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# **PRIVACY IN HOMES OF SHAAMY<sup>1</sup> MUSLIM IMMIGRANTS**

**A Study of Privacy Patterns in Single-Family Detached Homes and  
Townhouses of Middle-Class Immigrants in Montreal**

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in  
Partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Architecture

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## Abstract

After W.W.II several waves of mostly highly educated, middle-class, traditional Muslim families from Shaam arrived in Canada. The major problem that faced them, as a result of cultural differences with their new milieu, was the unresponsiveness of their living environment in Montreal to their distinguished religious and cultural needs-most notably those involving the idea of *privacy*. The purpose of this study is to examine privacy patterns in homes of the Shaamy community in Montreal, by analyzing the physical characteristics of their single-family detached homes and townhouses, usage patterns of domestic space, and inhabitants' social behavior. The research goes further to explore privacy-induced patterns of change in the physical environment of the home, space functions, and domestic behavior, which aim to improve privacy conditions in community homes.

In particular, this research provides a description and analysis of the indigenous lifestyle and the socio-religious and cultural privacy concepts of this community. The research then scrutinizes the correlation between these elements and the physical characteristics of Montreal's housing patterns, and privacy concepts which are embodied in their designs. Both internal home layouts and functions, and outdoor settings are analyzed in relation to community privacy conceptions. This investigation process intends to diagnose major privacy deficiencies in the design of their homes and to highlight domestic privacy mechanisms and utilization modes of the home environment. Finally, criteria are established for improving the design of community detached homes and townhouses, with minimal change to their physical structure and patterns.

## Résumé

Suite à la Seconde Guerre Mondiale, plusieurs vagues de familles musulmanes traditionnelles de Shaam, majoritairement très éduquées, de classe moyenne arrivaient au Canada. Le problème majeur auquel elles furent confrontées, né des différences avec leur nouveau milieu, fut le manque de réponse entre leur nouveau lieu de vie à Montréal et leurs besoins spécifiques relatifs à leur religion et leur culture, en particulier ceux faisant appel à la notion d'espace privé. Le but de cette étude est d'examiner les habitudes liées à la notion d'espace privé des communautés Shaamies de Montréal en analysant les caractéristiques physiques de leurs maisons uni-familiales ainsi que de leurs maisons de villes, l'usage de l'espace domestique et le comportement social des habitants. L'étude va jusqu'à explorer les habitudes de vie intégrant la notion d'espace privé en changement dans l'environnement physique de la maison, les fonctions de cet espace, le comportement dans l'univers domestique, qui tendent à valoriser la qualité de l'espace privé dans les logements communautaires.

En particulier, cette recherche offre une description et une analyse sur le style de vie traditionnel, les concepts socio-religieux ainsi que sur la notion culturelle de l'espace privé. La recherche, ensuite, analyse la corrélation entre ces éléments et les caractéristiques physiques des types de logement Montréalais, et des concepts d'espace privé inhérents à leur conception. Pareillement, les agencements intérieurs et les fonctions dans l'univers domestique, ainsi que les espaces extérieurs sont analysés suivant la conception de l'espace privé de la communauté. Ce procédé de recherche a pour ambition de révéler les déficiences majeures concernant l'espace privé dans la conception de leurs maisons et de mettre l'accent sur les mécanismes et les modes d'utilisation de leur environnement domestique. Enfin, des critères seront établis afin d'améliorer la conception des maisons uni-familiales et des maisons de villes, avec des changements mineurs sur leur structure et leur type physiques.

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## **List of plans**

Case study A1: (First floor, Bedroom floor, Basement floor)

Case study A2: (First floor, Basement floor, Bedroom floor)

Case study A3: (First floor, Bedroom floor)

Case study A4: (First floor, Bedroom floor, Basement floor)

Case study A5: (First floor, Bedroom floor, Basement floor)

Case study B1: (First floor, Basement floor)

Case study C1: (First floor, Bedroom floor)

Case study C2: (First floor, Bedroom floor)

Case study C3: (First floor, Basement floor, Bedroom floor)

Case study C4: (First floor, Basement floor)

Case study C5: (First floor, Basement floor, Bedroom floor)

Case study D1: (First floor, Basement floor, Bedroom floor)

Case study D2: (First floor, Bedroom floor, Basement floor)

Case study D3: (First floor, Basement floor, Bedroom floor)

## Table of contents

Abstract  
Acknowledgment  
List of plans  
Table of contents

### Chapter 1: Introduction

1. Preface	1
1.1. The problem	4
1.2. Hypothesis	4
1.3. Rationales for the study	4
1.4. Importance of the study	4
1.5. Objectives	5
1.6. Limitations and the scope of the study	5
1.6.1. Focus	6
1.7. Research methodology	6
1.7.1. Survey methodology	7
1.8. Characteristics of the case studies	9
1.8.1. Education	10
1.8.2. Economic element	11
1.8.3. Period of staying in Canada	11
1.8.4. Similarity of lifestyle	11
1.8.5. Ethnicity, region, and, religion	11
1.8.6. Pattern of living environment	12
1.9. Definitions	12
1.10. The role of religion, cosmology, and culture in domestic privacy	15
1.11. Home as an embodiment of privacy	18
1.12. Conceptualization of privacy	19
1.12.1. Individual and collective concepts of privacy	24
1.12.2. Dimensions of privacy	25
1.12.3. Taxonomy of privacy	25
1.12.4. The purpose of privacy	28
1.13. Territoriality	30
1.13.1. The functions of territoriality	32
1.13.2. Territorial infringement	32
1.13.3. Domestic domains and the hierarchy of space	33
1.13.4. Personalization of home spaces	35
1.13.5. Identity	35
1.13.6. Furniture personalization and identity	36
1.13.7. Personal space	37
1.13.8. The threshold	37
1.14. Conclusion	38
<b>Chapter 2: Privacy in Canadian housing environment</b>	
2.1. Privacy standards of Shaamy community and Montreal housing environment	39

2.2. Analysis of Canadian housing patterns from the community's privacy perspective	40
2.2.1. Privacy characteristics of the studied housing patterns in Montreal	40
2.2.1.1. Cottages	41
2.2.1.2. Bungalows	41
2.2.1.3. Split level plan cottages and bungalows	42
2.2.1.4. Town houses	42
2.2.1.5. Horizontal and vertical analysis of homes spaces and domains	42
2.3. Factors affect privacy behavior and physical mechanisms in community homes	43
2.3.1. Religion and culture	44
2.3.2. Affirmative expression of identity and freedom versus the new environment	44
2.3.3. Family values and relations patterns	45
2.3.4. Comfort level and the responsiveness of the home environment	46
2.3.5. The acculturation of Shaamies to Canadian lifestyle	46
2.3.6. The effect of previous dwellings experiences	48
2.3.7. The implication of maintaining home reselling power on privacy environmental changes	49
2.4. Privacy and identity	49
<b>Chapter 3: Patterns of privacy</b>	
3. Introduction to case studies	51
3.1. General characteristics of the case studies	51
3.2. The importance of guest entertainment	52
3.3. Privacy between guests and family members	53
3.3.1. Guest domain versus family domain	54
3.3.2. Reception/guestroom	59
3.3.2.1. Privacy in relation to the arrangement of the guestroom furniture	61
3.3.3. Guest sleeping space	62
3.3.4. Dining room	63
3.3.5. Guest bathroom	64
3.4. Office and study places	66
3.5. Entrance and circulation area	66
3.5.1. The exterior door	66
3.5.2. The lobby	68
3.6. Privacy between family members	70
3.6.1. Familial privacy patterns and family domain structure	71
3.6.2. Familial privacy in relation to home spatial organization	72
3.6.3. Comparative analysis of familial privacy in traditional community and Montreal homes	73
3.6.4. Familial privacy between genders and domains organization	75
3.6.5. Privacy among different age groups	76
3.6.6. Privacy in case of expanded family (grandparents)	78
3.6.7. Personal privacy/bedrooms	79
3.7. Living room	80
3.8. Kitchen	82
3.9. Acoustic privacy	82

3.10. Privacy in open home spaces with neighbors and the street	R1
3.10.1. Privacy between homes at the backyard	R1
3.10.2. Front yard and home privacy with the street	R7
3.10.3. From outsider to the inside of the home	R11
<b>Chapter 4: Synopsis of privacy-induced patterns of preference and change</b>	
4.1. Preferences for privacy characteristics in home environment	11
4.1.1. Home ownership	11
4.1.2. Home location, external features, and site settings	12
4.1.3. Home interior design and size	13
4.2. Physical privacy mechanisms	17
4.2.1. Adding doors and dividing screens	16
4.2.2. Adding guest sleeping room and office	18
4.2.3. Appropriating spaces and adding rooms	19
4.2.4. Adding fence, canopies, and trees	19
4.3. Functional privacy mechanisms	19
4.3.1. Replacing function with another	19
4.3.2. Utilizing unused spaces	19
4.3.3. Combining different functions in a space	19
4.3.4. Changing the pattern of spatial usage	19
4.4. Behavioral privacy mechanisms	19
4.4.1. Active change in privacy behavior	19
4.4.2. Passive change in privacy behavior	19
4.4.3. Decrease in the adherence to a traditional privacy behavior	19
4.4.4. Change in privacy expectations	19
4.5. The influence of furniture style on the privacy mechanism	19
4.5.1. Furniture behavior	19
4.5.2. Living room furniture	19

**Chapter 5: Expansion of privacy mechanisms in the community: review**

5.1. Expansion of home spaces with boundaries, space, walls	20
5.2. Expansion of home boundaries, walls and site settings	20
5.3. Expansion of space in relation to the external space	20
5.4. The relation between physical changes and privacy mechanisms	20
5.5. The relation between change in behavior and privacy mechanisms	20
5.6. The relation between change in privacy expectations and privacy mechanisms	20

**Chapter 6: Conclusion**

6.1. Summary of findings and discussion	21
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**Appendix A**

**Appendix B**

**Appendix C**

**Appendix D**

## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

### **1. Preface**

There is a significant discrepancy in the manner in which people express themselves in public and private environments. They tend to integrate or distance themselves in various physical settings and social circumstances through different levels of privacy. Accordingly, a dwelling unit is the most private and liberal environment, where people can express their own views, reshaping and altering their intimate environment, if possible, without compromising their needs, values, and freedom. "Home," in this sense, becomes a mirror reflecting and responding to physical, social, and psychological privacy demands of its inhabitants. However, in many instances, the inappropriateness of the home design hinders achieving a satisfactory level of privacy and social comfort. In such circumstances, physical, functional and behavioral patterns of privacy are introduced to equilibrate the loss of privacy.

Obviously, the Canadian housing environment, with its local or international trends, does not take into consideration socio-religious and cultural privacy requirements of many ethnic groups within the society. For Shaamy people, this implies a process of change, which can progress in three directions. A primary alteration directly affects the physical milieu, through adjustments to the living environment, implemented by inhabitants to cater to their privacy needs. The second pattern of mutation applies specifically to the usage of home spaces as an amenable strategy to provide the needed privacy, particularly when physical change is unattainable. The third pattern, manifested through an antagonistic attitude toward privacy requirements in a home environment, incites the inhabitants to pursue special behavioral measures to increase the diverse levels of privacy in their habitat. The conflict between inhabitants' standards of privacy, and the characteristics of their living environment, provokes creative methods of achieving of privacy to compensate for discomfort.

This research presents socio-cultural and empirical interpretations of the effect of privacy on the configurations, space functions, and the social behavior patterns in Shaamy homes in Montreal. Furthermore, this research reveals the incentives behind each pattern of privacy in the dwelling unit, by studying social and architectural bivalency as fundamental constituents to understand the multi-dimensional characteristics of the living environment. Additionally, the research, consciously ambitious in its range, aims to expose privacy as a major factor causing change in the living environment of this community. In this sense, general preferences of the Shaamy community for privacy, and its related domestic comportment, are traced to the fundamental socio-religious principles

and deeply-rooted traditions which shape the community environment and direct their domestic life.

Primarily, this study is based on the assumption that there are explicit patterns of privacy in the physical living environment, home usage, and social behavior of the members of the Shaamy community in Montreal. The research will isolate simple patterns, which fully characterize the range of privacy and its induced patterns of change, through a systematic analysis of diverse case studies represent varied conceptions and approaches to privacy. The first pattern reflects a change in social behavior and space usage resulting from the rather inflexible nature of the home plan, making the alteration of the dwelling design undesirable. Other patterns represent a change of design and function of some of dwelling space units when the plan is relatively flexible and people have enough stability in the living environment. All of these patterns of privacy, however, could work at the same time to express inhabitants' priorities in terms of privacy. In all cases special attention was paid to interpreting from privacy point of view the cultural connotation of home design and space usage, in relation to furniture style, nature, organization, and usage in home spaces.

This research, by analyzing the physical configurations, spatial use and social behavior within the dwelling draws conclusions about the characteristics underlying each pattern of privacy, in an attempt to explain the reciprocal relationship between home environment and Shaamies' lifestyle. The study identifies home attributes which are most likely to influence privacy attitudes in home environment of the Shaamy community, based on an accurate understanding of the culture and traditions of this group. Moreover, this research provides an analysis of the multi-layered background of dwelling detailed configurations through pragmatic understanding of inhabitants' socio-cultural foundation. Ultimately, this will unveil the dynamic role of privacy in shaping home internal configurations, modifying home outdoors physical surroundings and, simultaneously transmuting social behavior by means of constraints imposed upon the occupants by their extraneous home environment.

The various privacy patterns in the Shaamy domestic milieu are based on a complex matrix of interchanging factors such as: place of origin, religion, and inhabitants' adaptive privacy practices in previous housing environments. Thus, it is worthwhile to note that although Shaamies are one socio-cultural group, it is difficult to allocate an explicit categorization of their social behavior due to the inherent diversity of their local backgrounds. Therefore, in the case studies dealt with in this research, neither privacy preferences and treatments nor the lifestyle of the inhabitants are claimed to be representative of all Shaamy households in Montreal. However, these examples explicitly

portray typical Muslim Arab Shaamy families, who are rather adherent to their traditional lifestyles and conscious of their innate cultural identity. This survey of case studies analyzes the social, architectural, and cultural spheres. However, this study excludes an explanation of all cultural attributes of the community which influence privacy practices, and it will, rather, hint at the relevant cultural background and historical foundation when necessary.

Due to the familiarity of Arabs of Shaam with many North American housing patterns in their home countries, it has been challenging to isolate the immediate effect of their Canadian home designs on their privacy practices. Privacy-induced patterns of transformation are not primarily generated in a forthright reaction to the present environment in Montreal, but, rather, as an advanced stage of adaptation in the process of developing techniques to secure privacy in their homeland colonial home patterns. In fact, this process was initiated in their home countries, and proceeded in phases, until it resulted in the current distinctive privacy patterns. Therefore, this complex process will be thoroughly investigated in this research and acknowledged as a significant background to understand the transition into Western models of architecture. Additionally, it should be noted that developing privacy patterns and techniques is an on-going process, influenced by many factors evolves with the progression of time and getting more established in the host environment.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that despite the fact that some material and psychological human needs for privacy represent a common denominator among diverse cultures, they vary considerably in quantity, quality, and expression. This view acknowledges culture differentiation not only between the community and their environment but also among the individual case study. Therefore, distinctive expressions of privacy needs and adaptational mechanisms tend to surface among most of the case studies even with the assimilative influence of the environment. Based on this fact, it is valid to interpret identical articulations or notions in a different manner, granted that they arise from different backgrounds. Taking this into consideration eliminates any potential misconception in understanding, judging, and translating existing circumstance into accurate and idiosyncratic privacy patterns. Alternatively, privacy-related physical change, home functions, and social behavior engender a variety of interpretations even when discussed within the boundaries of one culture. This results of the individuality of each case study.

### **1.1. The problem**

An increasing number of Muslim immigrants from Shaam have arrived in Montreal since W.W.II. Since housing is a cultural product characterized by distinct identity, design approaches, and functions, Shaamy people run into conflict with their home environments particularly as result of their privacy customs. This lack of compatibility constitutes burden on the freedom and the comfort of the members of this community, hence they develop various physical, functional, and behavioral patterns to maintain domestic privacy. These privacy problems and remedial mechanisms need to be identified to establish design criteria to contribute to improving privacy levels in community homes.

### **1.2. Hypothesis**

There are distinctive patterns of privacy in Shaamy homes which result from the interaction between the socio-cultural background of the community and the Canadian housing environment. In other words, the unresponsiveness of the Canadian housing environment to the special socio-cultural requirements of Shaamy immigrants has produced distinctive patterns of privacy, reflected in the home arrangement, space usage, and domestic social behavior.

### **1.3. Rationales for the study**

Home is always observed as a haven for a family to find privacy, peace, and comfort. There is an increasing demand among the middle-class Shaamy community in Montreal for living in responsive homes, as it achieves social mobility, grows in number, develops awareness of its cultural identity, and realizes common privacy problems in Canadian homes. Ignoring these problems result in social discomfort that springs from excessive lack of consolation and freedom, inside and outside the home. Therefore, this study tries to investigate the notion of privacy in Shaamy homes, and diagnose the privacy patterns which are practiced to compensate for the lack personal and social freedom in this environment.

### **1.4. Importance of the study**

This research aims to discover the need for privacy in different ethnic groups and cultures, and their impact on the Canadian housing environment. It looks into alternative solutions to privacy when the living environments are transformed to reflect the values of the community. This study would be of interest to architects, social scientists, and housing institutions, as it introduces a vital need of a considerable sector of the society,

and the different expression of this need in Canadian homes. Consequently, this could reduce cost and produce responsive homes which reflect the values and lifestyles of this portion of society. More importantly, this study will expose widely prevalent housing design problems regarding privacy, not only in North America but also in Arab countries, where the same patterns of housing are propagated.

### **1.5. Objectives**

The study assumes that there are characteristic modes of privacy in Shaamy homes are based on the differences between the background of the community and the social content of the Canadian housing environment. Therefore, this study aims to answer the following questions: How do the Shaamy people fulfill their distinct cultural and religious privacy needs within their Montreal housing, which is a direct product of Canadian lifestyles and values? What are the diverse privacy patterns implemented in Shaamy homes, to adjust Canadian housing to comply with these privacy needs? At the same time, how do the designs of Canadian houses influence privacy practices of the Shaamy community?

Consequently, the main objectives of the study are:

- Define the patterns of privacy in Shaamy homes:
- Discover the level of responsiveness and satisfaction Canadian homes offer to this community:
- Probe the relationship between the different patterns of housing on the one hand and living patterns and the efficacy of privacy-induced patterns of change on the other:
- Establish a matrix of privacy requirements in the homes of the community:
- Develop a criteria for the design of detached homes and townhouses providing privacy for middle-class Muslim Shaamy families.

### **1.6. Limitations and scope of the study**

Rigorous studies have been carried out about human psychological privacy needs, apart from considering the role of culture and religion in affecting privacy practices in various religious and ethnic communities (non-Western in particular). However, some scarce studies which dealt with the Islamic conception of privacy ignored the socio-cultural aspect of privacy, and restricted to examine only physical privacy patterns. This research tries to discover the multi-level privacy relations between family and guests, and among family members themselves. It exceeds the range of physical mechanisms of privacy to deal with preferences, usage, and behavioral patterns of privacy. The research

investigates access and exposure as spatial attributes, and analysis their effect on domestic privacy. Moreover, the importance and role of privacy, its complementary socio-cultural variables in the living environment, and the limitations that residential environment have on the domestic life of the inhabitants are investigated. The study also explores the relationships among the different privacy patterns and privacy-induced patterns of change. This is done by examining fourteen homes in Montreal, which were chosen out of twenty four surveyed homes, as representatives of main trends in Montreal housing patterns. These dwellings are documented and analyzed in order to understand the privacy mechanism, and the reciprocal relationship between dwellers cultural principles and their physical environment. Finally, conclusions are drawn.

### **1.6.1. Focus**

This thesis focuses on:

- Privacy in traditional and modern housing patterns in Shaam
- The religious teachings on privacy and traditional practices
- Analysis of Canadian homes from the Shaamy privacy perspective
- The spatial hierarchy and diverse home functions in relation to privacy
- The different levels of privacy indoors and outside the home
- Privacy patterns in different home designs
- Privacy-induced patterns of change

### **1.7. Research methodology**

The research method adopted for this study is twofold. The first step involves examining the concept of space and its physical and cultural connotation, from a privacy point of view, through a review of prominent studies in the field. Afterwards, the research probes the role of privacy traditions and beliefs in characterizing the dwellings of the Shaamy community in Montreal. The research explores Shaamy traditional domestic life to find the roots of the contemporary privacy phenomenon. Furthermore, the previous historic perspective of privacy conceptions and practices is supported by close textual analysis of the religious literature.

The second step involves analyzing privacy patterns in fourteen case studies in order to assess the impact of privacy concepts on physical environment, space usage and social behavior. To do so, the research uses the data which was collected in the first step to interpret privacy practices observed in the case studies. Next, the research identifies patterns of change for improving privacy conditions in the community homes. The study then searches for repetitive patterns of privacy and change in order to establish

cause/effect relations among the set of intricate factors which define privacy mechanisms. By so doing, the study identifies the different factors which affect privacy practices in Shaamy homes.

The study examines the inherent correlation between housing characteristics and different privacy pattern. To achieve this goal, the study analyzes the viability of the privacy mechanisms, which the community tends to pursue in their houses, through reexamining the comfort level they can achieve. The research also explores the flexibility of the dwelling design and its ability to adapt to privacy requirements of the inhabitants by assessing the frequency the previously identified privacy mechanisms in relation to home patterns. By building a matrix of privacy modalities in relation to housing forms, a typology of change is discovered. Using this typology, the research establishes the means to evaluate home characteristics, identify the relations between privacy patterns, and finally to synthesize a criteria for bettering privacy conditions in the studied housing patterns

### **1.7.1. Survey methodology**

The complexity associated with this study is attributed to circumstances inherent to investigating family life by an outsider. Paradoxically, the researcher had to intrude community homes to unveil privacy practices according to which such intrusion should be deterred. However, the familiarity of the researcher with the overall background of the community was a key to successful communication. Additionally, knowledge of the cultural background of the community is also considered fundamental for an accurate estimation of the critical characteristic of the private life of the community. For instance, privacy intrusion associated with investigating people's private life was overcome by an interview strategy which involved familiarizing families with the researcher's background, study objectives, and the benefits of this research. Also, experiencing families' attitudes towards guests, that have different level of acquaintance with the family, was achieved by developing gradual familiarity with the case study, through repeated visits. Examining privacy among family members was a greater challenge for the researcher, involving diverse investigative techniques including observation of families' behavior to extract information about their modes of social interaction<sup>1</sup>.

The identification of suitable case studies meeting research stipulations started with defining proper sources for collecting addresses of families. Since privacy in the community is largely influenced by Islamic religion, it was concluded that the best way to identify appropriate samples or a group was through their affiliation with religious institutions. The Muslim Community Center of Dorval was selected as the focal point of

a fairly concentrated community that moved to this West Island middle-class area in a short period of time. Populated with immigrants who came mostly in the eighties induced by similar circumstances implies similar age groups, backgrounds, and religious adherence among the inhabitants. Some case studies were fruits of personal networking while others were referrals from religious leader of the Muslim Community Center of Dorval or recommendations from previous case studies. The latter method helped to establish save sense of acquaintance between families and the researcher and proved to be the best way for acquiring new case studies. These networking methods contributed to providing homogeneous case studies with cognate home characteristics.

To document the needed data of each case study a comprehensive multiple-response information form was developed to be filled out by the researcher. This form employs multiple tools to effectively extract all the required information, observation and evaluation, interviewing and questioning, as well as photographing and drafting. This form is comprised of two sections, architectural and socio-cultural. The first section of the form encompasses extensive physical, usage, and behavioral aspects of domestic privacy. The architectural part of the form divides homes into functional domains investigating plan arrangement, characteristics of home space, spatial usage, domestic activities, alterations, and furniture arrangement. Additionally, evaluative remarks such as compliance of the design with privacy needs, opinions of the household, and level of functionality are recorded. Moreover, behavioral privacy patterns among family members and with guests are observed and noted in this section. The second section provides cultural and social information such as age groups, gender, family size, education level, cultural and religious adherence, social compatibility with the host society, and many other specifics which contribute to the understanding of domestic privacy.

Observation and evaluation were important tools to document visible aspects of privacy patterns. This process included touring all internal and external parts of the home. Only rarely, access was denied to the bedrooms. Moreover, numerous photographs were taken to help document home features, for analyzing and interpreting the visual data at later stages. Plans were drawn to record house layouts in addition to the position of furniture pieces and patterns of spatial usage. Furthermore, interviewing inhabitants provided an understanding of the non-material aspects of privacy such as behavior and usage. The interviews involved more than one member of the family, usually the paterfamilias and the materfamilias to get comprehensive views from both genders. Other family members were also interviewed when possible. The interview process is based on questioning, discussion, and observation. Questions sometimes were rephrased in different ways in order to obtain elaborate and accurate responses. Research's visits used

to last mostly four continuous hours during which the researcher was able to witness different faces of interaction among the occupants and with the researcher himself. This experience as a guest usually starts from total unfamiliarity to more warm relationship accompanied with different patterns of behavior and responses between family members during the visit. Relatively long sessions enabled accurate observations of the natural daily life of family members, and revealed multi-faceted aspects of their social behavior and home usage. These diverse methods helped collect extensive data and assisted in encompassing wide range of privacy patterns and unveiling the real motives for change.

### **1.8. Characteristics of the case studies**

Middle and upper middle class categorization inherently implies certain social, educational, and economic backgrounds. It represents, to some degree, a fortunate sector of society which has substantial means necessary to express its cultural practices and lifestyle in their environment. Moreover, the privileges which this group enjoys give them the material means to efficiently work out their living environment as a buffer quarantine from the extrinsic environment. The middle class has been, through the history of Shaam, one of the most stable social groups in the society as winds of changes have blown throughout the history.

This class is characterized by a strong adherence to traditional values helping to stabilize and protect its culture. The immunity of this class towards acculturation, either in the homeland or in the diaspora, comes as result of financial ability, high level of education and cultural awareness. In contrast, lower classes lack the material means by which they can create an independent environment reflect their culture, reinforce their lifestyle and shield them from external influence. This inability can result in compromises towards assimilation into the encompassing environment. Whereas upper classes represent a small portion of the society and have great capacity to build their own homes in accordance with their cultural orientations. Accordingly, the cultural trends of upper classes reflect neither in quantity nor in quality the Shaamy community and their social practices. As a result, middle and upper middle class become an ideal group to study in order to effectively understand the influence of Shaamy privacy practices on Canadian housing.

Lang considers that the differences in the need of privacy among people is due partially to 'social group' attitudes which are based on the roles people play in society, and their socio-economic status" ("Creating" 155). An empirical study conducted in London in 1963 suggested that privacy conceptions among people may differ based on income levels and age (Willis 1,2,3). As a result, privacy affiliation with social class and

cultural factors emphasizes the existence of alternative definition of privacy. For this reason, the case studies were chosen based on specific social and cultural criteria include religion, place of origin, and social class which includes education and economic levels. Another determinant for choosing the case study is housing patterns which define the physical framework for studying privacy. Studies of the housing history in Shaam and the living environment of the current case studies reveal that there is an inherent relation between the socio-economic and cultural elements of the community on the one hand, and the characteristics of housing patterns on the other. Acknowledging this notion is very crucial in understanding the meaning of privacy mechanisms which are applied in the living environment of the community.

### **1.8.1. Education**

One of the most instrumental elements among this socio-cultural composition which indirectly affect privacy practices is education. It helps characterize the practices of the community and define its overall cultural expression in Canadian environment. In this context, a high level of education secures the intellectual ability to withstand the cultural influences of the host society which, from the community point of view, hold different views regarding privacy in particular and lifestyle in general. A high level of education does not only provide culturally enlightened people, but also contributes to the fact that educated people often have higher economic levels and can afford on intellectual and material levels maintaining their cultural privacy practices. The education and cultural awareness of this class preclude having an inferiority complex or holding weak psychological attitudes as a minority coming from a developing environment, versus the influences of acculturation of the host culture. In other words, the competency of this group professionally and educationally give them the courage to materialize their views and resist falling into assimilation with a foreign environment one in which appears as awkward and extraterrestrial. The educated middle-class has also been a source of religious resurgence in their original countries, as well in Canada, in the past generation. This group's position is becoming influential for other groups in the community, which affectedly are becoming more aware of their identity and cultural practices. The cultural influence of this part of the community reflects the importance of examining their privacy practices in their homes in Montreal.

### **1.8.2. Economic element**

The economic level of the case studies considerably affects family privacy practices. This concept is based on the fact that financial ability is key to supporting privacy practices. It secures the feasibility of privacy-induced measures regardless of antagonistic surrounding. Financial ability gives the means by which members of this community can apply their preferences and develop mechanisms counterbalance the privacy deficiencies of their dwellings. Based on this, home patterns, size, site specifications, as well as home renovation are to a great degree a product of the financial capability of this part of the community. Lang recognizes this element, arguing that "In any particular housing type, space is an indicator of status and becomes a symbol of it. It must be recognized, however, that the norms of privacy for any group represent adaptations to what they can afford within the socioeconomic system of which they are a part" ("Creating" 155).

### **1.8.3. Length of staying in Canada**

The research acknowledges the effect of time on the level of cultural adherence and assimilation of the Shaamy immigrants. As a result, a specific time frame was defined to increase the homogeneity of the case studies, by considering only families who immigrated from 1965 until 1995. This period coincides with an increasing influx of middle-class professionals immigrants to Canada who typically maintain strong ties with their cultural and religious roots. Defining the period in which the immigrant families came to Canada implies similar age groups, family values, and overall lifestyle and experience.

### **1.8.4. Similarity of lifestyle**

Most of the families which were surveyed have well-determined motives for immigration, and definite attitudes towards both their culture and the host society. This common background helps to establish clear categorization of the incentives for privacy patterns. Moreover, it enables comparing alternative solutions among a group of similar background. Subsequently, the ways in which the community reacts to certain home configurations can be more easily identified.

### **1.8.5. Ethnicity, region and religion**

Restricting the case studies to Arabs is an acknowledgment of the role ethnic culture has in affecting lifestyle, values, and social practices, including privacy. The regional definition of 'Shaam', however, implies distinguishing characteristics of the

culture of this region, in relation to the larger ethnic identity of the Arab community. This name implies historical developments which shaped the cultural identity of this region. Additionally, confining the study to Muslim inhabitants is recognition of the substantial effect Islamic doctrine has on privacy practices, in comparison with the culture of minority groups which inhabit the area. The combination of these three cultural elements produces the unique identity of Shaamy community, which affects considerably their privacy practices.

The relationships between local, national, and religious elements are homogenous and increase the distinction between privacy practices of this community and those of other groups. This relation can be understood only in light of reviewing the histo-demographic accounts of the Shaam region. Abu-Laban argues that Islamic conquest of this region by Arabs caused revitalization of ancient religious tenets and ethnic identity of the people of the Fertile Crescent versus Greco-Roman and Persian influences (12-18). The combination of these elements reclaimed the essence of the ancient civilizations of the area and crystallized distinguished identity and cultural practices, manifest particularly in social and architectural expressions of privacy.

