



# TRADITIONAL DWELLINGS AND SETTLEMENTS REVIEW

JOURNAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF TRADITIONAL ENVIRONMENTS

# INTERROGATING TRADITION

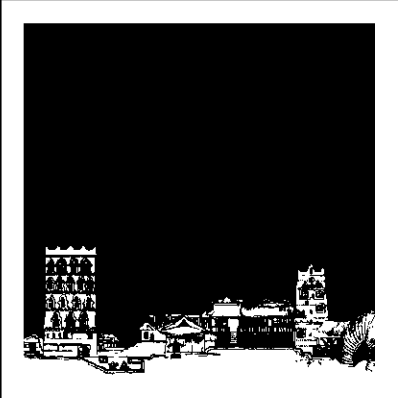
**EPISTEMOLOGIES, FUNDAMENTALISMS, REGENERATION, AND PRACTICES**

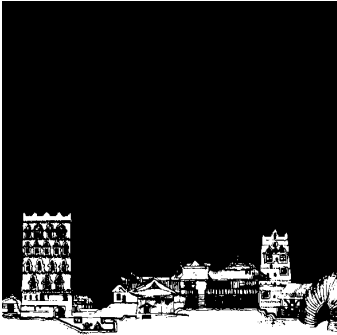
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# TRADITIONAL DWELLINGS AND SETTLEMENTS REVIEW

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## Editor's Note

This special issue of *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* is dedicated to the 2008 IASTE Conference, to be held in Oxford, in the United Kingdom. Its purpose, as with all special TDSR conference issues, is to provide individual and institutional members who are unable to attend with detailed information about the conference's content. For those in attendance, the issue serves the additional purpose of providing a preliminary document for discussion, containing all abstracts of papers accepted for presentation.

The theme of this eleventh IASTE meeting is "Interrogating Tradition." Participants will explore the role of tradition in modern global practices, where its meanings are inextricably bound with the issues it seeks to explain. As tradition is a keyword, the exercise of interrogation becomes essential to understanding the social and political contexts in which it is mobilized. The paradoxes of this global moment necessitate a recalibration of our operative epistemological frameworks in the study of traditional environments. Examining the intersecting discourses of tradition and the politics of its organization, moreover, become critical in identifying how socio-political identities and differences are pursued.

We use the term "interrogate," then, to refer to the epistemic exercise of framing the rationalities of tradition in relation to their construction and their implications for practice. Such avenues of inquiry provide ways to examine how traditional knowledge is formulated and deployed in the political sphere, including the postconflict reconstruction of society and space, the use of tradition by the "state" as a means of co-optation or governance, or the manner in which fundamentalism is "framed" and used by different interest and social groups. Interrogation also allows for a reengagement with the ways in which tradition is mobilized and deployed in revival and regeneration practices as well as the critical pedagogies on such practices.

This conference, co-sponsored by Oxford Brookes University, brings together more than 140 scholars and practitioners from the fields of architecture, architectural history, art history, anthropology, archaeology, folklore, geography, history, planning, sociology, urban studies, and related disciplines to present papers structured around three broad themes: "Epistemologies of Tradition"; "Fundamentalisms and Traditions"; and "Regeneration and the Practices of Tradition."

We would like to thank our principal sponsors in Oxford, Oxford Brookes University, and particularly our Local Conference Director, Dr. Marcel Vellinga. I hope you will find the ideas explored in this issue intellectually challenging and stimulating.

