape find expression on maps of security land use (Soffer and Minghi, 1986): one represent prominent elements in the area such as fortification lines, trenches, communication installations, bunkers, army camps and road systems, while the other type represent less obvious objects including training grounds and mine fields whose manifestation on the landscape generally takes the form of uncultivated areas. There are three types of elements in the military landscape: Purely military objects, security and defense elements and those were created as a result of wars (Soffer and Minghi 1986).

In the West Bank, the situation is characterized by extensive presence of military elements not only on the borders but also between the cities and villages and even inside them. The present situation in the West Bank is an accumulation of military elements during the last 25 years. However, there are some differences from time to time according to the political and military situations. For example, since the *intifadah*, many elements have been introduced to the landscape of the region, either by the occupying power or by people themselves such as permanent road check points and road blocks.

These military elements could be examined at three levels: macro-level, on the region as a whole, the meso-level, on the area, and the micro or local-level of the settlement or part of it. The impact of Israeli military landscape on the built environment can be seen clearly in the West Bank through the military camps, military check points, road blocks, etc. The aim in this section is to identify the impact of the Israeli military presence on the development of the built environment in the West Bank and how it affects the image of its physical features.

At the macro-level, the Israeli government developed military elements for security reasons such as airfields, transportation network and many army camps. At the meso-level, they initiated different projects in order to control the Palestinians, including military check points on the main roads and the expansion of military camps. At the micro-level, the Israeli government established headquarters for the "Civil Administration" in all cities and in some of the large villages. In addition, they place military points on buildings to overview people's movements inside the villages.

The preceding sections discussed the physical transformations of the occupied territory by the Israeli government. Consequently, these actions influenced the physical characteristics of the region. The following section examines how those new elements affect the development of identity of the built environment.

5.4.6 THE IMPACT OF THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE PHYSICAL FEATURES

Harris (1980) pointed out that the new settlement activities in the West Bank had major implications on the lifestyle of the Palestinian population. Moreover, these settlements affect the relationships between the villages. In the long term, the Palestinian community would be cut into isolated blocks, separated from one another by major highways connecting the Israeli settlements. An American official, in trying to point out the impacts of settlements on the Palestinian inhabitants in a study in 1977 said:

For farmers the impact of settlement construction is very real and can easily be measured in terms of money and lost assets. Apart from the political implications of Israel's settlement policy, the settlements produce a readily visible impact on the West Bank indigenous economy.

(Abu-Lughod, 1982: 51)

The Jewish settlements have been built between the Palestinian villages, and can be seen from there. This influences people's attitude toward their built environment, their houses and even their way of life. Abdulah - a Palestinian architect - during an interview in 1991 said that "the change of identity started in our minds before it took place in physical forms". In other words, the change was on people before it was reflected on the built environment.

The new infrastructure installed by the Israeli government in the West Bank has also great impacts on the development of identity of the region. This is represented in the wide roads, electricity pylons, water towers, etc.

Moreover, as a result of the colonial power demolition policy, the demolished villages and houses become part of the built environment. This policy has been used as a collective punishment on people and as a nasty way to control the development in the Palestinian cities and villages. It has not only psychological, social and financial impact on people, but also has effect on the physical characteristics of the built environment.

Coon (1991) described the site of a house after demolition gives a picture of the built environment. He writes:

The plot of such a home (demolished) may not be used for any purpose, and the rubble of reinforced concrete must not be moved- it is left there to scar the landscape and, with the little tent beside it which has been issued by the International Red Cross, to act as an awful warning to others.

(Coon, 1991: 171)

The military existence in the West Bank is intensive so that it becomes a significant feature in its landscape. There are military camps not only outside the cities and villages but also inside them. In addition, there are check points on the main roads, military training areas, tanks and military equipments, and above all soldiers are spread everywhere. This created different and alien features in the environment.

This section points out how the physical changes introduced by the colonial power affected the built environment of the region. Their impact is discussed at different levels: the region, the village and the house. The following information are based on visual observations and interviews collected by the author during the fieldwork in 1991. They were coded and cross-checked to test their reliability. The strategy was to compare the views of different people on each point.

5.4.6.1 The Region

The region of the West Bank has been under transformation process since 1967 which distorted its identity. The influence of these transformations could be noticed in several ways.

The introduction of new physical features

It is clear that the architecture in the Israeli settlements is different from the Palestinian indigenous architecture. Most of the Jewish settlements, in fact, look like European neighbourhoods, because settlers who came from Europe or America, build in the same

way that they used to do in their own countries. This introduced an alien building style to the region (Fig. 5.19a). In addition, part of the new outlook of the region came from the new building materials which have been used in the Jewish settlements such as red bricks and pre-cast concrete, which are not commonly used in the area.

Moreover, the installation of electricity and water to the Israeli settlements introduced new physical elements to the environment of the West Bank, such as electricity pylons, huge water towers and pumping stations.

Finally, the planting of many military camps, fortification lines, etc. introduced new physical elements to the region and gave a new image to the territory. These military equipments are installed in different parts of the region, and can be seen in steel towers, radar dishes, military vehicles, etc.

The transformation of the natural environment

The Israeli authorities change the natural characteristics of the land when they construct a new settlement, such as carving the mountains. The most significant impact that influenced the natural environment is the new wide roads (Fig. 5.19b). In order to open these roads, the Israeli authorities bulldozed hills, uprooted trees and built retaining walls. It is worth noting that the new roads did not replace the old ones connecting the Palestinian cities and villages, but stay in parallel to serve the Israeli settlements.

Moreover, many areas in the West Bank had been bulldozed for military training or neglected as military zones. These areas become now part of the landscape of the territory.

The distortion of unity in the built environment

The natural development of the region has been distorted since 1967. Before the occupation, there was a unity in the built environment; however, after planting foreign settlements, the balance between the elements was affected, as if a strange element

invaded the environment. These settlements neither fit with the natural environment, nor with the surrounding villages.

Historically, the development is usually occurred as an extension of existing settlements, or by creating new small settlements related to an old nearest ones. In the West Bank, however, the Israeli settlements created new separate and different entities in the region and do not have any relationship with the existing Palestinian villages or cities. The reason is that, the Jewish settlements have been built not to cooperate with the existing settlements, but to dominate them.

In addition, these settlements do not fit with the surrounding environment. The reason is that most Israeli settlements are located on the top of the mountains and do not expand according to the natural topography. Majdi- a Palestinian sociologist- highlighted this point during an interview in 1991; he said, "when I look from the window of my house, I can see the Arab village, "Ya'bad", and the Jewish settlement "Mevo Dothan". I feel that Ya'bad fits in harmony with the surrounding environment and if it is not there, I feel that there is some thing missing. At the same time, I feel that Mevo Dothan is a strange body to the environment; in fact it is strange in our minds".

Moreover, the demolition of the villages and camps changed the identity of the entire district and the sense of place in the area. For example, Amwas village which was bulldozed shows the scale of the change.

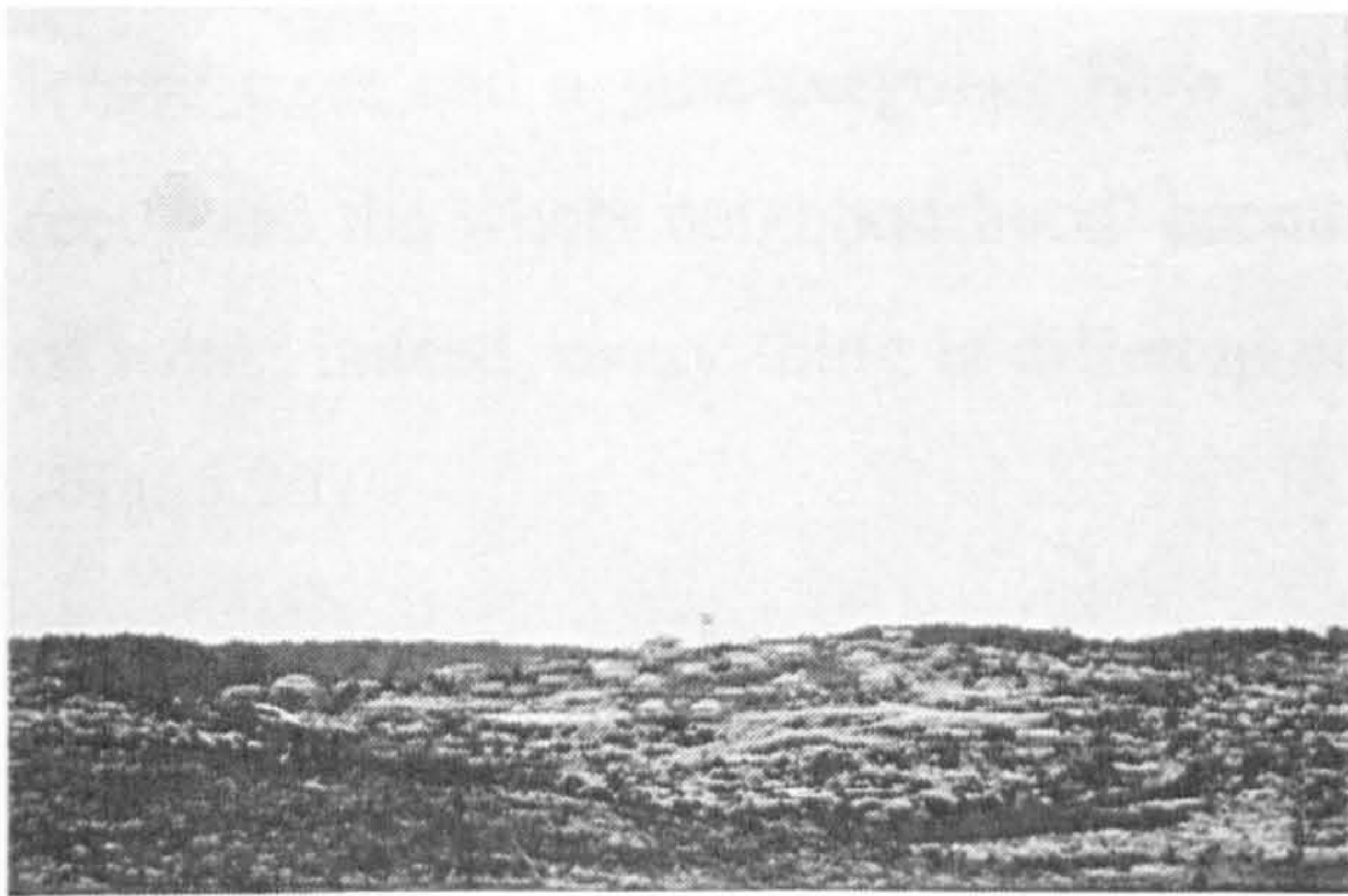
The change of road characteristics

The landscape of the new roads introduced new elements to the environment. For example, the signs on the roads are written in big letters in Hebrew and English but in small letters in Arabic. In addition, the main roads in the West Bank before the occupation were characterised by the existence of rural houses on the cross sections near the villages. One of the regulations for the new roads - the Israeli authorities introduced- is 150 meters setback on both sides of the main roads. So these houses are now disappearing from the road network.

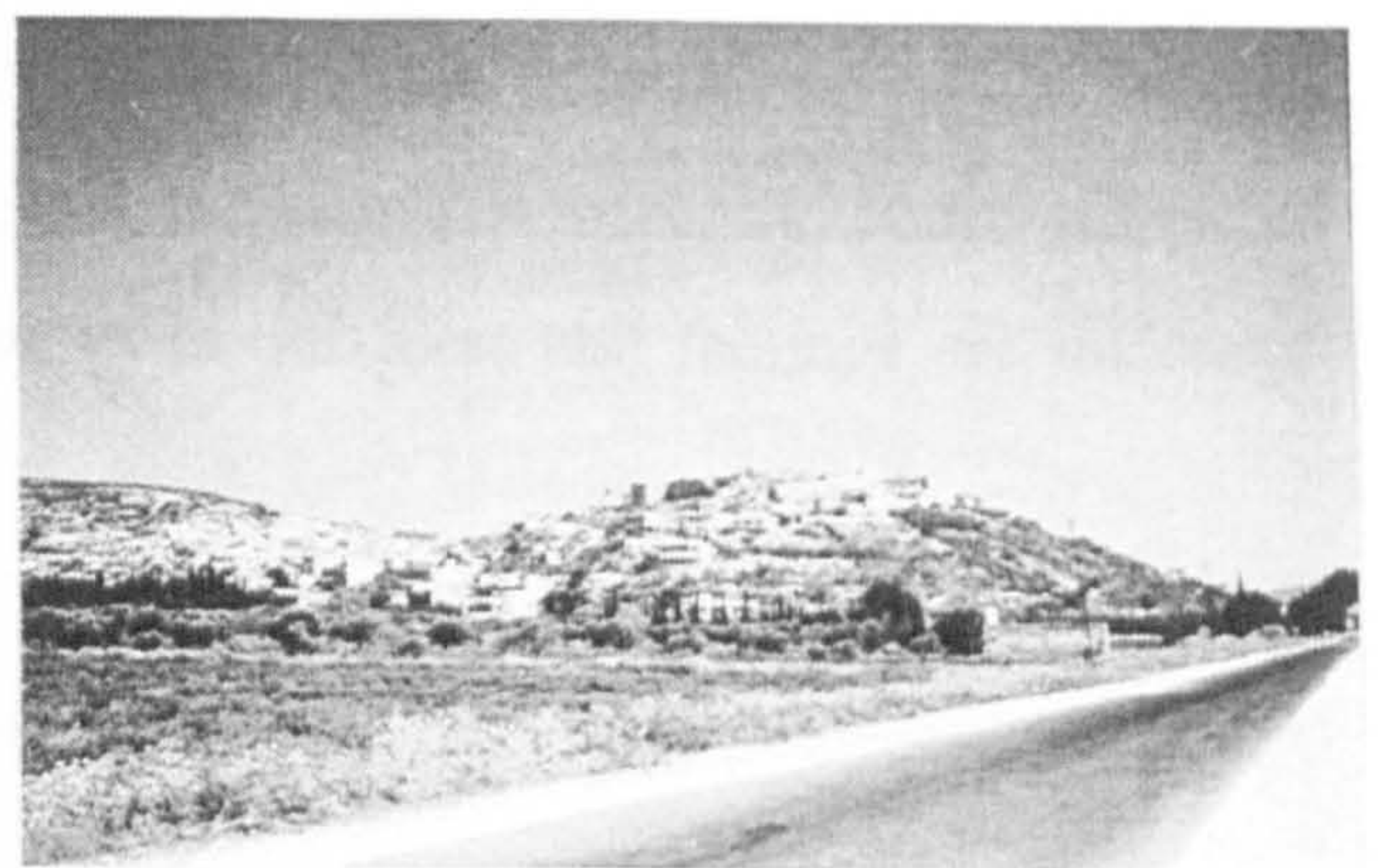
Since the *intifadah*, the Israeli government closed streets by piles of soil at the entrance of most Palestinian villages; so in order to get into the village you have to drive in a sig-zag way (Fig. 5.19c). The purpose from these piles is twofold: to make it easy for the Israeli government to close the entrances of the villages whenever they want, and to serve as an indication for the Israeli settlers not to go through those villages (Fig.23).

The change of landscape features

The Israeli authorities introduced new forests and plantations around and within the Jewish settlements.



a) New building style .



b) Wide roads.



c) Piles of soil on the entrance of the villages.

Fig. 5.19: The impact of the transformation of the physical features on the built environment of the region

5.4.6.2 The Village

The transformation of the physical characteristics has also affected the villages. The impacts on the village's built environment could be seen through:

The introduction of new elements within the village boundaries

The demolished houses are now becoming part of the built environment of the villages, which not only affect the building itself but also the surrounding areas. Mr. El-Kamel, whose house was demolished in 1989, described his neighbourhood before and after the demolition. He said, "our house was two-storey stone building, built around a small courtyard which we used to share with three neighbours; we had small garden with two lemon trees and a vine pergola. Now after the destruction of our house, you can not recognize the whole neighbourhood because our house is not there, the courtyard is full of ruins; indeed, every thing is different now, even our lives and feelings are different" (Fig. 5.20).



Fig. 5.20: A demolished house in Berkin village.

Moreover, since the beginning of the *intifadah*, new military elements also appeared in the villages. For example, the Israeli government put military bases in some villages in strategic locations.

The distortion of the traditional image

The Israeli authorities sometimes demolish historic and traditional buildings in order to erase the historical evidences of Palestinian roots in the West Bank. Mr Sabag explained this point. He said during an interview in 1991 that the aim of the Israeli government is to separate the Palestinians from their "environment", their "history" and even their "memories".

Directing the development

The demolition policy has a great impact on controlling the expansion of the Palestinian villages. It has been used to punish any Palestinian who does not obey their orders. Therefore, the development in the villages is becoming inward oriented. This affected the image and spatial organisation of the villages and also changed the physical characteristics of the house itself. In other words - a Palestinian teacher added- it affects " the size and boundaries of the villages, the relationships between the houses and the style of the buildings".

5.4.6.3 The House

The impact of the colonial power on the houses is mostly indirect. In other words, the actions that the Israeli government takes near the house affect the treatment and the design of that house. However, the colonial power sometimes seize a house or even part of it. Therefore, it can be noticed that the doors and windows of some houses are blocked with concrete blocks or metal sheets.

In sum, the impact of the transformation of the physical features can be summarised in the following diagram (Fig. 5.21).

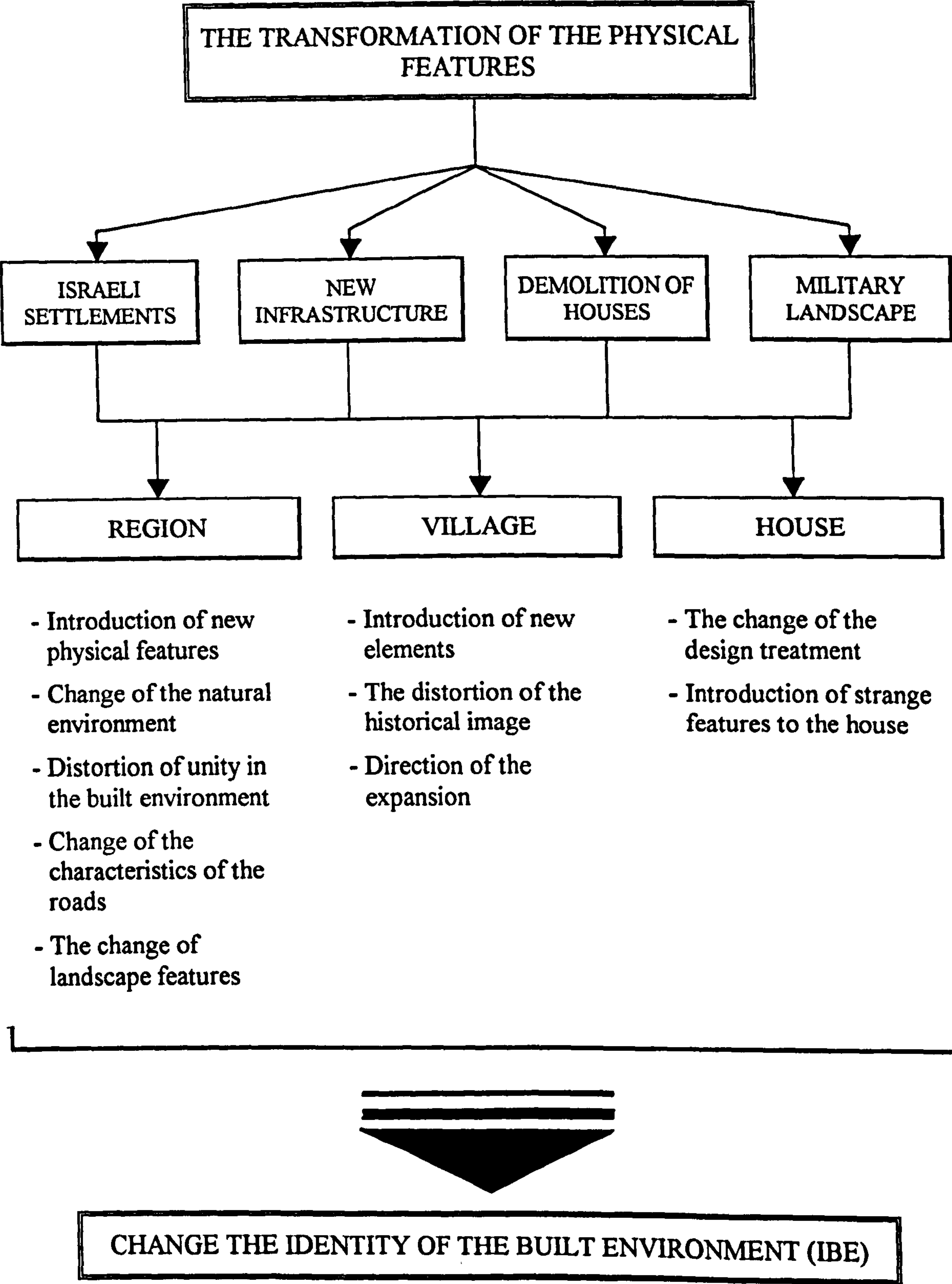


Fig. 5.21: The impact of the transformation of the physical features on the built environment of the region, the village and the house.

5.5 SUMMARY

This chapter has aimed at understanding the actions of the colonial power which have affected the development of the built environment in the West Bank since the occupation in 1967. It went a step further by examining the implications and the consequences of those actions on the physical features of the region.

It was found that the increased intensity of the colonisation process in the West Bank introduced alien features to the built environment. The aim from these actions is to control the territory and, at the end, to annex it to Israel. Therefore, the Israeli planning policy in the West Bank was designed to facilitate the domination and integration of the region into the Israeli structure.

The objectives of the colonisation process in the occupied West Bank are: to create new physical features in the region; to affect the way the Palestinians deal with their environment; to achieve a demographic balance in favour of Jews and finally to make the West Bank easily accessible from Israel. The strategy of the Israeli authorities has controlled the development, and transformed the physical features. Accordingly, Palestinian villages are becoming disconnected by constraining their expansion within a fixed boundaries, outside which no building development could take place.

To achieve these objectives, the colonial power planted around 160 Jewish settlements; expropriated almost 50% of the land from Palestinians; changed the administrative systems; introduced new planning schemes; demolished some villages and still demolishing Palestinian houses; expanded the transportation network; and finally introduced new military features to the region. As a result of these actions, the physical characteristics of the built environment have been changed; or it can be said in other words that the identity of the region has been distorted. The analysis of the survey and the interviews have revealed a number of significant changes in the macro-level as well as the micro-level.

The main conclusion which can be drawn from the above discussion is that the colonisation processes, policies and actions are interrelated and each has been used to support the other. For example, in order to establish settlements, the Israeli government expropriated land, established roads, prepared planning schemes and established an administration for those settlements.

Another conclusion that can be drawn, is that even the Palestinians cannot prevent the colonial power from taking those actions, nonetheless they can deal with it in a better way if they realise the objectives of the colonial power and the future implications on their identity and the identity of their built environment.

Finally, it could be argued that some of these changes can be seen in every country as a result of modernisation. However, there are several points that distinguish the development as a result of colonisation force from other forces: first, the changes as a result of the Israeli settlements happened in a short period of time. Second, these changes have taken place in separate new settlements and not in the existing ones. Third, There are no relationship between the old villages and the new settlements even in the roads and administration. Fourth, the new developments are made for outsiders and not for the indigenous inhabitants. Finally, the physical characteristics of the new Israeli settlements are very strange to the surrounding context.

NOTES

[1] The Occupied Territories

The territories occupied by Israel after 1967 war: the West Bank, Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights.

[2] Zionism

Garaudy (1983), in trying to identify Zionism, differentiates between religious Zionism and political Zionism.

Religious Zionism was often professed by the Jewish mystics. It was connected with the great Messianic hope of Judaism, according to which, with the coming of the Messiah at the end of time, the kingdom of God, to which would be summoned all families of the earth, would be accomplished for the whole of mankind, and it would be centred in the places where the Bible sets the stories of Abraham and Moses.

Political Zionism, however, began with Theodor Herzl (1860 - 1904), who composed its doctrine from 1882 onward. In 1896, he gave its systematic form in his book "The Jewish State" and began to apply it concretely at the first World Zionism Congress held at Basle in 1896. In the book, he proposed to create a Jewish state on the land of Palestine.

[3] Eretz Israel

The land occupied by the Jewish Kingdom between 1200 BC and 70 AD. It includes the whole land of Palestine, and part of Jordan, Syria, Egypt and Lebanon.

[4] Absentee Property Law

This was put in 1950 which gives the Israeli government full power to confiscate the property of Palestinians who either were not then present or had at any time after the end of November 1947 removed themselves even temporarily from their properties. The same law has been applied on the West Bank after the occupation in 1967. Israeli Military order 58 of 1967 defines an absentee as someone who left the area before, during or after the 1967 war. (Focus, 1991). Harris (1980) noted that much of the land confiscated in the West Bank belonged to persons who were either temporarily or permanently absent from their residences after June 1967.

5) Gush Emunim Movement

It is a religious group which was established in 1974. Its aim is to settle anywhere and everywhere throughout the West Bank. The role of this movement in initiating settlements in the hilly mountains has been central to the colonisation process.

6) Number of Israeli Settlements

Number of Israeli settlements and settlers are different from one source to another. According to Peace Now party, the number of settlements until January 1992 is 157 and number of settlers is 99,000. Religious parties, however, announced at the same time that the number of settlements is 144 and the number of settlers is 112,000.

CHAPTER SIX

THE CHANGE OF IDENTITY OF THE PALESTINIAN VILLAGE

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(6)

THE CHANGE OF IDENTITY OF THE PALESTINIAN VILLAGE

6.1 PROLOGUE

As discussed in chapter three, several factors influenced the change of identity of the villages in the West Bank, including cultural changes, historical and political developments, physical limitations and finally the Israeli occupation. These factors could be categorised under two groups based on who cause the change: internal groups and external groups. While the influence of the external forces has been discussed in previous chapters, the task in this chapter is to concentrate on the impacts of the internal forces; i.e. the inhabitants' actions which affect the identity of the region and in particular the identity of the village.

The strategy I adopted was to investigate the physical changes in the villages, the reason for those changes and their meanings to people. This approach is different from the one utilised to investigate the impact of the colonial power. In that chapter, the actions were identified and then the impact of each on the built environment was examined. However, in this chapter, the physical changes is identified and then they are related to people. In order to avoid repetition or overlap the information between internal and external influences, two considerations have been taken. Firstly, to neglect the changes which were developed as a result of direct colonial power actions, such as the demolished houses or the Israeli settlements. Secondly, to exclude the influence of building regulations introduced during the British Mandate and the Jordanian government.

The theme of this chapter concerns the identity of the Palestinian village: its characteristics and physical aspects. It discusses both the features of traditional elements in the village and the contemporary development of their identity. The perspective is that the identity of the Palestinian village which accommodates people of certain culture in a specific physical environment, has changed dramatically in the last two decades. Accordingly, it is noticeable that two different types of buildings co-exist within the villages: old traditional in the centre and new contemporary with detached houses surrounding them. Each part has its own physical characteristics and thus a different identity. The aim of the investigation is to identify the change in the physical features of the village, its mechanism and how it is related to the inhabitants, and to be able to draw a picture of the Palestinian village identity.

This chapter is divided into three parts. The first part investigates the identity of the Palestinian village, both traditional^[1] and contemporary^[2] in order to indicate the change. The second part examines the physical features of the Palestinian village which according to people's perception, reflect their identity and the identity of the village. Moreover, the meaning of these features is discussed. The last part analyses proverbs, folk songs, poetry and paintings by some Palestinian writers and artists in order to identify the elements they used to describe or to symbolize the Palestinian village.

6.2 IDENTITY OF THE PALESTINIAN VILLAGE

In the past, the Palestinian village in the West Bank was created and developed as a result of social, religious and political factors. The social factors could be seen in the division of the village into neighbourhoods (*harat*, singular: *harah*) and from the hierarchy of the streets from public to private which reflects the social organisation of the village (Senan, 1986; Amiry, 1987). The social structure in the Palestinian village was based on kinship. This was reflected in the spatial organisation of the village in which each clan (*hamulah*) used to live in a separate neighbourhood. Social class was also determined by family background and the amount of land owned. In addition, religion was symbolised in the main plaza (*sahat el-balad*) emerged along with the mosque or the church. Political

factors have had a strong influence in choosing the site and in creating specific elements in the villages such as walls around the whole village for security reasons.

Historically, most Palestinian villages started from a central point (nucleus) which may have been a spring well or a strategic spot on the mountain close to agricultural land. After that, when new people came to the village, they settled around the core in which the first *hamulah* built its houses. This way of expansion lasted until late 1920s and early 1930s, when people started to build their houses far from the central core on separate plots.

In describing the built environment of one of the traditional Palestinian villages, Amiry (1987), writes:

Deir Ghassaneh (*the name of the village*) occupies the top of a hill, spreading out on its eastern and western slopes. Seen from a distance, the village appears as compact unit of white stone..... The silhouette of the village with its many rounded domes is in sharp contrast with the bright blue skies. On the one hand, the vertical Barghouthi (*rich people in the village*) buildings accentuate the vertical direction and give a feeling that the village rises up towards the sky..... On the other hand, the horizontal stone buildings of the *fallaheen* (*farmers*) seem to be an extension of the surrounding landscape..... The horizontal expansion of the buildings located in slopes, expresses a strong relationship between the natural landscape and man-made environment.

(Amiry, 1987: 74)

Since the middle of the twentieth century, the picture has changed. The spatial organisation has been transformed, new wide roads have been laid out and the houses become dispersed. In addition, new building types started to appear.

As a result, the Palestinian villages now have two different types of neighbourhoods: traditional and contemporary (Fig. 6.1). Because the characteristics of the contemporary neighbourhoods are different from those of the traditional ones, the approach adopted to investigate the identity of the village is to discuss each separately and then to identify the difference between them. In discussing the traditional village, I will try to draw a picture of its built environment before the change, i.e. to describe it in the first half of this

century. However, in the contemporary village, I will investigate how the village looks like nowadays, including the development in both traditional and contemporary quarters.

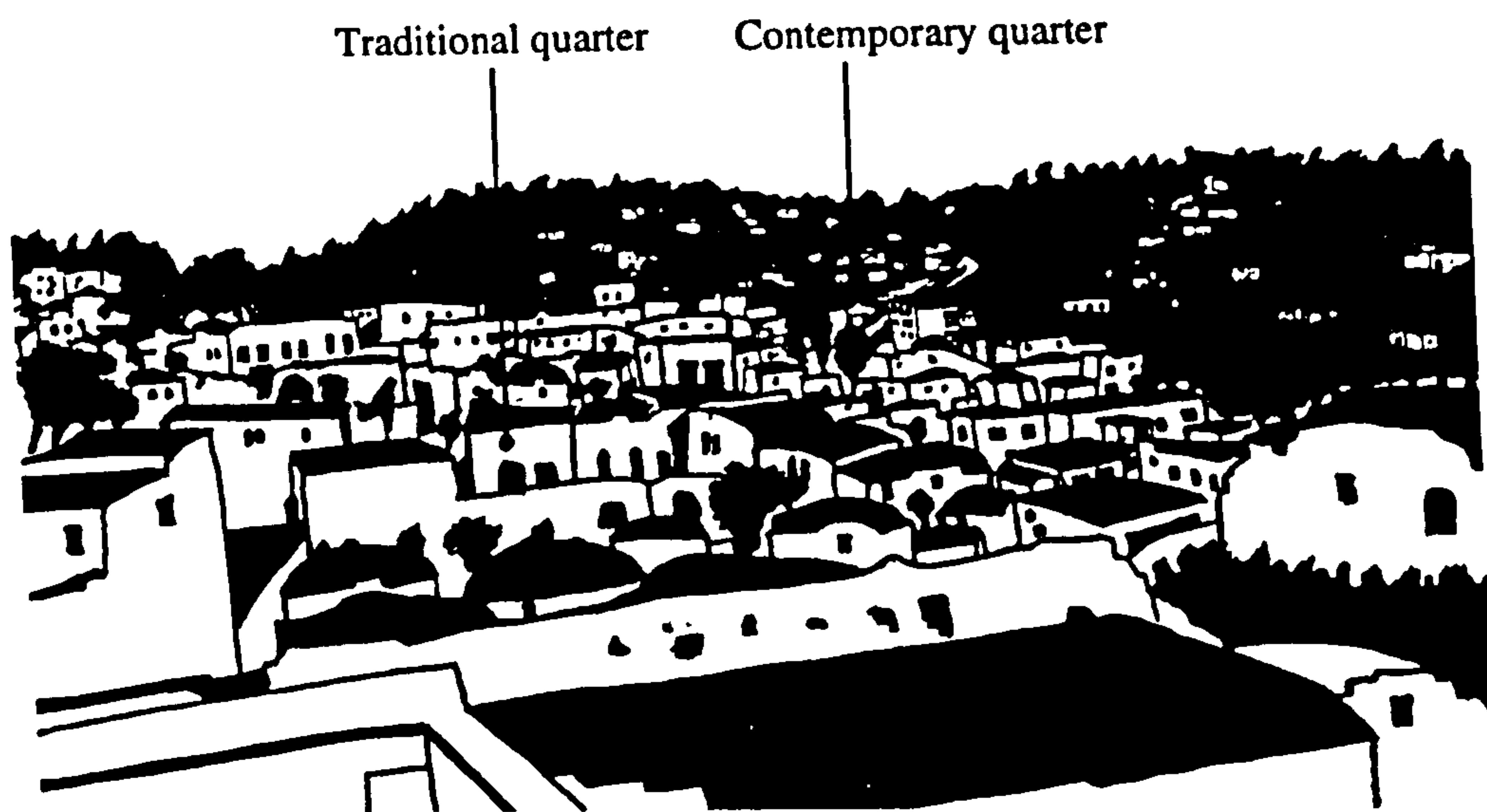


Fig. 6.1: Traditional and contemporary quarters in Arraba village.

6.2.1 IDENTITY OF THE TRADITIONAL VILLAGE

There was an interactive relationship between the buildings, the individual and the society in the traditional Palestinian village. Therefore, architecture there used to reflect the social and cultural background of its people, in which the reality of regionalism was rooted in the inter-action between the culture of people and the physical environment. Amiry (1987) explained the relationship between the society and the built environment in the Palestinian village . She writes:

As the individual was part of a tightly knit group, so was the individual house part of a tightly knit settlement. The same cultural system which made the individual and his clan act as a unit, made the house and the settlement as a whole which made the setting for a communal life.

(Amiry, 1987: 59)

The traditional Palestinian village was characterised by tightly clustered jumbles of houses with considerable variations connected by narrow alleys (Fig. 6.2). The largest open space (*Sahah*) was, in most villages, the centre which served as a central marketing

and gathering place. Around the *Sahah*, the village mosque or church, shops, coffee houses and the guest house are situated.

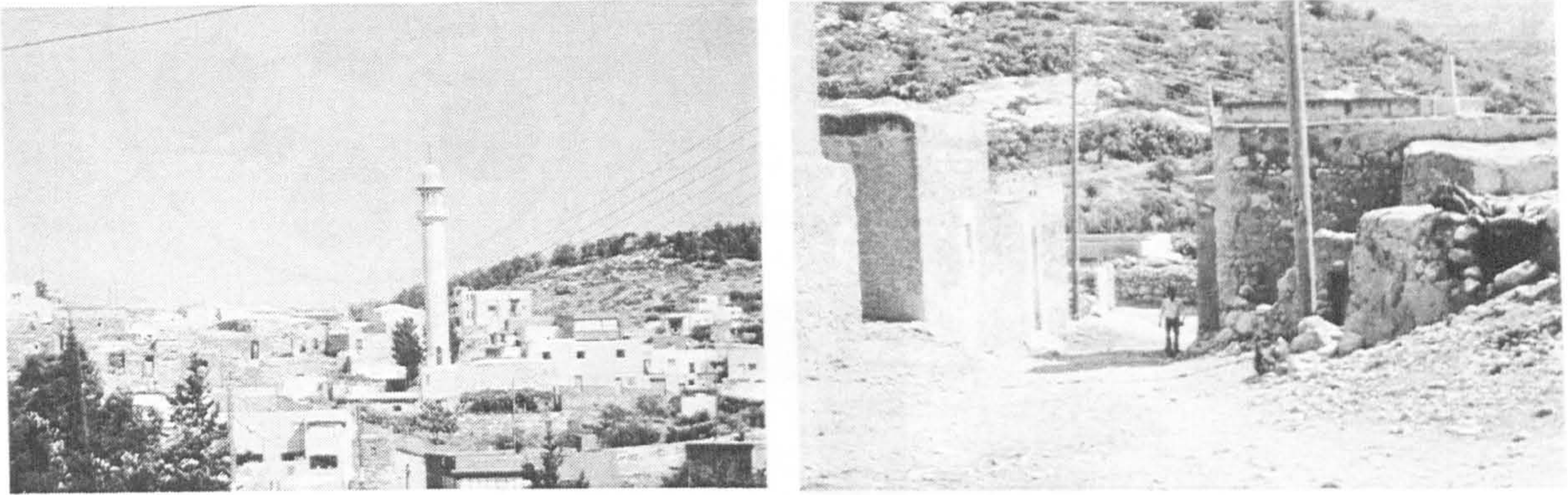


Fig 6.2: The traditional quarter in Jalboon village.

Amiry (1987) defined two main principles guided the spatial organisation of the villages in Palestine, namely: "separation" and "unity". The separation was created between clans, men and women or public and private. The unity in the village, however, was reinforced by creating common centres for all people in the village such as the main plaza, cemeteries, the guest house and the religious buildings.

The basic physical element in the traditional village was a multi-purpose space house for nuclear family. This was a cubic structure, sometimes multi-level, usually built within a walled courtyard sharing with brothers to form the extended family complex (Fig. 6.3). The courtyard had additional buildings for services such as animal sheds and oven (*taboon*). It also accommodated all activities of the nuclear families, like cooking, eating, socialising and sometimes was used as a sleeping area for male members in the summer (Senan, 1986). A number of such courtyards around a common cul-de-sac formed a cluster for a sub-clan consisting of several related extended families, and a grouping of such sub-clans around a common alley formed a neighbourhood of one clan. This physical structure embodied the prevalent social structure of the village society at that time.

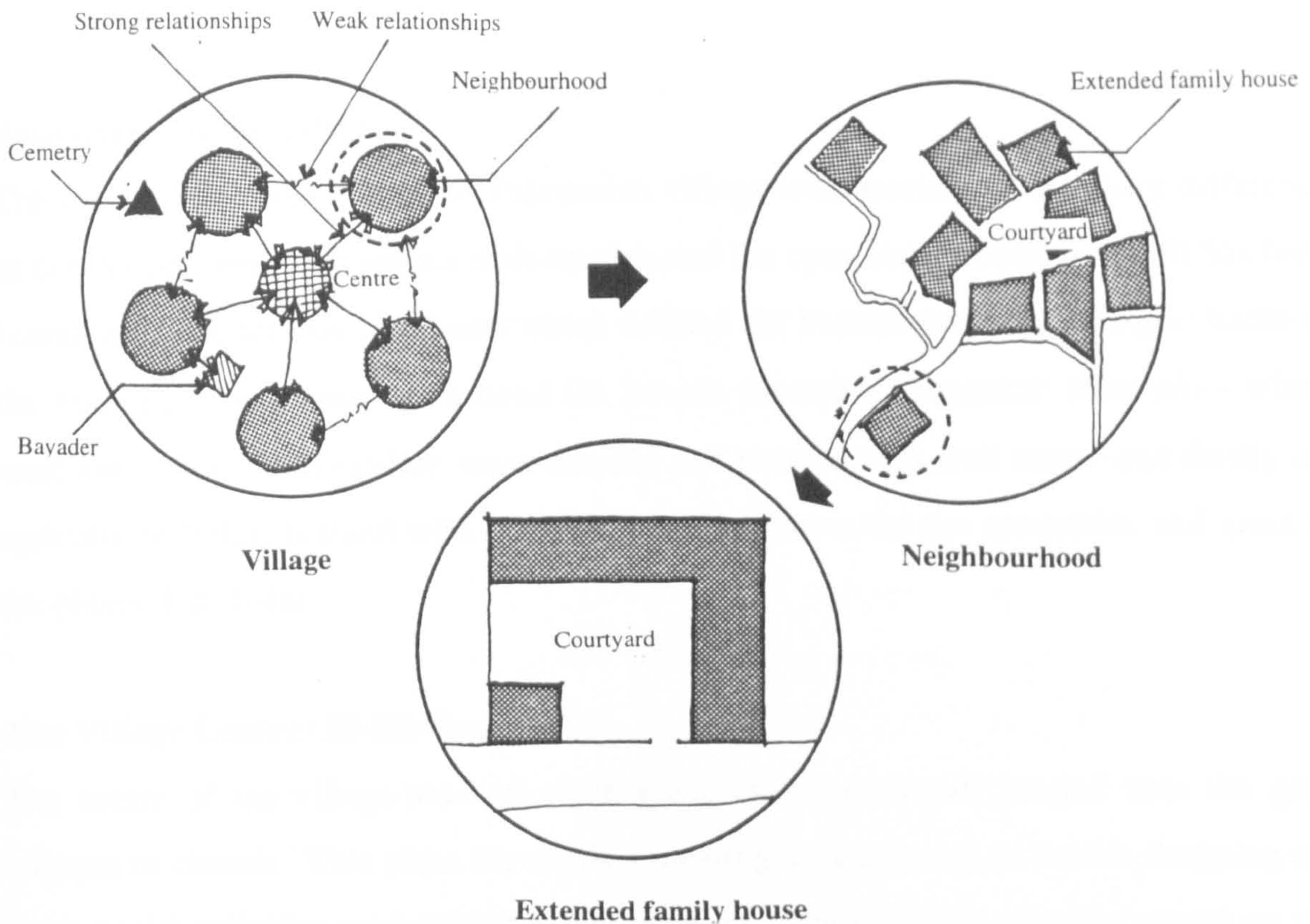


Fig. 6.3: Hierarchy of spaces in the traditional village.

The traditional village as an organic form grew near a main road or around a plaza. The distances between the buildings were small with narrow roads and cul-de-sac. Locally available materials were employed in buildings: stone in the hills, mud and straw in the plains. The stone, as a solid and durable material, gave the hill villages an image of permanence. Whereas mud created a harmony within the surrounding environment of the plains.

In general, there are several characteristics that distinguish the physical features of the traditional villages (Fig. 6.4). In this section, I discuss the identity of the main physical elements in the traditional Palestinian village and explain the importance of their characteristics. The information here are based on the author's observations and interviews with elderly persons. The features of the traditional village can be represented in the following elements:

Boundaries of the Village

The boundaries of the traditional Palestinian village were marked by the sharp difference in density between the compact built-up area and the open surrounding fields. It has been found that there are three elements which defined the boundaries of the villages: backs of the buildings, the empty lots around the houses (*hawakeer*, singular: *hakurah*) - which were surrounded with random stone terraces and planted with fruit trees - and finally the agricultural fields, planted with orchards of olive groves on the mountains and grain in the plains (Fig. 6.4a).

The Village Centre (*El-Markaz*)

The centre of the village was the main plaza (*sahat el-balad*) located near the great mosque or church. This plaza served as a meeting area for men, in which shopping and some social activities were taking place. The main mosque was usually located on one side of the plaza and sometimes the plaza was used as an extension for praying in the congregational Friday prayer when the mosque was full. The plaza also contained the guest-house of the village. The size of the plaza was small with irregular shapes which was defined by the houses of the important people in the village (Fig. 6.4b). The living quarters of the village were gathered around the centre and from it main roads led off to the different neighbourhoods.

Streets (*turuq*, singular: *tariq*)

The hierarchy of the streets' sizes is interconnected with the hierarchy of privacy in the village. In general, there used to be three types of roads within the village: main roads between the neighbourhoods, narrower ones between different clans in the same neighbourhood and semi-private alleys within the clan complex. The width of roads was defined by the backs of the houses or by the walls around the courtyards. The roads changed their shape or direction according to peoples' needs or the topography of land (Fig. 6.4c). Generally speaking, the width of the main roads varied between three and five meters, however some of the cul-de-sac alleys were almost one meter wide. Most of

the roads were unpaved except, sometimes, in small areas near the mosque which were paved with stones.

Neighbourhoods (*Harat*, singular: *harah*)

The division of the village into different neighbourhoods was mostly based on kinship; in which related extended families lived in one neighbourhood. Each neighbourhood contained several small courtyards (*ahwash*, singular: *housh*) between the houses. The pattern of the *harah* could be seen as a physical expression of social identity and status of the clans living in it. Another important element in the neighbourhoods was the house courtyard (*Al-fina*). This term is used for the interior courtyard of the house and to the exterior space immediately adjacent to the exterior walls of the house. The main entrance to the extended family complex was usually through *al-fina*. Also, this place was the setting in which most of the daily activities used to take place; and around it rooms for the members of the same extended family were located. The shape and size of *al-fina* varied from one house to another, but mostly they were large and irregular. In addition, it was the place in which people planted fruit trees and erected a grapevine pergola.

Houses (*dour*, singular: *dar*)

The house was a single space containing the nuclear family including a man, his wife/s, children and perhaps parents and married sons. This place was the private domain of each household (Fig. 6.4d). It had a number of rooms on the ground floor and some times one room on the first floor (*elye'h*). There were several features common in the traditional houses in the Palestinian villages. First, they were usually gathered around a central courtyard. Second, the openings are relatively few and small to the outside. The entrances were usually decorated by using abstract drawings or the name of God and Prophet Muhammad carved on the lintel stones. Sometimes, the main facades were plastered or white-washed which symbolized cleanliness and happiness. The doors and windows were wood and usually painted green. It should be mentioned here that the house will be discussed in details in chapter eight.

Open Yard (*el-bayader*)

A number of yards were kept open in each Palestinian village. These yards used to be spread all over the village. Villagers used them to threshing and winning the agricultural crops during the summer. They were also used as play grounds for children. Moreover, these yards were the places for wedding celebrations and meetings during festivals. They had neither buildings nor trees and were open to the western wind which was important for agricultural processing.

Cemetery (*maqbarah*)

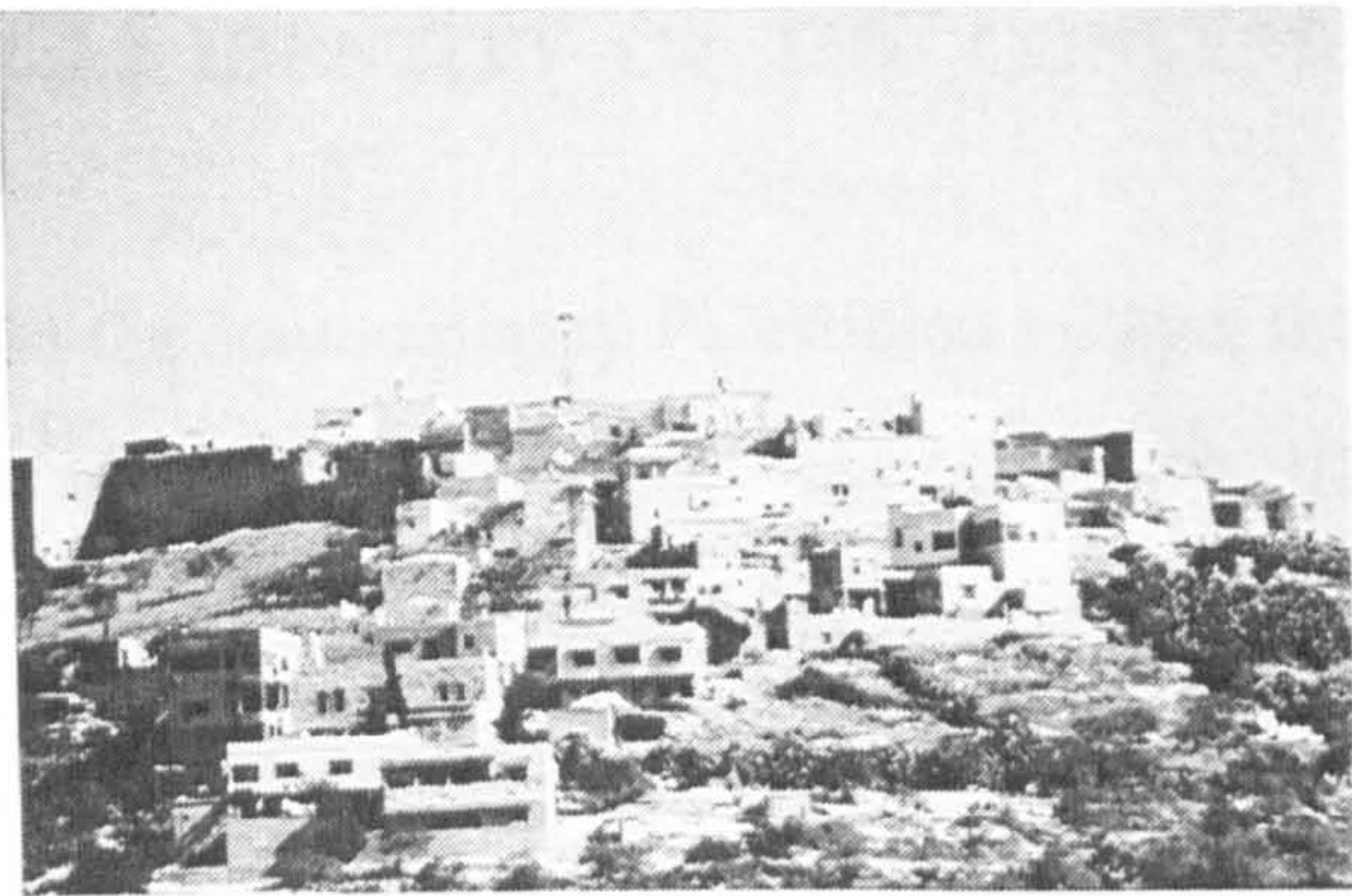
The cemetery was also an open place within the village which people usually visited on religious occasions. It was usually located outside the village boundaries. In the cemetery, people mark graves mostly with stones about two meters long and one meter wide, the height depending on the social and economic status of the dead. Other features of the cemeteries were the trees near the graves of important and religious persons in order to provide shade for the visitors.

Shops (*dakakin*, singular: *dukan*)

Shops in the traditional Palestinian villages were concentrated around the main plaza and along the main road to that plaza. They were usually part of the houses with a small entrance opened towards the road. In general, shops were rectangular spaces with no windows and two doors, one open on to the road and the other into the house of the owner (Fig. 6.4e).

Building Materials

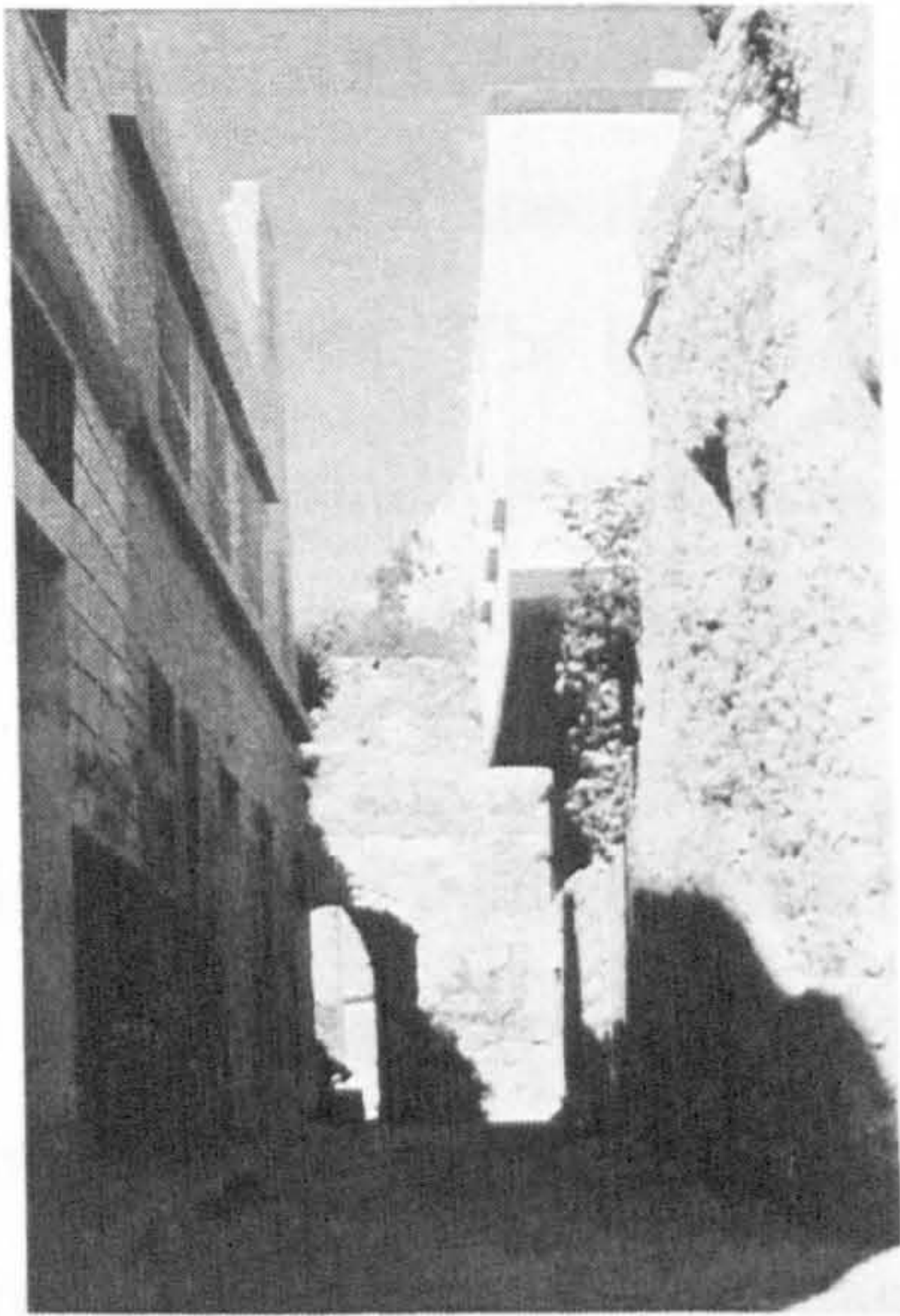
Building materials were different from one area to another, depending on their availability in that area. In general, stone was widely used in the mountains and mud in the plains. There were also variations in the construction materials within each village according to the income and social status of the owner. Stone was for the rich people and mud for the poor. Moreover, people arranged stones in such a way as to produce different patterns; they used it in different sizes, colours and shapes.



a) Boundaries.



b) Main Plaza



c) Roads



d) Extended family house.



e) Shops

Fig. 6.4: The characteristics of the traditional village.

6.2.2 IDENTITY OF THE CONTEMPORARY VILLAGE

In the contemporary Palestinian village, there are two types of neighbourhoods: the old or traditional and the new. The old which still occupies the centre has the main mosque. Its buildings are compact and appear as one big complex with the density of the buildings reducing gradually away from the centre. In the new neighbourhoods however, the buildings are separate and scattered. Functionally, there are no common areas connecting the old and the new, nor they are united visually. Indeed, Palestinian villages no longer form compact aggregations of houses with narrow roads and open yards. At present, no obvious structure can be recognised, nor specific organisational order can be drawn within the contemporary neighbourhoods. The transformation of the Palestinian village from the traditional pattern to the contemporary one has resulted in new types of buildings and new interrelationships between them (Brodnitz, 1985).

In the last decade, new developments are taking place within the old core of the villages as a result of the restrictions the Israelis imposed on the extensions of their boundaries. Therefore, people started to build new houses attached to or on the top of their traditional ones and sometimes they would demolish the old house in order to build on its site. Accordingly, the image of the traditional centre has begun to change.

In general, the new developments in the villages are mostly dispersed fragmented houses separated from each other with private gardens and wide streets with no visual or functional relationships between them. However, there are certain characteristics which distinguish the contemporary villages. In this section, I discuss the physical features of the village at present (Fig. 6.5), and explain how and why it was developed. These features can be represented in the following elements:

Boundaries of the Village

Originally, most of the villages are located on mountain tops or mountain slopes. However, the new extensions reached the agricultural plains following the new roads and because the mountains have been reserved for Israeli settlements. Around each village, mountains are mostly planted with olive or fruit trees and the rocky ground covered with grass and wild flowers (Fig. 6.5a). The plains on the other hand are planted with different kinds of vegetables and grain. In comparison with the traditional villages, most of the villages now have lost the characteristics which defined their boundaries. There is no more a definite edge for the buildings and the new houses are scattered randomly. In addition, the surrounding empty lands have been filled with new houses. Therefore, some of the trees were uprooted and some of the terraces were demolished.

The Village Centre

The new developments in the village are concentrated along the roads. Therefore, most of the shops now are located on the main street which has become the place where people meet and socialize. In addition, the new public services in the villages such as doctor's clinic, offices and workshops are concentrated around the streets (Fig. 6.5b). The physical characteristics of these streets vary from one village to another according to the size and location of the village. Mostly, the main street, as the new centre of the village, is relatively wide, paved without side walks and goes through the whole village.

Streets

Entering a Palestinian village nowadays, four different types of roads can be recognised. First, the main street that connects the village with the surrounding villages and cities. This street is paved and relatively wide. It usually goes through the village and has become the new commercial centre. Second, the roads within the old traditional centre that mostly have not changed except for a few which have been widened. The third type is wide paved streets within the contemporary neighbourhood. The fourth type is the agricultural roads which connect the village with the fields. These roads are unpaved and constructed according to the contour lines; they are usually narrow -two to three meters wide- and defined by random stone terraces or cactus plants. Moreover, it was noticed

that new elements have been introduced to the roads such as electricity and telephone columns.

New neighbourhoods (*harat*)

As in the traditional village, the division of the contemporary Palestinian villages into neighbourhoods is still based on kinship. Each neighbourhood consists of detached houses for the families from the same clan with no courtyards or public open places (Fig. 6.5c). Therefore, people either meet in their houses or in the coffee shop; and children now play either on the streets or in the gardens of their houses. The neighbourhoods are now separated by wide streets and sometimes even by empty lands. So the spatial unity between the neighbourhoods has disappeared; indeed, the new neighbourhood is now a combination of fragmented houses.

Single Family House (*dar*)

The new houses show some functional subdivision in separate units which are almost always oriented towards the streets. Moreover, the interrelationships between houses are different from the traditional ones; they are no longer connected - back to back or side to side - because of the new building regulations. The houses now are free standing and mostly isolated as independent entities which do not form part of a larger unit as before (Fig. 6.5d). Nonetheless, it should be reminded here that more information about the contemporary house will be discussed in details for both the exterior and the interior in chapter eight.

Open Yard (*el-bayader*)

This element started to disappear from the Palestinian villages in the last two decades for two reasons. First, functionally it is no longer important as farmers (*fallaheen*) now process their crops in the fields using modern machines such as tractors, trollies and blows. Second, the restrictions imposed by the Israeli authorities on the expansion of the villages forced people to build on those empty lands. As a result, many social activities

which used to take place on the open yards either moved to other places or has been abandoned. For example, we see children now playing on the school playgrounds or on the streets.

Cemetery (*makbarah*)

The cemetery is still part of the contemporary village landscape. The old cemeteries has now become between the houses, while new ones were added on the outskirts of the village. In addition to the change in their number and size, the cemeteries have new physical characteristics. First, cemeteries are now mostly surrounded by concrete walls and sometimes have pine trees planted behind the walls. Second, a new room has been added to the cemetery in order to store the digging equipments. Third, in some large cemeteries, there is now a pergola structure, as a shaded area, to be used for praying for the dead.

Shops and Public buildings

Shops are now spreading on the main newly asphalted street instead of the central plaza. First, they were limited to groceries, then developed to butchers, bakers and vegetable stalls. Recently, new shops appeared in the village such as clothing, household goods and agricultural equipments. In addition, personal and business services such as doctors' clinics and engineering offices started to appear in the last few years. These services are mostly located within the houses or in rented small apartments. Another new features in the village are the workshops such as carpenters, metalworkers, and motor mechanics.

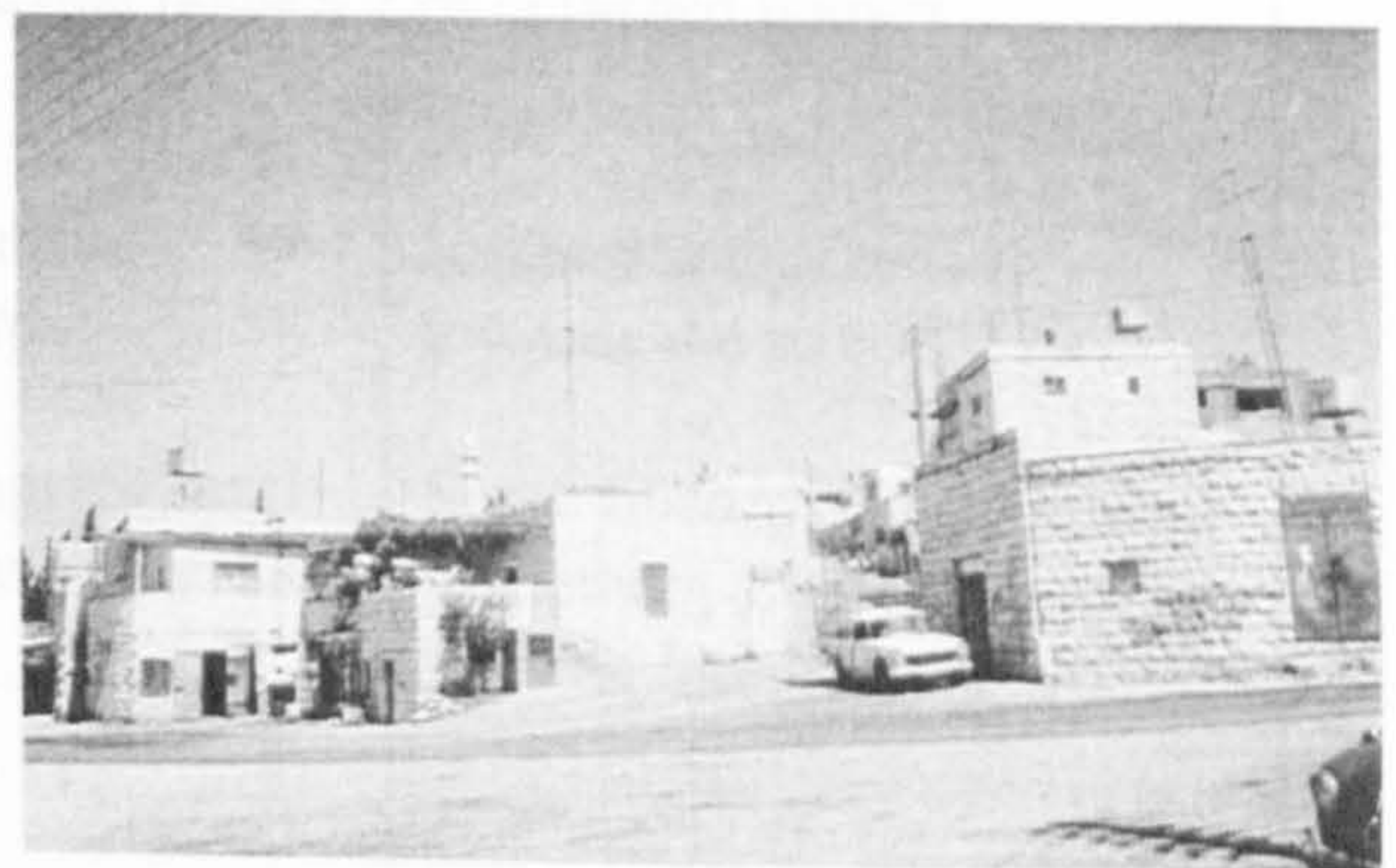
Public buildings such as schools, kindergartens, clinics, post offices and village councils (municipalities in large villages) have also been introduced, and as a result they contributed to create new identity for the contemporary village. The schools are mostly located in the outskirts of the village near an open area to be used as a playground for children. The other public services are usually accommodated in rented houses. The size and style of these buildings become new features in the village's built environment.

Building Materials

In the contemporary Palestinian villages, five materials are common in the building construction. These are lime stone, concrete, sandcrete blocks, mud and steel. Even though stone is preferred by most people, it becomes an expensive material after the expropriation of mountains by the Israeli authorities. People now only use stone as a decorative material with different sizes and colours. In addition, other common materials (concrete and sandcrete blocks) are usually faced with stone from outside and are plastered from inside. Mud now is disappearing, nonetheless it is still being used in the extensions of traditional houses, in the farms and in building new ovens (*taboon*). Recently, steel has been introduced to the villages mainly for building skeleton structures for sheds or as corrugated metal roofs of the temporary additions in low income houses.



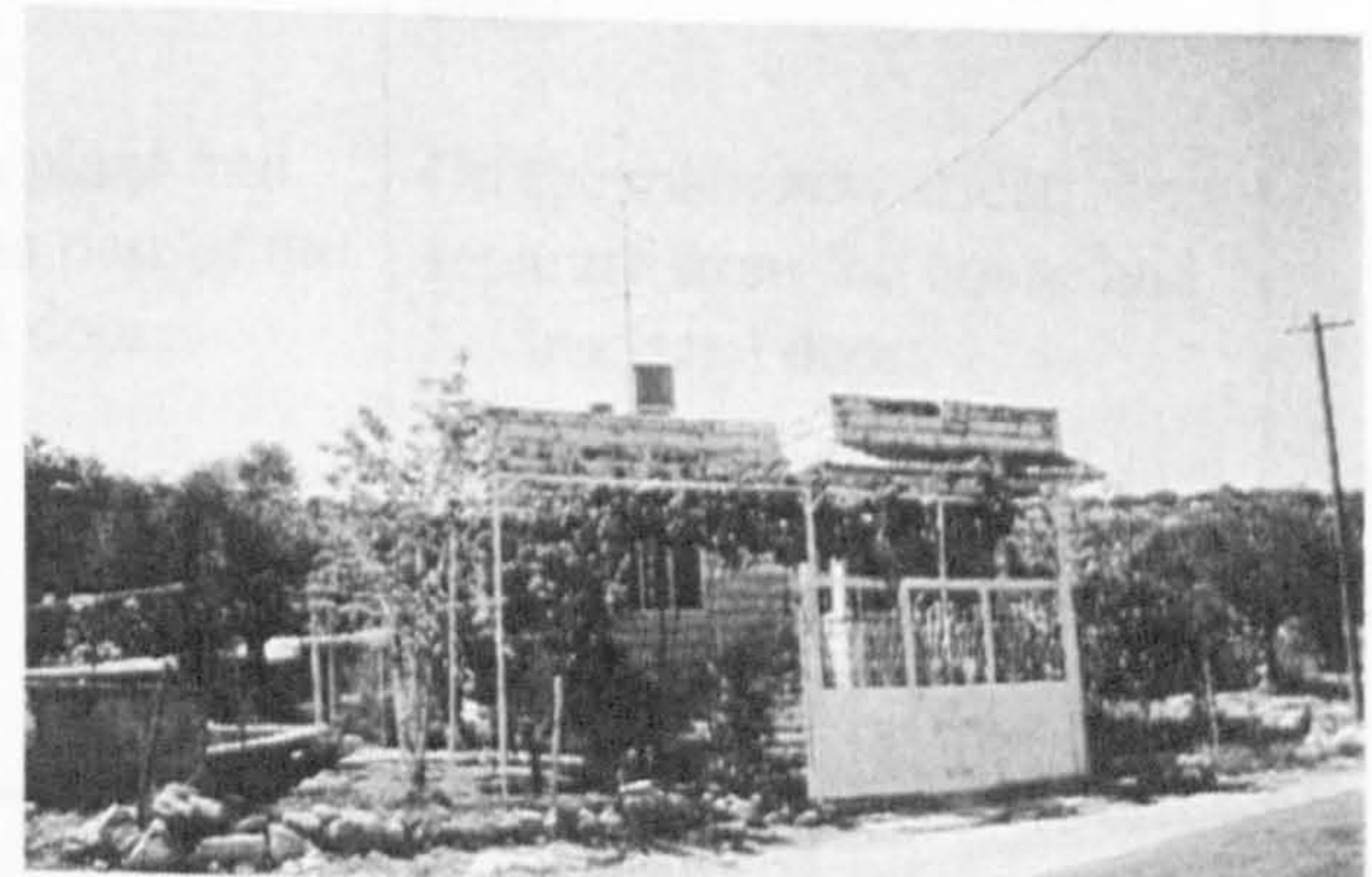
a) New boundaries of Sanoor.



b) The main street in Zababdah.



c) A new neighbourhood in Arraba.



d) Single family house.

Fig. 6.5: Features from the contemporary village.

The features of the traditional and the contemporary village can be summarised in the following table:

Features	Traditional Village	Contemporary Village
Boundaries	Definite and sharp.	Not defined and not clear.
The centre	The main plaza near a mosque or a church.	The new main street.
Streets	Narrow, winding and unpaved with hierarchy from public to private.	Straight, wide and paved with no hierarchy from public to private.
Neighbourhoods	Based on kinship and consisting of attached houses with courtyards.	Based on kinship; consisted of detached houses.
Houses	Attached and oriented towards courtyards.	Isolated and oriented towards the streets.
Public open space	Open space for agricultural processing and was used as a meeting area for celebrations.	Some filled with new houses and others are being used as parking lots.
Cemetery	Open space in the outskirts of the village with few trees.	Open space within the boundaries of the village and surrounded by concrete walls.
Shops	Around the main plaza and the qasaba; it was part of the house with small door.	On the main new street; separate from the house and having large doors.
Building materials	Stone and mud.	Stone, concrete, sandcrete bloks and steel.

Table 6.1: A comparison between the traditional village and the contemporary village.

6.2.3 THE CHANGE OF IDENTITY

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the built environment in the West Bank especially of the villages has drastically changed. Amiry (1987) has stratified the phases of change in Deir Ghassaneh village into two periods. The first occurred between 1920s and 1950s in which the construction of new buildings in this period was based on traditional building patterns. The second phase started in the mid-fifties, in which the new buildings brought new patterns and spatial organisations to the villages. This research argues that another phase in the development of the Palestinian villages can be distinguished. This phase started in the mid-seventies when the actions and policies of the Israeli authorities restricted the natural expansion of the villages. As a result, the relationships between the buildings and the physical features of the dwellings have been changed (see chapter five).

Although the change in the village was massive, there are common features between the new neighbourhoods and the traditional quarters. For example, the villages are still divided into neighbourhoods and in each one lives related clan members. According to the author's observations and interviews, the development of new identity of the Palestinian village can be stratified into five major themes:

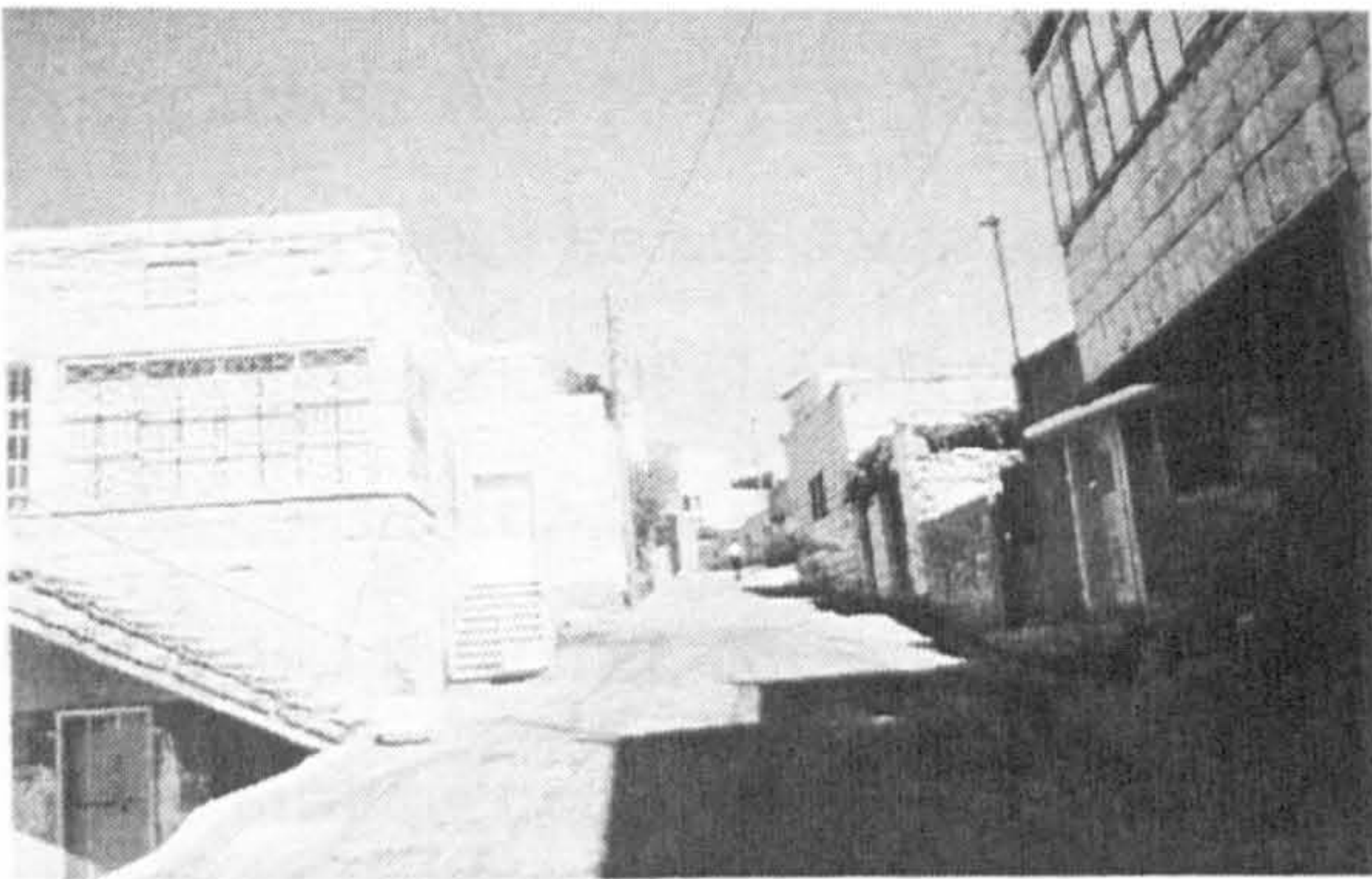
First, the traditional clustered and compact patterns have been slowly changed to a linear pattern of dispersion in which the main streets form the basic spines along which houses and other structures spread. Therefore, those streets and not the village plaza have become the centres of activities and the axes of expansion (Fig. 6.6a). In addition, the perception of people towards the traditional and contemporary has been changed. It has been found during the fieldwork that the old core is associated with tradition and poverty while the new neighbourhoods are associated with modernity and wealth.