#### **1.8.6. Pattern of living environment**

Single-family detached homes and multi-story townhouses are typical for the middle-class Shaamy community in Canada. The relationship between the social, cultural, and economic characteristics of this class has produced notable preference for these housing patterns. These preferences are due to the correspondence of these patterns, more than the other patterns, to some privacy trends among the Shaamy community. For instance, vertical level separation and the internal layouts present flexible environment enhances privacy and permit comfortable relationship among family members and with guests. In addition, independence from neighbors with minimal semi-public areas represents desirable feature for increased privacy. Home ownership itself, which is typical for these housing patterns, is a strong manifestation of privacy. Moreover, the suburban characteristics of these homes including location, density, and bylaws meet vital privacy preferences of the community. These characteristics constitute agents for the interaction between Canadian homes and the privacy concept and practices of the Shaamy community.

#### **1.9. Definitions**

The research uses terms in a peculiar manner to reflect concepts which do not exist clearly in the occidental. Additionally, some Arabic terms which do not have matches in

English were used, in order to establish authentication of the Islamic terminology and introduce them to English literature. Other definitions explain compound meanings of some expressions used frequently in the research.

- Ahkam:** Rules of life and thought derived by the method of *fiqh* .
- Allah:** Monotheistic Creator, here also referred to as God.
- Awra:** Is parts of a building or the human body which are private, or not permissible to be exposed to the public.
- Baha, Fin'a:** The courtyard
- Case studies:** Middle-class, Arab, Muslim families immigrated from diverse regions in Shaam to Canada, for one generation from the time of the research. Case studies can also refer to the homes of community.
- Change:** The unresponsiveness of Montreal's home environment to the special socio-cultural requirements for privacy of its inhabitants induces various patterns of change in home design, space usage, and domestic behavior.
- Fard:** An obligatory act enjoined by Shari'ah
- Fiqh:** The science of interpreting the *Qur'an* and *Sunnah*.
- Habitus:** The synthetic product of all past mental, physical, and spiritual experiences in response to a new physical and social environment.
- Halal:** Permissible things and actions under Islamic Law.
- Haram:** Forbidden things and actions under Islamic Law.
- Haramlik:** Women's or family domain
- Hijab:** Hijab means veil, which protects Awra of individuals, home parts, or any property.
- Ijtehad:** Authoritative research to develop rules of life and interpretation and extensions of Islamic Law in reference to *Qur'an* and *Sunnah*.
- Madafa:** Reception room is located mostly in men's domain
- Mahram:** Is a man or women who is unmarriageable to a person from the other sex. This status implies set of privacy rules between genders. Mahamrim is the plural of mahram.
- Majlis:** Sitting place for men and can also be used for guest entertainment
- Islamicity network:** The practices of the Islamic value system and institutions, which emanate from the triadic structure (tawhid, shari'ah, 'ummah), and produce the peculiar nature of Islamic culture within Muslim 'Ummah" is called Islamicity. The collection of the interwoven "series" of Islamicity creates, in turn, the quality of the cultural

network which stretches commonly among community members<sup>2</sup>. Within this hierarchical network of Islamicity, individuals and groups harmoniously inter-communicate their needs for privacy on various levels.

**Pratique:** Modes of thinking and habitual behaviors which regulate unconsciously people's everyday activities and living environment.

**Privacy:** The inclination of an individual or a group to not be exposed to certain actions or people. Based on this principle, individuals follow regulation to define the boundaries which protect their individual or collective freedom, and control levels of intimacy in social transactions. Privacy is a partial abstraction of the concept of Horma, however, it will be used in the research as a synonym.

**Qa'a:** Major room in the Haramlik can be used for female guests

**Qur'an:** Revealed Book to the Prophet Muhammad.

**Rahim ties:** Denotes Islamic kinship structure, code of social obligations, and socialization patterns among relatives including privacy rules between genders which is based on marriageability.

**Relativity:** A network of social relationships within which privacy does not represent isolation but rather an organic hierarchy of intimacy.

**Salamluk:** Men's or guest domain

**Shaam:** Shaam or "Syria" here means the region extending from the southern boundaries of Turkish-speaking Anatolia in the north, to Sinai and Northern Hijaz in the south. It includes what came to be known, after the First World War, as the countries of Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Trans-Jordania." (Samra 34)<sup>1</sup>. It represents the northern part of the Arab world. Shaamy is the adjective of Shaam, means 'from Shaam region.'

**Shari'ah:** Islamic Law.

**Tawhid:** Oneness of God.

**'Ummah:** World nation of Islam understood geographically and epistemologically in terms of unity of knowledge and action, thus also '*Ummatic*'. 'Miniaturized 'Ummah' means family.

**Urf:** Custom, which represents, within certain guidelines, a source of Islamic legislation.

### **1.10. The role of religion, cosmology, and culture in domestic privacy**

The concept of "home" has two components physical and social. The first one is sheltering or the micro-climatic function which is represented in plan enclosure, materials, and construction methods. The social component embodies privacy, psychological and aesthetic aspects of the home, and is manifested in design and usage patterns. Both components are deeply influenced by culture, place, and time. In this framework, the human quest for shelter has been, since the antiquities, a complex process of development in pursuit of fundamental social and physical needs. The need for privacy stands out in this context as a prime constituent of the shelter's material, psychological, and social connotation, overriding in many ways other needs and subjecting human innovation to its benefit. Rapoport express the importance of culture and privacy in the formation of housing, stating that " ...very early in recorded times the house became more than shelter for primitive man, and almost from the beginning function was much more than a physical or utilitarian concept." However, he notices that in spite of that privacy is acknowledged as an important need in human life, it has not been fully analyzed and understood in the framework of contemporary scholarship or architectural practices. He states that " although architects in our culture often refer to privacy as a basic need, it is really a complex and varied phenomenon" (46, 68). Therefore, he concludes that it is critical to trace the cultural underpinning of privacy and its influence on domestic environment.

Privacy is a human need, rooted deep in human nature, and demonstrated in various levels and patterns of human expressions. An examination of privacy throughout human history by Oliver in Dwellings: The Houses Across the World, as well as Rapoport in his book House Form and Culture shows that this notion takes various characteristics and manifest in varied ways in different cultures. These differences are due to the multiple perceptions of privacy which depend on the circumstances in which each culture has evolved (14). This diversity was also acknowledged by Westin in his book Privacy and Freedom stating that "people in different cultures experience the world differently not only in terms of language but also with their senses. They inhabit a different sensory world, affecting the way they relate to one another in space, in matters ranging from their concepts of architecture to furniture arrangement" (29). Ezaki views privacy rather as a communal concept, related to the value system among certain people. This value system produces social regulations through which an individual achieves harmony in his/her relations with the group. He argues that privacy represents an important nuclei not only for space handling, but also formation of culture. Ultimately, religious background is a main cultural component regulating the behavioral patterns of people and affects home

layouts in various ways. Thus, "home" becomes an embodiment of culture; therefore, it has infinite diversity in form, meaning, and function (2-3).

Culture and religion in particular have always been decisive factors in home design even at the dawn of humanity and before urbanity. Rapoport draws attention to this fact, indicating that religious beliefs preceded and accompanied home foundation, erection, and occupation ("House" 46). However, the roles of religion and culture in forming human habitation in different cultures have diminished for two main reasons, represented first, in the secular material orientation of Western civilization and its wide-spread influence, and second in standardization of human needs which based on material understanding of these need, and finally, colonial domination. As a result, globalization and mass-culture phenomenon claims universal dimensions for definite perspective of the diverse human needs and values. This perspective was propagated to substitute influence of culture on architectural under mottoes of functionalism, internationalism, and modern architecture. The negative ramifications of this orientation were sensed by Lawrence Roderick, who notes in the course of his quest for a housing theory of design that "generalizations have often been made about the influence of different kinds of houses on the occurrence of social pathologies, without analyzing group and individual differences." These differences delineate mainly cultural and religious values (145). Chermayeff and Alexander refer to the role of mass culture in standardizing human needs for privacy, which resulted in ignoring their diverse and specific needs. Therefore, they call for original and immediate expression of privacy, away from the influence of corporate, uniform, and 'international' culture. They affirm that "Only through the restored opportunity for firsthand experience that privacy gives can health and sanity be brought back to the world of the mass culture" (38).

Roderick stresses, in particular, the importance of studying privacy within the specific context of cultures, by saying that "Beyond cultural customs and norms, including the design and use of domestic architecture, the definition and regulation of privacy ought to be examined in terms of specific social relations and interpersonal contact between members of the same household, kith and kin" (165). Rapoport, in turn, also underlines the fact that different people have different attitudes and ideals for their physical milieu, and that these responses are dynamic because of the differences in the interplay of social, cultural, ritual, economic, and physical factors ("House" 46). Additionally, he sees that adaptations do not happen only because of their attainability, but choices for change are active processes which "are made through the taboos, customs, and traditional ways of the culture." In fact, when a home is designed by its inhabitants, the possibilities for physical arrangement of its spaces are merely governed by the

cultural matrix of the dwellers. Domestic functions are a product of culture and vary in nature and in the way they are accommodated. Accordingly, home is not result of uniform material forces, but rather of a broad range of socio-cultural factors representing "primary" forces, whereas all other factors become "secondary or modifying" forces ("House" 47).

Rapoport explains the factors which constitute home, and tries to find a balance between the notions of physical determinism, which stand for uniform intentions (designs), and nonphysical determinism which considers culture as an intrinsic component of design. He reaches the conviction that "dwelling has symbolic and cosmological aspects, that it is more than a device for maintaining the equilibrium of the metabolism" ("House" 40). On the account of domestic behavior, Goffman believes that there are written and unwritten laws defining the limits of behavior in various living domains prohibiting some behaviors and allowing others ("Behavior" 56-59). Rapoport attributes these behavioral formulas to inhabitants' worldview, religion, and cosmology, in which "culture is linked to the way people use space" ("House" 69-70). Altman in his book The Environment and Social Behavior acknowledges that "cultures differ widely in behavior reflecting privacy" (12). Hall in his book The Hidden Dimension denotes the fact that a space may be very well designed from an anthropometric viewpoint, but still be deemed "uncomfortable" because of differences in cultural conceptions of territoriality and privacy (qtd. Lang 145). In another publication, Altman and Chemers see that the role of culture is exemplified in cosmology, religion, family, and social structures in house form ("Culture" 169)<sup>4</sup>. Rene Dubos denotes that within the numerous geographic and economic constraints, the psychological, biological, and physical composition of human as well as building materials and knowledge of construction have given humans unlimited choices to reflect ones' symbols and culture (7). Lang acknowledges the different privacy needs in different cultures where some people accept almost any relationship between living, cooking, eating, and sleeping areas of house, while in others the location of doors counts fundamentally because of cultural privacy reasons (155).

The socio-cultural dimensions of privacy gain extreme importance in a multi-cultural community such as Canada. The notion of privacy either on the personal or collective level is a dynamic process, regulating the exchange of information between more than one party. In fact, privacy in its social dimension takes the form of mutual agreement among individuals belonging to a family or social group. Both individuals and groups delineate boundaries of social interaction in form of behavioral code as well as architectural and urban articulations. Accordingly, privacy principles in their material and behavioral manifestations define levels of social interaction and map the boundaries

among the members of the society. Societies which embody variant cultural groups manifest diverse privacy conceptions and practices. This can result of conflict of privacy expressions whether they are material (architecture) or cultural (behavior). This lack of congruent understanding of privacy among social groups affects its both environmental and behavioral levels through the process of adaptation. At the same time, this incongruity may force each party to take increasingly individual privacy measures, rather than relying on mutual and collective regulations to ensure privacy, particularly for more vulnerable parties. This condition is particularly true for immigrant communities whose privacy concepts may differ from those of the mainstream society. In conclusion, culture and religion are indispensable dimensions of the living environment and bringing into question the responsiveness of the home to the culturally-specific needs of its inhabitants. Additionally, privacy differs in its requirements and applications in various cultures. This raises the question of adaptability and incompatibility, when people live in an eccentric environment which does not correspond to their cultural needs, for privacy as in the case of the Shaamy community in this study.

### **1.11. Home as an embodiment of privacy**

Based on culture, privacy could be the decisive element in many aspects of life in a society, and could have minor role in others. However, all people unconsciously express this need through the desire to have their own homes and live among their own families where intimacy and privacy are not contradictory. Chermayeff and Alexander indicate the inherent affiliation between privacy and home, stating that "Privacy is most urgently needed and most critical in the place where people live... The dwelling is the little environment into which all the stresses and strains of the large world are intruding, in one way or another ever more deeper" (38). At home, people tend to have their true and natural pattern of behavior and expressions off-stage and away from display. They are disposed to keep their secrets away from others. Additionally, home is the most important medium for nourishing identity, self-respect, and self-observation. As a result, home becomes the place where privacy, possession, identity, independence, intimacy, individuality, security, and secrecy are celebrated. Rapoport in House Form and Culture hints at the multi-dimensional meaning of home, where private social activities become part of its definition. "If provision of shelter is the passive function of the house, then its positive purpose is the creation of an environment best suited to the way of life of a people... in other word, a social unite of space" (46).

Home on the one hand provides a physically controlled environment, mainly through spatial arrangement implemented by architectural elements and behavioral

mechanisms regulate human interactions on different levels (Westin 7). Privacy on the other hand is the essence of domestic social activities and when lost, home loses the most significant part of its meaning. In this sense, the need for seclusion and intimacy give the real meaning of home. In this context, behavior which is directed towards particular people, or activities which focus on issues of no public concern, in the doer's perception at least, establishes ground for privacy. In his article "Human and Psychological Reactions". Amos Rapoport explores expressively the motives for privacy. In his view, domestic privacy frees people from being observed, heard, and consequently judged by others. This kind of freedom removes the pressure people experience when in public (95-97). This idea is based on the fact that people tend to have a certain image of themselves in public. This image may differ from what people commonly are. Additionally, people do not always communicate with all people at the same level. Therefore, the need to establish space to accommodate these differences gives birth to different patterns of private spaces. Moreover, activities, interests, and backgrounds of people define the level of familiarity, intimacy, seclusion, or privacy at which people communicate.

Clare Copper studied and modified an inventory of basic human need based on human motivations introduced by Maslow. Copper's list suggests a hierarchy for what a dwelling is needed for. In the primary level, Cooper acknowledges psychological needs including homeostasis and sexual behavior. In the secondary level he includes three sub-levels, including safety, freedom, security, structure, limits, belongingness and many other privacy-related needs (Lawrence 159). In another hierarchical order of omnipresent human needs, he propounds the following order starting with shelter, security, comfort, socialization, self-expression, and aesthetics. This list shows that privacy is included in most basic human needs for home. In fact, identifying privacy as 'organizing access to the self, implies on material level that the need for shelter is in the first place an acquisition of privacy against nature. Similarly, the need for aesthetic expressions for home finds its root in identity and culture which are also part of privacy acquisition. Finally, comfort, socialization, and self-expression are also guided by the need for regulated behavior and preserves privacy among the group.

### **1.12. Conceptualization of privacy**

The word privacy has a compound meaning, holding many connotations while the word does not have synonyms distinguish some of its facets. Explaining privacy through definitions also has ambiguity reflected in numerous definition of the word in literature and in people's minds. This diversity was reflected in the results of a survey done by Anthony Worsley and Richard Finighan, in which ordinary people defined domestic

privacy. The responses comprised a wide spectrum of identifications describing privacy as: freedom, intimacy, solitude, territoriality, property, and physical, visual, and acoustical protection against infringement. Therefore, in order to better understand privacy, it is essential to anatomize its subordinate components. Defining these constituents is a key to comprehending the profound and complex connotations of this enigmatic notion. The following concepts are derived from Webster's Dictionary in the context of privacy:

**Freedom:** The state of not being subjected to determining forces influence the liberty in acting and choosing giving immunity to undesirable states of being. It should be noted, however, that freedom is confined with the boundaries of cultural laws and the civil code of the society.

**Intimacy:** Means differentiating a relationship in terms the nature of overall interactions based on higher mutual familiarity, worth, and eminence.

**Independence:** Is to have autonomy and sovereignty over oneself or one's possessions. It also means being self-governed, self-supporting and unconnected or committed to external element. The architectural connotation of this concept implies control over property, particularly physically, visually, and acoustically.

**Individuality:** Means existing as a complete and separate entity. Relating to, used by, or intended for only one person or thing.

**Security:** Being protected, shielded, or safe, physically and psychologically, from danger, anxiety, and espionage by maintaining physical or behavioral boundaries with others.

**Secrecy:** The need to sequester, quarantine, and behave in reticence from others, and to seclude certain issues from public.

Direct dictionary sources offer no clearer definition of the word. The Merriam-Webster Collegiate Dictionary identifies privacy as "the quality or state of being hidden from, or undisturbed by the observation or activities of other persons." It is also referred to as "the freedom from undesirable intrusions." Whereas "private" means "belonging to a particular person or group and not shared with others in any way." The Oxford English Dictionary (1989) defines privacy as "the state or condition of being alone, undisturbed, or free from public attention, as a matter of choice or right, freedom from interference or intrusion." All these definitions fit only partial criteria of privacy, ignoring many cultural, psychological, social, religious, moral, and legal facets to privacy. Amos Rapoport in his book Human Aspects of Urban Form expresses a similar meaning in his definition where

privacy revolves around choice and control. He defines this term as "the ability to control interactions, to have options, and to achieve desired interactions" (12).

It is important to note, however, that privacy is a highly cultural issue. Therefore, its definition depends on the context of the culture in which it is identified. Thus, it is difficult to give a universal definition of privacy, despite the commonalities in some of its conceptual elements and the shared sub-definitions among many cultures. Nevertheless, Westin, as a professor of Public Law and Government, tried to find a comprehensive, 'scientific', and culturally 'neutral' definition that fits most people. He identifies privacy as "the claim of individuals, groups, or institutions to determine for themselves when, how, and to what extent information about them is communicated to others. Viewed in terms of the relation of the individual to social participation, privacy is the voluntary and temporary withdrawal of a person from the general society through physical or psychological means" (7) However, he was, naturally, captive to his own cultural perspective and epistemological views and gave unavoidably culturally driven definition of privacy. Differently from lexiconic and standard definitions of the word, privacy may not mean passive withdrawal or concealment, but rather a regulatory mechanism that provides dynamic boundaries for positive interaction. Moreover, based on a concept of freedom in society, privacy norms may not be for the most part self-defined by individuals or groups, but rather, by the society, tradition, or religion which may hold the legislative right to define guidelines for the interactive boundaries between group members. In Islamic culture, for instance, where individuality is respected, but not inseparable from collectivity, privacy laws have claims on individuals' freedom, even when no harm for others is involved. Lawrence in his book Housing, Dwellings and Homes partially recognizes the multi-party authority over privacy, including the right of the public, represented by the state to define privacy practices, however, only among the group' (16).

Ferdinand Schoeman in his exploration of The Philosophical Dimension of Privacy, adopts a negative interpretation of privacy, identifying it as culturally conditioned sensitivity which makes people vulnerable to selective disclosure and to the sense of abject shame ("Philosophical" 1). However, he acknowledges the majority opinion of philosophers on privacy, which is to consider it a key component of human dignity, and rank it even higher than the right of property. Arnold Simmel in his article "Privacy is not an Isolated Freedom", holds a rather positive perspective of privacy. He suggests that privacy as a value cannot be found in isolation, but as part and parcel of the system of values that regulates actions in society ("Privacy" 71). He emphasizes the intimate relationship of privacy to the whole structure of human interaction, values, and nature.

Moreover, he considers that "we live in a continual competition with society over the ownership of ourselves" which society usually lays claim to. Hence, to resolve this conflict, privacy balances the centrifugal and centripetal forces between the individual and society. As a result of this equilibrium, individuals and groups gain affirmation of their selves through consensual validation, which contributes to self-esteem and conflictual validation, which reinforces self-regard (73-74).

Lang also suggests interchangeable understanding of privacy, and stresses certain aspects of social interactions, particularly the "ability of individuals and groups to control their visual, auditory, and olfactory interactions with others" (145). Erik H. Erikson accentuates the meteoric nature of privacy. He sees it as a dynamic process which varies along with time change. Thus, he explains the different stages in human life according to which people acquire varied levels of privacy. This variation can be translated into spatial relations with home environment (5-10). Eltayeb conceives privacy in general terms as a control of information flow, including control over personal information, intimacies of personal identity, and sensory access to oneself (63-66). While Ittelson, Proshansky, and Rivlin perceived privacy through territoriality, which enables control over individual and group activities leading maximal behavioral options and freedom of choice (181). Robertson perceives privacy as screen that separates the stage from the spectators, despite the fact that it represents commonly shared conceptions of various aspects of life among many people. However, these conceptions are most immediately identified with the self of every person and could not exist under the structures of formal roles (425). Other scholars of the field such as Jeffrey Reinman define privacy from socio-moral and psychological points of view, regarding privacy as a social ritual by which individuals' moral title is given (207-208).

Julie C. Inness in her book Privacy, Intimacy, and Isolation tried to define privacy by analyzing intimate activities and the resultant need for privacy. Since privacy is acquired to protect individual or communal intimacy, she concluded that privacy is the laying of restriction on sharing intimate information or conditions with people who belong to lower levels of intimacy. These finding emphasized the relativity of intimacy, and consequently the relativity of privacy (76-78). Charles Fried rather connotes privacy as an absence of information about us in the minds of others managed by a control mechanism (475). Whereas, Robert F. Murphy indicates that privacy and withdrawal of the social person is a frequent quality in everyday social life. Expressing the dialectic quality of privacy, he sees that withholding oneself while communicating, and communicating without withdrawal, is not a contradictory but a true reflection of the quality of social interaction. This interpretation of privacy reminds with the aphoristic

concept of social distance, which pervades in different extents all social relationships ("Philosophical" 51). Throughout his research, Eltayeb understands privacy in terms of the physical environment which he sees as a form of communication as well as a medium for facilitating and controlling communication and interaction.

Altman, who wrote extensively about privacy, defines it in his book The Environment and Social Behavior as "a central regulatory process by which a person (or group) makes himself more or less accessible and open to others, and that personal space and territorial behavior are mechanisms that are set in motion to achieve a desired level of privacy." (3) He understands privacy as interpersonal "boundary-control" or an interaction regulatory process, by which a person or social unit (including families, age, and sex groups) regulate interaction with others through mechanisms or controllers of varied kinds are used to open or close off contact (boundaries) with outside environment. He considers privacy a dynamic process involving selective control over a self-boundary, driven by a subjective desire for certain level of interaction which is based on past and momentary experiences. Privacy levels as such alternate between open/closed and accessible/inaccessible, in an interactive manner. As a result, privacy becomes an optimizing process distinguishes two levels of privacy "desired" which is the ideal and "achieved" which is attainable. Too little or too much privacy are undesirable, and depend on an intricate set of environmental and personal variables. When privacy is less than desired, a state of invasion arises. When achieved privacy is more than desired, a state of isolation arises. Privacy becomes optimal when achieved privacy matches the desired level for a given situation (6-11).

This is differently from the traditional view of privacy as "shutting off of the self from others," or the negative concept of increased susceptibility and vulnerability. Privacy functions as a bi-directional process embodies an input from the external environment and people, and an output from the self whether it represents individual or group. ("The Environment" 27). Accordingly, privacy connotes restoring the balance between the input and output exchange process with others. Altman understands privacy as a dialectic process, involving restricting and acquiring interaction or as "an interplay of opposing forces." This concept is affirmed by Simmel in his article "Privacy is not an Isolated Freedom" where he mention that "We become what we are not only by establishing boundaries around ourselves but also by a periodic opening of these boundaries to nourishment, to learning, and to intimacy" ("Privacy" 81). As result, privacy oscillates between retreat and interaction, to provide seclusion and communication. Altman emphasizes this fundamental idea by saying that "privacy is not

solely a "keep-out" or "let-in" process, it involves a synthesis of being in contact with others, and being out of contact with others" ("The Environment" 23).

Finally, privacy represents socio-environmental concept which regulates interaction and limits information filtration from one side to another. It can also be understood as a way to differentiate different levels and kinds of intimacies. Moreover, it enables selective control of access to the self or one's group, providing emotional, intellectual, and physical space for thinking, working, and relaxing. Within this conceptual framework, dwelling becomes the boundaries for family living environment which define what is public and what is private.

### **1.12.1. Individual and collective concepts of privacy**

The unsuitability of the Montreal living environment to the privacy needs of the Shaamy community is not a casual result of alternative privacy mechanisms, priorities, or preferences, but concerns the fundamental differences in privacy definition between the Shaamy community and the mainstream society. The privacy idea in mainstream society is based on the priority of personal freedom and individualism. Therefore, it always conflicts with the limits of collective privacy and argues for responsibility for indirect influences of personal behavior on others. The communal perspective of privacy, which represents Shaamy community conception of privacy, raises the collective freedom and interests of the society as a whole, including families, over the unlimited personal freedom of individuals. As result, individuals are responsible for respecting societal rights (in the form of religious teachings) even in the range of their personal freedom, even when it does not interfere with others privacy. This is because of the emphasis on their being part of the society, and also because of individual accountability towards God for what is private or public. Consequently, personal and collective freedom becomes amalgamated. This concept of privacy reduces conflicts and maintains organization and harmony in social interaction. Moore explained the western concept of privacy, which is based on individual consciences and moral autonomy which go back to Greek culture. He denotes that Western culture has departed since the fourth century from the idea of collective responsibility to adopt an individual one. Differently from the determinists' conception, in which choice is an area of human behavior subject to religious moral code, secular moral autonomy "denotes (an) individual's capacity to make independent moral choices" (148-149).

### **1.12.2. Dimensions of privacy**

Privacy has many dimensions that can be found in cultural and environmental frameworks. The first embodies religion, customs, social class, and economic group. The second comprises physical environment, including spatial arrangements, housing pattern, and physical mechanisms of privacy. The latter physical elements are in turn indirect products of culture, and have great impact on privacy, particularly in the context of the Shaamy community who live in homes that are alien to their native culture. The significant impact of design on privacy was confirmed by a study done by Arza Churchman and Gilbert Herbert, on the impact of dwelling layouts on privacy in domestic spaces. The results show that physical access, visual privacy, and noise protection influenced by home plan are the key aspects which influence most of the privacy of the inhabitants (20-27). Laufer, Proshansky, and Wolfe identify in a theoretical framework nine dimensions of privacy. (1) Self-ego, which is represented in the need for autonomy and individuality; (2) interaction, which is regulated by privacy controllers; (3) dynamism, which reflects changing privacy needs throughout the life-cycle; (4) history, which is influenced by personality and culture; (5) control, which is manifested in freedom of choice including limiting or stimulating interaction; (6) eco-cultural, which defines cultural ways to control material environment; (7) task, which refers to habitual private actions; (8) ritual which embodies actions of cultural meaning; (9) phenomenological, which portrays unique psychological experiences (qtd. "The Environment" 20-21).

### **1.12.3. Taxonomy of privacy**

Privacy types are represented in two major criteria: behavioral contrivances and environmental artifices. Accordingly, Irwin Altman identifies two degrees or levels of privacy. The first embodies three types of privacy, represented in verbal actions such as speech, including paraverbal behavior which is reflected in inflection, tone, culturally cognitive sounds, and effects which function as cues for privacy. The second level is non-verbal vehicles, which include body language. The third is environmental behavior, which concerns our study most and includes four main mechanisms. The first is clothing and adornment, which marks the first layer of privacy boundaries. This device not only provides control over physical and visual privacy but also reflects status, portrays boundaries, conveys cultural conceptions and attitudes, and, more importantly, signals "approachability." The second mechanism is personal spacing, represented in the immediate area and orientation which surround a person or group. This artifice represents the subsequent layer of the self, and forms invisible boundaries or an aura around a

person or a group which distances them from others. This personal distance, according to Edward Hall's classification, has four ranges, intimate distance, personal distance, social distance, and public zone. The third environmental mechanism is territorial attitudes and actions, which manifest themselves in space personalization, ownership, defense, and exertion of control over objects and geographic space. The fourth is cultural mechanisms, which comprise privacy-related customs, social codes and behavioral patterns. These levels of environmental mechanisms function first, as a coherent system which embodies the simultaneous use of more than one technique, in order to achieve the desired level of privacy. Secondly, these devices function in a dynamic way in response to environmental variables including situation at hand, time, and personal responses. Moreover, there is a reciprocal relationship between physical environment and privacy behavioral mechanisms. While culture and behavior shape the physical environment, the latter element affects domestic behavior and cultural practices ("The Environment" 4-32). These classifications however, do not emphasize the pragmatic course of this study, which presents different classifications which fit the limits and objectives of this study. '

Eltayeb in his study Culture, Architecture and the Urban form thinks of privacy patterns as a means of for controlling social interaction. He calls the 'reserve psychological controller', which implies ignoring privacy irritations through internal withdrawal and turning oneself off against surroundings, last line of defense. Another controller he identifies is cultural rules, which function as privacy mechanisms in the form of religious beliefs, instructions, customs, habits, dress, lifestyle, and verbal and nonverbal patterns of interaction. Another privacy controller is the symbolic mechanisms of status, objects, architectural treatments, dress, personalization of territorial space, signs or furniture organization, which signal certain desired levels of privacy to others. Another privacy contrivance is temporal rhythms. It denotes avoiding coexistence with others in a place by being out of their time frame. This stratagem can be implemented through structuring activities based on time scheduling. This method helps establish jurisdiction zones based on time use. The fifth controller is spatial ordering, which includes spatial organization of the original home design and reconfiguration of domestic spaces based on social behavior of the inhabitants and their privacy needs. Finally, physical barriers which block and orient movement away from undesired domains or spaces (70-83). The final two mechanisms were strongly advocated by Chermayeff and Alexander, who reintroduced the idea of spatial hierarchical order as well as the "lock and barrier" concept. Lock is a "secondary transition between two major zones" and barrier connotes things such as walls and doors which separate domains and distinguish functions. Moreover, they believe that these "joints between domains are themselves physical

elements of no less importance (than the domains...they) give the plan its hierarchical structure" (203). These two mechanisms represent social, visual, acoustic, and climatic privacy controllers (233). The important role of these two mechanisms, which help in defining space explicitly, was acknowledged by Hillier, who states the fact that when boundaries are clearly formalized, movement and behavior confine themselves to them (22).

Chermayeff and Alexander in their book Community and Privacy, identify three main interconnected levels of privacy: personal, familial, and societal. These interactive levels of privacy converge in spatial domains of the home. Therefore, the need for regulating the relation among these levels is acute in home spaces. This organization can be achieved through privacy-controlling mechanisms (143). Familial privacy is characterized by an inherent tendency to demarcate family spaces as one cell. This cell contains subordinate functional domains that provide various level of privacy in the social interaction among family members and with the outsiders. Home is an organism considered as a whole in itself, versus the external environment, however, it has its own compartments and unites. Family home forms a basic privacy unit which functions as an intermediary between individual and society. It should be noted here that these three levels of privacy are drastically interrelated in Islamic culture and in Shaamy tradition in particular, as a result of the collective approach to privacy and the influence of religion.

Moreover, Chermayeff and Alexander read the tendency in human nature and the history of housing to have internal compartments or domains provide internal privacy for family members based on function, age, and sex. They believe that "The functional zoning of the house depends on proper separation of the socially defined realms." In order to construct these domains, they insist that "Walls and locks must separate the adults with their privacy from the children with theirs, and must separate both from the family community zone where mixing may take place under favorable conditions" (208). Chermayeff and Alexander acknowledge separation of domains based on not only age and function but also on sex as culturally-general characteristics of home. They see such differentiation indispensable for self-actualization, and real privacy as "The integrity of domestic domains, which is to encourage concentration, contemplation, and self-reliance rather than inhibit them, must begin by respecting differences in age, sex, and interest." (204) This line of thinking meets closely with the Islamic concept for hierarchical order of domestic domains. In fact, the most marked privacy determinant in the home could be gender. Inherently, men and women, embody physical and psychological differences, behave distinctively, and acquire higher level of privacy in the presence of each other as an expression of identity and independence. Whereas among themselves, they tend to

emphasize physical and mental similarity as a base for higher level of interaction. Thus, women and men use physical, psychological, and behavioral familiarity and differences as a base for establishing a hierarchy of privacy among themselves.