*Nezar AlSayyad*

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## B.9 TRADITIONS OF CULTURE: CULTURES OF TRADITION

### MYTHOLOGIES OF PLACEMAKING IN AMERICA: THE FICTIONS AND TRADITIONS OF THE NEW ENGLAND VILLAGE

*B. D. Wortham-Galvin*  
*University of Maryland, U.S.A.*

### ALTERNATE MODE OF SPATIAL REPRESENTATION: POSTMODERN WEST MEETS PERSIANATE VISUAL CULTURE

*Frances Downing, Shima Baradaran Mohajeri, and Peter Lang*  
*Texas A & M University, U.S.A. and Italy*

### BANGKOK HOMELIFE: A STUDY OF THE EMERGENCE OF THE CONTEMPORARY THAI DOMESTIC INTERIOR

*Nuttinee Karnchanaporn*  
*King Mongkut's University of Technology, Thailand*

### QUESTIONING THE TRADITION OF SPACES AND TRADITIONAL SPACES IN CYPRIOT SETTLEMENTS: THE CASE OF LAPTA, NORTH CYPRUS

*Halide Orcunoglu and Hifsiye Pulhan*  
*Eastern Mediterranean University, Cyprus*

### MATRIXES OF TRADITION IN THE WORK OF RENZO PIANO

*Giamila Quattrone and Consuelo Nava*  
*Università degli Studi Mediterranea di Reggio Calabria, Italy*

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### MYTHOLOGIES OF PLACEMAKING IN AMERICA: THE FICTIONS AND TRADITIONS OF THE NEW ENGLAND VILLAGE

*B. D. Wortham-Galvin*

Mythmaking and place are intertwined with identity. America as a place, writ large, was created out of the ideas of America mapped onto its spatial territory. Thus those who work (popularly, socially, politically and aesthetically) to conceive an idea of America are also making the place.

The enduring origin myths of America involve not only the Revolutionary leaders but also constructed cultural landscapes. One of the most important of these is the idea of the New England village. The New England that is clung to at the start of the twenty-first century was carefully crafted (both as idea and reality) starting in the nineteenth century. This does not mean that the New England village is a false fiction; just that its inventions and realities are inextricably intertwined.

As a symbol of how to make place, the story of New England represents the story of the nation, with the former being smoothed over and whitewashed in order to relieve the tensions of the latter. This paper will address the process of constructing

America as a cultural landscape, as situated in the New England village from the eighteenth to the twenty-first centuries.

### ALTERNATE MODE OF SPATIAL REPRESENTATION: POSTMODERN WEST MEETS PERSIANATE VISUAL CULTURE

*Frances Downing, Shima Baradaran Mohajeri, and Peter Lang*

Although time and space have been core themes of architectural research, they have not, until recently, been treated within a cross-cultural perspective that could generate an alternative mode of conception and representation. However, as current concepts of time and space extend beyond their boundaries and fixed localities, they may encounter new territories that follow unfamiliar trajectories. This experience of displacement may in turn bring new possibilities for hybrid figurations of form and content in the space between cultures, places and histories. This approach to an alternative mode of thinking about time and space takes its cue from the nomadic way of thinking, which favors simultaneity and a state of placelessness.

The concepts of simultaneity and placelessness are posited as a challenge to the conventional Kantian implication of “succession” and “placeness,” which embody a linear, homogeneous, absolute time and space that denotes an “extensive” or actual multiplicity. In contrast, the interrelated concepts of simultaneity and placelessness are based on what Bergson called an “intensive” state or duration, a form of nonlinear, heterogeneous, relative thinking. Deleuze has renamed such virtual multiplicity a “temporal adventure” of immanent spatiality and movement in multiplicity. And it is through such open pathways or trajectories that Deleuze has conceived space in relation to time. In the process of dislocation, a subject is able to map a “transition,” a becoming in time and space that is referred to as neither time nor place, but only as “events.”

This temporal-spatial model demands a cognitive map that is rhizomatic — that draws multiple connective lines between heterogeneous experiences. This map, consisting of multilayered perspectives and positions, best illustrates the process of transformation and displacement among different loci. The rhizomatic model also encompasses discontinuous temporalities in the form of a matrix. Thus, the nomadic consciousness, as a suspended being detached from fixed position, favors dwelling in-between, enmeshed in a network of interrelated trajectories.