Second, the traditional courtyard dwelling which used to house the extended families, has been replaced by the individual house. These individual houses are no longer attached to each others but all separated by gardens and mostly surrounded by walls.

Third, the physical characteristics of many elements in the villages have been changed. For example, houses themselves now have different forms and characters from the old traditional ones (Fig. 6.6b). The image of the shops is now also different; they have large metal sheet doors in a rectangular shape and mostly three to four grouped in a building.

Fourth, new public buildings have been introduced to the villages such as schools, post office, clinics, offices and so on. These buildings are new to the village, so they present new features to the villages' built environment.

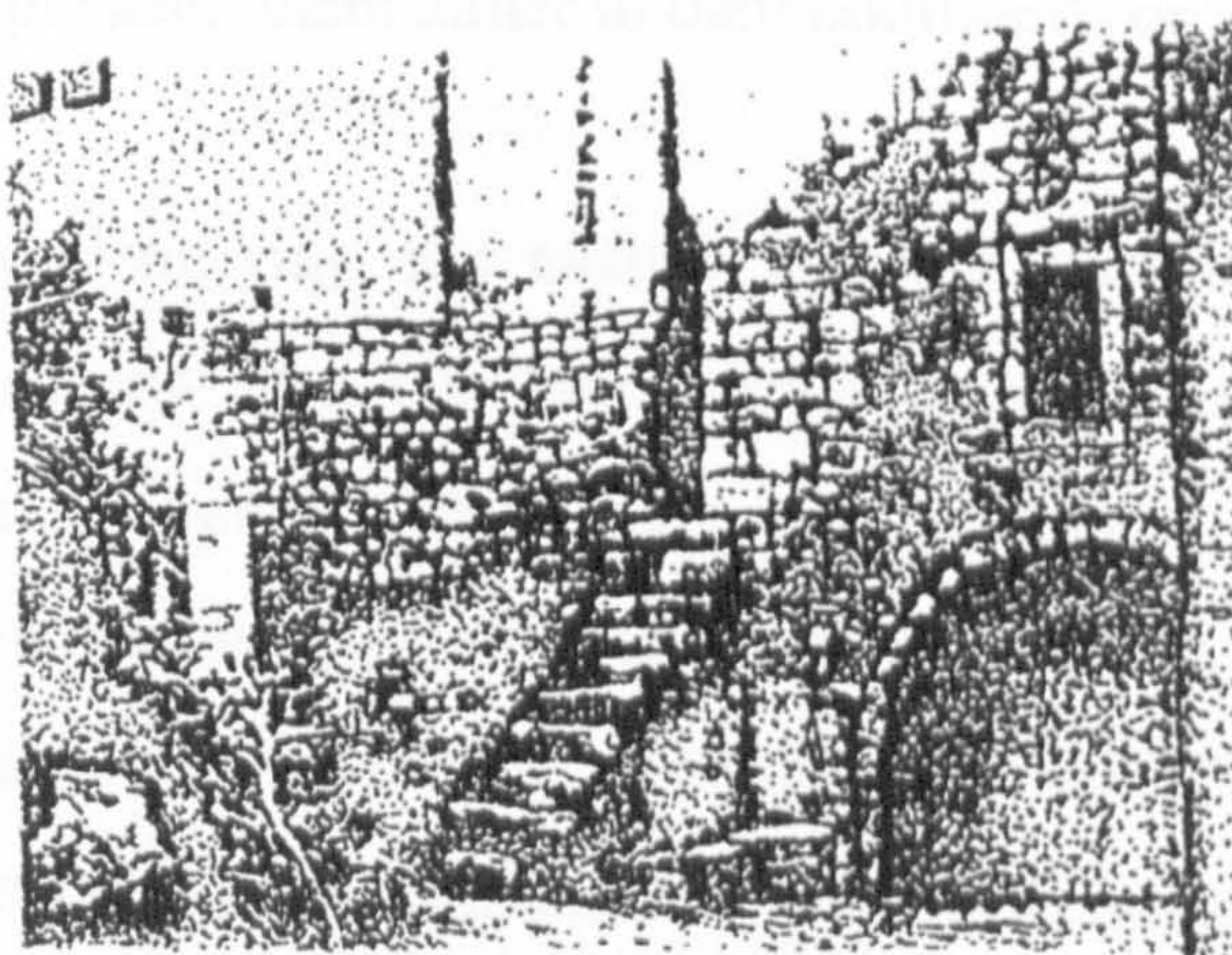
Fifth, deterioration and neglect of old houses in traditional quarters (Fig. 6.6c).



a) A new street.



b) New forms and building materials.



c) Deterioration of traditional houses.

Fig. 6.6: Changes on the traditional village.

Within those themes, several points can be listed to identify the change of identity of the Palestinian village. These are:

1. The construction of wide asphalt streets inside the village, especially the main ones.
2. The neglect of old traditional buildings which started to collapse because either their owners left them to live in new neighbourhoods or their owners are considered absentees by the Israeli government which prevents others from using them.
3. The appearance of new commercial shops and small industrial workshops dispersed all over the village, especially on the main street.
4. The architectural style is now a mixture of modern and traditional; the character of modern buildings depends on the background of the architect and the owner. Usually architects who study in Western countries adopt the Western style and owners who work in Israel imitate some features from the buildings there.
5. The appearance of plastic green houses to grow vegetables.
6. The construction of skeleton steel structures for animals and chicken farms.
7. The disappearance of random stone terraces and walls from many areas.
8. The introduction of electrical and telephone columns and cables.
9. The gradual reduction in number of cactus plants, almond and fig trees.
10. Recently, cars and modern agricultural machines became part of the outdoor spaces in the village, and people keep them either in their courtyards or in front of the house.

It is noticeable from identifying the change between traditional and contemporary Palestinian villages that new elements have been introduced and the characteristics of many others have been altered. Main part of the change is related to economic development such as workshops, green houses, steel structures, electrical columns and cars or agricultural machines. Indeed, it can be said that, the villages are changing from agricultural villages into residential communities with some urban features.

6.3 FEATURES WHICH REFLECT THE IDENTITY OF THE PALESTINIAN VILLAGE

Throughout the centuries, there are certain physical features that can be recognised in the Palestinian villages as the core elements, which reflect the cultural core of the village society. This research considers these features as representations of the Palestinian village identity. The aim of this section is to identify those elements, discuss their meanings and point out how they reflect the identity of the Palestinian village.

From the fieldwork, and according to people's perception, the author has identified several elements which represent the identity of the Palestinian village. These are:

The Mosque (*el-jami'*)

The mosque was and still is one of the dominant features in the village. In each village, there is at least one mosque. Indeed, the mosque with its minaret and dome has become a symbol of the village (Fig. 6.7). Nevertheless, in villages where Moslems and Christians live together the church (*kaniseh*) and its tower has also become an important feature in the village. For example, in Zababdeh village near Jenin there is a mosque in the northern part of the village and a church in the southern part (Fig. 6.9a).



Fig. 6.7: The dome of the great mosque and the minarets in Arraba.

Other religious elements appeared in the villages are the tombs (*maqam*) of religious leaders, such as *maqam* El-naby Erabin in Arraba and *maqam* Salman El-Farsi in Tel near Nablus. These with the mosque and the church are clear representations of the religious identity of the villages.

The Guest House (*Al-Dewan*)

Al-dewan is another distinct feature in the Palestinian village and there is at least one guest house in each village. However, the number of guest houses depends on the size of the village and its economic situation. Usually in large villages, there is a guest house for each clan. Traditionally, the guest house is the place where male members of the *hamulah* meet and socialise. Nevertheless, lately the guest house is mostly being used on death occasions and wedding celebrations. As a common meeting place for each clan, the guest house play a significant role in uniting its members. In addition, it represents kinship ties and some social values in the village's society such as hospitality and generosity. Some residents considered the guest house important from a historical viewpoint, by regarding it as a continuation of their historical development in the country. Most of the elderly persons who were interviewed in 1991 said that the guest house has been part of their lives since they were born. Mr Afif explained what does the guest house mean to him during an interview in 1991. He said:

Al-dewan was the house of the clan. It was the place where people discuss their affairs and solve their problems. It was and still is a place for wedding celebrations and death ceremonies. *Al-dewan* - its size, decorations and furniture- was an indication of the clan position in the village. The opening hours and the number of people visiting it, reflected the owner's social position and his hospitality.

(Interview, 1991)

As a building, the guest house looks different from the houses in its form and decorations (Fig. 6.8). It was one big room, either separated or connected to the house of the clan's leader. Usually the year of construction and words from the Koran are carved on stones at the entrance of the guest house.

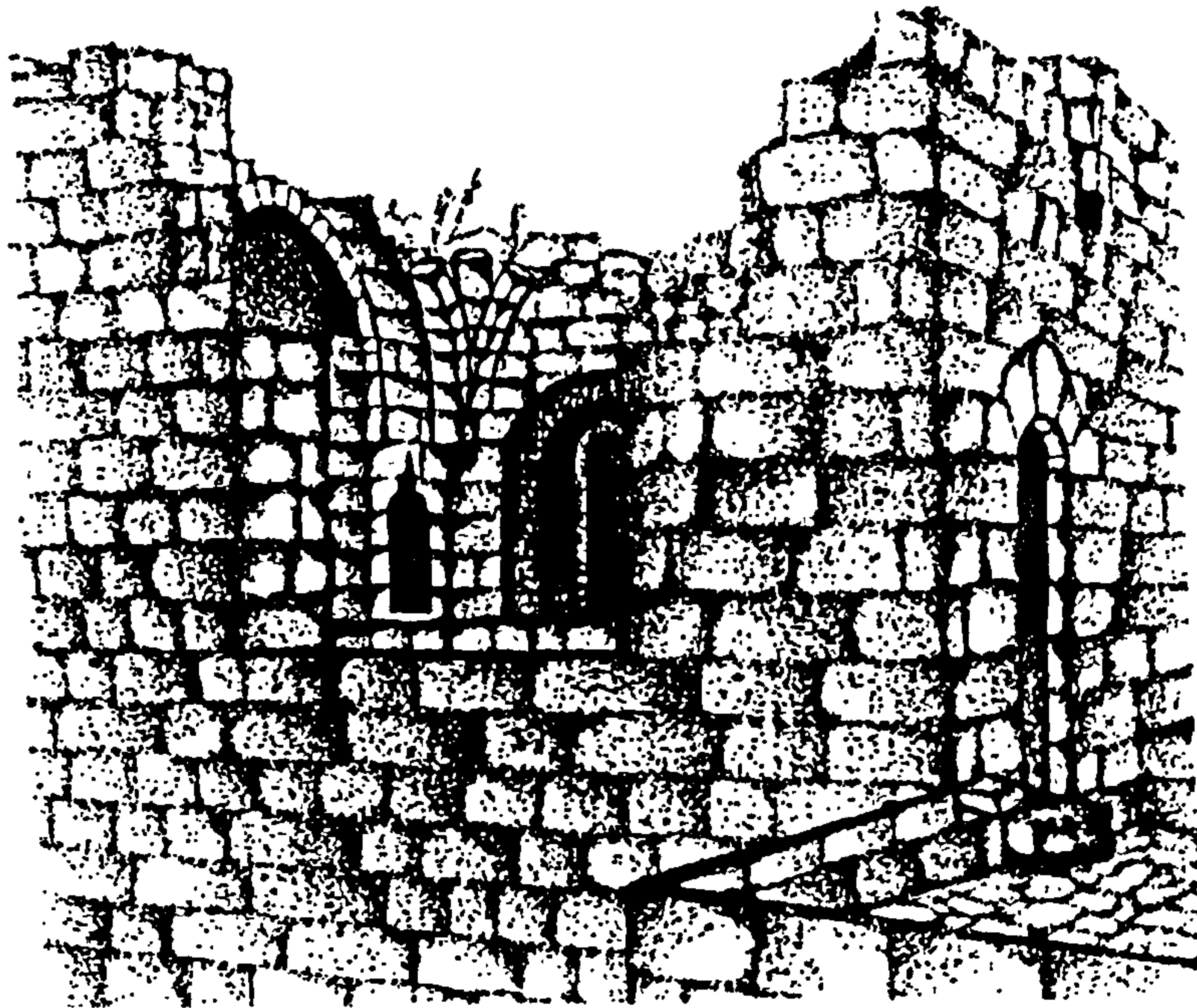


Fig. 6.8: A guest house in Salfit village.

Coffee shop (*El-maqha*)

The coffee shop is the place where men meet to play cards or to have a chat. They serve coffee, tea and soft drinks and people can play cards, tik-tak (*minqaleh*) and backgammon (*zahrah*). The coffee shop was introduced to the Palestinian villages in 1940s, when many people became homeless without jobs as a result of the war. As a building, it started in outdoor yards, then it was developed into shanty. After that, it was moved to rented houses. Recently some coffee shops have been built for this purpose and became a unique feature within the village's built environment. Its building is mostly a big room and an outdoor shaded area with grapevine to be used during the summer. The furniture is just small wooden chairs and tables (Fig. 6.9b).

The wheat grinder (*methanah*) and olive presser (*me'sarah*)

The wheat grinder and the olive presser show the lifestyle of villagers as farmers. The way people are using them also reflects certain cultural backgrounds of the society. Pressing the olives each year is a very special time for Palestinians. In fact, villagers lifestyle becomes different at that time because relatives and friends gather to help each others in collecting the olives. This reveals the strong social relations and represents the

others in collecting the olives. This reveals the strong social relations and represents the unity between people. As buildings, the wheat grinder and the olive presser have specific characters and forms to fit their functions. They are usually one floor longitudinal buildings with two or three doors and few high windows. The interior is open with special places for the olives or the grains.

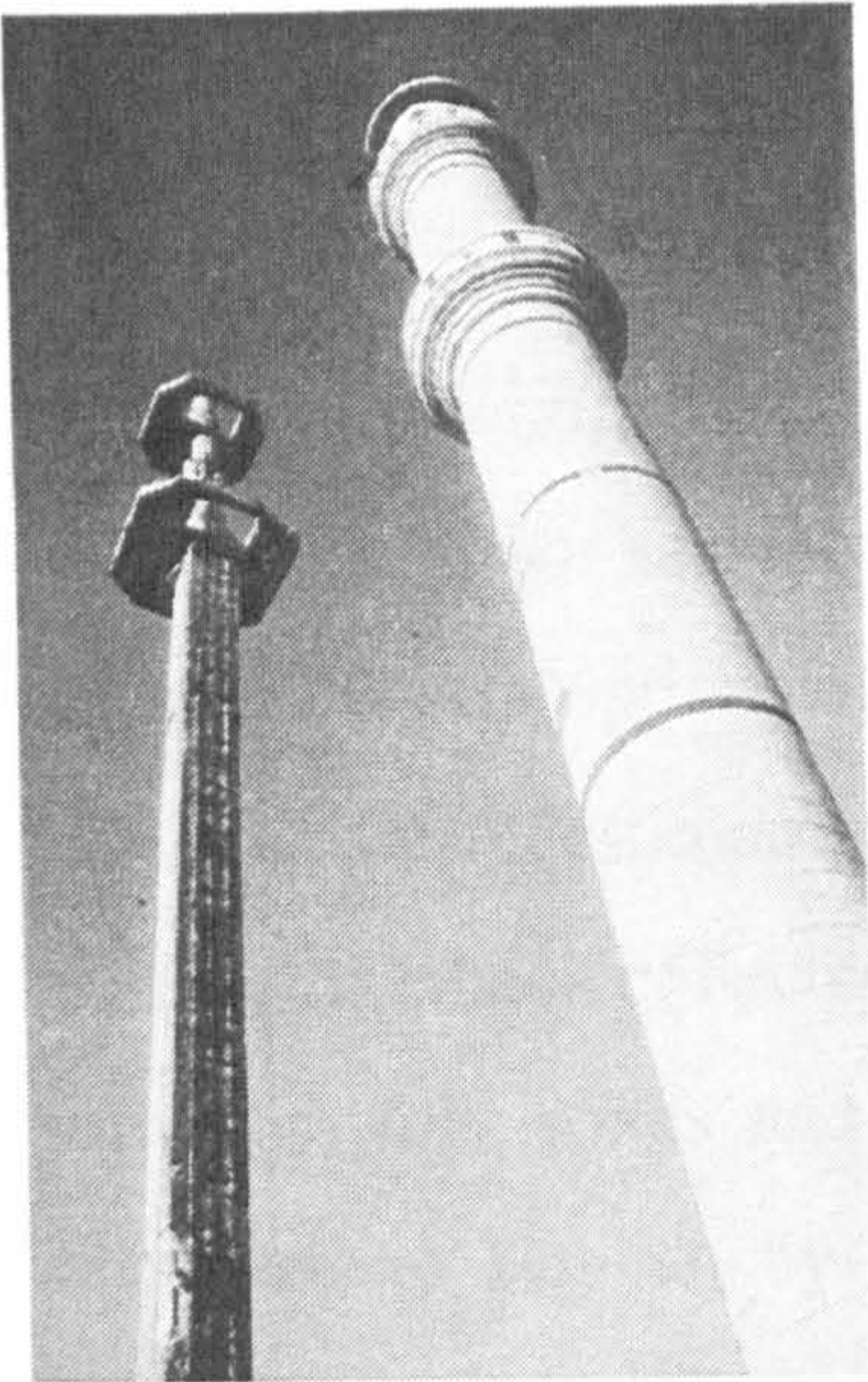
Olive tree (*zaitounah*)

Olive tree is a dominant feature in the landscape of the villages (Fig. 6.9c). It is not only an economic resource, but also a social prestige for the owner. Moreover, olive tree has a sacred, religious and historical meanings to the people of the West Bank. It is mentioned in the Koran as a holy tree. In addition, Palestinians consider it a material proof of their historical continuity in their land as the olive tree, which they consider it to belong to them, has been in the region for thousands of years. Indeed, many people consider olive tree a symbol of identity for the region.

Stone as a building material

The stone is a dominant construction material in the West Bank, even in the contemporary buildings. People have been using it for thousands of years in this region. It has been collected from the surrounding lands, so it fits in harmony with the natural environment. In addition, random stone is used in building low walls to indicate the boundaries between neighbours in the fields, especially in the mountains (Fig. 6.9d). Therefore, random stone terraces become a strong feature in the landscape of the built environment of the West Bank.

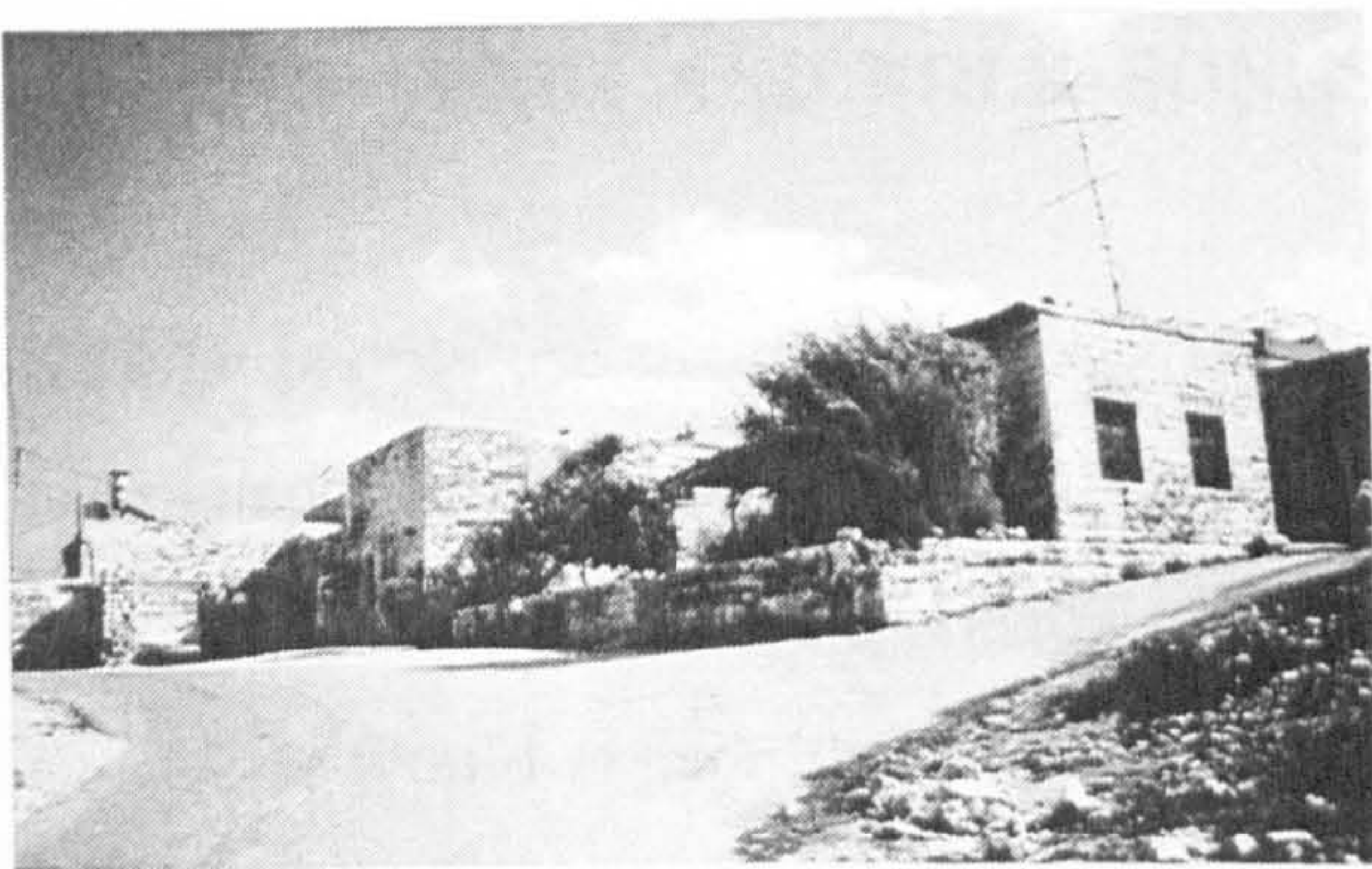
These in brief are the most important features that distinguish the built environment of the villages in the West Bank. In addition, there are other elements in the village, that people believe reflect the identity of the Palestinian village. These elements include **traditional narrow streets (*turuq*)**, **courtyards (*ahwash*)** (Fig. 6.9e) and **traditional houses**. Indeed, these three elements are the most significant features of the traditional village. They have been discussed earlier in this chapter and they will not be repeated. However, they will be considered part of the features which represent the identity of the Palestinian village.



a) Minarets of the mosque



a') Church



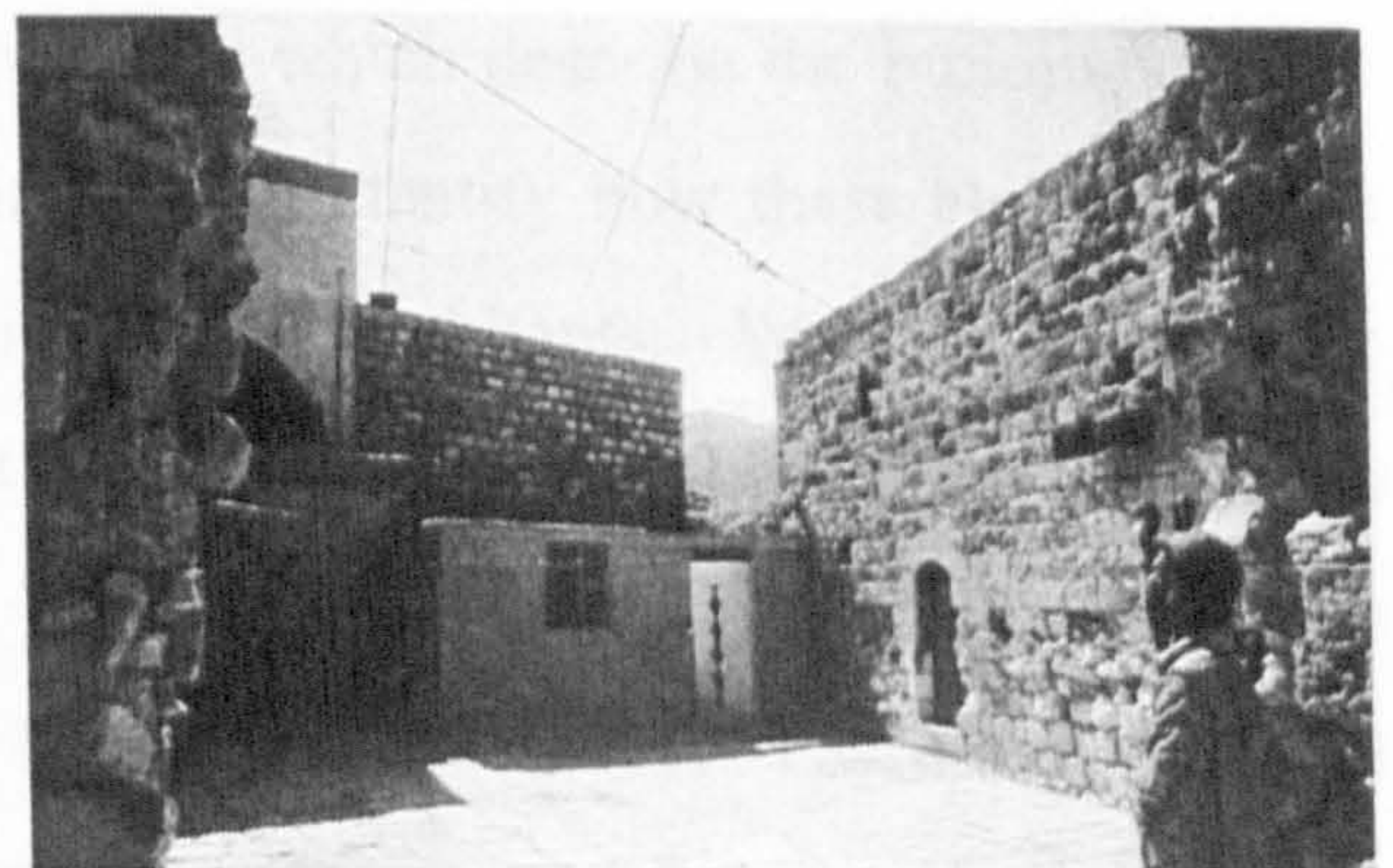
b) Coffee shop



c) Olive tree



d) Stone terrace



e) Courtyards

Fig. 6.9: Features which represent the identity of the Palestinian village.

6.4 THE IDENTITY OF THE PALESTINIAN VILLAGE AS REPRESENTED IN FOLKLORE AND ART

In order to confirm the validity of the findings about the identity of the Palestinian village, the author searched through Palestinian folklore, folk songs, poetry and paintings looking for descriptions of or references to the Palestinian village. The aim was to find out how the Palestinian village was perceived and described. The information in this section have been collected from literature, informal interviews and archival records. All proverbs, folk songs and poems noted below were written in Arabic and have been translated to English by the author. Because the approach and the strategy for the investigation in each part was different, each section will be discussed separately.

6.4.1 PROVERBS AND FOLK SONGS

Village people use many proverbs. These proverbs are not learnt from books, but they are the spontaneous creation of village life and are handed down orally from generation to generation. They are an expression of people's fundamental beliefs, attitudes and view of life. One would expect, therefore, that the dominant features in the village would figure in the common proverbs.

The task started by collecting the common proverbs which describe the buildings or the landscape of the Palestinian village. The aim was to identify how these elements have been described and to investigate their meaning to the inhabitants. With the help of five students from Al-Najah University, almost fifty proverbs and folk songs have been collected. Throughout the investigation, it was found that most of the proverbs concentrate on few elements or significant features in the house. The author grouped them into four categories: colours, arches, rooms on the second floor and location. The strategy, accordingly, was to discuss each category separately and to analyse the related proverbs and folk songs.

1. Colours

Two colours were most frequently mentioned in proverbs and folk songs, namely white and green. While white was used on walls and ceilings, green was used on doors and windows. For example, in describing the preparation of the house to receive an absentee, a folk song states:

I swear when our lovers come back, I will paint the house white (*sheed*)
and put *henna* on the doors.

(Alush, 1987)

In the Palestinian society, white reflects the happiness and cleanliness, and the green reveals the prosperity and richness of the household. It is a custom, when an absentee returns home or when a bride comes to her new house, people white wash the house and put henna pasted with green orange leaves on the entrance as a sign of happiness and good fortune.

To describe a good house, a common proverb says:

The house is big, its windows are green and staying in it leads to long life.

(Interview with Hani, 1992)

In this proverb, the green windows reflect the good quality of the house.

2. Arches

Arched windows and doors are two favourable architectural designs for Palestinians. According to them, the more arches the better the house. The arches were mostly located on the front elevation. Therefore, people in showing off the quality of their house, would say:

We built the arches and strengthened the foundations.

(Interview with Fathi, 1992)

Also the arches increased the quality of the houses. So people say:

The arch of the house makes it beautiful,
thank God who makes the whole universe beautiful

(Interview with Hani, 1992)

3. Room on the second floor (*Elye'h*)

Houses with upper storeys were limited to rich people. Therefore, *Elye'h* reflected the prosperity and prestige of the owner. Moreover, it is a good place for living because it is appropriately ventilated and usually has a good view. In expressing the living conditions there, a proverb says:

Those who build *elye'h* will have a nice sleep.
(Interview with Abu Emad, 1992)

Also, in their folk songs, women sing to the bridegroom and ask him to build *elye'h*, as a prestigious place for his wife. They sing:

Now you are engaged to a beautiful girl
give her a gold chain and let her live in *elye'h*.
(Bargouthee, 1985)

4. The location

The location of the house used to reflect specific meanings. The best locations were either in the village centre or on the main road. Traditionally, buildings in the centre were for the powerful people and the ones on the main road were for the rich people. To express the importance of those locations, a folk song says:

The builder deserves gold rings because he built the house in the
centre.
The builder deserves ivory rings because he built the house on the
road.
(El-Khalili, 1979)

On other occasions, when they admire a house, people ask:

For whom is this big house which is on the road
For whom is this big house which has a green entrance.
(Alush, 1987)

The green entrance reflects the generosity of the owner.

6.4.2 POETRY

In this section, the author examines how poets describe the Palestinian built environment. The aim is to choose few poems in which the built environment was mentioned in order to find out how the poet perceives it. In order to do so, the author selected four poems. From each, the physical features of the village have been highlighted and their meanings discussed.

Some writers mentioned traditional elements in order to compare them with their feelings to their lovers. For instance, Al-Raimawi in writing to his lover, mentioned the brazier (*kanun*) which warms the house in winter and the grapevine which provides shade during the summer. In **Mazamir to Palestine**, he writes:

If you were the nights
the long winter nights
my heart will be the **brazier**
in the farm house
If you were the short summer nights
my heart will be the **grapevine**.

(Al-Raimawi, 1978)

In addition, the built environment of the West Bank has been mentioned by writers to describe its situation after the Israeli occupation. For example, Awadeh in **A Letter to God**, in trying to describe the built environment after the occupation writes:

From a holy place
from the country of milk and honey
from the land which is now sad
I present you
a different letter
I present you
a dried **lemon tree**
an uprooted **olive tree**
and a demolished village
I present you
a destroyed **minaret**
a **church** without a bell
and deserted oasis

(Awadeh, 1983)

The writer here mentions the lemon and olive trees as characteristics of the Palestinian landscape identity. Then, he talked about the religious identity of the people in the villages by mentioning the minaret of the mosque and the bell of the church.

The built environment was also mentioned in certain poems when a writer in exile talks about his / her memories in the past. For example, Duaim in his book "The Bleeding Palestinian Wound" (*nazif al-jurh al-falastinee*), described several elements in the village. In a poem entitled: **Instead of Water, It is Raining Fire**, he writes:

Our house, I can not forget my father's and grandmother's graves
I can not forget the **grapevine** that I planted in the **garden**
Our house, I can not forget the **cross vaults** and the **small storage**
I can not forget the **well**, the **drainer** and my dreams
I can not forget the **oven** and the **pigeon houses** on the walls
I can not forget the **wall cupboard** with its mattresses and sheets.

(Duaim, 1982)

In this poem, the writer can not forget many elements in his house or in the village. He mentioned the graves of his father and grandmother, the garden, the grapevine, the cross vaulted ceiling, the well in the courtyard, the oven, the pigeon houses and the wall cupboard. All these, as they remained in the memory of people, could be considered as important elements in their lives and concurrently in their villages.

In another poem, **A Letter From A Refugee**, Duaim is asking a bird to go to his old village to visit different places he used to love and would like to visit. He writes:

My bird, go and see my village
go to the **almond orchard** near the **grinder**
Go to my house, in which I planted a **grapevine**,
beside it, I also planted a **fig tree**, **cactus** and some **olive trees**
My bird, please kiss the walls of our house
and do not forget to kiss its **cross vaults**
Do not forget to stop on the fodder store
in which I used to store food for the animals
My bird, tell the **garden** about my situation
and tell her that this separation makes me crazy

(Duaim, 1982)

From the above four poems, it is noticeable that the poets concentrate on small intricate and specific elements either to remind the readers about their past or to describe the present situation of the villages. From the poems, several features have been highlighted which could be considered essential parts of the identity of the Palestinian village.

6.4.3 PAINTINGS

Architecture is a creative art in which certain elements can be used as symbols to convey specific meanings (see chapter two). In paintings, sometimes architectural elements with distinct forms or styles, can be used to convey the spirit of a place. For example, in order to express their feelings or ideas, artists sometimes use architectural features as symbols of tradition or as icons with specific meanings.

Palestinian artists are not the exception. They use many features from the built environment to portray the identity of the Palestinian village. Some artists draw buildings in a specific way to symbolize the traditional village by showing, for example, compact stone houses around a courtyard. Others include elements from the landscape such as olive trees or stone terraces. Moreover, artists utilise symbolic elements to give specific meanings such as the minaret to convey the religious identity of the place or the use of wooden details in a window to represent the Palestinian house. In this sense, the questions to be answered here are: How do the Palestinian artists see Palestinian architecture ? How do they symbolize it in their paintings ? What are the architectural elements they use to reflect the identity of the Palestinian built environment ? And finally, what do those elements mean?

The investigation started by collecting several paintings by different Palestinian artists in which the rural built environment was manifested. Then, four paintings were chosen for in depth examination. These paintings were shown to five respondents from the West Bank who were asked to identify the features that manifest the identity of the Palestinian

village. Moreover, two artists were interviewed and asked to explain their reasons for using those elements as representations of the village.

The strategy for investigation is to discuss each painting separately. Then the common features from all of them that reflect the Palestinian village are identified.

1. Dair Bzaig (Fig. 6.10)

Artist: Nabeel Anani (1981)

Dair Bzaig is a Palestinian village. The most important feature in this painting is the integration between the buildings and the surrounding landscape. This reflects the strong relationship between the villagers, as farmers, and their fields. Therefore, the artist located olive trees in the courtyard and between the buildings.

The attitude of most respondents was that this painting is successful in representing the Palestinian village. During an interview in 1992, the artist Maha commented on this painting by saying:

The style and proportions of buildings, the integration between buildings and the landscape, and the intensity of the green colour were a clear manifestation of the Palestinian village.

(Interview with Maha, 1992)

2. My village (Fig. 6.11)

Artist: Kamel Al-Mugani (1974)

This painting is intended to represent a general view for a Palestinian village. The most significant and the only features that appear are the houses. By asking the artist about his idea in representing the Palestinian village, the author was told:

First of all, I took the house as the main unit to build up my village. Even though I treated each one as a separate entity, there is a strong relationship between them which reflect the strong relationships in the village society. Moreover, I used arches for most of the openings because they are unique in the Palestinian villages.

(Interview with Al-Mugani, 1992)

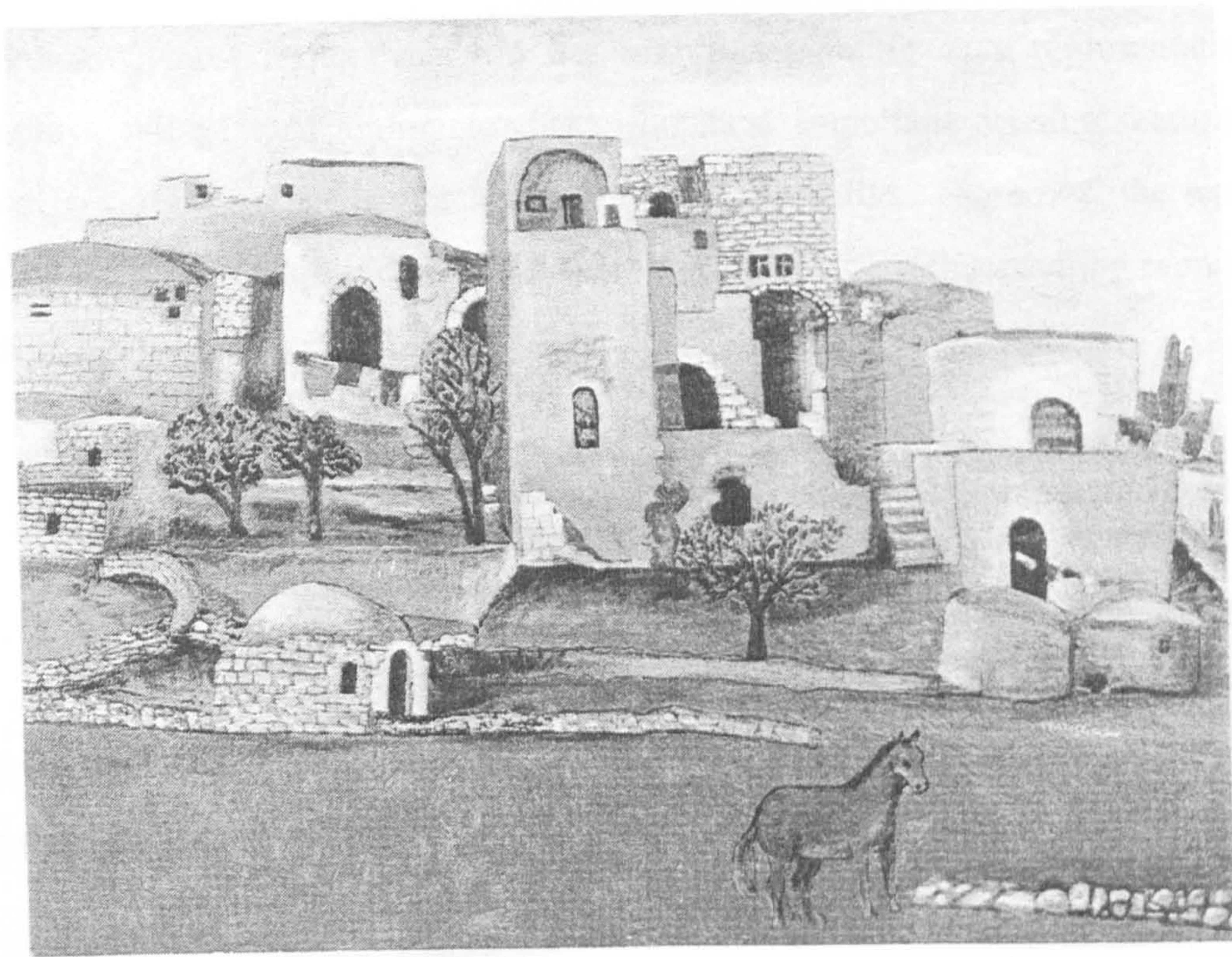


Fig. 6.10: Dair Bzaig, Nabeel Anani (1981).

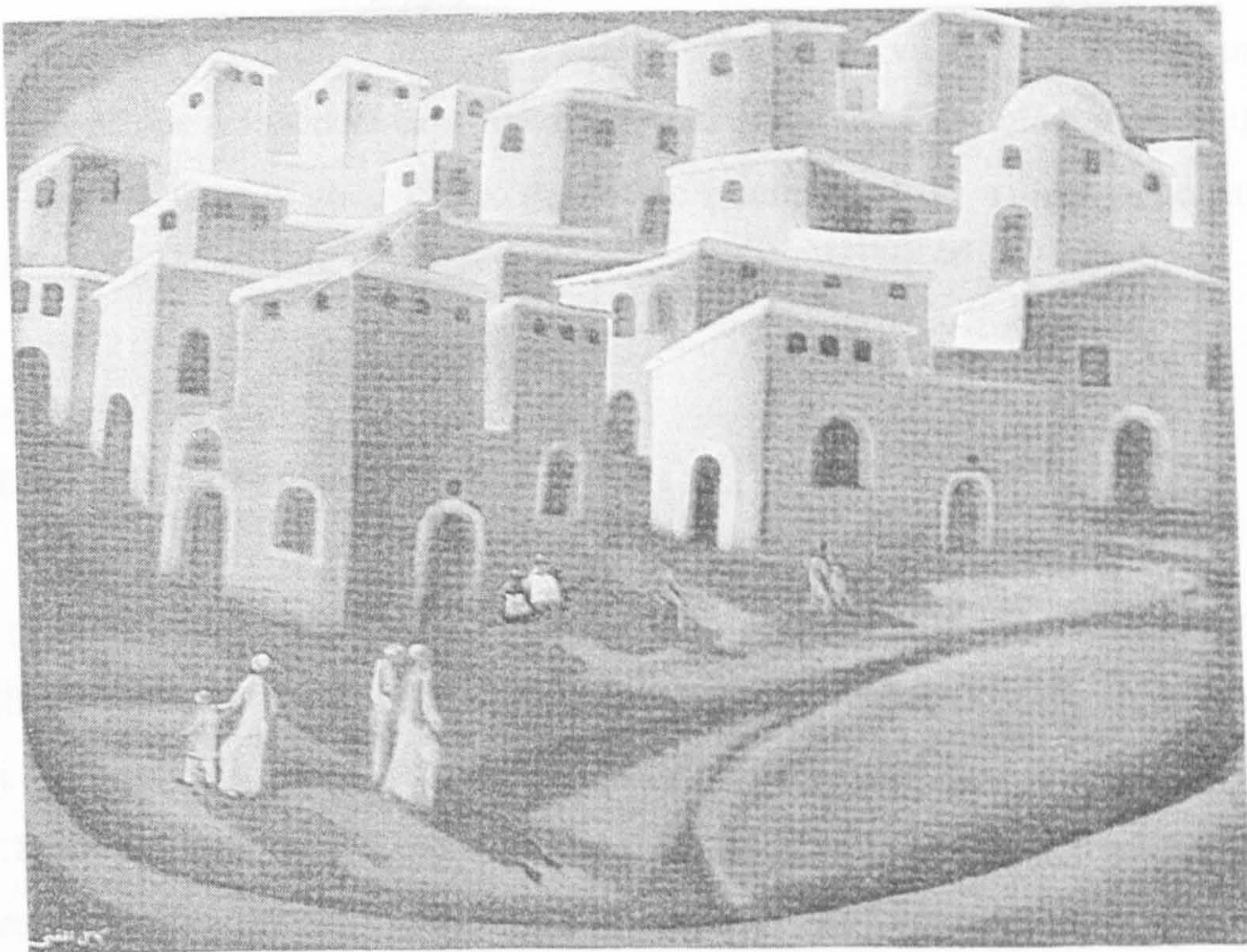


Fig. 6.11: My village, Kamel Al-Mugani (1974).

Nevertheless, most respondents did not find this painting as a representative of the Palestinian village. According to them, the most important missing features are the landscape and the elements which reflect the villager's life. Moreover, the repetition of certain forms and openings distorted its identity. In asking if this painting represented the Palestinian village, a school teacher said:

Not exactly, because the Palestinian village is more than buildings. It is the rural area with farm houses where you can see the animals and birds beside the trees and vegetables. It is the place where you can see open yards and the oven. All these are missing here.

(Interview with Ibtisam, 1992)

3. From Tradition: Wedding celebration (Fig. 6.12)

Artist: Fathi Gebin (1983)

This painting shows a wedding celebration in a Palestinian village. The focus of the painting was on people's activities during the celebration. However, several elements from the built environment were accentuated. The most important features that appear in the painting are an old olive tree and a general view of the village as a background. The olive tree, as one respondent said, looks very old as are the Palestinian roots in this land. In the general view of the village, the minaret dominated the village silhouette as an indication of people's religious identity.

4. Al- Tireh (Fig. 6.13)

Artist: Suliman Mansour (1986)

The painting shows a courtyard (*housh*) in an extended family house. The most significant feature is the strong relationship between the houses and the cross vaults of the roofs. The artist also used steps and ladders which indicates the use of the roofs in daily life. From the painting, it is noticeable that the buildings fit in harmony with the natural environment, the curves of the cross vaults go with the mountains and the plants penetrated the dwellings.

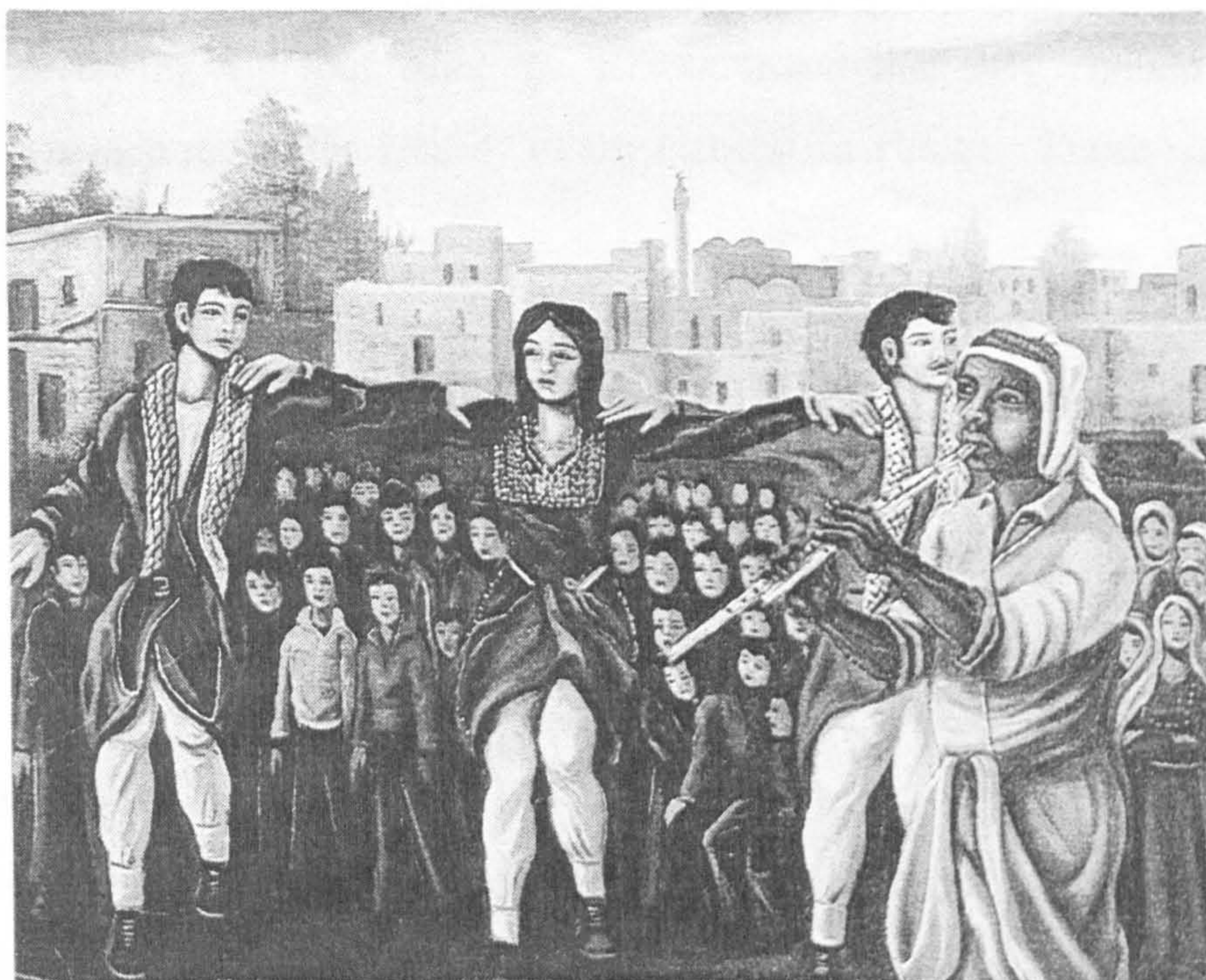


Fig. 6.12: From tradition: wedding celebration, Fathi Gebin (1983).

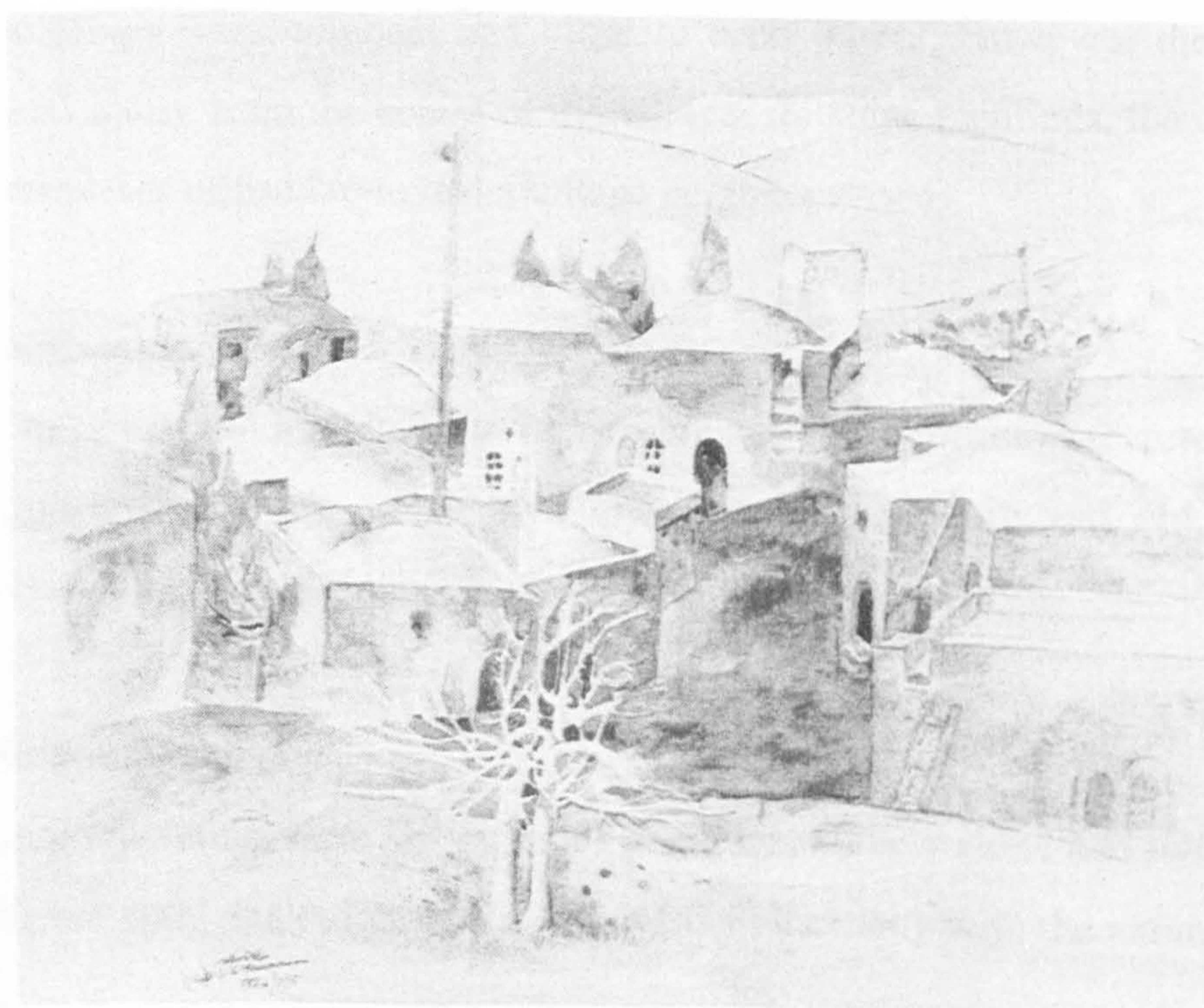


Fig. 6.13: Al-Tireh, Suliman Mansour (1986).

After reviewing the four paintings, it was found that they contain several common features which reveal the identity of the Palestinian village. Those were categorised by the author as follows:

Main components

The main components in most paintings are traditional houses with courtyards, olive trees and stone terraces.

Building forms

The houses are mostly rectangular with vertical proportions. The openings are few and concentrated on the first floor with small ones on the ground floor. In addition, artists used arches for the windows and doors. While the size of windows was generally small, the doors were large. The proportions of the openings were mainly vertical.

The relationship between buildings

The buildings were compact and close to each other. However, the building density decreases a way from the centre of the village. In some paintings, the courtyard between the houses was utilised to reveal a village neighbourhood.

The landscape

Olive trees and random stone terraces were the most common features to represent the Palestinian rural areas. The olive trees were usually big and old to symbolize the historical roots of Palestinians in the West Bank.

Building materials

Two main materials were shown in all paintings, namely stone and mud. Stone appeared in different sizes and colours, while mud fits in harmony with the natural environment.

Colours

Artists tried to simulate the colours of the natural building materials such as stone and mud. They also recreate the natural environment by using green for trees and brown for the earth. In addition, green colour was used in windows and doors, while blue was used in some walls.

Specific elements

Certain elements recurred in the paintings, which according to the people interviewed, reflect the Palestinian village. The most important were the domes on some of the houses and the minaret in the centre of the village.

6.5 SUMMARY

During the author's attempts to investigate the identity of the Palestinian village, several facts emerged. First, the political changes in the region have had major impacts on the development of the built environment. Second, even though there are differences between the villages in different areas of the West Bank, they share some common characteristics. Third, the traditional old centres in the villages have different characteristics from the surrounding new neighbourhoods.

It is clear from the above discussion that a new type of village in the rural West Bank has emerged. The process of change transformed the identity of the Palestinian village from introverted and homogeneous entities consisting of connected extended family houses into large, extraverted and diversified villages consisting of detached houses. In addition, shops, workshops and public buildings appeared recently in large villages.

The features that reflect the identity of the Palestinian village were diverse. Most people considered the traditional neighbourhoods with their narrow streets and courtyards manifest the Palestinian village. In addition, specific public buildings such as the mosque and the guest house were considered as distinct elements in the villages. Moreover, olive trees and random stone terraces were the most common features in the landscape.

The meanings of those elements, which have been identified in the Palestinian village, were mostly referred to the culture and history of the people. For example, the spatial organisation of the village reveals the social relations in the village, and the mosque reflects the villagers' religious identity. Moreover, olive trees were considered as a historical continuity of the development in the region. Other principles which affect the identification of the features that represent the Palestinian village are the physical characteristics of the architectural elements or the way they have been used by people.

Proverbs, folk songs, poetry and paintings were utilised to get insight about the Palestinian village. Writers and artists pointed out several features in the villages in order to describe them or to symbolise their settings. In general, the elements used here were specific and concentrated on intricate details.

By combining the features obtained from the different sources in this chapter, we can draw a picture which reflects the identity of the Palestinian village. These could be summarised in the following points:

1. Location: On mountains' tops and slopes.
2. Spatial organisation: Compact and buildings close to each others. The neighbourhoods are separated by narrow roads.
3. Boundaries : Sharp, definite and surrounded by olive groves and fields.
4. The centre : In the main plaza near the mosque.
5. The streets: Indirect, narrow and there is a hierarchy in their size while going from public to private.
6. The neighbourhoods : Based on kinship with courtyards.
7. Shops : Integrated with the houses and concentrated on the main plaza.
8. Landscape : Olive trees, cactus plants and random stone terraces.
9. Building materials : Stone and mud.
10. Colours : White for the walls and ceilings, and green for the windows and doors.
11. Openings : Small and vertical with arches.

Moreover, there are certain public buildings that distinguish the Palestinian village:

12. The mosque : With its minaret and dome (or the church with its tower).
13. The guest house : As a large stone room with its decorations and furniture.
14. Coffee shop : With its out door shaded area and small chairs and tables.
15. Grinder and presser : With their open yards and forms.
16. Special features represent the Palestinian house:
 - Courtyard
 - Rooms on the second floor (*Elye'h*)
 - Vertical forms
 - Cross vaulted ceilings
 - Well in the courtyard
 - Grapevine at the entrance or on the roof
 - Oven
 - Pigeon houses

After examining the continuity and the change of the Palestinian village in general, the following chapter will be devoted to study the development of one village as a case study for detailed and in depth investigations.

NOTES

[1] Traditional

One of the English meaning of the word tradition is an inherited pattern of thought or action. King (1993) explains how the term traditional has been presented and used. He argues that tradition is defined with non traditional; it is mostly understood as non-Western, non European, pre- contact, pre-colonial, indigenous and non-modern. Rapoport (1989) has undertaken a content analysis of various literature to come up with a table which classifies the attributes of tradition into five categories: nature of groups, temporal, continuity, change, and economy and technology.

[2] Contemporary

The meaning of the word contemporary is marked by characteristics of the present period. Both terms contemporary and modern could give the same meaning. King (1993) argues that the term modern/ity was used in unfavourable sense, i.e. that the change implied needed to be justified. Hence the term now generally holds positive connotations. Therefore, he suggests that contemporary is a more neutral term than modern.

CHAPTER SEVEN

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ARRABA, THE CASE STUDY VILLAGE

7.1 PROLOGUE

In order to gain insight into the development of identity in the rural West Bank, the investigation is focused on one village, namely Arraba (Fig. 7.1) in the northern part of the West Bank. The choice of this village was based on its size, location and historical development as a typical Palestinian village.



Fig 7.1: General views of Arraba from the east and the south.

The built environment in Arraba has changed in the last few decades, which is the case in most villages of the West Bank as a result of the social, cultural, technological and political changes that have occurred in the region. The buildings and their spatial organisation, including the streets and the open yards, have now new characteristics. In addition, the historical identity of the village has been obscured as a result of the deterioration and neglect of the old buildings.

In this chapter, the case study village and its people is introduced. Subsequently, the built environment of the village is discussed. The intention here is to illustrate the changing built environment of the village. This includes the architectural forms, building types and public places of the village in the past and at present.

The investigation was based on three resources. Firstly, the oral history of the village obtained by interviewing several elderly persons from the village. Secondly, information from the few documentary sources which mentioned the village during the period of the nineteenth and early twentieth century such as Dabbagh (1988), El-Nimer (1975) and Cana'an (1933). Thirdly, the visual observations of the author in the form of measured drawings, sketches and photographs.

This chapter is divided into two main parts. The first part studies the village of Arraba including its social and physical characteristics. It also covers the historical background and the built environment of the village in the past and at present. The second part examines the impact of the Israeli colonisation on the development of identity of the village by comparing the built environment of Arraba with two other villages outside the occupied West Bank, one in Israel and one in Jordan.

7.2 HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

Dabbagh (1988) noted that some scholars claimed that the meaning of the word "Arraba" was taken from the Syriac word "*arrab*" which means to winnow the seeds from the chaff. Others said that the origin of the name goes back to the Pharaonic period. They said that Arraba is located on the site of an ancient village called "*Arrabout*" referred to in the Pharaonic hieroglyphics. However, during the interviews with villagers, some respondents related the name to the Arabic words "*ala rabwah*" which means "on a hill".

All sources confirmed that Arraba has a long history. In fact, the remaining caves and ruins indicate that the village was inhabited thousands of years ago. However, very little

is known about the early history of the village. The only available documentary sources focus on the political influence of the village in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, and in particular, on the achievements of its leaders from Abdulhadi *hamulah* between 1900 and the 1940s.

In the second half of the nineteenth century the leaders of the village stood against the Ottoman government. In 1850, the inhabitants built a wall around the village in order to protect themselves from the Ottoman army (El-Nimir, 1975). The wall, according to Mr Mosleh (a 75 year old resident of the village), was built from limestone and rendered with mud (Interview, 1991). As he described it to the author, the wall was 5 metres high and one metre thick, with 10 towers and 4 gateways. With the help of Mr Mosleh and the ruins of the wall, the author was able to trace its alignment and thereby get some idea of the size of the village at that time (Fig. 7.2). However, the wall did not last for long. It was destroyed in 1859, when the Ottoman army invaded Arraba because its people refused to pay tax to the government. As a result of that invasion, the wall and most of the buildings within the walls were destroyed (Dabbagh, 1988).

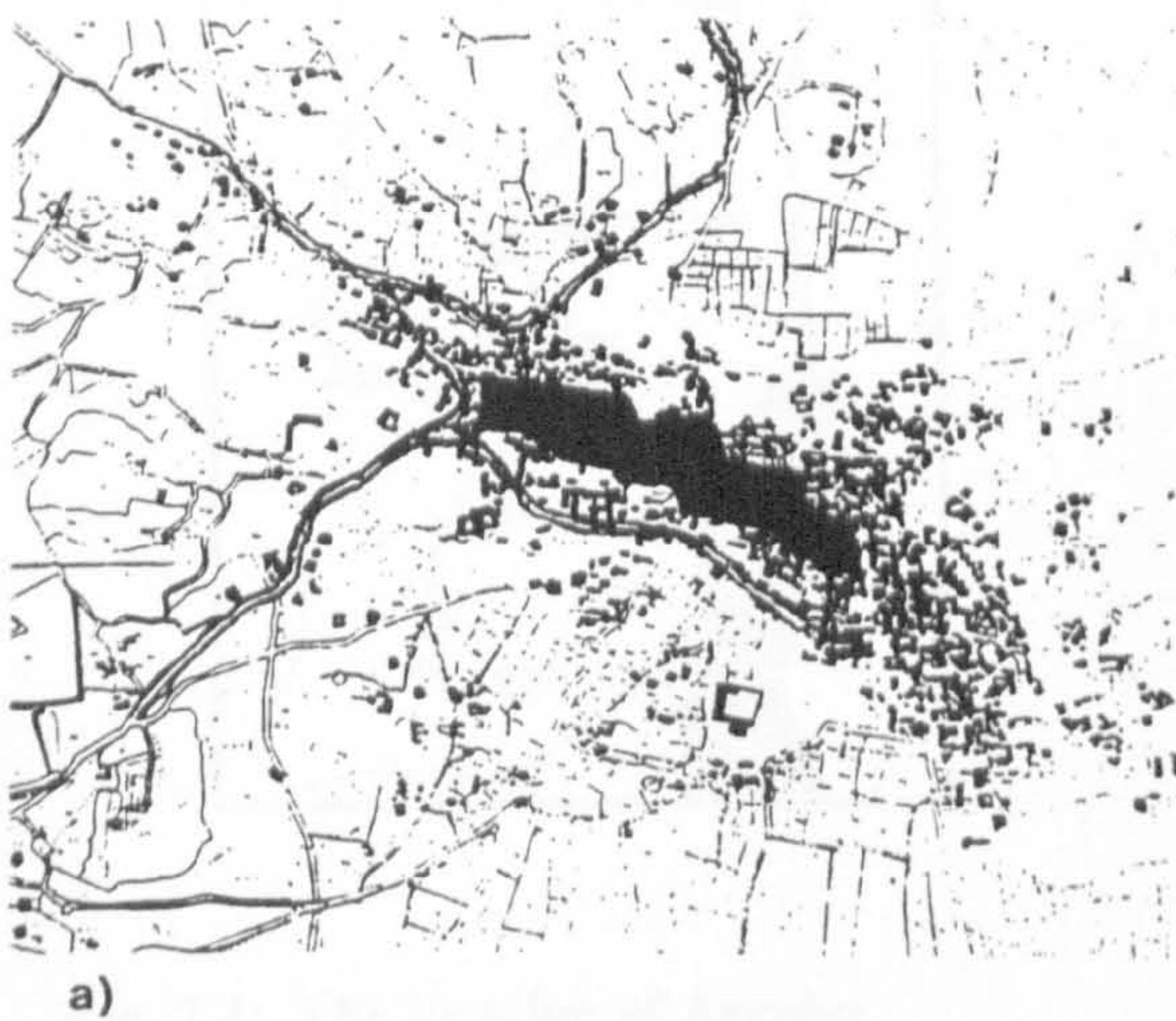


Fig. 7.2: The wall of Arraba
a) The surrounded area

b) Surviving ruins

In 1908, Arraba was the centre of the sheikhdome (*nahyeh*) known as Asharaweih Eastern Sheikhdome (*Asharaweih El-sharqeih*) (Dabbagh, 1988). At that time, it was one of the biggest villages in the area. Dabbagh also mentioned that its built up area was 315

donums and the total area of its land was 39,901 donums with a population of almost 2000 inhabitants.

Arraba came under scrutiny again in the area at the beginning of the twentieth century because of the role of its leaders from Abdulhadi *hamulah*, who ruled at that time not only Arraba, but also the whole district from Nablus to Jenin.

7.3 LOCATION

Arraba is located in a mountainous area at an altitude of 400 m about 13 km south-west of Jenin and 35 km north-west of Nablus. The chief approach to the village is from the main historic road crossing the West Bank from north to south (Fig. 7.3). There is another entrance to the village from the south leading to Fahmeh and Kufr Rae' villages.

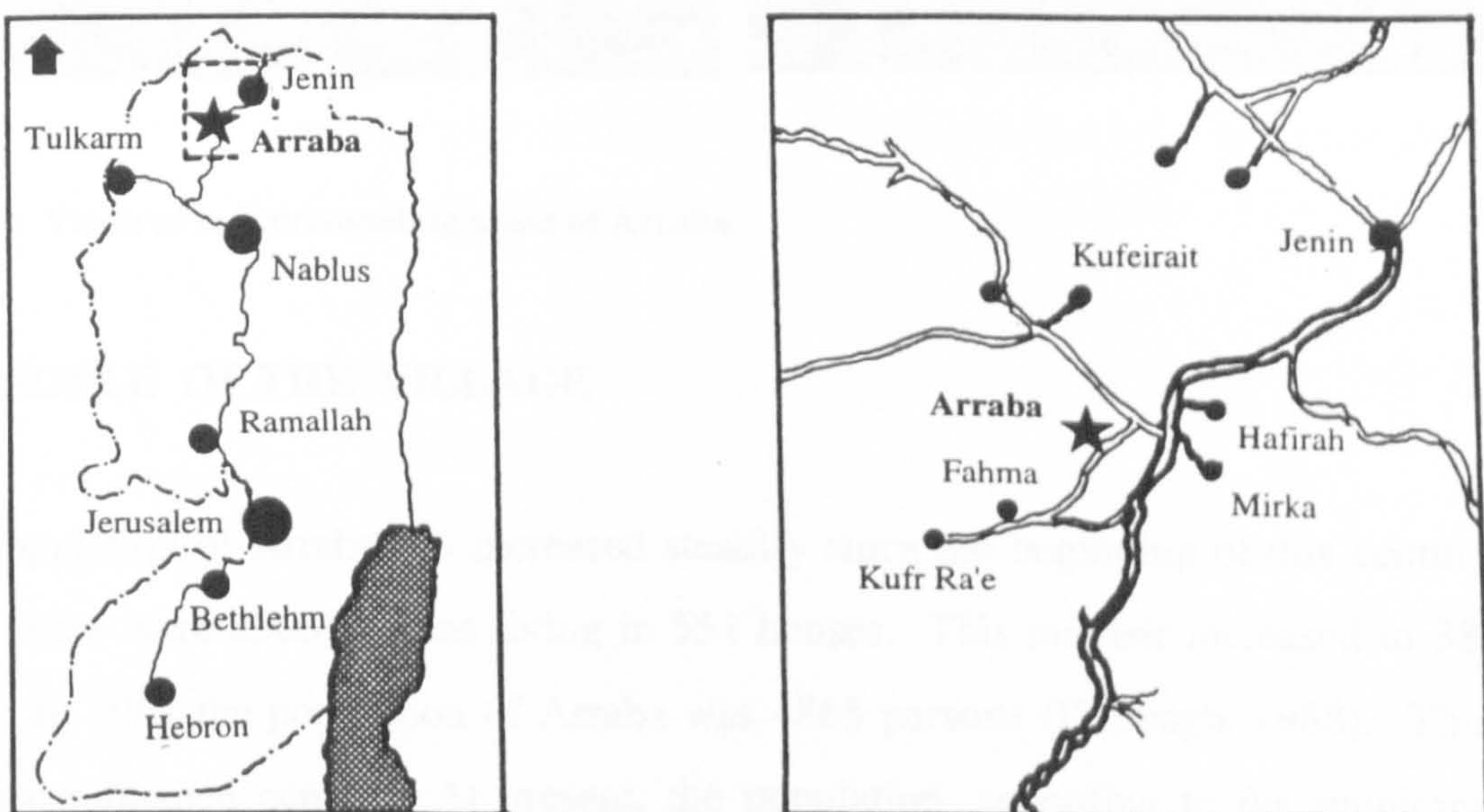


Fig. 7.3: The location of Arraba.

Arraba is the centre of five small villages which are closely related and depend on it for various services. These small villages are: El-hafereh, Merkeh, Kferet, Fahmeh and Beer El-Basha. People from these villages shop, study and work in Arraba. Indeed, many of the residents of these villages are originally from Arraba.

The village, as the photographs clearly illustrate, is situated on high ground overlooking a large area of plains north and east of the village. It is surrounded by a continuous range of mountains to the south and the west, planted with olive groves and fruit trees (Fig. 7.4). Dabbagh (1988) stated that in 1940 there were about 3370 donums of olive orchards in Arraba.



Fig. 7.4: Views of the surrounding areas of Arraba

7.4 PEOPLE OF THE VILLAGE

The population of Arraba has increased steadily since the beginning of this century. In 1931, there were 2500 persons living in 554 houses. This number increased to 3810 in 1945. In 1961 the population of Arraba was 4865 persons (Dabbagh, 1988). This was the last published census. At present, the population, according to the municipality's files, is 6000 persons in 1200 households and the religion of all residents is Islam. Qubaj (1987) stated that half of the inhabitants are young - under 30 years old. This indicates the rapid growth and future need for houses and public services.

In Arraba, as in most Palestinian villages, kinship is the determining principle of social organisation. In other words, the physical environment reflects the kinship structure. Kinship ties are still strong and the family members support each other morally and

economically. Even though the single family house has replaced the extended family house, the name of the clan (*hamulah*) and its authority still gives the individual status in the social heirarchy.

There are several clans in Arraba. The first clans to settle in the village, according to Dabbagh (1988), were *Abu Amereh*, *El-Shara'ah* and *El-Hussaiti*. During the survey conducted by the author, the biggest *hamulahs* in Arraba at present are *Abu Baker* in the eastern part, which includes *Abdulahdi*, *Hamdan*, *Musa* and *Zuraiki*; and *El-Ardah* in the western part which includes *El-Takasheh* and *Hamad*. There are other clans such as *Senan*, *Haj Ahmad* and *Assaf* in the eastern neighbourhood and *Abu Salah* and *Lahlouh* in the western neighbourhood. It was noted that each *hamulah* occupies a specific area in the village.