Westin in Privacy and Freedom distinguishes four general types of privacy: solitude, which can be identified as not being seen by others; intimacy, which translates into seclusion of close relationships away from external environment; anonymity, which exemplifies the state of not being known among a group of people; and reserve, which includes active psychological effort to block the undesired intrusion ("Privacy" 32). Lang in turn identifies the same degrees of privacy identified by Westin, and he bases their acquisition on three main factors which are: standing pattern of behavior, cultural context, and personality and aspiration (146). In *Politics of Privacy* the authors identify two categories of privacy which are aesthetic and strategic. The first means that restricting information is an end in itself to avoid embarrassment or distress. Whereas the second means rather controlling information flows in order to pursue different level of interaction ("Rule" 22). Finally, privacy patterns were identified in two ways, its ranges and characteristics on the one hand and its controlling mechanisms on the other. Both of these interrelated classifications serve to define its degrees and limits of social behavior, and consequently clarify the extent of privacy boundaries in the domestic environment.

#### **1.12.4. The purpose of privacy**

Many argue that privacy could not be a compelling need like food or drink, however, in some cultures it holds the same importance. Westin outlines four main goals behind the concept of privacy and its practices. First, it secures personal autonomy which helps define personal boundaries in relation to others, which constitutes the underpinnings for self-identity, worth, and independence. Second, privacy permits the release of emotions away from the society's rules, customs, and eyes-view. Third, it helps perform self-valuation through reflecting on past experiences and planning away from external influences. Finally, privacy assists in confining, blocking, or protecting communications with others and securing confidentiality. Barrington Moore Jr. examines the purpose of privacy, and how compelling the need for it is. He concludes that people seek privacy when human interaction becomes "overly demanding and oppressive." He elaborates, stating that "Behind the desire to escape from oppressive companionship or to evade a threatening obligation we can generally discern a resentment against intrusion and the threat of offensive exposure." He approaches the issue from a rather negative point of view, seeing the reasons for demanding privacy as either a need to escape obligations or to hide certain feelings in the presence of others, particularly in two cases:

when "one feels exposed or threatened in unwelcome intimacy" or in the case of unpleasant social obligations. He concludes that the basic element in the violation of privacy is intrusion, which privacy in turn, aims to protect. Measuring on basic biological functions, he further relates the need for privacy to the desire to remain undisturbed, particularly in situations of concentration, relief, and intimate expression. (72-73)

Westin and Altman define three objectives or functions of privacy regulations. The first is control and management of interpersonal and group interaction including the ability to define and defend one's own privacy boundaries as well as defining the contact limits of others. The second is development of interpersonal plans, roles, and strategies through evaluating situations and assessing oneself in relation to others. This function produces an "interface" of the self and defines its position in dealing with the society. The third encompasses characteristics of self-identity, self-definition, integrity, and independence, which can be achieved through self-observation, self-evaluation and rethinking personal behavior (39). This internal or off-stage cognitive, psychological, and emotional redefinition process enables people to know themselves and develop individual and group self-identity ("The Environment" 12). Altman goes on to conclude that "privacy mechanisms define the limits and boundaries of the self. When the permeability of these boundaries is under the control of a person, a sense of individuality develops. But it is not the inclusion or exclusion of others that is vital to self-definition; it is the ability to regulate contact when desired" ("The Environment" 49-50)

Edward Bloustein, whose opinion is shared by other scholars in the field, argues that our need for privacy stems from the values at stake in privacy violation: noble, coherent, and fundamental human values (187). Richard Posner, in turn, substantiates that we wish to conceal our personalities or some of our practices because of the specific images we always like to project of ourselves (334-335). Eltayeb observes that the economy of time and energy defeat the possibility of being on intimate terms with a large number of people which can cause information overload. As a result, people tend to pursue privacy (66). Moreover, he believes that privacy controllers or circuit breakers prevent social and psychological overloads, and provide occasions for intimate relaxation away from social pressure. These controllers can take the moral forms, such as modesty, controlling visibility, and exposure. In conclusion, privacy is a multi-facet phenomenon, and is sought for a variety of reasons, depending on a complex interface of variables involving culture, religion, and the particular situation. Privacy is often pursued for more than one reason. The combination of these reasons has great bearing on the manner in which privacy mechanisms operate.

### **1.13. Territoriality**

The concept of territoriality has been studied in animals by numerous scholars, such as Park, Burgess, and McKenzie, as early as 1925. In later years, it was examined in humans by Whyte in 1943, Yablonsky in 1962, Goffman in 1963, and Sommer 1966, among others, in trials to determine a correlation in territorial behavior between animals and humans. Territoriality is a complex process which varies based on the factors of time, human experience, and situational elements. Territorial behavior helps to regulate social interaction and territorial boundaries resulting in the avoidance of conflict and miscommunication. Leon Pastalan was among the first to identify the concept of territory which he states as "a delimited space that a person or a group uses and defends as an exclusive preserve. It involves psychological identification with a place, symbolized by attitudes of possessiveness and arrangements of objects in the area" (qtd. Lang 148). Julian J. Edney, defines territoriality as the social behavior and characteristic use of space which grants the physical milieu its distinction and identity. Hence, for him "territoriality can be characterized as a set of behaviors which a person (or persons) displays in relation to a physical environment that he terms as "his" and that he (or he with others) uses more-or-less exclusively over a period of time" (284). Irwin Altman perceives territoriality as mechanism for attaining privacy. Thus, he identifies territorial behavior as "self-other boundary regulation mechanism" (qtd. in Lang 148). Altman tried to establish a comprehensive identification for territorial behavior defined as "a self/other boundary-regulation mechanism that involves personalization of or marking of a place or object and communicating that it is "owned" by a person or group. Personalization and ownership are designed to regulate social interaction and to help satisfy various social and physical motives. Defense responses may sometimes occur when territorial boundaries are violated" ("The Environment" 107). This definition highlights distinctive characteristics of territoriality such as function, spatial needs such as location and size of the area, the pattern of use, durational mode, and response repertoires of marking the territory.

Altman divides human territory into three expanding or radiating ranges, concentrated at the center and diffusing at the periphery of the hierarchy of territories. The first category is primary territory, usually owned and used exclusively by its well-defined and recognized occupants on daily or permanent basis for central activities. This territory serves as a highly controlled privacy regulation mechanism, where permission is required to exceed its boundaries, for instance, and the violation of this territory constitutes a serious affront to occupants' self-identity ("The Environment" 112). The second category is secondary territory which is less exclusive, less central, and relatively permeable. Lyman and Scott identify two sub-categories for this territory: home and

interactional territories, the former describing private domains and the latter social or semi-public areas where the public has access, but controlled existence (235-236). The third category is public territory, which permits access and occupancy of anyone on a temporary basis. It does not, however, permit freedom of action. "These territories are officially open to all, but certain images and expectations of appropriate behavior...modify freedom" (237). This space pattern enables only precarious control over self/other boundaries. People, therefore, depend heavily on societal and institutional norms and customs rather users' rules ("The Environment" 120).

An additional category named 'jurisdiction territory' was identified by Roos in an article of the same name. Jurisdiction territory does not involve permanent ownership, but temporary access rights for limited time and specific reasons. Examples of this territory are streets, parks, and public washrooms. In his book Relation in Public, Goffman identifies different kinds of public territories such as 'stall': temporarily claimed public areas such as telephone booths or tennis courts, and 'use space': representing areas surrounding the user(s) of public spaces recognized as temporarily under their control. El-Sharkawy proposes an alternative dimensional identification of the hierarchy of human territorial areas. The first range, attached territory, refers to personal space, or the aura. The second is central territory, immediate living space such as home, room, and workplace, which are usually highly personalized and defended. Supporting territory, the third category, represents semi-private or semi-public areas such as the front yards of private homes. The final is peripheral territory, which denotes public space such as the sidewalk. Lang, however, expresses the flexible nature of these domains, pointing out that the manner in which the environment is set out shapes people's spatial perceptions and considered "highly culture-specific" (150). Seba and Churchman, in an experimental survey, examine dwelling territories, dividing domestic space into four categories: individual, denoting areas of exclusive personal use; shared, representing areas of more than one use; public, signifying entire family spaces; and jurisdictions, public areas for custom use, such as the kitchen for the mother (198). The separation of these spaces and their clear definition is an inherent necessity for the proper use of these spaces. Lang explains this principle, stating that "social interactions occur more easily when people's social needs are balanced by the sense of individual autonomy that comes with privacy. Ambiguous spaces, those that are neither public nor private, tend to mitigate against interactions, since the individual is less able to control the interaction on his or her own terms" (60). As a result, explicit hierarchy of the organization of these spaces is also indispensable in avoiding territorial, and consequently privacy, encroachment in these domains."

### **1.13.1. The functions of territoriality**

Edney concluded in his experiments and studies of territoriality that it aids in stabilizing and regulating peoples' roles at individual, group, and community levels (Lawrence 149). Other scholars, such as Lang, tried to identify the basic characteristics or functions of territoriality. He found that territoriality involves a temporary or permanent ownership of a geographic area, of a certain location and size; personalizing space to make it one's own; the right to defend that space against intruders; the control of the area's boundaries; and psychological satisfaction as result of fulfilling cognitive and aesthetic needs. Lang, identifies four major functions of territory among all other functions represented in (1) identity, resulting from possession; (2) stimulation of self-fulfillment and self-actualization; (3) security from external pressure; (4) frame of reference in relation to fellow humans and the surrounding environment ("Creating" 148). Altman, to his credit, adds to the previous classification the need for vital function for territorial space. Ardrey identifies three purposes for territoriality: stimulation of boundary control and privacy, security through the cognitive recognition of territorial rights by society, and identity, represented in the possession and control over defined area ("The Environment" 138). Edney and Buda, among others, relate territoriality to a set of key issues such as social hierarchy, control, physical characteristics of the space, time, personality. In his book Personal Space: The Behavioral Bases of Design, Robert Sommer emphasizes the purpose of protection which he derived from the fact that people use a varied repertoire of defense techniques to protect the boundaries of their territory (43).

### **1.13.2. Territorial infringement**

Despite the fact that homes are the bastions of privacy, Sebba and Churchman's study indicates that homes are where privacy invasion occur most ("Territories" 191-193). Territorial intrusion involves the crossing of a self or group privacy boundary. In their article entitled "Territoriality," Lyman and Scott establish a typology for territorial transgression as follows: violation, temporary or permanent unauthorized use or entry into a territory identified by cultural norms (mostly secondary territory). This type of infringement is irritating, annoying, and can lead to substantial conflicts. Invasion involves meteoric or incessant transpassing or occupation of private territory or interruption of activities held in it. This pattern is particular to primary territory such as a private home (39-42). The consequences of this type of infringement is intolerable "since primary territories are central to a person's or a group's life and are expected to be under their total control" ("The Environment" 121). In his book Relations in public, Goffman

identifies this type of infringement as obtrusiveness. This encroachment is vital in understanding several privacy aspects in the homes of Shaamy community. Obtrusiveness signifies excessive territorial claim of a behavior authorized in social norms. Examples of this include speaking loudly in public or using one's territory in such a way that might harm others, like laying naked on ones own front yard.

Another pattern of infringement identified by many scholars is called contamination, in which a territory is rendered physically impure. The concept can be projected on immaterial connotations of contamination involving, for instance, repulsive behavior or use of a space. Modalities of encroachment also identified by Goffman involve unwanted physical or nonphysical contact with others' bodies or property. Examples of this are gazing at or watching people. Patterns of reaction to these types of infringements depend on whether they affect privacy in primary, secondary, or public territory. Responses to violation, obtrusiveness, or modality encroachments involves using "adjective mechanisms" (The Environment 121), including modifying, remanaging, and sometimes reconfiguring the privacy boundary system. Responses may also require applying privacy controllers such as heightening backyard fences or closing windows, for instance. However, invasion of primary territory could result in serious reactions. In most cases, extra emphasis on territorial physical demarcation and symbols which communicate the right to a territory and stress the existence of boundaries are usually used to restore space interaction order.

### **1.13.3. Domestic domains and the hierarchy of space**

Schoeman identifies private domain as the area which is marked off by aspects of life that do not affect the significant interests of others. Private and public domains existed in Western architecture in the ancient Greek polis. These domains had distinctive functions and portrayed gender and functional separation. In Greek homes, similar to the functional arrangement of ancient traditional and some contemporary Shaamy homes, "public realm, except for some activities was a male realm; the private realm belonged to both sexes, but was largely subject to female management" (Moore 133). Rapoport, in turn, remarks on the separation of external and internal realms through the enclosure of inward looking homes, characteristic at traditional Islamic home. "The desire for privacy may also take forms related to the separation of domains...where buildings traditionally face inwards (very differently from the outward facing Anglo-American house), and seem independent of the climatic zone or site..." ("House" 66). In turn, Hall states that even in the typical American and English home there are differences between the domains of men and women (133). This separation exists more silently between public blasphemous and

sacred private realms, demarcated by the threshold. The way in which these domains are interrelated is considered in terms of behavioral variables and architectural features namely "transition spaces that simultaneously link and separate different spatial areas" (Lawrence 145). Lawrence analysis of liaison and separation between domestic spaces in homes shows that the spatial privacy gradient structure goes from the most public, accessible, and exposed room located nearest the entrance hall to the most private, unseen, non-accessible, and far away from the front door (Housing 170).

Lang examines out the influence of architectural design on the perception of territoriality and the use of domestic spaces. He refers to this fact, stating that "The way in which buildings and the spaces between them are designed affects people's perceptions of who should be in control of them" (156). Establishing this fact, Chermayeff and Alexander emphasize the need for variant levels of privacy through hierarchy of enclosed domains or spaces. They stress the need for physical mechanisms to formulate these realms. In accordance with this, they state that "The integrity of each space, the preservation of its special, carefully specified environmental characteristics, depends on the physical elements that provide separation, insulation, access, and controlled transfer between domains" (203). To achieve this separation they introduce the idea of locks and barriers "The lock is virtually a passage: a secondary transition between two major zones...is as important as any other zone of activity" (206). The functions of these physical mechanisms is to maintain permanent separation of spaces to insure constant privacy, distinct identity, and territorial character for these spaces so that the integrity of even adjoining domains is preserved at all times, in spite of traffic between them (Chermayeff and Alexander 233). As a result, these domains built in different forms to host diverse functions, form hierarchies of organization that are intricately and intimately interwoven to give a home its ultimate privacy. However, in many of typical homes in North America the physical boundary lines between internal domains are either absent, inflexible, or loose because of lack of concern about the importance of spatial hierarchy of privacy.

Within the inherent characteristic of outward looking homes, the relation of domains to surrounding semi-public and public areas lack choice, making the internal environment vulnerable towards the effects of the outside environment. This condition makes it difficult, in most cases, to achieve a real sense of privacy. Taylor and Brower state that "Home does not end at the front door but rather extends beyond." They explain that what happens in outside spaces substantially affects the quality of life inside the home. This is referred to as the state of territorial inter-penetration where private, personal, and owned meet with public, shared, and open spaces as an interface for

community interaction ("Home Environments" 183). Perla Korosec-serfaty conveys this meaning more clearly by pointing out that home boundaries link and separate the two opposites the inside and the outside of the home ("Home Environments" 72). These boundaries between inside and outside constitute major privacy deficiencies in outward looking homes where the internal sphere of homes are subjected to compulsory connection with the external, public realm.

#### **1.13.4. Personalization of home spaces**

In his book entitled Housing Message, Franklin. D. Becker explains that personalizing space is usually an unconscious effort and involves making a space or accentuating the arrangement and the nature of the objects within it to establish claim to the space. Lang attempts to lay out more clearly the purpose of space personalization, which he defines as being "behavioral manifestation of a desire for territorial control and an expression of aesthetic taste as well as the result of an effort to make the environment fit activity patterns better" (147). Thus, space personalization grants psychological security, symbolic, aesthetic, and practical adaptation of home environment, resulting in marking territory. Altman explains that personalization includes peoples' employment of territorial markers such as objects, symbols, and artifacts to highlight domains ("The Environment" 129). R. Goetze in an article titled "Recreating Responsive Environments", and Rapoport, in "The Personal Element in Housing" identify the factors which affect the level of space personalization to be affordability of materials, the degree of the need to change space characteristics, the size of the claim the inhabitants have on a space, and the social norms and control rules. Altman and Chemers indicate that identity is the goal of personalization and examine the physical and social ranges in which personalization occurs. They state that "the expression of self-identity through personalization take a variety of forms and can involve individuals, families, groups, and nations...and occur in all types of territories- primary, secondary, and public" ("Culture" 145).

#### **1.13.5. Identity**

In his article entitled "Understanding Home Environment", Lawrence considers home to be a socio-cultural artifact. Consequently, the house and the household life are ordered by the customs, habits, and classification categories of the residents (13-25). Altman and Werner employ the principle of 'Habitus', which is developed by Bourdieu to refer to domestic spaces appropriated by their inhabitants and interpreted as a system of propensities stemming from the dwellers' living experiences. These encounters stretch across time, forming a matrix and helping to establish a framework for future experiences

("Home Environments" 17). They believe that in order to achieve healthy relationships one needs to understand what self is, where it begins, where its ends; and similarly, the self, coordination and boundaries of the others (50). Simmel emphasizes the role of privacy in shaping ones self-identity and self-respect and the subsequent effect of these elements on the manipulation or the invasion of others' privacy. He explains that we need to be affiliated with and recognized by others "but we also need to confirm our distinctness from others, to assert our individuality, to proclaim our capacity to enjoy, or even suffer, the conflicts that result from such assertions of individuality" (73). Altman notes that territories allow individuals and groups to manifest their personalities and values through the vehicle of physical environment. He goes on to say that "People put their personal stamp on places not only to regulate access to others but simultaneously to present themselves to others, to express what they are and what they believe, and, thereby, to establish their distinctiveness and uniqueness" ("Culture" 143). Privacy assists cultural survival by affirming and supporting individuals groups identity through many means including controlling communication, cultural expression and personalization, and territorial behavior.

#### **1.13.6. Furniture personalization and identity**

Studies concerning the use of furniture as a privacy mechanism were focused on the relation of personal space to furniture arrangement, angle of orientation, proximity, and style in public spaces, with little attention to home furniture and its relation to design and privacy ("The Environment" 94-96). Hall observes that furniture arrangements, distances, and angles of orientation vary widely across cultures ("Culture and Environment" 114). These artifices represent privacy mechanisms intended to regulate interaction and define territorial boundaries. In homes of the Shaamy community, few causes were discovered to hamper many forms of spatial personalization. These factors negatively affect the degree of spatial control, self-actualization, and identity in home spaces. One of the main reasons was the need to preserve home configuration in order to maintain the reselling price. Another reason is the lack of settlement, which reduces psychological attachment and consequently personalization level of a space. Another incentive is financial ability to transform the home, usually drastically, to reflect the level of distinction of the inhabitants from the mainstream society. The final cause is familiarity and adaptation. However, there are many types of space territorialization and personalization performed in community homes. The most salient one is furniture style and organization. The nature and arrangement of furniture are important vehicles to attain privacy in many cases because of its affordability, flexibility, and transferability. The degree of personalization

varies in each of the home domains based on the need to confirm territoriality, privacy, and identity. Personalization exists on a remarkable level in guest spaces, in the form of functional and symbolic territorial mechanisms, creating the line of social demarcation between the guest and family domains, particularly when it is physically absent. Other levels of personalization can be found on different levels in family members' sub-domains or in individual spaces.

#### **1.13.7. Personal space**

Personal space is a behavioral controller function for purposes of privacy to regulate personal boundaries and consequently achieve desired levels of social interaction. This mechanism achieves privacy through opening and closing the self to others by means of increasing or decreasing interpersonal distance. It functions as part of other privacy contrivances and mostly in the form of a compensatory element for their failure. Personal space mechanisms comprise individual variables such as sex, age, personality, culture, and environment ("The Environment" 94-102). One cultural account studied by Edward Hall shows that mid-eastern people have closer contact distance among themselves. Other studies indicate that females have larger impermeable personal space and develop space management earlier than males. Many of these aspects of the notion of personal space were found to have two components inherited and learned through society.

#### **1.13.8. The threshold**

A threshold is a territorial mechanism identified by Lang as the point at which the occupant of a house is aroused by the approach of a stranger, and varies in different cultures (155). Rapoport considers the threshold to be a sanctuary zone, which functions as a mean to define territory and regulate responses toward external parties. There are specific ways in which the boundary of the threshold is drawn. These boundaries are based on culture and period, regardless of the relationship with the user or the invader. The symbolic devices which mark the threshold vary among different cultures. Additionally, threshold boundaries are also dynamic and occur at different locations in the total space of home based on cultural definitions. The threshold "makes life easier by giving cues for behavior" ("House" 80).

According to Lawrence, architectural elements, such as transition zones in residential areas, communal or semi-private areas of the front yard, and the entrance play an important role in regulating spatial boundaries and interaction ("Housing" 172). In his article "Transition Spaces and Dwelling Design," Lawrence notes that the entrance hall

has a special spatial order and clear purpose regulating the access of people and objects between private and public (guests and foreign people, like post persons, etc.). This space, therefore, allows for controlling visibility between these domains. The lack of this hall, in the case of an external door opening onto a living room, can cause extreme deterioration in controlling the transmission of information ("Transition" 169-170). Cooper suggests that the threshold has the function of separating the two major home domains, the intimate interior which represents "the self as viewed from within", and the public exterior which exemplifies "the self we choose to display to others." The break between these two realms happens at different areas such as the front door, before or after, in an exterior semi-private area, or in the interior depending on the culture of the inhabitants and the physical environment (qtd. in Lang 155). Depending on the desired privacy level, multi-threshold mechanisms can be employed to define different ranges of approachability for people who have a different level of intimacy with home dwellers.

#### **1.14. Conclusion**

In conclusion, many scholars in the field such as Hall, Layman, Altman, Scott, and Goffman agree that privacy, personal space, and territory are indispensable needs in many cultures. Additionally, these wants contribute to the demand for other human needs, such as security, affiliation, and esteem. Privacy necessities manifest themselves in controlling mechanisms which aim to regulate interaction through behavioral and environmental means. Some of these devices will be the focus of this thesis.

## **Chapter 2: Privacy in Canadian Housing Environment**

### **2.1 Privacy standards of Shaamy community and Montreal housing environment**

The meaning of privacy and its related practices among orthodox Muslim Shaamies are different from those of the mainstream Canadian society. Since the home is mainly a 'cultural artifact,' the housing environment in Montreal inherently embodies values, cultures, and traditions that are incompatible with the standards of the Shaamy community. This situation results in a conflict between the lifestyle of the Shaamy community and their Montreal housing environment, the center of which is the issue of privacy. This contrariety is not a mere accumulation of differences in conventionality and decorum, but is based on fundamental differences in worldviews, social structure, and conceptualization of the home, which in turn forms the basis for the design and use of the dwelling. These differences are conspicuous in the history of housing and dwelling prototypes in both cultures. Particularly in Shaamy culture, privacy in and around the home is unequivocally the central theme in the design of the home. Moreover, privacy is not a personal matter, but a communal issue that has profound religious, cultural, and social meanings which shape the nature of the living environment and daily life of the entire community. As a result, privacy occupies distinct levels of priorities and embodies different connotations which produce alternative privacy physical mechanisms and behavioral modalities in the Montreal home environment. These differences widen the gap between the expectations of the Shaamy community and the reality of their Montreal housing environment.

The nature of privacy-based incompatibility between Shaamies and their Canadian homes is manifest in the contradiction between their traditional introverted homes and the extroverted Canadian equivalents. The difference in privacy conceptions in both cultures represents the major justification for the difference of both native housing patterns. This difference is confirmed through the fact that inward looking housing was adopted at one point in Western civilization, but subsequently abandoned in later times due to changes in privacy perceptions. Additionally, both introverted and extroverted housing patterns are not easily accepted into the framework of the opposite culture because of the different understandings and views of privacy, which is a major determinant of social lifestyle. The prevalence of extroverted housing patterns in Shaam, however, is due only to the imposition of Western architectural forms during and after colonial periods, but not to the appropriateness of these patterns to the lifestyles of Shaamy people. As a result, the social structures, values system, and cultural practices differentiate privacy concepts, responses, and application in each culture, and as a consequence affect the nature of the living

environment. These reasons explain the role of privacy as the prime factor for the difference in housing patterns between the two cultures.

## **2.2. Analysis of Canadian housing patterns from the community's privacy perspective**

Housing patterns are a direct product of privacy conceptions and treatments which affect all aspects of domestic activities. A brief comparison between introverted housing, which corresponds ideally to Shaamies' cultural privacy needs, and extroverted housing patterns, which are inherent to the Canadian home environment, can help shed light on both privacy ideologies. In the former ideology, the "outdoors" open space in which the home attains light, air, and view is an interior open medium. This courtyard secures absolute privacy for the family and forms a space of relativity and communication. Whereas in the second, openings face the street and overlook neighbors' backyards. This layout renders the outdoor spaces to a susceptible medium for social interaction and can result in tension and a lack of psychological comfort. This sensitivity is overcome by the notion of individualism and other cultural elements inherent to West. These conditions, however, strongly affect not only the outdoors privacy but also the indoors privacy of the Shaamy community. Idiosyncratic to Shaamy culture, the introverted home, for instance, enables inhabitants to enjoy outdoors sunshine without being exposed to neighbors and allows the pursuit activities either indoors or outdoors free from the public eye. In contrast, in extroverted housing, privacy inside the home and outside in the front and backyards is subjected to uncontrollable violation by strangers and neighbors. Additionally, inward looking housing allows internal division to secure private domains around multiple private court-gardens, whereas in the outward directed style, separation of domains can only be partially attained through vertical or horizontal organization of home functions. This is due to the inevitable intersection of different home functions through circulation spaces. Typical Shaamy and Canadian homes both strongly reflect the notion of privacy. However, the difference lies in the conceptual framework of privacy and its practical manifestation, which are inherent to both striated space<sup>10</sup> and smooth space<sup>11</sup>. This difference reflects, as discussed in this study, how a conflict between inhabitants and their home environment translates into privacy environmental treatments and behavioral modalities.

### **2.2.1. Privacy characteristics of the studied housing patterns in Montreal**

The housing patterns in which privacy was explored in this study are the single family detached homes which include cottages and bungalows and attached homes

(Montreal's typical townhouses). In spite of the fact that privacy within and without these housing patterns is demoted because of the shared characteristic of extrovertedness, differences in the internal layouts among these housing patterns embody varied privacy significance for the Shaamy community. These privacy qualities are inherent to the typical design of each of these housing patterns, including the number of levels and spatial organization. Having an open, semi-open, or enclosed plan, for instance, translates into significant privacy implications that can increase or decrease the comfort level of the inhabitants. These qualities also set preferences for certain housing patterns in relation to family size, religiosity, income level, and domestic lifestyle of Shaamy families.

#### **2.2.1.1. Cottages**

The Cottage is characterized with substantial privacy attributes exemplified mainly in the multi-level settings which allow for vertical separation of various domains, functions, and activities. This multi-level characteristic is marked by inherently generous areas which allow a significant degree of flexibility in developing privacy mechanisms and usage pattern inside the home. Both factors strongly affect the level of privacy between, for example, guests and the household members, males and females, and adults and children by offering horizontally or vertically separated domains. These characteristics grant considerable flexibility in function allocation which lead to spaces of relativity and insulation that resonate with the users' needs for privacy and intimacy in this housing pattern. However, the main issue which determines home internal privacy is the characteristic identity and hierarchy transition between device of passages and device of stay. Lack of this hierarchy can substantially reduce the level of comfort and privacy within the home.

#### **2.2.1.2. Bungalows**

The bungalow house is less capable of providing privacy in accordance with the standards of the Shaamy community. This is due mostly to the lack of vertical separation between family and guest domains and to the limited area and variety of spaces in this pattern. Additionally, the identity of guest and family domains in this pattern is commonly blurred because of the lack of a separate domain for the guests in the original design of the home. Accordingly, the common use of the living space for guests embodies fundamental contradiction between the characteristics of space of relativity and space of insulation in relation with the overall spatial hierarchy of the home. This can lead to a confusion and lack of privacy and comfort, while simultaneously resulting in of various preferences and mechanisms in dealing with space organization and functions in

this pattern. Moreover, the existence of a basement in Canadian bungalows enables new uses of this space which can help alleviate privacy tension. However, the typical limited size of this home pattern in relation to the normal family size and customary lifestyle of Shaamy families presents privacy complications which are characteristic of this housing pattern.

#### **2.2.1.3. Split-level plan cottages and bungalows**

Cottages and bungalows which have a split-level plan vary tremendously in their spatial organization due to the inherent flexibility of this pattern of design. When the circulation area or "device of passage" is close to the entrance, "spaces of insulation" in each level of the home gain considerable independence and privacy. When the split in levels occurs around the lobby area in the middle of the home, the surrounding spaces at all levels become disclosed which tend to decrease internal home privacy to a considerable degree.

#### **2.2.1.4. Townhouses**

The typical townhouse of Montreal provides significant vertical separation of functions and domains. However, the inherent limited area to this housing pattern leads to diminished guest space which may initiate privacy anxiety for both guests and the household. The juxtaposition of circulation area to the entrance provides significant privacy for functions on different levels, whereas the typical enclosed plans of row houses offer further independence and privacy for internal spaces.

#### **2.2.1.4. Horizontal and vertical analysis of homes spaces and domains**

Addressing some privacy concerns of Shaamies in Montreal homes comes as an indirect and purely functional organization of domestic spaces. For instance, the separation of daytime and nighttime space by placement of bedrooms on the second floor in cottages and townhouses provides considerable privacy for family members and guests. Whereas in Bungalows the lack of vertical or horizontal separation between guests and family domains poses a major privacy problem, all home spaces reflect a lack of clear consideration for privacy in their design. From a community perspective, privacy deficiencies in bungalows and other patterns come as a natural result of differences in not only culture and privacy conceptions, but also in family size and social structure. Thus, privacy differentiation between Shaamies and their environment reflects cultural identification, meaning, and social expression which often completely contradict sometimes those of the other party. Consequently, Shaamy families intervene on both

conscious and unconscious levels to develop privacy treatments and mechanisms to reflect their view of privacy in their new environment. They tend to redefine home space functions, their relation with the exterior, and the socio-cultural meaning of each home space to accommodate their intrinsic privacy needs. This process of redefinition underlines the mutuality and difference in privacy conceptions and physical expressions between the Shaamy and Canadian cultures.

The various privacy problems associated with these housing patterns share a common denominator inherent to the nature of the striated space which produces this environment. Outwardness is a common factor that reflects a clear-cut borderline between the inside and the outside and constitutes a poor medium for social relativity. The lack of spatial, social, and cultural hierarchy in the external environment restricts privacy outside of, and to some degree within home wall boundaries. Similarly, the sharp borderline between spaces of insulation and relativity within the home determines the privacy level inside these home patterns which exist between family members and with guests, and also distinguishes housing patterns from each other. Some of these patterns such as the open-plan split-level home, completely lack a spatial hierarchy to provide an adequate transition between areas of various privacy contents in the home. This spatial arrangement diminishes the privacy level inside the home and reduces social interaction through the imposition of rigorous regulatory behavioral modalities and architectural mechanisms. The privacy level in these homes improves in the case of semi-open or enclosed plans which secure larger margins of transitory spaces between spaces of insulation and relativity. The in-between spaces of relativity produce an elaborate hierarchy that grants the resultant smooth spaces its unique characteristic, which is peculiar to the religio-cultural framework of privacy in the Shaamy community.