On the basis of these ideas, this paper seeks to bridge between two broad realms of inquiry in regard to time and space: one is attributed to the “postmodern West,” the other falls under the rubric of the “Persian East.” The act of transition over the interstice between the two contexts gives rise to a significant and illuminating dialogue in parallel with what postmodern thinkers have called “transculturality.” To sustain such relational thinking in the realm of the in-between requires cognitive tools as a means of communication. In particular, artistic practices along with philosophical musings may perpetuate this implicit development and retrace the transformation of spatio-temporal concepts in both domains.

As the Western tradition of spatial-temporal thinking is relinquishing its linear, rationalistic, universalist framework, it is more likely that the transversal connections between the two fields — postmodern West and Persian East — will be able to foster an objective communicative language in the course of approaching an alternative model of time and space.

## BANGKOK HOMELIFE: A STUDY OF THE EMERGENCE OF THE CONTEMPORARY THAI DOMESTIC INTERIOR

*Nuttinee Karnchanaporn*

The Thai word *baan*, “home,” embodies a complex interplay of personal subjectivity and cultural ideal. Given its huge significance in Thai culture, it is surprising comparatively little work has been done on its meaning. As in other cultures, home certainly cannot be defined by any of its functions. Its meaning, rather, appears indeterminate and saturated by cultural history. The domestic interior is no better understood.

Given this lack of empirical research on the meaning of home in Thai culture, the paper first analyzes the concept of dwelling by dealing with a “semantic field” within which are grouped a number of terms. In English, these might be translated as signifying house, home, dwelling, inhabiting, residence, and compound. From the semantic analysis, the paper then unfolds the idea of home as a realm cultivated by its architecture, its interior, and life in that place.

Since the domestic interior (the inside of a house) first emerged as an area of study in the context of modernized (Westernized) domesticity, academic interest has emphasized how such interiors have been decorated and what they represent. What has been missing is the study of the relation between ideal domestic interiors and actual living conditions. This is the main area of investigation in this paper.

The paper presents photographic evidence from the author’s research documenting differences between the lived domestic interiors and ideal ones. They illustrate physical outlook, orientation, how people use interior space, and how such spaces are an important aspect of home life. When Thais say that “home is cultivated” rather than built, they acknowledge an interweaving of cultural ideology, personal identity, and lived relationship. From this perspective, the paper argues that although the modern era ended the physical apparatus of the traditional Thai house, traditional ideology continues to be inscribed in the Thai mentality through language and other articulations.

In other words, although *baan* is no longer a space of traditionality, tradition helps maintain the idea of it. Thus the traditional quality of domestic interiors is problematic when what we look for is actual living conditions. Nevertheless, we can still study the traditional aspects of how home is made and represented. The research findings, on the one hand, reveal original resources and insights into contemporary home lives in Bangkok. It reflects not only the home life experiences of 40 individuals, but also the diversity of domestic interior as it is lived. On the other hand, the

complexity the research reveals is overwhelming, leaving many issues concerning Thai domesticity unresolved.

## QUESTIONING THE TRADITION OF SPACES AND TRADITIONAL SPACES IN CYPRIOT SETTLEMENTS: THE CASE OF LAPTA, NORTH CYPRUS

*Halide Orcunoglu and Hifsiye Pulhan*

This paper deals with the architectural and settlement characteristics of Lapta (Lapithos) village on the island of Cyprus. It interrogates how the traditions of the settlement are reengaged and deployed in the making of spaces.

Lapta is a distinctive traditional village whose Mediterranean settlement and building characteristics are conjoined with attributes of Ottoman, British, Venetian, Byzantine, Roman and other civilizations which have existed on the island through the centuries. The settlement also carries characteristics of its geographic and climatic condition: it is located on different levels in a mountainous area with a view of the Mediterranean Sea. Because of rich water sources and springs, the settlement also is enriched with peculiar examples of Ottoman water architecture.