Arraba was, and still is, a predominantly agricultural community, and 40% of its people are farmers (Qubaj, 1987). The village is famous for certain agricultural products, especially grains, vegetables and olives. After agriculture, the second source of income is from working in Israel. According to Qubaj (1987), the occupations of the inhabitants is divided as follows:

OCCUPATION	PERCENTAGE
Farmers	40%
Workers	20%
Teachers and self employees	10%
Traders and gvernment employees	5%
Unemployed and retired	25%

Table 7.1: The occupations of people in Arraba.

Education is an important aspect that distinguishes the people in the village. Indeed, education is considered one of the important aspects which determines the social status in the village society. This is reflected in the increase of schools in the village. In 1944,

there were two schools in Arraba (Interview, Husni 1991), while there are now six schools from primary to secondary, three for boys and three for girls.

Emigration is another important aspect of the village society. Many families left the village for Jordan after the Israeli occupation in 1967. In addition, many families moved to Jenin or emigrated to the neighbouring Arab countries looking for work because of the limited opportunities for them in the village. In fact, many families in Arraba depend on their sons who work in other Arab countries. This movement has influenced the development of the built environment of the village in two ways. First, it has accelerated the deterioration of the traditional quarter. Second, it has helped fuel the housing boom on the outskirts of the village.

The village was given municipal status in 1965, and since then village affairs have been managed by a municipality. In the same year, the first planning scheme was prepared for the village, which has not been revised since then. However, the municipality is not effective at present because most of its elected members have died and the Israeli authorities have not allowed any municipal elections since 1976. Nevertheless, as the municipality controls development within the village boundaries, it is easy to get a building permit for development inside the village. Therefore, the expansion of the village has first spread from the centre towards the boundaries; however, recently it has started to go back from the boundaries towards the centre.

7.5 THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT OF ARRABA

My first memories in Arraba, as my home town, go back to the early 1960s. I remember myself as a child playing with children on the main road (*qasaba*) or on the plaza of the main mosque. These two places were the centre of the village, where most of the shops were located, and were usually full of people. In the fasting month for Muslims (*Ramadan*), we used to stay near the mosque carrying some food and waiting for the call to break the fast (*Adhan*). In those days, if we wanted to play football or volleyball, we used to go to Assaf open yard (*bayader dar Assaf*) in the eastern neighbourhood.

Our home was located on the main *qasaba*. It was a two storey house built around a large courtyard with a lemon tree near the kitchen and a jasmine plant at the entrance. The courtyard was where I used to play with my brothers and sisters. For my mother, it was the place to bake bread, to wash clothes and even to receive visitors. In that house, my mother was visited regularly by female neighbours, friends and relatives. During the summer, they used to sit on mattresses in a paved shaded corner of the courtyard.

From time to time, we used to go to my uncle's farm, which was located two kilometres east of Arraba. I and my cousins enjoyed our time there swimming, eating fruit or playing with animals. The farm had a small house for my uncle and his family. It was planted with different kinds of trees (citrus, almond, apple, grape, and many others). This how I remember my home town when I was a child.

However, life and the environment in my village now seems very different. When in 1991 I went to do the fieldwork for this study, I was amazed by the scale of the changes that had taken place. Walking around the traditional quarter through the *qasaba*, where I used to play as a child, I found that every thing looked different. The *qasaba* was deserted, all the shops were closed, many homes had collapsed, no children were playing there and everything seemed dead.

In our old home, a low income family is living, who pay us no money for rent. The house looked different too: the jasmine plant at the entrance had died, the wooden doors had been changed for metal ones, a small concrete room had been added, taking the best part of the courtyard, and part of the room on the first floor (*elyeh*) had collapsed.

Our new house is on the outskirts of the village. My daily trips from the house to the traditional quarter gave me an opportunity to compare the traditional quarter with the contemporary quarter.

This house is different from the old one. It stands on the entrance to the village, and it is built according to the western style with no courtyard and no *elyeh*. In addition, the rooms are small and the windows are large. I also felt that our life-style has become different. There are no longer frequent visitors for my mother and no strong relations with the neighbours.

Another place which has also changed in the last few years is my uncle's farm. I felt so sad when he invited me to have a barbecue there, because I found that the scenes of all my childhood memories there were erased, the swimming pool is empty, most of the fruit trees have dried up and the horse and many of the animals have gone.

All those changes have happened within the last 25 years in a village I know very well. I recall it as it was, under Jordanian administration; I have recorded it as it is now, under Israeli occupation. Arraba, therefore, is a suitable site for investigating both the continuity and change of identity of the built environment. For these reasons, I have chosen it for my case study.

The built up area of the village is dispersed over 2.5 km² (Fig. 7.5) and the total area of the village is 142,000 donums (Qubaj, 1987). The village is divided into two main parts: the eastern neighbourhood (*el-harah el-sharqeih*) and the western neighbourhood (*el-harah el-garbeih*). Each neighbourhood includes several *hamulahs* and each *hamulah* occupies a specific area. The built environment is different in the two parts, reflecting the different lifestyles of their people. While the people in the eastern part are mostly employees, traders and landowners, the people in the western part are mostly workers and farmers. Therefore, the houses in the eastern neighbourhood are bigger, better maintained and better furnished than those in the western neighbourhood.

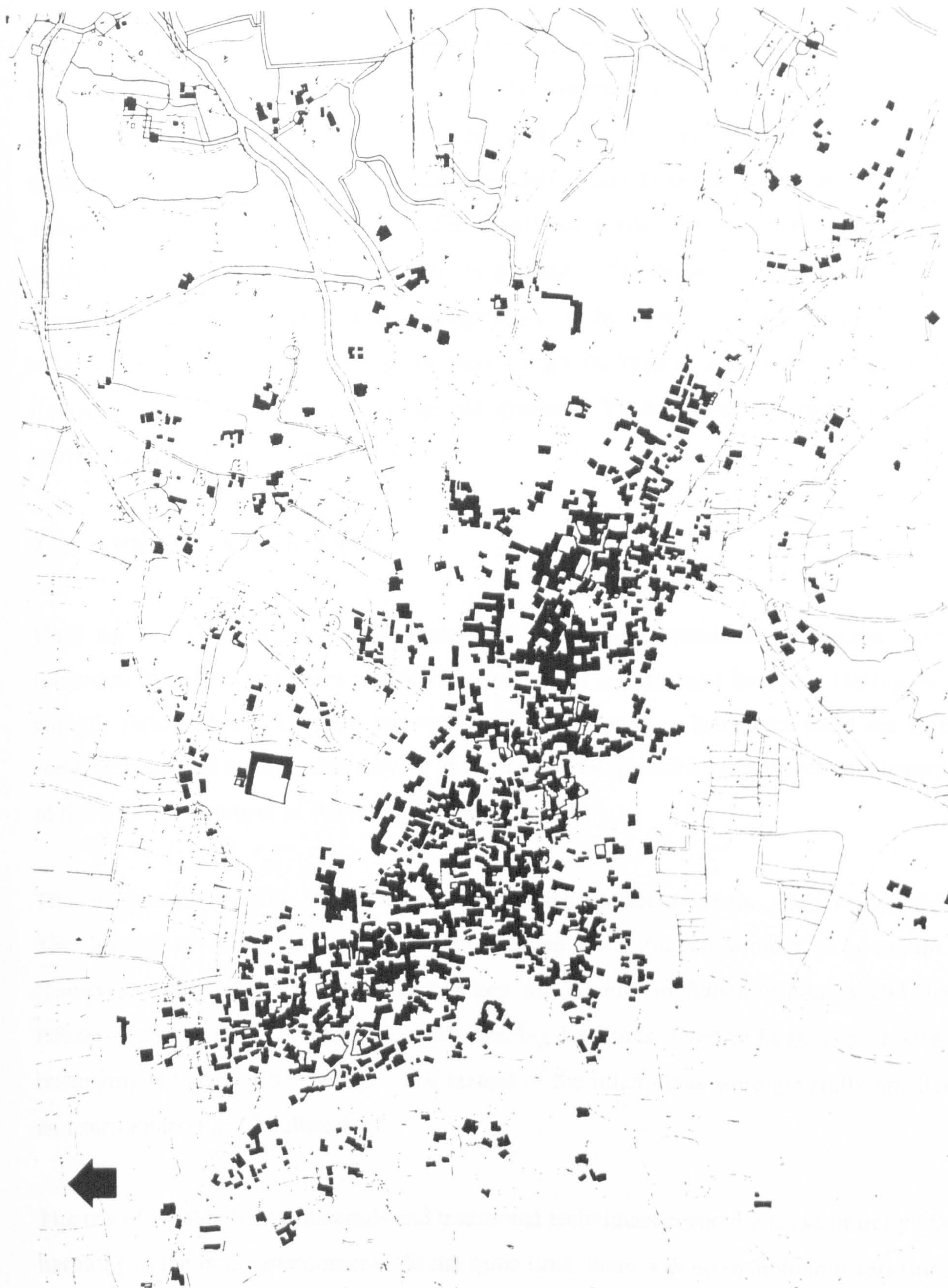


Fig. 7.5: Updated map of Arraba according to 1965 plan.
Source: Municipality files.

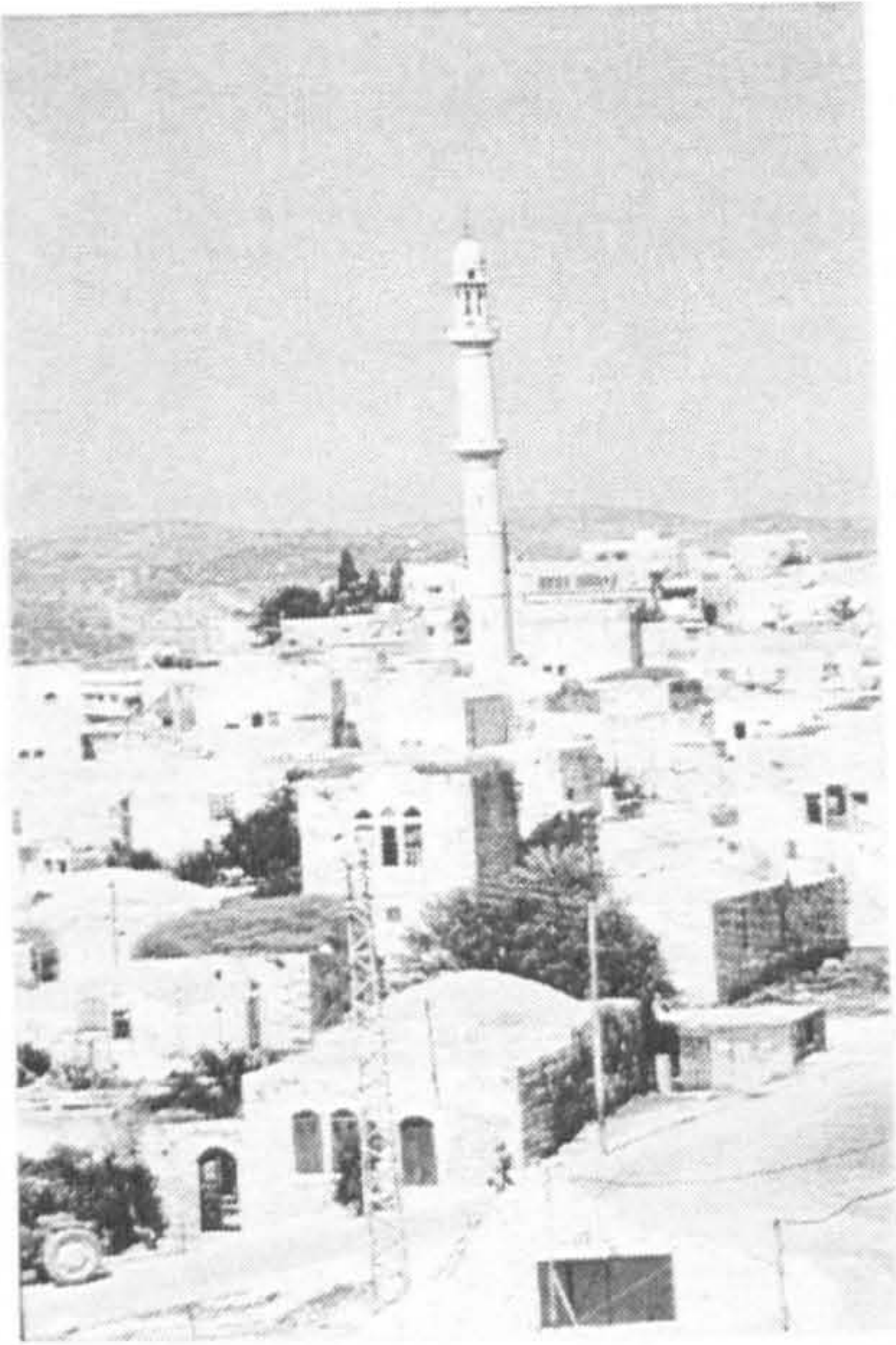
In addition, there is a difference between the built environment of the traditional quarter, which is located in the heart of the village and the contemporary quarter which surrounds it on all sides especially on the east and the west. The built environments in the two quarters are not the same and there are clear differences between them. In fact, the architecture of each reflects its history. The traditional quarter reflects Arraba in the past, while the contemporary quarter reflects its present. The present research, therefore, discusses each one separately. The investigation starts by trying to draw a picture of the village in the past (i.e. fifty years ago or more), when the built up area of the village was limited to what is known now as the old quarter. Then, it will describe the built environment of the village at present.

7.5.1 ARRABA IN THE PAST

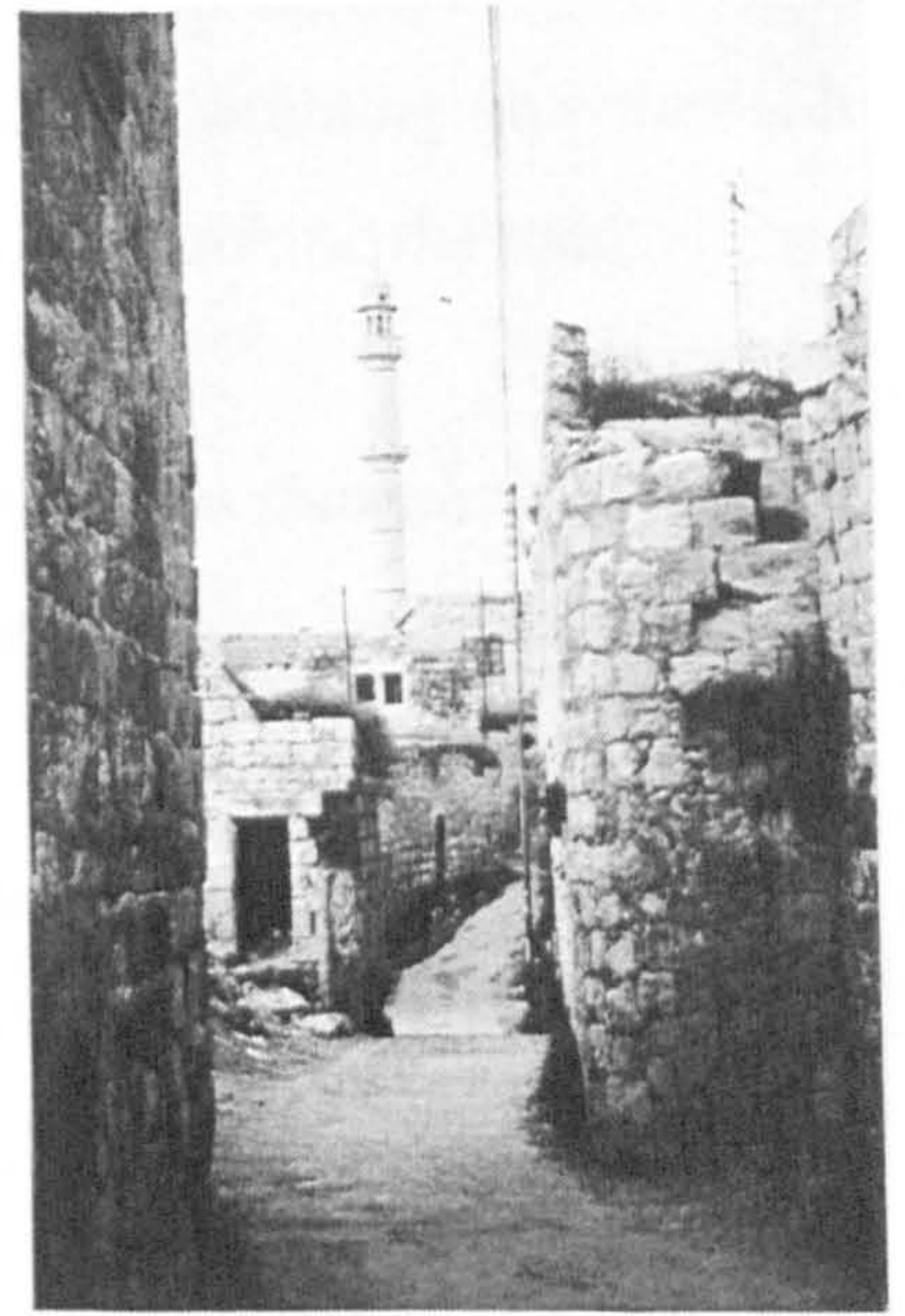
Until the first three decades of the twentieth century, the boundaries of Arraba were limited to the traditional quarter, which has traditional architectural features. During the author's fieldwork and from his interviews and observations, it appears there are still some architectural features that survive in the traditional quarter which reflect the identity of the built environment of Arraba in the past (Fig. 7.6).

The old quarter contains several clearly distinguishable areas for the clans (*hamulah*). The houses of each *hamulah* were inter-related and situated around a courtyard. However, a difference is noticeable between the Abdulhadi *hamulah* houses and the houses of other clans. Abdulhadis, who were big landlords, lived in large stone houses occupying the core of the village. The houses of the other clans were generally smaller and surrounded the Abdulhadis.

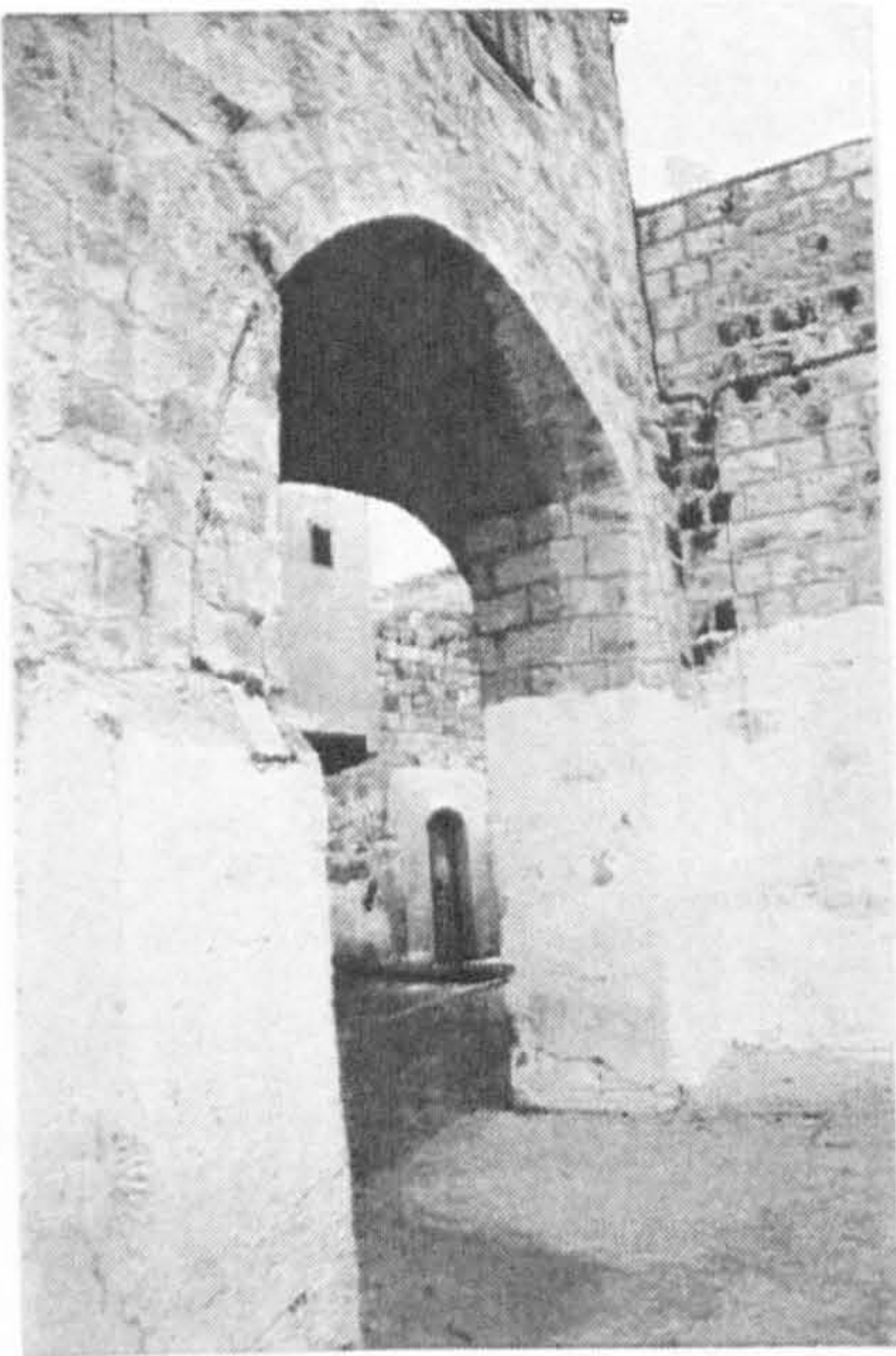
The use of local building materials and traditional techniques ensured a sense of unity and harmony in the built environment. At the same time, there was no monotonous repetition because each building had its own architectural features and plan form based on the site and the status of the owner.



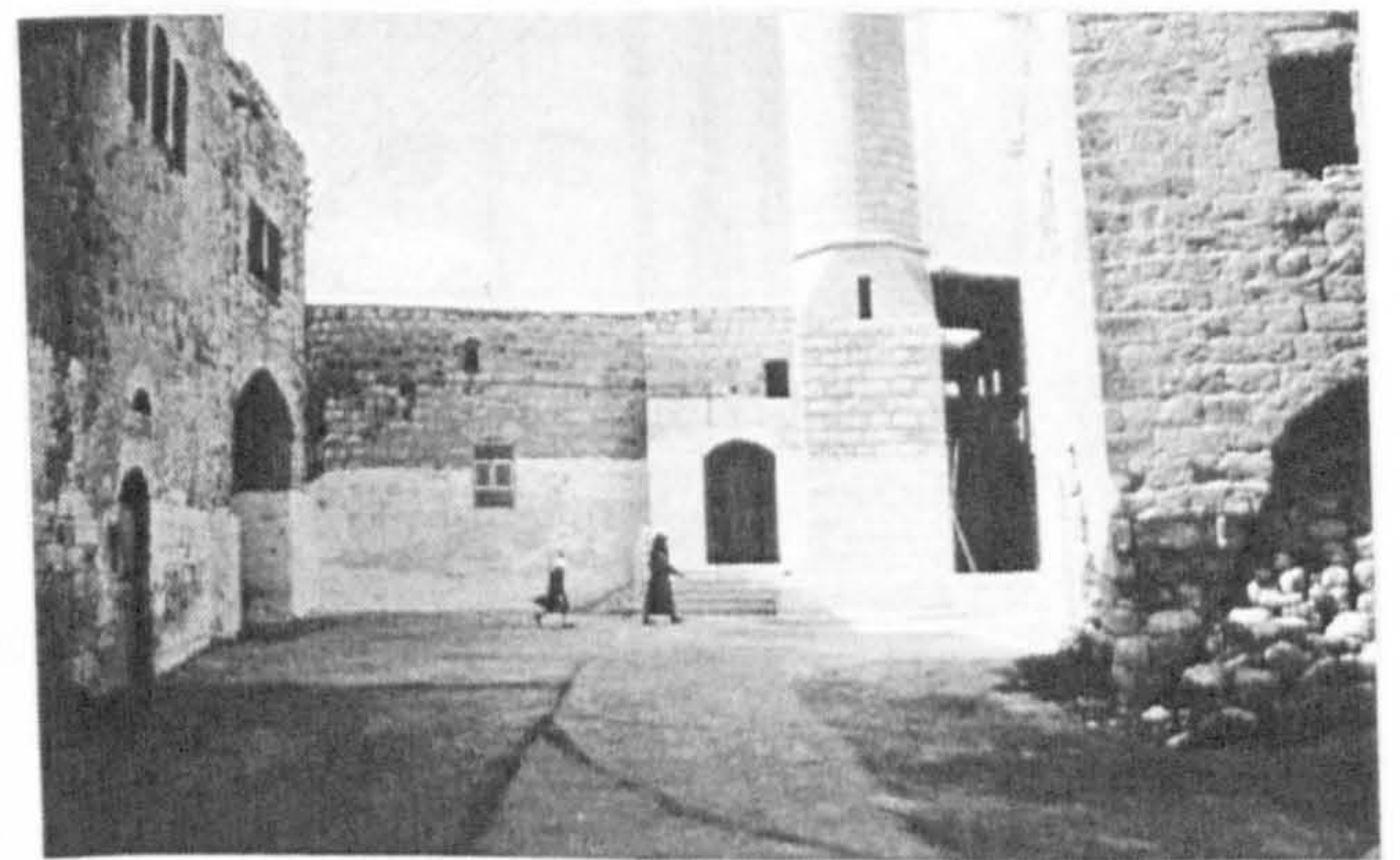
a) The traditional quarter from the east



b) The main *qasaba*



c) *Qantarrah* on the main *qasaba*



d) The plaza of the main mosque

Fig. 7.6: Views from the old quarter show Arraba in the past.

One of the most important elements that distinguishes the traditional built environment in Arraba is the use of the air space of the streets (*El-qanater*). A constructional element, which covers part of the road, was used to connect two parts of a building on either side of the road. It was carried by arches and usually had a room overlooking the road.

Other important elements in the traditional quarter are the gateways (*bawabeh*) (Fig. 7.7). These were used in rich people's houses, such as *Fakhri's* house or to indicate the entrance to a *hamulah* quarter, such as *Musa* clan. The size of the *bawabeh* and its decorations reflect the owner's status. Many consist of a large arch recessed in the wall with two stone seats and another arch with a large wooden door. Within that door, there was a small wicket door for frequent use called *khoukhah*.

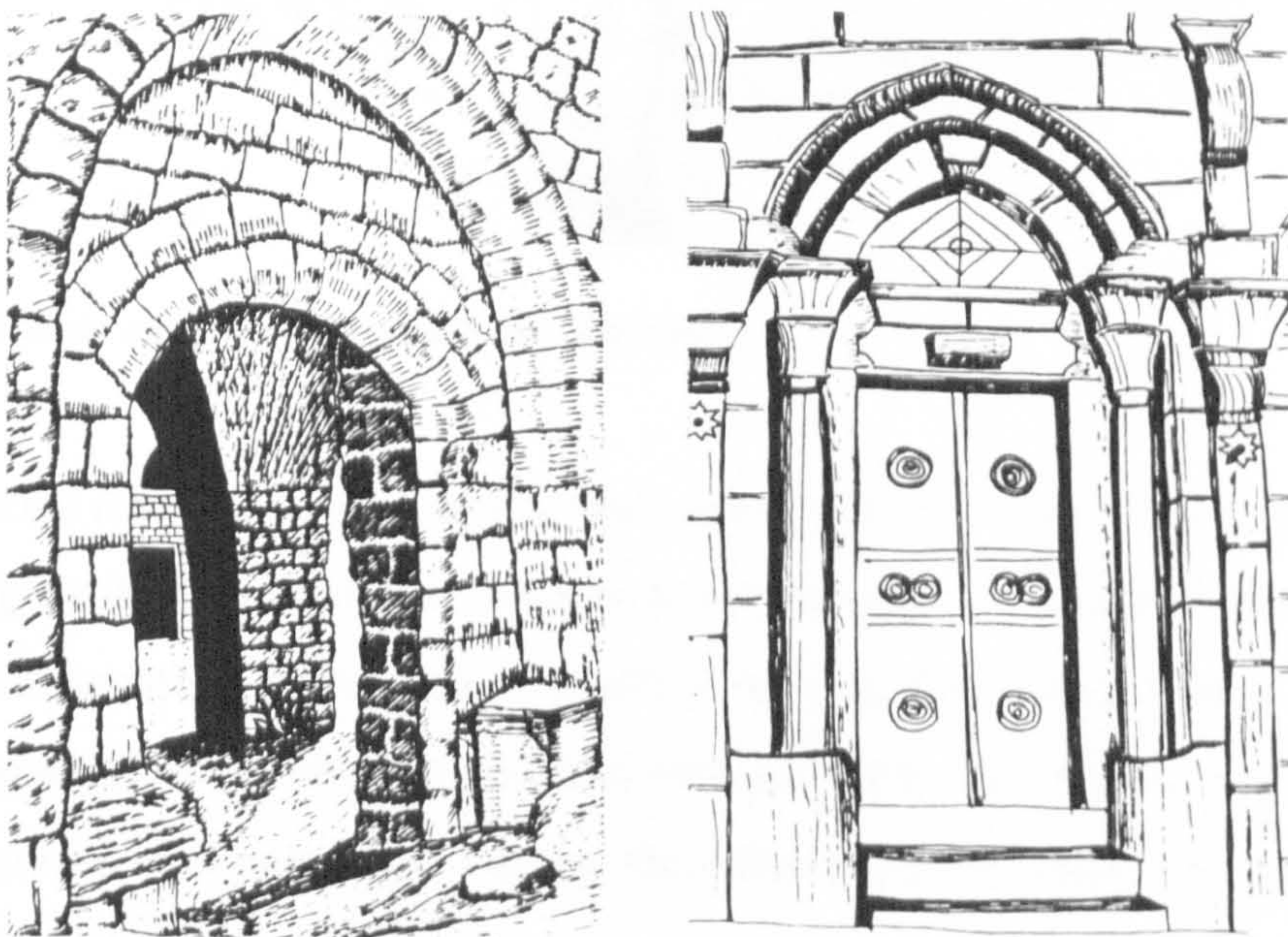


Fig. 7.7: Different types of traditional gateways.

In order to obtain a picture of the village in the past, the author interviewed elderly persons and asked them to describe the village during their childhood. The respondents were invited by the author to discuss each element of the built environment at a time. For the investigation, the built environment of the village was divided into several

components which represented its identity. The information below summarises how the elderly described the village to the author.

In the 1940s, the main plaza (*sahah*) in Arraba was in front of *El-Nabi Urabil* mosque. There were two other plazas, one near *Abu Joher* mosque and the other in the western part called *El-Ardah* plaza. Besides these main plazas, there were several semi-public courtyards for each *hamulah*. These yards were small and mostly had irregular shapes.



Fig. 7.8: The main *qasaba* in the traditional quarter.

The main road (*tariq*) was the *qasaba* that penetrated the village from east to west (Fig. 7.8) passing by the main mosque and *Abu Joher* mosque. In addition, there were several smaller roads crossing from north to south separating the different clans. It was found that the characteristics of the main *qasaba* were different from the other roads in terms of width and surrounded buildings. Despite the differences, all roads were narrow, winding, unpaved and had no trees or flowers.

There were three mosques (*jame'*) in the village and all were accessible from the main *qasaba*. Originally, the sites of these mosques were tombs (*maqamat*). In fact, the names of the mosques were the same names of the persons buried in the tombs. The three mosques were: *El-Nabi Urabil*, *Abu Joher* and *El-Shamali*. The main mosque was and still is *El-Nabi Urabil* in the eastern neighbourhood, which was built, according to the carved inscription over the entrance, in 1820.

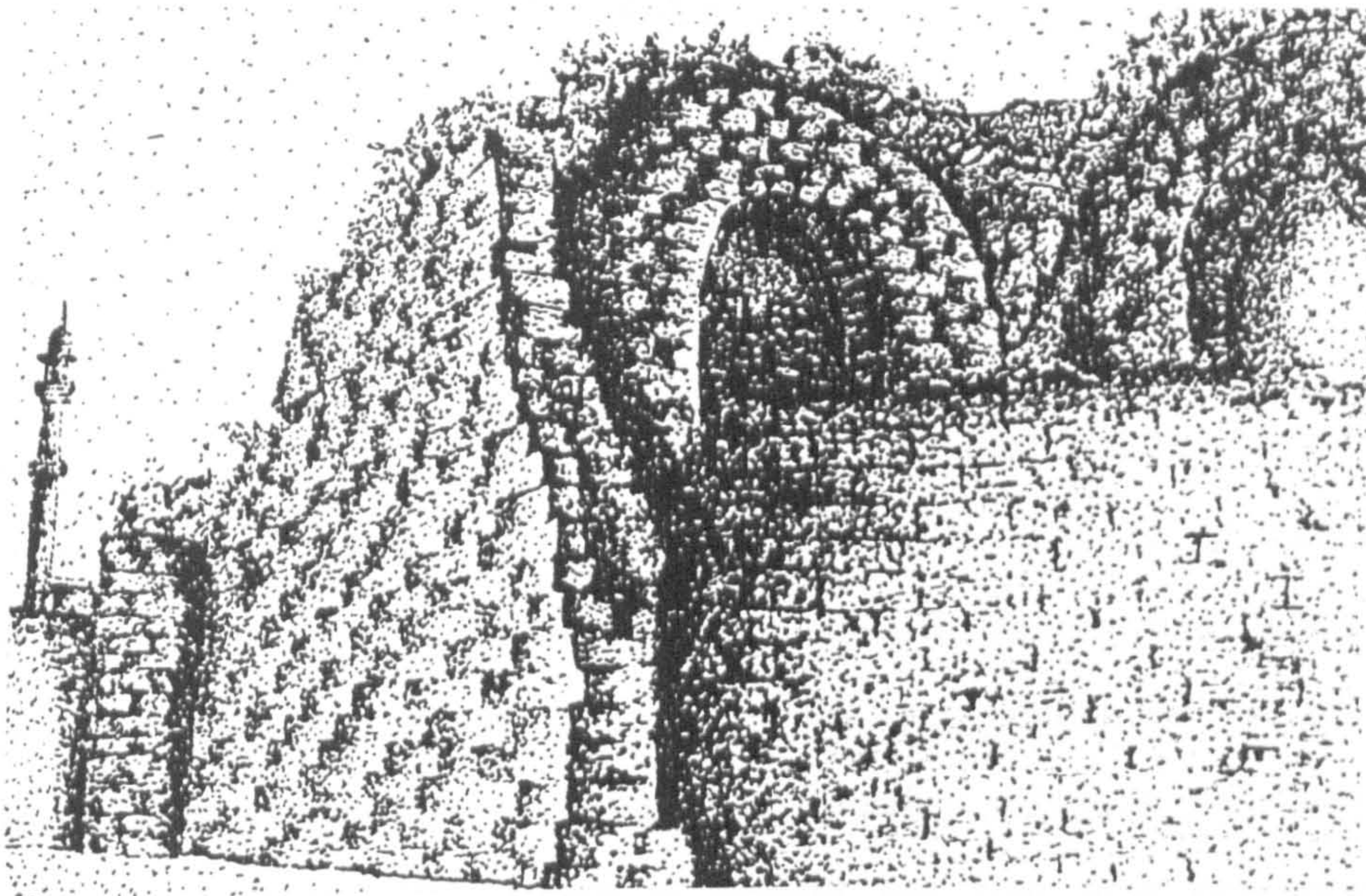


Fig. 7.9: Abdulhadi guest house on the main road.

In Arraba, there was not one common guest house (*dewan*) for the whole village, but there was almost one for each *hamulah* (fig. 7.9). These were concentrated on the main *qasaba*. There were many yards (*bayader*) in the village to process the agricultural products. These yards were spread out around the core of the village near each *hamulah's* area. In some cases, there were more than one *bayader* for the *hamulah* if it owned extensive agricultural lands. These yards were used as playgrounds for children and meeting places for male members of the *hamulah*. Moreover, each one had a well which was used as a spare water reservoir for the whole clan.

The shops were limited to clothes shops, groceries, vegetables and meat. These were concentrated on the *qasaba* and the plaza of *El-Nabi Urabil* mosque. It was noted that each neighbourhood specialised in certain shops. While the clothes shops and groceries were concentrated in the eastern neighbourhood, the vegetables and meat shops were mostly in the western neighbourhood.

7.5.2 ARRABA IN THE PRESENT DAY

The visitor to Arraba today will see a different picture from that described in the previous section. The difference between the village at that time and now includes many features of its built environment. For example, the built up area of Arraba has doubled in the last four decades. The expansion was mainly towards the east and the west following the construction of the new main street, in the early 1950s. During the fieldwork, it was noted that families in the eastern part expanded towards the east and in the western part expanded towards the west, whereas families in the centre expanded towards the south or the north. These expansions were based on kinship relations and patterns of land ownership. As a result, the village at present has four new neighbourhoods: *Um Zaitouneh* in the east, *El-Shamaleh* in the west, *El-Shouneh* in the north and *El-Atari* in the south. It was noted that only few families changed their neighbourhoods, e.g. they moved from the east to the west or vice versa (Fig. 7.10).

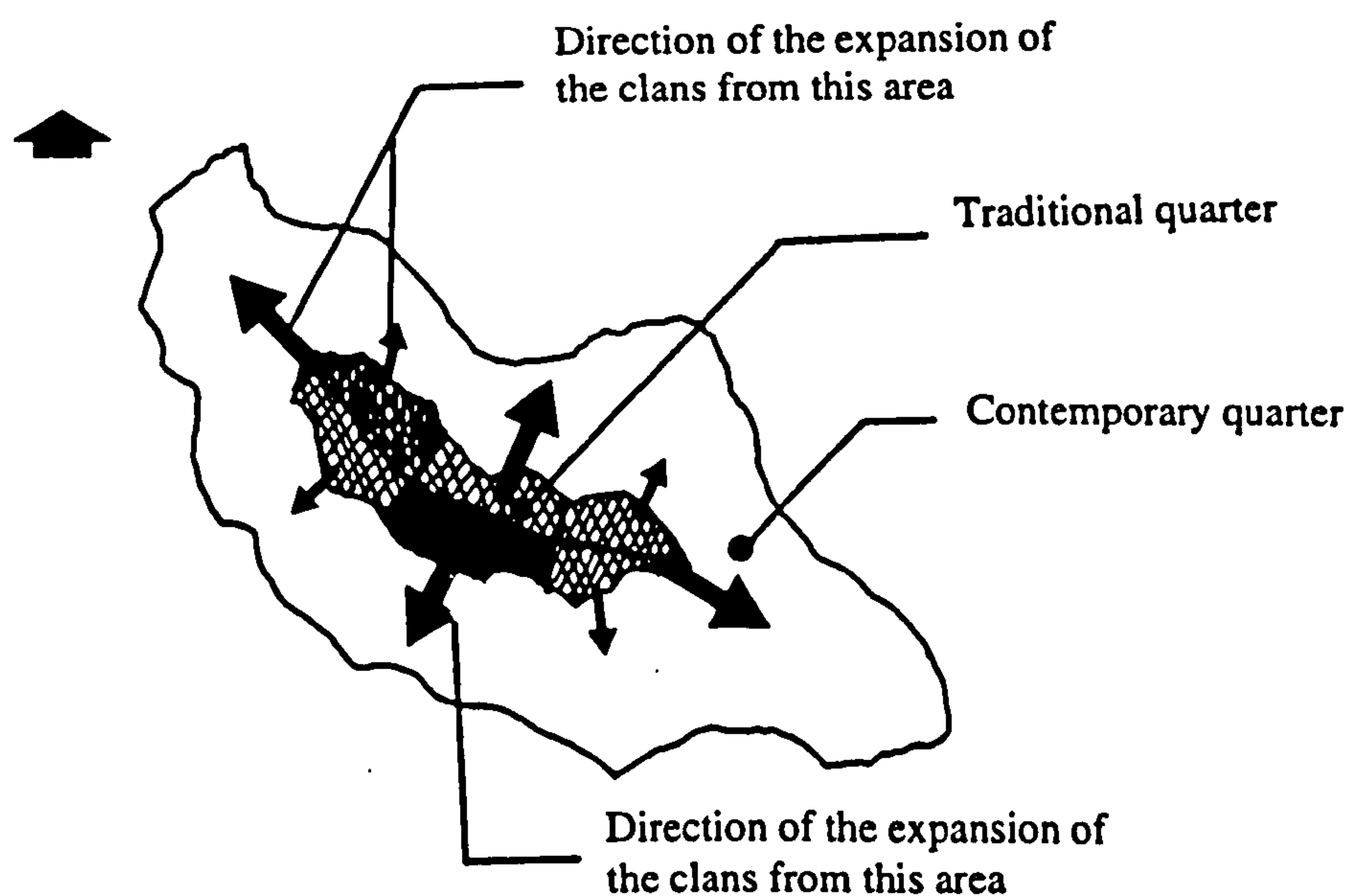


Fig. 7.10: Directions of the expansion of the clans in Arraba.

One of the important factors that affected the development of the built environment of Arraba was the movement from the traditional quarters to the new neighbourhoods. Therefore, at present, what is left in the old quarters are clusters of empty buildings or

buildings in poor condition occupied by low income people. There are several reasons for this. First, the perception of people about the traditional neighbourhoods has changed and became negative; so people have left their old houses in the traditional quarter to build new ones on the outskirts of the village. Second, families have emigrated to other cities in the West Bank or to the Arab countries, as many vacating their houses in the old quarter. Third, the absentee property law introduced by the Israeli authorities, which was discussed in chapter five, makes the use of the inherited houses impossible because most of the old houses are shared with absentees. Finally, most people in the traditional quarter are either old or poor and they cannot maintain the buildings, which have started to deteriorate and even to collapse.

Walking through Arraba at present, it is clear that the main plaza (*sahah*) in front of *El-Nabi Urabil* and the one near *Abu Joher* mosque have lost their social and commercial importance. However, *El-Ardah* plaza is still active with three shops and a clinic. Another notable aspect is that the courtyards of the clans have either been neglected or filled with new buildings such as the courtyard in *Musa* quarter.

The main street in Arraba at present starts from the entrance of the village in the east to *El-Ardah* plaza in the west. This street, according to Mr Abdulhalim, was paved for the first time in early the 1940s during the British Mandate (Interview, 1991). In fact, it replaced the main *qasabah* in the traditional quarter. At present, most social and commercial activities take place on this street. Another important change in the streets is that minor roads were widened and paved in 1978. Moreover, several new streets have been laid out in the new neighbourhoods.

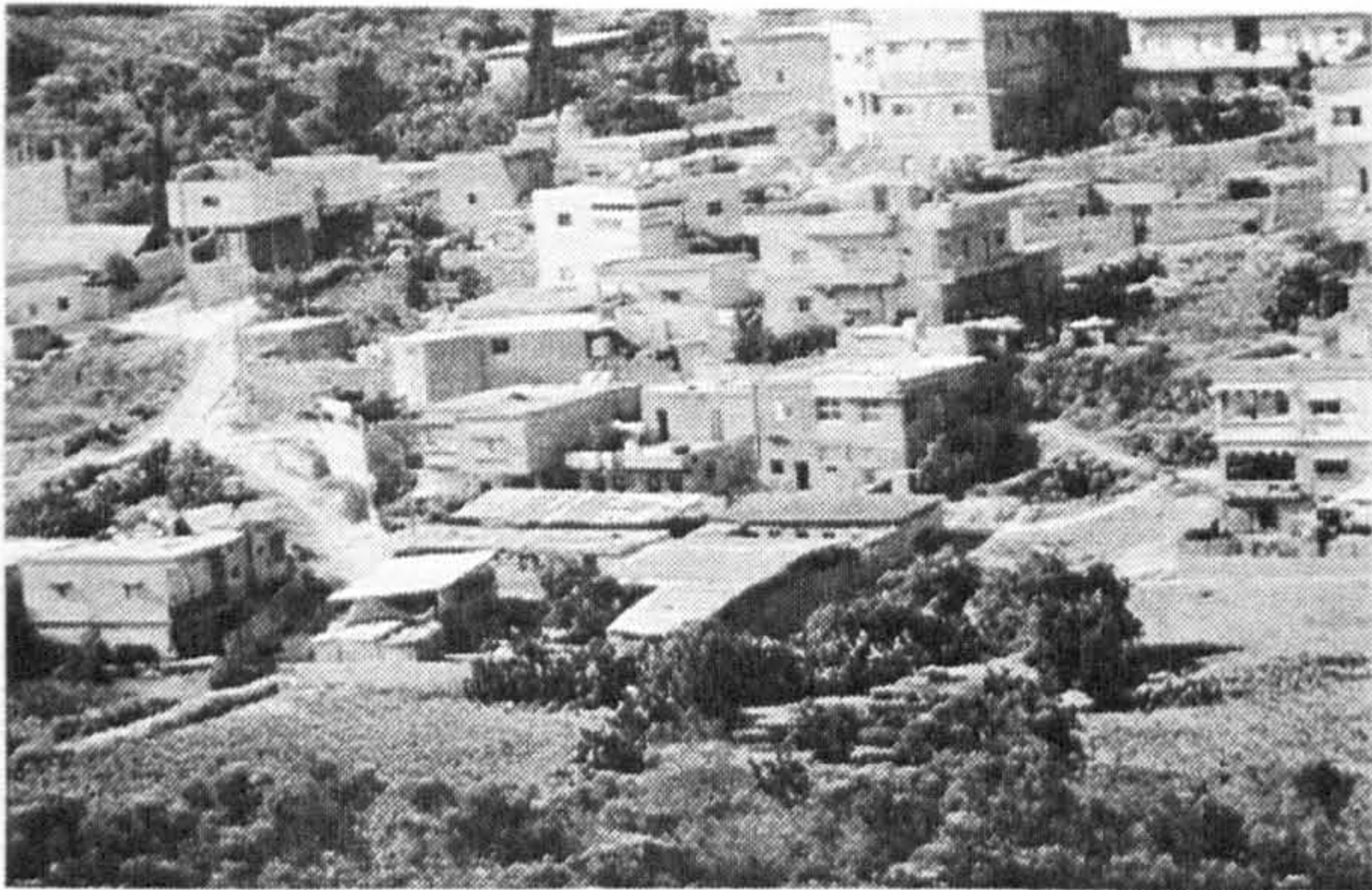
No new mosques have been built in the village. However, several changes have been introduced to the three old mosques which affect their identity. The most significant change is the addition of minarets in the late 1970s and early 1980s, which are now focal points in the village's built environment.

Most of the old guest houses (*dawawin*, singular *dewan*) have been closed or collapsed. However, separate new buildings have been built to replace them. The function of these new guest houses has been changed and limited to funerals.

Most of the open yards (*bayader*) in Arraba are now disappearing from the village because people are using them to build their new houses such as *bayader dar abu Hamdan* and *bayader dar Zaki*. However, some yards are still there, but are no longer used for agricultural processing because of the introduction of new machines to agriculture; the restrictions on the expansion of the village by the Israelis; and the private ownership of these lands.

The commercial activities have moved from the *qasabah* to the new main street and the architectural features of the new shops are different from those of the old ones. Moreover, their number has increased particularly in the last five years. In addition, it is noticeable that now there are grocery shops all over the village.

I have described above in general terms the characteristics of the built environment in Arraba in the past and at present. Now if we compare the characteristics of the built environment of both periods, it is possible to assess the direction and the intensity of the change. This will be summarised in table (7.2).



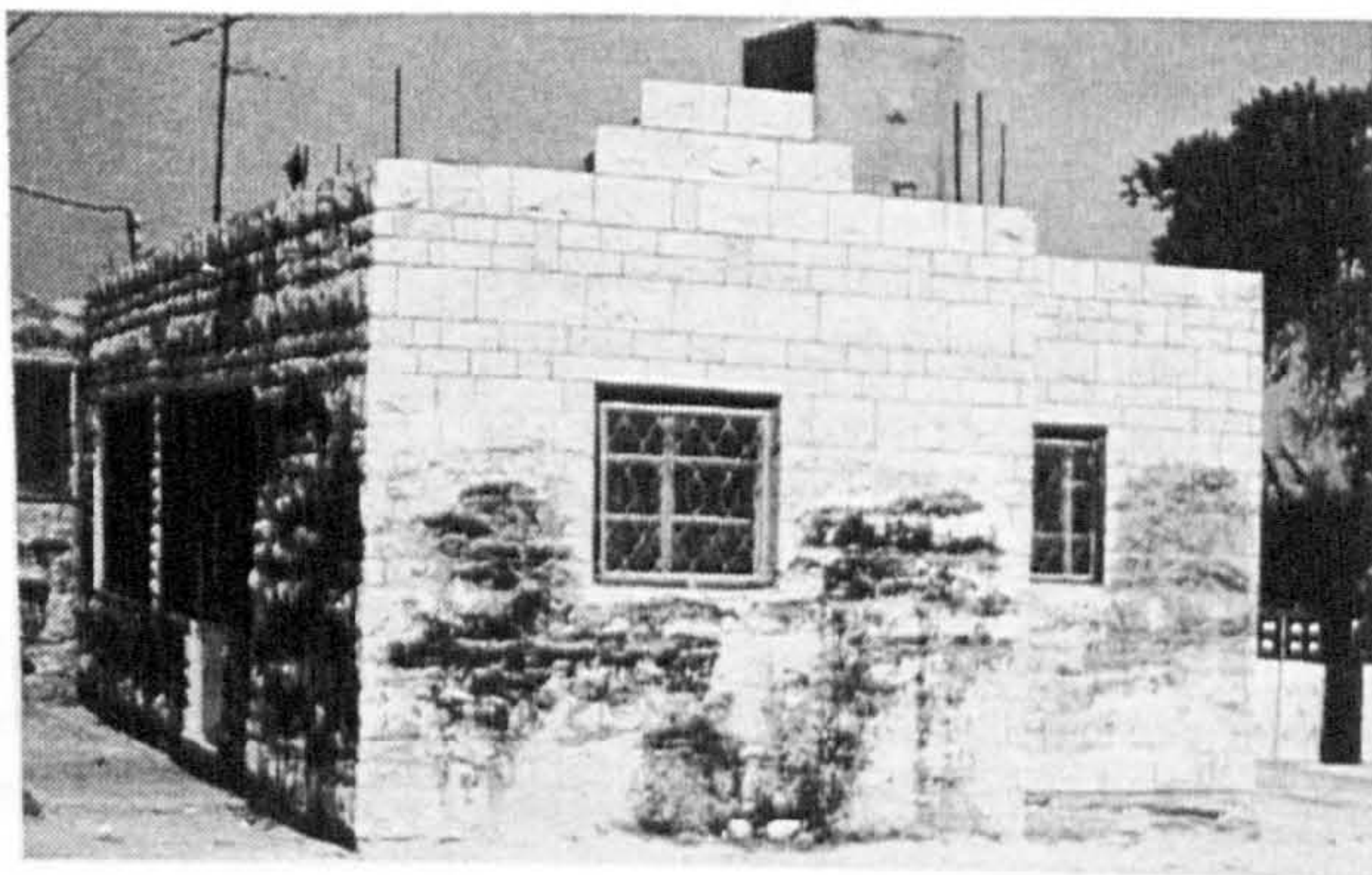
a) Abu Salah new neighbourhood



b) Taher open yard



c) The main new street



d) The new guest house of Musa clan



e) A wide paved road crossing the traditional quarter

Table 7.2: Comparison between Arraba in the past and at present

Fig. 7.11: Views of the present day Arraba.

FEATURES	PAST	PRESENT
1. Boundaries	Limited and defined boundaries within what is known now as the traditional quarter.	Expanded to the surrounding mountains.
2. Building forms	Compact and related to the topography of the land. Rich people's houses were in the centre of the village and poor people's houses were on the peripheries.	Dispersed and not related to the topography. Poor people's houses are in the centre and rich people's houses are in the outskirts.
3. Architectural characteristics	Unity between the buildings. Several rooms (sebat) overlooking the streets . Large decorated gateways Small arched openings.	There is no unity between the buildings. No rooms overlooking the streets. Large plain metal gateways. Large rectangular openings
4. Plazas and courtyards	Three main busy public plazas in the village and several semi-public courtyards in each neighbourhood.	The three public plazas lost their importance and most of the semi-public courtyards are filled with houses.
5. Open yards	Many were spread out all over the village for agricultural processing. The main street was the <i>qasabah</i> .	Some of these yards are filled with houses and the rest are now neglected areas.
6. Streets	Streets were narrow, winding and unpaved with no flowers or trees.	The main street is outside the traditional quarter, The streets are wide, straight and paved with flowers on the main ones.
7. Mosques	Three small mosques without minarets	The same three mosques have been extended and have new minarets.
8. Guest houses	One for each clan and it was used every day.	One guest house for each clan, but is only used on funeral occasions.
9. Shops	Shops were concentrated on the <i>qasabah</i> in the eastern part and on the public plazas.	Shops are concentrated on the new street in the western part.

Table 7.2: Comparison between Arraba in the past and at present.

7.6 THE ISRAELI OCCUPATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF ARRABA

In addition to the historical development and its impact on the development of the physical characteristics of the village, the present research argues that the built environment of Arraba, as well as that of the other Palestinian villages in the West Bank, has been affected by an external force, namely the Israeli occupation and its colonisation process. Chapter five investigated these actions and their impacts on the identity of the built environment of the entire West Bank and on the villages in particular. It also discussed the difference between the changes that occurred as a result of colonisation and those that were part of the normal development of the built environment.

In order to illustrate the impact of the colonial power on the development in Arraba and to eliminate the influence of other factors, a comparison between the change of the built environment of the case study village with two other Arab villages in Israel and Jordan was conducted. These are: a Palestinian village in Israel (Jatt) and a village in Jordan (Soof) (Fig. 7.12). The choice of these villages was based on their similarities of size, location and historical background. This comparison is justified by knowing that the development in the three villages was similar until 1948. Since then, the main agent of differential change has been the Israeli colonisation. In 1948, Jatt became part of Israel, and in 1967 Arraba came under Israeli occupation. Soof has been part of Jordan for the whole period. This means that Jatt has been under the Israeli colonisation process for 45 years and Arraba has been under a similar process for 25 years, whereas Soof has never been under the Israeli colonial influence. Therefore, one would expect the comparison between the three villages to show the impact of the Israeli colonisation on the identity of the built environment of the village.

Before conducting the comparison, the first task is to give a background information about the villages. Arraba was discussed earlier in this chapter. In similar terms, the other two villages (Jatt and Soof) will be introduced. After that, issues for comparisons between the three villages will be discussed.

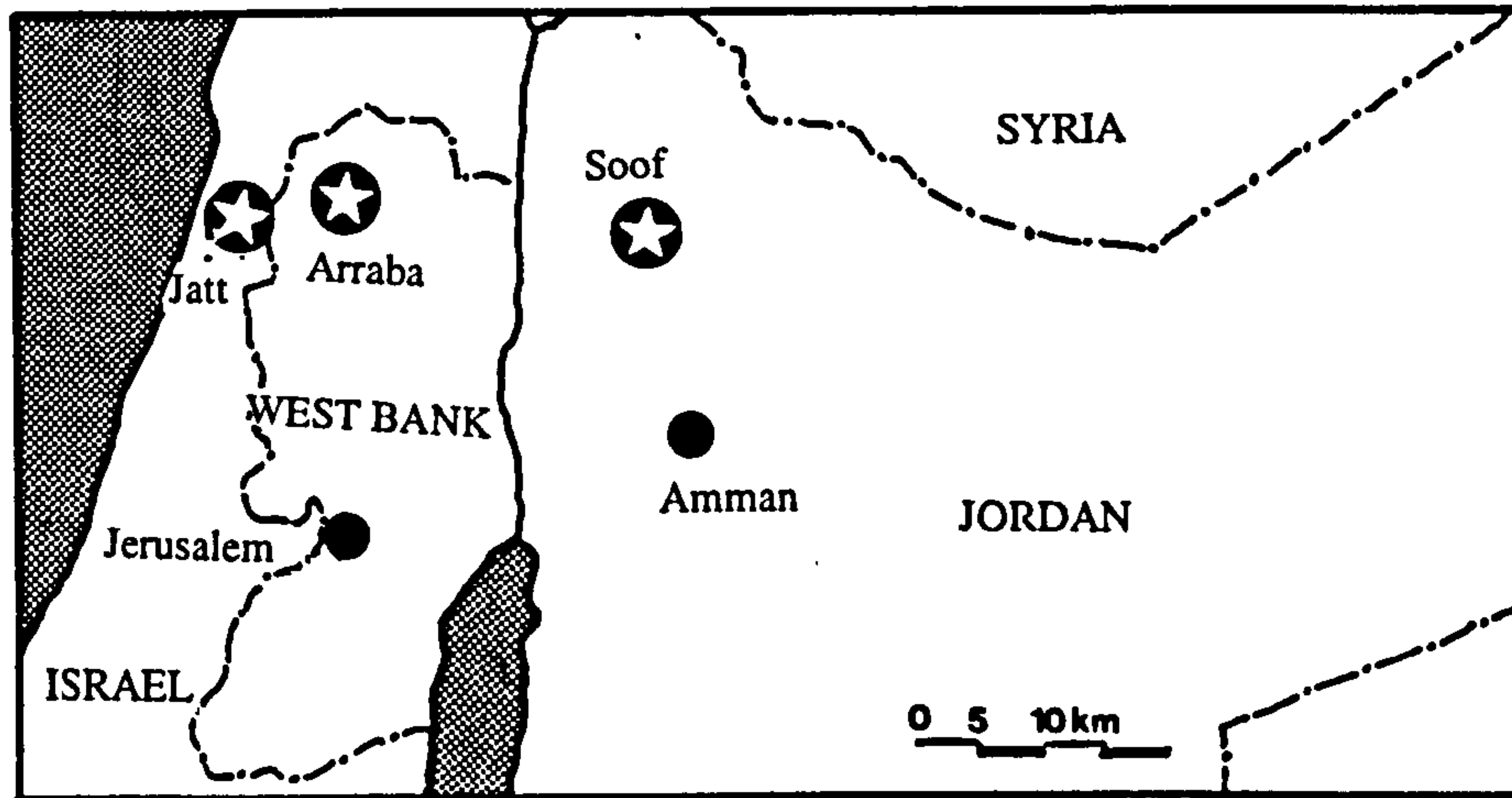


Fig. 7.12: The location of the three villages, Arraba, Soof and Jatt.

7.6.1 SOOF

Soof is located in the northern part of Jordan about 40 km north of Amman and just 10 km west of Jerash. It is situated in a mountainous area in a valley called "Soof Valley" and its built up area is spreading on the slopes of the mountains.

During the fieldwork, people in the village indicated that the word "soof" was taken from the Arabic word "sawf" which means "the future". The village of Soof has been developed over thousands of years. Indeed, there are still the ruins of two churches surviving from the Roman period. The population of Soof at present is 7500 persons, 40% of them farmers. The total agricultural area of the village is almost 80,000 donums in which they plant many kinds of trees especially olive groves (Rajjal et al, 1989). In addition, Soof is famous for its traditional crafts such as basketry and pottery, which they sell to tourists in the historical sites of Jerash.

As in the villages of the West Bank, the nuclear family housing units have replaced the extended family complex. However, the relationships between family members are still strong and the division of the village into neighbourhoods is also based on the kinship relations.

Until the 1940s, most houses in Soof were built of stone, which was available from the surrounding mountains, like the buildings in Palestine and Syria. In fact, during the interviews, it was found that some of the builders who came from Palestine and Syria at the beginning of this century were still living in the village. The roads, at that time, were narrow (between 2 and 3.5 metres) and unpaved (Fig. 7.13). The centre of the village was on the main plaza near the mosque where most of the shops and social activities used to take place.



Fig. 7.13: Streets and houses in Soof.
Source : Rajjal, 1989.

The first planning scheme of the village was published in 1967. In that plan, the main roads were set out, the use of lands was identified and the living quarters were specified (Fig. 7.14).

At present, there are many shops in the village. Rajjal *et al* (1989) estimated the total number of shops to be about 100, which are mostly grocery , meat and vegetables shops. There are also a post office and a clinic. There are 11 schools in the village with 2500 students, 35% of the total population (Rajjal *et al.*, 1989). Most of the houses are built of concrete or sandcrete blocks along with the stone. The roads are wider (the main road about 6 metres wide) and paved, and the centre of the village is moving gradually

towards the main road which connects the village with Jerash. However, people still live in the traditional quarter and there are still few shops in the plaza (Fig. 7.15).

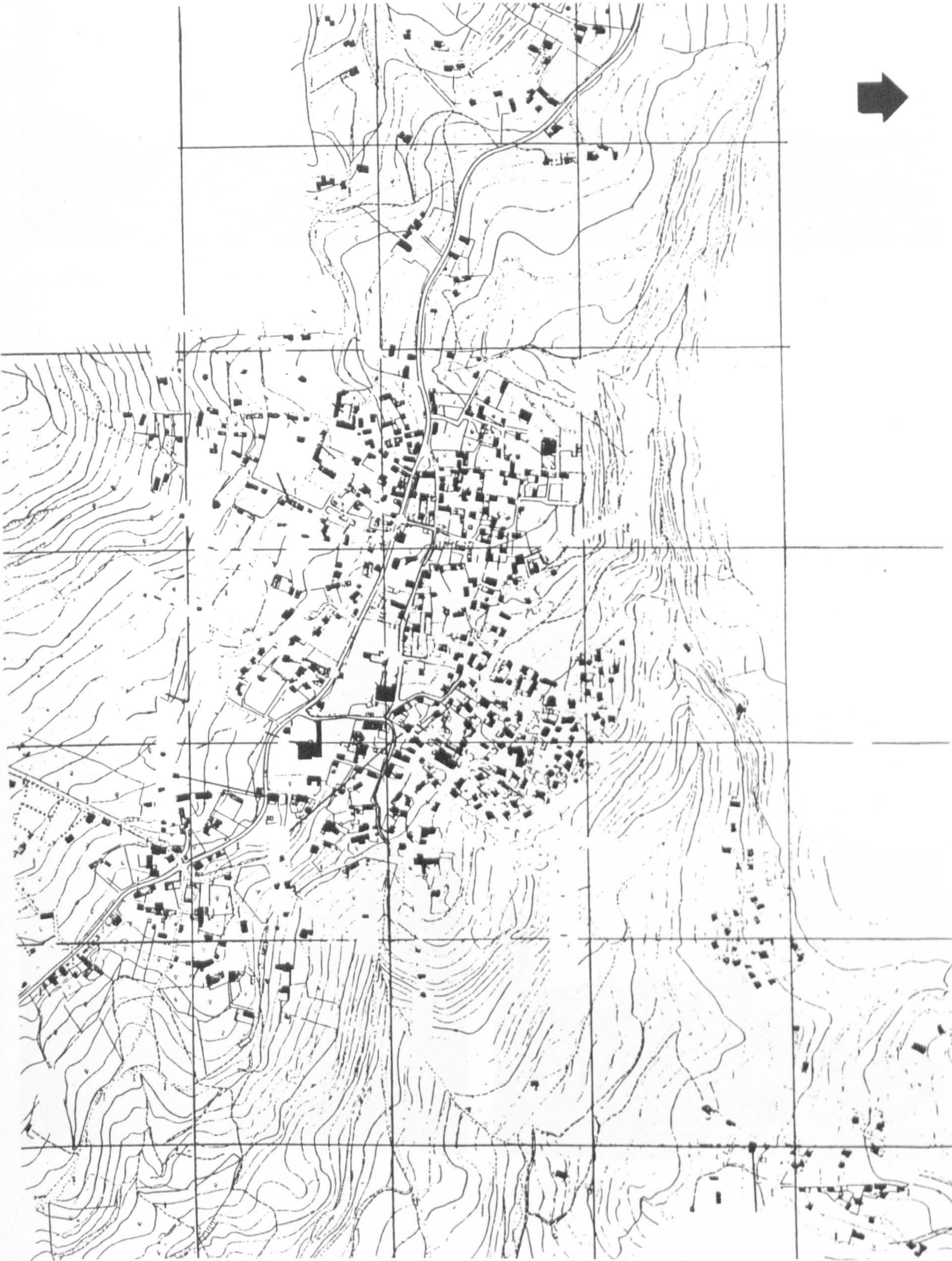


Fig. 7.14: Map of Soof.
Source: Rajjal, 1989.



a) View of Soof from the north



b) The main street



c) Al-Naser mosque



d) A traditional house



e) El-Kaid house

Fig. 7.15: Views of the present day Soof.

7.6.2 JATT

Jatt is now one of the few surviving Palestinian villages in Israel. It is located on the border between Israel and the West Bank about 20 km west of the case study village (Arraba) on the main road between Baqah El-Garbieh and Tulkarem.

The word *jatt* comes from the Canaanite language and means "the grape presser" (Dabbagh, 1988). The same source claimed that the village is situated on the same site as the Canaanite village called "*Karmel Jatt*" and, during the Roman period, the village was called "*Gitta*".

In 1598, the name of the village appeared on the Ottoman Empire tax forms in which only five families were in the file (interview Qatawi, 1992). The new development of the village started in 1782 when several families moved from a neighbouring village, namely Baqah. Those families built a mosque first and then started to build their houses around it.

The population of Jatt has increased dramatically since the beginning of this century. In 1922, there were 680 persons living in the village. This number has increased to 1120 in 1945. In 1961, the population of the village had become 2130 (Dabbagh, 1980). At present, the population is 6500 persons (municipality files). There are four main clans (*hamulah*) in Jatt. These are *Garah* clan in the eastern neighbourhood, *Asabah* clan in the western neighbourhood, *Abu-Fool* clan in the northern neighbourhood and *Watad* clan in the southern neighbourhood.

Until 1948, most people in the village were farmers. They grew grain and vegetables on the plains and olive trees on the mountains, as did other villagers in Palestine at that time. At present, only 20% of the population are farmers and 40% are workers. Education was and still is important for people in Jatt. In the village now, there are four schools and one kindergarten.

In the past, the village was relatively small. According to an interview with an elderly person (interview Salim, 1992) and as is clearly seen in a photograph which was taken in 1946 (Fig. 7.16), the built environment of Jatt looked like the Palestinian villages in the West Bank. The main unit was the extended family house; the common building materials were stone and mud; the roads were narrow and unpaved; and the shops were concentrated on the main plaza near the mosque.

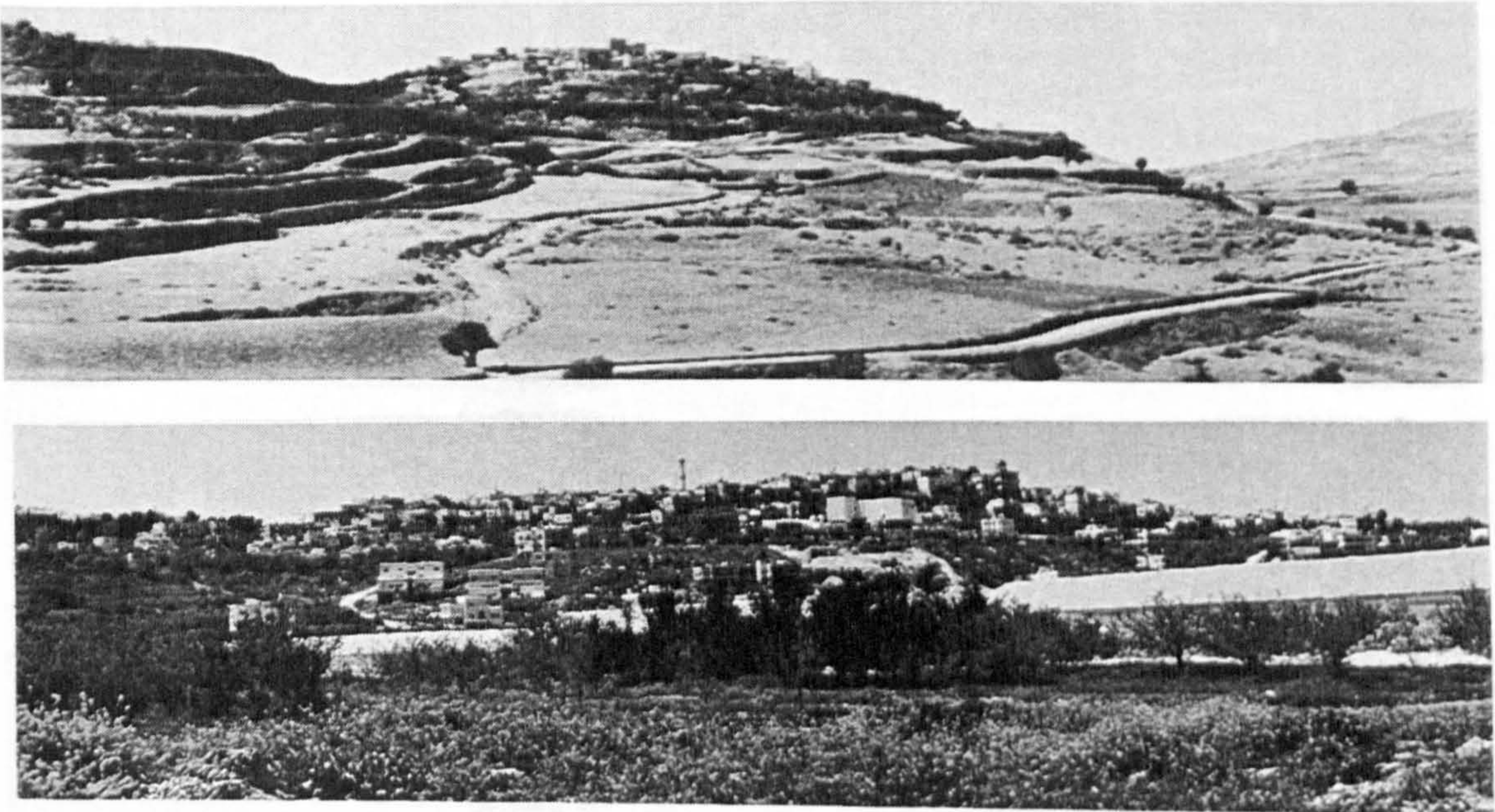


Fig. 7.16: View of Jatt from the north in 1946 and 1992.
Source of 1946 picture: Salim Qatawi

The first planning scheme was introduced to the village by the Israeli authorities in the early 1950s (interview Qatawi, 1992). In that plan, the boundaries and the streets were laid out, and the public buildings and open spaces were identified (Fig. 7.17).

At present, as the photographs clearly show, Jatt is different: the village has expanded to the north west; the most common building material is concrete in different colours; and the streets in the new extensions are wide (6 - 12 metres). Commercial activities have been transferred from the central plaza to the main street at the entrance to the village from the east. Moreover, the traditional quarter has changed; most of the traditional houses have been demolished; many streets have been widened and most of the open yards have been filled with new houses (Fig. 7.18).