### **2.3. Factors that affect privacy behavior and physical mechanisms in community homes**

Within the dynamic process of interaction between the Shaamy community and their home environment exist many factors that affect physical and behavioral privacy expression in community homes. These factors can not be divided into subjective and objective or dynamic and static elements. Rather, this study considers all the elements involved, namely kinetic, continuous, and subjective. This perspective reflects the real nature of the adaptation process in its reciprocal connotation (i.e., the adaptation of the inhabitants to the living environment and adapting the physical environment to suit inhabitants' needs). Within this framework, the home environment is understood as a 'cultural artifact' which influences its inhabitants' lifestyle and represents a source of

innovation for new customs and habits. Simultaneously, this environment is influenced by and adjusts accordingly to the worldviews, culture, and previous experiences which constitutes the habitus of the inhabitants. This habitus enters, through its perpetual mode of effect, into a process of interaction with the cultural and physical content of the living environment. The interaction between the original lifestyle of the Shaamy community and their social and physical milieu takes on various modes, depending on the characteristics of their homes and the potency of the habitus of the community members. Thus, environmental elements may actively impede and diminish traditional privacy practices or counteractively stimulate stronger adherence of the community's traditional privacy rules manifest through various behavioral modalities and physical mechanisms.

### **2.3.1. Religion and culture**

The main factors that play an important role in supporting traditional privacy practices are religion and culture. Culture is dynamically generated through interactions between the triadic structure of the network of Islamicity and its habitus on the one hand and the socio-physical environment on the other. This habitus which has transferred with Shaamy immigrants to their new living environment functions as a source of innovative privacy practices in the process of adjustment. Thus, the conjunction between privacy rules and religion contributes tremendously to the sustainability of privacy practices, while the cultural component of these practices enables substantial flexibility in the process of adaptation to the new living environment. The religious necessity and the ease of application of privacy principles and rules not only add to the transferability and survival of these practices in the new environment but also influence the new living environment to cater to the privacy demands of the community. Religion gives privacy deep social meaning beyond rituals or tradition, whereas culture provides a synthetic element that bridges the gap between norm and reality. Culture becomes the pragmatic application of privacy rules conforming to the Islamic social system and lifestyle, and rejuvenates their practical applications when they encounter novel circumstances, through a balanced mode of reciprocal adaptation. Accordingly, the preservation of privacy principles and its influence on the physical environment are achieved through a tentative affiliation between religion and privacy tenets and the rejuvenation of its practices through the pragmatic process of 'Ijtihad.'

### **2.3.2. Affirmative expression of identity and freedom versus the new environment.**

Privacy in a collective sense is a means for maintaining identity and freedom through behavioral and physical expressions of independence and territoriality. Privacy

has the constructive function of affirming and distinguishing cultural identity which reflexively reinforces privacy practices. Islam requires Muslim individuals and community to have a distinct identity through a network of social hierarchy<sup>12</sup> corresponds to the hierarchical structure of privacy. This social structure correlates within the framework of a housing environment to a hierarchy of distinct physical realms and domains. The notion of identity becomes a manifestation and source of privacy which expresses itself in a system of relativity and connects and organizes social and environmental relationships. Thus, privacy regenerates itself through affirmation of identity. Personal and collective forms of privacy assist in sustaining the hierarchical nature of the network of relativity and privacy practices. Accordingly, privacy guidelines set boundaries between individuals based on kinship, religious brotherhood, and cultural affiliations which silently affect the community living environment. This virtual hierarchical order consequently defines privacy practices and borderlines within and outside of the home environment. Identity distinguishes the sacred from the profane and that which is private from that which is mundane. This notion draws the privacy lines, particularly, between home, street, and outdoor neighboring territories. Cultural differences between the community and the modern mass-society emphasize physical and behavioral privacy modalities with neighbors. Additionally, since the home is the only place where maximum privacy, comfort, and freedom are attainable, privacy rules and applications reflect a strong sense of identity. Therefore, self-assertion becomes a source of domestic privacy in order to achieve a sense of further independence and freedom.

### **2.3.3. Family values and relations patterns**

Privacy relations within the family constitute a central area of the mode of relativity which is inherent in the social and environmental order of the Muslim community. The social network of relativity corresponds to the hierarchy of privacy among extended family and perpetuates privacy norms and practices. This privacy-supportive social structure is based on kinship or "rahim ties" which further defines the fundamental privacy determinants of marriageability or "mahram code" and gender rules. This order profoundly affects domestic boundaries of social interaction and defines the characteristics of the physical spaces of insulation and relativity inside the home. Familial values govern an extensive repertoire of social norms accurately sets the map of social interaction, margins and spatial borderlines for individuals as well as for age and gender groups within the family. Accordingly, privacy incorporates and is simultaneously embodied in a system of moral and social values and furnishes the circumstances for each particular mode of social environment and physical settings. Bashfulness, intimacy, and

independence are harmonized through religious and cultural codes of behavior to produce one compound social mode for privacy practices. This matrix of socio-moral values enriches and sustains community privacy practices and generates privacy modalities and architectural measures in response to the inapt nature in community homes. Thus, this value system and relationship patterns require a domestic environment that accommodates intimacy while simultaneously ensuring privacy. This setting is attained only through an order of spaces of insulation and relativity which allow flexible and comfortable use of a home's various yet limited spaces.

#### **2.3.4. Comfort levels and the responsiveness of the home environment**

The nature of home design itself determines the type of privacy modalities and physical mechanisms which need to be applied in the home environment to achieve a satisfactory privacy level for Shaamy inhabitants. Comfort standards which correspond to Shaamy privacy requirements are determined by a set of key factors that exist dissimilarity in the various patterns of Canadian homes. Each home pattern embodies inherent characteristics that correspond to community privacy standards and set distinct preferences for particular plans and home patterns. An example of these characteristics is the type of relationship between spaces of insulation and spaces of relativity inside and outside the home. Religious and cultural privacy rules call for particular modes of privacy and distinct patterns of domestic comfort. These privacy standards account for the large area, variety of domains, and the spatial hierarchy which are needed for physical and psychological comfort in the home environment. The absence of these standards passively initiates privacy measures to adapt the original home design and the surrounding environment to the ideals of the inhabitants.

#### **2.3.5. The acculturation of Shaamies to Canadian lifestyle**

One of the adverse consequences of implementing traditional privacy rules and measures in community homes is adaptation to the mainstream privacy concepts and environmental expressions. Partial assimilation into the social and physical living environment of the mass-society embodies adopting modes of preferences and environmental configurations different from those pursued by culturally adherent community members. Accordingly, the acculturation process produces alternative privacy concepts and mechanisms that are more congruent with the common social and physical environments. This mode of privacy forms a middle ground between striated space and smooth space characteristics inherent to mainstream society and the Shaamy community.

This trend results in lesser changes in the status quo of the community home environment and significant changes in traditional privacy conceptions and practices.

One of the implications of acculturation of privacy in the homes of the Shaamy community is the decline of the social and environmental hierarchical order which is traditionally required to organize and regulate social interaction. This notion can lead to, for instance, increased adoption of open-plan homes and neglect of privacy mechanisms, which tend to extend the hierarchical range of the home spaces. Subsequently, the "organic membrane" or the dotted borderline that allows balanced interpenetration between spaces of relativity and insulation and devices of stay and passage gives place to a sharp-edged solid borderline which is characteristic of the striated space. The tendency to adopt striated space modes promotes individualism as a privacy mechanism, which increasingly renders the environment's physical hierarchy immaterial. As a result, the traditional role of privacy in reconstructing the living environment according to community beliefs gives place to the status quo of the existent environment. Additionally, since the privacy patterns of mass-society culture do not have roots in Shaamy culture and lifestyle, the role of privacy as denominators of Shaamy identity tends to diminish significantly. This phenomenon eliminates the distinct nature of the community living environment which is derived from privacy concepts and practices. Also, a lack of cultural footings in the adopted modes of privacy in community lifestyle disturbs the overall understanding and applications of privacy concepts in community social life and physical environment, rendering them frivolous.

More importantly, in contrast to the religio-moral basis of privacy concepts in Shaamy culture, the secular nature of privacy in mass-society culture provides only a psychological grounding for privacy needs and practices. Therefore, the adoption of secular privacy norms of the mass-society coincides with a decline in the influence of the network of Islamicity on the social and physical environment of Shaamy families. This reciprocal relationship reduces the comprehensive and multi-dimensional meaning of privacy and the influence of the repertoire of values and behaviors that contribute to the privacy system on community lifestyle and physical environment. Additionally, the common concept of privacy in mass-society lack a clear and detailed precepts, axioms, and typical applications similar to those that exist in the Islamic code of privacy. Accordingly, adaptation to the ready-made home environment causes the social and physical environments to suffer substantial losses of the central elements which characterize the Shaamy domestic environment and grant it its rich social meaning and elaborate physical hierarchical structure.

Thus, the common norms of mass-society culture reduce the intricate nature of the privacy system within the Shaamy community to a linear mode of relationship polarized and suspended between the two contradictory elements of individualism and public right. Therefore, privacy suffers from a lack of clear and common definition that forms a collective ground for social interaction on family and community levels. Hence, privacy becomes subject of a personal conception and interpretation, and thus, less uniform and poorly communicable among family members and with guests and neighbors. This situation is aggravated by the state of alienation which is characteristic to many immigrant individuals and families. As a result, privacy loses its meaning as a "hierarchical network of intimacy" to mean rather increased isolation and individualism. As a consequence, privacy loses its role as a facilitator of social communication through establishment of a spatial order which organizes social interaction within the domestic community environment. Thus, the influence of the mass-society concept of privacy may replace the community's hierarchical network of privacy with standardized privacy conceptions and solutions. This process may virtually resolve the conceptual conflict between the Shaamy community and their unresponsive living environment, leading to state of stability. Emendations of home spaces become unnecessary; however, the negative influence of this notion on the domestic community milieu reduces its role in providing privacy, intimacy, comfort, and identity.

### **2.3.6. The effect of previous dwellings experiences**

Undoubtedly, privacy traditions and experiences in the original community habitat greatly influences privacy practices and measures in any new environment. Community experiences of living in a traditional home environment in Shaam function as a normative background that sets the standards for customizing the new living environment in Canada to fit community cultural norms. Community experiences of living and adjusting the adverse privacy conditions of their outward looking homes in Shaam to fit their privacy standards plays a positive and active role in guiding the alteration process of the community new living environment to suite their privacy norms. Transferring the culture of more than half of a century of experience in customizing colonial outward housing forms in Shaam provides a wealth of environmental mechanisms and customary behavioral modalities to deal with community domestic privacy problems in Canada.

Simultaneously, community's previous experiences play a negative role in affecting the their adaptation mode to the new environment when these experiences embody acclimatization to the privacy-deficient extroverted living environment of their homeland. Acquaintance with privacy problems in their previous environment aids over time in the

development of familiarity with and unconscious acceptance of the privacy shortcomings of this environment. This familiarity leads to the development of a passive attitude which deters Shaamy families, despite their discontent, from performing drastic changes to their environment in response to its privacy shortcomings. More importantly, the nature of the community's new environment contributes to loss of distinct privacy attributes and traditions inherent to community life and living environment. The larger home area and multi-story settings provide a partial solution to some major privacy concerns of the community. However, a chronic lack of privacy, particularly indoors, obstructs the implementation of drastic physical changes to improve privacy conditions in the home environment. Therefore, changes tend to focus mainly on space usage and behavior modes.

### **2.3.7. The implication of maintaining home resale power on privacy environmental changes**

One of the major obstacles which prevent Shaamy families from customizing their homes to fit their privacy demands is the need to maintain the original home qualities in order to preserve the resale price of their homes. The commonly unstable lives of many families force them to sell their dwellings several times during their lives. Additionally, since the population of Shaamy community in Montreal is relatively small, the prospect of home resale among community members holds a weak probability. This condition emphasizes the need to avoid permanent changes in community homes to maintain their appeal to the prospective non-community buyers who most likely have different cultural backgrounds that do not conform to the privacy-influenced changes made to community homes. This notion deters the inhabitants from implementing substantial and uncommon physical changes in their home plans. Major alterations such as the addition of walls to divide spaces or joining rooms are seldom performed except in rare circumstances of utter necessity. Rather, only simple, temporal, and removable privacy treatments and mechanisms tend to be implemented. Therefore, most of the changes focus on space usage, furniture organization, and behavioral modalities.

### **2.4. Privacy and identity**

The firm association between privacy and identity is based upon the fact that each concept is a generator of the other. This reciprocal relationship is emphasized in Islam through the concepts of tawhid and 'ummah and the principles of shari'ah. These underpinnings define the relationship between identity and privacy in the framework of the relation between individuals and groups. The social and moral systems of Islam

outline individuals and groups positions within the social hierarchy of the community and in the physical hierarchy of the living environment. Privacy in this sense embodies a distinct identification of the pattern of social relations among well definite categories of people as well as a distinct characterization of spatial configuration of the home environment in relationship to the social relation patterns. The definite identity of each component in the social and physical hierarchies presents the fundamental basis of the privacy system. Accordingly, privacy can be preserved through the definition of distinguishable territorial and social identities. Privacy, particularly in a foreign environment, emphasizes identity as a way to achieve social and cultural preservation. Maintenance of identity manifests, to some extent, in behavioral and territorial privacy mechanisms which in turn define the boundaries with the incongruent social and physical environment. Thus, privacy stamps the living environment and people's lifestyles with a distinct identity and forms distinguishable behavioral and environmental modes. Increasingly, privacy reflects cultural identity in home layouts, behavioral modalities, patterns of space usage, and furniture style and arrangement. Therefore, domestic privacy mechanisms at the same time represent various aspects of physical and behavioral identity of the community.

## **Chapter 3: Privacy characteristics and patterns in community homes**

### **3. Introduction to case studies**

Although the home patterns and designs examined in the case studies are dissimilar, the privacy characteristics, problems, and treatments in these homes are to great extent analogous. The similarity of the plans of community homes is due to the common design concepts and cultural framework which are inherent to mainstream society, whereas the similarity of community domestic privacy treatments arise from the distinct privacy concepts and lifestyle idiosyncratic to the Shaamy community. The choice of various housing patterns explored in this study has been based on the presupposition of the existence of such similarity beyond home size or pattern. Therefore, this approach allows for not only the discovery of privacy manipulations in different settings but also enables exposure of a variety of privacy strategies in the case of different family sizes and cultural adherence levels to privacy concepts. It also reflects pattern and layout preferences within the community that are profoundly driven by their distinct notion of privacy. Additionally, this variation permits comparison of alternative privacy characteristics which correspond to a complex interface of variables particular to the community's pervious environmental experiences and cultural inclinations.

#### **3.1. General characteristics of the case studies**

When analyzing privacy modalities in the case studies from the stand point of the community, clear shared characteristics can be easily identified among them. Apparently, all homes have an outward looking orientation of their spaces. This idiosyncrasy makes substantial number of privacy problems and solutions mutual among these patterns. In addition, the existence of front and backyards as a common feature of these home patterns sets specific attitudes regarding the home outdoor environment and activities are shared by all homes in the case studies. In spite of the fact that home internal layouts have some variations, these variations can be, from the perspective of community privacy, categorized into identifiable classifications of positive and negative privacy treatments. Striking common privacy traits can also be found in the home locations and demographic distribution of the community. These shared attributes reflect the drastic impact of privacy as a common denominator of the lifestyle and choice of dwelling of the community members. In conclusion, these mutual similarities produce observable privacy patterns which not only characterize domestic community usage modes and lifestyle but also alter, sometimes drastically, the physical configurations of their living environment.

### **3.2. The importance of guest entertainment**

Distinct from animal homes, which are dedicated for family only, human domestic milieus are interpersonal as well as inter-familial mediums of social interaction. Guest entertainment presents a distinctive part of this social practice and constitutes a prominent tradition within the Shaamy community. The significance of this notion for this study is manifest in its profound impact on privacy behavioral modalities and physical configuration in the community living environment. Therefore, Shaamy homes typically embody a dual double structure in the sense that they simultaneously serve as a space of relativity and a space of insulation at the same time. The dialectic nature of community homes is manifest through hierarchical structures of domains as well as through systematic modes of interpenetration between the changing functions of home various mediums. Analysis of this structure is fundamental for understanding the practice which denotes community habitus as exemplified in privacy behavioral modalities and environmental mechanisms. However, it is important to understand the psychological and practical significance of the guest entertainment tradition to the community since it focuses privacy as a core element which affects domestic behavior, space usage, and physical layouts.

Within this context, it is fundamental to understand that guest entertainment activities, particularly in Montreal, present an important component of the social framework and the lifestyle of Shaamy families. These activities caluminate the prime domestic priorities influencing the manner in which the community conducts its home affairs and arranges its domestic spaces. This strong influence is due to several factors, all of which emphasize the importance of the guest entertainment tradition.

The first factor is religious instruction which presents an elaborate framework for the relationship between the hosts and guests. Religious tenets also bestow a high profile on these relations and emphasize its role in the cohesion of the 'umma. The second element is the guest entertainment tradition, which developed throughout thousands of years in response to cultural, environmental, and demographic factors in Shaamy history. The third element is the status of the Shaamy people as expatriates, which causes community social life to be concentrated mostly on family away from the incompatible cultural modes and privacy practices of mainstream society. As a result, the community places much emphasis on inter-community socialization as a means to compensate for lost relationships in their homeland and the state of alienation in the new society. Additionally, the small size of the community facilitates internal social communication networks and adds to the importance of guest entertainment activities. These justifications cause an increase in visitations among community members and encourages

the adoption of elaborate home guest spaces, which represent the only arenas for indigenous community patterns of social interaction. The fourth reason for the strong impact of the entertainment tradition on community homes is the flexibility and the large size of community homes. These features allow for some generous home spaces to serve alternatively as guestrooms for men, women, relative, or foreign guests. The fifth factor is the absence of particular domestic spaces for guests in the designs of most community homes to suit their traditional standards and religious guidelines for guest entertainment activities. Hence, the need for privacy with guests motivates Shaamy families to compensate for the deficiency of their environment by adopting some involuntarily and exorbitant preferences which commonly affect the entire home environment. The sixth element is the mutual respect for the privacy rights of both the host and the guest according to entertainment tradition in Shari'ah and Shaamy cultures. Therefore, hosting foreign guests at home presents privacy as a vital concern for both family and guests and often necessitates applying behavioral strategies and environmental measures to attain reasonable social comfort. Privacy mechanisms which are required to appropriate Montreal homes to meet community privacy standards sometimes imply drastic changes not only in space functions but also in physical configuration of home environment. The final reason is the absence of sufficient community public places that can absorb some of their mode of socializing and respond to their privacy patterns. This aspect places additional emphasis on the home as the sole privacy-amiable medium for social interaction. Accordingly, home becomes a controlled environment in which the culturally-distinguished privacy rules of the community can be applied away from the curiosity of surrounding people or from being in disharmony with common privacy trends in society. Community homes thus provide the only adequate environment which meets privacy requirements for community social activities.

### **3.3. Privacy between guests and family members**

Privacy modalities between family and guests are categorized into various levels, rules, and patterns of preferences for the living environment. This relation is also governed by home space usage methods and physical privacy mechanisms which are tightly connected with the homes' spatial configurations and the privacy attitudes of the households. These factors vary according to home patterns, family adherence to privacy rules, and the particular socio-environmental privacy mechanisms applied in each case. The Montreal housing environment is characterized, according to community norms, by common privacy problems that are based on internal layouts and home relations with outdoor areas. As a result of these typical problems, there are methodical potential

solutions for improving its privacy content shared among most home patterns. The prominent privacy enigma in community homes is providing an adequate hierarchy between space of relativity (guest spaces) and space of insulation (family domains). Establishing this hierarchy can be achieved through the creation of clearly identifiable devices for passage (circulation area) which can regulate the interpenetration to home devices of stay. The need to establish a well-ranked hierarchy of spaces in between these devices is necessary to accommodate various levels of intimacy with guests. Correspondingly, these relations with guests also follow a social hierarchy in accordance kinship connections with the host family and the social norms of guest entertainment in Shari'ah. Also, the need for flexible spaces to provide various levels of privacy coincides with different levels of cultural congruity which exist among community members due to inherent differences in local origins in Shaam. The quality of the relationship with guests represented by a weak or strong degree of acquaintance, necessitates within certain limits the regard for privacy. Privacy in this relation is based on various cognition levels of detailed cultural rules and the various behavioral etiquettes between the host and the guest. These multi-level cognitive relationships necessitate the existence of this multi-layer hierarchy of relativity spaces.

### **3.3.1. Guest domain versus family domain**

The guest domain is the area which is dedicated for guest use and includes guestroom(s), dining room, guest sleeping room, and guest bathroom. The components of the guest domain may be located in one area of the home combined, separated horizontally on the same floor, or separated vertically on more than one level. Due to special privacy needs of the community which includes sometimes gender privacy, having more than one guestroom is a common practice in community homes. To accommodate the needs for privacy with guests of both genders and of various level of acquaintance with the host family, different spaces such as guestroom, living room, playing room, the study at the basement, or office space take on the function of the alternative guestroom depending on the gender and guest position in the hierarchy of the social network. However, there exist a few possibilities in which guest spaces can be located in the home based on privacy needs and customs on the one hand and on home layouts and functional arrangement on the other. One of the most flexible and convenient arrangements for guest spaces exists in cottages due to their large areas and multi-story designs. This arrangement includes having the guest domain and the living room on the same level and separated horizontally which enables the use of the two spaces as male and female guestroom. When one of the basement spaces is used for either gender and the

main floor is used for the other gender, further vertical separation between these men and women guest domains is attainable. In either arrangements, particularly the second, the circulation of family members across the home becomes unaffected when entertaining guests at the same time in the home. A less advantageous arrangement in cottages embodies only the guestroom on the first floor whereas the living room, which is used as second guestroom, is located either on the second floor or in the basement. In such cases, vertical separation of the guest domain is involuntarily and family privacy becomes annoyingly disturbed when using circulation area. Other cottage layouts include the sole home living room located on the first floor with no guestroom on this level, while the home basement is used for various functions such as an office or a children's play area. In such case, both the living room and the basement are used as temporary guestrooms.

The need for personal, familial, or extra-familial privacy implies different use and functional distribution of Montreal home spaces. Apparently, when comparing domain boundaries and space functions in the original designs of the case studies with the altered ones which were implemented by the Shaamy families in response to their privacy needs, a drastic shift in space usage patterns can be found. This alteration is manifest in the peculiar and excessive need to create guest spaces with the aim of establishing a hierarchy of various levels of intimacy with guests to ensure a comfortable environment for both guests and the household. Privacy levels which correspond to guests categories greatly affect the definition and the boundaries of both family and guest domains. Gender privacy with foreign guests, for instance, necessitates the exclusive use of the guest domain by one gender which poses the question of providing space to accommodate the other gender separately and privately. This need usually embodies, because of design shortcoming, the use of a family zone as a guest domain leading to a serious conflict between both family and guests' privacy.

The guest domain as domestic space of relativity is characterized by a set of preferences that ensure privacy standards which are inherent to the community's own cultural framework. One of the guest domain characteristics is its close position to the home front door area and its location at the same level with the home entrance. This enable guests to access their domain without wandering through the home and crossing other domains. It is also preferable that the guest domain be in approximation to the dining room and kitchen in order to facilitate attending guests. A bathroom close to the guest area is also indispensable to avoid sharing considerably private facilities with the household. Nevertheless, the common nonconformity of Montreal housing designs with community privacy guidelines and preferences for guests accommodation lead usually to variety of privacy problems and complications.

In case C5, which represents a bungalow transformed into a cottage, the inhabitants chose to have a semi-enclosed design for guest and family domains rather than totally segregated ones. This solution enables flexible use of guest and family domains as spaces for male and female guests in the case of unacquainted guests while easily maintaining connection between both in the case of intimate ones. Favorably, the entrance which is situated in the middle of home plan divides the home into two wings, one of which is occupied by the living space and can also be used as an informal guest space, while the other wing is used as a formal guest and dining space. The two sections are used interchangeably for male or female guest groups. These two domains are separated from each other by a staircase, a kitchen, and a narrow corridor which interconnects the two domains at the same time. The kitchen in its middle position perfectly serves both guest formal and family informal domains, granting ideal privacy and independence for guests and the household. Additionally, the new corridor which is created between both domains provides a connection between both domains while preserving visual privacy, particularly when guests are seated in positions not facing the circulation area. This unique configuration required drastic changes in the home plans including the removal of many walls on the first floor level and the transfer of many functions to other areas in the home. Uniquely in this home, the inhabitants' design spaces of relativity and insulation preserve privacy yet allow selective interpenetration between guest and family domains in the right proportion upon demand (See the plans of case study).

Plans similar to the previous example exist in most cottages with minor differences in the pattern of relation between guest and family domain. Case A1 and A3 show that when the guest and family domains in the original design exist on the same floor, an exemplary relation exists between spaces of relativity and insulation in the home. This is confirmed when circulation and kitchen areas have enclosed plans and are located between guest and family spaces. Typically, guests and dining spaces constitute one wing of the "L" shaped plan, separated by the kitchen and the lobby from the living room which occupy the other wing. Within these settings, the kitchen and circulation area serve as a privacy buffer zone to separate family and guest domains. Privacy can be remarkably improved when the inhabitants enclose the circulation area by adding a door that separates the guestroom from the entrance and the lobby. An additional improvement commonly implemented in community homes is the separation of kitchen space from the dining room by a light door to increase control over privacy between guests and the family domains (See the plans of the case studies A1 and A3).

In cases such as A5, B1, C1, C3, D1, D2, and D3 where there is only one prime space (usually a living room according to the original design) on the first floor and there

is no guest domain on entrance level, the function of the living room is usually shifted to that of a guestroom. This transformation places great hardship on the family which must then share involuntarily the same space with guests or give up this space totally for guest reception functions. In the first case, the family refrains from using the guest/family space in the presence of guests, whereas, in the second case, the family becomes deprived from using major, well-located home space in order to preserve guests' and household privacy. This choice arises from a cultural and psychological distinction between the characteristics of space of relativity and space of insulation as well as the existence of definite conceptual modes and practical formulas for interpenetration mechanisms between these two spaces. This distinction is represented in space location, space relation to other spaces in the hierarchy, and furniture patterns and arrangement; the conceptual privacy modalities present privacy principles as embodied in community habitus and the network of Islamicity. Additionally, practical privacy formulas represent physical privacy mechanisms and the hierarchical order of home spaces. Ignoring this distinction and these modes and formulas in home design forces Shaamy families to undertake inconvenient privacy constraints regardless of whether this space is used by guests or by the household.

Accordingly, in the presence of guests, the performance of daily family activities becomes restrained to maintain the privacy of both guests and family members. Family use of guest spaces (even when there are no guests present) also becomes impeded since the characteristics of space of relativity contradict with the nature and usage patterns of space of insulation. Privacy problems become aggravated when there is a lack of hierarchy between these two spaces which would provide adequate and flexible modes of interpenetration between these spaces in the various social settings. These settings relegate Shaamy families to an involuntary and culturally anomalous practice of using the home basement as a living domain and as a space for either male or female guests when the need for gender separation arises. This space usage and privacy behavioral patterns emphasize three fundamental facts inherent to the cultural and preferences of the community. The first fact is the need for direct and easy access of guests to their domain. This requirement is attained by locating guest spaces at the same level with the entrance to avoid sharing the vertical circulation elements with the household and consequent reduction of family privacy. The second fact reflects the importance of privacy in Islamic culture through the notion of granting more consideration and preference for family privacy over family comfort and convenience. For instance, in spite the fact that the home is a totally private realm, privacy conflicts with guests are always resolved by sacrificing family convenience rather than privacy. The third fact is giving priority to guests' temporal use of prime home space over the family's daily and permanent use of

these spaces, which is vital to family comfort. This attitude is a result of the way the community views the privacy of both the household and guests.

The notion of privacy not only entails the transformation of the main family living room into a guestroom when it is not provided, but also necessitates the use of other home spaces as a temporary guest spaces when the need for separating male and female guests arises. Various home spaces such as the living room, play space, or office space are usually used to accommodate the wide range of community guest entertainment needs. Accordingly, in the case studies C3, D1, D2, and D3, the first floor main living rooms were transformed into guestrooms, relegating family living space to the basement. Nevertheless, the new family living room itself functions also as a second guestroom to accommodate the need for gender privacy with guests. This usage represents a typical procedure in the plans which include only a living room on the first floor and ignore the need for guestroom in the original home design. For example, in the case studies C3, D1, D2, and D3 which represent townhouses, the living room either temporarily as in D1 and D2, or permanently as in D3, is used as a guestroom. Consequently, the living room in case D3 was relegated to the basement which in turn is used for either male or female guest when needed. In case study D2, for instance, women usually occupy the basement since it offers more independence and allows better privacy, whereas in case studies D1 and D3, men occupy the basement to allow privacy as well as freedom for women to use the kitchen and for children to use the garden. In conclusion, the lack of adequate guest spaces in community homes results in the use of living spaces as guestrooms, confining family privacy and freedom to the bedrooms.

In case studies such as D1 and D2, both family and guests inevitably share the main guest/living space on the main floor because various cultural and practical reasons discourage using the basement as a living space. The use of the space for two functions embodies contradiction between the privacy of the guests and the freedom of the family to use this space privately. In such situations, the privacy of family and guests is maintained by avoiding concomitant use of the space. Privacy with guests necessitates the withdrawal of the family while entertaining formal guests in the space. This conflict can be solved where a living room is provided on the second floor of the home. However, when entertaining guest families, the female guests and household occupy the second floor living room to acquire more privacy. This solution, however, embodies guests penetrating the private family domain and consequently invading the privacy of a part of the household. This situation exists in case study C2, where the vertical separation between the guest and living areas resembles the haramlik and salamlik settings in some traditional Iraqi and Egyptian homes. This case study demonstrates the living room

situated above the guest and dining rooms, overlooking them from a lofty mezzanine. This stratification and openness allows for a regulated interpenetration between the two spaces while preserving a complete visual privacy. The location of this living/female guestroom within the private family domain grants convenience and privacy for the household women who, in this case, do not need to take any particular privacy measures. Simultaneously however, as in case studies A4, C1, C2 and D1 use of family living room, which is situated on the bedroom floor, as a female guestroom breaks the hierarchy between spaces of relativity and spaces of insulation.

Similarly to case studies D1 and D2 in which a second floor living/female guestroom does not exist and the basement is not prepared for guests reception, women may occasionally use the master bedroom as female guestroom. The master bedroom may take this function since it traditionally possesses the home's most superb furniture and is located apart from the male guest domain. This use implies further penetration into the private family realm and a breakdown of the hierarchy of privacy. This inconvenient situation is mainly caused by the incompatibility between the home design and the cultural privacy needs of the Shaamy inhabitants.