Rich cultural accumulation and beliefs systems in the settlement are expressed through religious buildings such as Ottoman mosques and Byzantine Orthodox churches. And, being an important district center, Lapta was densely settled during the British colonial era. Several houses expressing the architectural synthesis of colonial and Cypriot attributes dominate its settlement fabric. In general, the traditional stone houses of Lapta, which are usually entered on different levels, are distinguished by arched or colonnaded entrances, timber roofs, enclosed courtyards, and projecting balconies that overlook a pattern of organic streets and squares. These are the expressions of accumulated cultural and historical layers that communicate the unique traditional architecture of Lapta.

Today, however, the traditional fabric of the village has come under threat of demolition as it has become attractive to developers. The cohesive traditional tissue of the settlement is being destroyed and replaced with contemporary buildings as part of rapid and extensive construction activities along the northern coast of the island.

Although most of the new developments in the village ignore the essential requirements of architecture and social identity in a Cypriot village, there are rare examples which continue local traditions through contemporary interpretations according to current socioeconomic and political circumstances. These have struggled with contemporary dynamics to adapt themselves to changing needs according to the continuity of traditions. This paper focuses on such traditional houses which achieve cooperation with the cultural imaginary and the material reality of the settlement by considering the historical values and the political economies on the island. They are owned, adapted and sustained with the self-imagination and material interpretations of their users.

The new, established system of knowledge, which considers the reuse of the traditional buildings, inevitably influences the build-

ings themselves, as well as the settlement fabric. The buildings which are revived and regained with the interest and meanings of the new occupants are cultural artifacts in a dynamic process of transformation, which is worth being studied to understand alternating approaches and practices in the transfer of tradition.

#### MATRIXES OF TRADITION IN THE WORK OF RENZO PIANO *Giamila Quattrone and Consuelo Nava*

Present advances in science and technology are contributing to the homologation of socio-cultural identities and the built environment. In particular, designs based on functional zoning and the widespread use of industrial materials and construction techniques have resulted in the standardization of living spaces and their social and environmental degradation and delegitimization.

Interrogating tradition in present architectural practice seems a viable strategy for the creation of socially and culturally legitimized living spaces. Interrogating tradition means being inspired by its paradigmatic lesson of environmentally and culturally appropriate built form, which communicates meaning and results from man-environment interplay.

By identifying the matrixes of tradition through theoretical reflections and analyses of case studies, this paper shows how a critical reinterpretation of traditional cultures, architectural typologies, and technologies is a crucial strategy in the design of sustainable built form.

The first part of the paper interprets tradition in relation to design practices oriented toward environmental and energy efficiency. It adopts an “explorative” approach through an examination of selected works by Renzo Piano. These provide a multilevel technological and environmental interpretation of tradition: form and language; technical creativity in the service of energy and resource saving; integration of traditional with innovative materials; design and construction conceived as a permanent workshop.

In particular, tradition is read in relation to spatial patterns affected by dwelling modes and place, as layered in traditional settlement patterns and built forms. It is also seen as a reinterpretation of historical practices and archetypes, providing cues for the design of innovative passive systems. Finally, tradition is read as a reclamation of workmanlike construction as the most appropriate way to give accurate directions, from design to construction.

The second part of the paper looks at tradition as a design parameter for a contemporary critical-regionalist architecture. According to an analytical-interpretational methodology, devised to study the regionalist features of architectural work, tradition falls within the scope of “Environmental Regionalism,” “Technological Regionalism,” and “Typomorphological Regionalism.”

With reference to these facets of regionalism, this reading interrogates tradition in terms of the combination of craft with manufacture, traditional with industrial materials, and in terms of architectural typologies as built expressions of a community’s settlement and dwelling patterns. Selected works by Renzo Piano are presented as case studies of this critical reading.