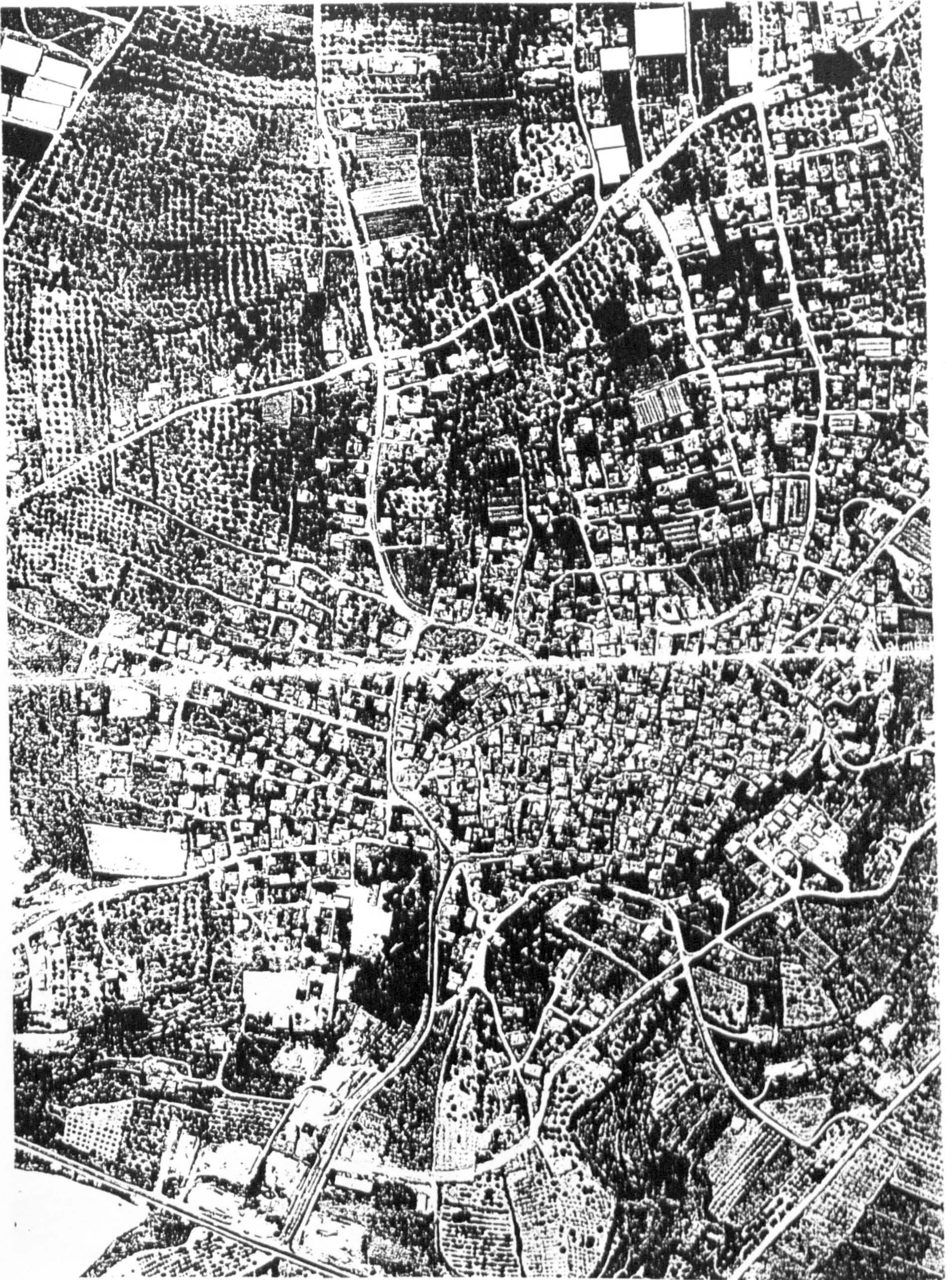


Fig. 7.17: Air photo of Jatt shows its built environment.
Source: Municipality files.



a) The main street



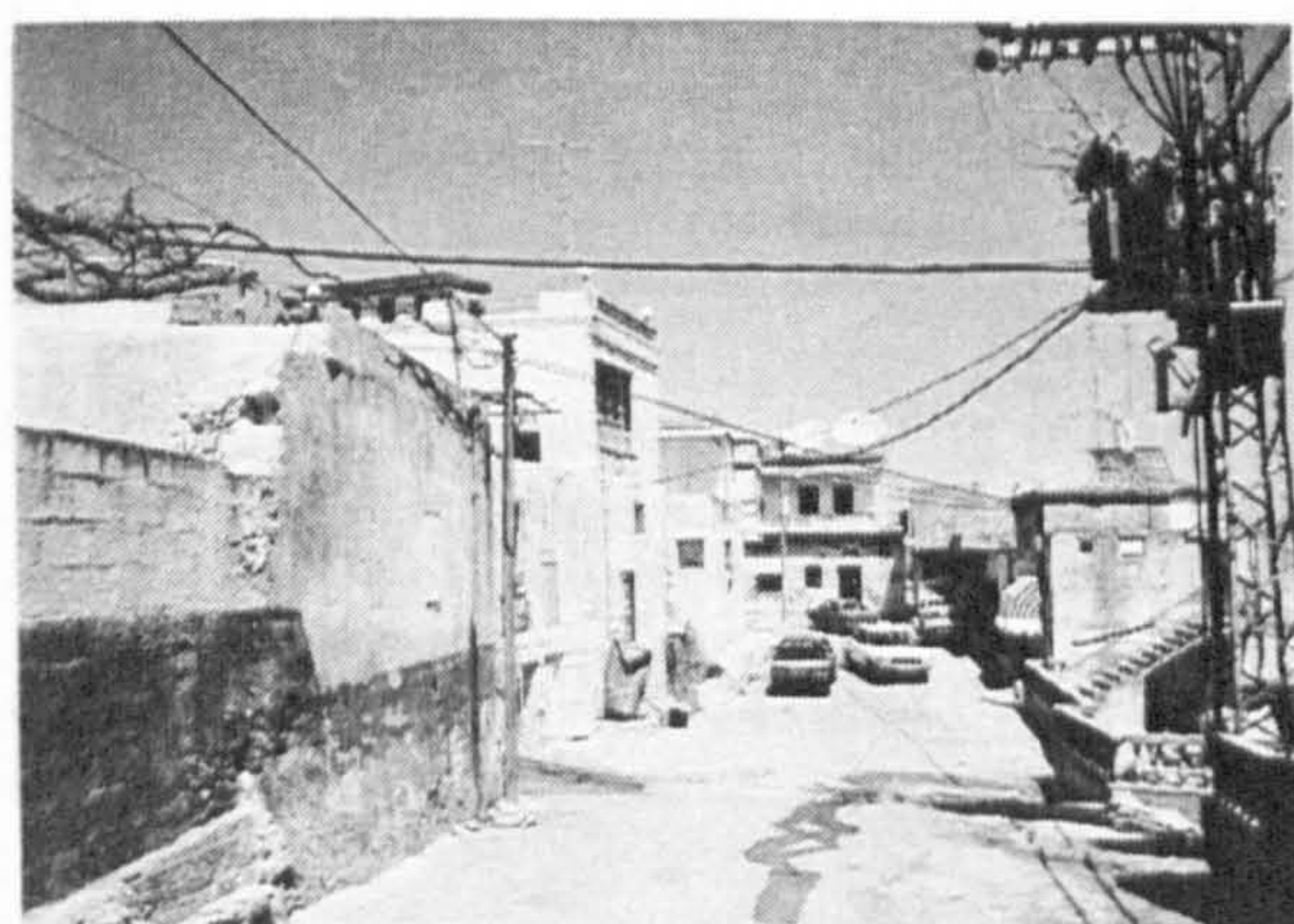
b) The village centre



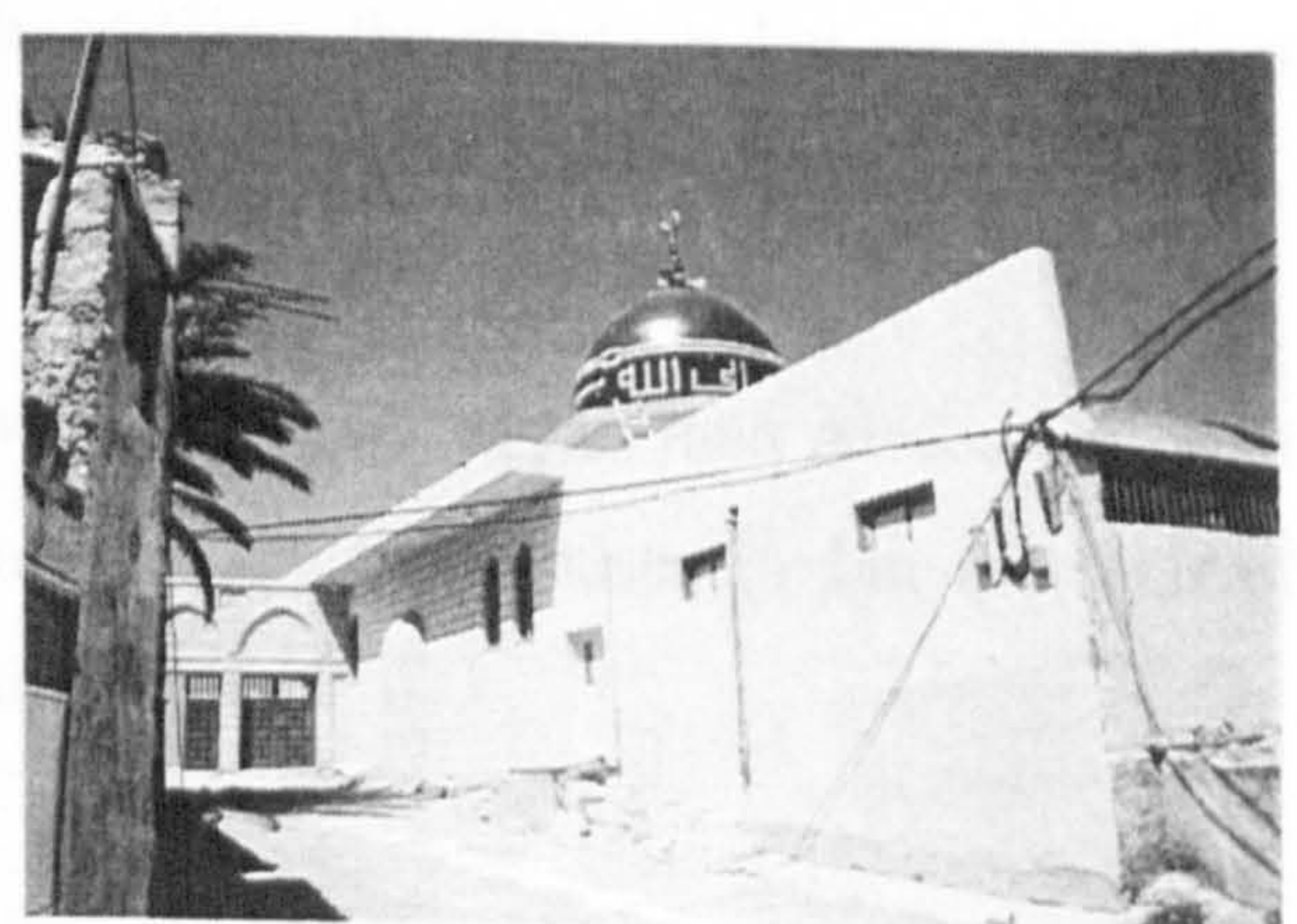
c) A new neighbourhood



d) New houses



e) A street in the traditional quarter



f) The mosque

Fig. 7.18: Views of the present day Jatt.

7.6.3 COMPARISON BETWEEN THE THREE VILLAGES

After reviewing the development and change in the three villages, it is worth comparing the similarities and differences between them. The strategy is to compare several features of the built environment in each of them (Table 7.3).

The comparison considers several individual points including the boundaries, the expansion, the spatial organisation, the architectural forms and the building materials in the three villages. This highlights which components are significant.

From the table, several points could be highlighted regarding the development and the characteristics of their built environment. Firstly, it is clear that the boundaries are defined in Jatt, semi-defined in Arraba and left open in Soof. This may be because the boundaries have been fixed in Jatt since the early 1950s and in Arraba since 1965; however, they were expanded in Soof in 1982. Consequently, the spatial organisation of the villages was influenced and shaped. Until the 1960s, the expansion in the three villages was outwards. Because of the fixed boundaries, the development turned inwards; it started in the 1970s in Jatt, in the late 1980s in Arraba and has not started yet in Soof.

Secondly, most plazas and courtyards have been filled with houses in Jatt, while some have been filled in Arraba and few in Soof. In addition, the streets in Jatt are wider than those in Arraba and Soof.

Thirdly, the number of surviving traditional houses is fewer in Jatt than Arraba and Soof and their condition is worst. In addition, most of the new houses in Jatt are built of concrete, while in Arraba most of them are built of stone.

Finally, most of the characteristics of the traditional quarter have disappeared in Jatt; they have started to deteriorate in Arraba; while in Soof the traditional quarter is still in good condition. Moreover, some elements, such as the guest houses have disappeared from Jatt but are still being used in Arraba and Soof.

FEATURES	ARRABA	SOOF	JATT
1. Boundaries	Defined from east and north	Defined only from the north for topographical reasons.	Defined from all sides except the north.
2. Spatial organisation	Compact in the traditional quarter and disperse in the contemporary quarter.	Compact in the traditional quarter and disperse in the contemporary quarters.	Compact in most of the village except the new neighbourhood in the north.
3. Houses	Traditional houses can be seen in the old quarter and few in the contemporary neighbourhoods.	Traditional houses are dispersed all over the village.	Few traditional houses survived.
4. Building materials	Mostly stone and sometimes concrete.	Mostly stone and sometimes concrete.	Mostly concrete and sometimes stone.
5. Plazas and courtyards	Plazas are only in the traditional quarter.	Several plazas all over the village.	The main plaza is the main street at the entrance of the village.
6. Open yards	Some yards disappeared because people built on them.	Several yards are still around the village.	Most open yards disappeared because people built houses on them.
7. Streets	Narrow in the traditional quarter and wide in the contemporary quarter.	Narrow in the traditional quarter and wide in the contemporary quarters.	Wide in most of the village except several alleys in the old neighbourhood.
8. Mosques	Three mosques with minarets.	Two mosques with minarets.	One mosque with a minaret.
9. Guest houses	Several guest houses which are used only in funerals.	Several in the village which are used in death and social occasions.	No guest houses in the village and people receive mourners in their houses.
10. Shops	Concentrated on the new main street with few in the traditional quarter.	Concentrated on the new street and some in the traditional quarter.	Concentrated on the new street in the eastern end of the village.

Table 7.3: Comparison of the built environment between the three villages.

In sum, it can be concluded that there is a positive correlation between the length of the period of the Israeli influence and the change of the built environment. Arraba can be seen as a point in the middle between Soof (where the change is modest) and Jatt (where the change is significant) (Fig. 7.19).

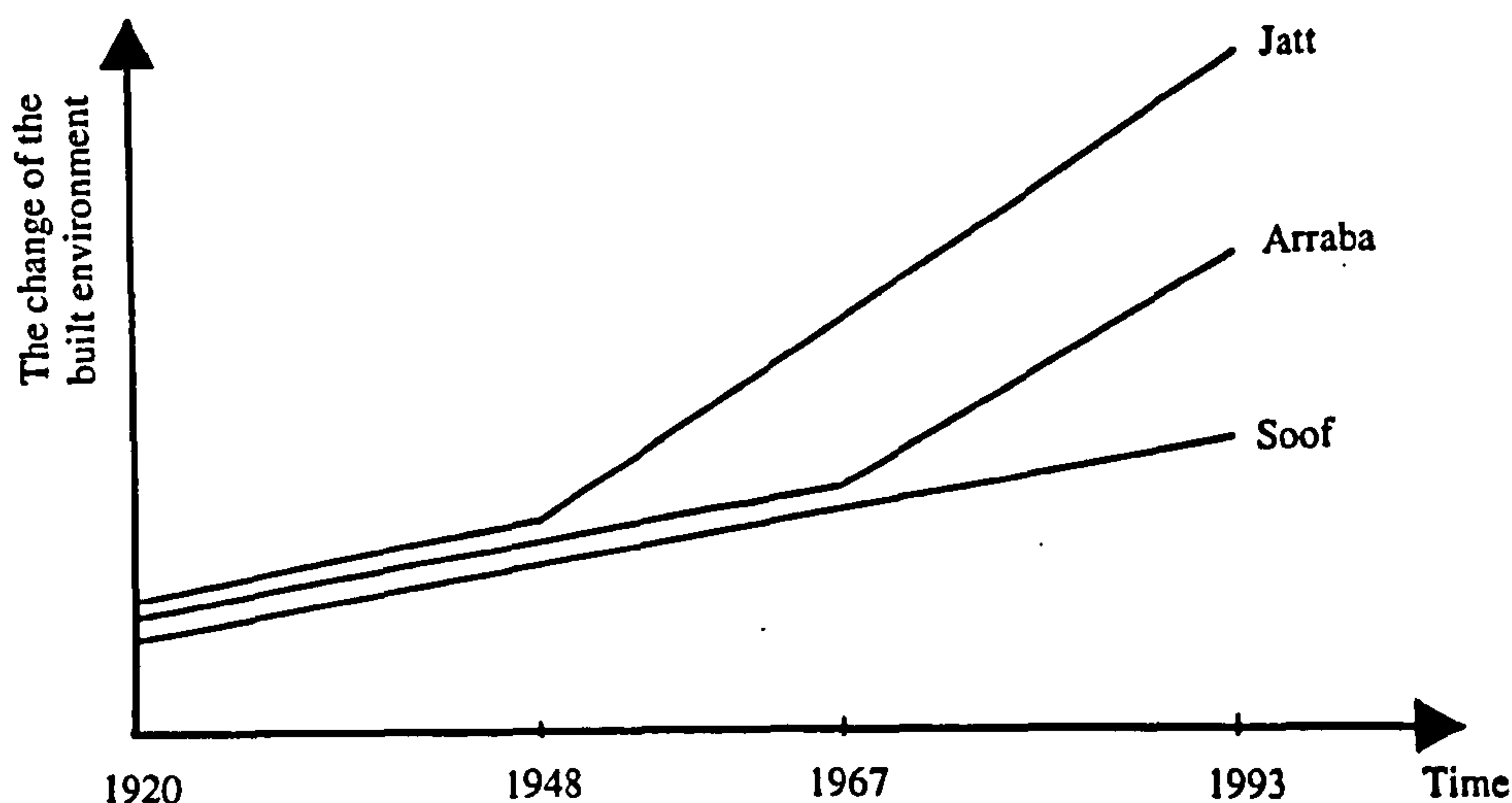


Fig. 7.19: The relationship between the time of Israeli colonisation and the change in the built environment.

7.7 SUMMARY

This chapter has reviewed the development of the built environment of Arraba village during the second half of this century. It was found that the change between the village in the past and at present is dramatic. The intensity of that change was explained by comparing the traditional quarter of the village with the new neighbourhoods. According to that comparison, it was found that the spatial organisation of the village has been distorted; the house forms have been changed; new public buildings have been added; and four new neighbourhoods have been established. Moreover, the characteristics of the buildings, streets and courtyards have been affected.

This chapter has also investigated the impact of the Israeli colonisation on the development of the built environment in Arraba by comparing the changes in the case

study village with those of two other villages - Jatt in Israel and Soof in Jordan. It concluded that the intensity of change is related positively to the period of colonisation process. In other words, the change in Jatt was more than the change in Arraba and in Arraba more than the change in Soof.

After discussing the change in the village, the next step is to focus on the house. The next chapter will discuss the types of houses in the case study village, their characteristics and the difference between the old traditional houses and the contemporary ones.

CHAPTER EIGHT

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THE CHANGE OF IDENTITY OF THE HOUSE

8.1 PROLOGUE

In looking at the development of houses in Arraba village, it is noticeable that there is little difference between the surviving houses of the nineteenth century and those built as recently as the beginning of the twentieth century. This could be explained by the lack of change in the social life of people over that period; or by the suitability of this type of houses to the physical environment. However, since the middle of the twentieth century, the identity of the house (like the region and the village) has changed dramatically as a result of new internal and external forces.

In the past, houses in Arraba grew over time, from generation to generation. Each son would build a room in his father's house within the extended family complex. The present research considers these houses as traditional. However, the new houses which have been built since the middle of the twentieth century are detached units for single families. This type is regarded as the contemporary house.

The possession of a house was, and continues to be, the ultimate objective for most Palestinians. It is the pride of the villagers and their most valuable possession. It is the place in which people feel secure and restful, and through which they can reflect their personality and group identity. In fact, one word for house in Arabic is *sakan*, which means "calm" or "peaceful".

The importance of the house as a source of identity and as an expression of territorial needs is clearly pointed out by Andrey (1963) when he suggests that the house is experienced as a private territory which provides satisfaction for three different territorial needs: that of control over space, the personalisation of space as an assertion of identity, and that of stimulation which is achieved by defending one's territory. For people in the rural West Bank, the house also provides the individual with different meanings. Indeed, it is a means of communicating status. It constitutes an important sphere of expression of cultural identity and provides an emotional refuge from the external world.

The major aim of this chapter is not only to explain or to describe the characteristics of the houses in the West Bank, but also to highlight their identity. The strategy is to investigate the change of identity of the houses in the case study village (Arraba). As already stated, there are two different types of houses which co-exist at present in the village: traditional houses and contemporary ones. Each type has its own characteristics and concurrently its own identity. Therefore, it makes sense to discuss each one separately before describing the identity of the house in general.

This chapter is divided into three main sections. In the first section, there is an investigation of identity of the traditional house, in terms of its exterior and interior features. Then, in similar terms, the development of the contemporary house is identified. Finally, analysis of the changes in the identity of the house from the traditional extended family complex to the contemporary single family unit is presented, taking into account the causes of the change.

8.2 IDENTITY OF THE TRADITIONAL HOUSE

The traditional house was formed as a result of physical forces, economic situations and socio-cultural factors. Accordingly, the house emerged with its form, materials and functional arrangements in relation with people and the surrounding environment. The main principle in constructing the house was stated by an elderly person who said during an interview: "Through the traditional Palestinian house you cannot see your neighbours

and your neighbours cannot see you" (Interview Afif, 1991). This explains the existence of several characteristics common in most houses, such as the courtyard, small windows and high walls.

The main housing unit in Arraba, as in other Palestinian villages, was the extended family house, which accommodated the parents and their married sons who lived in separate units around a courtyard (*housh*) and developed over time (Fig. 8.1). When the old man died, the house would be run by his oldest son and shared by the other sons who usually lived with their own families in separate rooms within the larger house. Each single family used to have a room and shared the kitchen and the bathroom with the other members of the extended family. The entrance to the courtyard was usually defined by a large arched doorway (*bawabeh*) and a stone doorstep (*atabeh*). The size of the doorway and its decorations reflected the wealth and social status of the family. The organisation of the courtyard and the activities which took place there, revealed the importance of this open space for the Palestinian family (Fig. 8.2). Within each courtyard, there were several semi-private areas for each nuclear family (Amiry and Tamari, 1989). These yards were defined either by steps or by low walls. In these areas, women carried out most of the domestic activities such as washing clothes and preparing food. Noor (1986) stated that the courtyard in the Arab house was a symbol of life and the focal point for all other elements surrounding it. During the fieldwork, it was noted that the *housh* also contained other elements such as an oven (*taboon*), a well, a grapevine pergola and sometimes a fruit tree. For privacy and security reasons, the courtyard was surrounded by high stone walls in order to prevent outsiders from seeing the domestic activities taking place within.

There is a difference between the houses of rich people such as the houses of Abdulhadi *hamulah* and those of the poor, such as the houses in the lower neighbourhood (*el-harah el-tehtah*). During the fieldwork, the author identified four variant types of what could be considered as traditional houses within Arraba village. The identification was based on size and building materials. These, in fact, reflect the different social classes in the villages' society and are described below.

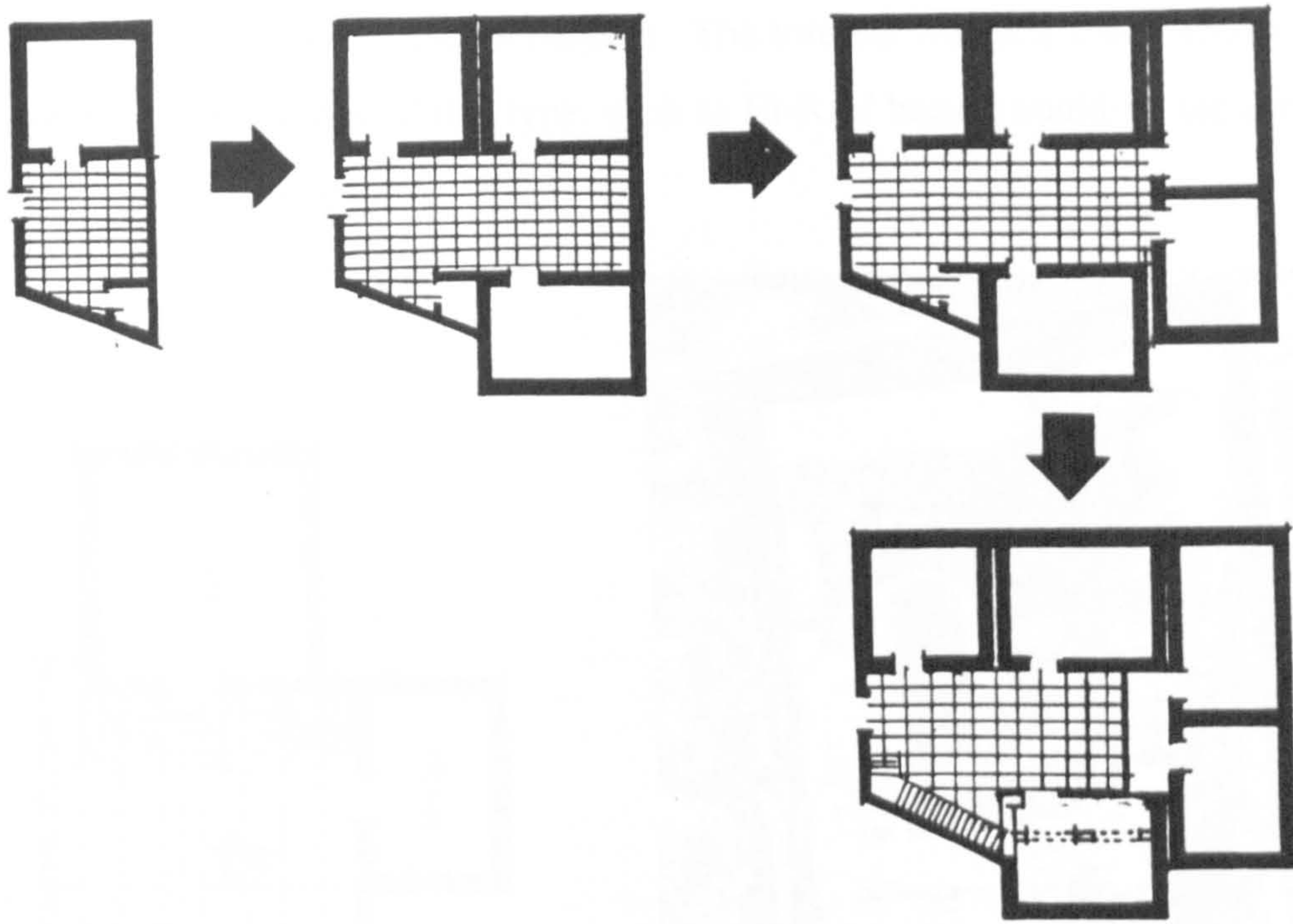


Fig. 8.1: The formation of the extended family house over time.

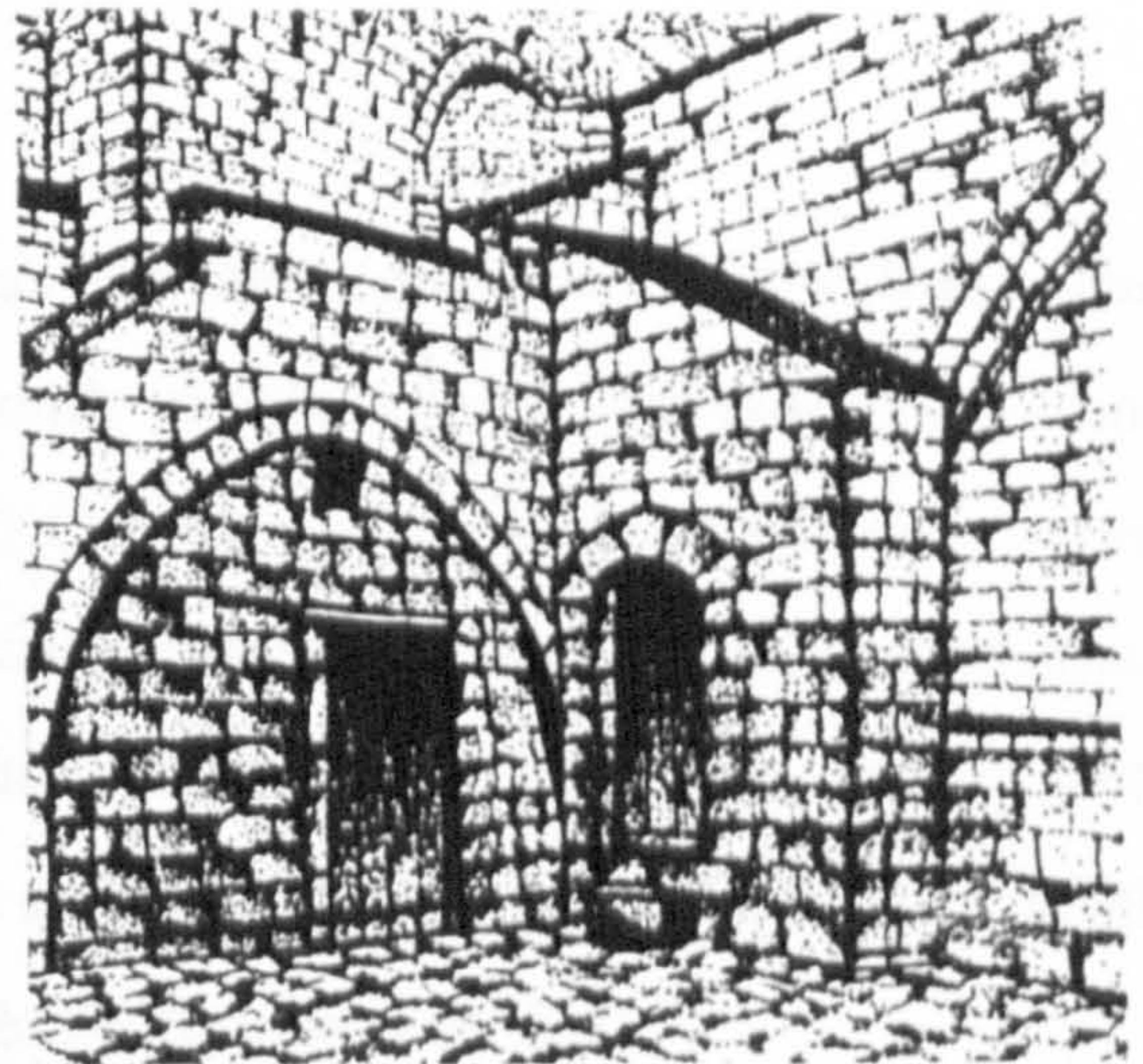
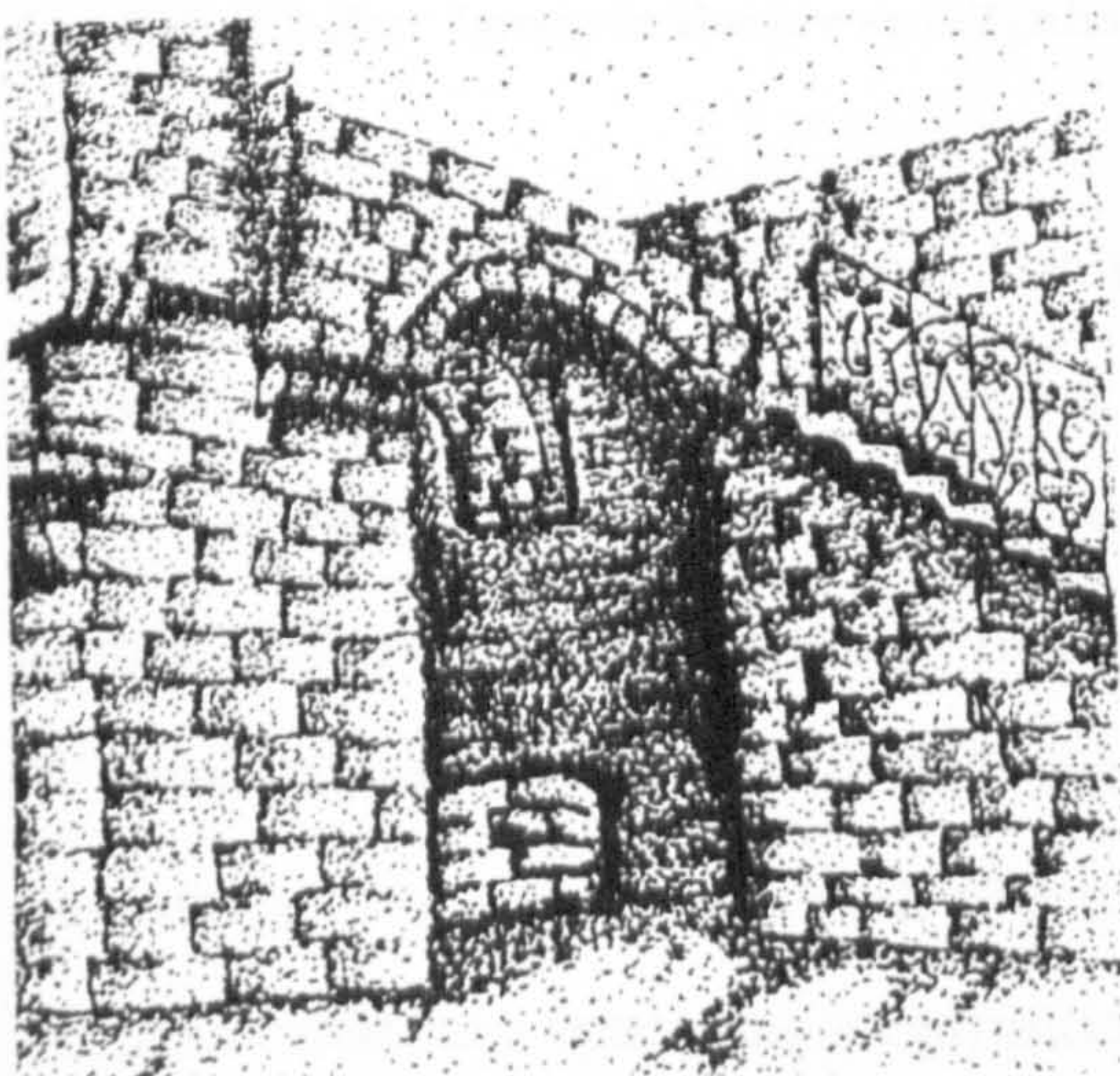


Fig. 8.2: The courtyard in an extended family house.

The first type was a small house for the low-income class (*Khusheh*). It was usually small consisting of one or two rooms, built randomly of stone and mud. The ceiling was supported by tree trunks, overlaid with branches and covered with mud. The doorway was made of wood and metal sheets without decoration. The facades were mostly blank

with only a door and small window (*taqah*). The interior was one space and on one level. For example, many houses of this type, such as El-Rae' house, could be seen in the lower neighbourhood (Fig. 8.3).

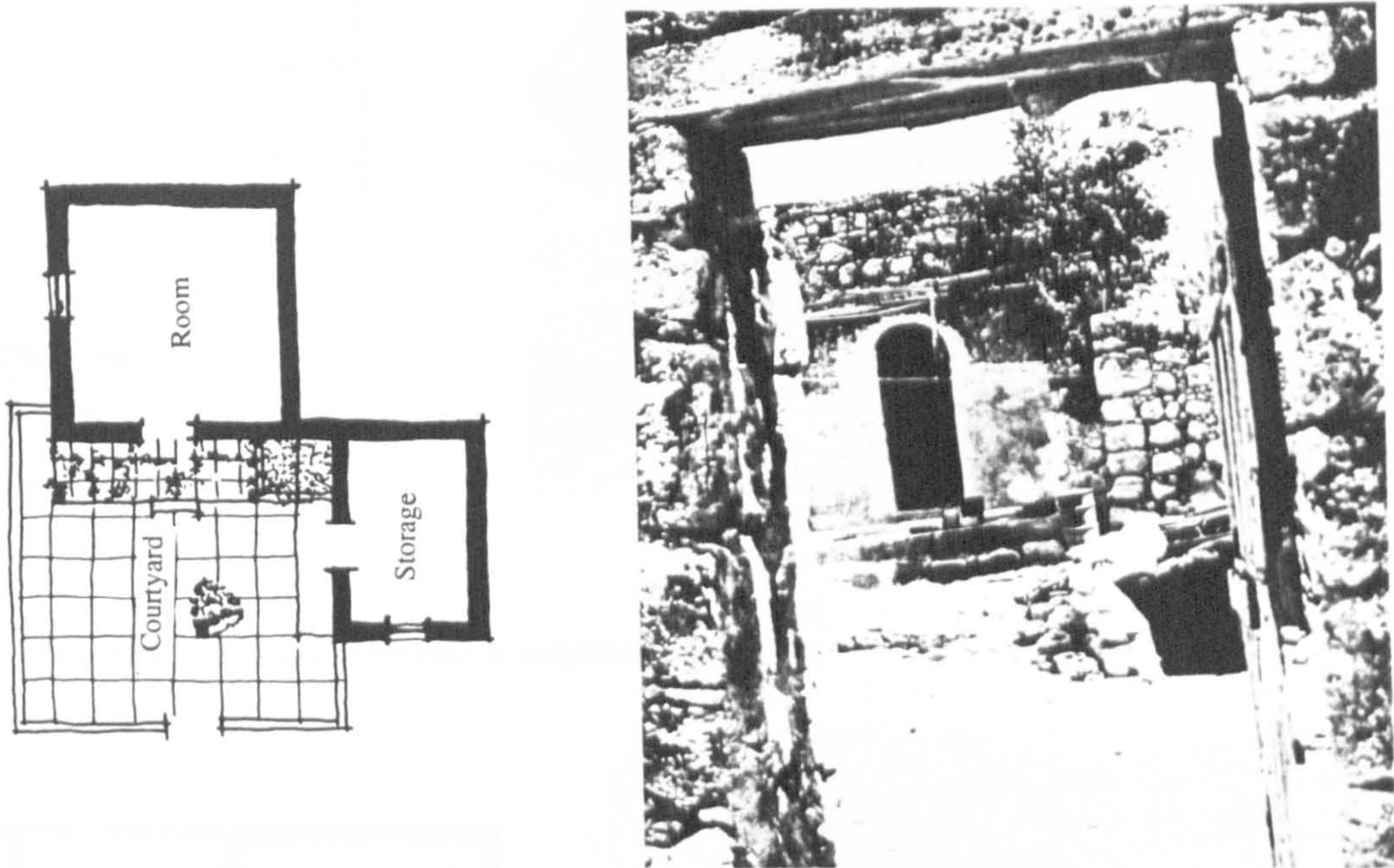


Fig. 8.3: El-Rae' house in the lower neighbourhood.

The second type was the house for middle class farmers (*ghorfeh*). In the traditional quarter, the Qadurah family house is a good example of this type. It was built from stone and mud like *khusheh* but this type was bigger and the ceiling was supported by stone arched pillars and constructed of tree trunks, overlaid with branches and covered by mud. Within the house, another small room (*khusheh*) was added. The two rooms were surrounded by a low mud wall which created a small courtyard. The two interior levels were divided into spaces to accommodate different activities (Fig. 8.4).

The third type was the house for high income people (*aqed*). It was built of fine stone with a cross vaulted ceiling. The house was usually two or three rooms arranged around a courtyard. The entrance was large and elaborated by simple decoration. The interior consisted of two or three levels. This type was the most common in the village. One of the examples is Abdulhaleem house in the eastern neighbourhood (Fig. 8.5).

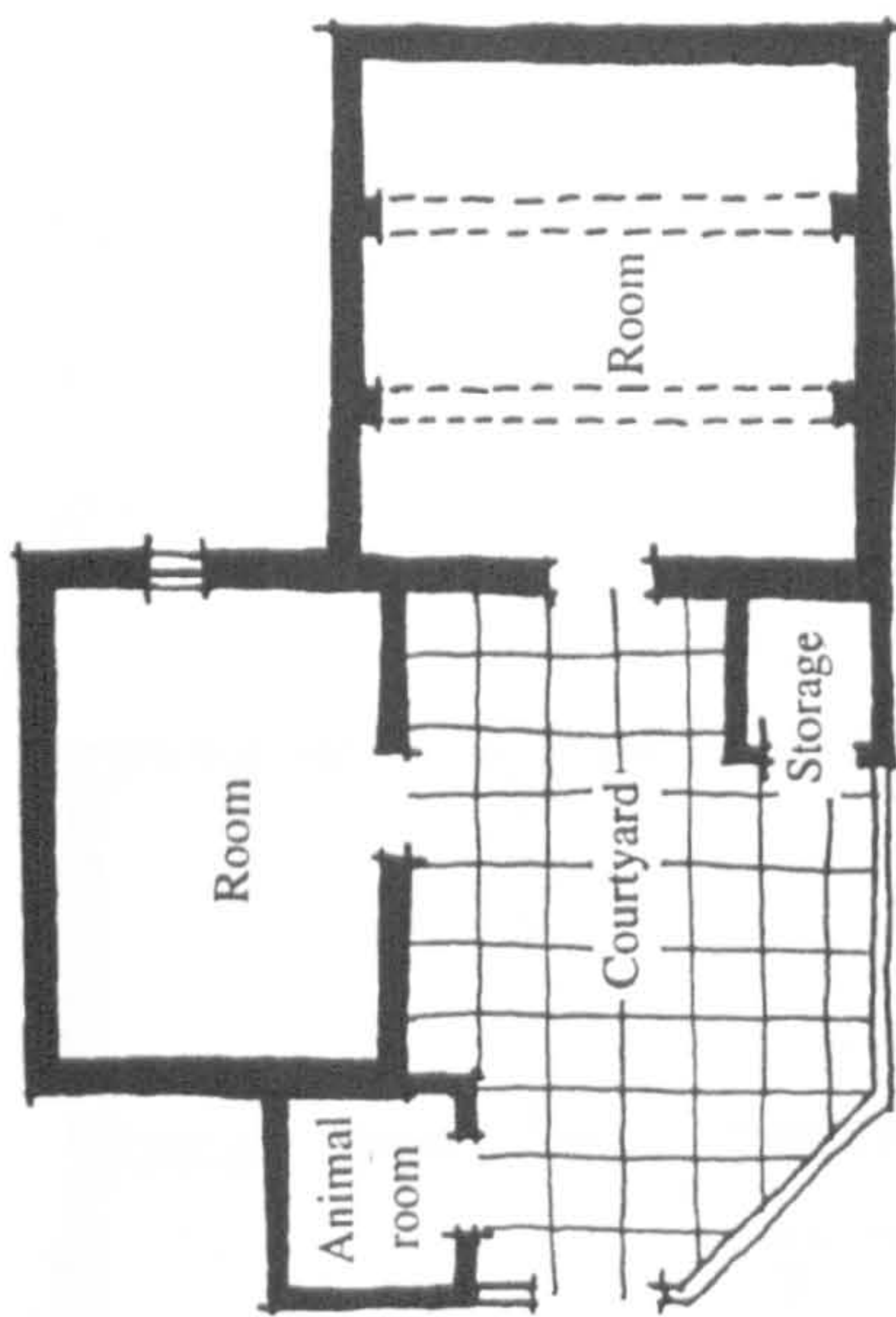


Fig. 8.4: Qadurah house in the southern neighbourhood.

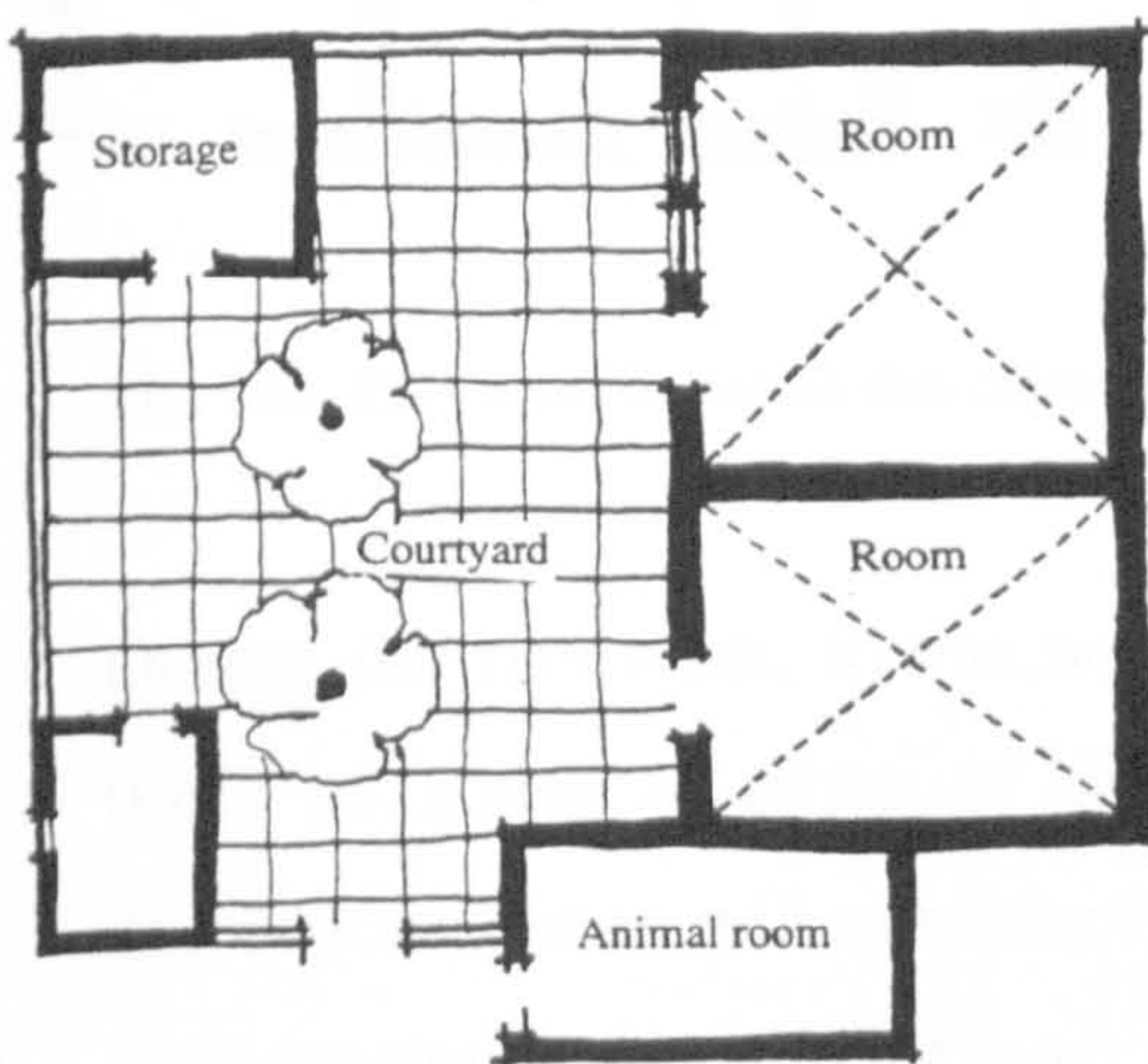


Fig. 8.5: Abdulhalim house in the eastern neighbourhood.

The last type was the house for rich people. In Arraba, there is a greater number of houses of this type than in many other villages in the West Bank because of its leading political role in the first half of this century. One of the most interesting examples is El-Yousif house near the mosque. This house was two storeys consisting of several rooms on the ground floor and *elye'h* on the first floor. Within the house, there were rooms for animals (*baikeh*) and separate spaces to store food (*matban*). This complex of buildings

surrounded a large paved courtyard, which usually had a grapevine and small number of trees (Fig. 8.6). This house was built of fine stone with different textures. One of its significant features was the entrance, which was decorated with calligraphic and geometric patterns.

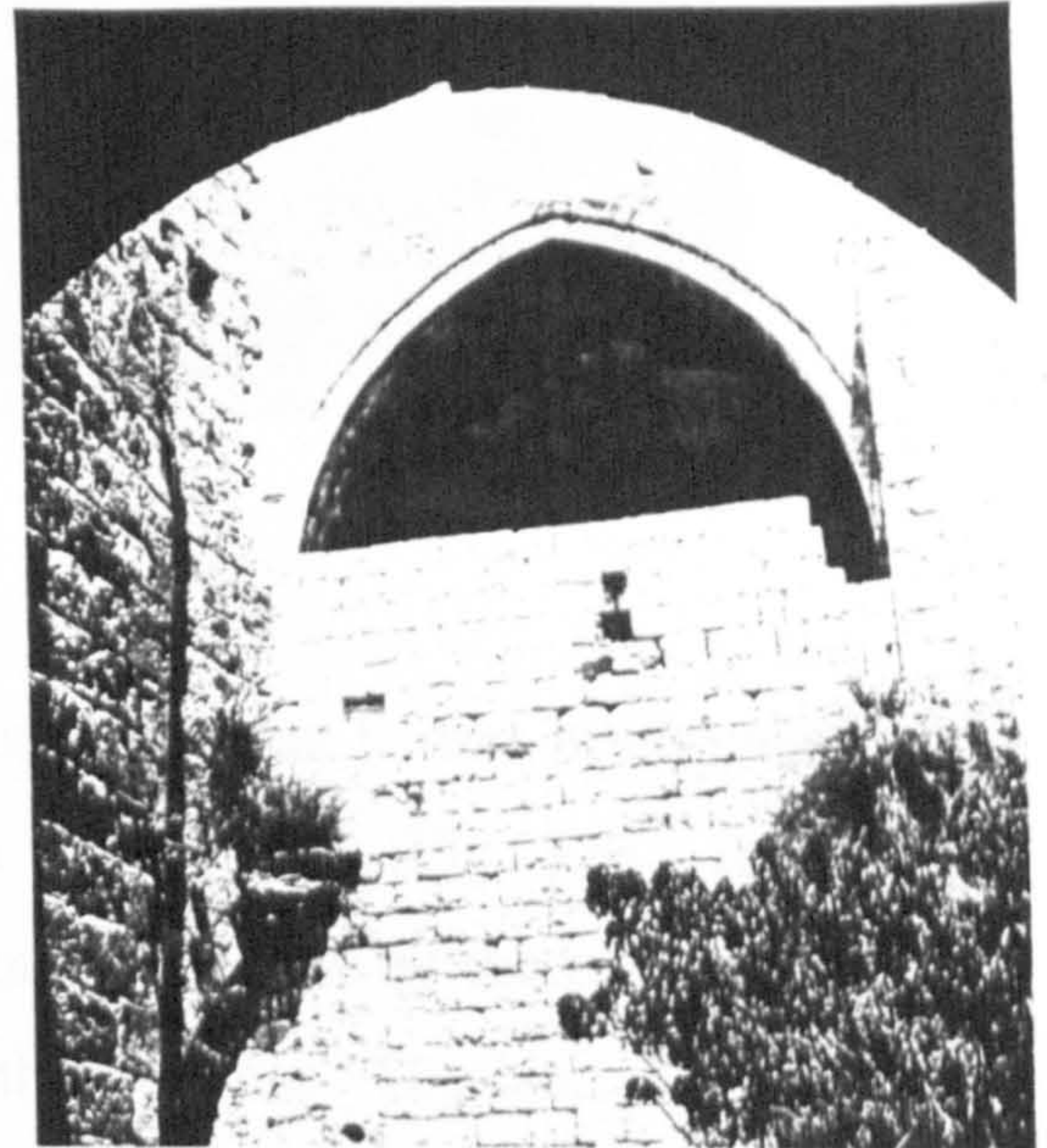
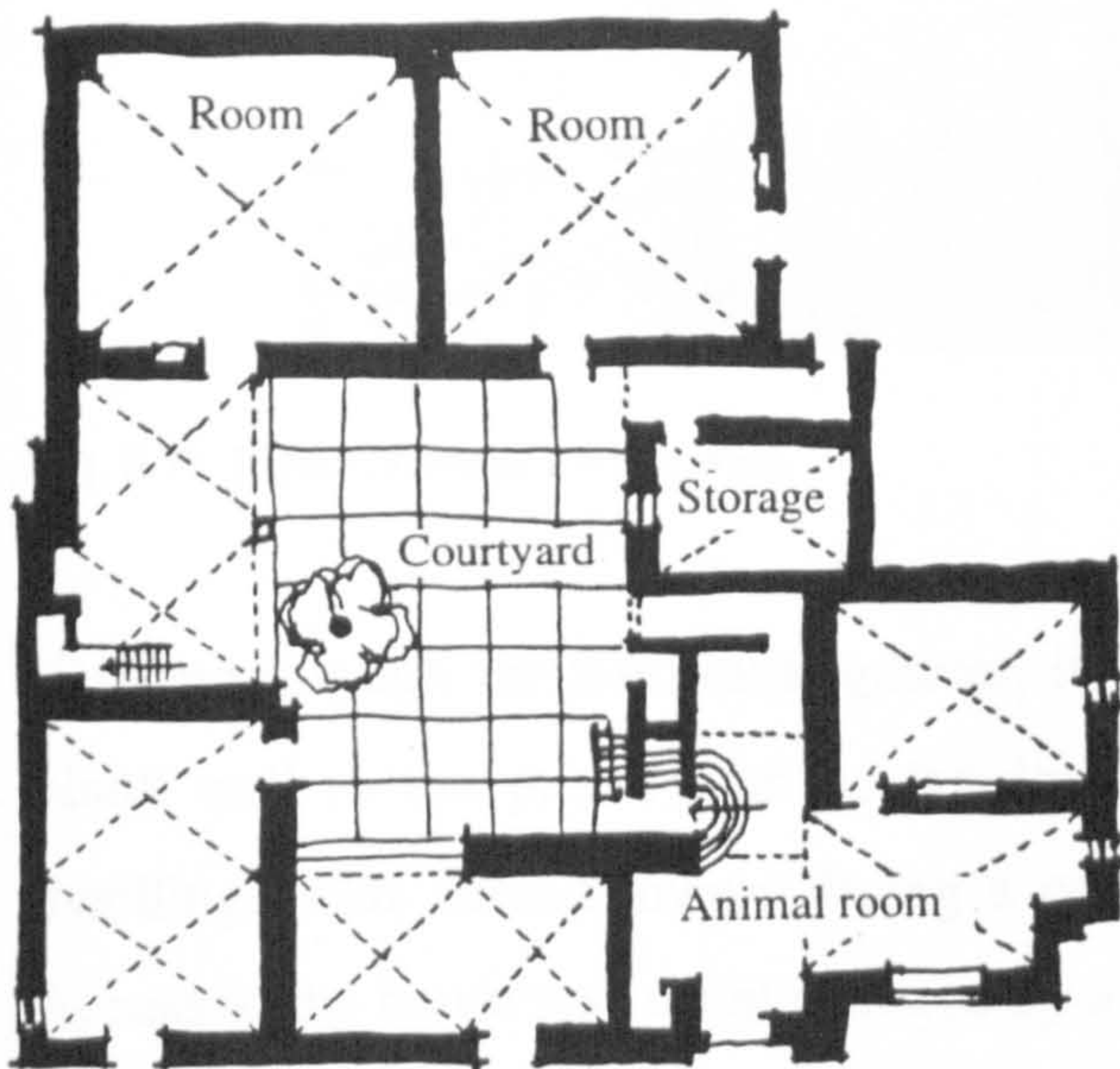


Fig. 8.6: El-Yousif house in the centre of the village.

During the fieldwork, it was noted that there were characteristics common to all four types of house in terms of form, openings, details and materials. Therefore, the discussions below will consider all types as one and will concentrate on the significant features common to all of them.

8.2.1 THE EXTERIOR OF THE TRADITIONAL HOUSE

In Arraba, traditional houses were mostly single-storey or two storeys units with a front facade of one arched entrance and one or two windows. In general, the openings were small in size and few in number. In the two storey house, the windows were small and high on the ground floor, and large on the first floor. Moreover, in the houses of low and middle income classes, it was common to find several small openings for pigeons (25 cm x 25 cm) up in the northern walls which are not exposed to the winter winds (Fig. 8.7).



Fig. 8.7: Pigeon houses on the wall.

Walking through the traditional quarter, it was noticeable that houses often presented a blank wall to the public with no windows open to the street (Fig. 8.8). In essence, dwellings were turned inward facing a central courtyard used by the extended family. Access to the house was usually shared by a few other families. Therefore, those families engaged in planting, cleaning and using these common areas. In fact, many of the community activities and social events within the same *hamulah* used to take place there. This reflected the sense of community in the village society.

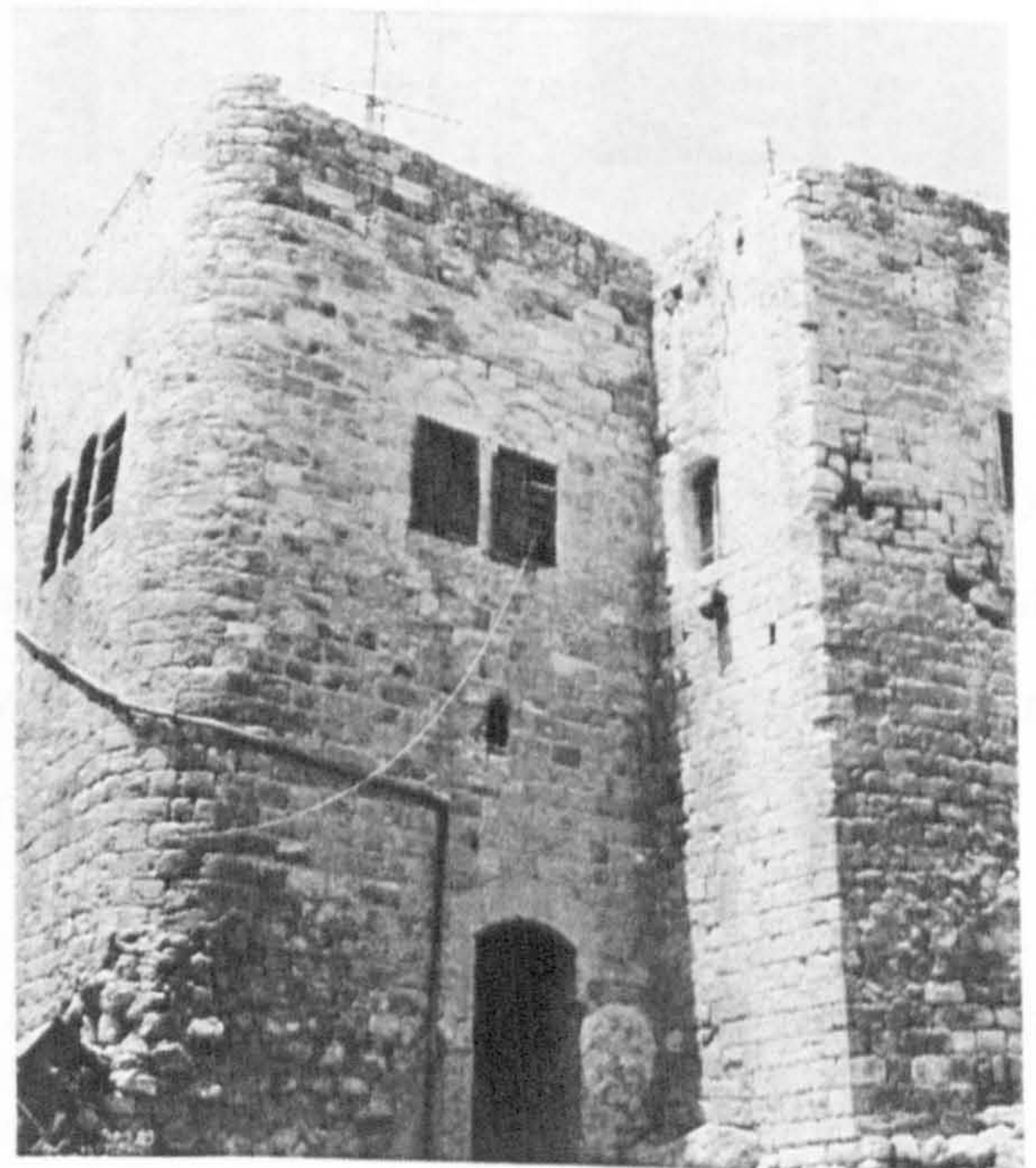
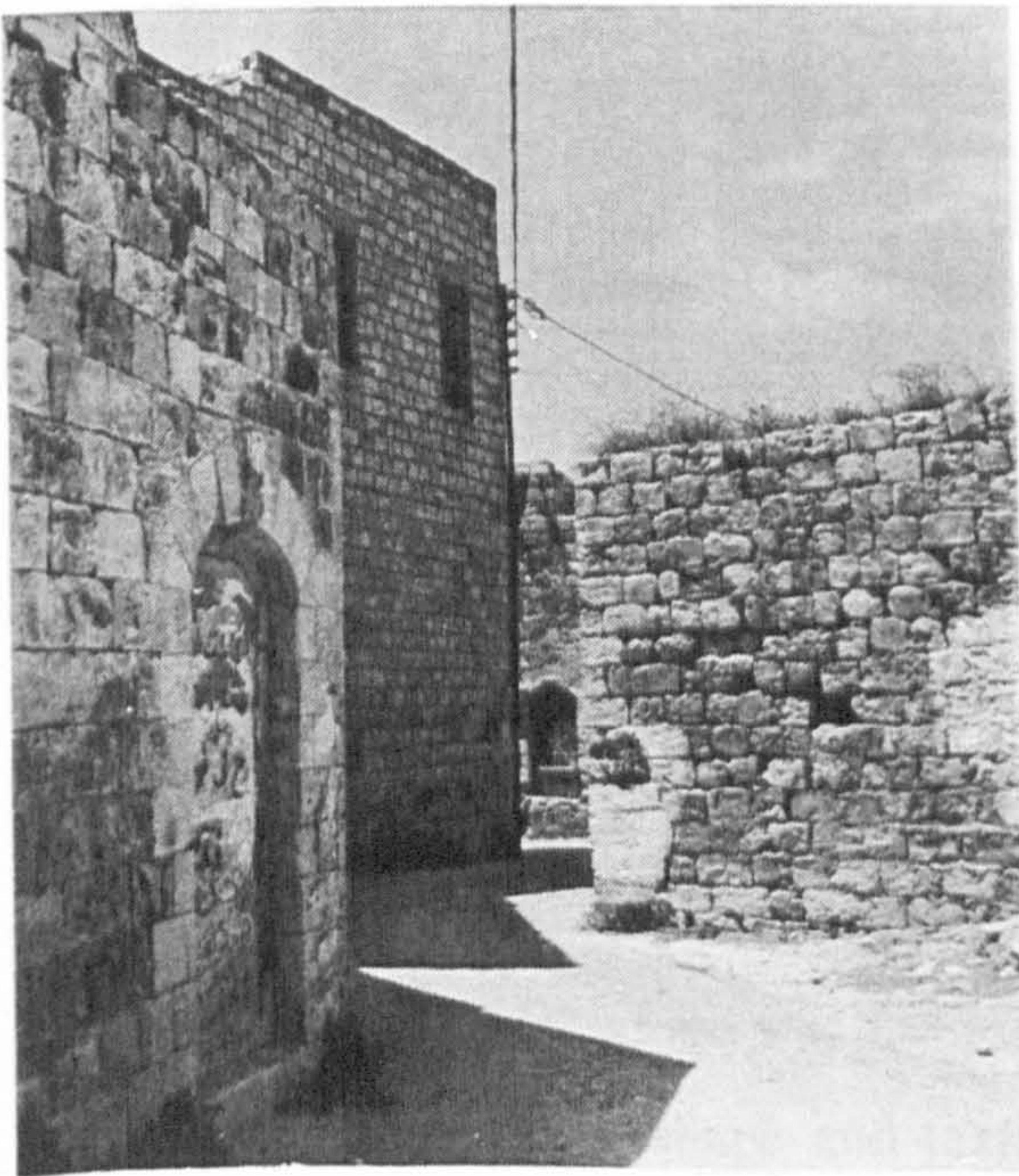


Fig. 8.8: Intraverted houses with small high windows.

The entrance of the houses in the traditional quarter were treated in a significant way (Fig. 8.9). On the whole, there were specific decorations which may symbolise religious and cosmological values. For blessing the house, the names of God (*Allah*) and the prophet Muhammad (or a cross for Christians) were inscribed on the keystone of the doorway as an expression of the owner's religious identity. At the same time, entrance ways also represented community ties of the family with its neighbours. There were special decorations to symbolise hospitality, such as writing "*ahlan wa sahlān*" which means "you are welcome".

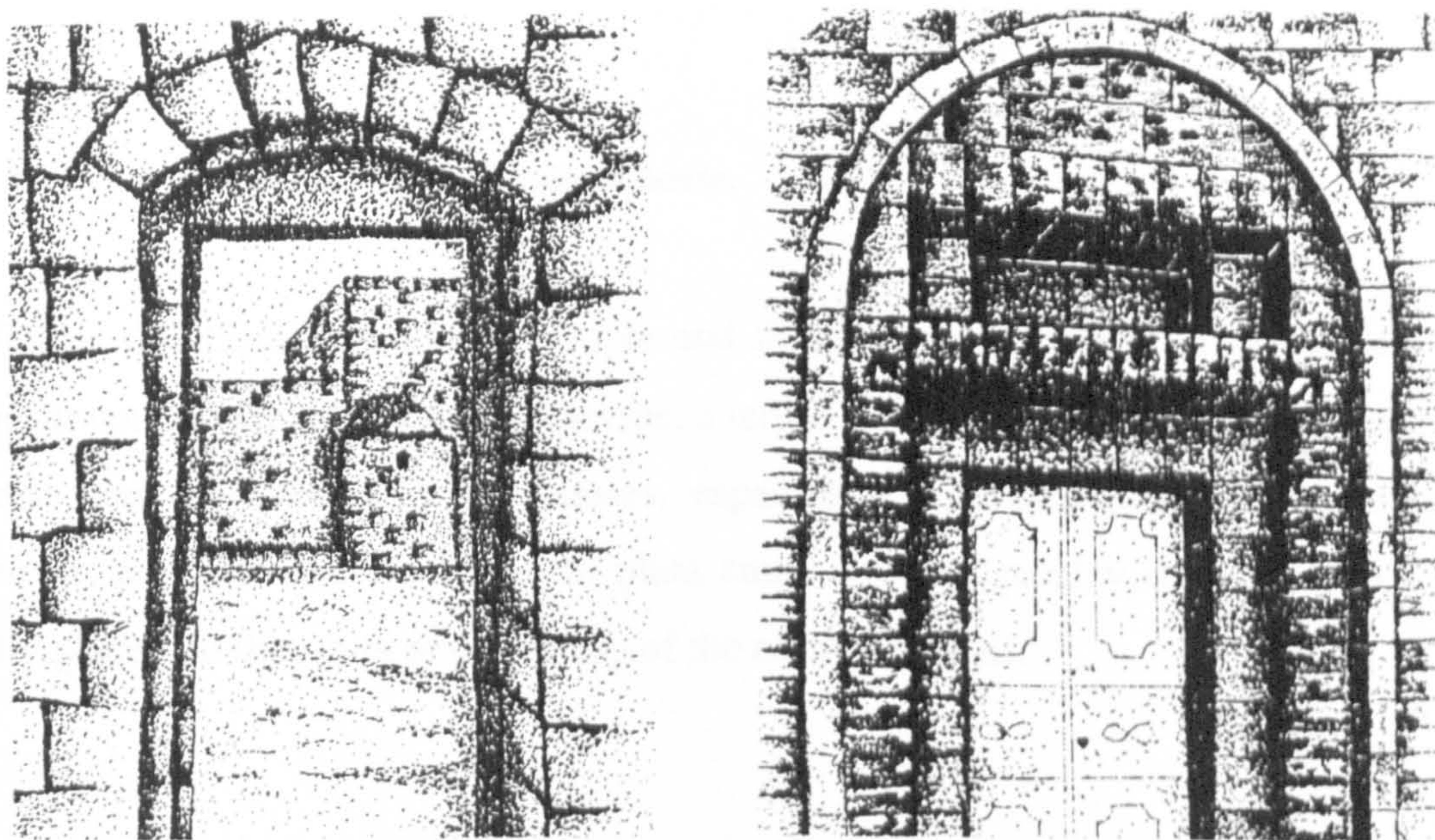


Fig. 8.9: The sequence of entrances; first to a courtyard and then to a single family house.

White and green were the most common colours. The walls in mud houses were usually plastered and whitewashed, particularly around the entrance and the windows as a sign of cleanliness and happiness. Moreover, the wooden doors and windows were painted in green or blue to reflect the prosperity of the inhabitants.

As a building material, stone was the most common and favoured one. It was used in blocks of different size, shape and texture (Fig. 8.10). Mud was the less expensive alternative.

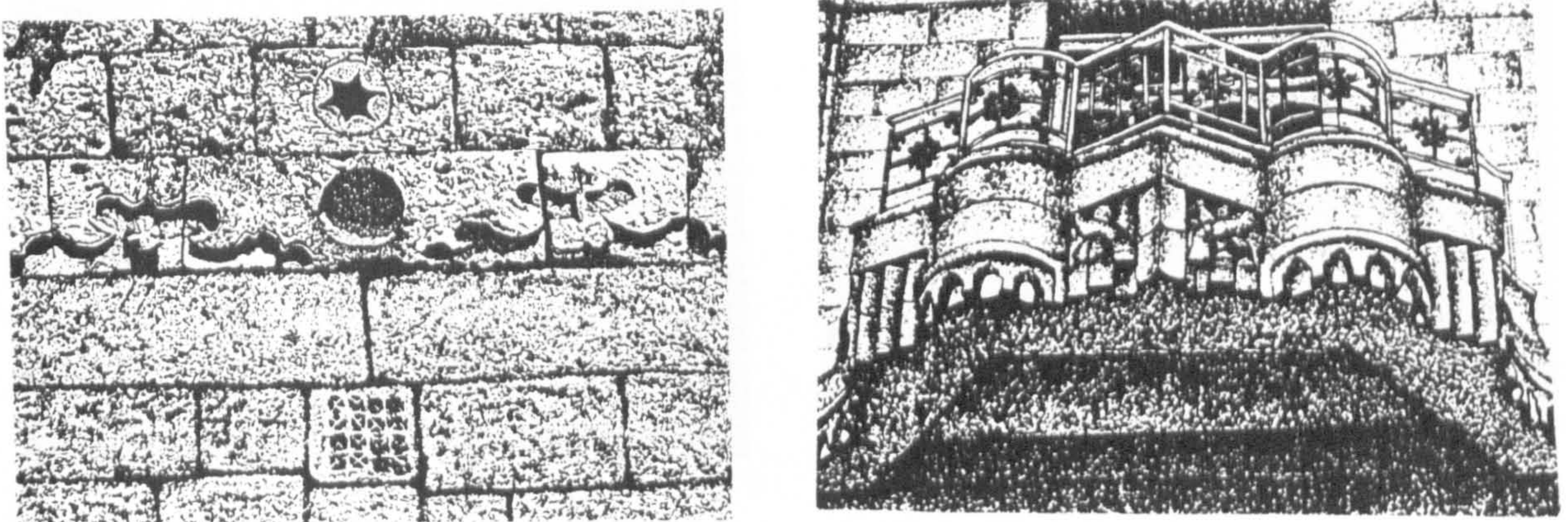


Fig. 8.10: Stone decorations in the traditional house.

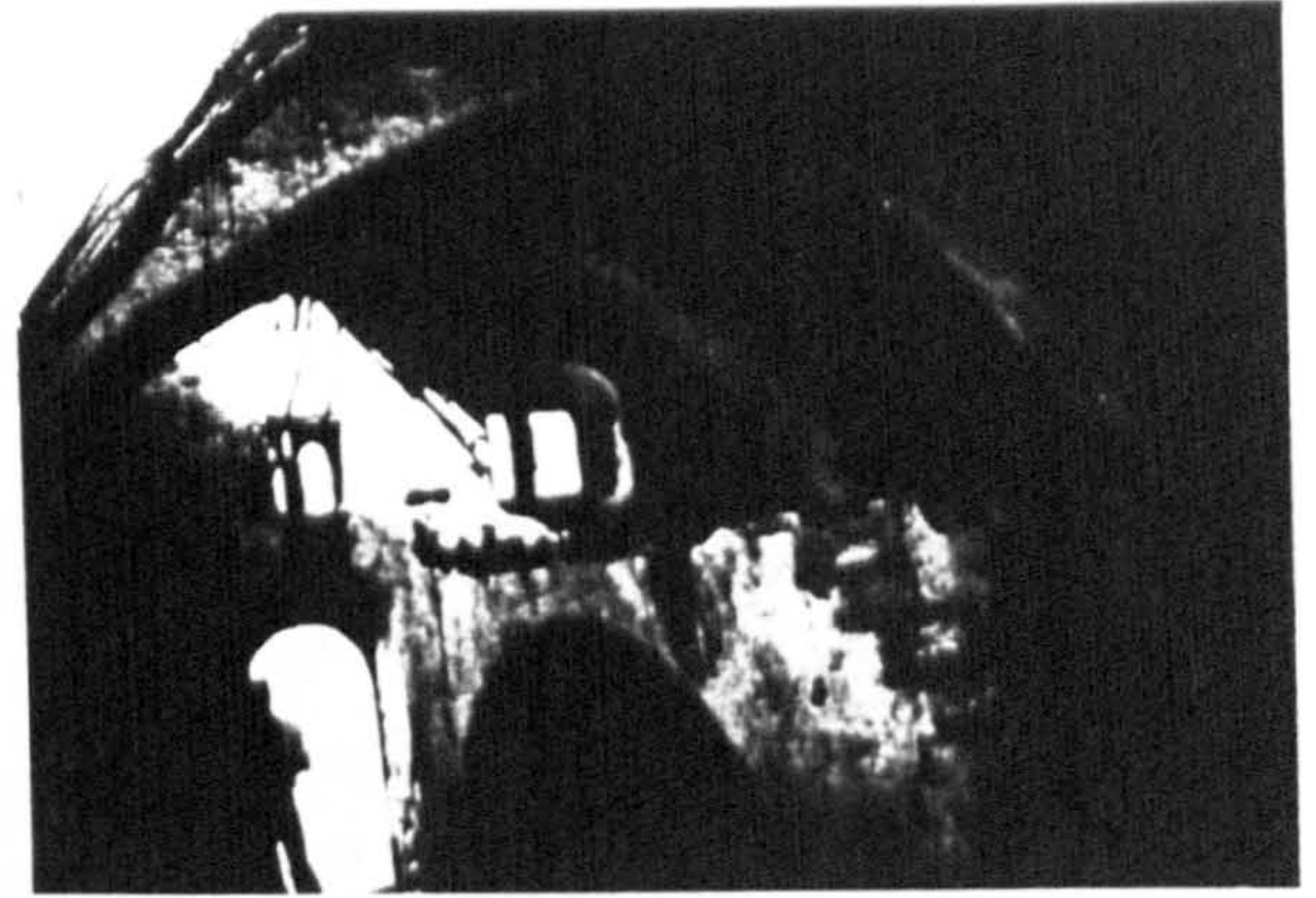
Planting in traditional houses was simple and limited to a few types of flower and tree. The most common plants were a grapevine, a lemon tree and sometimes a palm tree. Few flowers were also found in the houses, especially a jasmine plant at the entrance. Moreover, pots and tins were used to plant small flowers, parsley or mint, which were usually placed on the stairs or on the top of the courtyard wall.