### **3.3.2. Reception/guestroom**

Shaamy families commonly attempt to project their conceptions of the reception room, as represented in the madafa of their traditional homes, to their new homes in Montreal. madafa, which forms an independent domain or compartment of the traditional home, was, traditionally, used as an exclusive male guest entertainment space, whereas qa'ah, which is located in the family section of the traditional home, functioned as a female guest space. Within this framework, part of the guest spaces in the case studies was found to have clear physical demarcation, enclosed layouts, and hierarchical relation with other home spaces of relativity and insulation, similar to madafa in the traditional home. In the other part of the case studies, madafa manifests itself as basement space which ideally secures complete privacy because of its enclosure and vertical separation from other home spaces. In the majority the case studies, the living room plays the role of Qa'ah, providing a private female guest space. Similar to the qa'ah, the living room represents the heart of the family domain and is located in the inner part of the home, enabling household women and their guests to enjoy maximum privacy apart from the male guest domain. However, the correspondence between madafa and qa'ah and the reception room, basement, and the living room are not totally fixed. Rather, these spaces exchange the various guests entertainment functions according to the family level of intimacy with guests, gender of the visitors, and home spatial configurations. The

similarity between privacy modalities in traditional homes and the new spatial reconfigurations and functional arrangement of community homes in Montreal reflects the continuity of privacy perceptions, behavior, and preferences at both the conscious and the subconscious level among community members. One of the prominent consequences of these patterns of transmission is gendarization and structuraization<sup>11</sup> of their new environment based on their inherent religio-cultural habitus.

Being designed on the basis of different cultural concepts and alternative sets of priorities, Montreal homes do not embody spatial or functional formulas which can respond to the privacy concerns of the Shaamy community. Additionally, privacy depends on a wide range on non-environmental considerations and variables including family size, social relations, level of adherence to privacy rules, methods of executing privacy principles, as well as many other situational circumstances. Therefore, functional allocation of male and female guest spaces takes on various possibilities and patterns. This flexibility makes guest spaces interchangeably used between men and women in some instances to fulfill some particular privacy purposes. A variety of options can be chosen, particularly in the case of large homes with a separate living room and guest spaces. In case study A1, for example, in which the living room and the guestroom exist on the same floor, the living room is used by women because of its exposure to the kitchen, which makes it unfitting to be used by male guests particularly when the kitchen is used by materfamilias. Men usually use the guest room because of its enclosure independence and juxtaposition to the entrance. Another scenario that may be examined in the same case study involves the use of the entire ground floor by women including guest, dining, and living spaces as the female guest domain, while men use the basement as a male guest domain. This arrangement, though convenient, inherits the problem of the need to access the basement from the kitchen. The lack of an independent entrance to the basement from the lobby area results in a privacy conflict when the male household members wish to use the vertical transition elements to access the bedroom floor in order to use the bathroom upstairs or leave home from the main entrance. In the last case, to avoid confining women's privacy to the first floor, men use the door of the garage which is adjacent to the basement as a male's exit.

Furthermore, in this case study the "L" shaped guestroom is very advantageous for family privacy. Within this layout, one wing is occupied by dining space and the other by the guest area. In spite of the fact that this space is continuous, this setting enables the use of the dining enclave by the household and the guest enclave by visitors without violation of visual privacy. This feature becomes useful in the case of a banquet for males unacquainted or maharim guests, in which the materfamilias can set the dining table

without being observable by the guests. When guests use the dining space, a light door separates the kitchen from the dining space to help preserve the privacy of guests and the household in the kitchen and the living room. Another light door separates the lobby and the circulation area from the guest domain and is usually added in the homes of more privacy observant families. This door contributes to distinguishing the “device for passage” from the “device for stay” and consequently provide for a systematic transition between the two. It also assists in creating an intermediate medium in the spatial hierarchy of the home which allows orderly interpenetration between spaces of relativity and spaces of insulation.

### **3.3.2.1. Privacy in relation to the arrangement of the guestroom furniture**

Furniture arrangement, particularly in guest spaces of community homes, has a deep cultural connotation that exceeds the simple functional or physical scheme of the space or the common standards for appropriateness and convenience. The layouts of furniture organization, rather, are determined by privacy conceptions, needs, as well as functional and physical mechanisms in the domestic space. Furniture alignment forms numerous scenarios in which there is a dialogue between the user on one hand and the emplacement and the style of the furniture on the other. Furniture becomes a language that communicates privacy definitions, norms, and modalities of the host family to their visitors, who respond back through their behavior and actions. Furniture also becomes part of the hierarchy of relativity in home spaces and a means to define the distinct identity of zones of privacy or intimacy. Locations and angles, according to which the furniture is delineated in relation to home and guestroom doors, are utterly decisive and indicative of the meaning and the function of home's “device for passage” and “device for stay.” The guest sitting place, particularly in the case of the absence of a door to enclose the guestroom space, should not face the circulation area where the entrance and the stairs positioned or the innerside of the home where the household domain is located. Even when the shape of the guestroom area and aesthetic aspects of furniture arrangement enjoin certain configurations, furniture order is usually manipulated to ensure that the position of each pieces of furniture does not expose awra points of the house. Avoidance of these patterns of exposures is usually achieved by placement of decorative but non-functional pieces of furniture in these positions to prevent the use of these locations. Another strategy involves placement of artificial obstacles or decorative artifacts beside or on furniture pieces, from which home interiors can be exposed, to render their use impractical. In addition, the host ordinarily guides the guests in a gentle and indirect manner to sit in appropriate places where a causal visual violation of guest and household

privacy is unattainable. Simultaneously, the subconscious common sense of the guests, particularly if they are from the same community and have the same cultural background, direct them innately to seat themselves where exposure of the home awra is impossible. Customarily, all these mechanisms and strategies work together to achieve in conclusion a deeper feeling of privacy for both the guests and the household, particularly when the physical layouts of the home fall short of accomplishing the level of privacy which meets the standards of the community. (See the plans of D3 and A2).

### **3.3.3. Guest-sleeping space**

The practice of specifying a space for sleeping guest in Montreal community homes is a revived tradition that was diminished upon adopting modern small housing patterns in Shaam. The relatively large home areas and the multiple level settings provide sufficient space and privacy to encourage community families to reestablish this practice in their homes. Additionally, living abroad where many distant relatives, friends, and some times foreign compatriots are expected to come for long visits in community homes necessitates that this function is established. According to community tradition, it is disgraceful not to offer them lodging or to let family guests sleep in a hotel. Therefore, commonly the community will prepare one of their home spaces either temporarily or permanently to serve as a guest sleeping space. In most cases, guest-sleeping room is located away from the family domain in places that enjoy considerable privacy and autonomy. Accordingly, in many instances guestroom is located either within the guest sections or close to the family male domains. In case D2 and C3 for instance, the basement was reconfigured, furnished, and assigned for guest accommodation because of its enclosure, which allows for ideal privacy for both guests and the household. However, the lack of a bathroom in the basement floor is a common problem that considerably restricts the autonomy of this space. Another deficiency is the absence of an exit in the basement to the outdoors to enable entry and exit from the guest sleeping space without crossing family territory and intruding on their privacy. In case study C5, the owner revived the tradition of madafa in the conventional home by constructing a guest sleeping room incorporated in guest domain.

In the case of hosting males and females guests, females guests usually occupy one of the female's bedrooms since it is located in the family domain and consequently assures substantial privacy for the guests. Similar to conventional guest entertaining practices in Shaamy traditional homes home become divided into two zones when male and female guests stay overnight. Household males vacate the bedroom floor for women's use and sleep with their guests in the living space in order to secure maximum privacy for

the female guests and household in the bedroom floor. In case study A1, for instance, since the home design does not provide a private space for guest sleeping, the basement, which forms the family males' domain, is used temporarily as the male guests and household sleeping area to avoid any strains on female guests and household privacy. These strict privacy procedures correspond to the ultimate need for privacy which is inherent to sleeping activity. Additionally, as a result of the typical low frequency of use of the guest sleeping space, guest sleeping rooms tend to be used for other functions as well. Therefore, some families do not specify a certain room for guest sleeping function: however, they use the living room or one of the household bedrooms for this activity. Finally, guest sleeping is a highly private activity in domestic space that tends to split the domestic spaces based on gender into a male guest and household area which temporarily occupies the home living domain and a female sleeping zone which usually occupies the home sleeping domain. The vertical separation between these two spaces of insulation provides spatial hierarchy to ensure privacy and comfort for both parties.

#### **3.3.4. Dining room**

Shaamy families conventionally consider the dining room in their Montreal homes as the guests' private territory only to be used in the case of formal banquets. Hence, in all of the case studies this rule was followed except in one where the large number of family members (that the kitchen dining area could not accommodate) justified using the dining room as an eating-place. This private and exclusive use of the dining room for guests corresponds to the conventional use of madafa which represents an area in the traditional Shaamy home that is dedicated exclusively to male guests entertainment and dining. In spite of the relative functional similarity between madafa and the Western formal dining space, the connotation and the context of using the dining room in current community homes is completely different from those inherent to traditional ones. Considering the traditional pattern of using dining space versus the poor privacy characteristics of this space in community homes, the use of this space becomes increasingly scarce. Accordingly, the private mode for using the dining room has two main frameworks: traditional and symbolic on the one hand, and pragmatic and functional on the other.

In cottages, the dining room is often interconnected with the kitchen space through an opening. This opening eliminates privacy between family space of insulation and guest space of relativity, particularly in cases where the living room is open to the kitchen space as in case A1. Therefore, in the majority of cottages examined in the case studies, a light door is added between these two spaces in order to give the choice of separating or linking these spaces when the need for either condition arises. This door is essential for

providing not only visual privacy between the kitchen and the dining room but also auditory and olfactory privacy as well. Customarily, dining with guests implies no mixing between genders. Rather, male family members eat with their male guests and the women act in a similar manner. Lack of a dining room for men and women is solved by using the dining space successively by either genders, by using the living room temporarily as a second dining space, or by organizing separate invitations for males and females guests. Additionally, attending to guests while they are dining is performed by the same gender host. Privacy rules necessitate that the paterfamilias, for instance, serve male guests whereas the notion of women attending foreign male guests is culturally unacceptable. This behavioral modality not only secures privacy regardless of the physical relation between guests and dining spaces, but also represents a celebrated traditional practice that preserves the privacy and independence of the guest domain.

In Montreal cottages, the dining room typically forms one open continuous space with the guestroom area, whereas in townhouses, the dining room typically takes a semi-open or enclosed plan pattern. Case study A1 offers an exceptionally noticeable layout for the relationship between dining and guests areas in cottages. The "L" shaped plan of the guest domain forms two enclaves one for reception and one for dining which enables visual privacy between both spaces in spite of their simultaneous use. In townhouses, because of their typical narrow front and longitudinal plan shapes, the designs tend to have the guestroom and the dining room at either elevation of the home separated by the kitchen. This setting enhances privacy in the dining room particularly when a door for the kitchen is provided, as in case D1 and D2, to form a visual barrier between the two. Within these layouts, the household members can dine, prepare food, or set the dining table within a state of privacy and away from guest observation. In case study D3 the diagonal position of the dining room in relation to the guestroom increases the privacy level between the guestroom and kitchen, whereas the furniture arrangement in the guestroom ensures visual privacy from the dining room. These various patterns of behavioral privacy modalities and physical mechanisms entail the use of open, semi-enclosed, and enclosed dining room plan patterns in community homes to ensure visual, auditory, and olfactory privacy for guests.

### **3.3.5. Guests bathroom**

The guests' bathroom is an indispensable component of the guest domain in particular and in the entire home in general. Originally, bathrooms, which are typically located on the first floor close to the main living room area of most community homes,

were intended for family use. However, changing the function of the main living room spaces into guestrooms has also necessitated the use of these bathrooms for guests only.

Hence, in cottages, guest bathrooms typically exist in a favorable location on the first floor lobby close to the guestroom and home entrance. This position helps preclude guest penetration into the family domain when the need to use the bathroom arises, and contributes to maintaining the privacy and independence of guest and family domains. However, in the case of the absence of a physical barrier that separates guest space and circulation areas, where the bathroom exists, the bathroom and its users become exposed to the guestroom users. Using the bathroom within these settings embodies substantial lack of psychological and visual privacy and considerable social embarrassment, particularly when it is used by the guests or household members of the opposite gender. Hence, this inconvenient situation leads to the eventual abandonment of the bathroom by both parties. In case study C1 for example, the owner complained about the lack of privacy which is associated with the close position and the direct access of the bathroom through the living room, which also functions as a second guestroom. Hence, he expressed his desire to close the current bathroom door and open a new access to it from the adjacent laundry room, which will function as intermediary space between the living room and the bathroom. Establishing this missing link in the home's spatial hierarchy ensures the restoration of the level of privacy that is needed for this highly private function. Additionally, in case D3 the open plan of the guestroom, which overlooks the bathroom at the entrance, renders the bathroom unusable while guests are entertained due to the lack of privacy. This is in spite of the fact that this bathroom is the only one on the first floor and is also needed for family use. Therefore, in many cases enclosure of the guest space or manipulation of furniture arrangements so as to give privacy to the bathroom was essential in order to avoid such a problem.

In split level plan cottages and bungalows, the inherent complex nature of the circulation area necessitates that guests bathroom be placed unfavorably away from the guestroom in the depth of the home. This location causes considerable social and physiological inconvenience for the users. This position implies also a necessary penetration of the guests into the family space of insulation, whereas in some of the townhouses such as that in case D1 completely lack a guest bathroom on the first floor. This situation forces the guest to invade the private bedroom floor of the family causing mutual inconvenience. In addition, basement space, which is occasionally used as a second guestroom or guest sleeping space, lacks its own bathroom in most community homes. This design deficiency places considerable strain on family and guest privacy in the home.

### **3.4. Office and study places**

Since the study specimen represents a middle class group of the community comprising mainly white-collar professionals, many homes contained domestic offices for work and personal business affairs. Since these offices were intended mainly for receiving strangers, office space is typically located in the basement close to the stairwell area where maximum enclosure and independence can be attained. Accordingly, because of the basement favorable privacy conditions, its independence from the family domain and its association with foreign guest reception activity, the basement tends to be used for male activities. Due to reasons of privacy, none of the basement offices which were examined in the case studies was accessed through stairs originating from the kitchen or from the family domain. In case study A2, there were two offices, one located in the sealed basement environment and was used for receiving foreign business people and another existed on the second floor and was dedicated for personal and family uses. Such differentiation between the functions of the two offices explicitly reflects the influence of privacy norms on functional allocation within the home environment. In case study A4, the position of the office at the basement, although accessible through the entrance of the home, is considered as an invasion of home privacy, and led the owner to appropriate the garage for use as an office. By so doing, access to the office became totally independent from the internal home environment. In case studies D1, D3, A1, A5, and C5, offices are mostly identified as a male family area. This classification is due to its use by the paterfamilias and male family members as domestic workspace, foreign guest entertainment space, or study space. This is confirmed by its location in the basement which is considered in most of the case studies as the family males' domain. Female family members usually have their computers, study desks, and other study equipment in their own bedrooms, which tend to be larger than those of the male children, most likely to accommodate study tasks aside from other functions. Considering the basement as the family males' activity domain and the first floor as the living and guest domain, the second floor inherently gains a considerable level of privacy to become a quiet study area for female family members.

### **3.5 Entrance and circulation area**

#### **3.5.1. The exterior door**

The home, which is an important unit within the hierarchical order of privacy in Shaamy culture, represents family space of insulation versus space of relativity which is represented in home external public milieu. According to this hierarchy, the home door signifies the "threshold" or the real line of demarcation between the family's private and

external public spheres (Rapoport, House 80). Community concepts of the domestic threshold, which is embodied by the entrance door, is significantly different from that inherent to mainstream culture and is represented in semi-public and semi-private home territories. This pattern of territorial identity is characteristic to the relationship between community cultural background on the one hand and the typology of their current physical environment on the other. This territorial concept becomes particularly highlighted within a community perceptual framework when they come into a contact with the cultural embodiment of their physical environment. Therefore, dedicating this pattern of visual, physical, and symbolical separation between space of relativity and insulation portrays idiosyncratic privacy perceptions and practices among community households. Due to these distinctions, the common settings of the entrance area tend to have deep privacy meaning and practical applications in community homes. Hence, the entrance area functions in a peculiar way as a symbolic privacy mechanism to organize relations with the outside environment, both physically and conceptually (Altman, culture 190). These conceptions and symbolic meanings are particularly communicable among community members themselves. Accordingly, the external home entrance represents a physical and psychological privacy threshold in a different way for strangers and community members. For instance, elevating the entrance, which is intended to serve merely functional and aesthetic purposes such as allowing natural illumination for the basement or preventing frosting, tends to have deep privacy connotation from the community perspective. For community members, elevating the entrance establishes a physical, visual, and symbolic privacy threshold that clearly demarcates home boundaries and constitutes a vertical buffer from the public street level. One of the visual privacy applications of the entrance elevation is, for example, securing protection against visual violation of household privacy through the main door and the windows.

Furthermore, the double doors of the home parlor define the buffer zone which insulates the innerside of the home from the street, not only thermally but also visually. Particularly, the inner door of the parlor forms a privacy device that is used in a way which resembles the use of the privacy wall in traditional Shaamy homes. Hence, while the first door is open to investigate or welcome visitors, the second door prevents visual intrusion into the inside of the home. Additionally, there exist a variety of physical privacy mechanisms, usage devices, and behavioral patterns to enhance privacy level at the entrance and lobby area. In case study A1, for instance, the glazed external door of the home was antithetical to practical privacy needs and the symbolic embodiment of the exterior door. Therefore, curtains were set to cover the glazed parts of the door in order to prevent possible visual intrusion by visitors or passers-by on the street. Additionally,

there are many behavioral modalities associated with entrance area. Also, it is customarily the women rather than the men within a group of visitors who tend to ask for permission to enter a home. This action is based on the extreme respect of female household privacy and seeks to avoid accidental visual violation of their privacy by a male stranger. Moreover, the individual seeking permission to enter the home typically avoids standing in a position facing the door in order to enable the household to examine the visitor without being seen. Furthermore, it is ordained by religious customs to step to the side of the external door after asking for permission to prevent fortuitous peeping into the interior of the home. Visitors also are expected to keep a distance from the threshold zone to provide physical privacy buffer preserve psychological and visual privacy. Typically, the first step of the staircase which leads to the exterior door commonly provides a clear definition of the first line of the buffer zone which visitors should not cross unless they are invited. Moreover, request for permission to enter the home are typically expected not to be made at the backyard fence of community homes, since this area, although exposed in extroverted housing patterns, is considered, paradoxically, a private area. In conclusion, there are many indispensable verbal and behavioral privacy modalities that complement physical mechanisms when seeking permission to enter the home. This integrated set of mechanisms reflects the reverence for the household and a respect for their psychological comfort and privacy.

### **3.5.2. The lobby**

The lobby represents a critical transitional zone in the home in which the family domain, guest spaces, and the external environment all meet together. Therefore, the lobby is a "device for passage" and functions as a space of relativity for household, guests, and sometimes strangers. Having one entrance for family and guests in most of the case studies can result in an undesirable intersection between guests and family when a clear definition of the spatial boundaries of the device for stay is absent. Lack of enclosure of the foyer as in case study A2, in spite of the provision of a separate family entrance, offers no privacy since it exists with the guest entrance in the same foyer area. The foyer as an articulation point in the middle of the home inevitably used by both family and guests and commonly constitutes a potential area for violating household privacy. It is a common medium through which the household could be exposed to foreign guests while they are in state of privacy. Taking into consideration gender privacy rules, open plan circulation areas can result in a substantial constraint on movement across horizontal and vertical circulation elements within the home.

Moving horizontally between the kitchen, living room, and the entrance or vertically by stairs among home various levels inevitably involves crossing of the foyer area. Therefore, an open plan foyer to the guest area can considerably affect household privacy when guests are simultaneously entertained in the guestroom. In spite of the fact that separating the lobby from the guestroom by a door is essential to solve this problem, in most cases this solution for various reasons has not been applied. This notion highlights specific spatial considerations and alternative environmental mechanisms that are taken into account in handling this problem. For instance, since the smaller the opening between the guestroom and the lobby, the better the level of enclosure and consequently the level of privacy in the lobby, the community tends to prefer homes that include this particular detail. Additionally, the stairs in several case studies such as A3, A4, and A5 were found to be located away from the visual range of the majority of the guestroom users. Moreover, through a careful arrangement of guestroom furniture sitting in these areas, the exposure of the lobby was hindered through various mechanisms discussed earlier in the furniture arrangement section. Furthermore, guest understanding of privacy rules and the indirect instruction of the host ordinarily direct the visitors to avoid sitting in positions facing guestroom entrance. Finally, when sufficient privacy is still lacking, these privacy considerations and mechanisms are complemented by the observance of privacy dressing code, particularly for women. For instance, in the case where the lobby is widely exposed from the guestroom, female guests and household, although inconvenient, tend to wear a veil similar to that which they use outside of the home. It is noteworthy to mention that the excessive movement inherent to doing chores while guests are entertained is considered culturally as a sign of disrespect. The display of a lack of substantial interest in the guests' presence through behavioral and environmental privacy expressions signifies an inhospitable attitude and incites the guests to leave. Therefore, insulating the guest domain from the circulation area is indispensable for respecting household as well as guest rights and privacy.

In most cottages, the foyer has semi-enclosed layouts with strong correlation with the guest room. This notion, which often exists in luxurious homes, strengthens the foyer's affinity with the guest spaces as well as with the other parts of the home. This settings causes an according drop in the level of privacy which the family can attain by using the foyer while guests are entertained. Stairs location and plan in the lobby has the second important role in defining the privacy level in the foyer after the enclosure configurations of the lobby itself. Stairs are generally located close to the entrance with a semi-enclosed staircase plan or an open layout in luxurious homes. With an enclosed staircase, the ceiling of the lobby has the height of only one floor. This layout gives

enhanced privacy to the second floor area against noise and visual invasion coming from the first floor. In an open staircase design, the ceiling of the lobby becomes two stories high exposing the bedroom floor to guests. The enclosure of the staircase to its surroundings and its location away from exposure to the guestroom is fundamental for permitting active circulation at home in the presence of guests.

In cottages kitchen is typically located at the door axis of the lobby with the stairs on one side and the guestroom on the other. This position grants no visual privacy for kitchen users when receiving guests. Additionally, in some instances the kitchen does not have a door to create separation and consequently visual, auditory, and olfactory privacy with the lobby and the guestroom. Therefore, Shaamy families, as in case study A1, tend to add a light door between the kitchen and the lobby to enhance the spatial hierarchy and privacy among the foyer area, kitchen, and the guests domain.

In townhouses which have the guestroom overlooking the backyard as in case D1, and D2, a natural separation exists between the guestrooms and circulation area. In cases where the guestroom overlooks the front yard as in case D3, the circulation lacks privacy unless it has an enclosed plan. Split-level homes have two types of layouts. In the first type, level differentiation occurs at the entrance as in cases C1, C4, and C5. This layout provides greater privacy for the circulation area and for all other home spaces, since the guestroom becomes isolated from the lobby. In the second layout, the level split occurs at the fringes of the foyer, which becomes the central space for all of the surrounding home spaces. Within this scheme, all home spaces have very little privacy. Therefore, as in case C2, the use of some home spaces including the circulation area become paralyzed during the visitors length of stay. Another solution applied in case study C3 is the use of the well-enclosed basement area as foreign guest space. Otherwise, both household and guests females need to observe dressing code inside the home.

### **3.6. Privacy between family members**

The community perspective of familial privacy is based on the acknowledgment of the principles of equality, difference, and borderlessness, which are based on the structure of the network of Islamicity: The network's distinctive habitus produces pratique which organizes spatial, functional, and social relationships through hierarchical modes of relativity. These modes form an integral matrix of interactive variables which collectively produce the distinct nature of the familial privacy attitudes and its various modalities in the domestic milieu. More clearly, spatial, functional, and social privacy mechanisms are governed by shari'ah, which organizes the relationships among these elements in the form of habitus. Familial privacy embodies various privacy modalities and aims to regulate

internal family relations, inspire their lifestyle, and enrich familial interactions. It also proposes to bring the family members closer to each other rather than segregating them into groups or isolated individuals. Privacy among family members is drastically different from that with friends and foreigners not only because of blood relations but also as a result of the social structure of the family as a unit. The family is located at the center of the social hierarchy of relativity and corresponds to the home, which represents the central unit in the physical hierarchy. Religious teachings and privacy rules distinguish the levels of social relationships among family members from those with other relatives and friends. The hierarchy of the social structure does not approve of the notion of dealing with non-family members at the same privacy level inherent to immediate family relationships. This general rule takes particular importance regarding interaction between genders. These rules add to the cohesion of the family as a unit and positively influence the meaning of familial privacy, and consequently its behavioral and physical implications in the home milieu.

### **3.6.1. Conceptual framework for familial privacy**

The privacy characteristics of a living environment is part of the cultural context of the society, therefore, the discordance between Montreal homes and community privacy modes is a result of design strategies, priorities, or functions that have deep roots in conceptions and views in mainstream culture. Additionally, the individualistic mode of thinking, which is inherent to the mass-society culture, influences both social behavior and physical privacy mechanisms in the domestic environment. Within the mainstream privacy framework, privacy is a result of the conflict between the absolute personal freedoms (natural rights) of each members of the group (family). This form of interaction translates into the retreat of the parties involved from a mode of relativity into the mode of insulation in order to preserve the maximum margin of personal freedom. Therefore, the individualistic concept of social relations reduces the emphasis on social relativity and the collective understanding of privacy rights. Additionally, this relational pattern reduces the level of social responsibility versus individuals' entitlement to their 'natural right' and tendency for individualistic pattern of self-realization. In order to achieve equality and harmony within this environment, the positive law prescribes standardized privacy boundaries for all people regardless of the intrinsic hierarchy of social relations.

The community perspective of privacy, however, is based on a network structure of relativity, the main characteristics of which are equality, difference, and borderlessness. The hierarchical nature of the network regulates social and environmental relations, and, consequently, translates privacy into rather systematic modes of intimacy. Within the

framework of relativity, there is no clear-cut borderline between the individual and the group (family). Additionally, privacy relations are neither linear nor uniform. Since the individual is inherently a part of the group, in spite of being independent, personal privacy is based on mutual respect of each others privacy. Therefore, privacy, freedom, and interests of the group (family) are equal to those of the individual. This relation is different form the 'social contract' mechanism through the fact that neither the individual nor the group submit to the control of each other. This is due not only to the pliability and to penetrability borderline between both but also to the fact that they are embodied in each other to form one unit. Additionally, the boundaries between the individual and the family are not self-determined or imposed by either party for the benefit of either one; however, they are structured based upon the neutral norms of shari'ah. The initial aim of shari'ah is to materialize the concept of 'ummah wherein there is no distinction between an individual and a group. Accordingly, personal and collective freedoms amalgamate in a system of relativity which eliminates any possible conflict over privacy boundaries. The subjugation of all family members to privacy principles, institutions, and applications of shari'ah results in cohesion, organization, and harmony in their social interaction. This framework transfers privacy from being retreat, solitude, and individualism in mass-society culture to mean connectedness, relativity, and intimacy in Shaamy community social life.

### **3.6.2. Familial privacy in relation to home spatial organization**

Community homes, based on the previous framework, comprise various domains or spaces of relativity and insulation which form prismatic spatial and functional hierarchies within the home environment. These spaces greatly do not abide with one function or state of being as either space of relativity or insulation. However, they change, on temporary or permanent bases, their identity and utilization patterns in reference to the cultural and social settings of the domestic milieu. Spaces of insulation can become spaces of relativity, and vice versa, according to a contingent use of a space or some of its surrounding spaces. Thus, mutation of space identity can occur in reference to the changing use of a relevant space without a change in the function of the first space itself, whereas the relatively permanent identity of a space is defined by its regular use under normal settings. Therefore, the relationship between spaces of relativity and insulation at home is dynamic and dialectic. The vacillating nature of space usage follows a certain order in which time of use, the original identity of the users, and physical home layouts play a decisive role. The family living room, for example, is a space of relativity in relation to other spaces in the family domain; however, it is simultaneously a space of

insulation in reference with guest domain. Similarly, guest spaces are spaces of insulation with regard to the circulation area, but it is at the same time a space of relativity for other family domains. Additionally the home itself is a space of insulation for the family in relation with the outdoors public areas, yet it is also a space of relativity for family members and their guests. The household bedrooms are the final space of insulation in the home. However, they may become spaces of relativity when they are used for entertaining close and private guests. The basement is a space of relativity for male family members, but a space of insulation considering the male-female composition of the household. Likewise, the living room is a space of insulation for female family members within a certain time frame, but also serves as a space of relativity for the whole family within other definite times. The bedroom floor also tends to function as a space of insulation for female household members during the day. However, it plays the role of a space of insulation for the whole family during the night. This fluctuating nature of the space is bound also by the interpenetration process which exists according to definite modes among all levels of relativity and insulation embodied in home spaces. Interpenetration changes the usage and definition of a space by qualifying its function, as space of relativity or insulation, in relation to the function of the space which it embodies or in which it is embodied. This dynamic and dialectic nature of home spaces is a direct manifestation of the hierarchical structure of relativity inherent to the family social order and network-like relational patterns. The 'double structure' in which spaces of relativity and insulation interchange in an oscillating manner is inherent to the socio-environmental background of the community, which they attempt to negotiate into their alien living environment.

### **3.6.3. Comparative analysis of familial privacy in traditional community and Montreal homes**

In general, there exists a reverse relationship between home privacy physical mechanisms on one hand and usage and behavioral modalities on the other, such that when one party increases, the other dwindles. Accordingly, when the layouts of community homes offer substantial physical or spatial mechanisms for familial privacy, the emphasis on usage and behavioral ones decreases significantly. Thus, the unsuitability of community homes to their traditional privacy needs tend to require increasing the home area and the number of spaces in order to establish an adequate hierarchy for privacy in the home milieu. As a result, cottages, within certain layouts, offer for community households more privacy than bungalows and townhouses do because of their many spaces and multi-level setting. These characteristics usually offer ample

opportunities for spatial privacy and enable extended options for forming various spatial domains based upon various categories in the home milieu. It permits, in other words, the establishment of spatial hierarchy and corresponds conveniently to the social and functional ones. The lesser usage patterns of some home spaces in the case studies in comparison with community's homeland dwellings inherently translates into increasing spatial privacy in their homes in Montreal. In community traditional homes, the internal open spaces function as a unifying and intermediary medium for domains of higher or lesser levels of privacy. It also connects home spaces horizontally and vertically while maintaining privacy of the other spaces in the hierarchy. Additionally, various home common spaces allow for diverse kinds of grouping among family members based on age, gender, or interests. Thus, the courtyard not only provides privacy from neighbors and guests domain, but also offers a collective semi-private family zone from which spaces of variant degrees of privacy branch off in a hierarchical manner. The courtyard helps sustain intimacy and avoid isolation while simultaneously maintaining familial privacy.

Regarding modern community homeland dwellings, their spaces were fewer, larger, and function as domains, rather than individual isolating spaces, and inhabit harmonious and collective activities. These spaces are mostly located on one level; therefore, they are strongly connected and allow a balance between privacy and intimacy. Consequently, behavioral privacy acquires an increased role in organizing familial interactions. This concept is reversed in the community homes in Montreal where the multi-story setting, disharmonious functional distribution across the home, and lack of privacy filters with guest spaces disturb the equilibrium between social privacy demands and the physical configurations of the environment. Within these conditions, home layouts tend to transfer the hierarchical structure of intimacy which is inherent to community's social and physical environment into a linear and isolationistic privacy mode.