## C.9 ENCLOSURES/FORECLOSURES, RISK/SPACE

#### THE FABRICATION OF TRADITION: THE RAMMED-EARTH REVIVAL IN BRITAIN, 1905–1925

*Mark Swenarton*

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#### CONTESTED THRESHOLDS AND DISPLACED TRADITIONS OF FISHER DWELLING: A STUDY OF TRADITIONAL SRI LANKAN COASTAL ARCHITECTURE

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#### ECO-TRADE: ECO-TOURISM AND THE DISCOURSE ON TRADITION

*Sebnem Yucel Young*

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#### ADDRESSING THE VULNERABILITY OF FISHING COMMUNITIES IN POST-TSUNAMI RECONSTRUCTION: A CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE FROM KOVALAM VILLAGE, TAMILNADU, SOUTHERN INDIA

*Ram Sateesh Pasupuleti*

*University of Westminster, U.K.*

#### TRADITION, PLACE, AND IDENTITY: COMMUNITY RESILIENCE IN THE WAKE OF DISASTER

*Meredith Feike*

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#### THE FABRICATION OF TRADITION: THE RAMMED-EARTH REVIVAL IN BRITAIN, 1905–1925

*Mark Swenarton*

Rammed earth, or *pisé de terre*, is widely regarded as one of, if not the, most traditional methods of building. In Britain, rammed earth is not an indigenous method of building, yet Britain became famous for the revival of rammed earth in the early twentieth century. Backed by the British government, the rammed-earth revival involved not just books and publications (notably Clough Williams-Ellis, *Cottage Building in Cob, Pisé, Chalk and Clay*, 1919) but also practical building (the Amesbury settlement, 1920–22). Together, this output of theory and practice still forms the benchmark for those working in rammed earth (P. Walker et al., *Rammed Earth: Design and Construction Guidelines*, 2005, p.5).

However traditional the method, the rammed-earth revival of 1905–25 came about not as the result of traditional factors, but

new conditions that emerged in early twentieth-century Britain. Three distinct conditions of modernity can be identified.

The first was the emergence and diagnosis of the “housing problem” and the formulation of distinctive political approaches to dealing with it. J. St. Loe Strachey, “the godfather of Pisé building as far as modern England is concerned” (Williams-Ellis, 1919), was an unashamed free-marketeer who believed that the way to make private enterprise in housing work was to find cheap materials. His first idea was to use concrete, but the Cheap Cottages Exhibition that he sponsored at Letchworth Garden City in 1905 was a disappointment and left him searching for alternatives.

The second was colonialism. The period before the outbreak of the World War I saw a climax in the battle of empires, with Britain leading the way. St. Loe Strachey, as editor and proprietor of *The Spectator*, was a cheerleader for British imperialism, promoting the belief that the empire benefited colonized and colonizer alike. When in 1913 he learned of a method of housing construction — rammed earth — favored by British colonialists in Australia and Africa, he needed no further persuasion. Solving the housing problem in the home country by importing a method of construction from the colonies would provide unequivocal proof of the benefits of empire.

These two factors were sufficient to impel Strachey into experiments in rammed-earth construction beginning in 1915. What turned the rammed-earth revival from private passion to public policy, however, was the third condition of modernity: the change in the relations between social classes brought about by World War I, and especially by its termination. At the start of 1919 the British government sought to defuse unrest in the armed services by offering ex-servicemen “a place to settle on the land.” The Amesbury settlement of 32 houses (a quarter of them in earth materials of different sorts) was its first outcome.

It is self-evidently not the case that all instances of “tradition” in the modern era are fabricated. But the rammed-earth revival reminds us that meanings are not inherent in technologies: the technology can be ancient, but the deployment modern.

## CONTESTED THRESHOLDS AND DISPLACED TRADITIONS OF FISHER DWELLING: A STUDY OF TRADITIONAL SRI LANKAN COASTAL ARCHITECTURE

*Shenuka De Sylva*

This paper interrogates the built traditions of the Sri Lankan coastal fisher community and highlights a way of dwelling that differs from modern perceptions of “house” and “living.” The architecture in question is unique in its simplicity, and unlike that of most other traditional maritime communities of the Asia-Pacific region.