8.2.2 THE INTERIOR OF THE TRADITIONAL HOUSE

In Arraba, as in most villages in the West Bank, the extended family house consisted of several rooms, one for each single family. The cross vaulted room (*El-aqed*) was the most common unit. Its size ranged approximately from 5 x 5 metres to 7 x 7 metres. From inside, *el-aqed* consists of a lower level (*qa' el-aqed*) for animals and agricultural equipment, with steps leading to the main family living space (*mastabah*) at a higher level which was also the place for sleeping and eating. On the same level, there was a service and a storage space (*rawiyeh*) which was separated from *mastabah* by mud bins used for food storage (*el-khawabeh*) (Fig. 8.11).



(a) High income



(b) Low income

Fig. 8.11: Interiors of high income and low income traditional house.

The interior of the house was mostly dark because the light only came from the entrance and the small *taqah*. This darkness gave privacy to people inside since the doors used to be kept open.

The furniture of most houses in the village was simple and sparse. Villagers used reed mats (*husur*) on the floor with wool mattresses (*farshat*) around the room, and small reed pillows (*masanid*) for reclining. Amiry and Tamari (1989) claimed that the only piece of furniture in the house was the bridal chest (*sandug*), in which the wife used to store all her personal belongings.

Instead of cupboards and shelves, the house had arched niches in the walls for food containers and water pitchers. The most important cupboard was a large arched recess (*qous*) in the wall in which the mattresses, blankets and pillows were stored (Fig. 8.12). This was possible because the walls were massive, up to one meter thick. Another important element in the interior of traditional houses was the fireplace (*mawqed*) which was built of stone along the wall of the entrance (Fig. 8.13). It was used for cooking and for heating the room.

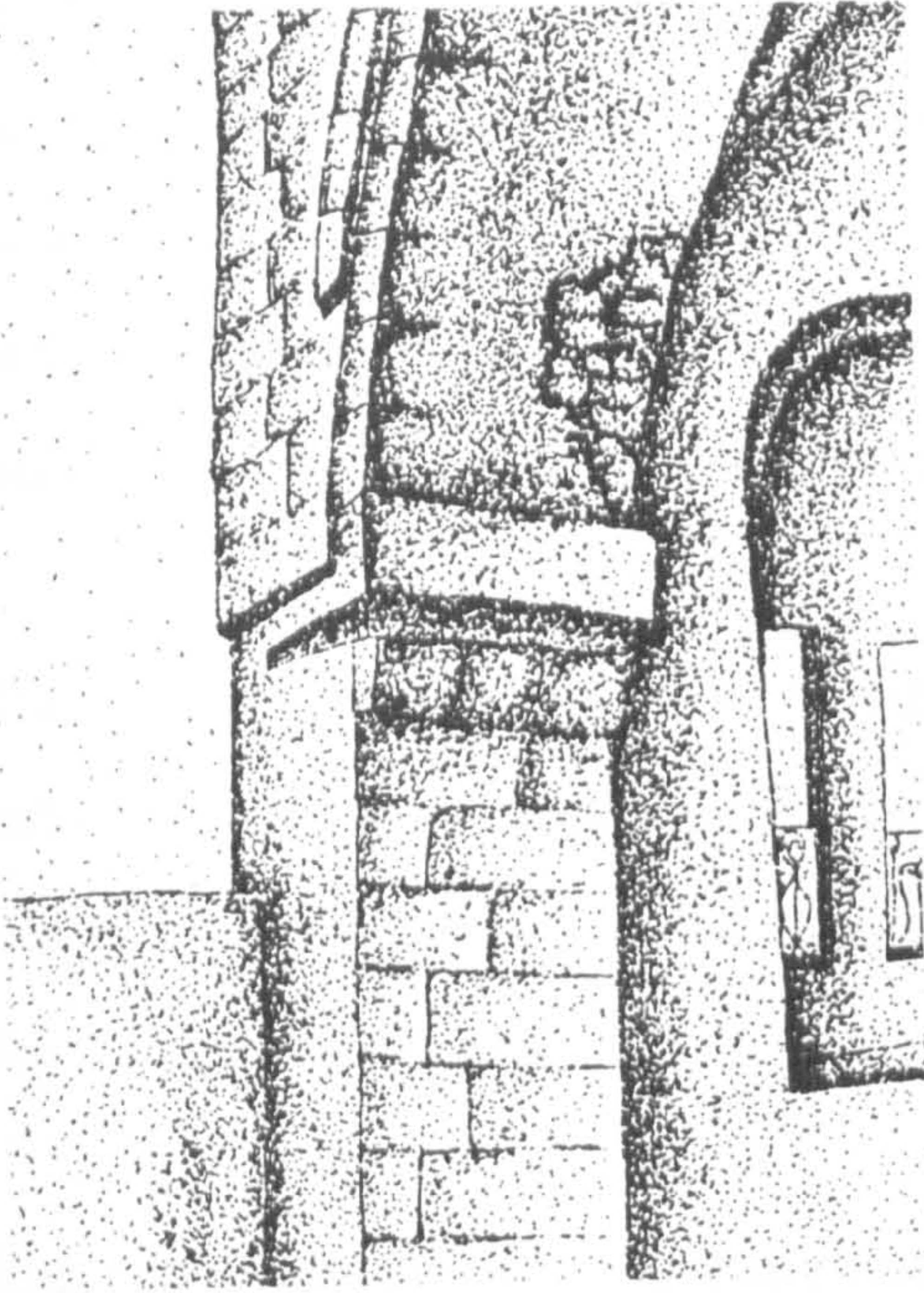


Fig. 8.12: *Qous* in a traditional house.

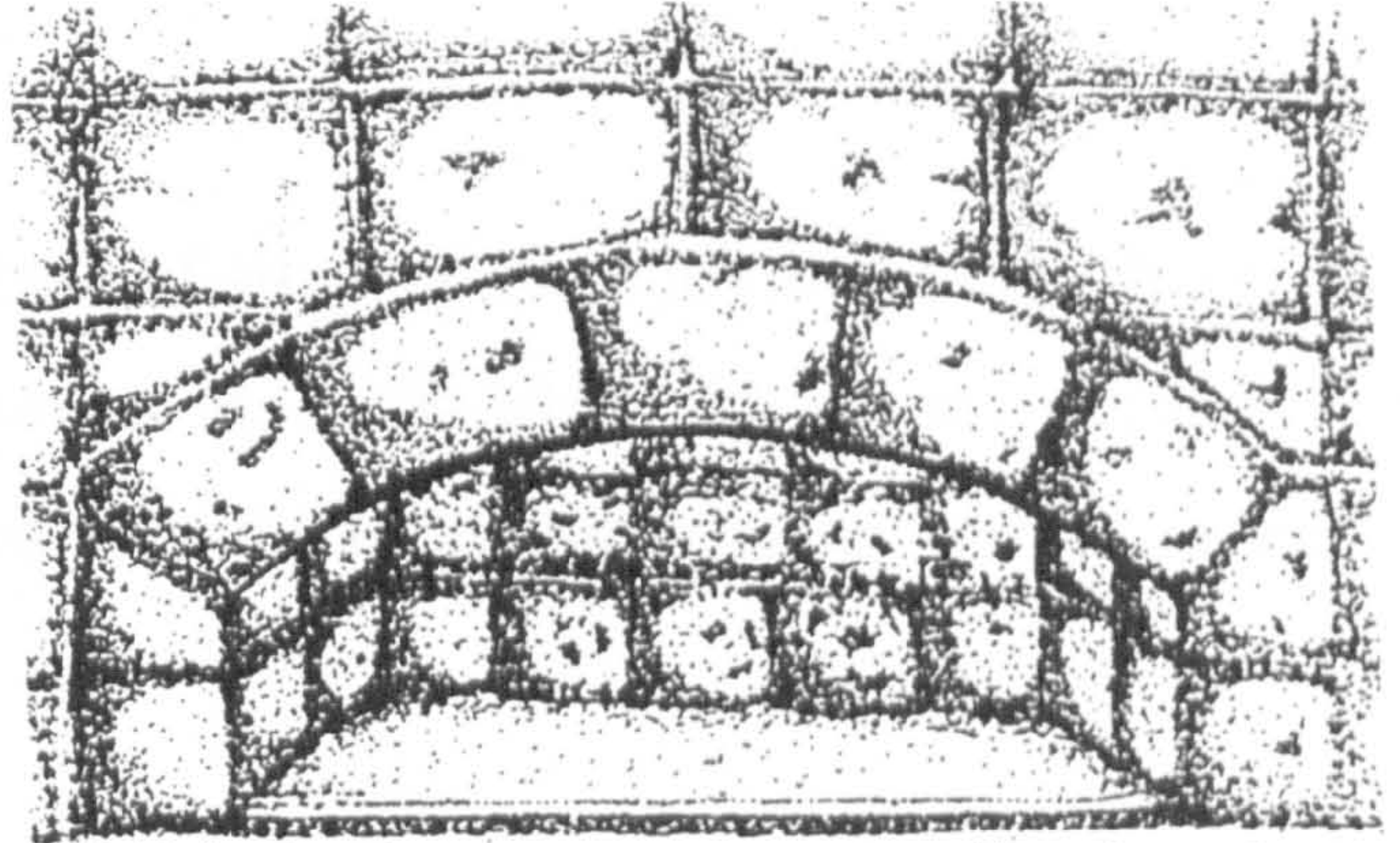


Fig. 8.13: Traditional fire place (*mawqed*).

8.3 IDENTITY OF THE CONTEMPORARY HOUSE

The dominant house type in the Palestinian villages at present is the dwelling for a single nuclear family (Senan, 1986). The form of these new houses, which started to appear in the second half of this century, was a result of the new building regulations and was also affected by other external forces such as modernisation and colonisation. Moreover, they have been greatly influenced by people's lifestyle in the village society and by the political changes in the region since the beginning of the twentieth century. These changes regulated and restricted the development of the house in the West Bank.

The new development in the village produced different types of contemporary houses according to their location within the village. This research divided them into two categories. Firstly, the new houses built within the traditional quarter which are usually small and close to each other; and secondly, the ones located on the outskirts of the village which are mostly big and dispersed.

Within each location, there was a difference between low income and high income people's houses. The author was able to differentiate several types. According to the observations and analysis of the information gathered during the fieldwork, the contemporary houses were divided into four types: villa, detached new unit, apartment and traditional house with new additions.

The villa is a one or two storey house built of stone on the outskirts of the village. An extreme example of this type is the house of Mr Najib which follows the western style and this type of house is now considered to be the ideal dream house by most people in the village (Fig. 8.14a).

The detached new unit is usually one storey and built of concrete or stone. This house is not only smaller than the villa, but also the quality of building materials and decorations is lower. This house type is now the most common in the village. For example, most of the houses in Um Zaitoonah neighbourhood could be classified as this type (Fig. 8.14b).

The apartments started to appear in the village in the last decade. This house type is concentrated around the main street, where the owner builds his apartment on the top of three or four shops such as Herzallah house on the main street. There are still only a small number of the apartment type house in the villages, and usually there is not more than two apartments in each building (Fig. 8.14c).

The last house type is described as the traditional house with new additions. The size of this house varies. It can be just one room added to an existing house, such as Asad house, or a complete house separated from the old one, such as Salah house in the Abu Hamdan extended family complex. However, this type of house is usually small and strongly related to the neighbouring houses (Fig. 8.14d).



a) Villa



b) Detached new unit



c) Apartment



d) A new addition to a traditional house

Fig. 8.14: Types of contemporary houses in Arraba

After analysing several houses from the case study village, it was found that even though there are different types of contemporary house, there are features common to all of them. They no longer enclose a central courtyard, but constitute a system of rooms facing outward through windows and balconies. In addition, new houses are surrounded by open space within the plot boundaries according to the building regulations. In general, the contemporary house is a free standing unit in the middle of a plot and no longer built up to the edges of it.

One of the greatest disadvantages of the new houses is that they do not satisfy certain cultural values of the inhabitants. For example, it was noted that because the contemporary house is extrovert, residents are obliged to introduce various features in order to improve the privacy. In order to achieve that, some people use certain elements from the traditional house, such as blank walls and gates; others solve this problem by other means such as iron shutters.

One of the most significant features of the contemporary house is the high barriers surrounding the plot. Indeed, fences, hedges and gateways are used to clearly demonstrate the boundaries of the house. Another significant feature is provision for future expansion. This takes the form of an open storey ready for conversion into a house, or alternatively, people leave reinforcing bars and columns protruding from the roof for an additional storey to be built in the future.

8.3.1 THE EXTERIOR OF THE CONTEMPORARY HOUSE

The forms of the contemporary houses are mostly simple with large rectangular and horizontal windows for the living and guest rooms, medium sized windows for the bed rooms and small windows for the bathrooms (Fig. 8.15).



Fig. 8.15: Assaf house in the eastern neighbourhood.

There are several indicators on the exterior of the house that people usually use to express their uniqueness and identity. These take the form of carefully landscaped pathways, variant shapes of windows, different textures or colours of stone, elaborated doors and sometimes symbols or writings on the entrance (Fig. 8.16).

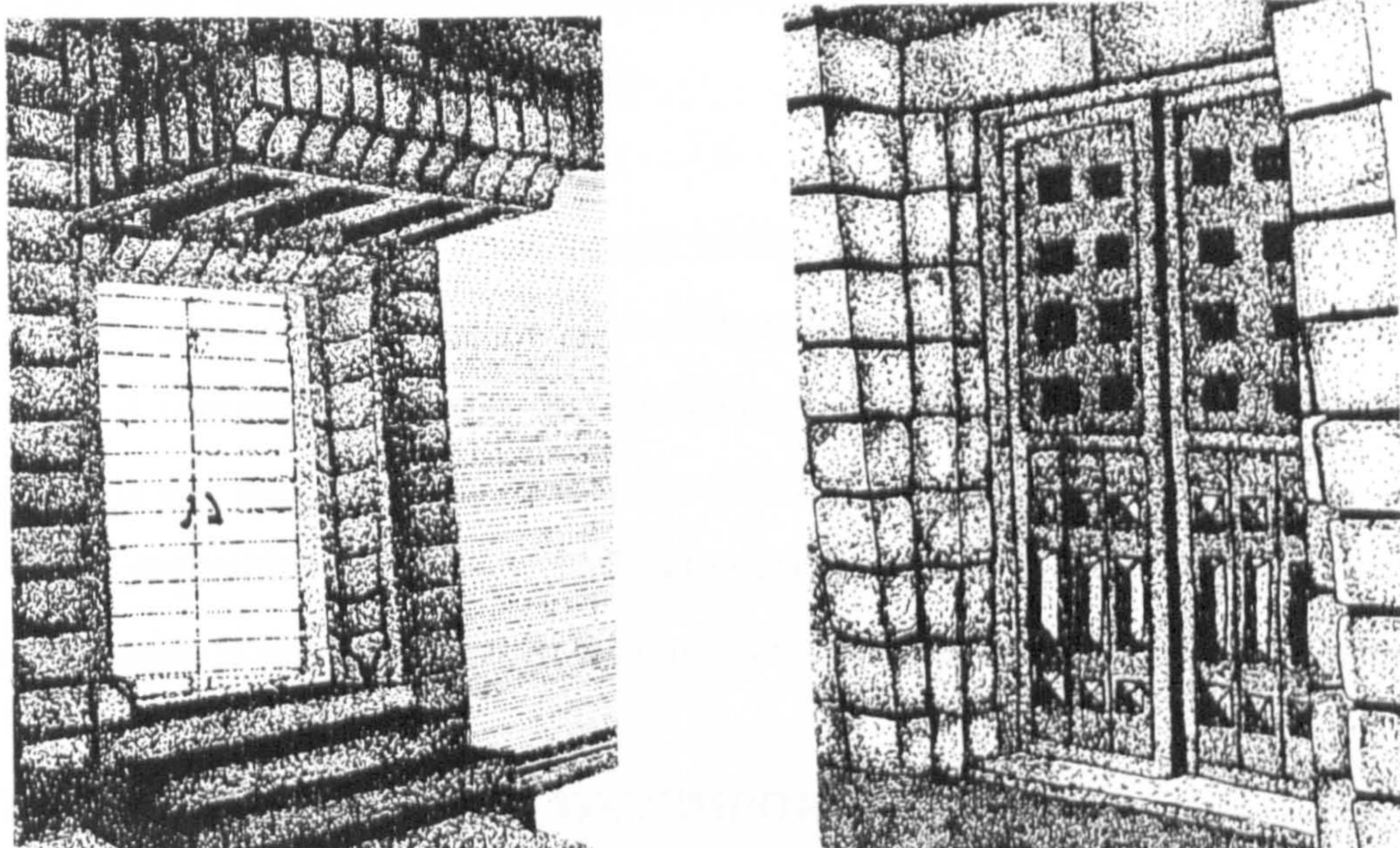


Fig. 8.16: The entrance in contemporary houses.

As far as building materials are concerned, stone is the most commonly used. Indeed, it has always been the material that unites all building types in the village. However, concrete has recently begun to replace it because cut stone is becoming too expensive. To achieve an architectural image, stone is dressed in several textures. The most common textures found in the case study village are roughly dressed (*tubzeh*), medium dressed (*mfajar*), finely dressed (*msamsam*), and ashlar (*mamsooh*). In addition, there are different kinds of stone distinguished according to their durability and colour: white, red and black. It was also noted that people sometimes mix different textures and colours on one facade in a decorative manner.

The most significant feature in the house is the window, which now varies in shape, size and detail. Even though horizontal windows are the most common, different sizes and

details have been introduced. Recently, people started to use several sizes and types of arch for the openings, which, they believe, reflect Islamic identity.

Besides white, other colours are now being used for both the exterior and the interior such as light green, beige and light blue . These colours are echoes of the surrounding environment: green from the trees, blue from the sky and beige from the sand. Moreover, bright colours are utilised for the ornaments.

The landscape surrounding the contemporary house has been changed dramatically. The garden is now around the house and no longer within it. It was also noted from observations of several house types that the landscape differs from one type to another. For example, in the villa, there are flowers in the front yard, citrus and fruit trees around the house and vegetables in the back yard. However, in small detached houses, the most significant element is the grapevine on the entrance and vegetables around the house.

8.3.2 THE INTERIOR OF THE CONTEMPORARY HOUSE

While the traditional house was a single multi-purpose space in which all the activities took place, the contemporary one has functional subdivisions. So there are rooms designated for sitting, sleeping or eating. In addition, there are secondary functional spaces such as kitchens, bathrooms, corridors or staircases.

In Arraba, most of the contemporary houses are either one floor or two floors and sometimes raised on columns creating an open storey used as storage or for conversion into an extra flat in future. The zoning of the interior spaces of the new house almost always follows one theme. It consists of a central hall that is surrounded by rooms. In order to form a clear picture of the interior of the house, let us imagine that we are entering one. From the entrance, we either can go to a lobby or to a veranda which usually has two doors, one opens to a guest room and the other to a living room. The guest room is separated functionally and visually from the rest of the house. If the guests are invited for lunch, they can reach the dining room through a sliding door directly from

the guest room. If we enter the living room, which is usually in the centre of the house, we can reach the bedrooms and bathrooms through a corridor, or from the other side of the room, we can enter the kitchen and a toilet.

8.4 THE CHANGE OF IDENTITY

As demonstrated above, the identity of the Palestinian house has changed dramatically in the last five decades. Indeed, people in Arraba village found their environment changing from rural traditional to urban modern within the life span of one generation. This rapid change was either imported or imposed. Therefore, an identity crisis has emerged within the society, because the effect of modernisation and colonisation has been drastic.

8.4.1 THE CHANGE IN THE EXTERIOR

Analysis of the survey data reveals that the change in the identity of the exterior of the house during the last fifty years is substantial. For example, the openings have been converted from small to large and from vertical to horizontal. Their location has been shifted from inside to outside and their number has been increased. Throughout the interviews, it was found that even though some of the new characteristics of the openings were inconsistent with people's values and beliefs (e.g. the conflict between large windows and privacy), they have, however, perceived as a sign of modernity and prestige.

The entrance to the traditional house was an important element and its characteristics reflect certain meanings. For example, its size reflects the hospitality of the owners and the decorations represent their prosperity. However, in the contemporary house, where the house is perceived as an independent unit with set back from the street, the image of the entrance is not clear. Nevertheless, new architectural devices have been introduced to distinguish the entrance, (such as a canopy, several steps or a big tree).

After comparing several traditional and contemporary houses, the author categorised the characteristics of change in the exterior of the new houses in the following points:

1. New building materials have been introduced to the house, such as brick, concrete and aluminium. Even though stone is still the main building material, it is now cut and shaped to ashlar, thin pieces by machine. Moreover, stone has been used in the contemporary house in different ways. For example, the appearance of new details which combine stone and concrete is noticeable on the facades.
2. The roofs of the new houses are flat (instead of the cross vault) and on one level (instead of different levels). In addition, some of the contemporary houses now have pitched roofs.
3. The location of the house on the site has been treated in a different way. The contemporary house is now located centrally on the site and no longer built up to the site boundaries. Moreover, the site is usually bulldozed to level its contours. This treatment in the site changed not only the use of the house, but also its identity.
4. In the contemporary house, people utilise certain elements from traditional buildings, but they either change their function or their characteristics. For example, the walls which used to be on one or two sides of the courtyard, now surround the whole site.
5. New elements have appeared on the roofs as a result of new technology, such as the television aerials, water tanks and solar panels.
6. The proportions of some architectural features have been changed. For example, the windows changed from vertical to horizontal.
7. Finally, new elements have been introduced to the house. One of the most common new elements that one sees in the contemporary Palestinian house is the veranda.

8.4.2 THE CHANGE IN THE INTERIOR

After comparing the interior of several traditional and contemporary houses, some changes were identified, including the **layout**, the **use of places** and the **quality of spaces**. It was noted that sometimes there is a contradiction between the new layout and people's values. This either created new elements in order to fit their values, such as the wall surrounding the site, or modified certain characteristics of the same elements, such as adding shutters to large windows.

During the fieldwork, several characteristics of change in the interior of the contemporary houses were emerged. These can be summarised in the following points:

1. The most significant change is the allocation of specific functions to each space. While in the traditional house the room was used for living, cooking and sleeping, in the contemporary house there is a separate room for each activity.
2. The introduction of furniture into the house, such as chairs, beds, tables, etc., instead of mattresses and pillows in the traditional house.
3. The layout of the traditional house, unlike the contemporary one, was never finalised and was designed to adjust to the families new needs, so that when the son got married, he adds a new room.
4. The disappearance of the courtyard which, as the centre of the house, was where many activities took place.
5. Instead of white and green, people started to use new bright colours for walls and doors, such as red and brown in varying tones.

6. The relationship between the guest area and the residents' area has changed. It is common to see in the contemporary house the living, guest and dining rooms as one open space.
7. The characteristics of certain building materials have been changed. For example, the tiles which used to have geometric patterns, are now mostly plain with marble grains.
8. Finally, the dimensions of the rooms have been reduced, generally becoming smaller, because each room now has only one function.

8.4.3 THE CAUSES OF THE CHANGE

This section is an attempt to discover the causes which led to the change in the identity of houses in the West Bank villages. It is argued here that the change was a product of cultural change and affected by modernisation and colonisation. In other words, the change in the house is due to both internal and external factors. The internal factors are related to the people's changing perceptions as a result of cultural change. The external factors, on the other hand, were imposed on people, such as planning regulations or actions of colonial powers.

It was concluded that the difference between the traditional and the contemporary house could be related back to the cultural source that created each of them. It was found that, they take their source from two distinct types, belonging to two different cultures, which was then reflected in the characteristics of design features.

The co-existence of the two references within the same community is an indicator of cultural change. Therefore, people's attitudes towards the house show a desire to relate to two different sources simultaneously. On one hand, they want to emphasize their identity as Palestinians; on the other, they want to have certain functional and aesthetic features from the West. In other words, people have been caught between the desire to revive

their identity and at the same time the desire for modernisation. This explains the ambiguity in the identity of the contemporary houses.

Another important factor that affected the development of identity of the house was the colonisation of the country at the beginning of the twentieth century, particularly since the Israeli occupation in 1967 as discussed in chapter five. Besides its impact through direct actions, the Israeli occupation affected the cultural attitude of the people. This created a conflict with the local culture and as a result caused disturbances, adaptation and replacements in the built environment. For example, the use of the pitched roofs in the Israeli settlements affected people's attitude towards them and some Palestinians are now using them in their houses.

Regarding the colonisation, another viewpoint could be argued here: that people in the West Bank reacted against the gradual loss of their political and the country's physical identity. This reaction generated energy directed towards the affirmation of self in the face of the colonial action to change their identity. For example, people in the villages carved a picture of the Dome of the Rock on the keystone of the entrance to emphasise their religious and national identity.

The conclusion to be drawn here is that the change in the identity of the built environment reflects general cultural process taking place within the Palestinian society and the struggle to maintain their cultural and national identity against the influence of the colonial power. During this process, people's values and the meanings attached to certain elements in the built environment have been distorted.

8.5 SUMMARY

This chapter discussed the change of identity of both the traditional and the contemporary house. The aim was to provide an understanding of the main features of the house. For the purpose of analysis, the house was divided into two main components, the exterior

and the interior. As a result of observations and interviews in the case study, a number of issues regarding the identity of the architectural components of the house emerged.

It was found that the traditional house consisted of several rooms around a courtyard serving an extended family. Even though there is a difference between the houses of low income and high income people, there are features common to all of them. The exterior of the traditional house is simple with a few small openings and geometric decorations on the entrance which had social and religious meanings. In addition, the investigation of the interior focused on the unit for a single family which was in most cases one large multi-purpose room in which the furniture was limited to few mattresses, rugs and pillows.

On the other hand, the contemporary house was found to serve a single family. Besides the difference between rich and poor people's houses, there was a difference between the houses located within the old core of the village and those located on the outskirts. Nonetheless, it was found that the contemporary house is a detached, isolated and extrovert unit. In addition, it is divided into separate rooms each with a specific function.

In comparing the traditional and the contemporary houses, the difference was found to be substantial. Indeed, many of the characteristics have been changed, and sometimes even reversed. It is worth noting that the change of the identity of the house can be related to both cultural changes and to political developments in the country.

Finally, even though there are differences between the traditional and the contemporary house, and there are different house types within each group, there are also common characteristics which distinguish the house in the villages of the West Bank. These features were central to the identity of the house in the past and remain so in the present. In order to identify these features, the next chapter will utilise the "repertory grid technique" to investigate people's perception of the exterior and the interior of the Palestinian house.

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THE IDENTITY OF THE HOUSE: PATTERNS AND MEANINGS

9.1 PROLOGUE

One of the most important objects that people use to express their identity is the house. Indeed, houses are an important part of the communicative system through which people exchange information about status as well as about values and meanings. As Duncan (1981) notes:

The house, it is argued, is an extremely important aspect of the built environment, embodying not only personal meanings but expressing and maintaining the ideology of prevailing social orders.

(Duncan, 1981:1)

The relationship between people and their houses is a peculiar one in the way they contribute to shape the inhabitants' identity. Leonini (1984) states that, with and through things, we build an image of ourselves and we try to sell it to others. This research argues that, through the way people build their houses and the way they organise the interior spaces, they communicate to others a series of signs through which other people may read and interpret their values, power and the place they occupy in social hierarchies.

People usually personalise their house through the building itself, as well as through the landscape in which it is set and the furniture it contains as a means of expressing their distinctiveness. Through it, messages are also communicated about the inhabitants' status, taste and values. In other words, the materials people use in the house, the furniture they install, the pictures they hang, the plants they tend and the size of the windows, all are messages about themselves that they want to convey back to themselves

or to others. At the same time, the house plays an important role in giving a sense of security to the residents in which they are in control over the environment and this is fundamental to achieving a sense of stability (Leonini, 1984).

In the Palestinian society, the house is bound to the family's self, it reflects their social status, values and identity. Indeed, the house becomes central to every person, it is one of the most valuable possessions the family may have, and it has deep affective meanings. The house also becomes an expression of Palestinians national identity.

The main task in this chapter is to explore the significance of the physical features of the houses in the West Bank villages. It will focus on the ways personal or group identity is shaped and maintained in the houses. More specifically, it will identify the architectural components that distinguish the Palestinian houses by analysing the meanings they convey and the projections they embody. The strategy is to investigate the exterior of the house and the interior of the guest room. The research method adopted to collect information was the repertory grid technique.

This chapter is divided into four parts. The first part discusses the social and cultural characteristics of the inhabitants and the types of houses in the case study village. It subsequently explains the strategy for the investigation. The second part investigates the identity of the exterior of the house. Then, the third part examines the interior of the house and in particular, the guest room. The final part discusses a practical method for architectural design based on an experiment conducted with students in the school of architecture at Al-Najah National University.

9.2 IDENTITY AND SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS

During the fieldwork, forty six respondents were chosen to carry out the repertory grid study. An understanding of the social characteristics of those people, including their cultural background, is important in order to gain insight about the village community. This section, therefore, explores the most significant characteristics of the people

This section, therefore, explores the most significant characteristics of the people interviewed, and discusses the way they influence the identity of the house.

Families in the West Bank villages are usually big and most families have between four and eight members. The sample surveyed shows that the average household size is seven persons. Within it, there is a wide variety of family sizes ranging from one to 11 persons. A significant portion (80%) of the families are now nuclear families, which shows the change in the social structure of the Palestinian society from extended families to nuclear ones.

The following table shows the occupation of the respondents according to their sex and age.

AGE	SEX		OCCUPATION				
	M	F	S.	F.	W.	E.	H.
Below 20	3	9	11	-	-	-	1
20 - 40	6	7	3	2	3	3	2
40 - 60	8	7	-	3	2	4	6
Over 60	4	2	-	2	-	2	2
	21	25	14	7	5	9	11
	46%	54%	30%	15%	11%	20%	24%

Table 9.1: The social characteristics of the respondents
S: student, F: farmer, W: manual worker, E: non-manual worker, H: House wife

The table shows that the sample of respondents covers different groups in terms of age, sex and occupation. This was important in order to get different perceptions and views of different groups. The average age of the respondents was 37 years. The youngest respondent was 12 years old while the oldest was 95 years old. It was noticeable that most female respondents were either students (32%) or house wives (44%), which indicates that most women do not work after getting married.

Another aspect of Palestinian society found during the survey, is the low level of residential mobility. The survey shows that 68% of the sample have lived in the same house since they were born. Given that most girls leave home after marriage, this statistic is particularly high. More than that, people do not move from their villages; of the sample interviewed, 96% have lived in the same village all their lives.

Moreover, people in the villages consider the house as their most valuable possession. The survey indicated that 76% of the villagers own their houses. In general, couples start to build their own house on family land near their *hamulah* as soon as they get married. Results from the survey confirm that spatial organisation is still determined through kinship. It was also found that 72% of the neighbours in the case study are relatives.

National identity is very important for the people in the West Bank. Therefore, residents in the villages mostly identify themselves as Palestinians (76%), and sometimes they add to that their religious identity as Muslims or Christians and racial identity as Arabs (56%). It is worth mentioning here that none from the sample identify himself / herself as a member of any specific *hamulah*. In addition, only eight per cent identified themselves as an individual person "me as I am".

9.3 HOUSE TYPES AND THE DESIGN PROCESS

West Bank residents now live in four types of houses. This research identifies them as: traditional houses, villas, detached new units and apartments. Table (9.2) shows the types of houses, their percentage and year of construction.

It is noticeable from the table that new detached houses are the most common in the villages. Another feature can be read from the table, is that no traditional house had been built since 1948 and no apartment was built before 1980.

TYPE	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE	YEAR OF CONSTRUCTION
1. Traditional Houses	15	33%	2 before 1900 13 1900 - 1948
2. Detached new Units	19	41%	7 1948 - 1967 12 1967 - 1992
3. Villa	8	17%	3 1948 - 1967 5 1967 - 1992
4. Apartment	4	9%	4 1980 - 1992
	46	100%	

Table 9.2: House types of the respondents in the case study village.

The design process has changed dramatically in the last few decades. Traditionally people in the villages used to build their houses with the help of a builder and relatives. However, most of the recently build houses were designed by architects, engineers or draftsmen (63%). This indicates the change in the process of building houses in the villages. The following table shows the percentage of houses designed by architects, builders or others.

DESIGNER	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
1. Architect or Engineer	23	50%
2. Builder	17	37%
3. Draftsmen and others	6	13%
	46	100%

Table 9.3: The designers of houses in the selected sample.

The declining role of residents in the design process reflects an increasing reliance on other people in the creation of house identity. In an earlier study, I examined the influence of designers' background on house design in the Arab countries (Senan, 1987).

In order to do so, I identified four cultural groups for an experiment: Muslim Arab, Christian Arab, Muslim non-Arab and non-Muslim non-Arab. From that study, I concluded that each group perceives design in a different way. Moreover, the place of study of architects had a significant role in the way they design. This may explain the different styles and identities in contemporary houses in the case study village.

During the interviews, it was noted that many respondents (56%) did not have any role during the design process. Others who had a role mostly emphasized on functional aspects such as large rooms, storage, or two entrances one for the family and another for guests. However, few asked for special physical characteristics such as arches or small windows facing the street.

By giving people an opportunity to identify the features they would like to put in a new house to reflect their identity, 26 elements were identified. These can be classified into four groups. **The first** group which contains 14 elements (54%), are functional elements that have been used in traditional houses such as courtyard, large rooms, oven (*taboon*) and wall cupboards. **The second** category includes five elements (19%) which represent the physical features or characteristics of the house such as arched windows and the use of stone as a building material. **The third** group contains four elements (15%) which reflect people's values such as privacy, for example the guest room to be close to the entrance or to have a separate entrance. **The last** category includes three elements (12%) which enhance the appearance of the house such as stone columns at the entrance and fountain in the garden.

In general, most people believed that old traditional houses reflect the Palestinian identity better than the contemporary ones. When asked to give examples of houses in their village which have Palestinian characteristics, 92% of respondents gave examples of traditional houses. However, the rest (8%) mentioned a new neighbourhood in the western part of the village in which houses are small and compact. Those considered it a reflection of a Palestinian neighbourhood, I believe, not because of the physical characteristics of the buildings, but because of the way the place has been used by people.

9.4 THE STRATEGY FOR INVESTIGATION

The main aim in this chapter is to identify the architectural components which represent the Palestinian house and their meanings. However, the house has two important and different components, its interior and its exterior. The public facade reflects the kind of identity the residents choose to display to others. The interior however, reflects the way residents see themselves and reveals signs to those who are invited inside.

Therefore, the strategy adopted to investigate this matter, is to subdivide the house into two main parts: the exterior and the interior. For the exterior, the focus was on the facade and the entrance. In the interior, however, the concentration was only on the guest room. For each part, the architectural components, decorations and furniture arrangements are analysed.

In sum, three aspects will be examined in both the exterior and the interior of the houses: the importance of identity, the mechanisms for creating identity and the meanings of architectural components. The following discussion addresses the exterior; a parallel investigation of interior features is conducted at a later stage.

9.5 THE EXTERIOR OF THE HOUSE

This part investigates the identity of the exterior of houses in the rural West Bank. As stated previously, the features of the exterior of the house present to others the unique and individual qualities of its residents. In other words, identity is achieved through using certain materials, forms, shapes and landscaping. It should be noted that different social groups may express their identity in different ways: rich and poor, male and female, old and young.

Several researchers have investigated the expression of people's identity through the houses they occupy. Duncan (1981) examined the relationship between collectivistic and

individualistic social structures and the resultant attitudes towards housing by studying how old and new elite in Hyderabad achieve status in their houses. Hummon (1989) emphasized how the social and cultural processes mediate the relation of housing and identity by analysing the ways that dwellings become non-verbal signs in communicating identity in modern American society.

Traditionally, in the West Bank villages, people tended to show a low profile in the facades of their houses and most of the decoration was concentrated around the courtyard or at the entrance. However, it was noticeable that decorations in contemporary houses are displayed to the outsiders through the facades. This is achieved by using different forms, expensive building materials, decorative elements and diverse shapes of openings. Nevertheless, there are certain features in both traditional and contemporary houses which distinguish houses in the West Bank. Therefore, the following sections will consider traditional and contemporary houses as one group and the investigation will cover both.

The main task in this part is to identify the types and patterns which reflect the identity of the rural Palestinian house and their meanings to people. Accordingly, it is divided into three main sections. The first section identifies and briefly describes the houses which were chosen for investigation. Then, the second section points out the constructs which reflect the identity of the houses in the West Bank and it will highlight their importance and relationships. Finally, the third section discusses the relationships between the houses and the constructs.

9.5.1 THE HOUSES UNDER INVESTIGATION

Having defined the identity of traditional and contemporary houses in Arraba village in the last chapter, this section attempts to discuss in detail the ten houses that were selected for in-depth investigation (Fig. 9.1). In particular, it highlights the patterns that reflect the identity of the Palestinian house. This is based on information collected through observations and informal interviews with the inhabitants.

House One (*Dar Abdulhadi*) 1910

This house is part of a big complex owned by a rich extended family. It is built from finely cut stone. The location is close to the boundaries of the old core of the village. In architectural features and size it is similar to the homes of the affluent populations of neighbouring cities. Most of the house is now deserted and only one family lives in a small part.

House Two (*Dar Abu-Rida*) 1958

This is a single-family house built as part of an extended family complex. Therefore, it still has strong relations with the adjoining houses. The house is mainly built of concrete; stone is used on the facade only. The house shares a courtyard with two other houses in the back; similarly, the garden in front is for the three houses.

House Three (*Dar Abu-Amin*) 1946

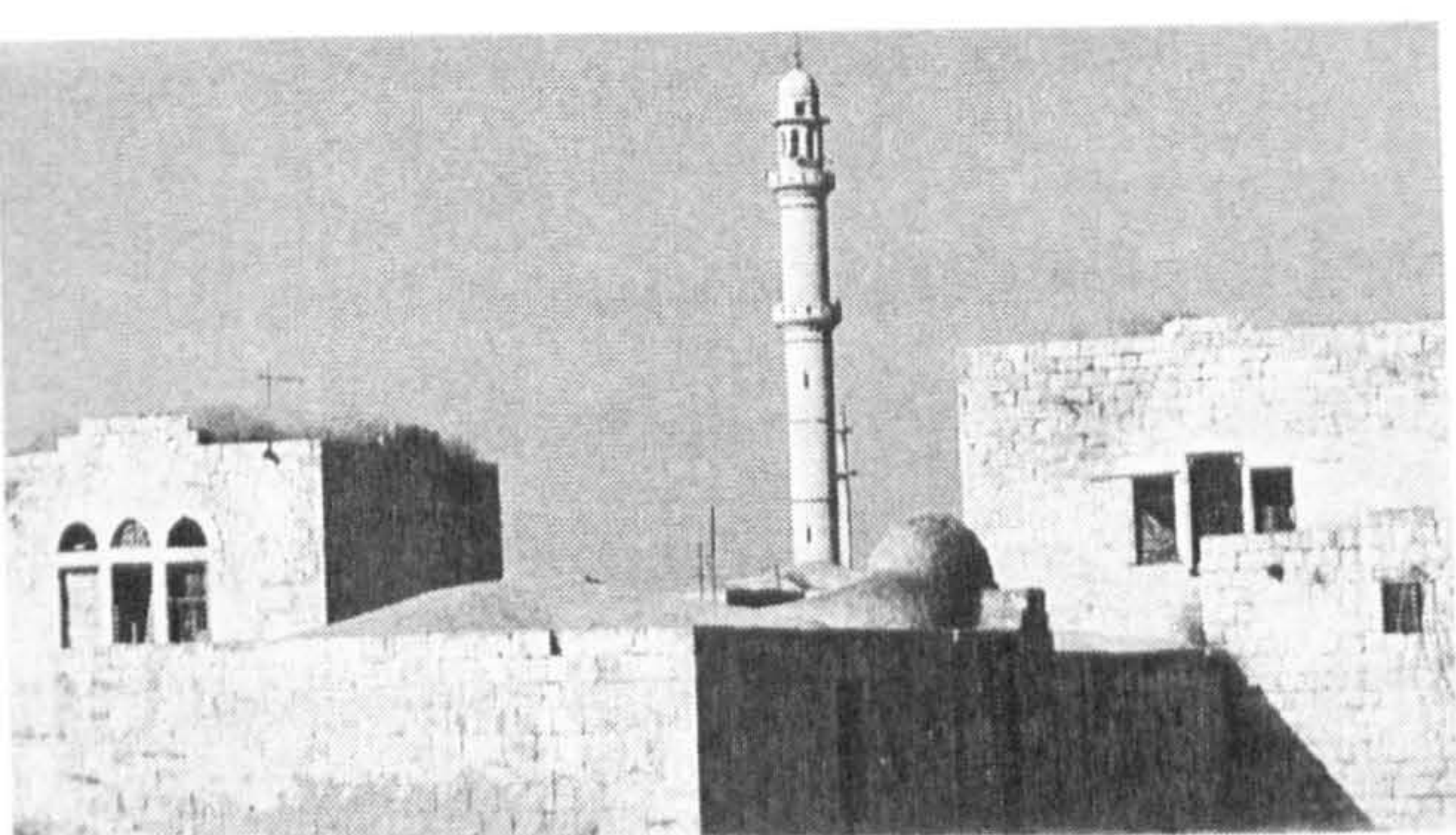
This house is for a rich farmer, and its form and size are typical for fairly rich people in the village. Beyond the gate are three more rooms, one for each married son, arranged around a small courtyard. This house is still being used as an extended family house.

House Four (*Dar Abu-Fadel*) 1935

This house is for a fairly poor family within the old core of the village. It has one big room and a storage around a small courtyard, and is surrounded by a high wall. The main building material is mud.

House Five (*Dar El-Attari*) 1952

This house is inhabited by a nuclear family headed by a wealthy trader. The owner built this house far away from his *hamulah's* neighbourhood, so it is noticeable that the house does not relate to the surrounding buildings. Inside, the house has a main hall surrounded by four rooms.



1



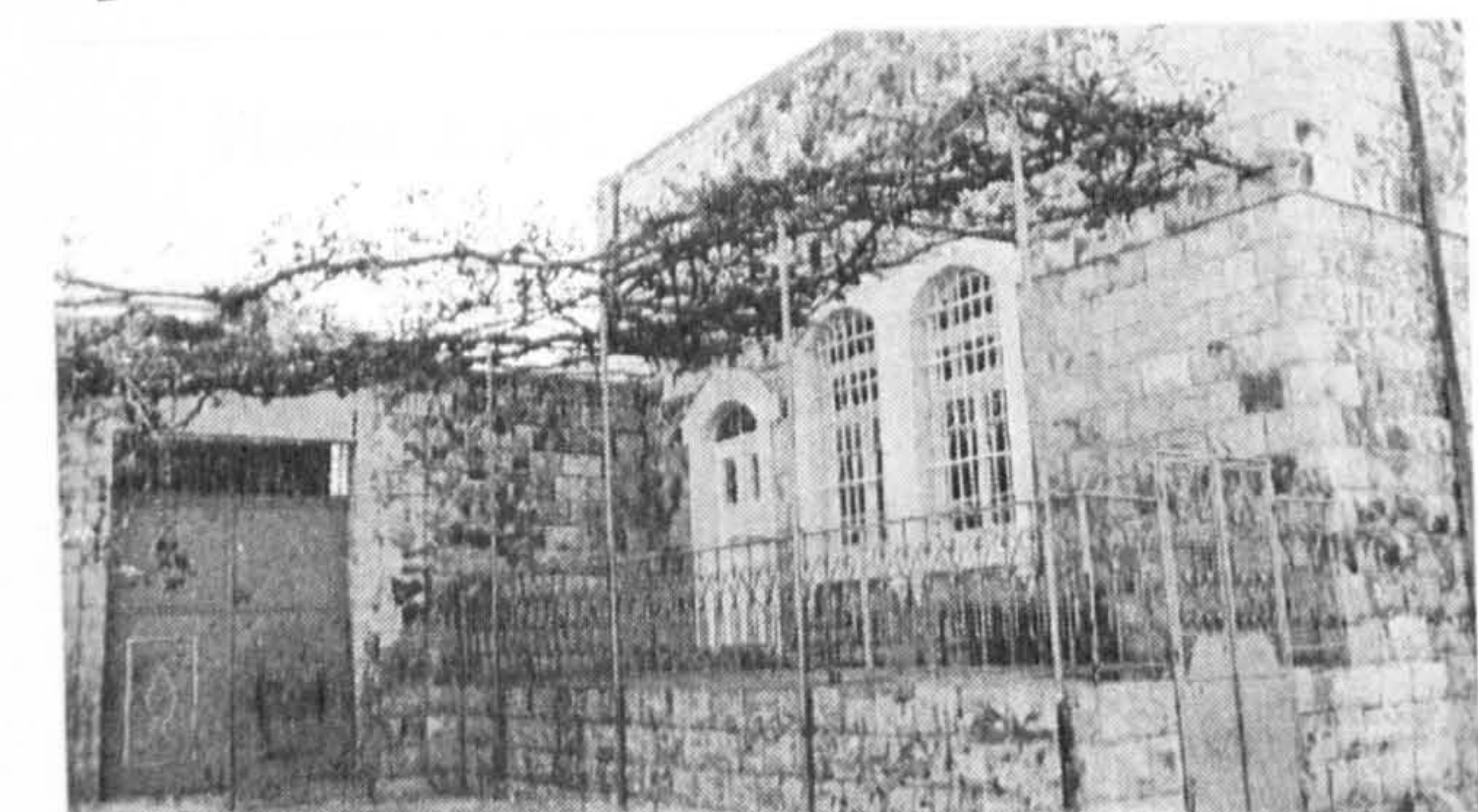
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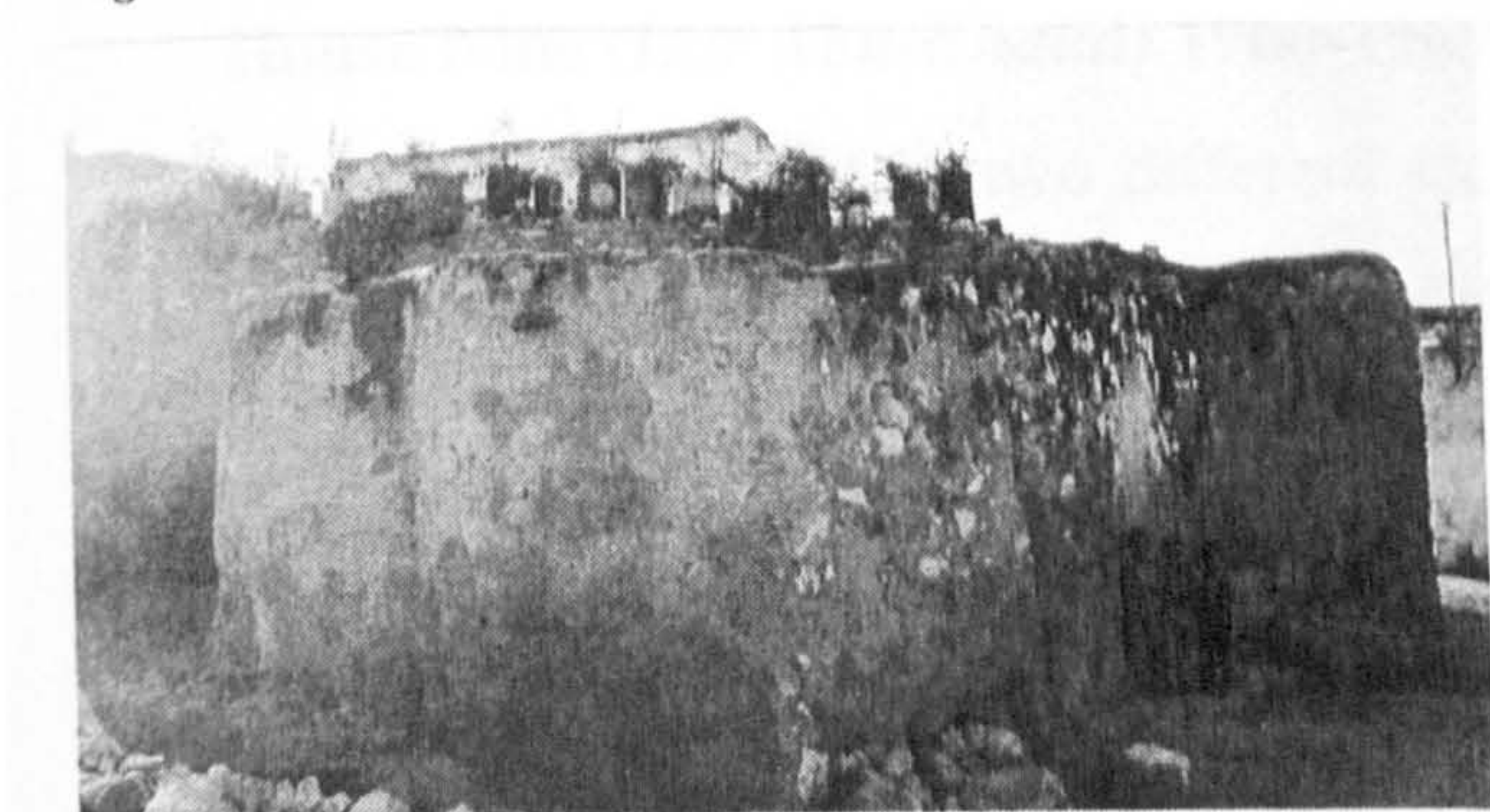
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4



9



5



10

Fig. 9.1: The ten houses selected for the investigation.

House Six (*Dar El-Arda*) 1940 and 1986

This house is built on top of two traditional rooms. There are two nuclear families living in the house, one on the ground floor and the other on the new first floor. The gate was built along with the old house in 1940. The owner asked the architect to design an extension to fit with the old building. In this house, we can see the traditional and the contemporary images simultaneously.

House Seven (*Dar Abu-Jamil*) 1930s

This house was for a rich family. The most significant feature is the big courtyard and the attached garden (*hakurah*). In this house, the owner tried to build as many rooms as he could on the first floor (*eley'h*) as a symbol of power and wealth.

House Eight (*Dar El-Badawi*) 1978

This house is now typical for rich families in the villages of the West Bank. At present, one single family lives in it. This house was designed to look like a western villa. The large gate is intended to facilitate car parking. The house is raised on columns and provides playing space for the children.

House Nine (*Dar Abu-Khalid*) 1966-1969

This house was built in two different stages for three brothers. The three families are sharing a courtyard. The building material is concrete with stone on part of the facade.

House Ten (*Dar Assaf*) 1920s and 1955

This house was built in two stages. It was one of the few houses to be built on the outskirts of the village in early 1920s. It has a courtyard and *hakurah* behind the buildings. Nobody now lives in the house, the owners having built a new house just beside it.

9.5.1.1 The Hierarchy of Houses Identity

From the analysis of people's perception, the rank order of the houses, from the one who has a strong Palestinian identity to the one who has a weak Palestinian identity was based on two bases: **first**, the order of respondents choice through the elicitation process of the constructs. **Second**, the score points in the repertory grid technique. Throughout the elicitation process of the constructs (see chapter four), the expressed ranking order of the houses as more Palestinian than the others, reflects people's attitude about the identity of the house and accordingly represent its hierarchy as a Palestinian.

RESPONDENTS	HOUSES TO BE CHOSEN							
	1-3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1.	1	4	3	5	7	2	6	10
2.	3	1	4	2	7	5	6	10
3.	1	3	4	5	7	6	2	10
4.	1	4	5	2	7	3	6	10
5.	1	3	4	5	7	2	9	10
6.	1	4	5	3	7	2	9	10
7.	3	1	4	2	7	8	9	10
8.	1	3	5	2	7	4	9	10
9.	3	4	2	5	7	8	1	10
10.	3	1	2	6	7	8	5	10
11.	3	1	5	6	7	2	9	10
12.	1	3	4	6	7	8	5	10
13.	1	3	4	5	7	6	2	10
14.	3	1	5	6	7	2	9	10
15.	3	1	5	6	7	2	8	10
16.	1	4	3	5	7	6	2	10
17.	1	4	3	6	7	5	2	10
18.	1	4	3	5	7	2	6	10
19.	3	4	1	2	7	5	9	10
20.	3	1	2	6	7	5	9	10
21.	1	3	5	2	7	6	4	10
22.	1	3	4	5	7	6	2	10
23.	1	4	5	3	7	2	9	10
24.	3	4	2	5	7	8	1	6
25.	1	3	4	6	7	8	5	10

Table 9.4: The choice of the houses through the elicitation process.

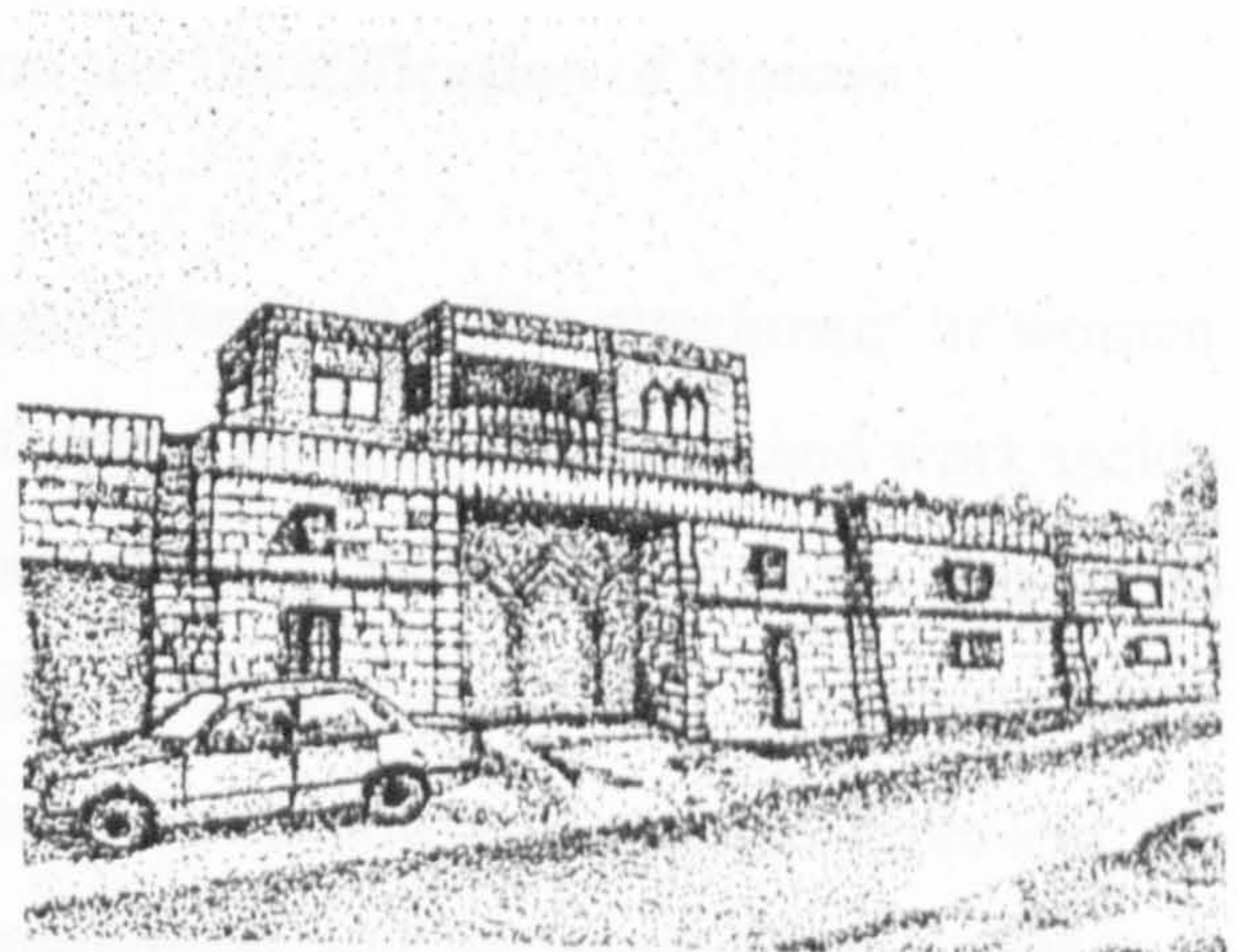
The table shows the picture numbers of houses placed before the respondents (three at a time, then after choosing one, another will be added) and the number selected as most typically Palestinian of them at each eliciting attempt. For example, for respondent Number one, he was asked to choose the most typically Palestinian from houses number 1,2 and 3; he chose number 1. Then number 4 was added to the remaining number 2 and 3, and he was asked then to choose again and so forth.

From the above table, it is noticeable that house number 7 was identified as being more typically Palestinian than the others from all respondents (Fig. 9.2). On the other hand, house number 8 was only chosen by few respondents. Accordingly, house number 7 was considered more typically Palestinian than house number 8.

According to the total number of points scored in the rating of the ten houses, three groups of houses were identified: those which have a strong Palestinian identity, those who have a medium Palestinian identity and the others which have a weak Palestinian identity. In order to decide the cut-off point, the average score has been calculated. The houses which their scores a lot higher than the average (1115.2 points) were considered to have a strong Palestinian identity; the houses which their scores around the average were considered to have a medium Palestinian identity; and finally, the ones which their scores a lot less than the average were considered to have a weak identity.



7



8

Fig. 9.2: House No. 7 (a strong Palestinian identity); and house No. 8 (a weak Palestinian identity).

It was also found that, the houses which had been identified to have a strong Palestinian identity are numbers one (1246 points), three (1473 points) and seven (1322 points). The houses which have a medium Palestinian identity are numbers two (1123 points), six (1131 points), nine (1005 points) and ten (1033 points). Finally, the houses which have a weak Palestinian identity are numbers four (980 points), five (920 points) and eight (919 points) (see appendix 9.1).

Now, from the rankings and scores, the final hierarchy of houses identity from the strongest to the weakest is as follows:

3, 7, 1, 6, 2, 10, 4, 9, 5, 8

In general, the order was the same according to both modes of scanning applied. The only difference was on ranking no. 3 and no. 7 for the first place ; and no. 4 and no. 9 for the seventh place. The final decision was taken by considering the difference in the scores and the order in the ranking choice. For example, no. 3 has 151 points more than number 7, but according to the choice order number 7 was ranked one place before number three. Therefore, it was considered that number three is stronger than number 7 because of the big difference in the score points. In contrast, house number 4 was ranked before number 9 even though the points of the former are less than the latter.

9.5.1.2 The Effect of Social Characteristics on the Identification of Houses

In general, women are more attached to the house than men. The attachment of women to the house has to do with the fact that women spend more time, energy and work inside the house. In addition, custom assigns the responsibility for cleanness of the interior to women. However, men often concentrate on the outside of the house; so the size of the house and its exterior features, including maintenance and landscaping, represent the family man's personality and status. Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Hatton (1981) in their book "The Meaning of Things", distinguish between objects of action (tools, cars, etc.) and objects of contemplation (furniture, pictures, etc.) arguing that men are usually

more attached to the first type of objects while women are more connected to the second. It is surprising therefore, that there was no significant difference in evaluating the identity of houses between men and women in the case study village.

In order to test the perception of different social groups on the identity of houses, the same rank ordering process has been carried out for groups of respondents of different age and sex. The results show that the social characteristics did not greatly affect the overall structure of ranking, however it is possible to note few divergences although they are not particularly significant (Appendix 9.2).

In this research, it was found that men and women agree on the overall ranking order of the houses. The survey data suggests that they disagree only slightly on the intensity of identity of some houses, such as house number 4 and house number 9 which vary from rank 7 to rank 8. The same is true to houses numbers 5 and 8.

Respondents belonging to the different age categories in this study (under 30 and over 30) seem to agree on the overall ranking order of the houses in terms of having strong or weak identity. They do however, show a slight divergence regarding the ranking of houses numbers 4 and 9. While the young ranked number 4 in the sixth place and number 9 in the eighth place, the older people ranked number 4 in the eighth place and number 9 in the seventh place.

Moreover, respondents over 60 seem to find Palestinian identity only in the traditional houses. This can be explained by the fact that those people used to live in traditional houses and they noticed that the introduction of the new types of houses to their villages was accompanied by the foreign colonisation of the country. In addition, the features of the contemporary houses were strange to them with their new characteristics and building materials. Moreover, these houses, I argue, do not fit with their lifestyle.

9.5.1.3 Similarity and Dissimilarity Between the Houses

In this section, there is an analysis of the perceptions respondents have about the identity of the houses and the relationships between them. In order to do so, a cluster analysis of the houses was carried out. This was based on the respondents perception and according to the relationships between the constructs and the houses.

The evaluation was based on the respective distances on graphics between the points. The groups formed as a result consist of houses which are perceived as relatively close. The cut-off point between groups was subjective and related to the scores and diagrams.

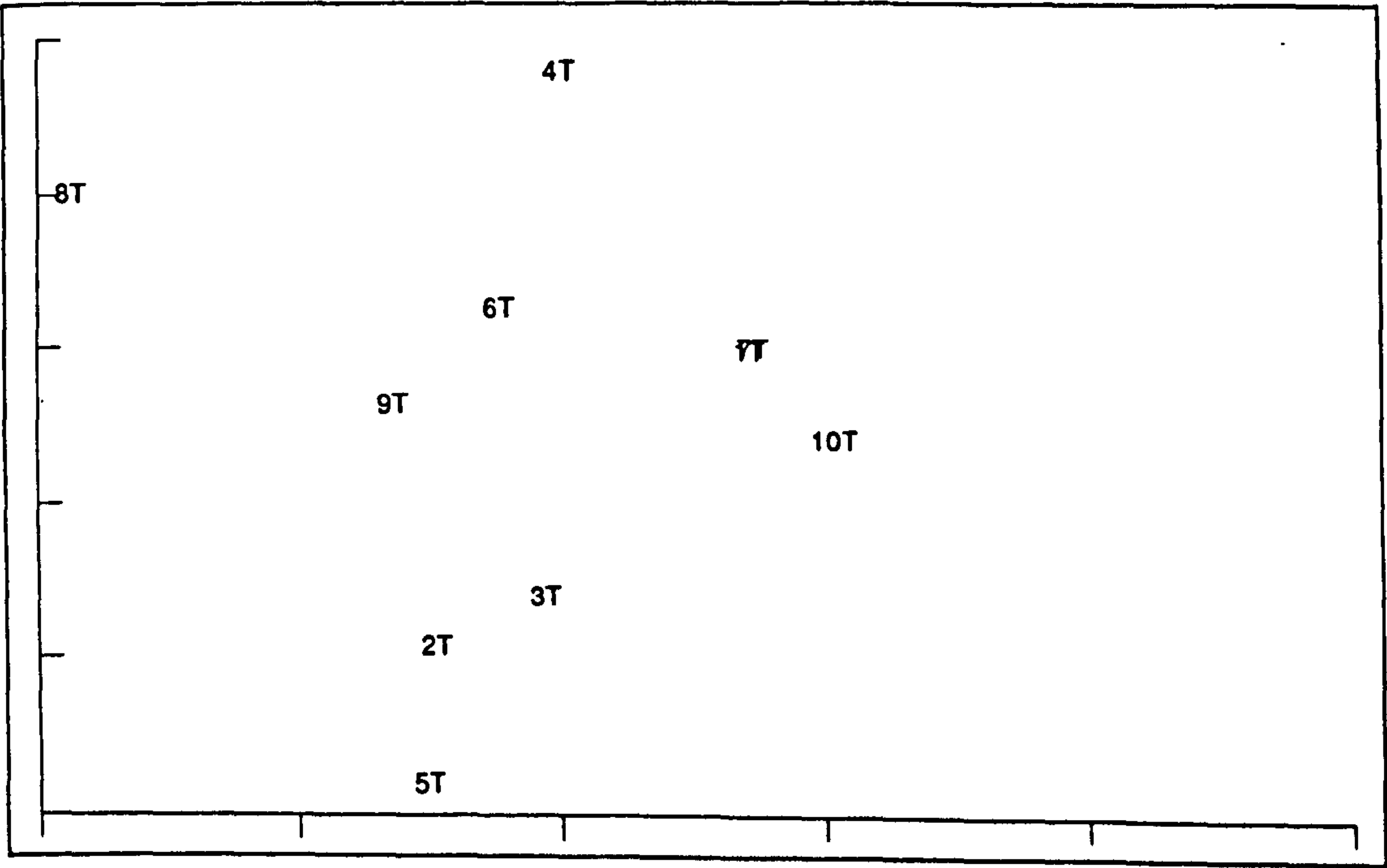


fig. 9.3: The relationships between the houses.

The cluster analysis of the houses investigated in this study and their plots obtained from the responses (fig. 9.3) yielded results which could be graphically presented. It was found that the houses are contained between two poles, house number ten and house number eight. The distribution of houses between the two poles seems to match the differentiation made earlier between the houses which have strong or weak Palestinian identity.

According to the evaluation of all respondents, 5 groups could be identified. In the diagram, the short distances between the houses represent the ones with strong relationships, i.e. the houses with similar characteristics. The results of the analysis show that houses number 1, 7 and 10 have strong relationships; also houses number 6 and 9 are similar; and houses number 2, 3 and 5 have something in common (Fig. 9.4). However, houses number 4 and 8 seem to be different from the rest as they are found far from any other house, which means that their characteristics are not similar to any of the houses close to them.

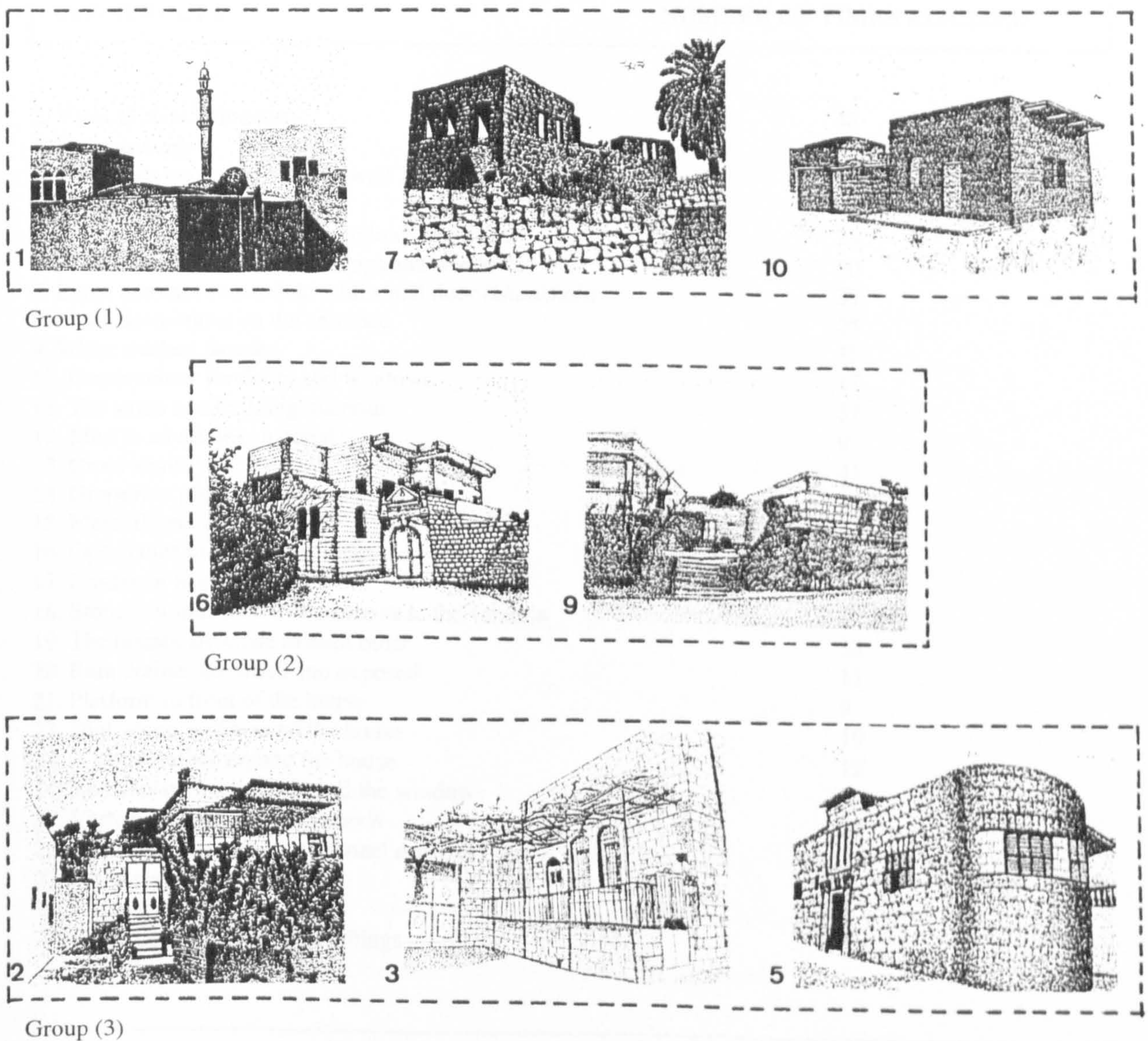


Fig. 9.4: The similarities between the houses.

9.5.2 THE CONSTRUCTS

After discussing the houses, the second step is to identify the constructs which represent houses in the West Bank villages. The constructs and the number of times elicited are presented in the following table:

CONSTRUCTS	NUMBER OF TIMES ELICITED
1. Vertical small windows	45
2. Few openings	38
3. The windows are high on the wall	32
4. Arched openings	71
5. Intricate wooden details in windows and doors	28
6. Intricate metal details for railings and windows	20
7. Large entrance (<i>bawabeh</i>) with small door (<i>khoukhah</i>)	39
8. Stone decorations on the entrance	25
9. White washed facades	35
10. Green colour for doors and windows	17
11. The stone as a building material	57
12. Mud as a building material	9
13. Cross vaults	41
14. Grapevine plant near the entrance	38
15. Metal flower containers	12
16. Open court in front of the house	29
17. Garden in front of the house	6
18. Stone columns on the entrance or in the veranda	8
19. The houses are close to each other	33
20. Rain drainer are small and exposed	11
21. Platform in front of the house	9
22. High stone wall around the house	19
23. A stone terrace around the house	12
24. Red tiles on the veranda and the windows	6
25. Vertical house form with <i>eley'h</i>	26
26. The veranda is closed with steel and glass	25
27. Stone stairs	6
28. Big house	2
29. Sharp details in the stairs railings	2

Table 9.5: The constructs of the Palestinian house elicited through the repertory grid technique.

The constructs elicited from all interviews were 29. These are the features which people perceived reflect the identity of the Palestinian house. The above table shows all the constructs elicited from the ten houses investigated. It was found that people elicited constructs from house number 3 more than any other house. At the same time, people elicited fewer constructs from house number 8 than any other house.

A comparison between the constructs elicited by respondents living in traditional houses and those living in contemporary ones, shows that there is a difference not only in the number of constructs elicited, but also in their types. It was found that people living in traditional houses were able to elicit more constructs and to specify finer details. However, when respondents living in traditional houses were asked to name elements they would like to have in their future house, they mostly mentioned elements from the contemporary houses. In other words, their dream house is modern and they mainly concentrated on functional aspects such as a good bathroom and a big kitchen. In contrast, people who live in contemporary houses asked for physical characteristics from the traditional houses such as arched windows, a courtyard and the use of stone.

From that pool of constructs, fourteen were chosen for detailed scoring. The selection process was based on the number of times each construct has been mentioned. In addition, similar and related constructs are sometimes combined in one. For example, geometric wooden details and intricate metal details were combined.

The fourteen constructs to be scored are:

1. Small and vertical windows.
2. Arched openings.
3. Few number of windows.
4. The use of intricate geometric wooden, stone or metal details from the Palestinian heritage on the doors and windows.
5. Large entrance (*bawabeh*) with a small door for frequent use (*khokhah*).
6. White washed walls and green doors and windows.
7. The stone as a building material.
8. Cross vaults.
9. The grapevine plant near the entrance and palm tree in the garden.
10. Open yard in front of the house (*housh*).