The notion of a lack of balance between physical and behavioral familial privacy is apparent in many case studies among which are A4, C2, C3, D1, D2, and D3 in which guest space interrupts the continuity in the vertical relation between family domains in second floor and the basement. For example, having the living room naturally on the second floor as in case studies C2, or as a result of transforming the living space on the first floor into a guestroom as in case studies A4, A5, and D3, leads to isolation of the kitchen, which is a part of family domain, from the living room. This arrangement not only affects familial privacy with guests but also causes involuntarily isolation between the materfamilias and the rest of family members. Similarly, when the living room or children play area are in the basement, children become totally isolated from the

supervision of their mother. This functional disunity of home domains as well as the lack of privacy with guests relegate family members to their individual bedrooms which become secluded studying and living places. These layouts transform the home into spaces of desolation with extreme detachment and isolation. The community, rather, understands familial privacy as a mechanism of communication to achieve balance between intimacy and isolation through various social and physical categorizations. This concept is represented in the traditional Shaamy home in which the courtyard serves as a family-private zone and inter-connects various private home spaces while simultaneously maintaining privacy among them.

#### **3.6.4. Familial privacy between genders and domains organization**

Traditionally, majles constitutes a separate domain for men's sitting and reception in traditional the Shaamy home where they spend the period between work and bedtime discussing, doing some business, or entertaining guests. The counterpart of the men's majles is the women's qa'ah, which is located in the family section of the home. Genderization of living spaces provides substantial privacy for family members, particularly in the case of a large or an extended family. However, since the layouts of modern community homes offer no appropriate accommodation for this tradition, this classification becomes increasingly less prominent. Community homes do not consider gender separation between either family and guest or among family members themselves. Therefore, madafa tend to be replaced by the guestroom and the qa'ah by the living room, both of which have no specific spatial attributes corresponding to the notion of gender separation. Nevertheless, in the case of sizable families living in large homes, the trend towards restoring separate male and female household and guest spaces becomes more visible. The large area and multi-story composition of the home tend, rather, to support genderization of space through a vertical distribution of male/female activities. In case study A1, the basement is considered as a majles where male family members study, entertain, and receive their informal guests during the day, while the living room is open to the kitchen and tends to represent the qa'ah, and polarizes the materfamilias and female family members daytime activities. This division was applied intuitively by the household to provide more privacy for family members and to respond to the congruent interests, psychological inclinations, and social needs of each gender. However, during the evenings when the whole family is at home, either the living room or the basement is used for collective family activities and entertainment.

Case study A2 shows similar trend in which the basement was dedicated to the family's only son to extend his privacy for living and receiving friends, and consequently,

to secure further privacy for the rest of the family. While the first floor was left for general use, the second floor is dedicated for the parents' and family daughters' exclusive use. In case study D3, the living room in the basement was partitioned to provide a study and a bedroom for family eldest son, whereas, the second floor rooms form a domain which is used only by family daughters and the parents. In case study A5, the basement is highlighted as a private male territory since it is used as an office for family business, male living room, and guest entertainment and sleeping domain, whereas the rooms of the second floor were devoted to serve the more spatial and functional needs of the family daughters. More interestingly, case study C5 presents a reversed spatial allocation for male/female domains due to its open plan design. Since family females outnumber the males, the basement's large space was designated as a females private domain, whereas the living room, which is less private in this case, was as the proclaimed males' domain. These divisions, however, are not always consciously acknowledged by the household, but rather they indirectly represent the practical result of the need to have gender-based privacy spaces.

### **3.6.5. Privacy among different age groups**

The home's domain structure is based not only on gender or function but also on age criteria. Usually, people who belong to a certain age group tend to have specific interests and a similar lifestyle. As a result, peers tend to use the same spaces to avoid a conflict in usage modes with groups of other interests, and therefore, compromise the privacy of both. This notion is manifested in most of the case studies through identifiable zones that often inhabit one age group function. The basement, as in case studies A1, A5, and C1, tend to accommodate male children's activities including playing, studying, sitting, and sleeping functions. The male children's occupation of the basement helps provide acoustic privacy for the household from the boys' vociferous activities. Additionally, the basement grants more privacy and independence for male teenagers from the orderly arranged environment of the adults. The first floor is often used by adults for guest entertainment and for parents' sitting and other activities. Female children use their bedrooms on the second floor for studying and other non-communal activities. Accordingly, the home tends to have a spatial order corresponding to age group privacy needs in which every group attains a privacy mode that is characteristic to its interests and lifestyle. In this order, the basement functions as a male children's space and the second floor as a female children's domain, while the first floor becomes an adult area and neutral zone for all family members.

The use of specific space by a certain age group or gender is sometimes bound by the particular time of day or night. The living room, for instance, attracts the presence and activities of all family groups when the parents, who present the poles of the family, are both home. Within this period, parents represent a harmonizing and common denominator for all family members. Therefore, by polarizing all family members around them, they turn living and eating spaces into an all-inclusive domain. However, during the day when the parent are absent, female children tend to use the living room on first floor, when it exists, as a female children's zone.

Case study A1, which includes twelve family members living in a cottage, represents an ideal example for critically portraying the role of age group privacy on the spatial arrangement and usage modes in both current family homes as well as in their homeland dwellings. The latter embodies a sophisticated horizontal hierarchy of domains that accommodates the various functions, ages, and gender-based privacy needs. The home consisted of two apartments on one level joined together to form a 360 sq.m home. Men, including guests and male children, have their own sitting rooms, which are all located in one area of the home close to the men's bedrooms area. Adult women, including female guests and female children, have their own sitting places which are located on the other side of the home close to their bedrooms. A common room for young children was appended to the women's domain in order to allow direct supervision by the mother. General family sitting room represent the point where both male and female domains and sub-domains meet. This layout introduces a hierarchy of domains help provide adequate privacy while simultaneously preventing isolation.

Adapting this domain order to the new family environment reduces, because of its limitations, the range of socio-spatial hierarchy, which is applicable within home space, and contributes to increasing isolated modes of living. The three grades of hierarchical order, which exist in both male and female domain structures in previous family homes, shrivels into one single grade. Male children acquire one space only (the basement), which is used for living, studying, receiving friends, and sleeping. This space may also serve as a guest sleeping space, family living room, or female guest space in the case of smaller homes. The general living room, when it exists, is used for family sitting, female guest reception, and female children's communal activities. The collapse of the hierarchical order by omitting some of its ranks causes a lack of clear spatial and functional definition and results in substantial Loss of privacy. For example, due to the absence of adequate female and male children's domains, bedrooms become a domain space for female children while male children share with their basement a variety of familial functions. In the first, case privacy transforms, because of the nature of the space,

into individual isolation, whereas in the second case, privacy, because of varied space functions, diminish significantly. Additionally, vertical organization in the home of spaces hinders interpenetration among the various domains and transfers the collective mode of relativity into an increasing state of individual and group isolation

This analysis highlights fundamental differences between the original design and use of current family home on the one hand and their native home and their current homes after being transferred on the other. The main difference which distinguishes both environments is embedded in the way of perceiving privacy. In the first, privacy is viewed from a collective point of view as well as in terms of order of the domains and sub-domains based on gender, age, and function, while in the other, privacy is viewed through an individualistic and isolationistic perspective with no emphasis on hierarchical order.

#### **3.6.6. Privacy in case of extended family (Grandparent)**

The tradition of the extended family is long and continuous in the lifestyle of the Shaamy family. Therefore, grandparents are an intrinsic part of the family who require special consideration of their privacy needs and social relationships with second and third generation family members. Based on a nuclear family concept, Montreal homes offer no special domain for parents considering their particular privacy needs which are inherent to their age group, interests, and social relation mode with other family members. There are two scenarios that can be identified in the case studies regarding grandparents' accommodation. The first represents the case where the parents own the home and host one of their married sons. In this case, there are a few variations for the domain boundaries of each party. The parent may share all home spaces with their son's family with no specific territorial demarcation between them. Accordingly, the bedroom floor, main floor, and the basement equally serve both groups. The other situation includes the son's family living in the basement and sharing only the first floor with the grandparents. These solutions, however, tend to be temporary since the first does not embody sufficient privacy for either party, while the other, although offering relative privacy and independence, does not provide an adequate living environment for the son's family. Therefore, children tend to live in independent homes while the parents stay in their original home. The other scenario involves the parents living with one of their sons or daughters either temporarily or permanently. This situation may have two variations. The parents occupy the guest sleeping room, which becomes their domain, while sharing with their family all other home domains. This solution which depends on the location of the

guest sleeping space tends not to have in all cases an adequate balance between privacy and intimacy corresponding to the particular needs of elderly people.

Privacy zones in extended family settings take indefinite boundaries when the parents do not own the home and are living temporarily with their one of their children. In case study A5, for instance, the bedroom of one of the family sons at the basement was transferred into a grandfather's temporary accommodation during his regular two month summer visits to the family. In case study A2, one of the second floor bedrooms was devoted for the extended use of the grandmother of the paterfamilias before she passed away and the room was transferred into an office. Privacy zones differ completely, however, when the parents own the home and live permanently with their married children forming an extended family. Case study A3 demonstrates the parents occupying the first and second floor area and the family's only son occupies the basement and shares the first floor with the parents. This layout enables reasonable independence and privacy while maintaining intimacy for both parties. In case study B1, the parents live in the first floor and share the guest spaces and some other facilities with their elder son, who occupies an independent living and a bedroom unit in the basement.

### **3.6.7. Personal privacy/bedrooms**

Personal privacy is attainable through possessing one's own physical space. This space enables the individual to exercise his/her freedom without harming others or restricting one's own behavior. Personal territory also permits reconfiguring and personalizing the features of the space to make it one's own and reduce the interference of others. The provision of a space assures personal privacy and is essential for psychological health, expression of intimacy, and relieving tensions which accumulate in daily social relations. Personal bedrooms among all other home spaces possess a high level of personal privacy since it hosts peculiarly private functions such as sleeping and studying. However, because of the typically large size of the Shaamy family, the number of bedrooms in Montreal homes is often less than the number of children. This situation leads to a common practice of sharing of bedrooms by more than one brother or sister. This procedure not only lessens personal territory, but also restricts personal freedom, restrains behavior, and confines the ability to personalize shared spaces and express ones own preferences. The indefinite nature of shared bedrooms as either space of insulation and space of relativity, which represents the final frontier of the hierarchy of privacy, can cause substantial lack of balance in socio-spatial order in the domestic milieu. Stress can arise as result of sacrificing personal privacy and lead to confrontation of preferences and wills between the different parties. Bedrooms, in particular, as highly private spaces, may

sometimes embody such conflicts of interests when they are shared by teenage children who typically develop at this age a substantial sense of independence and privacy. Resolving this conflict can lead to distinct solutions that strongly impact on spatial order in the home environment. In case study D1, for example, an area was partitioned from the living room in the basement to serve as a private bedroom for the family's elder son. This procedure was taken to achieve a greater sense of independence for the two family brothers who used to share one bedroom on the second floor. In case studies A3 and B1, the family's informal living space in the basement was occupied, transformed, and personalized by the family's elder son to become his own private space. This privacy acquisition usually antecedes the further independence achieved by the acquisition of the basement as an apartment when the son becomes married. This common practice within the community expresses the need for a final space of insulation in the hierarchy of relativity and aims to restore the equilibrium between intimacy and privacy.

In the cases studies where modifying the home's physical configuration to eliminate crowding is impossible, personal privacy can be attained by the virtue of behavioral regulatory rules of shari'ah. Permission taking rules, visual privacy guidelines, and other details of Islamic code of conduct are practical measures which cater to the necessary psychological privacy needs. Additionally, the shared values and intimate modes of social interaction which are inherent to the community's cultural and religious background contribute to the state of rapport and absence of conflict on privacy rights within the crowded conditions, particularly in bedrooms in community homes. Harmonious behavioral modes among family members also help resolve the entanglement of territorial boundaries and enable the unperturbed coexistence of family members within involuntarily crowding. Case studies A1, A5, and C1 present states of equanimity and synchrony in shared bedrooms among male children. The absence of clear-cut territorial boundaries of shared spaces in these cases was positively conceived and employed to achieve privacy. This privacy is attained through effective communication of cultural modes of behavior and privacy rules among the different parties. Thus, lack of physical boundaries to define the territorial aspect of privacy is encountered with a harmonious social habitus among family children to eliminate potential boundary and identity conflicts. Accordingly, privacy within crowded community homes is achieved through a high level of connectivity and communication rather than isolation and individualism.

### **3.7. Living room**

The living room in community homes represents the main space of relativity in the functional home hierarchy. Intricately, in spite of its definite physical configurations, it

hosts numerous activities, each of which has its own privacy requirements. The living room is used as the main guestroom in the absence of a guest space in the original home design or as a second guest room, when a main guestroom is provided, to accommodate males and females guests separately. The typical embracing and open layouts of the living room in community homes often clashes with the desire for corporeal privacy from family guests. Due to the dual contradicting nature of using the living room as a space of insulation for the family and relativity with guests, the characteristics of the privacy mode inherent to this space becomes indefinite. Therefore, physical privacy mechanisms, which tend to be undertaken to protect privacy in the living room when entertaining guests, conflict with the need for the open possibility of interpenetration with home other spaces. Hence, privacy measures in the living room space become increasingly temporal, functional, and behavioral rather than physical and permanent. In case study D2, for instance, movable and folded wooden barriers block the view from the living room to the kitchen and are usually placed in-between these two spaces when entertaining guests in the living/guestroom. These visual barriers are removed when the guests leave. A similar arrangement is used in Case D1, in which a decorative curtain is used to block the view between the living room and the kitchen.

The use of the living room as a guest space in community homes arises from the absence of guestroom(s) to accommodate the need for gender separation. Using the living room for guest entertainment aside from its original function infringes on household privacy and deprives them from comfortable use of their necessary informal living space when it is occupied by guests. Additionally, the formal identity which results from transforming the living room into a guest room upsets the conventional and private function of the space as a informal family domain. In some case studies, the formal nature of the physical configurations and furniture style and arrangement of the living room confines its use by the household as a private informal living zone. This is due to the fact that the use of the guestroom as a living room implies a violation of the traditional formal identity of the private guest territory. Use of the living/guestroom for daily informal activities or restricting its use as result of this transformation imparts pressure on the psychological privacy of the household, whereas in the other case studies, the open physical layouts and informal nature of furniture style and arrangement restrict the necessary use of the living room as a formal guestroom, which arose from the lack of independent guest spaces in community homes. Accordingly, the indecisive characteristics of the living room which result from the mixed use of the living room or its complete transformation into a guestroom causes substantial lack of privacy in all its functional modes. These predicaments deprive the household from the use of their

important space of relativity and relegate them to spend more time in their individual bedrooms. A comprehensive survey of the case studies shows that the mixed use of the living room decreased its various modes of usage because of lack of privacy and indefinite territorial identity. The absence of a normal family living space in community homes often leads instead to use of the kitchen or the basement as a living space in spite of the fact that this use is impractical and culturally undesirable.

### **3.8. Kitchen**

The kitchen in most community homes becomes increasingly and untraditionally a center of the family's informal activities. The large size of the kitchen, when there lacks a living room on the main floor, and the provision of a family dining space inside the kitchen, contribute to its status as central family space. However, in many cases such as A1, C2, and D1, the open layouts of the kitchen to the living room and the guestrooms temporally restrains private family use of the kitchen space when guests are entertained. Additionally, the kitchen's open layout causes violation of olfactory and auditory privacy of the household in various home spaces. Therefore, in many cases, doors are added to separate the kitchen from the circulation area and guest space. However, separating the kitchen from the living room becomes increasingly difficult when home plan includes total openness between these two spaces. Accordingly, restriction on the privacy of the users of both spaces becomes inevitable. Therefore, cooking activities are not performed at night when the adjacent living room is used. Similarly, the living room is seldom used when the kitchen is used for cooking.

### **3.9. Acoustic privacy**

Home vertical layouts, building materials, and construction systems all contribute to the poor acoustic privacy in most community homes. Vertical stratification of home spaces gives maximum area for sound transmission particularly with common lack of sufficient insulation and the use of light building materials in community homes. Families in all case studies complained about the low level of acoustic privacy which mainly results from the lack of insulation in wall and floor structures. Additionally, the open plan layouts in split level cottages and bungalows in cases A2, C2, and C3 in particular, provide a free and continuous medium for the spread of noise throughout most home areas. Moreover, the typical two-story, open space of the lobby acts as an amplifier and transmitter of noise wherever it is issued in the spaces around the hall to the rest of the home. The enclosed nature of this hollow space and its extension on two stories magnifies racket and decreases the level of auditory privacy throughout the entire home.

Furthermore, the open structure staircase, without doors to seal the noise in each level, turns the stairs into a clamor channel for transmitting sounds freely from one floor to another. These factors reduce the level of auditory privacy and in return restrict many domestic functions.

### **3.10. Privacy in open home spaces with neighbors and the street**

Similar to other conceptual and empirical variations between the community and their environment, the common definition of the backyard as a 'private' family open space, does not conform with the community's perception of this area. As a result, the typical usage of the backyard is different from that which the community developed based on their privacy considerations after dwelling in their new homes. These differences are not the simple result of functional design variations, stylistic details, or even rootless differences in architectural housing patterns between community ideals and their environment, but are a complex product of profound historic, cultural, and religious factors that initiated these variations and expressed them clearly in idiosyncratic home designs particular to each of the community's and mainstream's original environments. These profound distinctions have led, accordingly, to different concepts in the designs of private home open spaces, its social meaning, and, consequently, the social practices which involve the need for privacy within such spaces in community homes in Montreal.

#### **3.10.1. Privacy between homes at the backyard**

Commonly, the most salient characteristic of the concept of backyard in the views of the community is the lack of privacy with surrounding neighbors. This fact applies inclusively to all the case studies which were examined regardless of home design or architectural pattern. Consisting of a three-foot wooden fence, the meager articulation and functionality of the physical demarcation devices of the backyard boundaries can hardly refer to the aspect of physical ownership of this open area alone. Other important aspects such as visual, acoustic, and psychological privacy, which are highly valued in Islamic tradition and community's culture, are either only symbolically referred to or not addressed at all in normal backyard settings. The lack of many of these privacy requirements, namely control over the visibility of the backyard by neighbors, reduces the privacy level of the backyard drastically.

Privacy in the community is based on religious and cultural teachings which promote homogenous social values among the group, facilitating social interaction and communication of privacy needs. This social and value system determines the limits of personal freedom and establishes individual and collective responsibility for personal

actions of the community. Accordingly, avoiding observing or being observed by strangers outside of a specific privacy framework represents a reciprocal type of responsibility to be ensured by each individual and consequently the whole community. The two levels of individual and collective responsibility of community members to provide privacy produces hierarchies of social and physical orders that contribute to privacy in homes' in-between spaces. This reciprocal relationship breaks down in cases of the exposure of neighbors' backyards to each other, particularly when neighbors do not share the same privacy values. The differentiation in privacy perceptions, which typically distinguishes community neighbors, is based on the fact that in mass-culture, privacy is based on self-defined personal freedom which varies among people and is poorly regulated within positive laws. Therefore, the overall absence of an optimal physical environment, similar privacy standards, and homogenous social norms to support the premises of the reciprocal privacy relationships among neighbors results in strains over the use of open home spaces. Accordingly, privacy tends to be translated into more isolation rather than social and spatial hierarchy in this environment because of the physical and demographic settings of the community milieu. In order to achieve privacy within these settings, a complete enclosure of the backyard is required through high fences to block possible visual intrusions. This procedure is, nevertheless, impractical because of the prevalence of two-story buildings, the narrow setbacks of the adjacent homes, as well as the bylaws which prohibit the implementing of such enclosures in these spaces.

Within this framework where the visual privacy of community members is defined by blood and matrimonial relations and is traditionally achieved in the home through sophisticated spatial hierarchy, Montreal homes' backyards represent semi-private open spaces where control over visual intrusions and thus psychological privacy are unattainable. Due to these limitations, freedom of behavior in this territory nearly resembles, for community members, that granted in public open places. Therefore, community homes' backyards host a low degree of social activities as result of the inadequacy of its design to host private uses with minimal or no constraints.

To counteract the possible visual intrusion of households' privacy, many physical and behavioral measures are taken by the community to reduce visibility and protect from exposure to neighbors. The first involves the inhabitant using in the summer the internal home spaces, such as living room and kitchen, which face the backyard with large openings, without actually using the outdoor area in order to enjoy the open space while simultaneously maintaining privacy. Some of the households plant canopies abutting ground floor living spaces to provide screens from facing homes. These canopied terraces

extend, as in case study C1, the internal space into the outdoors or bring the outdoors into home spaces and provide air and sunshine while preventing exposure to the neighbors at both sides of the home. To protect from visual privacy invasion resulted from neighboring homes facing backyards, arbors and bowers are arranged in other cases at the fence to form a dense curtain of vegetation to impede viewing through the fence. Another method was used in case study D2 involved hanging a visual barrier consisting of a riddle-like texture screen at a short distant from the terrace to allow air and light to pass through while preventing direct views to and from neighboring homes. Other strategies used in some case studies involved planting trees close to the fence or elevating the fence to block viewing from the surrounding homes. However, because of the bylaws place the limit of 1.8 meters for the maximum height of the backyard fence, heightening the fence becomes an impractical solution since it cannot prevent viewing from the second floors of neighboring homes.

However, there are many factors that deter the community from pursuing physical privacy mechanisms in their backyards. For instance, elevating the fence can be interpreted wrongfully as antisocial and impertinent practices by neighbors who do not share the same privacy perspective with the Shaamy families and therefore do not understand its true connotation. As a result, more subtle, indirect, and customary solutions tend to be taken instead of fundamental ones to avoid any possible misinterpretation and wrong signal which can be caused by cultural differentiation. This notion is typical for minorities facing a predominant culture which has no acquaintance with the society's other sub-cultures. Therefore, community members as a minority tend not to highlight their privacy practices by applying major privacy solutions to distinguish their homes in order to avoid looking awkward and dissonant with the rest of the society. Also, the case studies are subjected to the pressure of conforming with the landscape of the neighboring homes externally by the society and internally through the emphasis in community culture on collective spirit, harmony, and adaptability. Therefore, the case studies try to avoid distinguishing themselves in a manner that could seem abnormal, queer, or contradictory to the common rules among neighbors despite their distinct social practices. Moreover, in spite of the fact that most families in the case studies own their homes, they are not completely settled and often expressed the potential of selling their homes in the future. Consequently, they tend not to apply permanent and uncommon privacy treatments in their backyards which may make their homes odd and unappealing for prospected non-community buyers. Finally, the exposure of the backyard from three directions to neighbors contradicts the cultural definition of private open space as the courtyard is surrounded from all sides by the building masses. This fundamental

contradiction relinquishes psychologically privacy in the backyard and renders its use as formal as in public open spaces. As a result, the community tends to restrict their use of the backyard and undertakes behavioral privacy measures to maintain their outdoors privacy rather than implementing deficient and impractical solutions which will not achieve the minimal level of privacy which they require.

The minimal and confined use of the backyard is not only due to the inability to attain visual and psychological privacy, but also to an inability to insulate the backyard from neighbors' activities in abutting outdoors spaces. The merely symbolic and dysfunctional demarcation of the backyard territory by a short fence keeps the backyard spaces of all neighbors virtually continuous. This blended space leads to an involuntarily imposition of neighbors activities and social patterns of interaction on each other. Therefore, since neighbors do not have the same conceptions and standards about privacy, they deal with each other based on each one's own privacy perspective. Interacting with others based on their own understanding of privacy, community members try to avoid using their backyards while their neighbors are using their outdoor space on the one hand to preserve their neighbors privacy and to protect their own privacy on the other. Accordingly, in some instances neighbors behave within their understanding of privacy and personal freedom, in a manner harmful to the privacy of the other party. For example, a neighbor enjoying the freedom of taking a sunbath in his or her backyard can force a neighboring Shaamy family not to use of their backyard to provide (within their cultural norms) privacy for themselves as well as for the neighbor. Thus, the discordance in privacy conceptions leads to restrained and careful use of backyards by the community.

Due to the inability of community members to implement substantial physical privacy mechanisms in their backyards, the community strongly expresses their privacy inclinations and views in the form of preferences for backyard layouts in relation to the surrounding homes. For instance, it was found that four out of twelve homes of the case studies are located at the corner of the cluster. This particular position reduces the typical number of abutting neighboring homes from three to only two or in some cases, only one. Another three backyards among the case studies overlook the street. This choice helps protect the backyard from immediate exposure to neighbors' second floor of windows. Homes in this case generally have a thick fence of cypress trees or arbors visually and acoustically isolating the homes from the street. In some other case studies, the number of trees in the backyards of community homes was notably higher than that in their neighbors backyards. Often in these cases, new trees are planted in certain positions to function with the other green elements as a screen for the backyard and home rear facade.

Finally, it was also found that many of the backyards in the case studies are considerably deep in comparison with average home backyard. The preference for this quality helps keep maximum distance with facing neighboring homes.

### **3.10.2. Front yard and home privacy with the street**

There are major distinctions in the concept of open home spaces between the Shaamy community and that embodied in their new homes. The front yard as a part of the home implies for the community the ability of using this area freely and without restriction. However, the exposure of this area to the street and its lack of clear spatial and functional definition limits its use tremendously. Community conceptions of open home space are based on their traditional homes, where the property line extends to the center of the road. Accordingly, the inhabitants have more control over their homes and its surrounding areas. Additionally, home green area is always defined by walls, located in the middle of the home, and represents the center for daily life activities. In contrast to this framework, in community's suburban homes in Montreal, the street dominates the front yard area and affects the level of privacy the inhabitants can attain in this private territory. Lang acknowledges that because of the lack of sufficient privacy in the front yard, its function becomes more figurative. He states that "front yards are for display-few activities take place there-while the backyard is for private activities" ("Creating" 155). In this manner, the passers-by uses and benefit from the front yard more than the home inhabitants themselves who have little control and constrained freedom to use this part of their property. The other conflict between the community and their environment is due to the location of the green area (the front yard in particular) at the periphery of the home and exposed to street and neighbors versus their traditional walled green space. The undefined status of the front yard in terms of the extent of the inhabitants' control versus the right of public renders it obsolete. Lang affirms this logic explaining that "social interactions occur more easily when people's social needs are balanced by the sense of individual autonomy that comes with privacy. Ambiguous spaces, those that are neither public nor private, tend to mitigate against interactions, since the individual is less able to control the interaction on his or her own terms" ("Creating" 60).

Thus, because of its abutting position to the public street and weak lines of demarcation, the front yard embodies, in the community's views, very poor level of privacy. Within this perspective, the front yard functions merely as flimsy symbolic and physical buffer between the home and the public street without any potential to protect from visual intrusions. The threshold function of the front yard represents, in this sense, an abrupt medium in the spatial and social hierarchy which connects the public street to

the home. This connection is overly direct and has no distinct gradual functional and spatial transition. Therefore, the front yard within this context functions as a poor medium of insulation and social interaction because of its immediate relation to the street. This close relation is usually emphasized by the lack of a fence or any other physical barrier to increase the sense of territory, ownership, and freedom of the inhabitants in this space. These requirements are particularly important for a community which places considerable emphasis on the physical mechanisms of privacy to achieve visual and psychological privacy. Within this context, the fragile physical and unclear symbolic expression of privacy of the front yard through its own layouts and in relation to home, street and neighbors do not resonate with the community actual needs and understanding of privacy. The community conception of this (semi-private, semi-public) space as a transitional area, external threshold, and buffer zone precludes the use of this area for further social activities. As a result of the lack of necessary territorial, visual, and psychological privacy, the front yards in community homes tend to be rarely used for social activities, particularly by females family members.

Customizing the front yard to suite community privacy needs inside and outside the home is usually challenged by suburban bylaws, cultural definitions of this area by the society, and its typical uses by neighbors. Thus, the need for conformity with the surrounding environment plays usually an important role in limiting the scope of using this piece of property according to community understanding of the relation between home, private open space, and street. The practical use of this space tends, rather, to be confined to its role as transitional space, whereas the porch which overlooks the front yard in some cases can be rarely used as summer outdoor sitting place. This function may arise when simultaneously entertaining male and female guests. In this case, men use the porch and the front yard with their male guests in order to allow the household women and their female guests to use the backyard for relatively more privacy.

There are notable preferences for home location among the community that reflects distinct privacy characteristics pertaining to the front yards. Remarkably, it was found that nine out of fourteen case studies, have their front yards facing either undeveloped lots, public gardens, or located at the dead ends of wide community streets. In the first two cases, the absence of confronting building facing the front yard, the porch and home entrance gives more privacy to community homes. In the third case, which denotes five of the thirteen cases studied, the location at the dead end of the street ensures minimal number of passers-by in front of the home's front yard. Also, this location reduces passing traffic, resulting in restricted access to the end of the street area except for the inhabitants of the few homes which locate at the dead end of the street. The choice of such location

reflects a common phenomenon in Islamic cities where the most precious home is the one which locates at the end of the blind alley. By maintaining this preference in their new environment, the Shaamy community restores, to some degree, the hierarchy of privacy in their outdoors through a gradual territorial transition from the public thoroughfares to semi-public zones, and then from semi-private area to then private areas. The semi-private front yard in this scheme reflects more privacy than that which is offered by a front yard located directly on a main a street.

### **3.10.3. From outside to the inside of the home**

As a result of the lack of extended hierarchy of privacy through spatial organization and territorial controllers including physical barriers outside of the home, privacy inside the home becomes increasingly more fragile. This vulnerability is due to the outward looking nature of the design, which causes immediate and uncontrolled interactions between the indoors and outdoors through home openings. Invariably overlooking the external domains, home openings overly connect the rather public exteriors with private home interiors, thus reducing the ability to maintain adequate privacy inside the home. The large openings which are designed to trap the scarce winter sunshine of Montreal significantly reduce control over transmission of information to the external environment. Neighboring homes which face the back and side elevations of each other constitute a permanent threat of visual invasion of each others privacy. The close distance between side elevations in the case of detached homes in case study C3. for instance, constitutes a direct infringement upon the household's privacy. Therefore, to protect their privacy, they used permanent curtains to prevent possible visual intrusion into the homes. In cases C4 and A2, the curtains were made of multiple layers of various textures to allow for the desired degree of light and privacy based upon the intensity of indoor and outdoor illumination, and according to the gender of the space users.

The community best preserves its indoors privacy from possible outdoors intrusions through preferences for certain qualities they selected when purchasing their homes. Optimal privacy in community homes is particularly attained by specific choices of home location in relation to the surroundings. In regard to the front yard, ensuring a wide distance between the sidewalk and home elevation reduces the ability of the passerby to view the interior of the home. This characteristic is complimented by a home's location on a secondary street with minimal pedestrian flow and car traffic. Moreover, broad distances between the front elevation of opposing and between the side elevations of neighboring homes of community members provides buffer zones that somewhat allow visual privacy for home interiors. Furthermore, the choice of home location across from

public garden, facing an undeveloped site, or at the end of blind alley reduces the possible visual infringement of privacy from the outside environment. Regarding home backspaces, the particularly deep backyard of most community homes combined with the depth of the facing backyard of neighbors' homes provides reasonable distances to allow sensible privacy. Nevertheless, curtains, trees, and arbors as privacy mechanisms are indispensable to counterbalance privacy shortcomings which result from the outward looking nature of the home design.