The coastal fishers of Sri Lanka are a community of people dislocated from place and time by political systems of the past and present and from the marginalizing effects of modernization. This paper proposes that the everyday living spaces of this community, whose living traditions are little known, occurs at a series of thresholds between house and sea — between cultured space and natural place. Defined by activity specific to the fishers, these

thresholds reflect the tensions of a life lived continually on the edge. They are essential spaces for the continuity of a way of life that is unpretentious, driven by utility and ancient traditions.

The intention of this paper is to highlight how popular assumptions and generalizations affect traditional communities in postdisaster rebuilding situations. The thresholds of dwelling specific to the Sri Lankan fishers have been contested since the 2004 tsunami, and their living traditions have been displaced by postdisaster policies and post-tsunami housing. This paper is the outcome of a study of the adaptations that the Sri Lankan coastal fishers have had to make to their mass-produced and donor-built postdisaster houses. It interrogates the rationalities that shaped their traditional dwelling environments and that forced these changes.

While postdisaster reconstruction efforts are widely perceived as an opportunity to assist displaced communities regain a lost foothold and rebuild a normal life, postdisaster policies are aimed at rapid modernization of local situation and regulated to conform to global standards. The paper hopes to demonstrate that it is essential to recognize that perceptions may be cultivated and can differ significantly even within a culture. Therein lie the dangers of generalization, but also the possibilities for architecture.

## ECO-TRADE: ECO-TOURISM AND THE DISCOURSE ON TRADITION

*Sebnem Yucel Young*

The January 2007 issue of the journal *Business News: Is Dunyasi Dergisi* devoted its sector-analysis section to “A Sleeping Giant of Tourism Sector: Ecological Holiday.” The article was only one of many in Turkish journals and newspapers since 2006 which have sought to describe eco-tourism establishments around the country. However, representations of this fast-growing sector have been directed more to understanding it as a lifestyle than a business.

One reason this new form of tourism has been treated this way can be found in its grassroots beginnings. Organized under the guidance of the Bugday group, it first emerged when villagers opened their farms, houses and lands to those who wanted to learn about healthier, organic lifestyles and forms of agriculture. Volunteers would contact the villagers through the TaTuTa (Agriculture Tourism Exchange) link of Bugday, and arrange to stay with a family in return for work in the fields. Soon, however, the exchange lost its work component and boomed into a form of alternative tourism, accommodating all who just wanted to observe and experience healthier living and organic food. Now have come “eco-farms,” whose stone, timber, or mud-brick “bungalows” are designed with inspiration from regional vernacular architecture. This paper is about the fast-growing eco-tourism sector in Turkey and the appropriation and re-creation of traditional environments to facilitate both its activities and an environmentalist discourse.

Despite the manufacture and consumption of tradition by big resorts, especially through the creation of exotic atmospheres, smaller-scale entrepreneurs are also making tradition an integral part of their businesses. Indeed, an important part of the socio-



political identity of these entrepreneurs identity is derived from opposition to big resorts. There are three grounds on which this identity takes form: global environmental ethics (energy usage, waste, and impact in the land); health (both in terms of living and environment); and social justice (concerning the rights of the local villagers). Such environmentally and socially driven discourse is ultimately a critique of current development patterns. It aims to replace the vicious cycle of “predatory development” with “sane” and “ecological” development that will limit mass migrations to the cities, protect the Earth, and support a healthier, happier population. Traditional lifestyles and environments are seen as playing an educational role in reaching these goals.

Traditional lifestyles and traditional environments have also played an important role in marketing this new sector/lifestyle. Thus, while vernacular architecture has inspired the new “bungalows” and represented the “organic” and the “healthy” from the outside, regional cuisine, introduced not only during the meals but through cooking workshops, has represented the “organic” and the “healthy” from the inside. This paper will discuss the above issues of identity, representation, tradition, and global environmental ethics in relation to the specific case of Pastoral Valley Farm, in Fethiye, Turkey.