11. The houses are close to each other.
12. High wall around the house.
13. The form of the house is vertical.
14. The use of metal and glass to close the open veranda.

It is noticeable that the constructs are mostly related to the traditional houses. This could be explained by the fact that people in the case study considered traditional houses represent the identity of the Palestinian house more than the contemporary ones.

9.5.2.1 The Meaning of the Constructs

In order to have a complete understanding of the constructs, it was necessary to explain their meanings to the people. The information in this section was gathered during the interviews by asking the respondents: why do you think this construct is Palestinian? what is special about it? and what does it mean to you?

The approach adopted in this research to investigate meanings is based on the semiotics approach (Rapoport, 1982) which identifies three major components, namely semantic, syntactic and pragmatic meanings (see chapter two).

The **semantic meaning** explains the relationship between the signs (constructs of the Palestinian house) and values of people. In other words, it investigates the relationship between a sign (eg: small windows) and its significant values (eg: privacy). The main point of evaluation was the Palestinian identity and how people interpreted it. Some related it to their values such as privacy; others associated it with historical references.

The **syntactic meaning** is the relationship of sign to sign within the system of signs. In this study, the syntactic meaning is sought through a cluster analysis of the constructs of houses based on respondents perceptions. This will explain the co-existence of certain elements in the same houses.

The **pragmatic meaning** investigates the relationship between a sign and the behaviour it generates. In the present study, this will be used to explain the process of change in the identity of the house, which may explain the disappearance of certain features.

In sum, the meanings of the constructs in this study were based on the three approaches, depending on the ways people interpreted them.

Through the repertory grid experiment in this study, people elicited the constructs which they believe identify Palestinian houses. However, most of the elements could be seen in other places, particularly in neighbouring Arab countries. So what makes people feel that a house is peculiarly Palestinian? Can we say that those constructs only exist in the Palestinian houses ? Can we identify the Palestinian house from those elicited constructs?

In order to answer these questions, specific information was collected during the survey by asking respondents why they thought the constructs they elicited were Palestinian. As a result of the investigation in the case study village, the author found that there are different approaches according to which people specify the identity of the elements. **Firstly**, there are the characteristics of the element itself. For example, the shape, proportions and the building materials of the arch make it look Palestinian. **Secondly**, there are the elements within their surrounding context. In other words, people look at how the element has been used in the building. For example, people did not see a corner window with arch as Palestinian. **Thirdly**, some elements have been considered as Palestinian simply because they are common in the Palestinian villages, such as the veranda. **Finally**, the meaning that these elements have for people was an important factor according to which they specified the constructs of the houses.

For the exterior of the house, the meanings of the constructs can be summarised as follows:

1. Small windows

Small windows reflect the importance of privacy in the Palestinian society. Others, however justified this type of window as suitable for the Palestinian weather.

2. Arched windows and doors

People related arches to religious meanings. Respondents perceived that arches reflect the Muslim identity because they have been used in mosques and historical buildings.

3. The use of intricate geometric details

The abstract patterns of geometric shapes and of flowers and plants have different meanings. Some found this type of pattern consistent with their religious identity. Some respondents explained that drawings of human beings and animate objects are prohibited in Islam. In addition, others found that, the decoration on the house, particularly at the entrance, reflect the status of its inhabitants. Moreover, some people believe that specific symbols and writings protect the house and the family from evil.

4. The large entrance (*bawabeh*).

Some people saw the large entrance as symbolic sign of the hospitality of the Palestinian people. Others saw the size of the *bawabeh* and its decoration as a reflection of the importance of the owner. Moreover, respondents related it to the lifestyle of the Palestinian villagers as farmers, who need a large entrance for their animals to enter the courtyard.

5. The use of white and green colours

People considered white and green colours a reflection of the natural environment of the West Bank. In addition, white and green reflect specific meanings. White reflects purity and cleanliness; and green is a symbol of life and fertility.

6. The use of stone as a building material

Because stone is available in many areas of the West Bank, it has become a common building material, which fits in harmony with the surrounding environment. Some people

perceive stone as a durable material which lasts for generations, representing the strong relationship between family members in Palestinian society in which the father builds the house not only for himself, but also for his sons and grandsons. Moreover, the use of stone is related to the historical continuity of the built environment in the country.

7. Cross vaults

Most people considered cross vaults as a reflection of their regional identity, because they are often used in the area. In addition, it had a constructional purpose in the past, that is to cover large spaces.

8. Grapevine, palm tree and fig tree

In general, plants and flowers are considered symbols of prosperity and wealth in the house. Traditionally, grapevine was planted either at the entrance or on the terrace. Moreover, its shaded area was considered an important part of the house in which people sit, cook and sleep during the summer.

9. The open yard and the close relationships between houses.

This had been related to the *housh* which reflects the strong relations between neighbours in the villages' society.

10. The vertical proportions of masses and windows

Historically, vertical proportions were the most common in the region, so people considered them more Palestinian than the horizontal ones. Moreover, people believe that this kind of proportions represents status and power.

11. The wall around the house

This wall has two meanings for the respondents. Some found it important for security reasons, while others said it reflects the importance of privacy in the Palestinian society and the need to solve the problem in the design of the contemporary house.

9.5.2.2 The Relationships Between the Constructs

This research provides information about the quality and the intensity of the constructs. Therefore, a given construct could be hypothetically identified as a point situated in the space according to its scores relating to the houses under investigation. The difference between the constructs is then the respective differences between their co-ordinates within that space; in other words, the distances between their points (Fig. 9.5). Therefore, the more two points representing two constructs are distant from one another, the less similar they are.

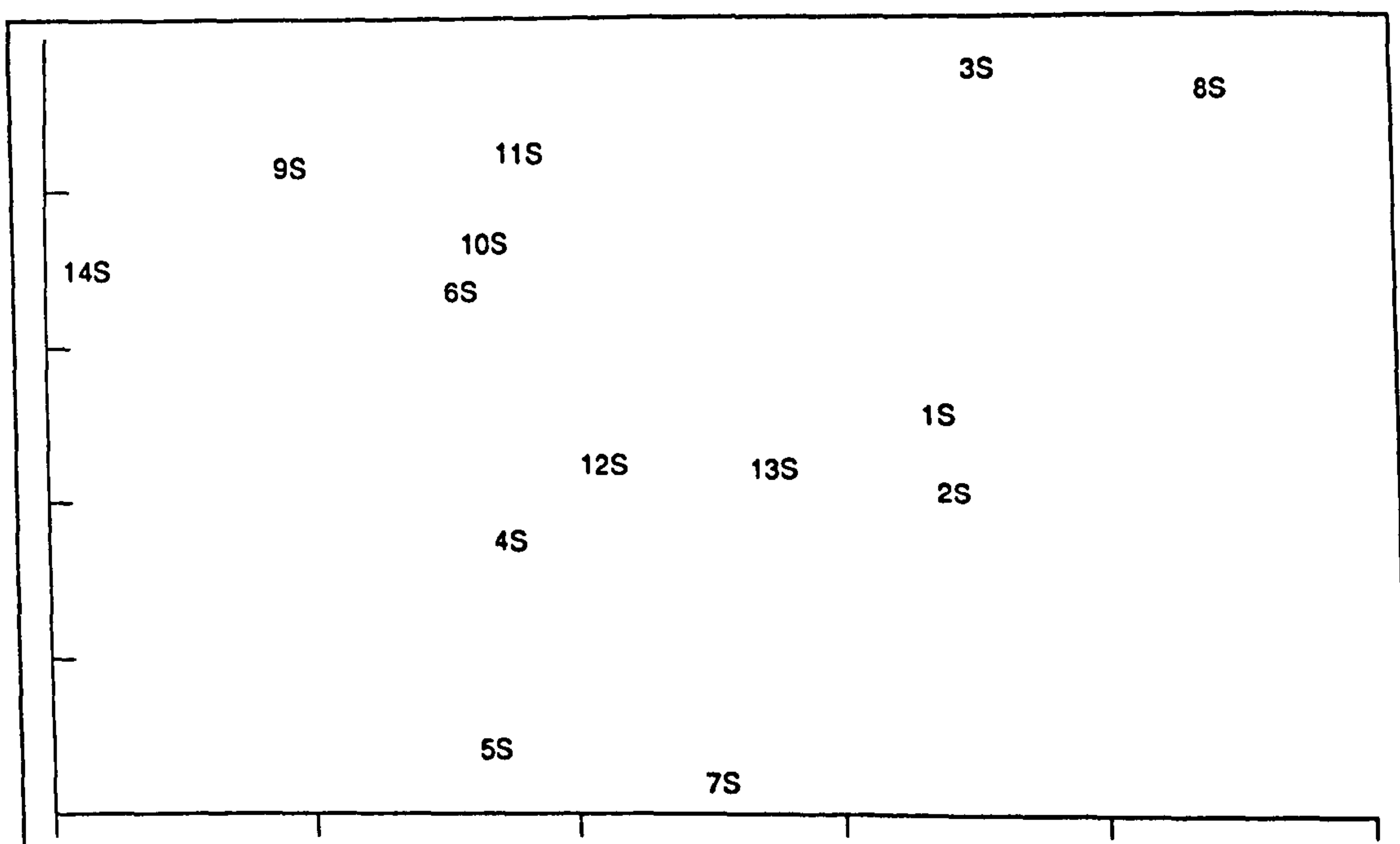


Fig. 9.5: The relationships between the constructs.

Moreover, in some cases, there is inconsistency between two constructs representing the Palestinian identity. For example, small openings and the veranda. Therefore, in order to achieve consistency, change in the use of constructs is needed. The question now is to find out what will change and how much change is needed?

For the design process, a comparison between two constructs such as arched openings and small window sizes would provide the researchers and designers with information

about the priorities of the architectural components of the house. Accordingly, the designer can make more accurate choices in the design of the house which has a Palestinian identity.

Therefore, according to the information regarding the relationships and importance of the constructs, the choice is left to the architect to judge which dimension to emphasise taking into consideration the hierarchy of architectural elements and the relationship of the house to be designed and the related constructs from the ones elicited. For example, if the designer wants to choose between small windows and arches in order to emphasize the Palestinian identity, he/she should take into consideration the intensity of each construct in all houses and the rank order of the houses from which the construct was elicited. In this research, small windows were elicited from house number 4, which is number 7 in the hierarchical order, and arched windows were elicited from house number 1, which is number 3 in the hierarchical order, so arched windows are more important than small ones. Moreover, arched windows were presented strongly in houses numbers 1, 3, 6 and 7, while small windows are presented strongly only in houses numbers 4 and 6. Therefore, it is clear now that arched windows are more important than small ones in order to reflect the identity of the Palestinian house. From that, it is possible to assess more objectively which of the constructs is more desirable to represent the identity in future designs.

This study also claims that there are interactions between the constructs. In other words, one construct could support another or it may conflict with it. This means that certain constructs represent the identity better if they are together, while others will be weakened if put together. For example, vertical forms and vertical windows support each other. On the contrary, white paint on the exterior walls and the stone could conflict with each other.

9.5.2.3 Clustering of the Constructs

The constructs elicited can be divided into different groups according to their nature. In addition, the cluster analysis reveals that distances between the constructs identify subgroups within each group. The author identified three main groups.

The first group includes the constructs which are related to the appearance of the house. It contains the following constructs: small windows, vertical proportions of windows and doors, arched openings, geometric patterns and decorations, white and green colours, and the use of cross vaults. These constructs are perceived in relatively similar ways and were demonstrated as the basic physical features of the houses in the West Bank villages. These constructs can be divided into three categories:

- a) Shapes of the architectural components of the house, which include small vertical windows, arches and geometric patterns. It was noticeable that the first two were found in both traditional and contemporary houses, but geometric patterns were only manifested in traditional houses.
- b) House forms and form-giving architectural features such as the proportions of the masses and the use of cross vaults. These two were rated negatively in contemporary houses. It should be noted here that no dome was found in any house in the case study. In fact, those interviewed villagers indicated that domes are strange elements in the houses, and they only associated them with mosques and tombs.
- c) Building materials used in the construction of the house such as stone in the exterior of the house and wood or iron in the fenestration elements. These materials are still being used in both traditional and contemporary houses.

The second group incorporates those constructs which show the relationship between the house and its surrounding environment. Only three constructs are involved: grapevine and palm tree, the open yard and the close relationship with other houses. As indicated,

these are not physical features in the house itself, but were considered as complementary elements which put a single house within the surrounding context. This group may be divided into two further categories:

- a) The landscape in the house which concentrated in the use of specific plants and not on the form or the shape of the garden. This can be explained by the fact that most gardens in the villages studied are small and simple.
- b) The relationship between the houses. It was found that the compact relations between the traditional houses were rated positively as Palestinian, while the dispersed contemporary ones were rated negatively.

The third group contains certain functional elements in the house. It includes the courtyard, wall around the house and the veranda. Through the survey, people related these constructs to certain values in Palestinian society such as privacy. These constructs could also be categorised into two subgroups:

- a) Places in the layout of the house such as the veranda. This element was introduced to the contemporary houses and it was rated positively. The main reason is that it is common in the region and you can see at least one in every new house.
- b) New physical features in the houses such as the wall around the site which was introduced to ensure privacy in contemporary houses.

9.5.2.4 The Continuity of the Constructs

Another way to categorise the constructs is according to their continuity over time. In order to do so, the existence of the constructs were checked in both traditional and contemporary houses. From that, it was possible to specify the constructs in terms of **retained, abandoned, adapted and introduced**. This means that if the construct is used in both traditional and contemporary houses without change in its characteristics, it will

be identified as **retained**. In this study, these include the use of stone as building material and the grapevine near the entrance. However, if the constructs disappeared from the contemporary houses, it will be identified as **abandoned**, such as small windows, few openings, intricate geometric details, open yard, cross vaults, the compact relations between the houses and the vertical proportions of the forms. Further, if the construct was used in traditional houses and is still being used in contemporary ones but with new characteristics, it will be categorised as **adapted**. This category includes the arched opening, the large entrance and the white-washed wall. The final category which includes the constructs which you can see in contemporary houses but were not in the traditional ones, will be identified as **introduced**, such as high wall around the house and the enclosed veranda.

The following table summarises these groups and their related constructs:

RETAINED	ADAPTED	ABANDONED	INTRODUCED
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- The stone as building material.- Grapevine on the entrance.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Arched openings.- Large entrance.- White paintings.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Small windows.- Few openings.- Intricate details.- Open yards.- Compact houses.- Vertical forms.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Wall around the house.- Veranda.

Table 9.6: The clustering of the constructs according to their continuity.

It is noticeable that only two constructs are in the retained category and two in the adapted. The four constructs are related to the appearance of the house. However, seven constructs (50%) from the three different groups are in the category abandoned. This shows the level of change in the identity of the houses. In fact, the evaluation of this change may also increase by checking the adapted elements, because sometimes they could have a different identity.

9.5.2.5 The Importance of the Constructs

In order to study the importance of the constructs, their scores are considered. Below, it is suggested that the identity of each construct contains the information about people's attitudes towards that construct with the respective rating on a five point scale in which 1 represents very negative and 5 is very positive.

According to the score points of the constructs, it was possible to group them into two categories: **central** and **peripheral**, in which a change in the central constructs would provoke the identity while the change in the peripheral constructs would slightly affect the identity. The central constructs are the ones with scores more than the average. On the other hand, the peripheral constructs include the ones with scores less than the average (Appendix 9.3).

In this research, the constructs with scores more than the average (800.6) are the following: construct numbers 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12 and 13. While the peripheral constructs are numbers 2, 3, 8, 9 and 14. From their scores, the rank of the constructs from the most important to the least is:

7, 4, 12, 13, 11, 10, 5, 6, 1, 9, 3, 2, 8, 14

Central

Peripheral

From this ranking, we can identify the central constructs which are important to the identity of the Palestinian house. By checking the abandoned constructs, it was found that more than half of the central constructs have been abandoned, including construct numbers 1, 4, 10, 11 and 13. This explains the dramatic change in the identity of the house.

In order to check the disagreement between different age and sex groups, the same computations have been applied to each group separately. The results show that the social characteristics do not have a significant impact on the overall rank order. Male and female ranked the importance in the same way. However, the only significant difference was in evaluating construct number 11 (the compact relation with other houses), in which the males ranked it in the seventh place while the females found it more important and put it in the second place. Moreover, people under 30 years and over 30 years seem to agree on the importance of the constructs. However, they disagree on number 9 (the grapevine) and number 11 (the compact houses). Young people ranked number 9 in the tenth place and number 11 in the seventh place, while old people put number 9 in the eighth place and number 11 in the third place (Appendix 9.4).

9.5.3 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HOUSES AND CONSTRUCTS

During the fieldwork, it was noticeable that certain constructs were strongly presented in some houses but weakly in others. Taking into account the scores of both the houses and the constructs, it was possible to identify the constructs which have been presented strongly in each house.

In order to find out the difference between the constructs which are strong in traditional houses and the constructs which are strong in contemporary houses, the houses under investigation were stratified into traditional and contemporary. Houses numbers 1, 3, 4, 7 and 10 were considered traditional, while houses numbers 2, 5, 6, 8 and 9 were considered contemporary. After that, the constructs which are presented strongly in each house were identified.

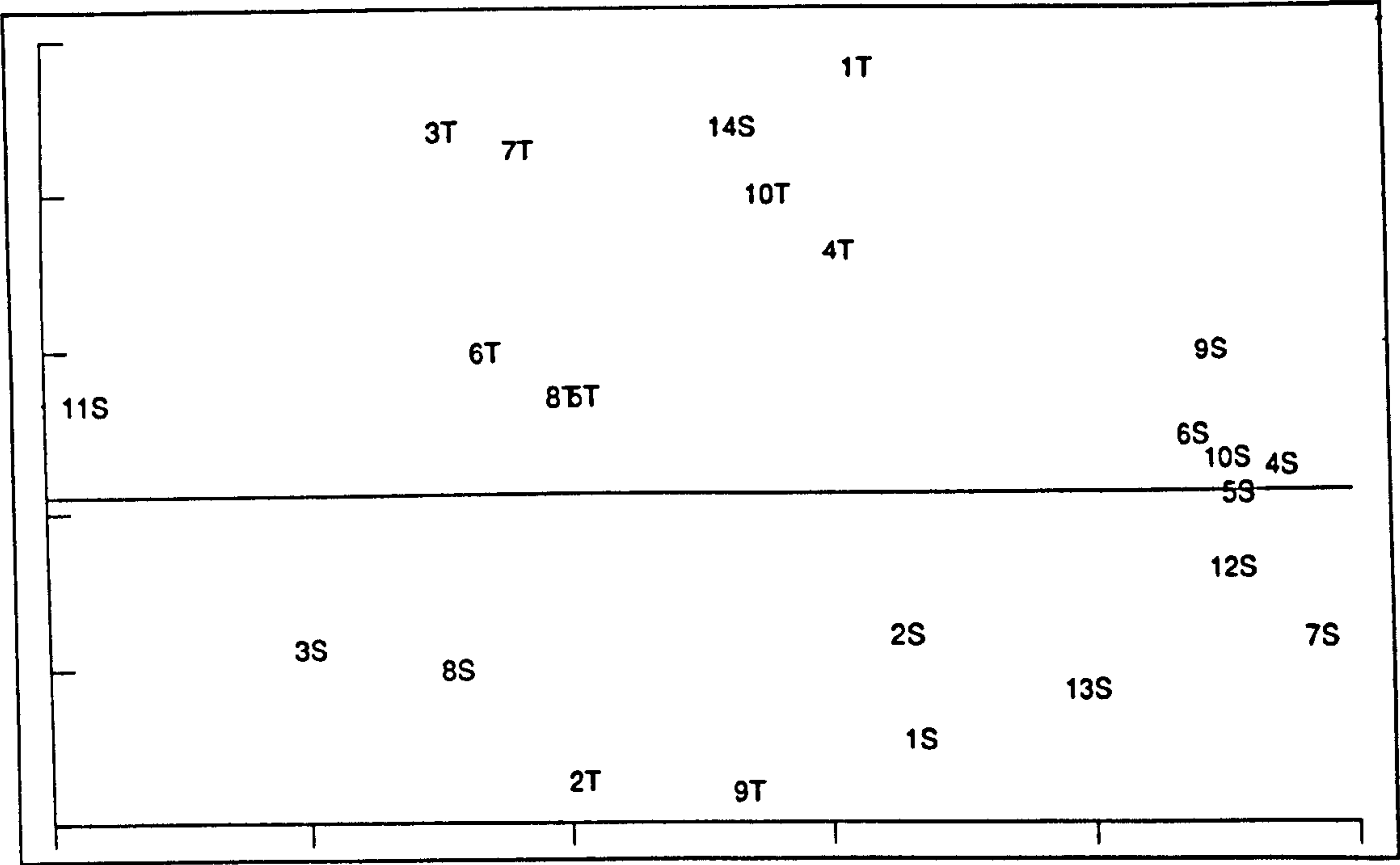


Fig. 9.7: The relationship between the houses and the constructs.

From the scores of the constructs (Appendix 9.5), the author was able to relate each house to its strongest constructs. These are summarised in the following table;

HOUSE NUMBER	TYPE	CONSTRUCTS PRESENTED STRONGLY
No. 1	T	1, 3, 7, 8, 11, 13
No. 2	C	4, 7, 9, 10, 11, 14
No. 3	T	1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13
No. 4	T	3, 12
No. 5	C	4, 6, 7,
No. 6	C	4, 5, 7, 12
No. 7	T	1, 4, 7, 9, 12, 13
No. 8	C	5, 7, 12
No. 9	C	6, 9, 10, 11, 14
No. 10	T	1, 7, 8

Table 9.7: The relationship between the houses and the constructs.
T: Traditional, C: Contemporary

The above table shows that many constructs have been presented strongly in the traditional houses (numbers 1, 3 and 7), while only a few were manifested in house numbers 4 and 10. This could be explained because house number 4 is small and for a poor family which does not feature too many constructs; however, house number 10 was built in stages over a prolonged period. On the other hand, in the contemporary houses, several constructs have been presented strongly in house numbers 2, 6 and 9, but only few were presented strongly in house numbers 5 and 8. In fact, the last two houses were ranked with very weak identity. In general, it could be concluded that there are more constructs presented strongly in the traditional houses than the contemporary ones.

Moreover, a comparison on how the constructs represented in the houses, will clarify the manifestation of these constructs. In other words, we will know if most of the constructs, for example, represented very strongly (5) and very weakly (1) to get that average or if most of them were around the average (3). For this purpose, I compared house numbers 3 and 8 (Fig. 9.7)to find out how many times the constructs were identified strongly or weakly in each house.

HOUSES	NUMBER OF TIMES SCORED				
	5	4	3	2	1
House No. 3	182 52%	97 27.7%	33 9.5%	10 2.8%	28 8%
House No.8	72 20.6%	30 8.6%	62 17.7%	53 15.1%	133 38%

Table 9.8: The number of times and percentages of the representation of houses No. 3 and No. 8. 5 very positive; 4 positive; 3 neutral; 2 negative; 1 very negative.

From the above table, it is clear that the constructs in house number 3 were mostly very positive or positive 279 times (79.7%), while they were manifested negatively or very negative 38 times (10.8%). However, the constructs in house number 8 were represented

positive or very positive only 103 times (29.2%) and were reflected negative or very negative 186 times (53.1%).

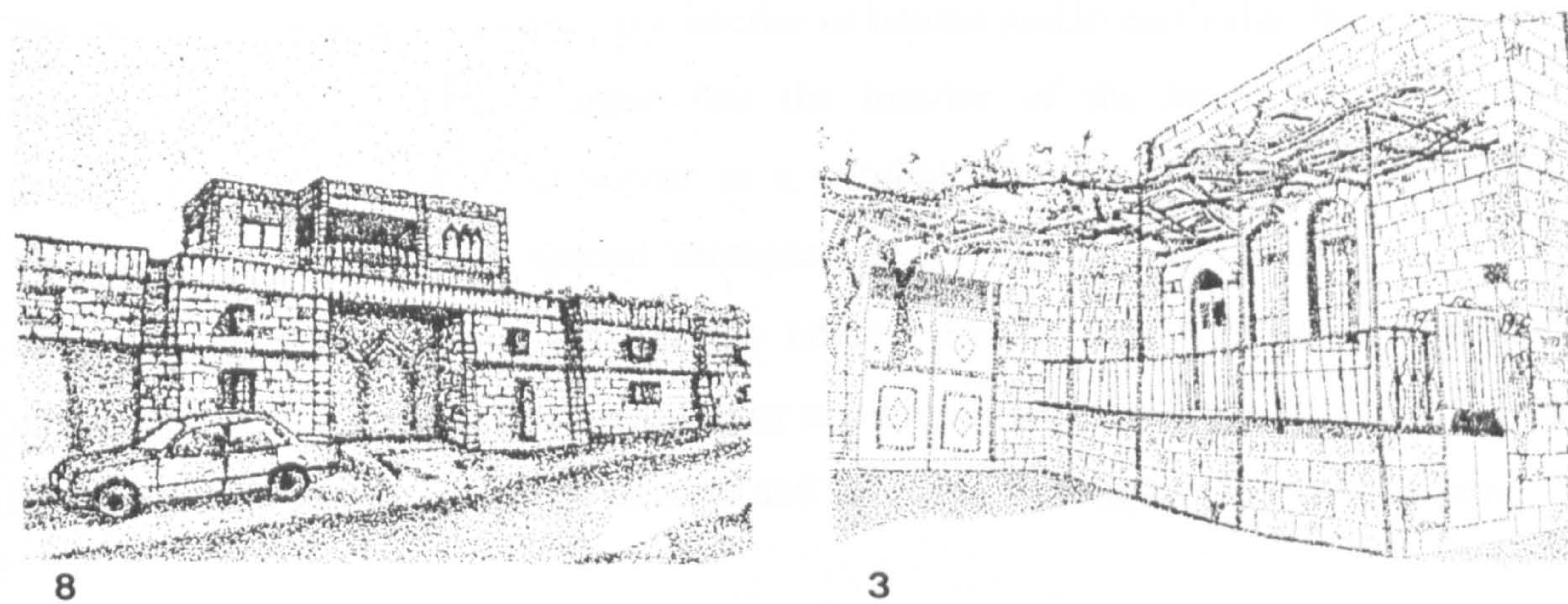


Fig. 9.7: Houses number three and number eight.

The identity of the exterior with its desirable and undesirable features can be summarised in this table:

THE IDENTITY	DESIRABLE FEATURES	UNDESIRABLE FEATURES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Special characteristics including specific shapes, proportions and materials. - In harmony with the surrounding context - Common features - Meanings such as privacy and security. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Vertical windows - Semi-circle or segmented arches. - Geometric decorations. - Drawings of plants and flowers. - Close relations with the other houses. - Large windows are divided into two or three. - Windows are in the middle of the room. - Stone as building material. - Protected veranda. - Grapevine and palm tree. - White and green colours. - Small windows. - Few numbers of windows. - Courtyard. - Cross vault. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Horizontal windows. - Rectangular openings. - Free style decorations. - Drawings of human beings and animals. - Separate and isolated houses. - Large windows and not divided. - Corner windows. - Stone as building material. - Open veranda. - Pine tree. - Beige colour. - Large windows. - Many windows. - Open area around the house. - Pitched roofs.

Table 9.9: The identity of the exterior of the Palestinian house and its desirable and undesirable features.

9.6 THE INTERIOR OF THE HOUSE

The other part to be investigated is the interior of houses and in particular the guest room. Altman and Gauvain (1981) argue that the interior of the house is sacred in a psychological sense and often serves as a symbol of a family's status and values. Therefore, people seek out special arrangements of rooms and furniture which are distinctive and which satisfy their family needs. In addition, it is worth reminding ourselves here that considerable time, energy and money are usually spent in cleaning the houses, so as to present the image of order and uniqueness of the family's environment.

The decoration and furnishing of houses usually symbolise the desire of the occupants to differ from others in order to communicate some specific identity. This phenomenon and its relation to the inhabitants' identity has been studied by several researchers. Lauman and House (1972) in their study of living rooms, found that the presence or absence of certain objects are good clues to status and attitude. Cooper (1974) also noted that in Berkeley bedrooms were decorated in an attractive and highly personalised way. In this research, I argue, that Palestinians in the West Bank use the interior of their houses to express their national identity.

In traditional houses of West Bank villages, identity and status were represented in the sizes of rooms and the types of furniture. However, in the contemporary ones, uniqueness is reflected, besides the furniture, in the specialisation of rooms used for cooking, eating, sleeping and entertaining. So now, the identity and status of the family is often demonstrated by the number and the variety of rooms in the house.

The guest room in the house is usually the communal territory which reflects the identity of the residents to outsiders. It is the place where usually guests and relatives are entertained. It also contains the best furniture, family mementoes, photos and other elements in which they represent the family's attempt to communicate their specific identity within society.

Therefore, the investigation in this study focuses only on the guest room. In the houses with no separate guest room, the space which is usually used for receiving guests will be considered as a proxy. The investigation in this part is divided into three main sections. The first section concentrates on the guest rooms in the Palestinian houses. Then, the second section identifies the constructs which represent the identity of the rooms. Finally, the third section discusses the relationships between rooms' identity and the constructs that represent them.

9.4.1 THE GUEST ROOM IN THE PALESTINIAN HOUSE

One of the most important elements in Palestinian houses is the guest room, in which people decorate and display their identity to outsiders. Therefore, it is quite normal to find in the West Bank villages a large well furnished guest room in the house and only one bed room for three or four children. It is also quite common to see a coffee table and chairs in the veranda or even outside the house; so that the members of the family may invite relatives and friends who pass by the house as an expression of hospitality. In Palestinian society, the guest room is usually used for special guests, not only to enable the family to present itself as a unique entity, but also to demonstrate the importance of the guests to the family and their relationships with them. For example, close friends and relatives are received in the veranda or the living room, but strangers are received in the guest room.

The specific characteristics and furnishing of the guest rooms in the West Bank villages are affected by different factors: personal, economic and social. The combination of these factors shaped the identity of the rooms. Sometimes, guest rooms have decorations that display the unity of the family, such as photographs of male family members. It is also common in Palestinian society to display school certificates of the sons. In addition, people hang political posters to illustrate the political allegiance of the family.

At present, Palestinians organise the interior decor of their houses around either a modern theme or a traditional theme, and sometimes a mixture of both. This research identified

two types of guest rooms in the villages of the West Bank according to their decoration and furnishing: traditional rooms with mattresses and pillows on the floor, and contemporary rooms with chairs or sofas and a small table.

During the fieldwork, people identified several elements that represent the identity of the guest room in the West Bank villages. The most popular elements are the map of Palestine, the black and white scarf, picture of the father, Al-Kursi verse from Kuran and new chairs or sofas. These elements have different meanings; some to emphasize religious and national identity; others to satisfy a personal taste. In addition, some elements are used for functional purposes only.

This section analyses the main findings regarding the guest rooms in the villages. There are several issues to be reported. **Firstly**, there will be an analysis of the ten guest rooms which had been selected to investigate the expression of identity using the repertory grid technique. **Secondly**, the hierarchy of identity of these rooms will be ranked according to their choice order during the elicitation process and their scores. **Thirdly**, similarities and dissimilarities between the rooms will be discussed.

9.6.2 THE ROOMS UNDER INVESTIGATION

According to the observations and interviews with the residents, I was able to collect background information about the rooms under investigation in order to understand their situation and the surrounding context. The following is a brief discussion about each room.

Room One 1978

This room is one of six rooms in a two story building for a rich family. In the house, there are also living room, dining room, three bedrooms, kitchen and three bathrooms. The area of the room is about 30 m². It has three doors, one open to the entrance, one to a

veranda and one sliding door giving access to the living room. The residents of the house do not use this room very often, according to them they use it about once a week. It should be noted that this room is in house number eight which was discussed earlier in the exterior of the house.

Room Two 1946

This was a guest house (*dewan*) in an extended family house in the past, and now is the guest room for the house. It is separate from the rest of the house with an entrance from the street. The room is very large, almost 64 m². Besides its use as a guest room at present, the head of the family (an old man) lives and sleeps in it.

Room Three 1968

This room is in a working class single family house in the old core of the village. It was the home of a young martyr who was shot by Israeli soldiers during a demonstration in 1989. It is noticeable that the family has hung many pictures of him all over the room. The area of the room is almost 16 m². They use the space daily, if not by guests, by the son who sleeps in it.

Room Four 1930s

It was one of the rooms in an extended family house, and is now a multi-purpose space for an old woman and her daughter, in which they live, sleep and receive guests. The size of the room is about 36 m². The wall cupboard was added recently to cover the arched recess (*qous*) in the wall.

Room Five 1965

This room is one of the five rooms in the house of a rich family. The house was designed around a central hall. The area of the room is almost 35 m². On the corner of the room, there are few plants and souvenirs.

Room Six 1932

This room is part of a big house which belong to one of the political leaders in the area between 1930 and 1944. It is one of ten rooms, four on the first floor and six on the ground floor. It was built originally as the living room for the head of the house on the first floor, while the guest room (*dewan*) was on the ground floor near the entrance. However, at present, his sons' family is using it as a guest room. The area of the room is 36 m². It is worth mentioning here that most of the house, including the *dewan*, is now deserted; besides parts of it have started to collapse.

Room Seven 1950

This room is the only part left of an extended family house, in which the family constructed a new addition on the other side of the courtyard. The walls were renovated (plastered over and painted) in 1985. The area of the room is almost 40 m².

Room Eight 1970

The area of this room is about 25 m², which is almost one third of the total area of the house. Sometimes, the two sons sleep in it. To enter the room you have to go through a veranda which is sometimes used to receive guests on special occasions such as wedding celebrations or death ceremonies.

Room Nine 1940

This room is part of a courtyard house. Its area is about 30 m². It has only one door open to the courtyard and no entrance from the street, which indicates that it was not built to be a guest room (*dewan*) because usually the *dewan* had an entrance from the street.

Room Ten 1987

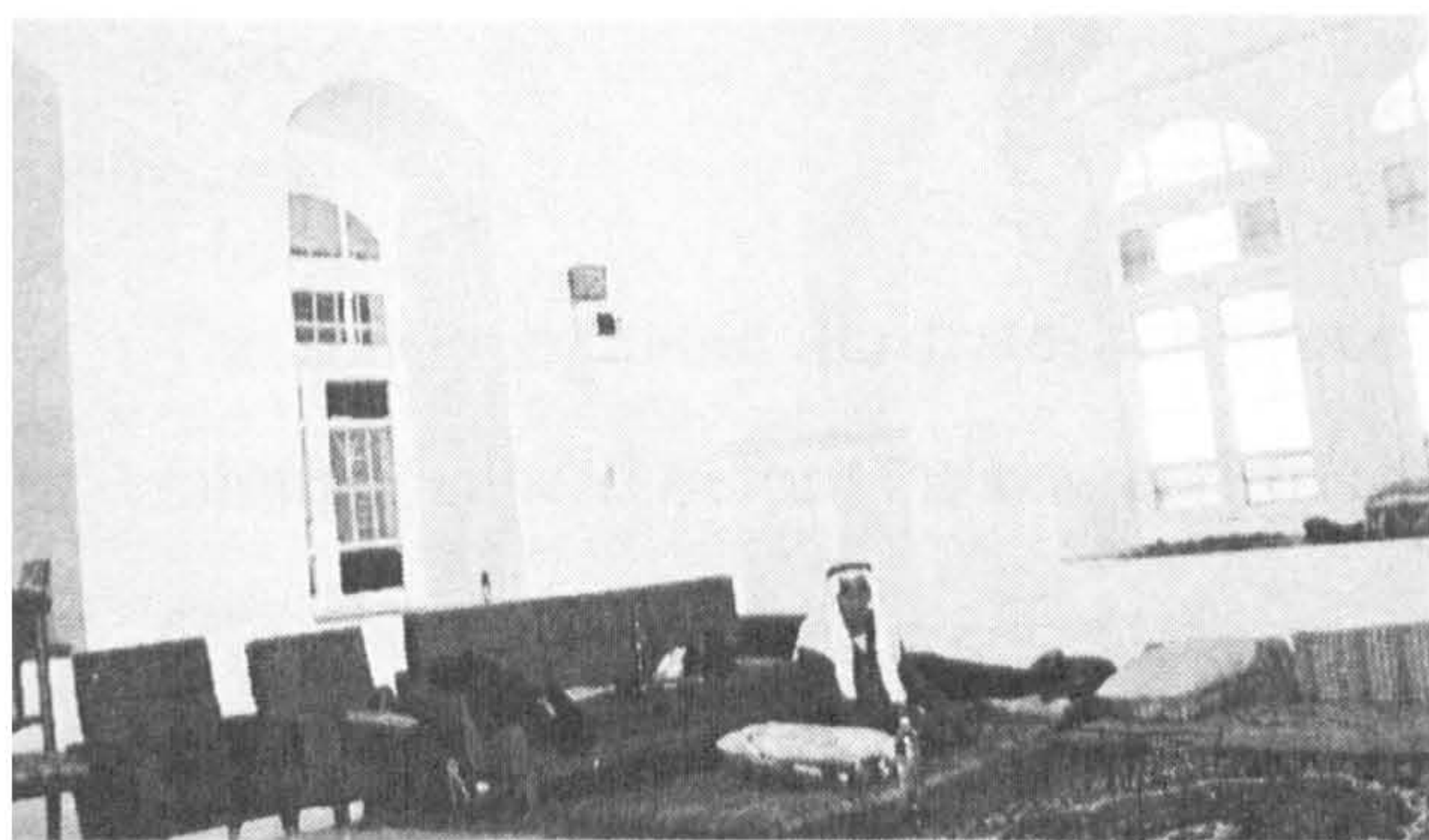
The guest room in this house is part of an 80 m² "L" shaped space used for guests. This space was added to an old house recently. Within it, there is an area which has mattresses and pillows.



1



6



2



7



3



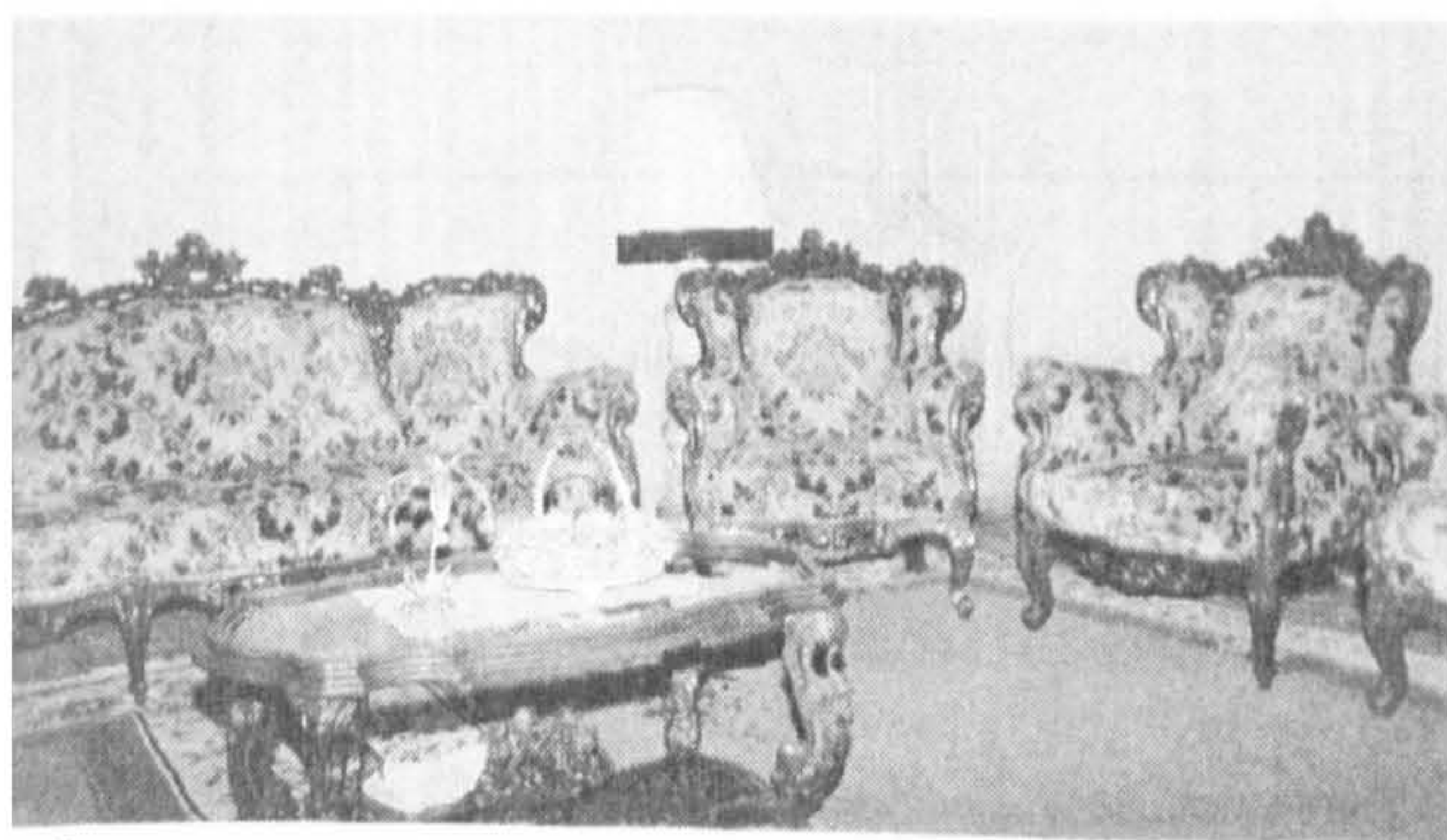
8



4



9



5



10

Fig. 9.8: The ten rooms selected for the investigation.

9.4.2.1 The Hierarchy of the Rooms

The hierarchy of the rooms which were investigated ranked in order from the most Palestinian to the least, was based on the ranking order of their choice during the elicitation process of the constructs and the results of their scores in the repertory grid inquiry.

The following table illustrates the process of the elicitation process. It shows the picture numbers placed before the respondents and the number selected as the most Palestinian at each eliciting attempt.

RESPONDENTS No	ROOMS No							
	1,2,3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1.	2	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
2.	2	4	3	6	5	7	9	10
3.	2	4	3	6	7	5	9	10
4.	3	4	2	5	6	7	9	8
5.	2	4	3	6	7	8	9	10
6.	2	4	3	6	5	7	8	9
7.	2	4	3	6	7	8	9	10
8.	3	2	4	6	7	8	9	5
9.	2	4	3	6	7	5	9	8
10.	2	4	5	6	7	3	9	10
11.	2	4	3	6	7	8	9	10
12.	2	4	5	6	3	7	8	9
13.	2	4	3	6	7	8	9	10
14.	2	4	3	6	7	8	9	5
15.	3	2	4	5	6	8	7	9
16.	2	4	3	6	7	5	9	8
17.	2	4	5	3	6	7	9	8
18.	2	4	3	6	7	8	9	5
19.	2	4	3	6	5	7	9	10
20.	3	2	4	6	7	5	9	8
21.	2	4	3	6	7	8	9	10

Table 9.10: The order of the choice of the rooms during the elicitation process.

From the table, we can notice that room numbers 2, 4 and 6 were chosen by all respondents as their first or second choice. On the other hand, room 1 was not chosen at

all by any respondent. However, room 5 confused the respondents, some considered it Palestinian because they thought that the sofas reflect the traditional furniture, others however considered it very strange in a Palestinian setting.

Taking into account the scores of each room against the elicited constructs, three groups were identified: rooms with a strong Palestinian identity, rooms with a medium Palestinian identity and rooms with a weak Palestinian identity.

Following the same procedure I used in the exterior (Appendix 9.6), it was found that the rooms which have a strong Palestinian identity are room numbers 2, 4, 6 and 9. On the other hand, the rooms with a weak Palestinian identity are room numbers 1, 3, 5 and 8. However, room numbers 7 and 10 are in the middle, some constructs are strong in them while others are weak.

From the above, the final order of the identity of rooms from the strongest to the weakest will be as follows:

6, 2, 4, 9, 10, 7, 8, 3, 5, 1

This order was the same according to both: the choice order and the score points. The only difference was on ranking numbers 2 and 6 in the first or the second place. This was resolved by considering the difference of the score points and the choice order. In this case, the score difference is 77 points, while the difference according to the choice was between place numbers 1 and 2. Therefore, it was decided to consider number 6 before number 2 in the ranking order, because the difference of points was big in favour for room number 6.

9.6.2.2 The Effect of Social Characteristics

In order to compare the perceptions of groups of different age and sex, the same rank ordering processes have been carried out for each separately.

It was found that men and women agree on the overall ranking order of the rooms. However, information from the survey show that they disagree on the ranking of only house numbers 1 and 8. Male respondents considered number 8 to be the least Palestinian identity and ranked it in the last place, while female respondents ranked it in the seventh place (see appendix 9.7).

Age also was not a significant discriminant in the identification of the rooms. Respondents belonging to different age categories (under 30 years old and over 30 years old) seem to agree on the rooms which have a strong or weak Palestinian identity (Appendix 9.7). But they show a slight divergence regarding rooms numbers 1 and 5. While the young put number 5 in the eighth place, the old people regarded it with a strange identity and ranked it in the last place. Moreover, it was also noticeable that the general attitude of elderly persons was only to consider traditional rooms with cross vaults (*aqed*) and furnished with mattresses and pillows as Palestinian (rooms numbers 2 and 4) and the rest as un-Palestinian.

9.6.2.3 Similarity and Dissimilarity Between the Rooms

This section analyses the perception of people about the relationships between the rooms. In order to do so, a cluster analysis of the rooms was carried out. In this study, the clustering of the rooms was based on either the perception of the respondents or according to their relations with the constructs. The evaluation was decided according to the distances between one to another. As a result, the groups formed include the rooms with short distances between them. The cut-off point between the groups was subjective and decided according to the scores and diagrams.

According to the evaluation of all responses, four groups could be identified. In the diagram (Fig. 9.9), the short distances between the rooms represent stronger relationships. In other words, it identified the rooms with similar characteristics. The diagram shows that there are similarities between room numbers 2 and 4; between numbers 6, 7 and 9; between numbers 1, 5 and 8; and finally between numbers 3 and 10.

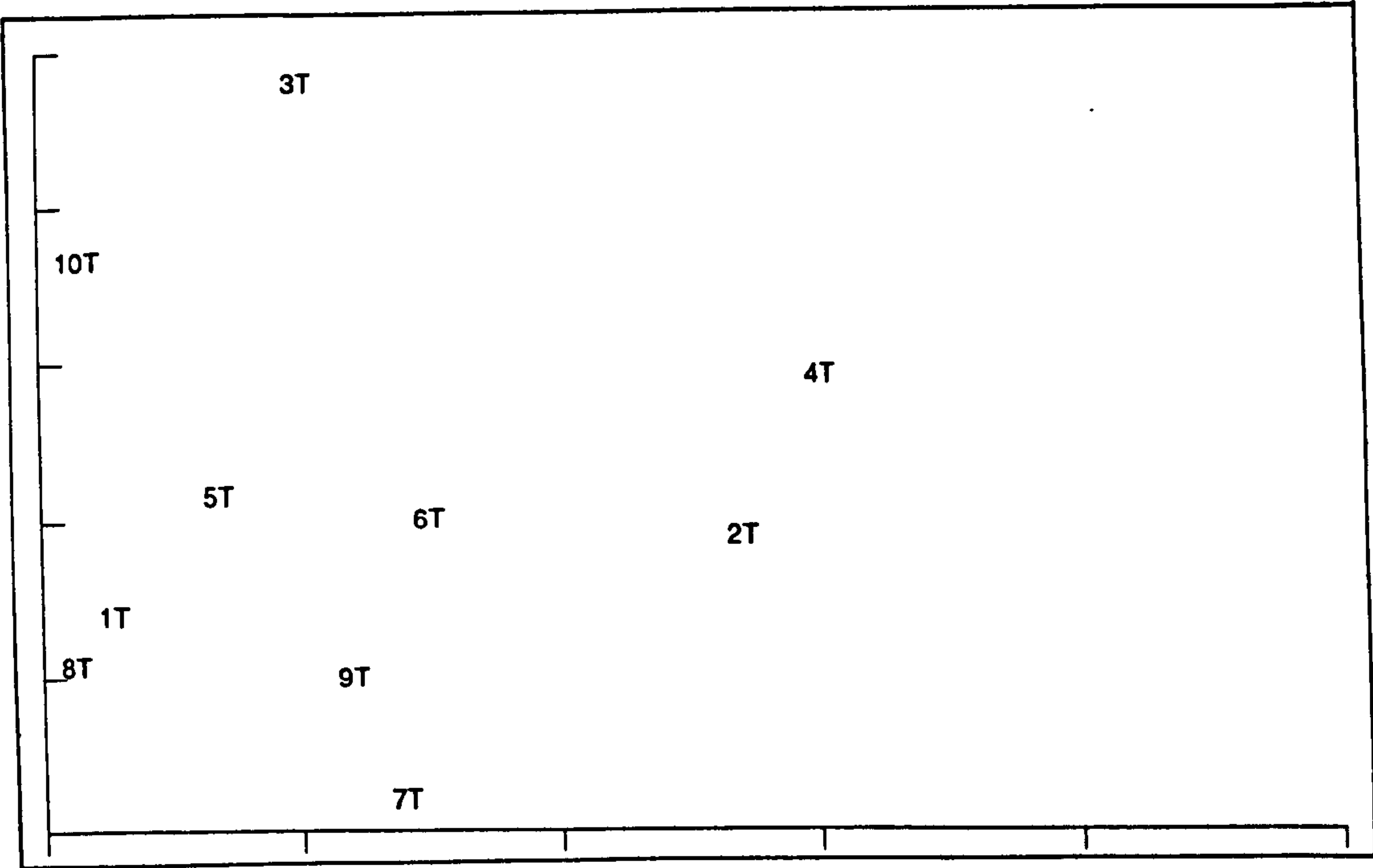
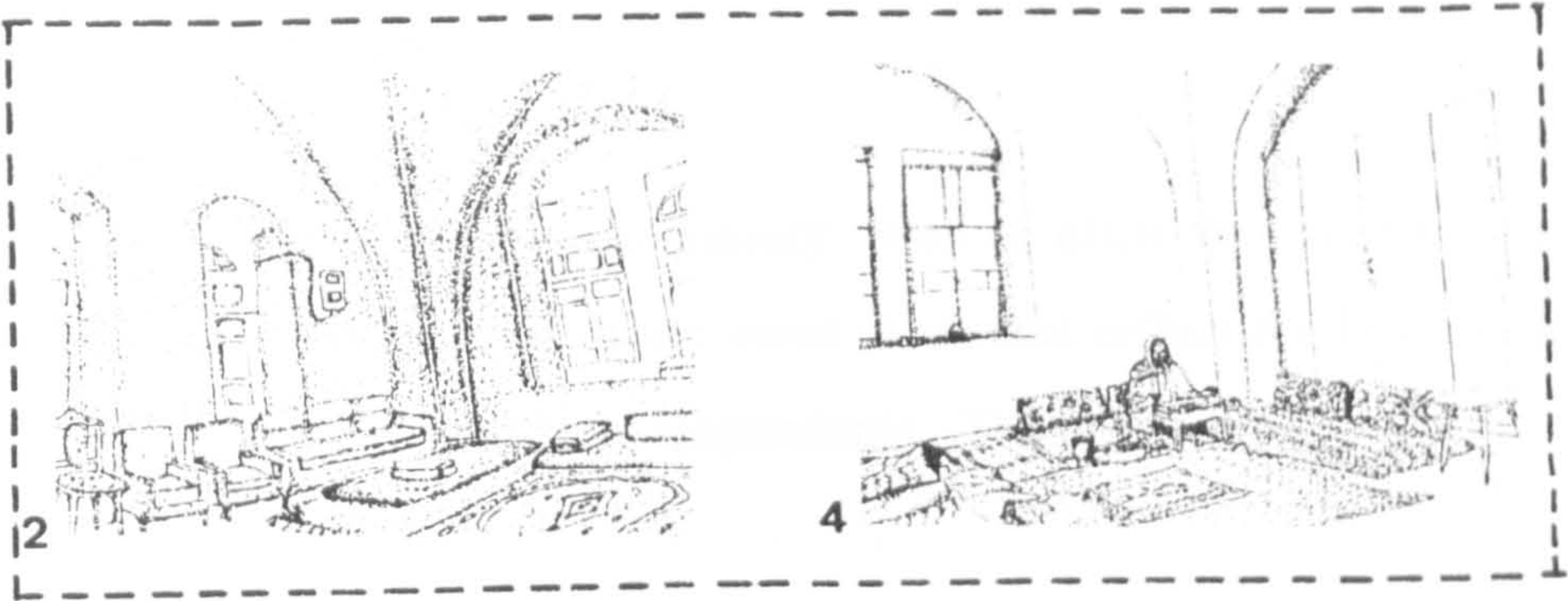


Fig. 9.9: The relationships between the rooms.

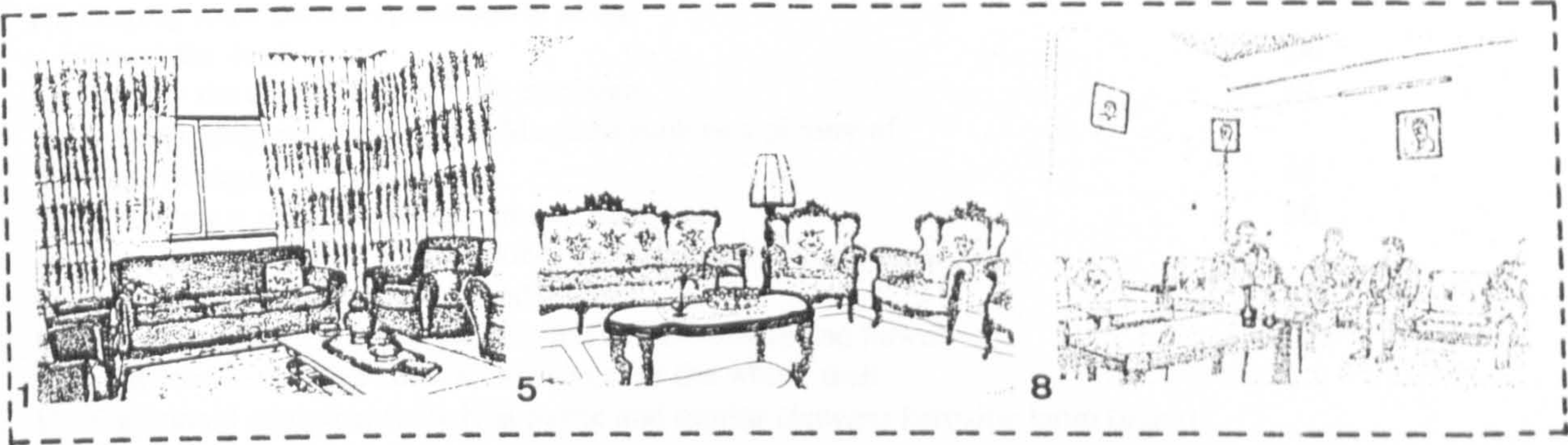
The cluster analysis of the rooms yielded to results which could be identified in the following points. Firstly, it was found that the identity of the rooms are contained between two poles, rooms 4 and 8; the distribution of rooms between the two poles seems to match the ranking order through the elicitation process. Secondly, results from the diagrams show that the groups are clearly defined except for room 5 in the respondents perception and room 7 which are situated in the middle between the two groups. In sum, the rooms can be clustered into three groups, which perceived as similar (Fig. 9.10)



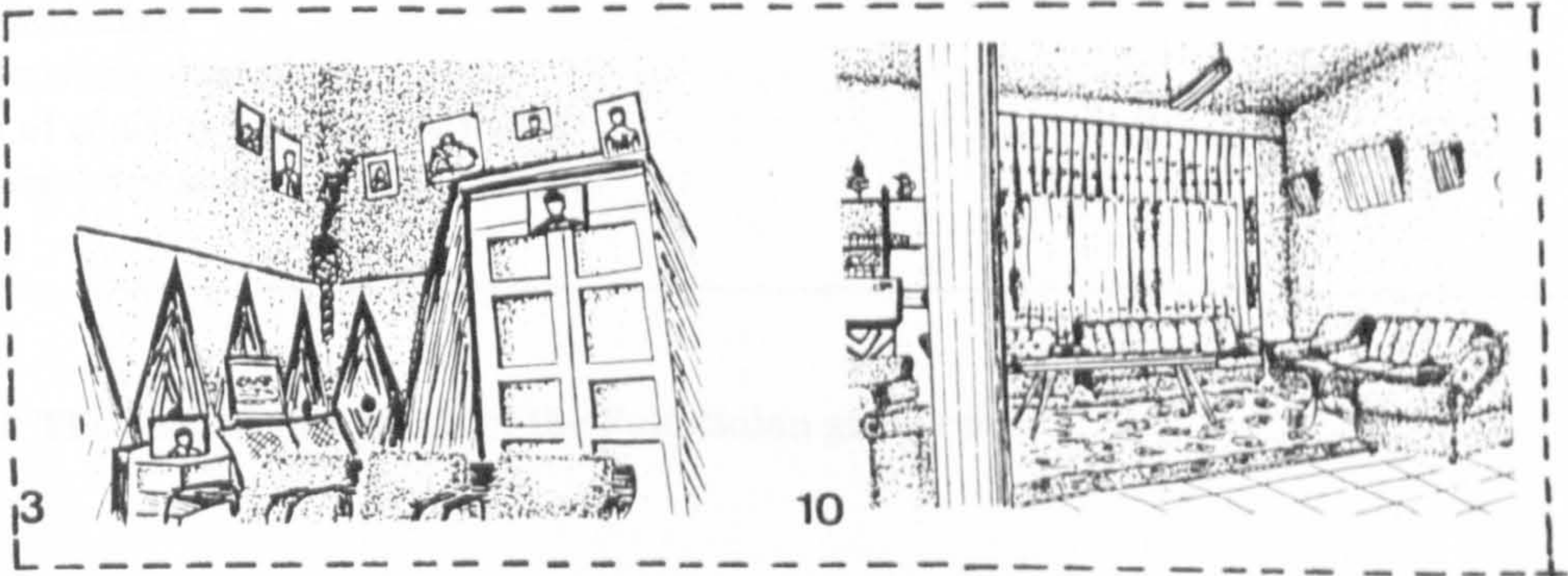
Group (1)



Group (2)



Group (3)



Group (4)

Fig. 9.10: The clustering of the rooms which were perceived as similar.

9.6.3 THE CONSTRUCTS

The second step in the repertory grid inquiry was to elicit the constructs in order to identify the features of the interior of the guest room that reflect the Palestinian identity. In all, 22 constructs were elicited from respondents. These are:

CONSTRUCTS	NUMBER OF TIMES ELICITED
1. Large room	33
2. Open arch in the wall (<i>qous</i>)	45
3. Cross vault roof (<i>aqed</i>)	55
4. High ceiling	17
5. Thick walls	47
6. Wooden wall cupboards	19
7. White washed walls and ceiling	44
8. The use of mattresses and pillows for sitting	52
9. The existence of specific elements such as sheepskin (<i>ja'ed</i>) and a small carpet for praying	27
10. Display male pictures particularly of the old and the dead	74
11. Display the certificates of male members	29
12. Display religious symbols for Muslims such as a picture of Al-Aqsa mosque.	45
13. The room is used for more than one function	36
14. Decorate the room with traditional Palestinian crafts and antiquities, such as basketry, wood carving and copper.	59
15. The existence of specific plants such as <i>kawshokah</i> and <i>hawah</i>	42
16. Patterned decorative curtains which cover the whole wall	23
17. Traditional equipments such as pestle and mortar (<i>hawen</i>) kerosine lamp (<i>d'aw</i>) and brazier (<i>kanun</i>)	45
18. Bright colours carpets	24
19. Simple decoration	18
20. Windows with colour glass	9
21. Number of chairs is big (eight or more)	15
22. The display of posters of political leaders	8

Table 9.11: The elicited constructs of the Palestinian guest room.

The above table includes all the constructs which were elicited from the ten rooms in the case study village. It was found that from room 2, respondents elicited more constructs than any other room. However, from room 5, people elicited fewer constructs than any

other room, apart from room 1 which was chosen by no respondent in the elicitation process.

From that pool, twelve constructs have been chosen to be scored and investigated in more depth. The selection was based on the number of times the construct was elicited; and sometimes two or three constructs were combined together because they are related or they give the same meaning, such as the displaying of pictures and the displaying of certificates.

At the end, the constructs selected for scoring are:

1. Large room
2. High cross vaults
3. Wall cupboards and shelves within the thick walls
4. White washed the interior of the room
5. The use of mattresses and pillows for sitting (*qa'deh arabieh*)
6. The existence of specific elements or equipments such as lamb skin (*ja'ed*), kerosine lamp (*d'aw*) and brazier (*kanun*).
7. Display pictures and certificates for male members of the family.
8. Display religious symbols such as a picture of Al-Aqsa mosque and verses (*ayat*) from Kuran.
9. Decoration from traditional Palestinian crafts, such as basketry, copper and olive wood models.
10. Bright colours carpets
11. The existence of specific plants such as *kawshukah* and *hawah*.
12. Multi-purpose function room.

It is worth noting that most constructs are related to traditional or historical examples. In fact, it was found that in people's minds there is a clear image of what is Palestinian and they usually recognise it from the first look. But sometimes, they could not explain why. Therefore, it was necessary to use a technique like the repertory grid to be able to identify the constructs.

9.6.3.1 The Meanings of the Constructs

In order to understand the relationships between the constructs and the people, it was necessary to explain the meanings of these constructs. The information was gathered during the fieldwork by asking the respondents after eliciting the constructs "why do you

think that this construct is Palestinian?"; "what is special in it to be considered as Palestinian?"; and "what does it mean to you?"

Following the semiotic approach explained in the exterior of the house, the meanings of the constructs elicited will be summarised in the following points.

1. The room is large

The large room reflects the hospitality of people. It was found that the guest room is almost always the largest room in the house and occupies the area with the best view. In addition, its large size also reflects the strong social relations in the village society in which people visit each other very often.

2. High cross vaults

Cross vaults were adopted for constructional reasons and the high ceiling is also suitable for the hot climate in the area. Moreover, the high room reflects power and status to the people inside the room and to those outside. Even though the cross vaults were strongly identified as Palestinian, it has disappeared from the contemporary rooms. The disappearance of this feature these days can be explained by the lack of its cultural or social meanings.

3. Wall cupboards and shelves within the thick walls.

In traditional houses, it was necessary to have thick mud walls to support the heavy roof. However, at present people use concrete and stone, so there is no longer any constructional reason to build thick walls. It is also noticeable the disappearance of the wall cupboards and shelves formed in the walls. These were created to store the mattresses and pillows that people used for sitting. But now instead of those mattresses, people have chairs and sofas, which they do not store away.

4. The use of mattresses and pillows for sitting (*qa'deh arabieh*)

Traditionally villagers used to sit on the floor. It was found that people now consider this way of sitting a reflection of their identity as Arabs. Nevertheless, although respondents

considered the *qa'deh arabieh* a continuity of their historical and traditional identity, many now use chairs and sofas.

5. Display of pictures and certificates of male members of the family

In the guest room of any house in the West Bank villages, it is common to see pictures of the father and the grandfather hanging on the walls. This confirms the strong social relations in the society, and reflects the people's desire to relate themselves to their roots. Moreover, people considered putting a picture of a person as a sign of respect for that person and his role in establishing the house.

Besides the pictures of the elderly, people now put pictures of their young sons for different reasons and meanings. In some cases, people like to show off the number of male members in their family which gives it a better social status, as the society considers them a source of economic and social support. Another reason is that many young people leave the West Bank to study or to work abroad, so the family display their pictures to keep their memories in the hope they will come back and stay as part of the family. Finally, people in the West Bank usually put pictures of martyrs, not only to keep their memories alive but also to indicate that they are proud of their martyrs (see room 3 which is in the house of a martyr).

Moreover, the display of certificates is an indication that people in the village value education. In fact, they assign to educated people a high social status. Thus, certificates are displayed for two reasons: to show the guests that they are an educated family and at the same time to show that they are proud of their sons.

6. Religious symbols

In the West Bank, where Muslims and Christians live together, people tend to show their religious identity. So in a Muslim house, it is normal to see a picture of *Al-Aqsa* mosque or *the holy Ka'bah* in *Mecca*. In a Christian house however, you usually find a picture of Jesus and the Virgin, a wooden Cross or a picture of Bethlehem. In addition, both Muslims and Christians put a picture of Jerusalem for religious meanings as their holy

city and for political reasons to emphasize their attachment to it as part of the occupied West Bank. Moreover, many people believe that these religious symbols protect the house and its people from evil.

7. Traditional Palestinian crafts and antiquities

People considered these crafts as a representation of their identity because they are made by them, of materials from the area and have a recognisable regional style. Two types of crafts have been identified: first, household equipments which were made for functional reasons such as pottery (*jarah*) and basketry (*salleh*), which reflect the social life in the village society. Second, souvenirs to be sold to tourists such as ceramic plates with pictures of Jerusalem and Bethlehem or wooden models and sculptures. Moreover, traditional crafts represent the historical continuity of people. During the interviews, it was found that people not only see these crafts as symbols of their religious or national identity, but also represent the Palestinian roots and history on the land.

8. Multi-purpose rooms

The use of the room for more than one function was related to the traditional way of life in the Palestinian villages, in which the family used to do all their activities in one large room.

These meanings have a strong impact on the continuity of certain constructs. In general, it was found that most constructs which have social, religious or symbolic meanings are either retained or adapted; while constructs which are only justified by constructional or climatic reasons are abandoned.

9.6.3.2 The Relationships Between the Constructs

During the elicitation process, all elicited constructs were perceived as Palestinian. In this study, the scales used to measure the identity of the constructs provide information about the quality and intensity of these constructs.

Results from the fieldwork suggest that in some cases, there is inconsistency between two constructs in representing the identity such as the sheepskin and a small carpet for praying which may cover the bright carpets. Therefore, in order to achieve consistency, some constructs should be used together and some should not. Sometimes change in the way the construct is used will be necessary. The question now is to find out what will change and how much change is needed.

For practical applications, a comparison between the constructs will provide the researchers and the designers with necessary information about the priorities of the architectural and decorative components in the room (Fig. 9.11). Accordingly, the designer can make more accurate choices either to or not to emphasize the Palestinian identity in designing or decorating the guest room.

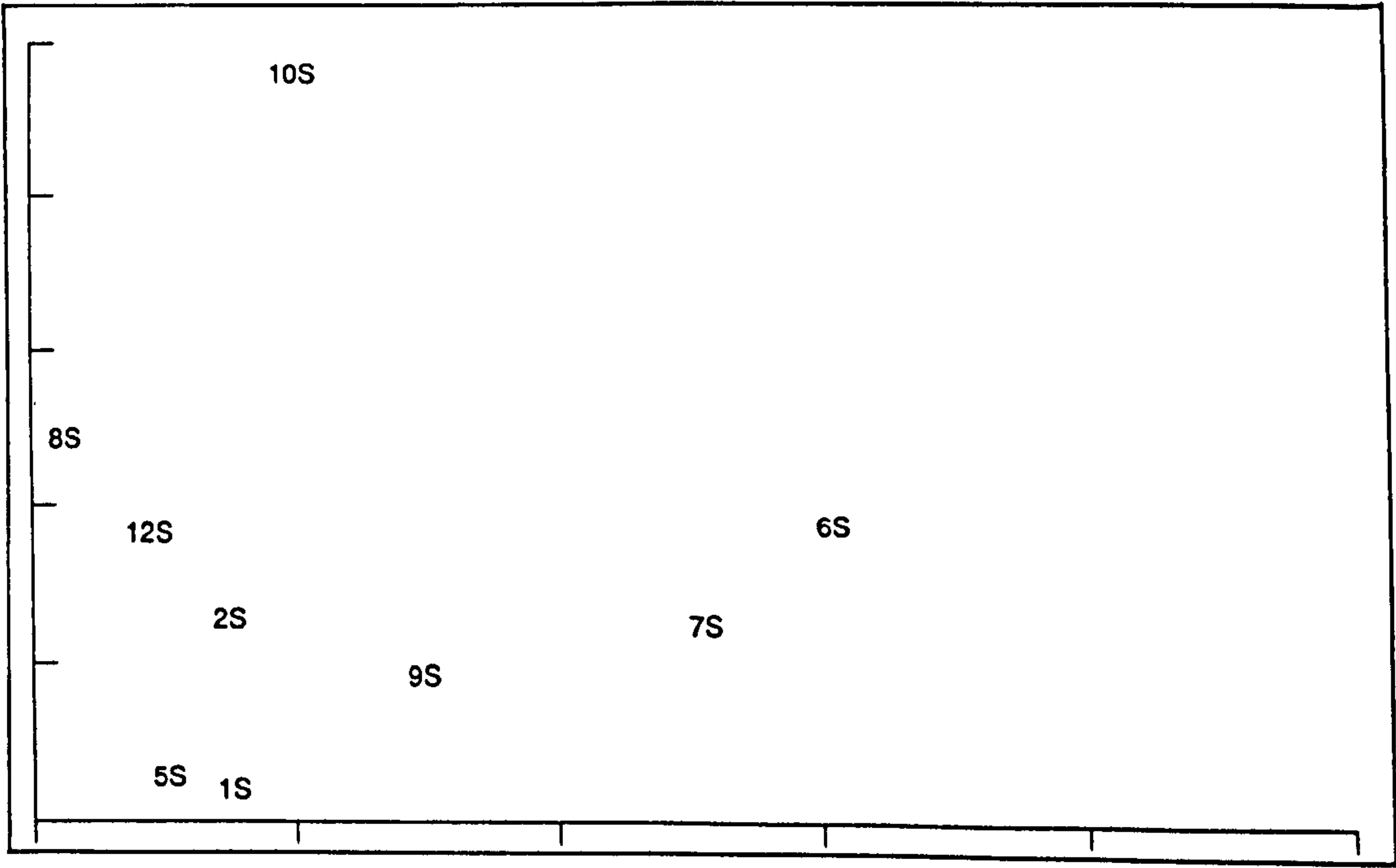


Fig. 9.11: The relationships between the constructs of the guest room.

According to the information about the importance of each component, the choice is left to the architect to judge which component to emphasize, taking into consideration the hierarchy of room identities and the relationships between the room to be designed and the related constructs from the pool elicited. For example, if the designer wants to choose

between specific plants and traditional crafts in order to emphasize the Palestinian identity, he/she should take into consideration the intensity of each in all the rooms investigated, and the hierarchy of the identity of the rooms from which the construct was elicited. In our case, the use of certain plants was elicited from room 10, which is in the fifth place in the ranking order of the rooms. The traditional crafts were elicited from room 6, which is in the first place in the ranking order. Moreover, the plants were presented strongly in room 10 only, while the crafts were presented strongly in rooms 6 and 9. Therefore, it is clear that traditional crafts are more important than the plants. From this analysis, it is possible to assess more objectively which constructs are important to represent the Palestinian identity in future designs.

In looking at the popularity of the constructs, it was noticeable that construct number 1 was represented strongly in 70% of the rooms. This means that the size of the room is an important factor in the identity of the guest rooms in the villages.

Moreover, this study argues that there are interactions between the constructs. In some cases, one construct could support another. However, on other cases one construct may substitute for another. This means that certain constructs represent the identity better if they put together. On the contrary, some constructs weaken the identity if they are put together. In this research, observations in the survey show that people who sit on the floor usually have other elements such as sheepskin (*ja'ed*) and decorated bright carpets to support its image. However, it was also noted that people who put religious symbols usually do not display pictures of the family members.

9.6.3.3 Clustering the Constructs

The constructs which represent the identity of the guest room in the West Bank villages can be divided into three main groups according to their nature and use. **Firstly**, the characteristics of the room. **Secondly**, the furniture and decorative elements. **Thirdly**, the functional use of the space.

The first group comprising the architectural components of the room, includes four constructs: the size of the room, the high cross vaults, the cupboards and shelves within the thick walls and the white washed interior. While the first three constructs are considered as fixed elements, the last one is semi-fixed, which people usually renew almost every three years.

The second group (furnishing and decoration) contains more than half of the constructs. These are: mattresses for sitting on the floor, some traditional equipments, bright carpets, family pictures and certificates, religious symbols, traditional crafts and specific plants. These all are non-fixed elements. It is worth noting that while the first three constructs are functional equipments, the last four are only decorative elements and do not have specific functions.

The final group contains only one construct, which is related to the use of the room. It was found that if the room has other functions beside receiving the guests, it was perceived as Palestinian.