## **Chapter 4: Synopsis of privacy-induced patterns of preference and change**

### **4.1. Preferences for privacy characteristics in home environment**

Undoubtedly, prevention (i.e. deciding on privacy preferences that are embodied in home design) is better and cheaper than treatment (i.e. implementing physical, behavioral, and functional privacy mechanisms after occupation by the inhabitants). Therefore, when buying their homes, the community tries to select those that embody the privacy characteristics which correspond optimally to their cultural needs, within the given conditions of Montreal's housing environment. Even though their homes fall short of achieving the privacy level that Shaamy families desire, they do have some salient qualities that counteract and abate the typical negative effects of home outward looking design and interior arrangement on people's domestic privacy. For many practical reasons, the type of home preferred should not be the sole consideration, but an optimization of a home's physical privacy potential. Some of these reasons pertain to the complementary physical, functional, and behavioral privacy mechanisms by which the inhabitants compensate for the margin of deficiency in the privacy characteristics of their homes. Finally, finding the exact preferences that the community desire in their homes depends on numerous factors including home location, design pattern, and the probability limitations of encountering appropriate homes, given their infrequency. Among many other circumstantial factors, these usually reduce the potential of finding homes that meet the maximum privacy preferences of the community within the limitations of Montreal's environment.

#### **4.1.1. Home ownership**

Being of middle and upper middle class, most community members tend to purchase homes upon their arrival in Canada. Owning homes in their new country is important since it signifies for them increasing freedom, privacy, and stability. This is because home ownership, particularly for community members, represents one of the most authentic attributes that are endemic to privacy. Possessing a home enables full dispensation and control of one's own property, and a substantial ability to change its characteristics to comply with one's cultural needs. The freedom of customizing one's home most prominently manifests itself in the physical privacy mechanisms which the inhabitants apply to their owned homes. Without ownership privacy measures become restricted to altering space usage and implementing behavioral privacy procedures.

#### **4.1.2. Home location, external features, and site settings**

Privacy characteristics of a home are second in importance after ownership. These features represent the most important issue in the process of home selection. This emphasis is due to the fact that the characteristics of the location of a given home inherently define significant privacy parameters, some of which extend to affect privacy even in home interiors. Additionally, the importance of location is due not only to the insulation which home territorial demarcations can provide, but also to many socio-cultural preferences and demographic determinants relating directly to privacy. These socio-cultural factors are mainly based on the middle-class community background whose individuals typically select low-density suburban neighborhoods. Within the Montreal suburban context, this choice inherently implies generous, insulating green areas in-between homes which contribute to fulfillment of the cultural preferences of the community for privacy. The importance of home location, pattern, and site for community privacy is accentuated by its choice for living in townhouses and single family detached homes in suburbia, in spite of the fact that such a choice is disproportionate with its modest financial abilities. However, living in disperse quiet suburbs in large homes with extensive green buffer zones with neighbors is justified by the significance of privacy for the typical large families of the community and their particular lifestyle. Fulfilling these preferences, a large proportion of the community concentrate in the West Island, the South Shore, and in Laval where the suburban milieu provides enhanced domestic privacy conditions. Additionally, the similarity in privacy backgrounds between the community members and other Mediterranean communities which concentrate in these areas, supports the socio-cultural bases for this geo-demographic phenomenon. The closer understanding of privacy norms among Shaamies and their neighbors inherently leads to mutual respect and observance for each other privacy traditions and facilitates the communication of privacy concerns.

Based on these preferences and considerations for privacy, a set of physical characteristics pertaining to home pattern, location, and site was frequently observable in many of the case studies. For example, it was found that five out of thirteen case studies were located at the end of blind alleys. This kind of location significantly reduces pedestrian and motor traffic in front of these homes thus drastically increasing visual and acoustic privacy. In addition, such locations render the dead end of the public street a semi-private territory with minimal penetration by strangers. Such locations also provide a minimal number of neighbors overlooking the back yard of the community's homes and secures large backyards enhance visual privacy. Another site characteristic that exists in several cases studies' home is the front elevation facing gardens or undeveloped land.

This feature aims to increase visual privacy of the front yard and in home spaces that are situated at the front of the home. Moreover, ten out of the fourteen case studies were characterized by the absence of side windows directly facing neighboring side facades. This indication clearly contrasts with the prevalent side windows in many neighboring homes. This feature reflects a trend to protect homes from the possible violation of a household's visual privacy via side windows by immediate neighbors. Thus, the lack of side windows removes one of the major differences which distinguish the detached homes from townhouses.

#### **4.1.3. Home interior design and size**

Notably, eight of the case studies were homes that had been previously built, modified, or owned by Greek, Italian, or Jewish inhabitants. This phenomenon shows a tendency of the Shaamies to buy and live in homes inhabited by cultural groups with similar privacy traditions with the community than French and British ones. Three other case studies portray homes that were completely built or drastically transformed by Shaamy families to reflect their privacy values and preferences. The two remaining homes underwent no major changes since they enjoy substantial privacy advantages.

The common characteristics of the internal design of townhouses and detached homes, including cottages, bungalows, and split level ones, often represent a set of typical and idiosyncratic attributes which distinguish each pattern from the others. However, among the case studies in particular, privacy preferences promoting common denominators and unifying characteristics can be easily identified, not only among homes of the same pattern but also among different patterns.

One of the main distinctions between detached and attached homes lies in the layout. The first is longitudinal, attached to neighbors, and has no side windows whereas the other has a transverse plan and is separated from neighbors and sometimes have small side windows. Additionally, townhouses and detached homes usually are different in size. Accordingly, many detached home tend to have guestroom as well as a living room on the first floor. Whereas, almost in all townhouses a guestroom is not considered in the design. Therefore, the community tends to transform the usage of one of the home spaces to serve this function. In the majority of community townhouses, therefore, the main living space, which is located at the backside of home's first floor, is transformed into a guestroom. As a result of this transformation the guestroom unfavorably becomes separate from the family circulation area which is located at the front of the home. Within these favorable layouts, the kitchen functions as a buffer zone between the guestroom and the dining room. Similar usage of domestic spaces can be also applied in detached homes

when facing similar circumstances. In the case of reversed layouts in some townhouses where the guestroom is located at the front of the home, the circulation area, which connects all the home's levels and spaces, become exposed to guest spaces. Within similar circumstances in detached homes, adding doors to separate circulation and guest domains is usually a feasible privacy mechanism to solve this particular problem. Moreover, twelve out of fourteen of the case studies comprising both detached and attached homes were composed of three floors. This dominant preference of the community allows an enhanced dissection of functional domains and consequently grants more privacy for the household. The autonomy of the basement in particular is a celebrated quality in community homes since it provides privacy and enclosure for variety of uses which other spaces can barely provide.

Cottages, which are the most popular home pattern among the community, have two typical design variations that significantly affect home privacy. The first pivotal variation concerns the design of the lobby whereas the other relates to the existence of a living room which is independent from the guestroom on the first floor. Regarding the first characteristic, three out of five cottages among the cases studies have an enclosed lobby plan. In these cases, the lobby space extends only for one story in height completely separating the second floor, sleeping domain, from the first floor, guest and family living domains. The remaining two cottages among the case studies have instead an open plan lobby with a two-story space and a staircase ending in a mezzanine overlooking the entrance area of the first floor. In these cases, however, the relatively narrow aperture of the guestrooms' opening to the lobby provides, with a appropriate furniture arrangement, reasonable visual privacy between guests and the household. With regard to the second main design characteristic in cottages, three out of five cottages among the case studies were found also to have living rooms separated from guestrooms on the first floor. The horizontal juxtaposition of these two domains enables an effective situation for gender separation when entertaining guests. In this case, the living room and the guestroom are both used as reception area and remain independent from the basement and the second floor which are exclusively used by the family. In the remainder two cases studies which lack a living room on the first floor, the basement in case study A5 and a second floor space in A4 served as living rooms. Using the living rooms in these two cases for receiving guests, particularly when applying gender separation, caused not only a penetration of family living and sleeping domain, but also deprived these families from using their private spaces freely.

Preferences for split-level homes include two distinguishing design orientations varying in the levels of privacy which each one can provide. The first pattern, which

exists in three of the five split level homes among the case studies, presents a high level of privacy and enclosure of the home domains. In this pattern, the circulation area, including the stairs, is situated at the front of the home close to the entrance. This location is advantageous for providing privacy since it facilitates circulation between the home's vertical levels and horizontal spaces without the need for crossing or being exposed to any of the home domains or disturbing any function. The second design, which represents a minority among the split-level homes, includes the circulation area at the center of the home, exposing all the home spaces to each other. This design lacks a clear spatial and functional hierarchy in the home's horizontal domains as well as between vertical levels. In such cases, the basement gains substantial importance as an insulated place where the inhabitants can enjoy privacy.

#### **4.2. Physical privacy mechanisms**

Modifying the home physical environment is one of the most radical and effective, yet less frequently used, ways to improving home privacy. It involves mostly permanent changes of home design or architectural details to fit particular privacy purposes. Physical mutations often include adding walls and doors, partitioning and appropriating spaces, and sometimes installing temporarily barriers to establish functional and spatial hierarchy. Some of these changes occur immediately after home purchase to resolve the direct contradiction between the design characteristics of home and privacy syntax which the community desire in their homes. The other changes may occur gradually or after long period of home occupancy as a result of change in family structure, or deciding on settling permanently in their homes. These changes tend also to come after the inhabitants' failure to adapt to the original home design after a period of living there. Physical changes highlight the limits of tolerance regarding privacy with home environment which the inhabitants cannot afford to exceed. At these limits, physical interventions become necessary procedures to establish the minimum privacy requirements that the inhabitants require in their environment. Physical patterns of change in the case studies were implemented in a number of definite home areas, reflecting diverse privacy concerns and strategies to overcome specific design shortcomings. The locations and the limits at which physical interventions are carried out, however, are the result of compound factors varying from one case study to another. In different case studies, the interchangeability of various privacy mechanisms interfered with the process of categorically determining the logic for pursuing certain changes in some situations. However, general rules will be derived on the basis of analyzing the typical privacy measures which exist within the specific condition of the homes at studied.

However, there are significant reasons which prevent the community from implementing physical changes in their homes in spite of the need for such changes. As homeowners, Shaamies tend not to apply culturally particular and irreversible changes to their home physical environment, in order to maintain the home's original characteristics that are appealing to prospective buyers when selling their homes. Additionally, since the inhabitants in most case studies perceive the possibility of moving from their homes in the future, in spite of their strong desire to change their environment, they tend not to invest a lot of money in costly changes which might be lost when selling their homes. Moreover, alteration of the functions of home spaces and the application of behavioral privacy mechanisms represent easier and more flexible methods than the physical ones in variety of situations to overcome the resilience of the domestic environment to privacy norms of the community. These temporal mechanisms respond flexibly to the development of the family structure and the ephemeral events and needs while simultaneously involving no construction costs, decline in home selling price, or permanent change of home configurations. Furthermore, Shaamy families living for a long time in Western style housing environments in their homeland have gradually become accustomed to privacy deficiencies of their home designs, and developed more effective behavioral and functional mechanisms to override their shortcomings. Thus, adaptation has promoted the ability of the community to coexist with a variety of alien design concepts and environments while simultaneously not sacrificing their privacy standards, through flexible changes in home function and applying privacy behavioral mechanisms which are capable of compensating for a reasonable amount of privacy deficiencies of their environment.

Finally, there are other reasons impeding the implementation of physical changes, including the nature of the home design which may either require drastic physical changes thus rendering this process inefficient. Another factor which hinders the application of physical changes is the feasibility of some major operations and the high cost, which might fall beyond the inhabitants' ability to perform some major physical changes thus, overruling costly change propositions.

#### **4.2.1. Adding doors and dividing screens**

Adding doors is one of the most practical ways of physically dividing spaces and hence providing more control and privacy between different domains. This mechanism permits the separation of functions, particularly when home plan tends to express openness and lack of hierarchy. Doors also present flexible means that permit optional disconnection or connection of spaces, thus reinforcing visual, acoustic, and

psychological privacy between adjacent spaces when needed. In the case studies, doors were most used in separating the kitchen from the circulation area and the dining room. Divisional doors between the lobby and the guestroom were added only when the opening of the door was small enough, as in case study A1, to allow installing a light door. In other cases, doors between the reception room and the lobby were rarely added for several reasons, among which are: first, the extensive width of the door aperture which renders door addition impractical; second, the ability to organize furniture in the guestroom in a way that provides privacy without the need for implementing major physical construction; third, the dwindling guest entertainment tradition because of the fundamental dysfunctional home layouts for this purpose; fourth, the increasing tendency to entertain mostly close relatives because of the disharmonious social and cultural composition of the community. Thus, this tendency diminishes the need for a strict separation of family and guest spaces; five, the existence of alternative insulated spaces, such as the office or basement, for receiving non-family guests when the need for considerable privacy arises; six, the desire to maintain strong spatial openness between the home's various spaces and the guestroom because of its use by the community as a sitting area particularly in the absence of a living room on the first floor.

Doors between the kitchen and dining room are more likely to be added for three reasons: first, the dichotomous and opposing nature of the kitchen as informal place for the family and the guestroom as a formal spaces for guests; second, the need for visual privacy for the household in the kitchen from guests in the dining room when having a banquets; finally, the need to prevent the transmission of vapor, sounds, and aromas from the kitchen into the formal dining space. For example in case study A2, the door between the kitchen and dining room represents a physical barrier which emphasizes a territorial demarcation between these two spaces. In several cases studies doors were added to separate the kitchen from the entrance hall. Since it often faces the home front door, the kitchen entrance requires a door that provides visual privacy for kitchen users when opening the front door, or receiving guests. A kitchen door with the lobby is also beneficial in preserving the olfactory and acoustic privacy of other home spaces. Moreover, the kitchen's door provides spatial privacy between the kitchen as family informal space and the hall which, in many designs, is considered a complementary part of the formal guestroom.

In townhouses, the lack of sufficient space to add permanent doors that separate the kitchen from the guestroom and the lobby, led in a number of the case studies to the application of mobile barriers. In case study D1, a traditional light screen composed of reed pieces and ornamental articles was placed at the kitchen's opening to the entrance

hall and to the guestroom in order to provide spatial enclosure and visual privacy for the kitchen. In D2, a mobile, foldable, wooden partition was used to separate the kitchen from the guestroom and the lobby, however, only when guests were present.

Sometimes doors were also added to the living room, as in case study A2 for instance, in order to separate the entrance hall from the family's private sitting place. Additionally this door provided visual privacy for the living room which is located diagonally across the hall with the guestroom. This door becomes necessary because of the inability to close the wide opening of the lobby with guestroom with a door. In other instances, doors were added to the basement to achieve acoustic privacy and independence, particularly when used as children's domain, guest reception space, guest sleeping area, or living room.

#### **4.2.2. Adding guest sleeping room and office**

For many Shaamy families, guest bedrooms represent a crucial traditional space in their Montreal homes particularly because of their living as expatriates where they expect to receive many long staying guests from their homeland. Assigning one of the second floor bedrooms for guests sleeping can result in poor privacy conditions where the privacy of both guests and the household becomes restricted. Whereas, transforming part of the basement into a guest bedroom, though traditionally is considered inappropriate, represents a functional solution that provides significant privacy for both guests and the household. In case study C5 for instance the owner reached an ideal solution where, by changing the home design, he constructed a guest sleeping room that is incorporated into the guest domain and adjacent to the guestroom, guest bathroom, and home entrance. By so doing, not only substantial privacy for both guests and family is secured, but also the functional and traditional aspects of the guest domain which existed in ancient Shaamy Home were reinvigorated

Many of the case studies, including A2, B1, C3, C4, C5, and D1 added office space to secure privacy with foreign visitors. Based on home privacy parameters, offices were ideally located in most cases in the basement where maximum insulation from the rest of the house could be achieved. Therefore, the allocation of office space in the basement of spilt level homes is common since the open plan design allows very little privacy with visitors in the guestroom. The office, however, is not only restricted to its use as a foreign male guest space, but also often used by family members to acquire privacy when studying or reading. In case study D3 for instance, a corner of the basement was partitioned to serve as a study for the family elder son. Case study A2 includes a separate office for foreign and business guests in the basement and a study on the bedroom floor

for private family use. To provide complete privacy for the household, in case study A4, the home garage was transformed into an office so that it can be accessed by guests from the outside and by the household from inside the home.

#### **4.2.3. Appropriating spaces and adding rooms**

Redesigning a space to comply with the community privacy norms is a major undertaking that reflects great need and commitment on the part of the inhabitants to improving home privacy. One expressive example of this mechanism is demonstrated in case study C5, where the owner transformed a one story split level home into a two story cottage with major changes in the design of the first floor in order to address the family's traditional privacy needs. (see the plan of case study C5). The changes sought to establish an independent guest domain on the first floor that consists of guestroom, dining room, and guest sleeping room, while moving the sleeping domain from its old location on the first floor to a newly built second floor. This solution insulates the living and guest domains from the sleeping domain and separates the functions of the family living domain from those of the guest domain. Another process of space appropriation is portrayed in case study A2, where the owner tripled the size of the living room in order to suit the family size and the pattern of activities which this space needs to contain. Enlarging the living room resulted in an increasing autonomy for the guestroom as the family become independent of using guest spaces, which are accessibly located on the first floor, for their space demanding activities. Additionally, increasing the living room area and linking the kitchen to it granted further privacy to the female guests and the household, in particular when the living room is used for entertaining visitors. Moreover, the resulting "L" -shaped living room plan provides more privacy to family members and relatives when each of the male and female groups independently uses either wing of the living room.

#### **4.2.4. Adding fences, canopies, and trees**

Because of the practical inability to shield community homes and backyards from exposure to the second stories of neighboring homes, fence heightening, as many case studies attest, was rarely carried out. Rather, inhabitants tend to plant bowers and thickets at the fringes of their properties as in case studies A5, C1, C4, and D2, since plants can grow naturally to a height exceeding the maximum fence height permitted by suburban by-laws. This solution is also considered less offensive for neighbors, who in some cases, do not appreciate cultural differences or approve some culturally base measures that not only differ with their norms and may affect their property. Sometimes, as in case study

C3, the family planted some trees away from the fence and at short distances from the home's rear elevation in order to give effective veiling for terraces and home spaces which overlook the backyard. In other cases such as A2, owners tended to plant trees adjacent to the fence forming a thick and high curtain preventing visual intrusion from second floor neighbors or abutting streets. Another method included planting canopies covering terraces as in C1 and D2 thus forming a semi-open extension of home rear spaces permitting air and sunshine while at the same time preserving privacy.

### **4.3. Functional privacy mechanisms**

Modifying the function of a given area is an important and widely practiced privacy mechanism in community homes. This prevalence is found due to the relative facility of changing spatial use including permanently or temporarily combining more than one use in a space when the need arises. The popularity of this procedure is also due to the relative flexibility of the layouts of Montreal homes particularly in their multi-floor settings and the existence of a basement which often absorbs many activities that are characterized by excessive need for privacy. Modifying the use of space can be a result of the need for a variety of privacy levels in the home's various spaces. This need sometimes leads to reconfiguring the function map as well as the spatial characteristics of the home's spaces by changing furniture arrangement and territorial markers. This dynamic mechanism achieves functional and spatial hierarchy granting domestic spaces more independence and autonomy or openness and connectivity, as is required.

#### **4.3.1. Replacing one function with another**

The differences in lifestyle, preferences, and privacy needs between the Shaamy community and its physical environment is shaped in accordance with mainstream culture and sometimes necessitates changes in the function of some the home's spaces. This process includes replacing some of the original functions imbedded in the design of home with new functions based on community culture that sometimes have no relevance or congruity with the home's design. These functional mutations often can be identified in patterns based on typical categories exist in both community privacy norms and Montreal home design methods. Consequently, a typology of these functional changes can be achieved in spite of the differences in home patterns and layouts among the case studies. Privacy-induced functional changes are based rather on the same key issues that define the nature, scale, and method of implementing these changes. Such determinants include the provision of formal guest space, the location of the living room, the kind of relationship that the circulation areas have with the rest of the home's spaces, as well as

family size, age, and sex composition. One widely prevailing example of function shift is the transformation of the living room into a guestroom. This change occurs mostly in homes lacking a formal guestroom. In such cases common in middle class Montreal homes, the living room -due to its typical location close to the front door, its position at the same level as the entrance, its direct relation with the lobby, and its relative isolation from other home spaces- is usually converted into a guestroom. This kind of conversion ensures more privacy for the household and increased convenience for guests by avoiding their penetration into the heart of the home in order to access their domain. This shift of function can be found in all home patterns within the case studies, as documented in A4, B1, C3, C5, and D3.

Another major transformation often occurs in the basement, when its original designation as domestic bar, guest lounge, or storage is transformed into a variety of functions that aim to absorb and solve privacy problems in the home's other spaces. Examples of these functions include an office for receiving foreign guests, playroom, young male children's living and sleeping domain, guest sleeping space, family living room, or space for either male or female guests. Thus, the basement plays many important roles which characterize it as a maintainer of the privacy equilibrium in home spaces when the homes fall short of providing the various levels of privacy required by the household. Using the basement as a secluded space helps provide visual privacy from non-family guests, particularly when the guestroom has an open plan and is only used for entertaining relatives, as is the situation in case studies A2, A5, C5, and D1 for example.

Other privacy-based change of function includes using the basement as a living room. This usage represents a culturally unfavorable solution, accepted only when lacking separate guest and living rooms on the first floor. The need for using the basement may also arise when requiring separate spaces for entertaining male and female guests apart from using the family's private living space. Though undesirably used, the basement is contingently used in several cases as guest space because of its enhanced privacy characteristics. This usage particularly occurs when male and female guest spaces need to be separated. Depending on the complex interface of spatial and time variables, the basement can also be used as guest space when the first floor has an open plan, or the guest room on the main floor is used as a living room. Within these circumstances, as case studies A1, C3, C4, D1, D2, and D3 demonstrate, the basement provides enhanced design characteristics that effectively cater to the required privacy of family and guests groups. Accordingly, in case study A1 for example, the basement was used temporarily as a living room while the guest and living rooms on the first floor were used for male and female guests. Similar uses can be also found in case studies A5, B1, C3, C4, and D3.

The basement can also be transformed into guest sleeping space because of its excellent privacy features. In case study D2 for instance, the basement provides permanent accommodation for guest sleeping, ensuring the relative independence of guests and family privacy. Other case studies such as A5, A1, C4, and D1, use the basement as guest sleeping area on a temporary basis. Another form of functional transformation of the basement involves using this space as a playroom area. Because of its ability to suppress noise, the basement represents an ideal medium to accommodate the noisy activities of the numerous children typical in Shaamy families. Often another form of transformation involves the basement serving as a private male youth domain for sitting, sleeping, and receiving friends. In many case studies, male children sought to acquire more independence and privacy from the rest of the family. This notion of independence simultaneously helps to provide more autonomy and privacy for other family members in the rest of the home. In case study A3 for example, the only son of the family independently occupied the basement which became his study, sleeping, living, and entertainment space. This arrangement not only gave him substantial privacy but also granted the parents and daughter increased freedom as the first and second floors of the home. In case study A1, the large number of male children and the large extent of their social interaction with friends supported the need to transform the basement into a private male domain in order to isolate the family from its sons' bustling lifestyle. A similar arrangement was found in case study A5 where an office, a male bedroom, and multi-functional males' space naturally transformed the basement into a male dominated area.

Another privacy-induced change of functions is typified by the transformation of the guestroom into a living room. As case study C5 demonstrates, the former guestroom was transformed into a family living space, while the bedrooms were merged to form a large guest and dining space. Thus, it becomes possible for the living room, which was previously located in the basement, to take its normal place on the first floor (See A5 Plan 1.2. and 3). Another pattern of transformation is demonstrated by the permanent conversion of a family bedroom into a guest sleeping room. As case studies C2 and A3 show, this change of usage improves privacy for both guests as well as family members. In the last case, the bedroom of the only son of the family was transposed into the basement, while the son's former bedroom on the second floor became a guest sleeping room to allow maximum privacy for all parties. Another form of transmutation involves altering the function of a bedroom into a home office in order to provide a quiet place for reading and studying. Since bedrooms on the second floor secure considerable acoustic privacy due to their vertical insulation from the noise of the first floor, one of the bedrooms, as in case study A2, tends to be used as a reading room. Similarly, in case

study B1, which represents a bungalow, a bedroom on the first floor was transformed into an office and study room. Finally, as a result of transforming the living room into a guestroom, the need for a substitute living room often leads to transformation of one of the bedrooms on the second floor into a living room. This situation is exemplified in case study A4, where the living room is incorporated in the family sleeping domain, permitting substantial privacy from guest when they are entertained in the guestroom on the first floor. Although in the case of gender separation, this solution allows more privacy for female guests by using the living room on the second floor, it does restricts the autonomy of the household in their private sleeping domain.

#### **4.3.2. Utilizing unused spaces**

In a number of the case studies, guest tradition, lifestyle, and typical large family size provide ground for expanding the unused home space to accommodate the increasing needs of privacy. In order to attain more privacy the owner in case study C1 transformed an abandoned storage space into a guestroom. In case study C3, two abandoned spaces in the basement were transformed into a domestic office for the paterfamilias and a fitness room that was used mainly by the materfamilias. Case study A4 offers an example of utilizing an abandoned room annexed to the garage as an office for the paterfamilias. This annexed room has its own entrance to the backyard for more guaranteed privacy. Case study C3 illustrates the example of moving the function of the living room from the first floor space into an unused basement to allow more privacy for the household and to provide space for guests on the main floor.

#### **4.3.3. Combining different functions in a spaces**

The limited home spaces and the inability of design to respond to the privacy requirements of the community often necessitate that some rooms become multi-functional. As per D1, D2, C3, and A5, the function of space, due to the inflexibility of the home's design and its space limitations, tends to lead involuntarily to combining a number of different functions in one space. Additionally, the need for gender separation sometimes necessitates having extra rooms in order to separate male and female guest and family members from each other. Since a considerable number of the community's homes lack even a guestroom in their design, accommodating the need for two guestrooms calls for incorporating guest entertaining functions into the family's space. Mostly, the living room, along serves with the guestroom, if one exists, as guest spaces for both genders, thus adding a new function to the original usage of the living room, as case studies A, A2, A4, and C5 clearly show. The living room in these cases often

become female guests space because of its internal location in the home, and consequently the privacy from the non-family guests which it offers to the household.

Bedrooms illustrate various examples of hosting different functions in addition to its original one. For example, in the absence of an independent guest bedroom at home, as in case studies A1, A5, and C1, family bedrooms, especially children's ones, become temporary guest bedrooms. This situation arises particularly when having female guests, who, because of lack of privacy in family common spaces such as the living room, need to use one of the family's bedrooms for overnight stays. Sometimes the office is prepared and furnished in such a flexible way to allow its use as a guest bedroom when needed. Since it is mostly designated for receiving non-family guests, the office inherently enjoys considerable privacy which allows it to function as a guest bedroom, particularly when hosting male guests. In case study B1 for example, the office has a pull-out bed in preparation for the room to be used as a guest bedroom. Another example of multi-functional spaces is the basement which can absorb many functions in solving various privacy problems around the home. Examples of a function which the basement sometimes combines include living room, playroom, office, guestroom, guest bedroom, and boys' multi-functional area. The ability of the basement to host such varied functions is suggested by its flexible design and enclosed nature, in addition to its vertical separation from the rest of the home. Case studies D3, B2, and A3 are some of the prominent examples of the multi-use of the basement where it functions as a study with a bedroom for the elder family son, living room, and guestroom when needed. Finally, because of its enclosure, private nature, and occasional use, the guest domain including the dining room often functions as studying and reading space for some family members in addition to its original use. It was noted through the survey that the guestroom is sometimes used as a female children collective space, versus the boys' area in the basement, particularly in the absence of a living room on the first floor.

#### **4.3.4. Changing the pattern of spatial usage**

This category includes temporarily or permanently restricting certain domestic functions and changing the frequency of space usage due to constant or contingent factors. The change in the usage pattern can arise as a result of the lack of conformity of home designs with the inhabitants' lifestyle and spatial privacy needs. This pattern of change can also arise in response to the effect of using some of the home's spaces for functions that involve different privacy and territorial requirements. Accordingly, this incongruence negatively influences the pattern of using the home's spaces and changes its normative nature. For instance, combining family living and guest entertaining functions

in one space means joining the informal nature and the spatial relations inherent to family spaces with the formal and private nature typical to guest spaces. As a result of this contradiction in territorial characteristics and the indefinite identity of space functions both living and guest entertaining functions become quantitatively and qualitatively restricted. This pattern of contradiction is manifest in case studies D1, D2, and C3 where usage of the living/guest space for both functions diminished considerably. In these cases the nature of the living/reception space becomes too formal for the family and too informal for guests, thus impeding the attainment of comfortable usage for both family and guests. Consequently, the decreased use of this multi-functional space as a result of combining inharmonious functions becomes in itself an active factor affecting the use of the home's other spaces. In a domino effect manner, some of the functions which become unfulfilled in the living/guest space due to lack of privacy and convenience tend to transfer into other home spaces thus affecting the nature of various other spaces.

An example of this domino effect is noticeable in case study D1 where the indefinite nature and utilization pattern of the living/guestroom resulted in disturbing its overall use and relegating many of its functions to the basement. In turn, the basement shifts its original functions as office and children's playing and studying space to serve as a living room and guestroom. As a result of crowding the basement with all these functions, children tend to withdraw from their space in the basement to their bedrooms, thus changing the privacy modes associated with their behavior. Case study D2 demonstrates a similar, but, more aggravated situation where the blurred use of first floor living/guest room results in the total reliance of family members on their isolated bedrooms as living spaces. Accordingly, a change in the map of the home's spatial functions and the trend towards transforming informal spaces into formal ones leads to a series of aggravated privacy problems in various spaces, a decrease in the level of domestic activities, and a change of functional modes of the home's spaces.

A prominent example of temporal, privacy-based change of spatial use is illustrated in case studies A2, A3 C3, and D3, where the use of the circulation areas become confined in the presence of guests because of the guestrooms' openness to the lobby. Case studies C1 and C5 illustrate another form of change of usage patterns wherein the increased privacy, (as a result of the separation of family living and guest entertaining functions by adding a guestroom) caused an increase in the use of the living room by the household. Case studies A1, A4, B1 C3, D2, and D3 present examples of a privacy-influenced change of pattern of usage based on static characteristics of the living environment. In these cases, the excellent visual and acoustic privacy qualities of the basement resulted in significant increase and diversity in its use in comparison with the

home's other spaces, in spite of its poor aesthetic characteristics. In many cases, independence and other privacy features of the basement helped promote its use in privacy-demanding functions such as an office for non-family guest, male youth household domain, play space, or all of these together.

In conclusion, there are many examples of compound and dynamic changes of patterns of space usage that can be identified as a result of combining different functions in a space. In addition, the static home design characteristics help produce distinct privacy-induced changes of usage patterns in the homes of the Shaamy community. Thus, the interrelationship between the home's design and its original functions on the one hand, and the community's lifestyle on the other, determines a variety of changes in behavioral patterns that highlight privacy as a main cause for influencing the patterns of space usage.

#### **4.4. Behavioral privacy mechanisms**

Behavioral privacy is the most common privacy mechanism which the community undertake to compensate for the inflexibility and inability of their home's design to provide privacy levels according to their standards. Behavioral mechanisms also help complement the shortcomings of functional mechanisms which sometimes cannot solely achieve the desired level of privacy. This pattern includes numerous modes and varies depending on home design patterns, family size, space usage, and personal privacy preferences. Therefore, the following paragraph will deal with some widely identified mechanisms, which exist in most case studies because of the general similarity of privacy problems in different home patterns.