#### ADDRESSING THE VULNERABILITY OF FISHING COMMUNITIES IN POST-TSUNAMI RECONSTRUCTION: A CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE FROM KOVALAM VILLAGE, TAMILNADU, SOUTHERN INDIA

*Ram Sateesh Pasupuleti*

This paper is developed from primary research the author carried out in a fishing village in southern Tamilnadu, India, which was hit by the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami. It explains in detail the underlying cultural dimension that is often ignored in disaster relief and in the more general context of development aid. It further elaborates on how people attempt to adapt to change by giving new meaning and logic, for instance, to socio-spatial spaces to accommodate their local needs.

Through a detailed assessment of this case study, the paper proposes that there is a need for strategies that will integrate local cultural needs with the post-tsunami development process.

#### TRADITION, PLACE, AND IDENTITY: COMMUNITY RESILIENCE IN THE WAKE OF DISASTER

*Meredith Feike*

For thousands of years, ecological instability and political conflict have tested the adaptability and resilience of human societies. The 2005 Atlantic hurricane season brought widespread devastation to the Gulf Coast of the United States. In the city of New Orleans, it was the technological failure of the levee system, coupled with breakdowns in both political and social systems that caused the worst disaster in America’s history.

While disasters are inevitable, it is possible to reduce the severity of their impacts. The Vietnamese community of New Orleans East possessed the capacity to mitigate the adverse effects of Hurricane Katrina. The social structure of the enclave fostered collective action that resulted in the recovery of two ethnic neighborhoods. Part of a larger doctoral research project that documents how the ethnic enclave accomplished rapid revitalization through a neighborhood-based initiative for redevelopment, this paper examines the vital role tradition played in the community’s resiliency and long-term sustainability.

During both the 2005 disaster and subsequent rebuilding process, the largely Vietnamese neighborhoods of Versailles and Village de l’Est relied on an ethnically inclusive mode of survival. Experiencing a revitalization that no other Eastern Orleans Parish neighborhood has yet to duplicate, the enclave has been dubbed a miracle by local officials and the media.

Taking a multidisciplinary approach that incorporates anthropology, geography and disaster science, I draw largely on the humanistic tradition and employ a phenomenological methodology to understand this phenomenon. I explore how the relationship between tradition, identity, and love of place revealed itself as a successful formula for community resilience. A shared sense of tradition characterized by strong kinship ties, religious belief, common values, and a historical background shaped by a legacy of displacement, allowed for the community’s self-rehabilitation. Members of the enclave acted as social agents for redevelopment, following tradition by embracing a support network that united the community in a time of crisis.

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In his study of vernacular dwellings in Egypt, Edgar Regis asserted that climate was a major factor in the shaping of roof forms. Henri Lacompte, on the other hand, has argued that in the case of Upper Egypt this deterministic view is irrelevant.<sup>1</sup>

An eminent architectural historian once wrote, "The roof form in general is the most indicative feature of the housing styles of North Africa."<sup>2</sup> Clearly, however, the matter of how these forms have evolved is a complex subject. A thorough analysis is beyond the scope of this paper.<sup>3</sup>

In my research I discovered that local people have differing notions about the origins of the roof forms on the dwellings they inhabit.<sup>4</sup>

*The reference notes, collected at the end of the text (not at the bottom of each page), would read as follows:*

1. E. Regis, *Egyptian Dwellings* (Cairo: University Press, 1979), p.179; and H. Lacompte, "New Study Stirrs Old Debate," *Smithsonian* 11 (December 1983), pp.24-34.
2. B. Smithson, "Characteristic Roof Forms," in H. Jones, ed., *Architecture of North Africa* (New York: Harper and Row, 1980), p.123.
3. For a detailed discussion of this issue, see J. Idris, *Roofs and Man* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1984).
4. In my interviews I found that the local people understood the full meaning of my question only when I used a more formal Egyptian word for "roof" than that in common usage.

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