9.6.3.4 The Continuity of the Constructs

The constructs also could be stratified according to their continuity over time. The method proposed in this research to test the continuity is as follows: first of all, the researcher listed the intensity of the constructs according to their scores. Then, their continuity in both traditional and contemporary rooms was checked. Accordingly, it was possible to identify the constructs in terms of **retained**, **abandoned**, **adapted** and **introduced**. This means that if the construct is used in both traditional and contemporary rooms without change (e.g. displaying pictures and certificates), it is identified as retained. On the contrary, if the construct of the traditional room has disappeared completely in the contemporary rooms (e.g. cross vaults and thick walls), it is identified as abandoned. However, if the construct is still being used but with new characteristics, it was identified as adapted; for example instead of putting a copy of *Koran*, now many people frame certain verses from *Koran* such as *Al-Kursi* verse. Finally, the elements

which are in the contemporary rooms, but not in the traditional ones (e.g. the plants), are specified as introduced.

According to these criteria, it was noticeable that only four constructs remained, one related to the features of the room and the rest are furnishing elements. On the other hand, the abandoned constructs are four, three are related to the room itself and only one to the furnishing. As a result, the image of the room changed by changing the physical characteristics of the room and the way it is used.

The four groups will be listed in the following table:

RETAINED	ADAPTED	ABANDONED	INTRODUCED
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Large room size.- Display pictures and certificates.- Religious symbols.- Bright carpets.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- White washed paint.- Traditional equipments.- Religious symbols.- Traditional crafts.- Multi-purpose functions for the room.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Cross vaults.- Recess in the walls.- Thick walls.- Mattresses and pillows.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Specific plants.

Table 9.12: The clustering of the constructs according to their continuity.

9.6.3.5 The Importance of the Constructs

In order to study the importance of the constructs, their score points were considered. In fact, the identity of each construct contains information about people's attitude towards that construct with regard to the rooms under investigation. The rating was on five point scale in which 1 is very negative, 3 is neutral and 5 is very positive.

According to the score points, the constructs could be stratified into two categories: **central** and **peripheral**. The central constructs are the ones with score points more than the average. On the other hand, the peripheral constructs are the ones with scores less than the average. In this study, it was found that the change in the central constructs would provoke the identity while the peripheral ones would only have a slight effect on it (Appendix 9.8). From the scores, the rank of the constructs from the most important to the least is as follows:

<u>1, 10, 4, 7, 9, 2, 3, 12, 5, 6, 8, 11</u>										
Central						Peripheral				

In order to check if there is a difference between different age and sex groups, the same process has been carried out to each group separately. According to the results, it was found that there is no significant difference on the overall ranking order between men and women except on construct number 4, while male respondents considered it from the central constructs, female respondents regarded it in the peripheral ones (see appendix 9.9). Moreover, the findings show that young and old people agree on the importance of the constructs. However, there was a slight difference in evaluating construct number 10; Respondents under thirty considered it one of the most important constructs, but those over thirty did not find it that important.

9.6.4 THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE ROOMS AND THE CONSTRUCTS

In this study, it was found that certain constructs are presented strongly in some rooms and weakly in others. From the score points of both rooms and constructs, it was possible to identify the constructs which have been presented strongly in each room (Appendix 9.10). The following diagram shows the relationship between the rooms and the constructs.

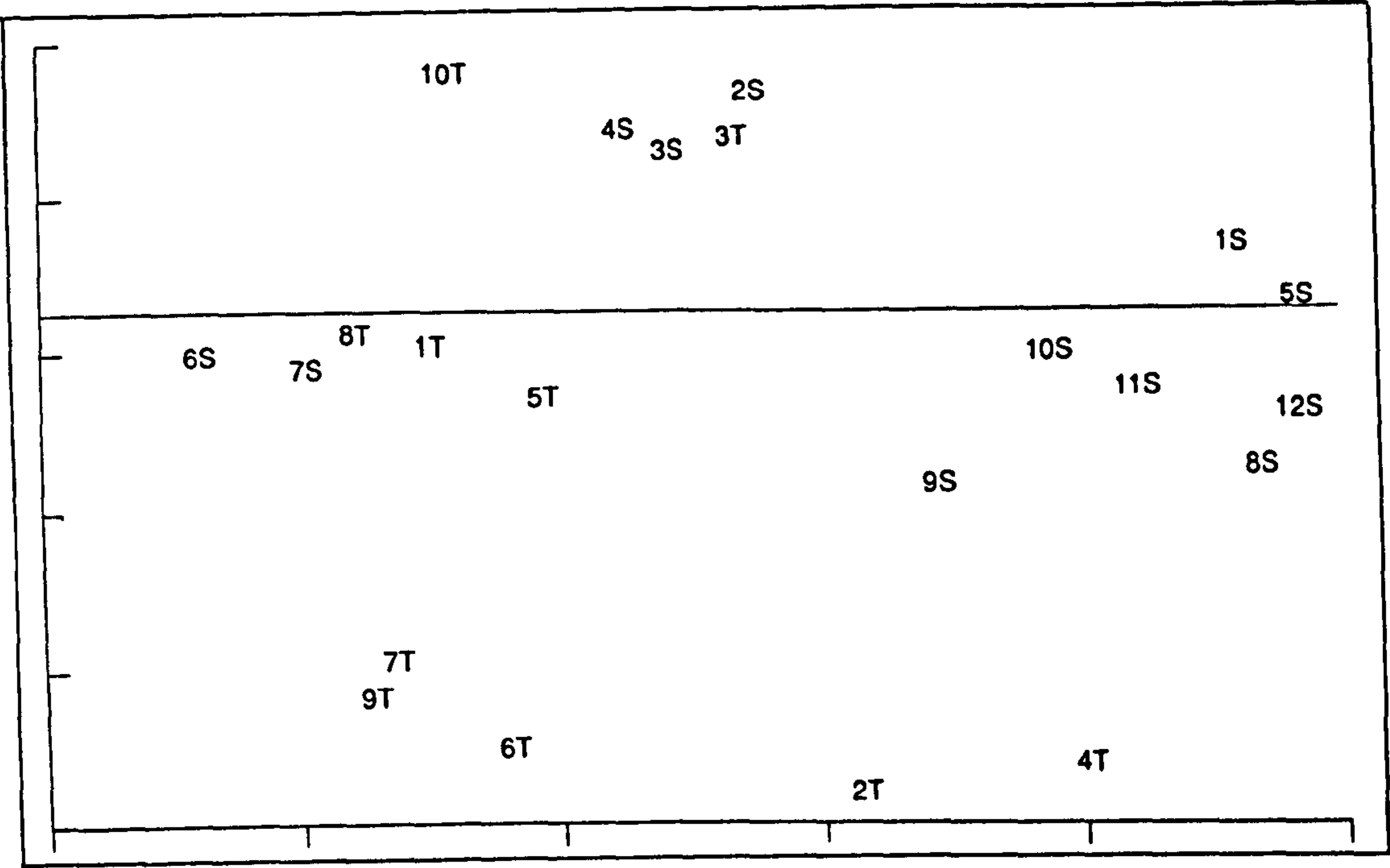


Fig. 9.12: The relationships between the rooms and the constructs.

From this table, the author related each room to its strongest constructs. These could be summarised as follows:

ROOM NO.	TYPE	CONSTRUCTS REPRESENTED STRONGLY
No. 1	C	10
No. 2	T	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 12
No. 3	C	7, 12
No. 4	T	1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 12
No. 5	C	1, 4
No. 6	T	1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9
No. 7	T	1, 2, 4, 7, 10
No. 8	C	7, 10
No. 9	T	1, 2, 4, 7, 9
No. 10	C	1, 8, 11

Table 9.13: The relationships between the rooms and the constructs presented strongly.
T: Traditional, C: Contemporary

In order to find out the relationships between the type of houses and the kind of related constructs, the rooms were stratified into two types: traditional rooms and contemporary

rooms according to the year of construction and the furniture inside. In this research, room numbers 2, 4, 6, 7 and 9 were considered traditional; and rooms numbers 1, 3, 5, 8 and 10 were considered contemporary. During the interviews, it was found that respondents elicited more constructs from the traditional rooms than the contemporary ones. Moreover, the information from the above table suggest that more than half of the constructs are represented strongly in traditional rooms. For example, constructs numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10 and 12 have been represented strongly in room 2 (traditional); however, only one construct (number 10) was represented strongly in room 1 (contemporary).

Moreover, a comparison between the number of times the constructs were represented strongly or weakly in different rooms, will give us an idea about the emphasis of the constructs in the rooms. In this section, the author compared how many times the constructs represented very positive (5), positive (4), neutral (3), negative (2) and very negative (1) between room number 1 and room number 2 (Fig. 9.13).

ROOMS	NUMBER OF TIMES SCORED				
	5	4	3	2	1
Room No.1	24 9.5%	25 9.9%	30 11.9%	29 11.5%	144 57.2%
Room No. 2	110 43.6%	45 17.9%	19 7.5%	8 3.2%	70 27.8%

Table 9.14: A comparison of the intensity of the constructs between room No. 1 and No. 2

It is noticeable that room number 1 was rated positive or very positive only 49 times (19.4%), while in room number 2 this was 155 times (61.5%). On the contrary, room number 1 was rated negative or very negative 173 times (68.7%), while this number in room number 2 was 78 times (31%).

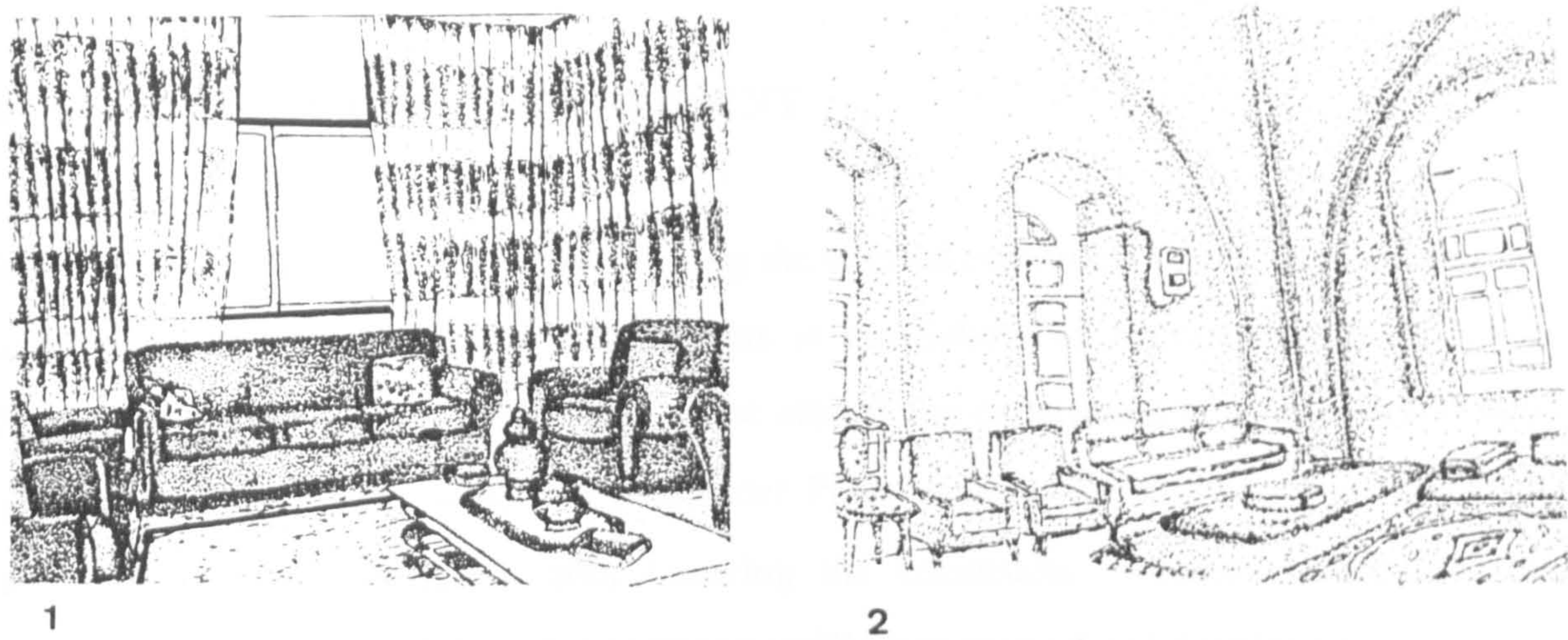


Fig. 9.13: Rooms number one and number two.

In general, the identity of the interior of the Palestinian guest-room with its desirable and undesirable features can be summarised in the following table:

THE IDENTITY	DESIRABLE FEATURES	UNDESIRABLE FEATURES
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Special characteristics of the rooms.- Furniture and decorations.- Common features.- Meanings (privacy, security, etc.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Large room with high ceiling and thick walls.- Mattresses and pillows.- Traditional crafts.- Pictures of male members.- Religious symbols.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Small room with low ceiling and thin walls.- Sofas and chairs.- Lamp shades- Pictures of artistes and actresses.- Posters of natural views or people.

Table 9.15: The identity of the Palestinian guest room and its desirable and undesirable features.

9.7 A DESIGN PROCESS EXPERIMENT

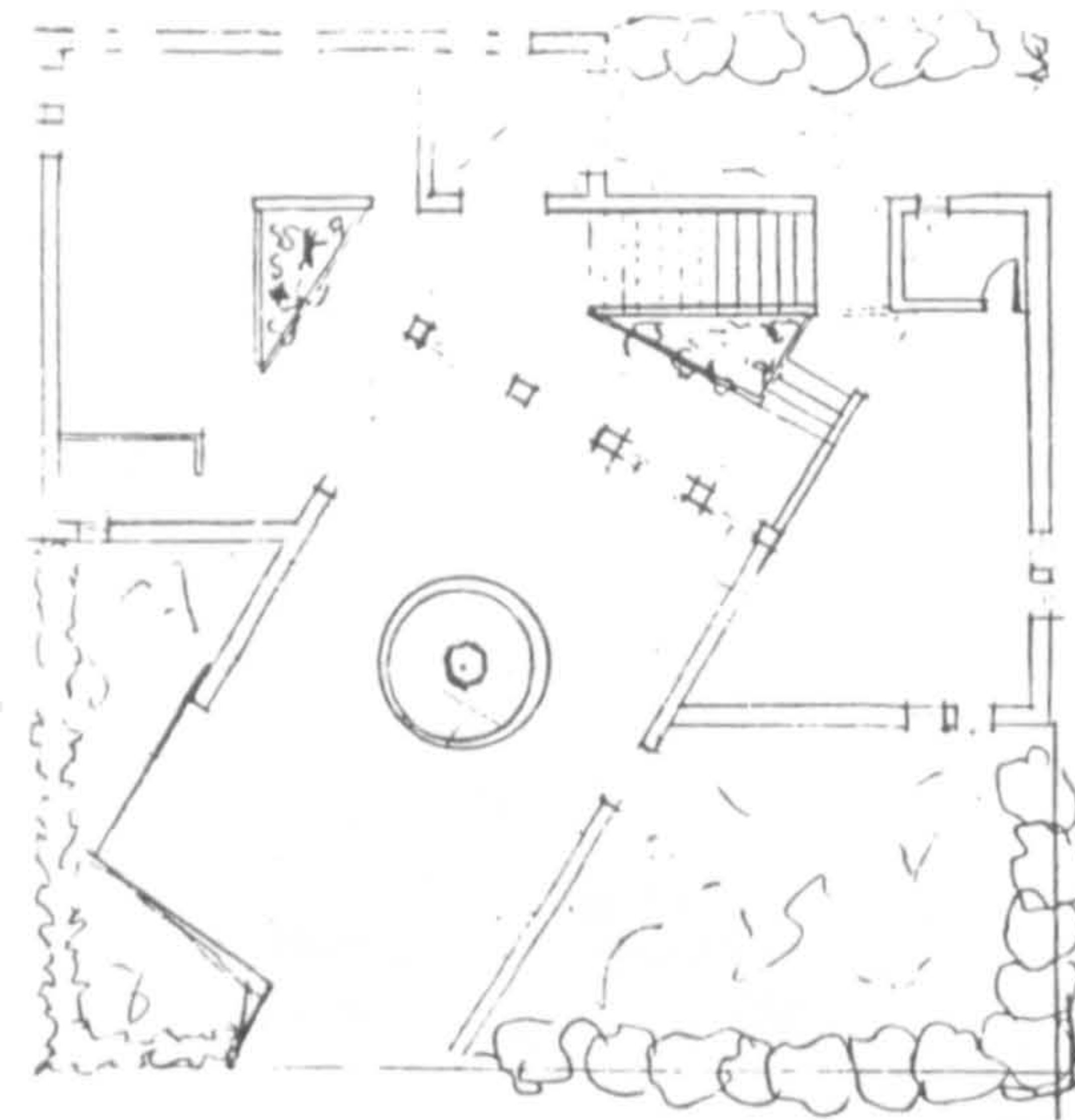
In order to test the potential benefit of using the elicited constructs in architectural design, an experiment was conducted with students in the School of Architecture at Al-Najah National University in the West Bank. The aim of the experiment is to understand how architects design house, which they consider Palestinian before knowing the constructs and how they will design it after knowing the constructs. Moreover, through this experiment, we can check how the constructs will be perceived and developed.

The experiment was carried out in two stages. In the first, the author asked the students to design a Palestinian house (i.e. a house which reflect the Palestinian identity). In the second stage, they were asked to do the same thing, but this time they were given the fourteen constructs elicited from the exterior of the house. They were asked to consider these constructs as positive elements and try to include them in their design. However, they did not have to put all of them, but only to include what they felt would support strengthening the identity.

From the experiment, ten designs have been collected from each stage. The procedure for analysis was to compare each person's design before and after giving the constructs. Because there were some similarity and repetition between the designs, three designs have been chosen randomly for further investigation.

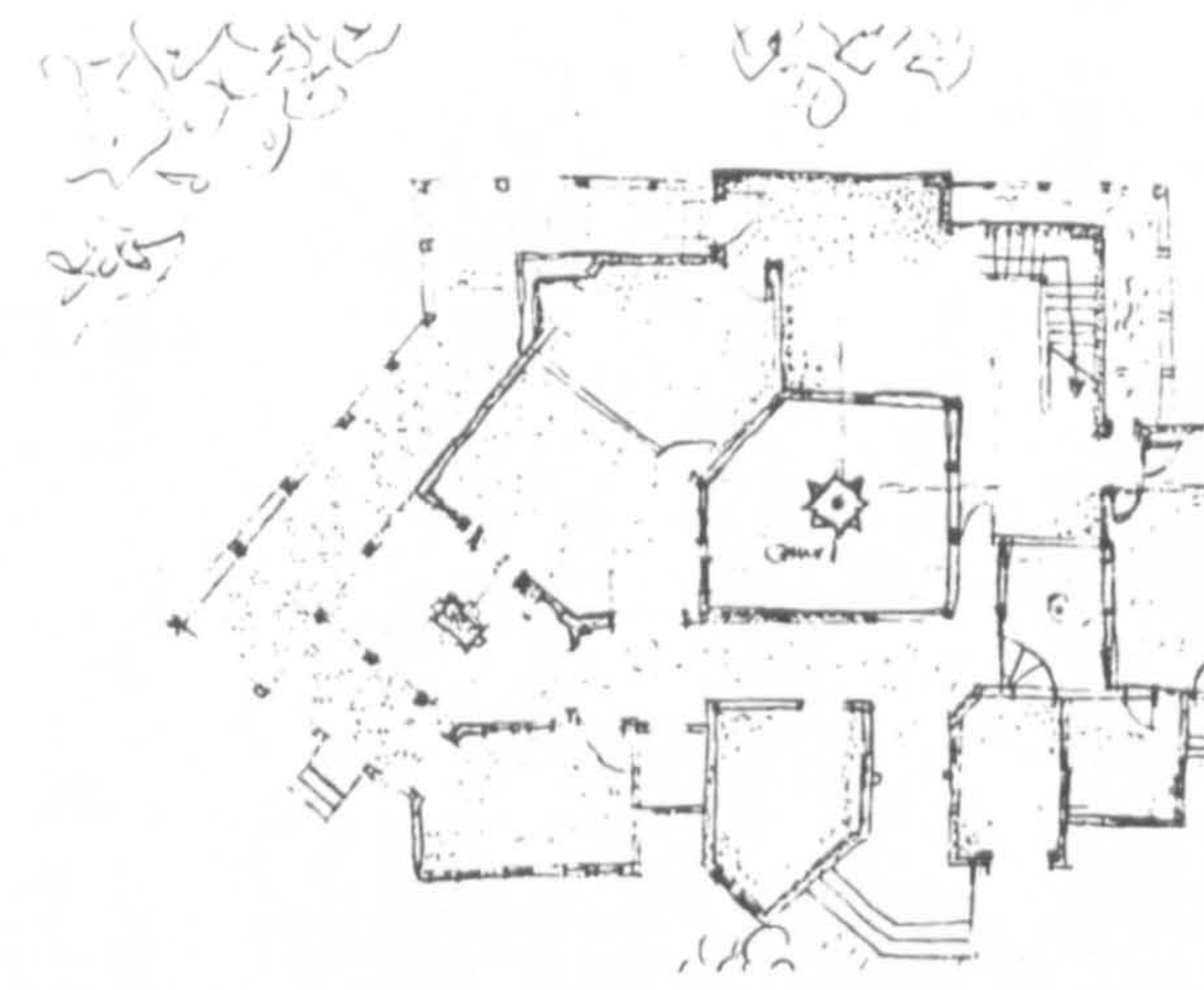
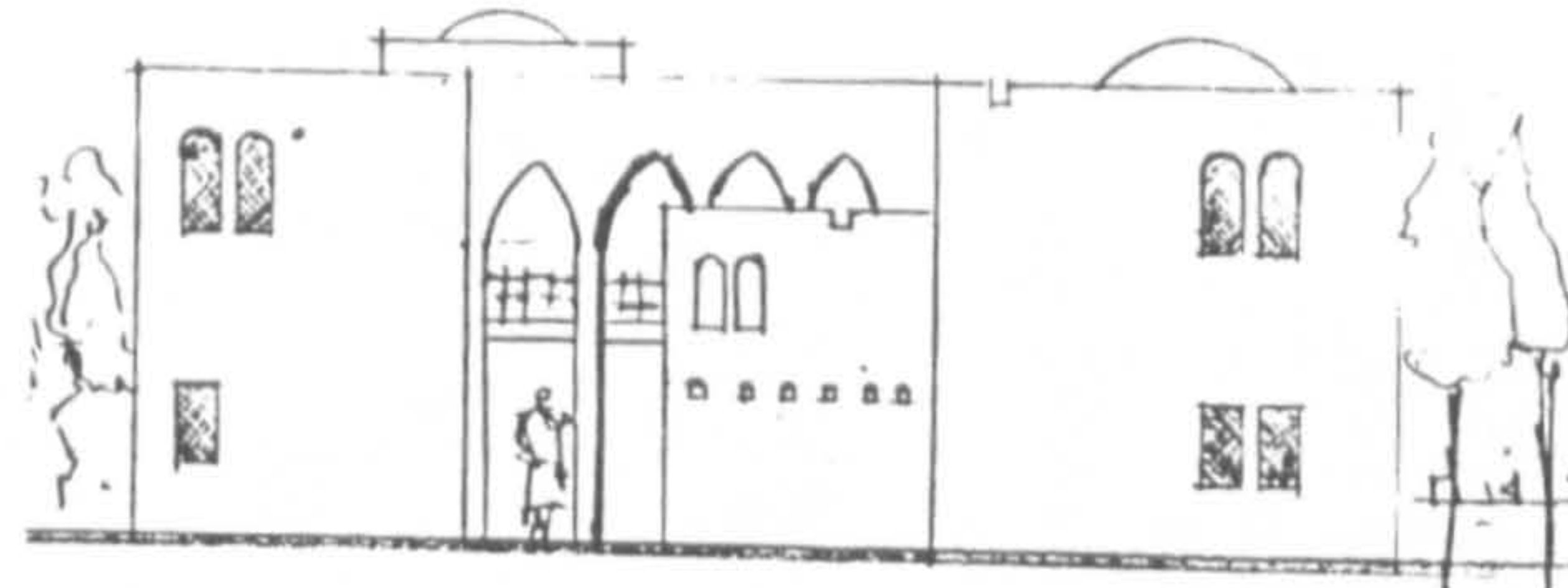
The first task was to list the constructs used in the first and second stages for each design. Then, the second step is to compare the constructs in the two designs of each respondent (Fig. 9.14).

Analysing the design in the first stage, it was found that the constructs used in each design are:



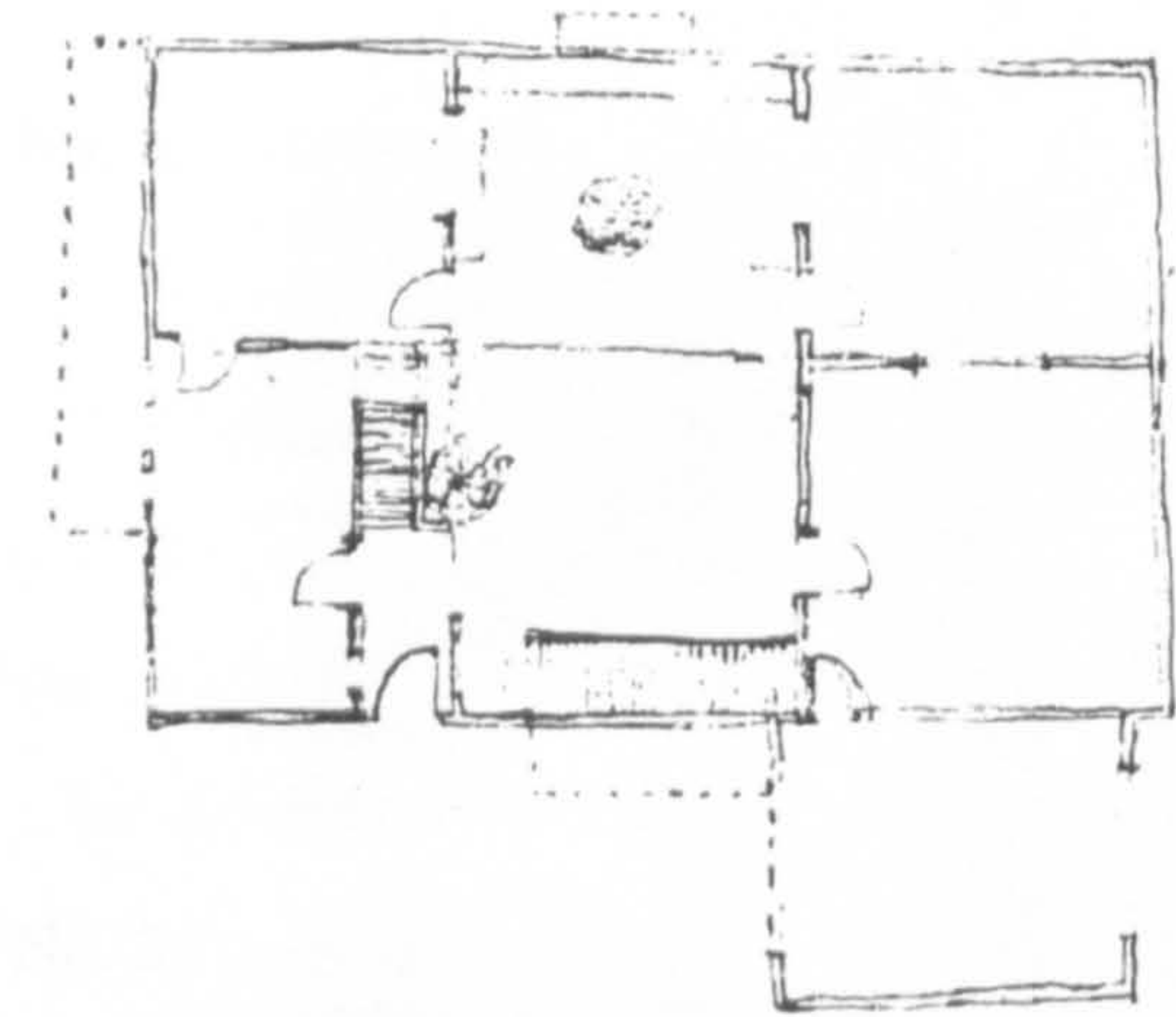
1

Before

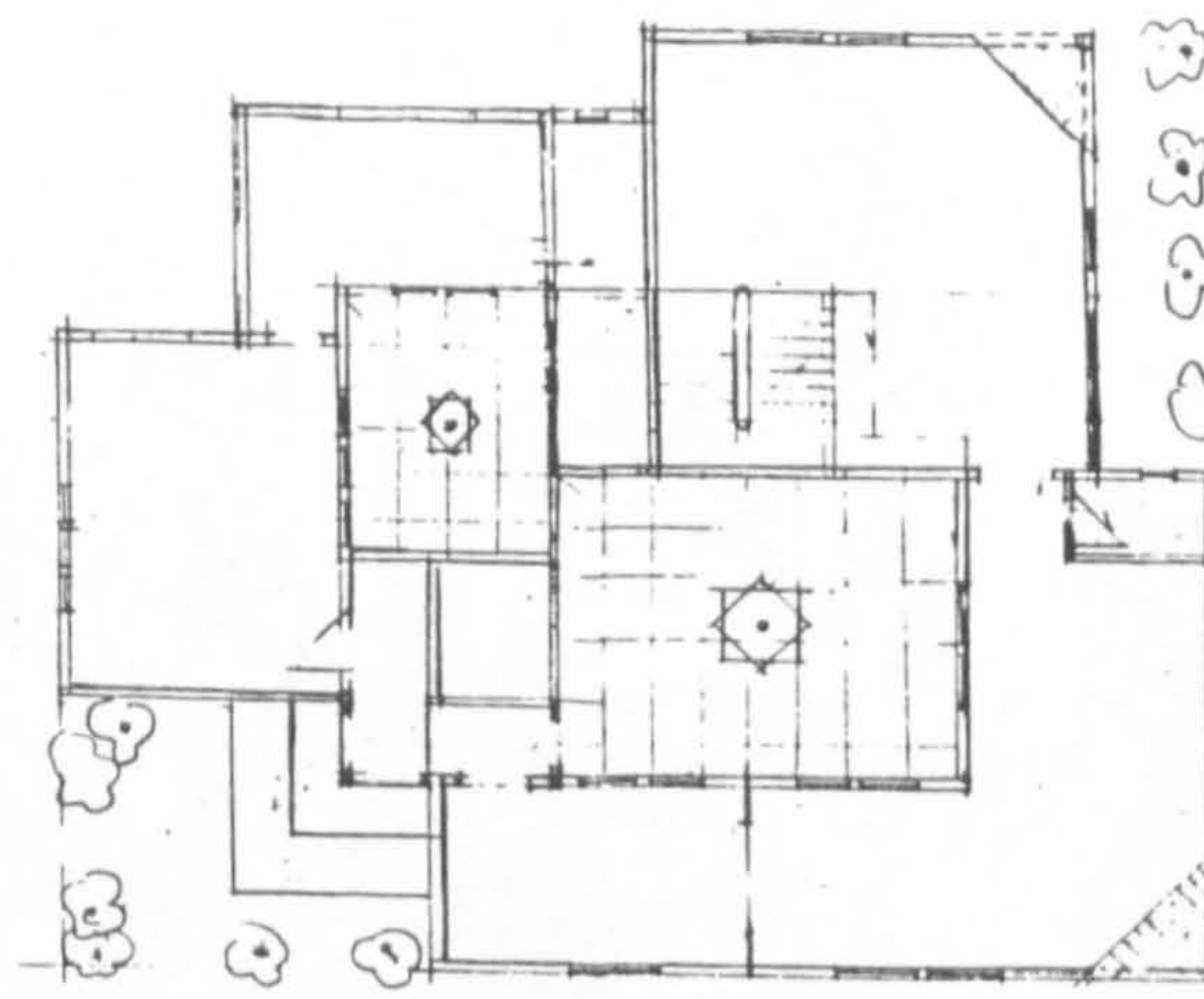
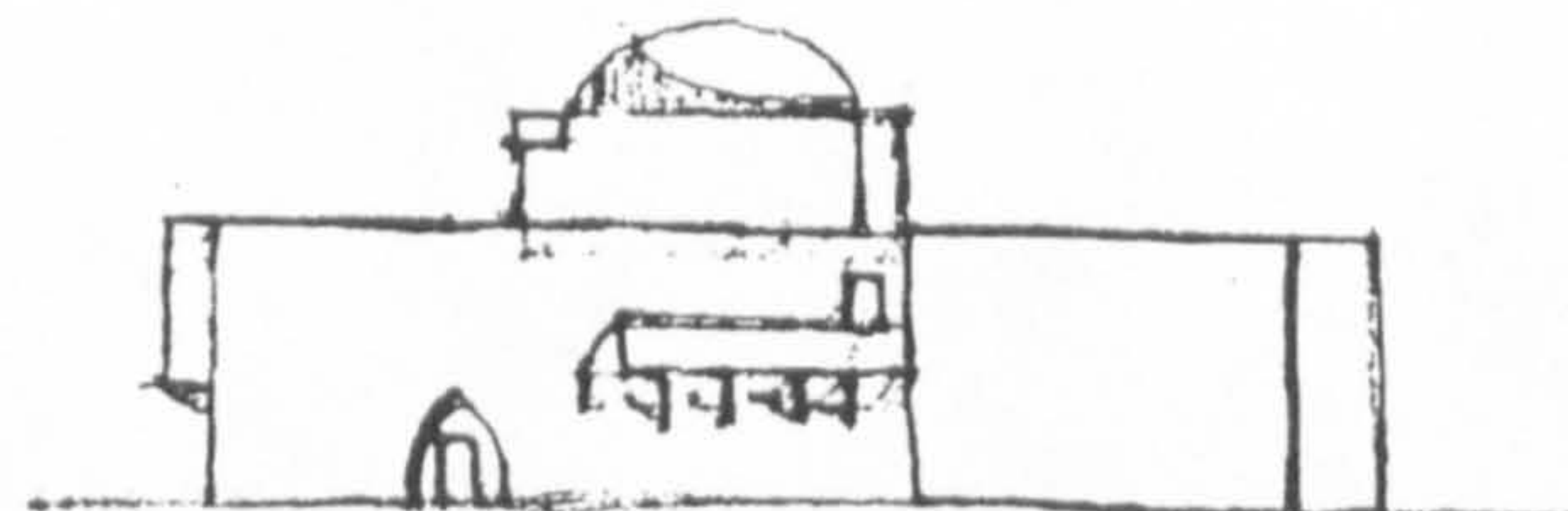


1

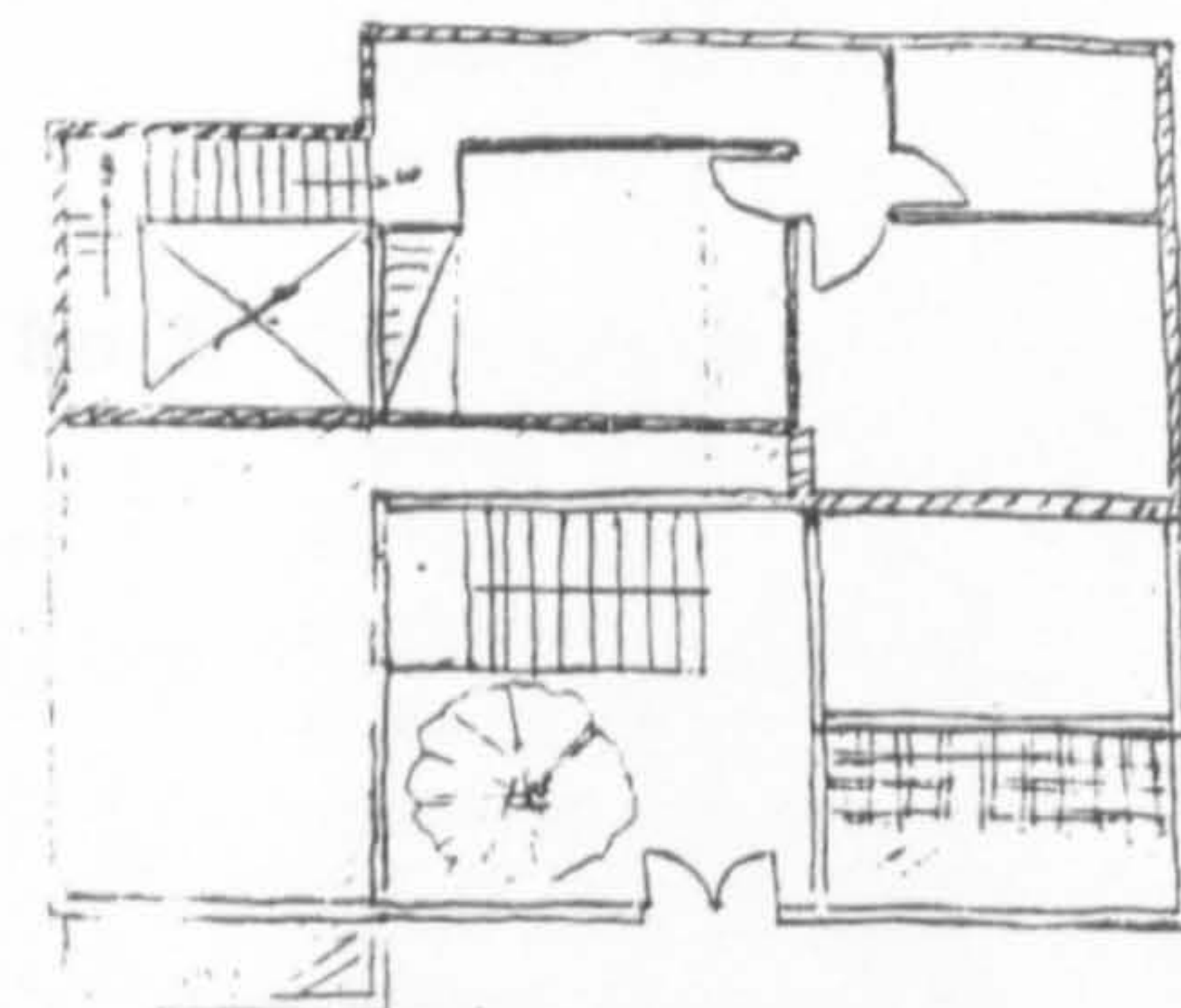
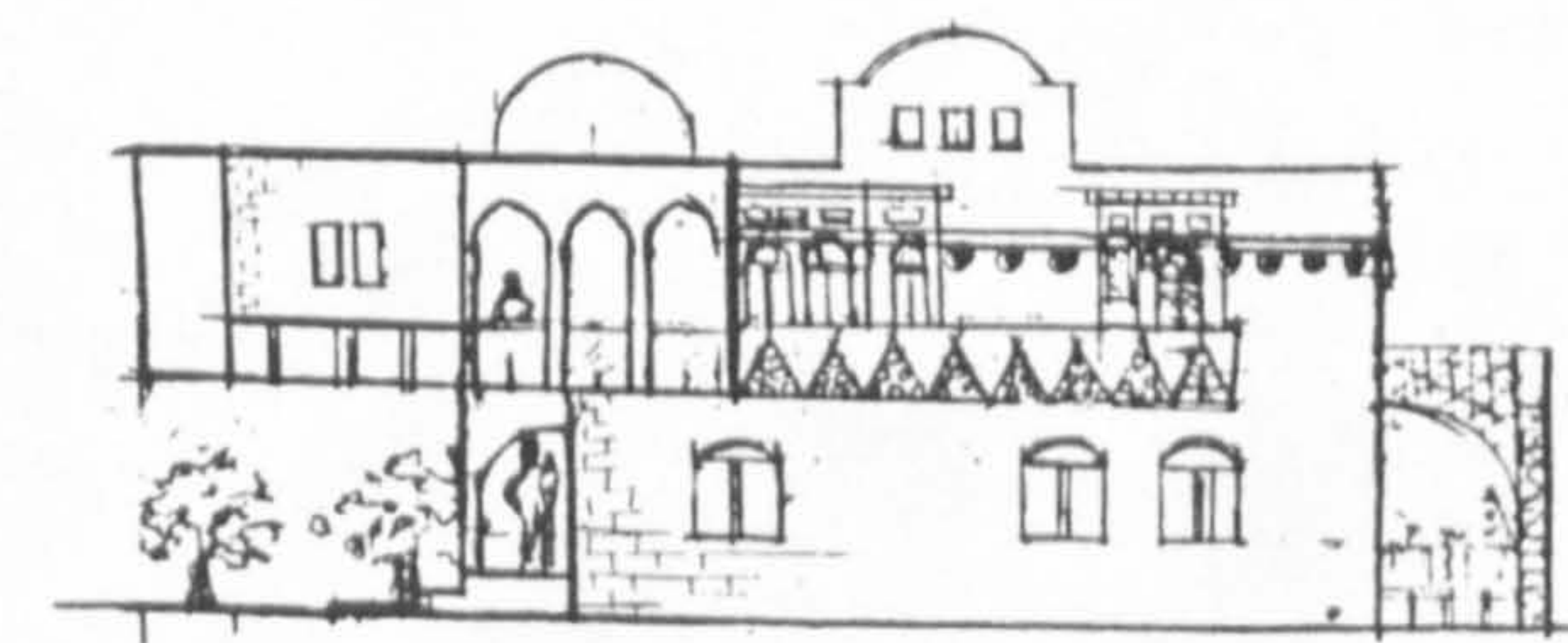
After



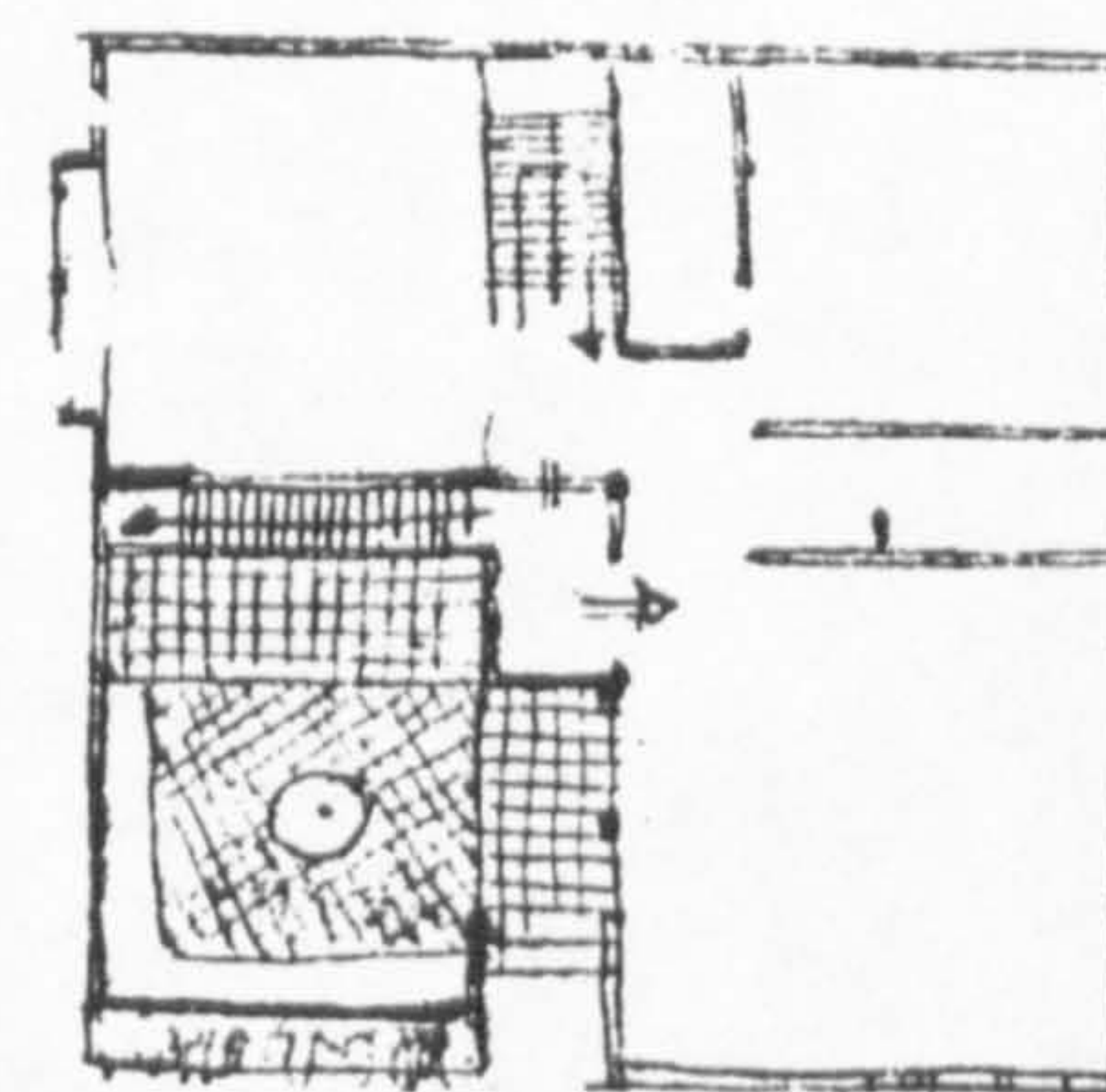
2



2



3



3

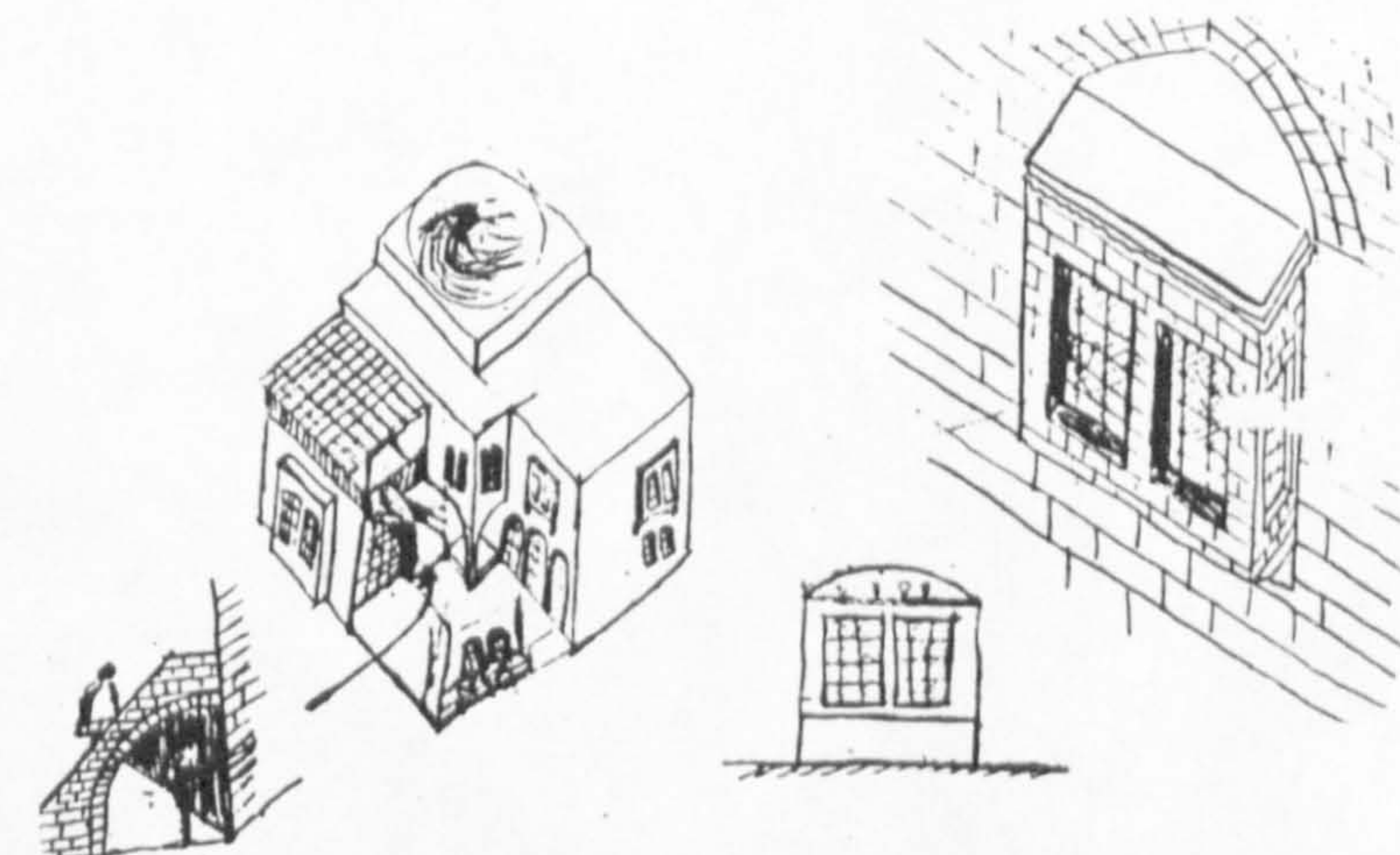


Fig. 9.14: The design of the three respondents before and after they were giving the constructs.

- Design No. 1: - courtyard
- vertical windows
- arched openings
- domes
- Design No. 2: - courtyard
- arched entrance
- dome
- Design No. 3: - courtyard
- arched openings
- gateway entrance
- stone as building material
- pergola

By analysing the designs in the second stage, it was found that the constructs utilised in each design are:

- Design No. 1: - courtyard
- arched openings
- the stone as building material
- geometric patterns
- intricate wooden details
- vertical windows
- gateway entrance
- metal details
- domes
- fountain
- Design No. 2: - courtyard
- arched openings
- pergola
- dome
- geometric patterns
- wooden details
- small openings
- vertical forms
- vertical windows
- metal details
- Design No. 3: - open courtyard
- stone as building material
- cross vault
- pergola
- wall around the court
- arched openings
- vertical windows
- metal details on the windows
- gateway

By comparing the constructs utilised before and after giving the constructs, it is clear that the designs in the second stage have more constructs than the first one. In addition,

before giving the constructs, the concentration of designers was mostly limited in using a courtyard and specific window shapes. However, after giving the constructs, the designs included geometric patterns, fenestration details and vertical forms besides the courtyard and arched opening.

It was also concluded from this experiment that, even though identity is a holistic entity, it consists of several elements. Therefore, it is important for any designer to know the constructs representing that identity, if he/she wants to emphasize it. In fact, this should be one of the bases in the design process for future designs.

Nevertheless, some disadvantages were discovered through the experiment. First, it was noted that the designers want to include all the constructs in their designs which had both functional and image implications. Therefore, the designs in the second stage are crowded with different elements and even different sizes or types of one constructs. For example, you can see different types of arches in the same facade. Second, some designers concentrated on applying the constructs of identity without checking if it is suitable for their site, budget or even the functional use. Third, there was not a clear way of how to use those constructs. For example, some used them as they are in traditional houses, others however tried to change the characteristics of the constructs.

Accordingly, the best way, I argue, to apply the constructs in the design process is to know these constructs, understand their meanings and evaluate their suitability for each specific situation. Then to develop their appropriate physical characteristics and functional use according to each case.

Even though the results were encouraging and promising, there are still some problems to be solved and certain procedures to be clarified in order to apply this method in the architectural design process. Moreover, this method could be used not only for the concept of identity, but also for other concepts and values related to study the built environment.

9.8 SUMMARY

The main results drawn from this chapter could be divided into three groups: one regarding the exterior of the house, the other concerning the interior of the guest room and the last one relating to the design process.

For the exterior of the house, the findings could be regrouped into two categories: those related to the houses themselves and those associated with the constructs representing the identity of the houses. The main results could be summarised in the following points:

1. It was found that traditional houses represent a strong and clear identity, while the identity of the contemporary ones are either weak or not clear. However, some traditional houses, like number 4, have a clear identity, but do not have strong elements which manifested that identity. On the other hand, some contemporary houses represented the identity strongly such as number 6 which has several elements from traditional houses. Moreover, it was noticeable that there is a strong relationships between certain houses, for example numbers 1, 3 and 7 are in one group. This means that these houses could fit in harmony with each other.
2. The constructs representing the houses are broad and cover a range of physical characteristics from small details to larger scale elements. In addition, the relationships between the constructs are important. It was found that certain constructs represent the identity better when they are together, while others appear to conflict with each other.
3. The meanings were an important factor in the process of change. It was noted that the constructs which have cultural meanings are mostly "retained" or "adapted", while the ones which have been justified for climatic or structural reasons have been "abandoned". Moreover, the meanings and the purpose of certain elements have been changed. For example, the arches and cross vaults are not any more perceived as having a decorative or a structural purpose, but they now are regarded as solily expressions of people's cultural identity.

4. Traditional houses were not only perceived as being more Palestinian than contemporary ones, but they also have more constructs represented strongly. Moreover, it could be argued that some of the contemporary houses have a weak identity because they are lacking specific constructs.

For the interior of the guest room, the findings could again be divided into two groups: those related to the rooms as space and those associated with the constructs elicited from the rooms. The main findings regarding them are:

1. The time of constructing the room was important; in general, the older the room and its furniture, the more the Palestinian identity was reflected. In addition, there are similarities between certain rooms, which could be categorised in groups. By analysing the relationships between them, it was found that their constructs are similar too.

2. The constructs elicited from the rooms cover physical characteristics, decoration and furnishing. Moreover, the constructs are related to each other, some support each other and some conflict with each other.

3. The meanings of the constructs have a significant role in retaining the identity of rooms. As in the exterior, the constructs with social and cultural meanings "retained".

4. It was noted that even though the contemporary rooms were perceived with a weak identity, several constructs were presented strongly in some of them. On the contrary, some traditional rooms only had few constructs manifested strongly.

For the design process, it was found that identifying the constructs of identity is an important part in order to reflect that identity. Although some disadvantages arose with the application of the constructs, the designer can maintain, adapt or develop those constructs before using them.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

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CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

10.1 PROLOGUE

This study was promoted by two main concerns. Firstly, the dramatic changes that have taken place in the built environment of the West Bank, which threaten the loss of its Palestinian identity as a result of the Israeli authorities' actions. This required the need to identify the features that reflect the Palestinian identity in the built environment in order to make people aware of the situation and know how to deal with it as a first step to retain the identity. Secondly, the lack of sensitivity to the use of the concept of identity in architectural practice, which necessitated the demand to explain this concept and its manifestation in the built environment. In the light of these issues, the investigation was carried out.

The aim was to develop an understanding about the identity of the built environment of the West Bank in the past, in the present and how it will be in the future. The idea was to point out the features that represent the Palestinian identity and to develop an approach to architectural design which reflects people's identity. As an architect, I tried to perceive the relationships between things and to draw them so that other people can see them and perceive their meanings too.

Nonetheless, the intention is not only to provide principles and guide-lines, but also to gain insights about the way of seeing things and to develop awareness between people. Therefore, the starting point has been taken is to understand the existing situation in order to develop a framework which facilitates the treatment in the future.

This concluding chapter is divided into two main parts: one is local and focuses on the case study and summarises the research findings there, and the other is universal and proposes insights and principles for retaining identity of the built environment anywhere in the world.

10.2 REVIEW OF THE STUDY

Through the investigation in this study, the concepts of identity, meanings of things and colonisation processes were central and considered as a basis for clarification and analysis. With this understanding, our interpretation of the identity of the built environment was constructed according to them which enabled us to recognise the forces behind the characteristics of its features, which gave us the direction and the orientation.

The theoretical perspective of this study has been examined in chapter two, which proposes that places are created according to people's values and beliefs. Therefore, each environment contains distinctive objects that reflect its uniqueness. In order to explain and to understand a particular situation or situations, it was necessary to apply this understanding within the circumstances in relation to specific people and places.

The area which was chosen is under military occupation. The fieldwork is carried out to investigate the identity of the villages in the West Bank. The main purpose is to identify the features that represent the Palestinian identity. In addition, it was necessary to reveal the influence of historical development, physical characteristics, social environment and economic conditions. These have been discussed in chapter three. Moreover, the impacts of Israeli colonial power in changing the identity of the built environment have been examined in chapter five. It explained its ideologies, strategies and processes.

In chapter six, the physical aspects and characteristics of the Palestinian village have been investigated. It examined the features that represent the Palestinian identity in both traditional and contemporary quarters.

A case study (the village of Arraba) was presented in chapter seven, which examined the changes of its built environment during this century. The identity of the house (both the interior and the exterior) has been investigated in chapter eight and chapter nine. While chapter eight examined the development of the house in the village from traditional to contemporary, chapter nine used the repertory grid technique to identify the features of the exterior of the house and of the interior of the guest room that represent the Palestinian identity.

This final chapter concludes the study. It points out the research findings in the case study, recommendations for retaining the identity of the built environment and an approach to architectural design. It also discusses principles for retaining the identity, and further researches which could complement this study.

In sum, this thesis has established a clear understanding about the built environment of the rural West Bank as a unique setting for a unique group of people. It has demonstrated how the colonial power is changing the environment of the occupied territories, how the people express their identity and points out the features that represent the Palestinian identity in the region, the village and the house.

10.3 THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

The previous chapters show that the West Bank as a place has been dramatically changed either by the inhabitants or by the colonial power actions. The inhabitants (Palestinians) rarely feel they have full control over their land and they carry out their lives under the spectres of fear and suspicion, which are reflected in the built environment. The colonial power has set up a series of policies to transform the built environment and to keep the expansion of the Palestinian villages and cities only within a small area.

In addition, intensive contact between the Palestinians and the Israelis led to ambiguity and confusion between Palestinians towards their identity. This can be seen, besides the built environment, in people's clothes, language and way of life, which reflects the scale of the problem. Therefore, in order to retain the Palestinian identity, the search should cover many fields such as art, music, lifestyle and the way of building.

In this study, three sources of identity of the built environment from which the essential quality of place has been derived are considered: the character of the natural environment, the built environment and the cultural identity of the people. In this sense, a place has an identity if we can read the cultural heritage of people through it and has some visible ties or links with the surrounding context.

The meanings that people attribute to the features of the village and the architectural components of the house are found to depend on the way that these components relate to their values and beliefs. In this understanding, the change in people's values would affect the identity of the built environment. For example, in the last few decades, dramatic changes have taken place in the Palestinian society regarding their identity. It was found that while group identity is still important in the Palestinian society, personal identity is recently becoming significant. Indeed, people at present seek identity through individuality and personal uniqueness; accordingly the house is taken as a separate entity treated independently from its environment.

Moreover, there was a change in the perception of Palestinian identity that people held about their built environment. It was noted that national identity is strengthening as a result of the political situation, and sometimes people use specific elements (e.g. an olive tree) to assert their national Palestinian identity over their land.

The sequence of investigation and analysis in this study started from the macro-level (the region) to the micro-level (the house). Consequently, the discussion of the findings is also based on the same structure and they will be presented for the region, the village and the house.

10.3.1 IDENTITY OF THE REGION

The built environment of the rural areas of the West Bank has undergone dramatic changes in the last few decades. Moreover, the characteristics of the villages vary from one area to another. For example, the villages in the south are more compact and usually bigger than the villages in the north. The landscapes also are diversified between the north and the south, the east and the west. While in the north people mostly grow grains and vegetables on the plains and olive trees on the mountains, in the south they grow grapevines and fruit trees.

The picture of the region of the West Bank fifty years ago was constructed of white compact villages dispersed on the mountain slopes and tops, surrounded by olive or fruit trees and stone terraces. The regional streets were narrow and winding, following the topography of the land. The plains looked like multicoloured mattresses of green, yellow and brown, which reflect the colours of the crops. The components of the built environment fitted in harmony with the natural environment and each element complemented the other.

This picture has been changed as a result of several factors. The most significant one has been the impact of the Israeli colonisation processes. Through their control of the development and the transformation of the physical features, the colonial power changed the landscape, weakened the relationship between the villages and distorted the historical image of the country by introducing new Israeli settlements, laid out wide streets, introduced military camps, etc. This study has given some attention to interrelate the political development in the region to the growing built environment and the consciousness of its identity.

By comparing the built environment in the past and at present, and by examining the influence of the colonial power, it was concluded that the identity of the region is

becoming confusing and ambiguous. There are now two different types of settlement (the Palestinian villages and the Israeli settlements), two road networks (one serves the Palestinian population and the other serves the Jewish settlers), two separate administrations and so on. In short, there are two parallel developments in the built environment with no relationship between them and each contradict the other. Moreover, the change is continuing. Therefore, it is important to clarify the Palestinian identity of this land and its built environment before it will be too late.

10.3.2 IDENTITY OF THE VILLAGE

Time has been a crucial factor in the development of the built environment of the Palestinian village. It has historically emerged over hundreds of years. Therefore, it is perhaps the most sensible place to examine the change. Gradually, the built environment has been transformed over time and modified from one generation to another, which gives the village its roots and identity.

Despite the changes that have taken place, the villages in the West Bank still have unique characteristics. The concern of this study is not the uniqueness of each village, but the common features of the built environment of the villages that represent the Palestinian identity.

By investigating the development of the built environment of the village, it was found that the village until the second half of this century was an introverted and homogeneous entity consisting of compact extended family houses. This has changed into extravert and diversified entity consisting of detached houses. As a result, it is noticeable that each village has two distinctive quarters: traditional and contemporary.

The traditional quarters in the villages reflect a harmonious interplay between the work of man and the characteristics of the natural environment. Their built environments fit in harmony because they respect the scale and the essence of the place. This can be seen in

the organic spatial organisation of buildings, which are simple masses, and combined as a whole and not as individuals. This structure gave the village a distinctive identity.

People perceived the traditional quarter with its narrow and winding streets, courtyards, compact buildings and plain walls as a representation of the Palestinian identity, while the contemporary neighbourhood with its wide paved streets, detached concrete houses and decorative facades as alien features. It was also noted that specific public buildings were considered to reflect the Palestinian identity such as the mosque with its minaret and the guest house. Moreover, within the landscape, olive trees and stone terraces were perceived as Palestinian.

By examining the present conditions of the village, it was found that traditional quarters are deteriorating because there is no maintenance to the old buildings and most of their residents are either poor or old. The activities in the village have been also transformed to the new neighbourhoods. For example, the main street has become the commercial centre in the village instead of the main plaza. In addition, the characteristics of architectural components have been changed, such as the house form, the shape of the window, the shops and many others. As a result, the architectural style is now a mixture of vertical and horizontal forms, small and large windows, arched and rectangular doors, stone and concrete buildings, etc. Moreover, several new public buildings have been introduced to the built environment of the village, such as post offices, clinics and schools.

The built environment of the village has been influenced also by the colonial power actions. It was found that the colonial power restricted and directed the expansion of the villages to certain areas and specific directions according to the plans of the Israeli settlements. It also changed their spatial organisation of the villages by forcing inward developments; and it affected their historical image as a result of the demolishing policy.

10.3.3 IDENTITY OF THE HOUSE

In the Palestinian village, it was found that both the exterior and interior of the house communicate information about the inhabitants. While exterior features communicate information about their status, values and attitudes, interior features communicate information about religion, family ties, political alignment and wealth.

There are two types of houses that can be seen at present in the West Bank villages: traditional and contemporary. In each type, there are also different kinds depending on the wealth and the status of the owner. The traditional house ranges from one small room built of mud to large two-storey house with several rooms built of fine cut stone. The contemporary house also ranges from small concrete room added to an old house to a large decorated villa.

The change of the house from traditional to contemporary can be seen in several components, such as location, form, building materials, proportions, layout, allocation of spaces for specific functions and the introduction of furniture. If the process of change continues, within the next few years no houses will be built from random stone or mud and it will be substituted by concrete buildings with their imported styles. Even though, some of the traditional elements have been used in contemporary houses, but most of their characteristics have been changed.

This research concluded that although contemporary houses do not satisfy many of the social and cultural values of people, it is likely that different types of them are able to reflect one's self-image, desired status or self-esteem based, in part, on their physical characteristics.

Despite the changes, the houses in the West Bank still have a distinctive identity. The concern in this study is not the individuality of each house, but the common features that represent the identity of the Palestinian house. It was found that traditional houses represent strong and clear identity, while contemporary houses reflect weak and unclear

identity. When houses were tested in terms of their relationship to each other, it was found that some houses fit in harmony with each other, but others do not. This explains the confusion of identity of the existing conditions in the villages and gives us an idea on what type of houses should put together to give a unity and retain the identity of the village.

As stated earlier, the front facade and the guest room of the house are front stage areas, which people use to express their identity to others. It should be noted that the target audience of the exterior is different from that of the interior. In the exterior, it is intended for people who do not have strong relationships with the inhabitants or to passers-by, while in the interior, it is intended for people who have close relationships with the inhabitants, such as relatives, friends and neighbours. In the case study, it was concluded that the manipulation of identity in the exterior is limited to house design, landscape features and exterior decorations. In the interior, however, the inhabitants express their identity through the use of furniture style, floor covering, art decorations, electronic equipments, plants, arrangement of furnishings and decorative artifacts. Each feature has specific meanings to people and these meanings determine its continuity. It was found that the constructs with meanings related to their culture are retained, while the constructs with technical meanings are abandoned.

It was also concluded that the constructs of identity of the Palestinian house are various and range from small details to large elements. Some are related to the shapes, forms and building materials, others are connected to location, landscape and relationships with other elements. In the guest room, however, it was found that the constructs that represent the Palestinian identity include the display of traditional crafts, family pictures and the use of mattresses for sitting. It was noted that designs that maximised the use of traditional elements such as arches were considered to represent the identity better, because those elements were associated with history.

10.4 PRINCIPLES FOR IDENTITY IN THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

A historical perspective suggests that the uniqueness of place has arisen from responses to the practical problems of everyday life. In the past, there were limits to what one was able to do and the extent to which one could modify the natural environment. In general, the constraints of physical and social environment created a sense of place. At present, however, the determinants that shape the built environment are no longer those of environmental limitation, but of choice and style. Moreover, recently the new forces shaping the built environment are no longer local in scope, but are becoming universal. In fact, contemporary practice in architecture solves problems in ways that have never been used in the creation of traditional architecture.

In the preceding chapters, I have examined the various factors affecting the identity of the built environment, the characteristics of the existing identity and people's perception in specific locality. This was necessary to establish a framework of a strategy to deal with contemporary built environment, taking into account the concept of identity.

The followings are several principles which are important to achieve or retain the identity of the built environment of a place. These principles are derived from the findings of this research.

Principle One: Knowing the place

Identity is connected with the characteristics of a location that tell us something about its physical and social environment. Accordingly, the identity of a place emerges from the natural processes (the characteristics of the natural environment) and the social processes (the way people adapt it and how they change it to suit their needs).

In this understanding, before changing a place, one must identify its essential characteristics and realise its patterns, history, social change, etc. The position that this study wants to emphasize is that underlying every built environment which has a

distinctive identity, there are unique natural and cultural attributes that should be revealed in order to create a sense of place.

The first step, therefore, is to identify the features that represent the identity of the place. In the West Bank, for instance, the different natural features, which are a mixture of mountains and plains with their landscape elements and the traces of buildings and the history of land, which reflects different periods in history, form a unique system of establishing a distinctive identity. In taking this into account, the built environment could also become as a stamp of individuality and uniqueness for places.

Principle Two: Different identities for different people

Another issue that should be realised is that people are not standard and there are differentiation between individuals, even within the same group. Therefore, any solution should combine the personal identity with the group identity in order to satisfy people's individuality and to keep the homogeneity of the place.

Principle Three: Maintaining a sense of continuity

Rarely, if ever, can one create a place from scratch. Something is always there before we begin to intervene: a history, a peculiar character and so on, and according to what is already there, we add the new features. Therefore, the protection of natural and cultural history by integrating the new with the old, lies at the heart of maintaining a continuing link of place's identity. In other words, there should be historical reference in the process of building the new. The basic purpose is to link us with the past in order to enhance our roots. It should be noted that temporal identity can dominate, so that identity of a place is derived from the period during which it experienced major developments or changes.

Principle Four: The enhancement of cultural identity

The sense of cultural identity will flourish by adapting and using features which have meanings to people and satisfy their values. Accordingly, the designer should understand the values and behaviour of the people, as well as the features and architectural components crucial to these values.

Principle Five: The application of people's participation in the design process.

The sense of identity can be realised when people have control over the development of their environment. Thus, in the absence of the influence of local forces, the built environment follows the patterns of external forces. These forces super-impose actions and policies that may result the loss of identity. Therefore, in order to retain the identity of the built environment, people themselves should control the process of development of their environment and not to be imposed from above. Without this understanding, we ignore the basis on which identity can be maintained.

Principle Six: The possibility for future adjustment

Planning and architectural design should keep a space to adapt the place according to the changes in people's conditions and perceptions; for example, the time-line effect on people's perception or the change of the users of the place.

These are some of the principles that could help in retaining the identity of the built environment. In sum, the making of places with distinctive identity, involves principles which consider natural process and change over time. It has to do with understanding the nature of places as an envoy to develop the identity, which is far better than imposing pre-packaged solutions. It also involves a variety and choice that evolves through the interaction between people and nature.

10.5 TOWARDS AN APPROACH SENSITIVE TO IDENTITY IN THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

At present, the contemporary approach to design and planning is insensitive to the concept of identity. This lack of sensitivity comes mainly from professional practitioners, whose approach to the built environment is generally guided by international styles and regulations. Therefore, it is noticeable that professionals design similar buildings in different context without any consideration to the specifics of the place in which they are located or to the identity of people who is going to use them.

This point can be seen clearly in housing designs or high-rise buildings, where the same unit is designed for hundreds or even thousands of different people. In this kind of housing, it is clear that the designer(s) neither recognise the identity of each person or group, nor the distinctiveness of each place. Therefore, in order to retain the identity of a particular locality, it is suggested that this concept should be emphasized in the process of architectural practice.

This study also implies that the role of designer is not to create a work that reflects his/her personal identity. Rather, the design ought to reflect the essential aspects of people who are going to use it. This will lead us to an important question "who is going to decide what to express and how to express the identity: professionals or people?". This study suggests that both should play complementary roles. In order to do it effectively, it is essential that people should have the knowledge to be able to form conceptions of the identity of their place and imagine how it is expected to evolve.

The first task, therefore, requires an understanding of the existing identity of the place. Then, it needs to be related to people's culture and examines the meaning of its elements to them. In addition, it is also essential to gain insight into the way people are likely to adapt spaces in order to express their identity as another input to design.

In this understanding, to retain the identity of place, the design and planning processes should consider the followings:

- The history of the place and its heritage, and the development of its organisation, spaces, landmarks, etc.
- The physical characteristics of the place including geographical features and landscape elements.
- The significant elements contributing to strengthen the identity and the sense of place in the setting.
- Social and cultural characteristics of people.
- The characteristics of objects and their meanings to people.

The interpretations of these points will provide a basis for information and insights related to the identity of places and objects, which will be a basis for planning and design.

In order to retain the identity of place, the design should respond to people themselves and derive its form from the uniqueness of the natural environment of the place. Accordingly, it was suggested that the site for planning new settlements or developing an existing one, should be related to the surrounding context and not dealt with independently. In other words, in considering the identity, it is important that an object is not seen in isolation from its surrounding context, in order to build strong relations with the existing environment and not to send conflicting messages.

10.6 A RECOMMENDED DESIGN PROCESS

The design process arising from this study suggests that architectural components are physical representation of people. Each component can be considered as a fragment of the total identity, which helps the designer to identify the positive and negative aspects and improve them to reach an optimum solution. The aim of this process as Donald Berlyne asserted, "is to seek unity in the midst of diversity or order in the midst of complexity. The ultimate task is to fit multifarious elements into some kind of compact, cohesive, apprehensible scheme" (cited in P. Smith, 1987: 154). In this sense, the designer must discover the principal means to ensure the communication of identity.

Therefore, in order to produce a building reflecting the identity of a person or a group, the designer can consider three strategies: first, the understanding of people's values and culture. Second, identifying the architectural components crucial to the identity of the place. Third, making people participate in the design process.

After identifying the constructs that represent the identity strongly, the task of the designer, then is to decide how they will be utilised in the design. It was indicated in this study that some constructs fit in harmony together, while others do not. Moreover, there

are other constraints which determine the design (function, technology, economy, etc.). Therefore, to reach an optimum solution, one will go through a long and complex process, in which there are different variables that had to be satisfied. From this study it was concluded that it could be more practical to concentrate on some of the constructs at the expense of others depending on their importance and hierarchy.

From the above discussion, it is noticeable that there is a need to improve the professional's practice in architecture in order to retain the identity of the built environment. In this sense, the functions and forms of objects ought to be inspired by awareness and consciousness of their identity.

Even though this is a subjective phenomenon, where no precise rules can be produced, some recommendations can be developed to retain the identity of a place:

- 1- Recognise the actors, their responsibility and areas of control. This should include the internal and the external forces.
- 2- Identify the type objects that represent the identity better and retain them in future designs.
- 3- Highlight the constructs that reflect the identity within a specific locality and indicate the gestures, which strengthen the identity. In other words, what objects (desirable elements) in the built environment needed to be introduced and what are their characteristics.
- 4- Establish an organisational or judicial framework. This involve building regulations, organisations and administrations.
- 5- Strengthen the relationships between the existing settlements and the new ones; and the new settlements should fit in harmony with the old ones to keep the unity and continuity of the place.

6- Respond to people's culture in the spatial organisation of the new neighbourhoods or by emphasising, for instance, religious or communal buildings.

7- Renovate the important buildings which could be used for public activities or services.

In sum, it is clear that this approach requires of the professionals a role different from their conventional role in architecture and planning. The starting point of this approach requires that participants should have an awareness of the identity of their place and its main characteristics. If it is approached within this awareness, it will be possible to retain the existing identity and to emphasize its potential designs.

10.7 FURTHER RESEARCH

Recommendations from this research suggest the importance of the concept of identity in planning and architectural design. The issues related to this subject are wide and varied and this research is only one step, which has specific objectives and limitations. Therefore, some issues lie beyond its scope and need further investigation.

Here, the concentration was on national identity (the Palestinian identity). Further research could focus on specific group identity such as farmers, traders and professionals. In addition, other researches could examine the expression of national identity in the built environment in countries which are not under colonial influence such as the United Kingdom.

One of the areas that have been under focus in the last two decades is the continuity and change of the built environment. This research investigates the change of identity between traditional and contemporary built environment. However, during the investigation, it was noted that even though the change is dramatic, there is certain continuity in each place. In this sense, further researches could concentrate only on the

features that represent the continuity of the place in order to identify the common characteristics between the past and the present, or between the old and the new.

Another important aspect that needs further research is to develop techniques and methods, which enable professionals to identify the features that reflect the identity of a person or a group. Moreover, an application of these methods should be tested in architectural design. Here, an experiment with students was conducted; this could be widened by using several stages of applying the constructs in the design process to test their reliability and to examine the implications of the method on the final design.

For the case study (the West Bank), it was noted the lack of information regarding the quality of the built environment. During this study, several ideas were developed for future researches where the investigation on the concept of identity could be extended. A partial list of these could include:

- **Document** and **index** information about the characteristics of the built environment.
- Investigate the identity of the **urban** environment as a parallel study of this rural study.
- Examine the **indirect** influence of the Israeli occupation on the development of the built environment.
- Investigate people's **perception** towards the features that represent their identity.
- Conduct similar **fieldwork** in other villages, which allow testing the results of this study.

10.8 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Throughout this study, the underlying theme has been the identity of the built environment. It has been noted that people usually surround themselves with objects to satisfy both personal and social needs. In addition, people use objects to present themselves to others. Indeed, these objects are not only important to communicate feelings and information to others, but also to shape their identity. In other words, objects are becoming a substitute for human interaction. In this sense, places which are different physically and culturally should have different built environment.

The preceding discussions suggest that the concept of identity is not determined by utilitarian factors. Rather it is a product of an approach which respects and involves the local characteristics of both the environment and people. In this sense, the embodiment of identity is not a problem solving, but it is a holistic approach to provide a built environment with unique features.

To study the relationship between people and the built environment means to throw light on crucial aspects of social life, and on the role that objects play to satisfy peoples' identity. In this context, an interdisciplinary approach to this subject seems better suited to understand the various roles played by objects and some particular features characteristic of the relationship between individuals and material things.

Moreover, this study shows that our ties with the environment we build and personalise around us, have to do with our emotional life because things embody memories, past relationships and achievements; in which they reflect parts of our history and respond to our psychological needs. Indeed, symbolic ties and meanings attached to objects are numerous and different. It was found in this study that features which represent memories, relationships, or cultural meanings have a fundamental significance for people, and this significance is felt more strongly when they are under threat of loss. In this sense, to deprive a person of his belongings, to move him out of his place, means to deprive him of a culturally defined frame, which is crucial for establishing a sense of continuity and belonging.

The outcome of this study is of considerable importance to professionals and people for the case study and any other place. It consists of five main points: first, it provides information about the identity of the built environment of the West Bank. Second, it clarifies the role of the Israeli occupying power in changing the built environment. Third, it identifies the features that represent the Palestinian identity. Fourth, it develops a

theoretical understanding to the concept of identity under the influence of external forces. Finally, it explains a way to consider the concept of identity in architecture and planning practices.

In conclusion, the identity crisis of the built environment, in particular in the West Bank, demands more critical investigation and attention, and this study could be treated as a step forward.

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APPENDICES

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 2.1: Approaches to study the meaning of the built environment. Source: Rapoport, 1982.

A) The Semiotic Approach

Trying to identify the semiotic approach, Rapoport (1982) suggests that semiosis is the process by which something functions as a sign, so semiotic is the study of signs and it contains three main components : the sign vehicle (what acts as a sign), the designation (to what the signs refers) and the interpretant (the effect on the interpreter by virtue of which a thing is a sign). He also argues that semiotic, as the study of the significance of elements of a structured system, can also be understood as comprising three major important components:

- Syntactics (parts together)

The relationship of sign to sign within a system of signs, that is, the study of structure of the system.

- Semantics (meaning)

The relation of signs to things signified, that is, how signs carry meanings.

- Pragmatics (practical)

The relation of signs to the behaviour responses of people, that is, their effects on those who interpret them as part of their total behaviour- in other words, their meaning.

The cue, sometimes, can be reinforced by distinguishing it from the others, such as the minarets' heights. In other cases, the cue can be reinforced by other cues, such as size, location, domes, polichromy in the domes, special elements, such as classical doorways or columns.

B) The Symbolic Approach

This approach is useful in studying traditional cultures, in which fairly strong and clear schemata are expressed through the built environment. Communication contains many verbal and non-verbal components; the question is how unfamiliar information is decoded, particularly in expressive functions. Leach (1976), tackles this through signals, signs, and symbols that will reveal the patterning and information encoded in the non-verbal dimensions of culture, such as village layouts, architecture, furniture, food, physical gestures, and so on. Traditional architecture usually has certain symbols which reflect its people, yet variability in today's architecture is striking phenomenon that it is difficult to identify general symbols.

C) The Non-verbal Communication Approach

Some argue that non-verbal behaviour tends to be perceived mainly visually, although auditory, tactile , and other sensory cues may be involved- basically it is multi-channel. The study of man-environment interaction, such as environmental perception, an analogous situation obtains: the visual channel has been stressed almost to the exclusion of all others, and there is even less stress on multi-sensory, multi-channel

perception. Rapoport suggests that one such channel is the built environment. The concept of non-verbal communication in the environment can be used in at least two ways: first, is the sense of analogy or metaphor: since environment provide cues for behaviour but do not do it verbally, it follows that they must represent a form of non-verbal behaviour. Second, is more directly related to what is commonly considered non-verbal behaviour. Non-verbal cues not only themselves communicate, but they have also shown to be very important in helping other, mainly verbal, communication.

- Affective Meaning

Once our representations are formed, we ordinarily have further internal responses relating to our representations. One of these responses have been referred to as affective meaning. We see a building of unknown use and purpose, but whose formal properties simply delight us because may be the building has the right combination of colours, lines or textures.

- Evaluative Meaning

This type of meaning has to do with our immediate feelings and emotions toward an object or a place. We might look at a building and be pleased by our representation of it, and yet on reflection to conclude that it is really boring or unpleasant. For example, we might react initially to its representational meaning (form), but then its referential meaning (i.e. function, values or attitude) which we possess through previous experiences are brought to focus on our representations, and considering them, we conclude that the building is pleasant, unpleasant, beautiful, ugly. Here, the purposes and values are central.

- Perspective Meaning

Having represented the situation, been affected by our representations of it, evaluated both our representations and their affect, we decide what to do. This is perspective meaning. This meaning is important in behaviour. It is not enough to recognize the form alone to act. A person must at least recognize the use.

APPENDIX 4.1: The checklist used in the key figures interviews.

INTERVIEW KEY FIGURES

INTRODUCTION

My name is Ziad B. Senan. I am doing my PhD in architecture at the University of Newcastle in England. In my research, I am studying the development of the built environment in the West Bank.

I would like to ask you some questions about the change in the built environment of the West bank. The objective from this interview are two folds :
First, to identify the colonial power actions that more likely affect the identity of the built environment, and how these actions affect the identity of the built environment. Second, to point out the people's actions that more likely affect the built environment, and how these actions change the identity of thier environment.

These information will be used in my PhD research.

I greatly appreciate your time and cooperation, and thank you very much.

No. ()

Date :

* Biography

- 1- Name : 2- Age :
- 3- Sex [] male [] female
- 4- Occupation [] politician
[] planner or architect
[] lecturer at the university
[] mayor
[] others

The objective is to identify the colonial power actions that more likely affect the identity of the built environment and their impact on it.

- 5 - In your view what are the actions that the colonial power uses to change the identity of the built environment in the West Bank ?

- [] Settlements
[] Land expropriation and land ownership
[] Administrative system
[] Planning schemes
[] Infrastructure
[] Demolition policy

- 6 - Now, I would like you to clarify how these actions affect the identity of the built environment (IBE) :

" discuss the impacts of all the above, including specific schemes or policies ".

For example :

- [] image of the region
[] demographic balance
[] sense of place
[] development of the region,

APPENDIX 4.1: (Continued)

- 16 - Show the interviewee pictures of different Palestinian houses. Then ask him :
Based on the pictures that you have seen, could you please tell me :
a- in what kind of houses would you like to live ?
b- what housing physical features do you really want in the house ?
c- describe, using your own terms, your dream house ?

16 - Would you like to add anything ?

Notes

villages and houses.
[] impact on people
[] others

- 7 - In your view, what are the actions that the Palestinians do which affect the (IBE) ?
[] houses
[] landscape
[] inside the village
[] outside the village boundaries
[] others

- 8 - Do you think that expressing people's identity in the built environment is important ?

- 9 - In your view, what are the actions that the inhabitants are taking to retain the (IBE) in the West Bank ?

- 10 - In your view, what are the actions the inhabitants should take to retain the (IBE) ?

- 11 - If things will not change, how do you imagine the built environment of the region in the year 2000 ?

- 12 - In the Palestinian village, what are the physical characteristics, in your view, which reflect the Palestinian identity ?

- 13 - Why do you think that these reflect the Palestinian identity ?

- 14 - In the house, what, in your view, are the physical features which reflect the inhabitants :

- Exterior
- Interior

- 15 - Why do you think that these reflect the inhabitants ?

APPENDIX 4.2: The checklist used during the observations.

The Region

- 1- Record physical traces and new developments which change the environment : compare the old and the new.

- Roads
- Settlements
- Change in the landscape

- By :
- Photographs
 - Draw sketches
 - Describe them

The Village

- 2- Record physical traces and new developments which change the built environment : compare the old and the new.

- Roads
- New developments
- Public buildings

- By :
- Photographs
 - Draw sketches
 - describe them

The House

- 3- Record common physical features which people add or emphasize in their houses, both the exterior features and the interior decorations.

- By :
- Photographs
 - Draw sketches
 - Describe them

APPENDIX 4.3: Checklist used during the collection of supportive information.

THINGS AND INFORMATION TO BE COLLECTED

- 1- Photographs which show the change : old and new.
- 2- Maps for the region : old and new.
- 3- Art drawings of the built environment.
- 4- Art drawings which reflect the Palestinian identity.
- 5- Writings which describe the built environment.
- 6- Folk songs which describe the built environment.
- 7- Folk songs which talk about the Palestinian identity.
- 8- Poetry which talks about the built environment and the Palestinian identity.
- 9- Find out the meanings of the Arabic words to the architectural elements of the house and the village; For example , shubak (window). Then findout if certain shapes or sizes symbolize meanings to the people.
- 10- Find out if certain colours (white) symbolize any thing to the people.

(1) INTERVIEW ELDERLY PERSONS

No. () Date :

* Biography

1- Name : 2- Age :

3- Sex [] male [] female

4- Occupation [] farmer
 [] worker
 [] government employee as
 [] others

5- How long have you lived in this village ?

The objective is to describe the physical features of the territory before the change.

6 - I would like you to describe as much as you can remember your childhood built environment:

a - The Region [] villages in general
 [] roads
 [] landscape
 [] others

b - The Village [] yards (saaha)
 [] streets
 [] mosque and guest house (madafah)
 [] play ground (bayader)
 [] shops
 [] others

c - The House [] courtyard
 [] main room (a'ged)
 [] other rooms (e'lieh)
 [] out door space (hakorah)
 [] oven (taboon)
 [] others

7 - Could you please give me examples of places or buildings from your village that have not changed as long as you remember them ?

8 - Could you please give me examples of places or buildings from your village that have changed a lot in the last 50 years?

9 - What is your impression about the changes in the built environment ?

5- How long have you lived in this village ?

" go through the above mentioned , write the names and addresses and check those places "

The objective is to describe the physical features of the territory before the change.

6 - I would like you to describe as much as you can remember your childhood built environment:

a - The Region		villages in general
	[]	roads
	[]	landscape
	[]	others

b - The Village	[] yards (saaba)
	[] streets
	[] mosque and guest house (madafah)
	[] play ground (bayader)
	[] shops
	[] others

c - The House	{ }	courtyard
	{ }	main room (a'ged)
	{ }	other rooms (e'lieh)
	{ }	out door space (hakorah)
	{ }	oven (taboon)
	{ }	others

Notion

APPENDIX 4.5: More information about the repertory grid technique.

Basically repertory grid is designed to produce a matrix of scores for a set of elements on a set of constructs. There are thus three areas of concern: elements, constructs and scoring procedure.

1. Elements

Elements are chosen to represent the field in which construing is to be investigated. In addition, the elements must be within the range of convenience of the constructs. Having said that, the choice is basically determined by the reason for the investigation. These may be presented in the form of unspecified acquaintances or they may be people or things named to fit specific role titles.

Obviously the grid designer can modify these as much as he/she wishes to meet the requirements of his/her particular situation. Some examples of different elements that have been used are: photographs of people (Bannister, 1962a), rooms (Honikman, 1976), and shops (Hudson, 1974). In the case study presented, for instance, colour photographs of houses from Arraba village had been used to elicit the constructs of identity of the Palestinian house.

2. Constructs

Kelly (1955) offers several definitions of a construct. For example, "a construct is a way in which two or more things are alike and thereby different from a third or more things". At another time Kelly said "a construct is a way of transcending the obvious".

In all his definitions, Kelly retains the essential notion that constructs are "bi-polar". His argument is that we never affirm anything without simultaneously denying something. This makes the notion of a construct quite different from the notion of a concept.

We may use a simple bipolar grid where we allot each of our elements to one pole of the construct or the other or we rank our elements from most like to the most opposite or we rate them on, say, a five point scale. In every case it is the dimensionality- the bipolarity of the construct- which enables us to arrive at some kind of matrix of the pattern of interrelationships between constructs.

Having defined a set of elements, the next step is to elicit the bipolar constructs. This could be done by presenting the subject with sets of three elements at a time and ask him to distinguish among them by picking out one which is different from the other two. Then he/she will be asked why it is different? The answer may be the implementation of another construct.

Experiences from previous researches indicate that the initial constructs elicited almost always are those commonly known, such as good and bad, beautiful and ugly, etc. This, no doubt is not what we are aiming at. Personal construct theory discusses this issue and suggest that the constructs exist in terms of layers of either super-ordinate or sub-ordinate forms. The sub-ordinate constructs are those that lie beneath or above the super-ordinate.

To establish a sub-ordinate network of constructs, Hinkle's laddering technique could be used (Hinkle, 1965). This is important because it enables the physical characteristics of the constructs to be elicited. This is a formula for eliciting super-ordinate constructs of a higher order of abstraction than those elicited from triads of elements. For example, forms and proportions make this house look big.

In his words Hinkle described the procedure:

Now on this construct you preferred this side to that side. What I want to understand now is why you would prefer to be here rather than there.... What are the advantages of this side in contrast to the disadvantages of that side as you see it ?

(Hinkle, 1965: 32)

This procedure involves first eliciting constructs in the usual manner and then asking the person by which pole of each construct they would prefer to be described. The following step is to ask "why" he/she preferred that side. The question "why" is asked of each new construct until the person is unable or unwilling to produce more.

3. Scoring

The third aspect in the matrix is to score the grid. Each element has to be ascribed to one pole or the other of the construct being used. In other words, each element should be given a score on each construct. This produces a matrix that describes quantitatively an individual's repertory constructs about the place.

Here, instead of ranking elements in terms of constructs, each element is rated on a scale defined by the two construct pole such as simple / complicated. This format is similar to the semantic differential devised by Osgood (1957). The grid was scored by having a matrix on which the constructs were typed on and each element was rated for all the bi-polar constructs.

4. The Procedure

The procedure of conducting the repertory grid technique could be described as follows: First, the set of elements could be obtained from people according to the subject under investigation; by asking them, for example, which part of the house can people use to express their identity? or what are the places which are important in your village? or simply select them randomly. Having defined a set of elements, the next step is to elicit the bi-polar constructs. This could be done by presenting the subject with sets of three elements at the time and asking him to distinguish among them by picking out one which is different. When he answers, , he will produce a construct. For example, if we show a subject three pictures of the exterior of three different houses, and ask him to pick up the one which is different. After he does that, he could be asked, why? He may answer because it is simple or its size is small. This description gives us the constructs that we are looking for. From that subject, we elicited two constructs: simple and small. These constructs now can be ranked in five point scale as simple/ complicated and small/ big. Constructs elicitation can continue until the subject is unable or unwilling to produce new constructs. The third step is to score the grid matrix. Each element has to be ascribed to one pole or the other of the construct being used. In other words, each element should be given a score on each construct. This produces a matrix that describes quantitatively an individual's repertory about the built environment.

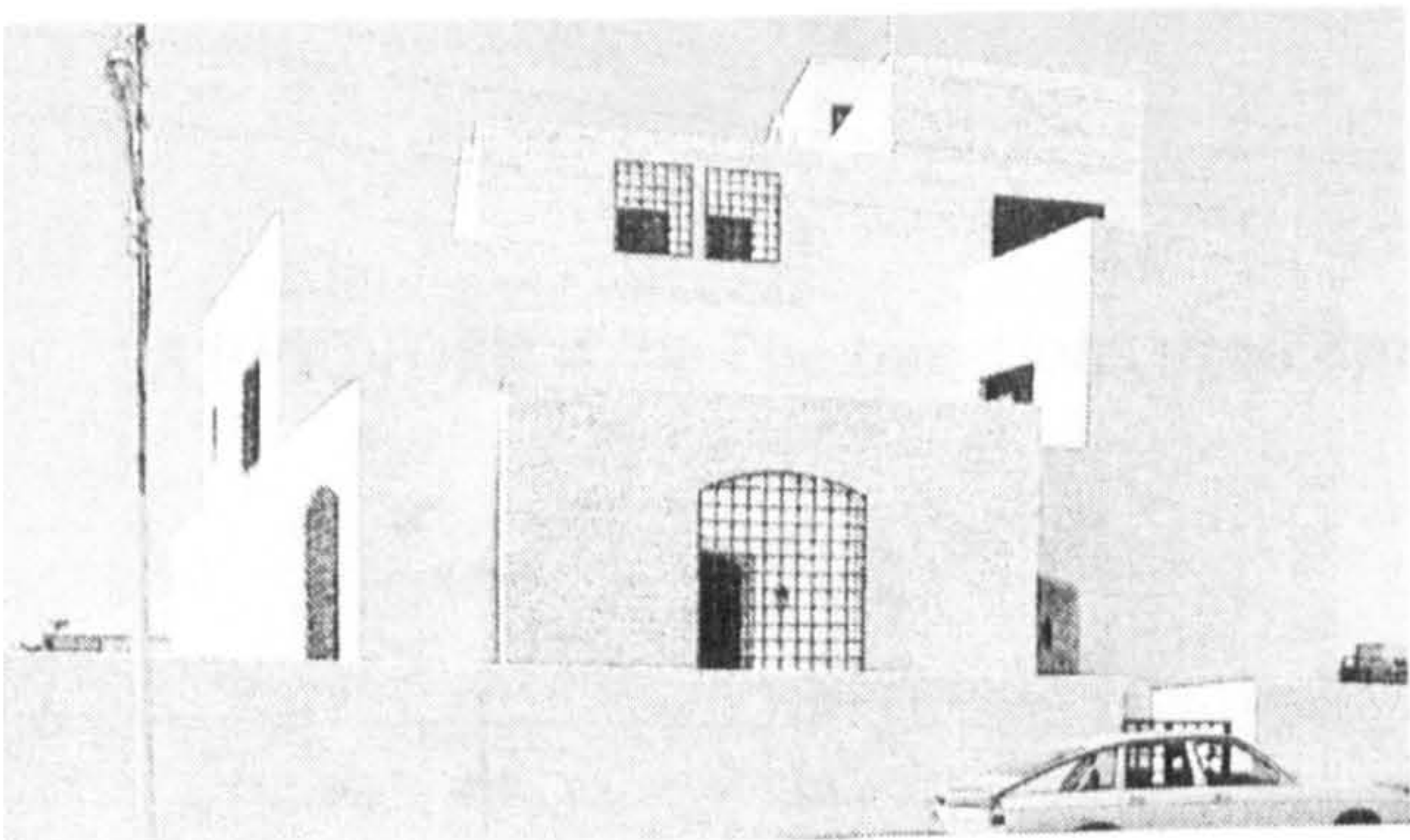
APPENDIX 4.6: Pilot study

Ten colour photographs (elements) were chosen by the author and two other colleagues from issues number 1 to number 38 of MIMAR magazine. Several points were taken into account in the selection process: the country, time of construction, building materials and the condition of the house. The idea was to choose from different countries, different historical periods and different building materials to have a convenient sample. Then, a modified version of Kelly's triad method was used to elicit the constructs.

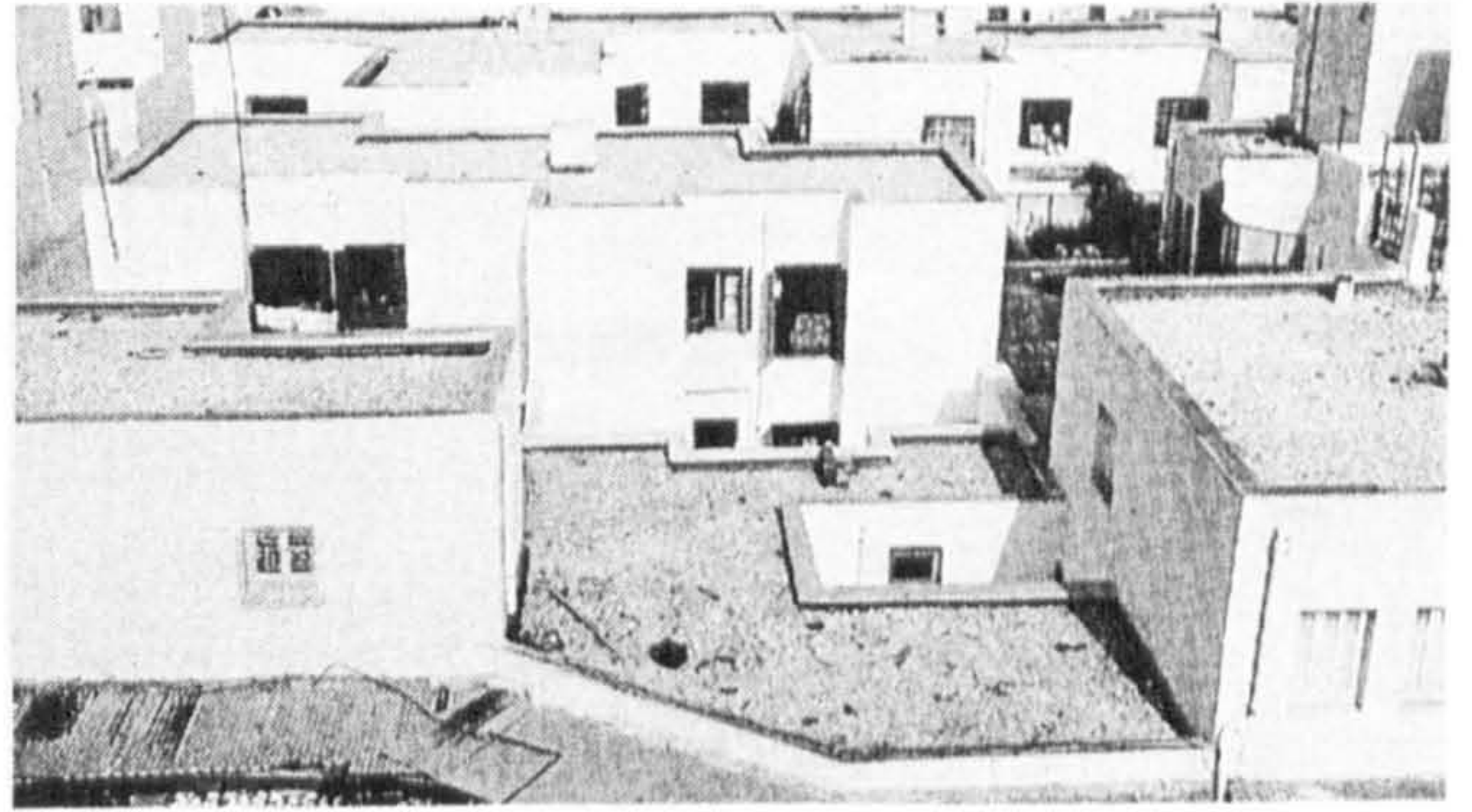
The author interviewed fifteen students and lecturers from the University of Newcastle to elicit the constructs: ten males and five females. The religions of the respondents were eight Christians, five Muslims and two Buddhists. They elicited thirty eight different constructs. Some were mentioned by most of the respondents, such as the use of arches, small geometric ornaments and small windows. On the other hand, some constructs were just elicited from one or two, such as big house, vertical proportions and flat roofs. The number of constructs from each respondents ranged from eight to twenty one. The average number of constructs for each respondents was 13.8. However, it was for Muslim respondents 17 and for non- Muslims 12.2. This indicated that the Muslim respondents used their knowledge and familiarity with this style of houses, and some times gave constructs that did not exist visibly but imagined such as the internal courtyard.

It was found that element number six was chosen as the most Islamic from the first appearance from all respondents except one. Moreover, respondents elicited more constructs from that element than any other element. On the other hand, element number three was mostly kept up to the last stages, and sometimes was never chosen as more Islamic than the others.

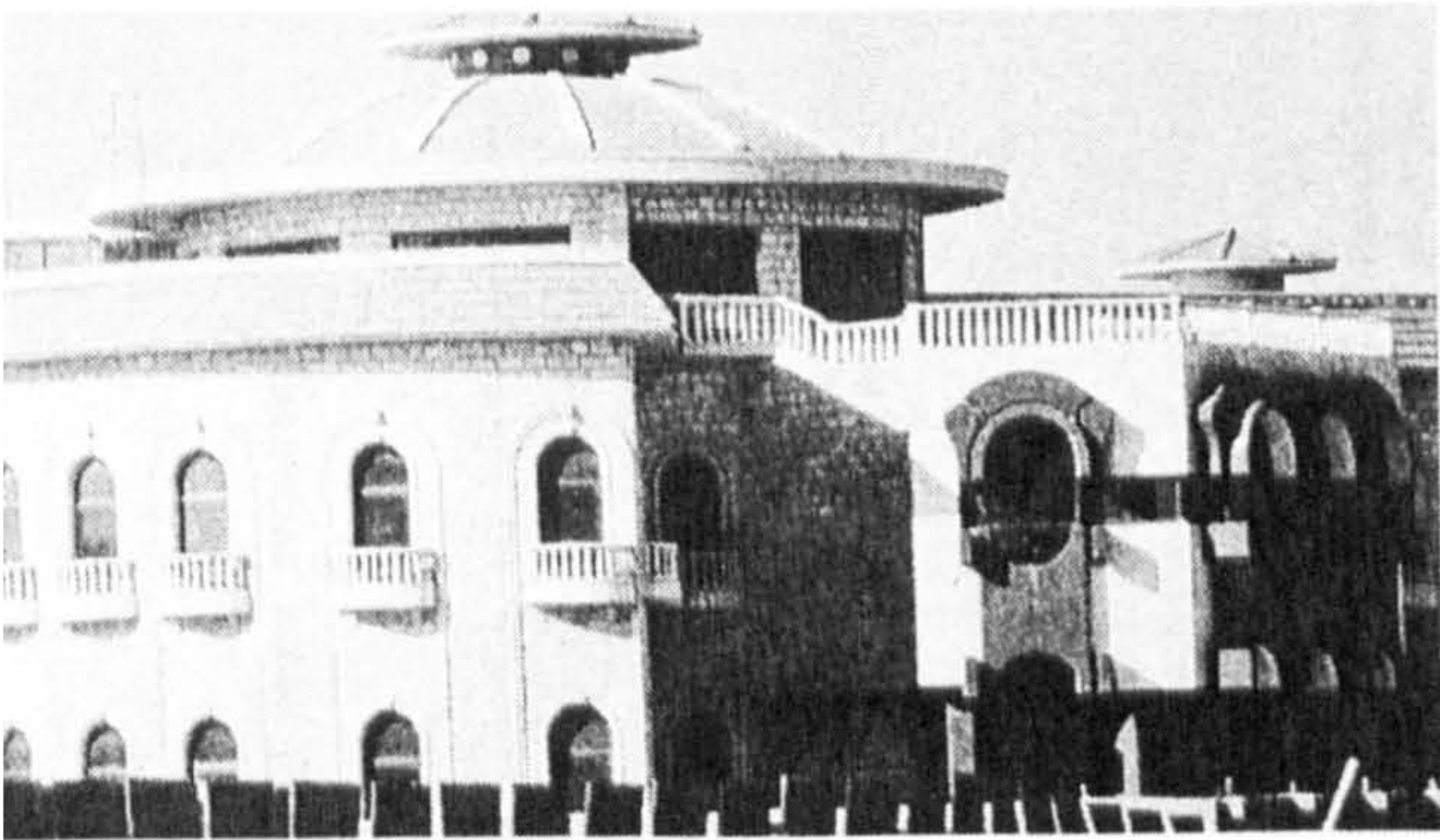
After that, and from the thirty eight constructs elicited by the respondents, nine which were mostly elicited were chosen and were subjected to a five-point bi-polar rating scale to complete the repertory grid matrix.



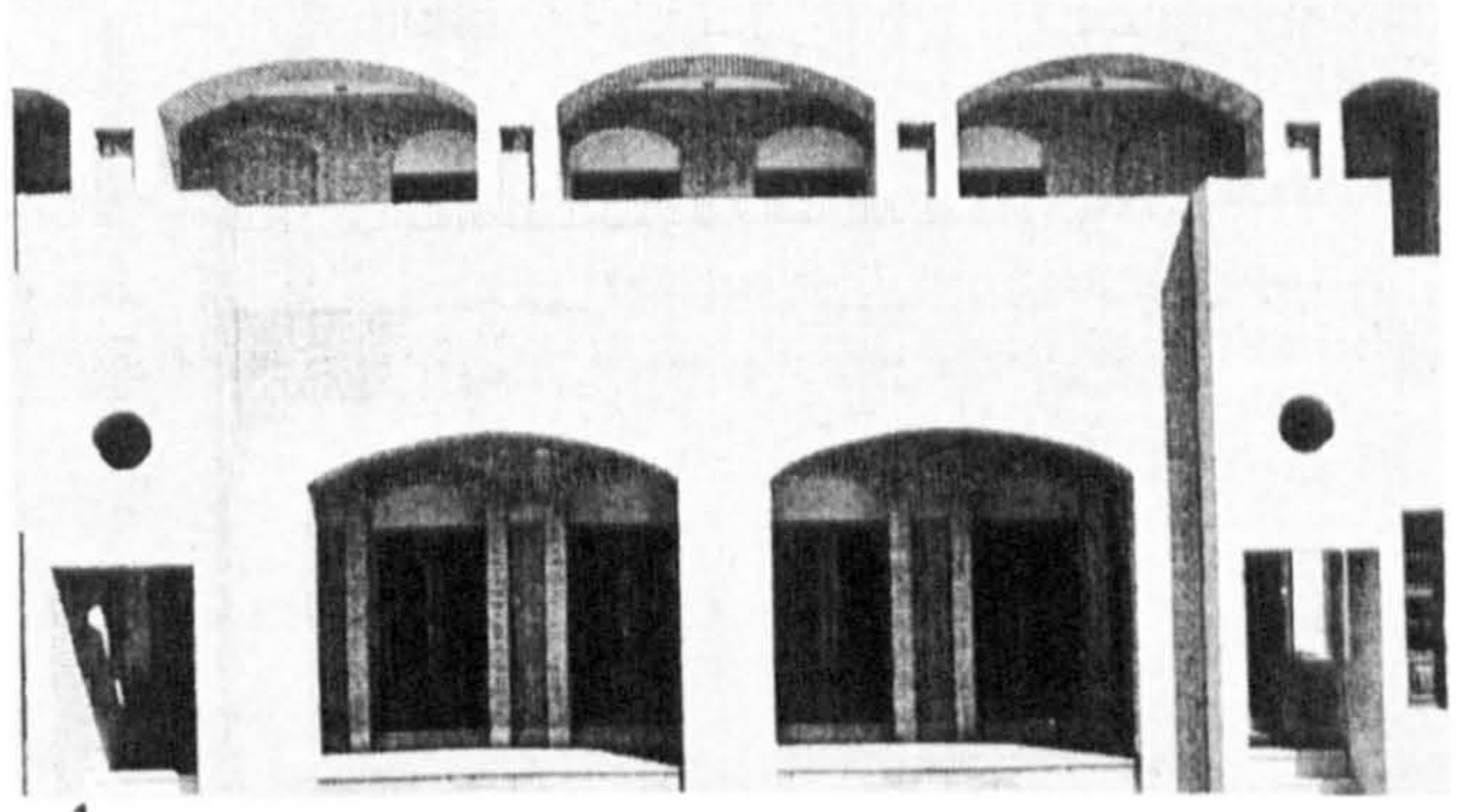
1



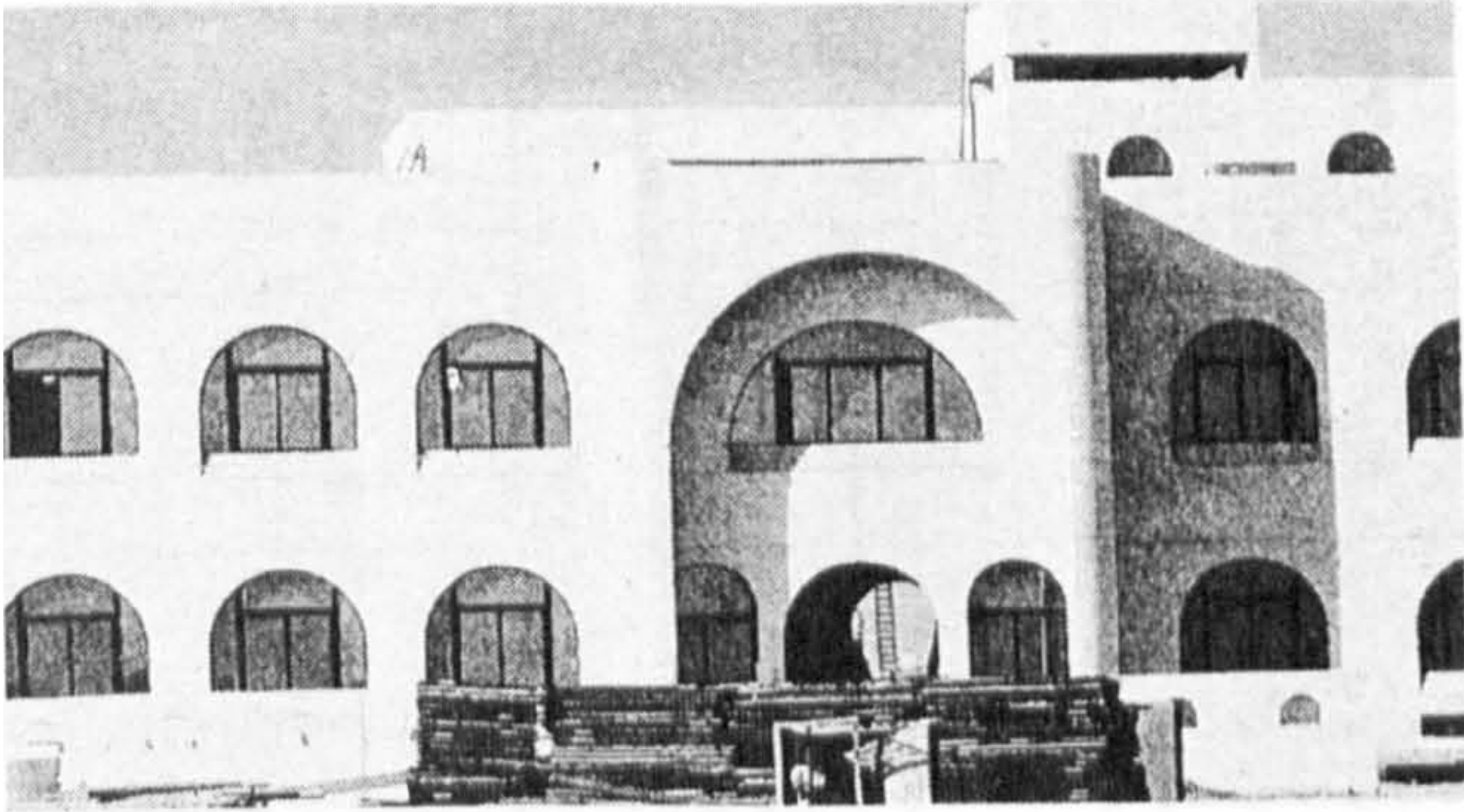
2



3



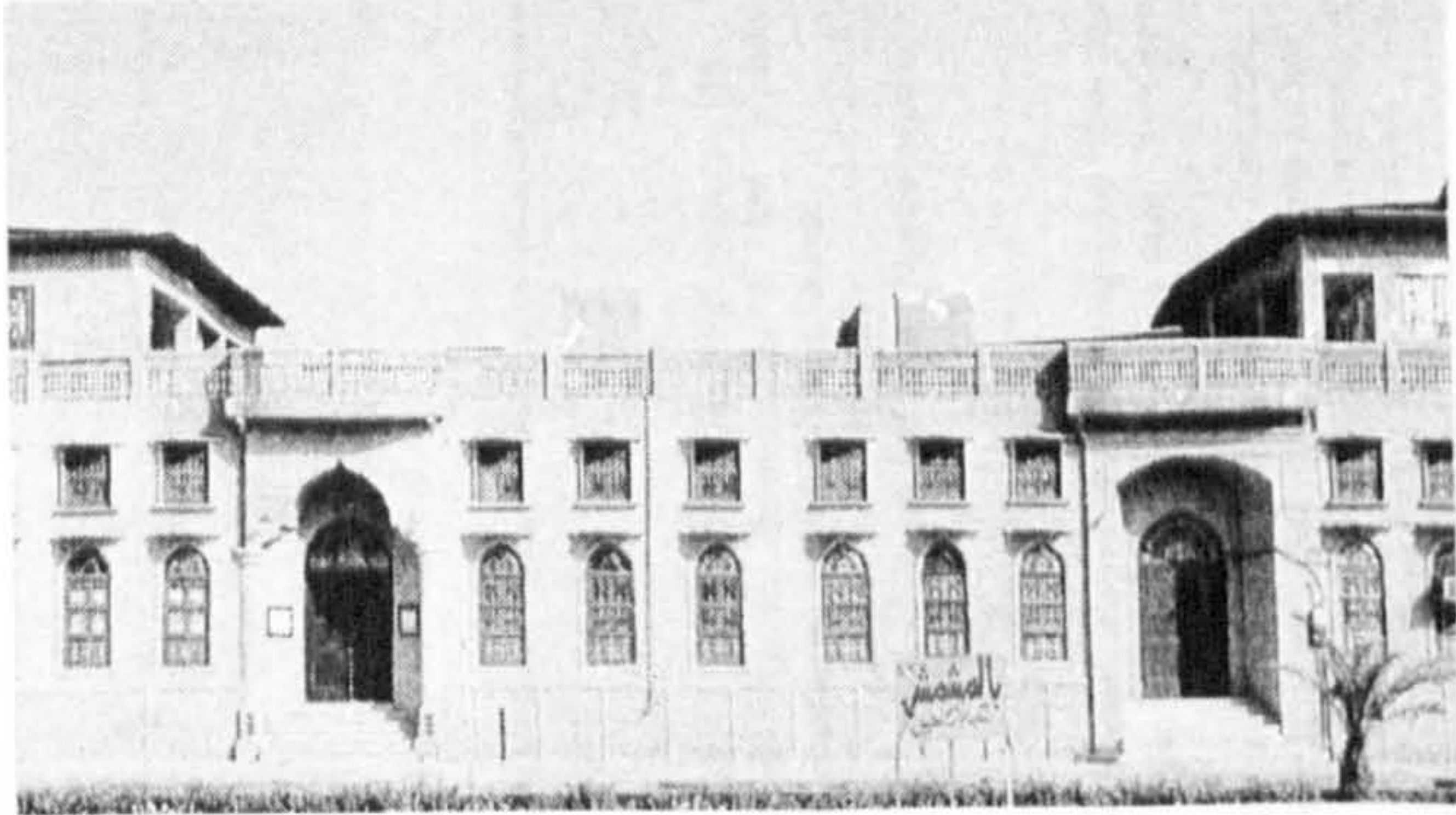
4



5



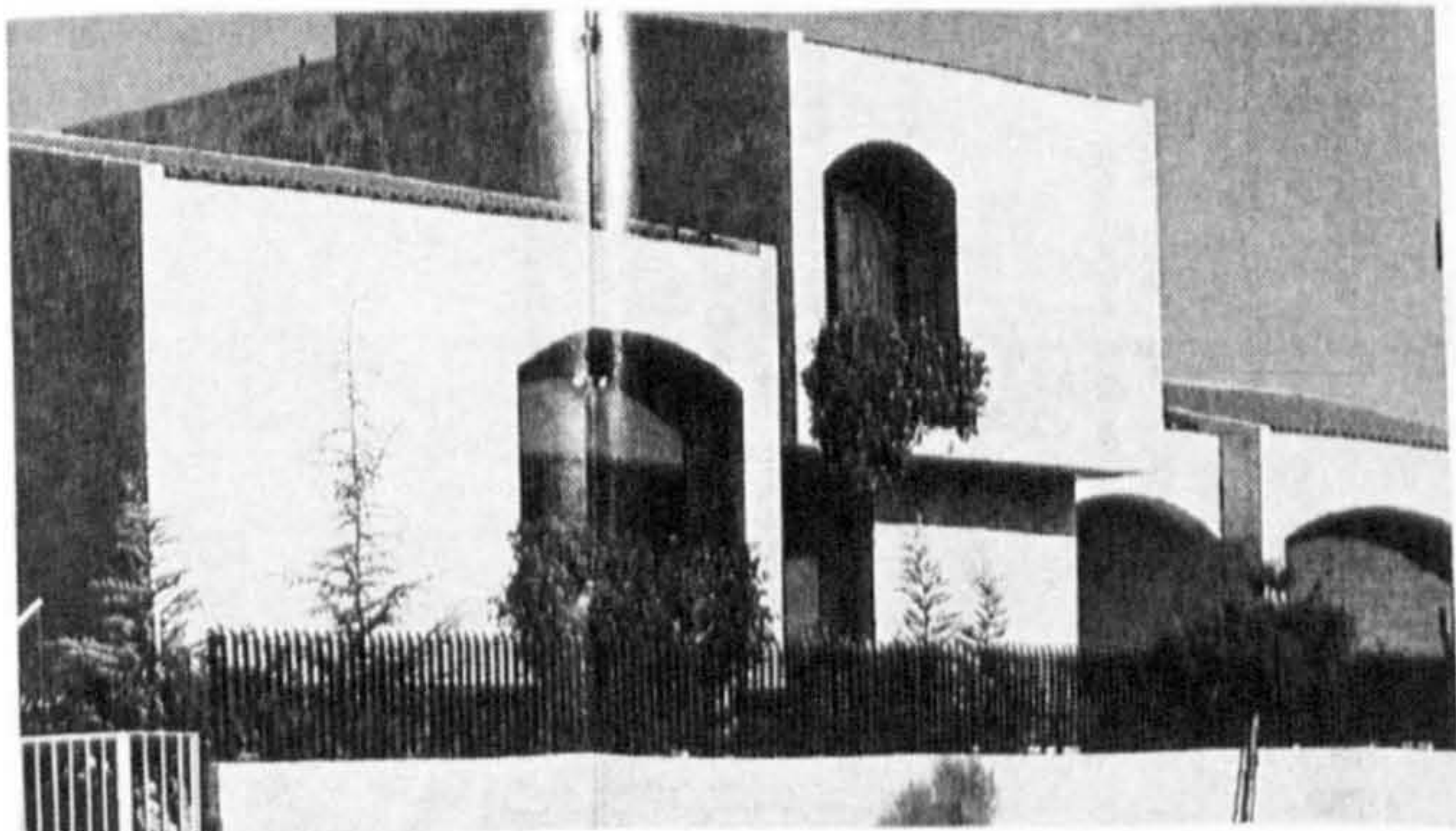
6



7



8



9



10

APPENDIX 4.6: The pictures of the ten houses used in the pilot study.

APPENDIX 4.7a:The questions used during the repertory grid interviews.

CASE STUDY INTERVIEWS

No. ()

Date :

* Biography

1- Name : 2- Age :

3- Sex [] male [] female

4- Occupation [] farmer [] worker [] own business : [] official : [] others :

5- How do you identify your self ? [] as Palestinian [] as an Arab [] as Moslem or Christian [] as a member of clan X [] me as I am.

6- Who are the members of the family living in the house :

Family member	Age	Occupation
husband (older man)	_____	_____
wife (older woman)	_____	_____
sons	_____	_____
	_____	_____
daughters	_____	_____
	_____	_____
parents	_____	_____
	_____	_____
others	_____	_____

INTRODUCTION

My name is Ziad B. Senan. I am doing my PhD in architecture at the University of Newcastle in England. In my research, I am studying the development of the built environment in the West Bank.

I chose your village as a case study to conduct the field work for my research.

I would like to ask you some questions about the change in the built environment of the West Bank. The objectives from this interview are:

First, to identify the physical elements in the village which, in your view, represent your identities. Second, to explain the meanings of these elements to you, and why you believe that they reflect you as a Palestinian. Third, to identify the cues which people use in their houses to express their identity.

These information will be used in my PhD research.

I greatly appreciate your time and cooperation, and thank you very much.

APPENDIX 4.7a: (Continued).

15- Who decided to put this element - which in my view - is Palestinian ?

16- If you want to build a new house, what physical features would you like to put in order to reflect your identity ?

17- Can you give me examples of places or buildings from your village which in your view have a Palestinian characteristics ?

18- Why do you think that these features have a Palestinian characteristics ?

Notes

Living conditions

7 - How long have you been living in this house ?

8 - How long have you been living in this village ?

9- Who are your neighbours ?

relatives

friends

colleagues

others

House conditions

10 - Building type

villa

traditional house

apartment

detached new units

others

11- The year of building construction : 19

12- House tenure

owned

rented

from whom :

Design process

13- Who designed your house ?

architect

builder

draftsman

yourself

others

14- What are the things did you ask the designer to emphasize which reflect your identity ?

- identity of whom ?

REPERTORY GRID QUESTIONNAIRE
"Exterior of the house"

NO. (14)

Name : Rue Fies
 Age : 22
 Occupation : Teacher
 Religion : Hindu
 Gender : M
 Date : 15.11.1991

2 hours + 20 minutes

ELEMENTS

[illegible]

APPENDIX 4.7b:The matrix used to elicit the constructs during the repertory grid.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<p> * Sand. ditch & under 5) * well around the hole * Palm tree * Jasmine plants ----- ----- ----- </p>		✓				✓	✓			
<p> * Arch on the door 6) * Large gateway * Small all building * Gate in front of the house ----- ----- ----- </p>		✓				✓		✓		
<p> * Place over the 7) house * Strong. Reliquary with the other things * Stone w. building ----- ----- ----- </p>		✓						✓	✓	
<p> * Step to screen 8) * Small gateway * Dotted w. * Green walls ----- ----- ----- </p>								✓	✓	✓

Notes

- The interview concentrated on the cross results and said the advantages of it.
- She expressed the strong social relationships between people in traditional quarters

SCORING REPERTORY GRID QUESTIONNAIRE
"Exterior of the house"

NO (7)

Name : *Masud Samadi* Age : *20*
Occupation : *Housewife* Gender : *F*
Religion : *Muslim* Date : *8/12/1991*

1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
					4	3	5	1	2	3	5	2	1	5
Small 3 vertical window					4	1	5	-	1	3	4	1	1	2
Arched Opening					4	2	3	5	2	1	4	1	2	4
Few numbers of windows					2	5	5	1	5	5	5	1	3	5
Geometric window and stone decoration from Palestinian Heritage					1	5	5	1	5	5	3	5	4	2
Large entrance					3	5	5	3	5	2	4	1	5	1
White washed walls and green doors and windows					5	4	5	4	5	5	5	5	2	4
The stone was building material					5	1	4	4	1	1	4	1	1	5
Cross vaults					2	5	5	4	1	5	5	3	5	1
The greenery at the entrance of palm tree														

APPENDIX 4.7c: The matrix used to score the constructs.

1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
					4	5	5	1	1	5	5	2	2	4
Open yard in front of the house					5	5	4	4	3	4	3	1	5	1
The houses are close to each other					3	5	5	5	2	4	5	5	1	3
High wall around the house					5	3	5	2	3	3	5	2	3	4
The form of the house is vertical					1	5	1	1	1	1	1	2	5	1
The use of metal and glass to close the window														

Notes

APPENDIX 4.8: An example of coding the information of the questions.

Biography					Family member										Living conditions			House conditions	
No.	Name	Age	Sex	Occupation	husband Age	wife	sons	daughters	parents	others	const ruction	village bours	neigh bours	Build type	year	th te			
1.	Basma Al-Jad	30	M	un official	30	Teacher	8	Students	5	—	—	4 yrs	4	Cabin Apt.	1980	new			
							6	:	4										
								3											
2.	Abdul Fatah	15	M	Student	53	Teacher	41	Housewife	15	Student	22	Student	—	—	1997	new			
												14	Student						
3.	Ula Al-Jad	40	F	Housewife	50	Teacher	40	Housewife	18	Student	21	Student	—	—	1990	new			
									11	:	17	:							
									4	—	15	:							
4.	Hana	26	F	Teacher	49	Lawyer	46	Housewife	27	Teacher	26	Teacher	—	—	1990	new			
									27	(Student)	22	Student							
											20	:							
											19	:							

APPENDIX 5.1: Some of the daily Israeli actions in the West Bank.
Source: Palestine Times, July 1992.

July 1992

PALESTINE TIMES

After Demolishing his Home, the Palestinian Cries... I Will Not Leave Even If I Had To Live In My Grave!!

... continued from page 1.

Settlers Attack Palestinian After Accident

Occupation bulldozers uprooted over 300 olive trees in Al-Mazra' Al-Telmeond to expand Telmeond settlement. From Al-Janyeh, Ras Karkar and Al-Mazra' villages. (Al-Fajr)

Settlers assaulted passengers of a Palestinian car with West Bank permit. The car was hit by a stone, north of occupied Jerusalem, after the car and they did not have enough time to stop. They said the girl, who was slightly injured, jumped out of the car and they did not have enough time to stop. (Al-Fajr)

300 Olive Trees Uprooted

Occupation bulldozers uprooted over 300 olive trees in Al-Mazra' Al-Telmeond to expand Telmeond settlement. From Al-Janyeh, Ras Karkar and Al-Mazra' villages. (Al-Fajr)



Demolition of Homes

The occupation army demolished the residence of Farah Sa'ad Ka'abneh, in Jaba' Ramallah area, claiming the house was built without a permit. The authorities also handed six people from Al-Faroukh family in Sa'ir, Hebron area, orders informing them that their homes will be demolished because they were built without a permit. These residences have been built and lived in for five years. Mustafa Al-Atrash, from Al-Walajah, Bethlehem area, was also informed that his home will be demolished for the same reason. Three people from the Ikmeil family from Qabatya were also informed will be demolished, but the reason given was that their arrested and charged of being active in the Intifada. The even 48 hours to appeal the order. (Al-Quds, July 1)



The military is already using water from its well. The owners said

Land Seized

The military informed owners of about 613 dunums of a village of Al-Khader that their land has been seized. The land-owners to object to this order if they administration. They were surprised to find out one day a barbed wire. They immediately went to the military authorities and lodged a complaint. The military authorities said that 100 dunums of the settlement

Family Told to Seal Top Floor

The family of Palestinian detainee Walid Zakaria Abdel Hadi, 29, was told to seal the top floor of their Nuseirat refugee camp home. Six people live in the floor. The military said Walid was responsible for the armed wing of Hamas in his area; he has been in detention since Jan. 21st. of this year. (Al-Fajr, June 25)

APPENDIX 5.2: Methods used by the Israeli authorities to expropriate Palestinian land in the West Bank.

1) "Closing off" lands for military purposes

This law permits the Israeli military commander to declare vast amounts of land as "closed areas". This commander has the power to restrict entry to these areas and can prohibit their owners from access. Until 1979, this method was the most significant one. Although the land was acquired for military purposes, most of this land has been used for non-military purposes such as Jewish settlements, settlement roads, and settlement agriculture. In 1989, 20 percent of the land of the West Bank was considered a closed area for military training.

2) Security Zones

Until 1972, the Israeli Minister of defence was permitted to designate any portion of any area as a "security zone" in which no one is permitted to live permanently nor to build. Furthermore, military order No. 393 allows the military governor to prohibit building or to stop construction activities if he believes that this is necessary for the security of the Israeli army in the area (Shehadeh and Kuttub, 1980).

3) Cultivation of Waste Lands

The law No. 5709 of 1949 which governs the cultivation of waste lands, gave the Minister of Agriculture power to assume control of the land in order to ensure its cultivation (Abu-Lughod, 1982). Military Order 131, 321, and 949 allow the Israeli authorities to seize land for "public purposes" which usually means the construction of settlements or roads to serve those settlements. The colonial power used the amendment of the Jordanian law No. 2 of 1953, dealing with expropriation of land for public purposes. The law permitted the authority to expropriate land for public purposes which serve the majority of the inhabitants such as schools, hospitals, reservoirs, and so on (Abu-Lughod, 1982). In the West Bank, the military governor exercised this power to confiscate lands in the Jordan Valley and mountain lands belonging to Palestinian villages (Harris, 1980).

4) Seizure of Property

This law permits the government to order the seizure or the use of property whenever it is necessary for the protection of the country, public security, essential supplies and services, or for setting immigrants or veterans.

5) Declaring lands as "state land"

In 1979, Military Order 59 was amended by Military Order 364 to facilitate the transfer of land from Palestinians to Jewish settlers by declaring non-registered properties as "state lands". (Focus, 1991, Al-Haq report) This was the most significant method to expropriate land.

6) The Purchase of Land

In 1979, the Israeli authorities allowed the purchase of lands in the West Bank by Israelis. This, however, did not change the situation because of the unwillingness of most of the Arab landowners to sell their lands.

APPENDIX 5.3: The procedure to get a building permit.

The procedure to get a building permit is as follows: first of all, get the signatures from the finance department (to make sure that you are paying the tax), the police, the military government and the office of absentees properties. Second, and before applying to the planning department, the applicant has to provide an approval of land ownership - most of the land are not registered and some are shared with absentees, which at the end prevent the Palestinians from applying. If the application passed the previous procedures and if the planning department has no plans in that area for Jewish settlements, a preliminary permit will be issued. Then the application has to go to the survey department, the department of antiquities, the health department and go back to the military government to issue the final permit. In short, this procedure is costly and takes long time, and the chance to get a permit is very little.

APPENDIX 5.4: The phases of Israeli settlement in the West Bank.

The location of Jewish settlements in the West Bank can be understood with reference to the changing phases of settlement activity. The Israeli strategies and settlement activities, according to Abu-Lughod (1982), varied from area to area. In her investigation, she subdivided the areas in the West Bank into three sub-areas: the Jordan Valley, Jerusalem and the Hilly Sections. Newman (1985), however, stratified the location of settlement activity in the West bank into three zones: the Jordan Valley and Jerusalem, Hilly region and Western region.

East Jerusalem has taken the highest priority from the Israeli government for establishing Israeli settlements since 1967. It is worth mentioning here that the number of settlers in East Jerusalem alone is more than the number in the rest of the West Bank. By 1990, there were almost 127,000 settlers living in 20 settlements in Jerusalem area. It is noticeable that there has been a gradual shift of emphasis from the eastern border to the western one. This change in location emphasis is reflected in the level of government subsidies and grants given to the new settlers. This level has been changed to vary with the distance from the coastal plain. The further into the West Bank a settler locates, the greater the benefit (Newman, 1985). This change has also affected the type and the size of the settlements. The present research stratified the settlement development according to their location and time into four phases:

The first phase was concentrated in the Jordan Valley and Jerusalem between 1967 and 1977. During this phase, settlements were built according to Allon Plan. According to this plan, East Jerusalem with the surrounded areas and twenty kilometres security zone along the Jordan Valley should be annexed (Al-Quds, 1991b). These areas constitute almost 40 percent of the whole area of the West Bank. The first military fort in this area was established in 1968. In order to establish this settlement, the Israeli authorities expropriated 1689 dunams of land from the Palestinian village, Bardala (Leach, 1978; Rowly, 1981). By 1971, ten settlements were planted along the west side of the river (Abu-Lughod, 1982).

The second phase, which took place following the 1977 elections and was based on the driving force of Gush Emunim movement, was mostly located along the north-south mountain ridge running through the West Bank from Jenin in the north to Hebron in the south between and even inside the Palestinian villages and cities. An Israeli official from Likud Party said that the development of the Israeli settlements should not concentrate only on the areas surrounding the Palestinian communities, but also on areas inside them (Al-Quds, 1991b). This region is to somewhat a densely populated area. It is dotted with villages and a hierarchy of small towns and cities. Therefore, the Israeli government faced two problems in colonising this portion of the West bank: the first was demographic and the second was the distribution of the Arab settlements. It is worth remembering here that the Israeli strategy was to compress the Arab population into small "pockets", and to confiscate the land between the Arab villages which will force them to "deconcentrate" (Abu-Lughod, 1982).

The third phase, focused on the development of larger urban settlements, mostly concentrated in the western region: east of Qalqilia and west of Jenin. The settlement in these areas started in mid 1980s in order to encourage the Israelis to settle because they are not far away from the Israeli cities.

The fourth, and most recent one, which started in 1991, was concentrating the settlement activities around the Green Line. In 1990, the Israeli government started a new and provocative direction in their settlement strategies. The construction of new settlements was concentrated around the Green Line with big extension toward the east. Their strategy is to connect the settlements in the West Bank with Israeli cities. The aim of this plan is to cancel the borders between Israel and the West Bank. Lately, they developed what so called a "Seven Star Plan". The settlements according to this plan are concentrated on 80 kilometres narrow strip around the Green Line from Moude'en in the south to Umm Alfahm in the north (Al-Quds, 1991a). This plan will create a geographical discontinuity between the Palestinians inside Israel and the West Bank. This plan suggests a creation of new Jewish settlements around these star settlements inside the West bank. So the development of these star settlements will connect the settlements on both sides of the Green Line, which practically cancel it for ever.

APPENDIX 5.5: Demographic balance between Palestinians and Jewish settlers.

One of the strategies of colonisation is to influence the demographic balance in the region, so that the colonising power will eventually achieve a majority of the population. Such a process was used by Germans in Posen (which is now western Poland) at the end of Ninetieth century, and was central in the Dominican colonisation process in its border with Haiti in the 1930s and 1940s (Newman, 1985). This strategy now lay at the heart of the colonisation policies of the Israeli government in the West Bank.

Until 1967 the Jewish population in the West Bank was almost zero per cent of the total population. The Arab population of the West Bank in 1968 totalled some 655,800. By 1980, this figure had increased to 830,400; while the total Israeli settlers until this time - excluding East Jerusalem - were only 25,000 (Newman, 1985: 195).

However, in order to increase the Jewish population, a plan was put to establish an additional 42 new settlements during the period 1982-86 which increase the Jewish population by 80,000-100,000 by the end of 1986.

At the end of 1985, the number of settlers in the West Bank was 40,000; in 1990 this number became 76,000. Now, there are about 225,000 settlers distributed as follows: 140,000 in East Jerusalem and 85,000 in other areas of the territory; while the Palestinians numbered 1,150,000 including those in East Jerusalem. After the beginning of the Soviet Jews migration in 1990, the Housing Ministry planned to settle between 40,000-120,000 settlers every year in the West Bank (Coon, 1991; Al-Quds newspaper, 1992) (Fig.2).

APPENDIX 9.1: A matrix shows the scores of the houses according to the respondents.

Cox & Cox - Multi-Dimensional Scaling

Alpha test version - April 1992

Data file is identified as
ZIAD EXTERIOR DATA

Data matrix is 25 10

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1R	38	45	56	32	38	44	46	38	38	37
2R	41	39	54	40	32	47	45	35	37	35
3R	54	44	61	39	37	44	52	36	36	42
4R	49	45	59	42	36	42	54	36	42	40
5R	48	47	59	43	38	42	56	30	39	46
6R	52	50	60	46	35	45	52	35	40	39
7R	48	55	62	40	35	48	58	32	40	45
8R	56	53	62	40	36	45	54	29	39	42
9R	55	53	60	40	37	45	56	34	37	40
10R	49	45	57	41	40	50	59	33	46	44
11R	54	48	57	41	37	46	49	34	45	35
12R	53	48	56	45	34	46	54	38	43	46
13R	51	45	56	43	32	46	55	43	40	41
14R	53	45	57	47	31	50	60	43	43	44
15R	53	48	57	41	35	47	54	45	39	40
16R	48	45	57	36	35	44	51	42	41	36
17R	42	53	60	36	38	42	48	43	47	41
18R	44	50	61	39	39	49	47	46	45	39
19R	45	46	59	33	44	43	45	41	38	33
20R	48	50	57	42	39	39	48	42	39	31
21R	43	45	57	41	39	44	44	42	37	37
22R	56	47	64	40	38	43	63	32	38	54
23R	60	50	65	38	42	46	62	32	41	51
24R	58	43	62	45	38	47	60	30	38	49
25R	55	40	60	38	35	47	56	28	37	46

Dimension of matrix solved is 10

5 leading eigen values are

0.365652575E-02 0.113966376E-02 0.699417363E-03 0.535108938E-03 0.446092582E-03

APPENDIX 9.2: The effect of social characteristics on the identification of houses.

The following table shows the effect of social characteristics in the scoring points of the houses

	MALE	FEMALE	UNDER 30	OVER 30
No. 1	611	642	737	516
No. 2	573	606	708	471
No. 3	715	760	882	593
No. 4	478	530	614	394
No. 5	448	472	552	368
No. 6	531	600	688	443
No. 7	628	694	780	542
No. 8	429	490	557	362
No. 9	480	525	608	397
No. 10	501	532	610	423

Table 1: The scores of houses according to age and sex groups

According to the scores of different sex and age groups, the rank order for each group separately as follows:

Male : 3, 7, 1, 2, 6, 10, 9, 4, 5, 8

Female: 3, 7, 1, 2, 6, 10, 4, 9, 8, 5

Under 30 : 3, 7, 1, 2, 6, 4, 10, 9, 8, 5

Over 30 : 3, 7, 1, 2, 6, 10, 9, 4, 5, 8

APPENDIX 9.3: A matrix shows the scores of the constructs.

Cox & Cox - Multi-Dimensional Scaling

Alpha test version - April 1992

Data file is identified as
ZIAD EXTERIOR DATA

Data matrix is 25 14

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1R	37	20	23	39	39	28	42	15	33	26	34	29	34	18
2R	33	22	27	34	34	22	38	16	34	23	39	29	34	19
3R	33	27	29	38	36	30	42	24	29	38	30	35	34	22
4R	31	28	27	33	39	31	43	27	28	32	36	30	40	22
5R	32	25	26	36	39	30	42	29	34	38	36	27	37	18
6R	31	24	26	35	39	31	39	27	32	37	38	34	37	22
7R	33	23	27	36	39	34	44	27	36	34	38	39	36	18
8R	36	22	30	39	39	33	43	24	34	36	30	37	34	18
9R	32	23	28	39	40	40	42	22	35	30	31	36	37	20
10R	31	24	32	38	37	33	43	26	30	38	34	37	38	21
11R	27	24	26	38	36	29	43	22	31	39	40	35	38	17
12R	29	21	29	41	38	38	43	26	28	41	36	40	36	17
13R	30	21	26	38	34	36	42	24	34	33	35	38	37	22
14R	31	25	29	39	37	38	42	26	32	38	43	37	34	22
15R	31	26	29	38	33	31	42	25	34	36	40	35	35	23
16R	29	23	35	38	28	29	39	22	27	35	32	39	34	24
17R	33	23	36	40	36	29	41	22	30	32	36	37	34	23
18R	32	24	40	38	30	30	43	17	29	35	39	40	35	26
19R	32	23	23	41	29	31	41	20	29	35	33	36	37	17
20R	38	22	24	37	26	31	43	16	32	40	32	40	36	18
21R	34	22	24	37	29	28	44	17	31	36	36	33	39	18
22R	36	27	30	35	37	41	41	27	34	38	36	36	32	26
23R	35	31	31	35	39	40	41	32	34	37	32	39	32	29
24R	30	30	29	37	38	37	41	32	33	35	33	40	31	25
25R	30	27	28	33	36	34	37	28	34	33	30	38	31	25

Dimension of matrix solved is 14

5 leading eigen values are
0.323323389E-02 0.203203944E-02 0.152064970E-02 0.109795579E-02 0.717641872E-03

Appendix 9.4: The impact of social characteristics in evaluating the constructs of the houses.

CONSTRUCT NO.	MALE	FEMALE	UNDER 30	OVER 30
No. 1	399	403	470	322
No. 2	290	314	357	332
No. 3	336	378	428	286
No. 4	447	468	547	368
No. 5	430	434	510	354
No. 6	392	422	478	336
No. 7	499	542	627	414
No. 8	280	313	351	242
No. 9	382	415	479	318
No. 10	433	442	521	354
No. 11	410	471	543	338
No. 12	434	462	533	363
No. 13	417	465	538	344
No. 14	253	277	310	220

Table 2: The score points of the constructs for different sex and age groups.

According to the table, we can rank the importance of the constructs from the viewpoint of different groups:

The rank according to the sex
Male : 7, 4, 12, 10, 5, 13, 11, 1, 6, 9, 3, 2, 8, 14
Female : 7, 11, 4, 13, 12, 10, 5, 6, 9, 1, 3, 2, 8, 14

For different age groups
Under 30 : 7, 4, 11, 13, 12, 10, 5, 9, 6, 1, 3, 2, 8, 14
Over 30 : 7, 4, 12, 10, 5, 13, 11, 6, 1, 9, 3, 2, 8, 14

APPENDIX 9.5: A matrix shows the scores of the houses according to the constructs.

Cox & Cox - Multi-Dimensional Scaling

Alpha test version - April 1992

Data file is identified as
ZIAD EXTERIOR DATA

Data matrix is 14 10

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1S	106	56	109	75	53	85	117	60	37	104
2S	87	28	116	50	40	76	99	40	25	43
3S	103	39	81	120	58	39	82	49	49	94
4S	88	113	121	45	114	102	109	52	89	82
5S	73	87	119	55	96	120	75	115	67	57
6S	77	97	124	68	112	51	90	32	104	59
7S	124	118	124	30	124	122	123	121	37	118
8S	120	28	84	70	27	33	79	25	27	100
9S	48	115	119	84	30	82	114	55	114	36
10S	84	103	121	83	34	97	98	70	106	79
11S	122	111	95	95	78	76	67	45	110	82
12S	74	93	108	108	37	109	119	125	60	63
13S	114	77	114	70	83	84	121	71	59	89
14S	26	114	38	27	34	55	29	59	121	27

Dimension of matrix solved is 10

5 leading eigen values are
0.513962766E-01 0.248230891E-01 0.185172130E-01 0.940023724E-02 0.551014594E-02

APPENDIX 9.6: A matrix shows the scores of the guest rooms according to the respondents.

Cox & Cox - Multi-Dimensional Scaling

Alpha test version - April 1992

Data file is identified as
ZIAD INTERIOR DATA

Data matrix is 10 21

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
1T	28	27	30	33	33	30	26	27	23	28	27	32	29	29	30	29	35	28	23	27	26
2T	48	50	53	46	47	49	56	48	49	49	49	48	47	48	47	50	50	53	47	47	46
3T	33	32	34	33	31	32	32	32	29	35	33	33	31	29	28	33	34	32	25	28	32
4T	51	45	48	49	48	47	51	51	47	46	43	41	46	46	43	52	50	50	47	44	44
5T	41	46	47	26	27	25	27	26	23	28	20	21	25	29	22	32	36	36	40	29	27
6T	60	55	57	42	52	52	57	50	45	55	46	53	60	62	53	51	60	56	53	56	60
7T	41	34	36	41	42	42	41	39	46	34	34	33	40	40	42	42	39	43	42	43	42
8T	32	28	28	30	32	33	32	27	34	30	28	32	33	30	32	33	32	29	36	34	34
9T	46	46	45	49	43	47	46	41	47	53	36	47	48	48	47	53	57	50	48	46	46
10T	44	43	43	39	40	41	43	37	44	40	29	37	40	44	37	46	46	46	37	39	37

Dimension of matrix solved is 10

In this research, the constructs with scores more than the average (594 points) are considered central. These include constructs no. 1 (818 points), no. 10 (779 points), no. 4 ((756 points), no. 7 (642 points), no. 9 (626 points) and no. 2 (613 points). On the other hand, constructs with score points less than the average were considered peripheral. These are constructs no. 3 (592 points), no. 12, (547 points), no. 5 (495 points), no. 6 (449 points), no. 8 (434 points) and no. 11 (377 points).

APPENDIX 9.7: The effect of social characteristics in scoring the guest rooms.

ROOM NO	MALE	FEMALE	UNDER 30	OVER 30
1	231	279	308	202
2	393	483	539	337
3	250	307	341	216
4	381	465	521	325
5	249	288	344	193
6	427	526	611	342
7	331	379	435	275
8	216	346	345	217
9	379	463	509	333
10	338	397	443	295

Table 3: The score points of the rooms based on the sex and age of the respondents.

From the above table, the rank order of the rooms from the most Palestinian to the least will be as follows:

For male and female

Male : 6, 2, 4, 9, 10, 7, 3, 5, 1, 8

Female: 6, 2, 4, 9, 10, 7, 8, 3, 5, 1

For different age categories

Under 30: 6, 2, 4, 9, 10, 7, 8, 5, 3, 1

Over 30: 6, 2, 9, 4, 10, 7, 8, 3, 1, 5

APPENDIX 9.8: A matrix shows the scores of the guest rooms according to the constructs.

Cox & Cox - Multi-Dimensional Scaling

Alpha test version - April 1992

Data file is identified as
ZIAD INTERIOR DATA

Data matrix is 14 10

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1S	61	102	56	97	76	91	85	81	83	86
2S	22	102	22	104	21	104	91	22	103	22
3S	25	97	33	98	32	103	72	28	78	26
4S	26	105	26	105	21	84	91	26	84	32
5S	78	100	28	32	76	96	95	80	100	71
6S	25	99	48	100	35	58	27	27	40	36
7S	26	80	35	97	41	59	23	22	36	30
8S	26	22	97	22	34	100	90	90	94	67
9S	50	22	35	23	39	99	25	21	38	82
10S	57	45	51	77	57	92	65	56	71	55
11S	84	63	63	84	42	74	63	74	74	63
12S	96	95	33	73	65	51	93	91	85	97
13S	22	25	27	25	32	36	21	21	75	93
14S	22	87	92	98	29	64	23	23	39	70

Dimension of matrix solved is 10

5 leading eigen values are
0.647693988E-01 0.323653811E-01 0.227589341E-01 0.164175414E-01 0.975455198E-02

APPENDIX 9.9: The effect of social characteristics in evaluating the constructs of the guest rooms.

CONSTRUCT NO.	MALE	FEMALE	UNDER 30	OVER 30
1	306	512	441	377
2	243	370	326	287
3	238	354	314	278
4	289	303	403	353
5	192	303	246	249
6	164	285	231	218
7	256	386	340	302
8	167	267	212	222
9	251	375	329	297
10	332	447	479	300
11	153	224	187	190
12	210	337	292	255

Table 4: The scores of constructs for different sex and age groups.

From the table, we can rank the importance of the constructs for different groups:

For different sex

Male : 10, 1, 4, 7, 9, 2, 12, 5, 8, 6, 11

Female: 1, 10, 7, 9, 2, 12, 4, 5, 6, 8, 11

For different age groups

Under 30: 10, 1, 4, 7, 9, 2, 12, 5, 6, 8, 11

Over 30: 1, 4, 7, 10, 9, 2, 12, 5, 8, 6, 11