##### **4.4.1. Active change in privacy behavior**

A simple and widely practiced behavioral mechanism is temporarily refraining from using spaces that are used or exposed to strangers in order to avoid undertaking complicated privacy measures with unrelated people. This mechanism is often applied in the foyer area when it is exposed by the guestroom. Another behavioral privacy application involves the separation of guests and the household based on gender. This behavior is applied in a variety of ways depending on home layouts and blood relationships with guests. One way of performing gender separation is to arrange separate times for male and female visits particularly if the home is too small. Another common way is to use different spaces for each gender such as the guestroom, living room, office, and the basement. Another behavioral mechanism is to use the backyard in the summer as the female guest reception area and the front porch for male guests. Another behavioral

pattern is to restrict the use of the backyard which, due to its exposure to neighbors' homes, is rather considered a semi-private area. Lack of privacy in the backyard particularly affects females who observe the veil in the backyard as well as in public areas. Additionally, using the basement as the male area and the living room as the female area reflects different patterns of behavior associated with the nature and the type of usage in each kind of spaces.

Behavioral modalities include the decrease of guest entertainment activities compared to the community's homeland standards, and the concentration on relatives and compatriots guests, who have similar privacy perceptions which enable them to communicate mutual privacy syntax and behavioral mode. In addition, dedicating the dining room for the exclusive use of guests illustrates a tendency to strictly separate guest private spaces from family ones. Moreover, restricting the family's use of the guestroom and the dining room, sometimes even in the absence of a living room and adequate kitchen / dining area, reflects the strong notion of privacy which separates family and guest domains. This separation is manifest in case studies A5, B1, C4, and D3, where the lack of living room on the first floor did not lead to using the guestroom as a living space. Rather, the kitchen became an important center for family activities in spite of the fact that this use is undesirable and unconventional. Finally, verbal, paraverbal, and permission taking rituals some represent one of the most effective privacy behavioral mechanisms, not only with guests, but also among the family members themselves.

#### **4.4.2. Passive change in privacy behavior**

Privacy behavioral patterns can be passive in nature when inhabitants surrender to their physical and cultural environments and solve their home privacy problems by sacrificing their traditional practices. In such cases, the inhabitants try to modify their privacy practices with the objectives of their home design without objection or attempt for change. This attitude includes mimicking privacy behavioral attitudes of the mainstream culture while ignoring privacy practices inherent to their traditional lifestyles. In some case studies, a fusion occurs between the community's traditional privacy practices and mainstream ones leading not only to minimizing the need for physical and functional privacy mechanisms but also to tolerating some of the traditional privacy practices or changing their forms to fit the conditions of their environment. The rates of preservation and adoption of privacy standards varies in shades among the case studies and are manifest through environmental preferences, physical and functional mechanisms, and artificial or authentic privacy attitude in a variety of situations.

#### **4.4.2.1. Decrease in the level of adherence to traditional privacy practices**

This trend denotes the partial neglect of visual privacy rules, which results to some extent, from becoming accustomed to open plan and extroverted home design principles. These factors accompanied with permissive attitudes toward cultural maintenance gradually erode and desensitize inhabitants' traditional privacy sentiments, leading to neglecting guest separation from the household for instance. The alternative privacy practices reflect, from a community point of view, a decline of the community's traditions regarding privacy and an increase in the level of compliance with the home's spatial arrangement and its foreign cultural privacy connotation. Consequently, the process of adopting new privacy norms aggrandizes the distinction between the new formation of privacy standards and tradition religious and cultural rules.

#### **4.4.2.2. Change of privacy conceptions**

The second trend of passive behavior change includes replacing Shaamy privacy conceptions with mainstream ones and implementing no significant physical and functional privacy mechanisms. As result, privacy behavioral modes conform more with the home's environment, rendering irrelevant the inhabitants' cultural identity and its traces in their environment. This mode of change rarely exists among the case studies, affecting situationally minor privacy issues within the home's environment. Practical examples of this notion are represented in the conceptual reconfiguration of the backyard as a private rather than semi-private space, leading to ignoring both the backyard exposure to neighbors as well as traditional privacy rules with non-family neighbors. Thus, the inhabitants gradually replace the "smooth space" collective values and social hierarchy of privacy characteristic to the Shaamy culture and Islamic canons with a material individualistic privacy perception inherent to the secular positivist value system of the "striated space."

#### **4.5. The influence of furniture style on the privacy behavioral patterns**

The arrangement and style of furniture are key factors in understanding the complete picture of domestic privacy. Arrangement patterns of furniture function not only as territorial demarcation tool or as physical privacy mechanisms but also define behavioral scenarios which the inhabitants and their guest customarily follow in the home's various spaces. Thus, the nature of the furniture creates a specific social atmosphere, marks the boundaries of each space, highlights certain levels of privacy, and provides visual signs and physical symbols for identifying privacy requirement in a space to then initiate suitable patterns of behavior and use. The style and composition of the

furniture communicate psychological messages to users and produce typical attitudes that are conventional among community members. The community often uses furniture as a mean of defining spatial hierarchy as well as the hierarchy of privacy within the home's spaces. Accordingly, furniture represent an essential privacy mechanism which embodies cultural meaning as well as function, visual behavioral incentives conducive to privacy.

#### **4.5.1. Guestroom furniture**

The cultural meanings embodied in furniture and its roles in preserving privacy are particularly manifest in guest spaces. The style of the guestroom's furniture usually communicates the ceremonial, official, and territorial stamp of this space. The nature of the furniture incites a set of privacy perceptions, and customary behavioral patterns characterize the guestroom and accentuate its identity. Guestroom furniture is the most elaborate and expensive furniture in the home suggesting more tactfulness, veneration, and privacy with guests. The distinct nature of the furniture defines the guest domain and presents a fulfilling aesthetic environment marking the extent beyond which a guest's curiosity has no justification. The role of furniture as a privacy mechanism is particularly notable in open plan homes where the borders of the guest domain are defined physically and visually by furniture alone. Case studies A2, A5, C2, and C3 demonstrate that furniture characterizes not only physical and functional privacy, but also forms the parameters for privacy-based behavior in guest spaces. Simultaneously, the ceremonial and formal nature of the guestroom define this space from the family's informal domain and suggests that the family not use this space for their daily activities.

#### **4.5.2. Living room furniture**

Being an informal space, the living room furniture comes third in the hierarchy of formality and elegance after the guestroom and master bedroom. To some extent, the difference between the informal living room furniture and guestroom furniture reflects the level of privacy and intimacy which each space enjoys. In cases where the living room is used also as a guestroom, the formality of furniture substantially increases, marking a decrease in the level of privacy which family enjoys in this space. Additionally, in such cases the location of items of furniture is determined not on the basis of family comfort but rather on the basis of providing privacy for the household from guests who use the family domain. Thus, furniture arrangement reflects where a guest can be seated without causing privacy infringement for the household. In contrast, the informality of the living room furniture and its casual arrangement account for more intimacy among family members and with guest relatives with whom loosened privacy measures are usually

observed. In conclusion, the levels of furniture formality and privacy behavior on the one hand, and furniture informality and intimacy on the other are accordingly proportionate and characteristic to the guest and living domains in the community's homes.

## **Chapter 5: Evaluation of privacy characteristics in the community's homes**

### **5.1. Concordance of home features with community privacy needs**

By systematically categorizing the features of different home patterns and identifying the community's privacy needs, preferences, and pattern of change, an evaluation of the compatibility of the community's homes to their lifestyle becomes due. Comparing the characteristics of home design with the community's lifestyle and needs, indoors and outdoors, reveals that in spite of the relative flexibility of the community's single family homes, generally they fall short of providing satisfactory levels of physical, visual, acoustic, and psychological privacy for the community. These shortcomings can be attributed to definite design principles and architectural details of some of the home's spaces. Regarding privacy vis-à-vis neighbors and streets, the source of most of privacy problems lies in the outward looking principle of design. First, outward looking homes expose interior home spaces through their openings to streets and neighbors backyards which decrease visual and psychological privacy inside the home. Second, having the green open space surrounding the home, rather than the opposite, leads to exposing the inhabitants to neighbors and diminishing visual, acoustic, and physical privacy in outdoor spaces. Simultaneously, the impracticality of erecting high fences because of social and bylaws restrictions contribute to maintaining poor privacy conditions out of doors.

As far as internal home layouts, in cottages privacy from guests depends mainly on two elements: the existence of a guestroom and living room, and the enclosure of the guestroom. First, the existence of separate living and guestrooms usually allows for reasonable flexibility in using these spaces in case of gender separation, thus providing significantly improved privacy condition at home. Nevertheless, an ideal situation would involve having a second guestroom or an "L" shaped guest space with two private areas permitting a separation of male and female guest and the household. This solution simultaneously allows using the living room without restriction by family members during the presence of guests. When only a living room on the first floor exists, priority is given to guests for using this space because the size and location lead to dramatic effects on the privacy of the household. Second, the exposure of the lobby to the guestroom and vice versa eliminates privacy between the guestroom and the circulation shared-use area. This situation causes discomfort to the household when using the lobby and the home's other spaces open to it, at times when guests are using the guestroom.

Typical bungalow plans do not include guestrooms on the main floor. Consequently, converting the living room into a guestroom exposes the family's private bedroom domain to the abutting non-family guest's domain, leading to substantial

inconvenience and lack of privacy in the family section. Split-level homes usually have two types of designs which vary in the level of privacy they provide. In the first, the split in vertical levels occurs at the home's entrance giving full enclosure and independence to each floor. In the second, the split occurs in the middle of the home, at various places around the lobby, resulting in a two-storey, open plan hall to which all the home's domains are directly exposed. Townhouses mainly suffer from the lack of a guestroom on the first floor. This problem usually results in combining the living room and guestroom functions in the same space, causing substantial discomfort and lack of privacy between family and guests. Another problem lies in the location of the living/guestroom at the front elevation of the home where it becomes exposed to the foyer and the entrance. This position disturbs the household movement between various the home's spaces and reduces its privacy from guests. In a reverse situation, where the guestroom is located at the back elevation of the home, the insulation of the circulation area improves; however, the kitchen inevitably becomes directly open to the living/guestroom.

Apart from privacy problem which are specific to definite home patterns, some privacy problem were found to be common in all home types. For example, lack of a separate entrance for the basement reduces the level of independence needed for the various private uses of this space. Being usually used for receiving non-family guests, the domestic office located in the basement, requires an independent entrance in order to separate family and visitors. When the basement includes a madafa or guest quarters for a prolonged stay and sleeping, the independence of the home from the rest of the basement by providing a private entrance for it becomes imperative, particularly, when entertaining non-family non-mahram guests. Regarding privacy among family members, the common lack of activity areas specific to different age group (i.e. children, youth, and adults) or genders (i.e. males and females) reduces privacy particularly among large families, relegating its members to using their isolated, asocial bedroom spaces instead. Additionally, in a majority of the case studies, the discordance between the large size of Shaamy families and the limited number of bedrooms of Montreal homes, (which is based on the average number of children of Canadian families) often causes children to share bedrooms and suffer restrictions on their personal privacy.

## **5.2. Assessment of home responsiveness before and after the change**

Ideally, homes which are most responsive to the privacy needs of the community are those which are characterized by three specific attributes; enclosed spatial domains, large surface area, and inward-looking design. Since all the case studies represent outward-looking homes, they suffer equally from a lack of visual and acoustic privacy

from the street and neighboring homes in their exposed front and backyards. Additionally, the large openings of extroverted homes interface between internal and external environments, exposing indoor spaces to neighbors and public streets. The in/out transparency that is permitted by these openings reduces community privacy and places considerable pressure and restrictions on household behavior. The other two attributes, enclosure and surface area, vary based on home patterns and design variations within each home patterns of the case studies. Therefore, these two aspects will be discussed when individually evaluating the pattern of each home.

In general, it was found that cottage plans have several design variations, each of which responds differently to the community needs for spatial enclosure and hierarchy. In comparison with other case studies, case study A1 represents a typical example of cottages with relatively substantial enclosure and spatial hierarchy, apart from having the entrance of the basement accessed through the kitchen. Other cottages, such as A2 and A3, lack separation between the guestroom and the lobby, exposing these spaces to each other and ignoring the necessary enclosure for isolating different functions, user groups, and privacy levels in these spaces. Additionally, the mezzanine lobby immediately connects the bedroom floor with first floor spaces, including the guestroom, with no regard for the spatial hierarchy which is required to achieve a smooth transition in privacy levels between various domains and spaces. However, having the living room overlooking the backyard offers relative independence and privacy for the household, should guest be present. Being relatively small in area, case studies A4 and A5 lack a living room on the first floor adjacent to kitchen and the main entrance. Therefore, in the first case study one of the bedrooms was transformed into a living room, while the basement served as a family domain in the other. These involuntary arrangements limit familial privacy, particularly when using the living room to entertain male or female guests in case of gender separation.

A typical bungalow plan, as case B1 shows, is composed of an open plan living room -usually converted into guest space- adjacent to a kitchen and separated from the family's bedroom section by the foyer which all these spaces overlook. The immediate conjunction between guest and family domains is a direct cause for lack of privacy in both domains. Split-level bungalows, in which the split in levels occurs at the fringes of the entrance area, tend to provide enclosures for various home spaces. Bungalows such as C5, which was transformed into cottage by adding an extra floor, provide sufficient space and flexible distribution of domains to allow substantial privacy for the household. However, the plans of split level homes in which some spaces are accessed from within other spaces such as in case C4, C2, and C3 where the split in levels occur at the sides of

a central hall, provide no independence or privacy for guests and family spaces. In these cases, the openness of all the home's spaces onto a central hall eliminates the hierarchy of privacy that ought to exist between different common and private family and guest spaces.

Usually townhouses are relatively small in size and lack a guestroom on the first floor. Therefore, family living and dining spaces lose their functional independence by taking on guest entertaining functions. This situation reduces the level of privacy and comfort of the household and guest in the first floor area. Moreover, when the guestroom is located at the front side of the home, close to the entrance and physically connected to the foyer, the privacy of the household with the guest become significantly reduced. Furthermore, townhouses which have the guestroom facing the backyard inherently provide enclosure for the guestroom and, subsequently, privacy for the rest of the home. However, as a result of this arrangement, the kitchen often become exposed from both sides to the guestroom and the dining room reducing insulation between the family and guest domains, unless doors separating these spaces are added.

In conclusion, based on the elementary privacy criteria, which include enclosure, spatial hierarchy between domains, internal domain structure, design flexibility to accommodate physical and functional changes, and home surface area, the enclosed cottage plan comes first in terms of its responsiveness to the community's privacy needs. Then comes enclosed bungalow and townhouse plans followed by open plan split-level cottages with differences in privacy problems and potential ease of applying various privacy mechanisms in each housing pattern. In fact, determining the exact level of responsiveness in these patterns depends on assessing the outcome of the interaction between both the physical and social aspects of domestic privacy, which have been discussed at length in previous chapters. The social and cultural factors involved in the evaluation include family size, level of adherence to privacy traditions, male/female ratio and cultural variations among the community. Whereas physical situational elements include the relationship between guest, family, and circulation areas; the existence and position of the guest and living rooms in the original design; the existence of a guest bedroom, office, and male/female children domains, to name a few. Thus, the establishment of detailed criteria for judging designs responsiveness needs to consider a comprehensive and complex matrix of these interactive permanent, social, and physical modifiers of privacy. These modifiers define precisely the possibilities and the needs for applying functional and behavioral privacy mechanism which in relation to the physical characteristics of the domestic environment can produce an accurate assessment of a home's responsiveness to the community's privacy needs.

### **5.3. Extent of change in relation to the original design**

There are many factors that account for the type, extent and rate of applying certain privacy mechanisms in the community's homes. These factors depend on the interplay between the cultural and environmental elements of the case studies, and also the physical, functional, and behavioral privacy-induced changes themselves. For example, the scale of implementing physical privacy mechanisms varies from one case to another based on various enticing and deterring factors which decide the final shape of the home's physical layout. Thus, physical indoor alterations vary from applying no change as in case study A5, to adding ornamental screens as mobile visual barriers in the kitchen of D1 and D2, or adding doors between family and guest spaces and between the kitchen and dining room as in A1 and A2. Physical changes on a larger scale involve adding rooms such in case studies D3 and C4, or expanding rooms outside the home's peripheries as is the case in A2. Further changes comprise removing and rebuilding a section of the home or adding a new floor, as case study C5 shows. In outdoor spaces, physical changes were minor in most case studies and include planting trees, erecting canopies, installing temporary fabric screens, and heightening the fence.

The range of change in usage pattern of the home's spaces is extensive and diverse in comparison with the typical physical mechanisms. Change of functions and usage depends on the home's pattern, internal design, family size, personal and familial preferences, and adherence to privacy norms, to name only few factors. These changes involve replacing the former function of a space with a new one, combining functions, restoring an abandoned space, and changing the pattern of space usage by restricting functions or changing the frequency of space usage. Changing the function of a space is one of the most radical functional changes and can be found in numerous examples A4, A5, B1, D1, and D3, where living rooms were transformed into guestrooms. Other examples include replacing the bar space in the basement with a variety of functions among which are guest bedroom, domestic office, guestroom, living room, playroom, and living and male children domain. Further transformation in space usage comprises changing a bedroom into a living room, as in case study A4, storage space into a living room as in C3, and a family bedroom into a guest bedroom or office as in A2 and C2.

Combining different functions in one space is the second most frequent pattern of change of spatial use in community homes. One reason for its frequency is the large size of Shaamy families and the limited square footage of their homes which necessitate using some spaces for multiple functions. Another reason is the variety of Shaamy traditional uses of a home's spaces, which are not considered in the design of the community's homes. A prominent example of combining functions is using the family living room for

guest entertainment as is the case in A2, A4, and C5. Another example portrays the occasional use of family bedrooms as guest bedrooms because of lack of space designated for guest sleeping. Change of pattern of space use is a prevalent functional privacy mechanism since it deals with the consequences of replacing and combining functions on the functional map of a home. In addition, altering the type of use of a space is the ultimate step to remedy many privacy problems which can not be solved through the other mechanisms. This pattern of change embodies various mechanisms including restraining, decreasing, increasing, or temporarily ceasing the use of certain space. These mechanisms are amply used to regulate social interaction within family members, where for instance, having a male youth domain in the basement decreases their use of the bedroom floor and converts the living room into a female children activity area. This mechanism organizes the relationships between the household and guests, particularly in the living room and circulation area on the one hand, and the guest domain on the other.

#### **5.4. The relation between housing patterns and privacy mechanisms**

Within certain environmental and cultural settings, definite patterns of interaction and adaptation tend to take place, forming criteria for uniform practices which characterize both the social aspects and physical medium of interaction. This reciprocal relationship starts with choosing a living milieu which from the community's point of view, not only embodies certain privacy-conducive characteristics but also incorporates the potential to accept definite physical, functional, and behavioral privacy mechanisms that are conventional and affordable by the inhabitants. In the same vein, Jon Lang indicates that a designer or home occupant who is interested in culture and behavioral interaction with a living milieu is expected to be concerned about "how the layout of the environment affords privacy mechanisms" ("Creating" 145). This concern sets a matrix for the community's preferences for an environment that is conducive to supporting the privacy ideas of the community in the post-occupancy stage. Inevitably, the different home patterns among the case studies vary, based on several social and environmental settings that resonate with privacy-based community perceptions. However, all case studies reflect, in different ways, particular trends to reinforce domestic privacy beyond conventional mainstream standards. Such preferences include location, home pattern, surface area, design, flexibility to accommodate changes, and relation to street and neighbors to name only a few. Concerning home layouts in particular, the case studies vary in their design. However, most of the time privacy mechanisms were equally proportionate with design shortcomings reflecting creative adaptational mechanisms to overcome particular design privacy problems.

Thus, a two-fold relationship between home patterns and privacy mechanisms is applied in the case studies. The first aspect involves the relation between the home's pattern and its overall degree of responsiveness to the community's privacy needs. This aspect includes also the relationship between particular privacy mechanisms which are endemic to certain home patterns. The relation between privacy mechanisms and the responsiveness of home patterns is inversely proportionate so that when homes respond well to the privacy requirements of the household, minimum privacy-based changes occur and vice versa. The second aspect of the relationship between a home's pattern and privacy mechanisms concerns the flexibility of its design to accommodate various physical and functional privacy mechanisms. Thus, a home's physical characteristics define not only the level of home responsiveness to its inhabitants' privacy needs but also the extent to which certain privacy mechanisms can be applied. The ability of a home's layouts to accept mutation is decided according to the different design aspects on which it is based. Therefore, by examining patterns of change which prevail in each home's pattern in the case studies, the level of responsiveness of a certain home's pattern to privacy needs of the community and the degree of the home's flexibility to adopt certain privacy mechanisms can be identified.

The flexibility of a home's design to accept certain privacy mechanisms are represented in some distinct design features in each housing pattern. Two main characteristics which can be identified as very influential in terms of affecting the home environment are: detachment of the home from neighboring dwellings; and home interior layouts including home area. First, the detachment or attachment of a home defines to a great extent the level to which privacy mechanisms are required to conform to neighbors' social and physical parameters. In townhouses, for instance, it is more difficult than in detached homes to make significant physical alterations in outdoor areas because of the need to adjust to the surrounding environment of neighboring homes. Whereas, because of the independent nature of the detached home, there is a lesser need to conform to a neighboring home's environment.

Similarly, design and surface area factors were found to be influenced by home patterns in which detachment/attachment issues play an important role in defining their characteristics. For example, townhouses were found to be less privileged than cottages in terms of design flexibility and floor area. In contrast to cottages, townhouses contains a minimal number of minor forms of physical privacy mechanisms in comparison with the high rate of usage and behavioral modalities. Whereas, the vast indoor area, design flexibility and the relatively independent outdoor space of the detached home allow for implementing various major physical mechanisms, which reduce the need for usage and

behavioral mechanisms. For example, in contrast with detached home, enlarging living room space into the garden or adding a new floor in townhouses is often restricted by inflexible design, limited surface area, and the need for rigid harmony with the neighboring environment. Therefore, enlarging the living room in case study A2, which represents a detached home, was a viable solution to some privacy problems at home, whereas similar treatment was impossible in case study D1 which represents a townhouse. Similarly, changing the internal design and adding a new floor as in case study C5 is less likely to happen in any of the townhouses among the case studies. Thus, only a narrow margin of physical indoor changes can be applied in townhouses versus a wider range of functional and behavioral mechanisms. Accordingly, transforming the basement into a bedroom as in case study D3, or using removable barriers to separate the kitchen from the guestroom, as in case studies D1 and D2, represents the limit of physical privacy mechanisms viable to be applied in townhouses.

Moreover, home patterns and flexibility of internal layout have bearing on privacy-induced patterns of using home spaces. In cottages, such as A1 and A2, the provision of a guestroom and the enclosure of this space play an important role in maintaining the original uses of many of the home's other spaces. However, when a guestroom, for instance, is not included in a home's design, drastic privacy induced-changes in the usage patterns of most home spaces occur as result of a recurrent shift and combination of functions in various spaces. Within these circumstances, the large home area of cottages such as A3 and A4 often provides better opportunity than townhouses for alternative solutions to solving functional privacy problems.

As for split-level cottages, the inflexibility of design due to its extreme openness, and lack of spatial hierarchy creates numerous privacy problems which result in transferring many family functions into the insulated spaces of the basement or bedroom floor. Physical privacy mechanisms are almost useless in the case of split-level homes with a central lobby; therefore, functional and behavioral mechanisms take precedence over physical ones. However, bungalows also suffer considerable lack of privacy because of the location of the family sleeping and guest domain on the same floor and their mutual exposure to each other. These shortcomings are result of the privacy-insensitive design and the limited area that the home uses. This condition usually leads to implementing major physical and usage privacy mechanisms. Such changes range from adding a separate bedroom floor to isolate the family domain from the guest area, to transforming one of the first floor bedrooms into an office for non-family guest in a relatively enclosed space.

### **5.5. Privacy-induced change as ongoing process in home evolution**

Within this evaluation, it should be noted that the status quo of the case studies, including the three facets of change, is neither steady nor final. Privacy mechanisms evolve with the passage of time as a result of changes in family size, the age of its members, the adaptation attitudes towards mainstream lifestyle, and the features of the evolving environment itself. Some of these factors play a positive role in encouraging the constant implementation of new privacy mechanisms, while others tend to reduce the need for new privacy measures. For example, as children grow they acquire more privacy leading to further demands on compartmentalization of the home's spaces and formation of independent domains. Such a process is found in case studies A1, A3, and B1 where the basements were gradually transformed from common spaces into a private territory for male children or the family's elder son. However, when children grow up and some of them leave home, privatized spaces and domains either transform back into common spaces or simply acquire a new definite use.

Additionally, physical changes of domestic spaces are bound to occur increasingly in the community's homes after they decide to settle permanently in their dwellings. Stability encourages the community to implement lasting changes in its homes and to abandon the fear of their home's depreciation by applying alterations. Usually, after a period of settlement, Shaamy immigrants tend to invest in their homes particularly as their financial ability stabilizes as result of becoming more established in society. Thus, the inhabitants start performing large scale physical changes and promoting privacy solutions and mechanisms that reflect their ideals and bring their environment more closely towards their normative standards. Moreover, with the progression of time and the increasing interaction with their environment, the community develop experience in dealing with the various shortcomings of their milieu and gain knowledge of the best and most effective solutions to realize their desired privacy needs. Shaamy families also tend to develop new ideas on how to improve privacy in their environment by sharing experiences with the community, thus promoting alternative solutions for various privacy problems. One main disadvantage that negatively affects the process of promoting creative privacy treatments is assimilation into mainstream culture and accustomization to the original privacy features of their homes. This notion increasingly manifests itself in cases where the families have lived in Montreal for a long time and subconsciously adopted some of Western society's privacy standards and departed some of their own traditional privacy practices.

The development process which has led Shaamy families to overcome privacy "shortcomings" in their Montreal homes has passed through various hierarchical steps.

The sequence of implementing privacy mechanisms starts with choosing the home environment based on certain preferences for privacy characteristics. After settling in their homes, the community usually applies behavioral and functional measures first in order to easily secure an acceptable level of privacy in their environment. These particular mechanisms are carried out first due to their relative ease and applicability in comparison with physical mechanisms which involve planning and heavy financial liabilities. Behavioral mechanisms are usually carried out intuitively and clear patterns soon develop which respond to the particular home physical environment. Functional arrangement and change of the original usage of some of the home's spaces develop a little later to optimize the existent living environment making up a home's integral functional scheme, and reinforcing privacy. When functional mechanisms fall short of satisfying the privacy needs of the community, Shaamies resort to physical mechanisms which are usually the final step in the hierarchy of implementing privacy mechanisms. However, physical changes are always conditioned by stability, therefore, they either exist minimally or already they are applied shortly after moving in. In conclusion, the process of acquiring more privacy often develops in hierarchical manner aiming to promote flexible and practical uses of the home's environment which is conducive to securing the community's privacy needs.

#### **5.6. Criteria for preferences and required qualities in Montreal homes**

These criteria are mainly based on privacy principles which the community adheres to and can be identified by examining the common characteristics which exist in the community's homes at rates higher than those in non-community homes. These preferences can be also determined through the understanding of the objectives behind the physical, functional, and behavioral changes which are undertaken to meliorate the shortcomings of the community's living environment. These criteria are restricted, however, by the typical layouts of Montreal home patterns and apply within the limits of optimizing the existing environment without major alterations of the home's original design, if possible.

Based on the aforementioned empirical and inductive methods to deduce design criteria for community homes, the survey revealed many preferences for various domestic spaces and design details. In cottages, it was found to be preferable to have a double door vestibule where the second door can function as a privacy wall when the exterior door is open. Additionally, it was found to be desirable to have enclosed layouts for the lobby, with doors separating the guestroom and the kitchen from the foyer space. Moreover, the lobby space is required not to extend to the second floor and the staircase is preferred not

to be open to the lobby in order to avoid exposing the bedroom floor. Furthermore, since the basement can sometimes be used for receiving guest's its entrance should be from the foyer rather than from the kitchen or the living room to avoid infringing on the privacy of the users of these spaces upon entering or exiting the basement.

As for the guestroom, it is always required to be enclosed and separated from the foyer, with a door to allow privacy from the guests when the members of the household use the lobby. It is also important to have an "L"-shaped guestroom which can be divided into three compartments: one for men, one for women at the each extremity of the space, while the third middle section can serve as dining space. These three compartments of the guest domain need to be separated from each other with light doors which allow interconnecting these spaces on demand. This design help avoid using the living room on the first or the second floor, or using the basement as a temporary guestroom when applying gender separation. Additionally, the living room needs to be larger than the standard size it occupies in most cottages. It also needs retreats for the different activities of the various age groups of the family members. Moreover, the dining room should abut the kitchen, but be separated from it with a light door to avoid exposing the kitchen users when guests are entertained in the dining room. This separation also helps prevent the penetration of vapor and cooking smells into the dining room and then into guest spaces.

The basement should have an independent entrance from the outdoors to allow non-family guests to access the office without crossing the family domain. This is particularly serviceable when the basement includes a guest lodging where they can stay for long period of time without becoming a burden on family privacy by constantly using the household domain to access their spaces. Since the basement often serves many functions, it needs to be divided into guest and family sections that can be also easily modified for various other uses. Guests' sections should contain a small office for receiving non-family guests and a small guest bedroom annexed with a bathroom. The family section can be divided into smaller domains to allow more privacy for the numerous functions which interest different family members. In particular, a multi-functional section for male children with at least one bedroom was found to be desirable in many of the case studies. Having this flexible domain allows absorbing many activities of young children and gives them a sense of independence when they become adolescents. As a result of these preferable layouts, a foyer giving more privacy and independence to the basement's various activities becomes indispensable.

The bedroom floor should not be exposed from the entrance by an open staircase and mezzanine surrounding a two-storey height lobby. This floor contains the parents' bedroom as well as male and female children's bedrooms. However, there is a trend in

many case studies to use instead some rooms in the basement as bedrooms for male children, where they can be close to their activity area and simultaneously can attain more independence. A similar activity area for female children is needed and usually occupies a space on the bedroom floor or become a part of the living room. Privacy in the backyard cannot be totally preserved because of the outward-looking design orientation of cottages. However, allowing a high solid fence, planting cypress trees at the periphery of the backyard, and erecting bowers close to the home help improve outdoor privacy to some degree.

Similar features to those previously discussed in simple plan cottages are also required of split-level cottages and bungalows. Additionally, it is important to have the stairs connecting the different levels of home close to the entrance and combined in one staircase, rather than being located at the fringes of a central lobby or any other space. This disadvantageous design creates a two-storey high hall which exposes all the home's spaces to each other. Moreover, the basement gains extra importance in split open plan level homes since it provides valuable enclosed spaces and allows for various domestic functions to enjoy considerable privacy.

In townhouses, the living/guestroom can typically overlooks the backyard or the front yard, leading to various preferences for spatial distribution that can ensure privacy. Privacy from guests can simply be attained by separating the circulation area from the home's other spaces with doors. Thus, the dining room and living/guestroom become insulated and can be used without confining the household activities. The kitchen also needs to have a light door which separates it from the living/guestroom and the dining room. Basement space needs to be efficiently managed because of its limited area and the manifold functions which it accommodates. It is preferable to have direct access to the basement from the street, ending with small foyer leading to an office, guest bedroom, and family multi-functional space. The office is needed for receiving non-family guests whose usage of the living/guestroom on the first floor can considerably restrict family freedom.

However, there are inevitable privacy shortcomings in townhouses due to their limited surface areas and attachment to neighboring homes. One of these problems is the lack of a living room for exclusive family use. Even when using part of the basement as a living room, usually it is transformed temporarily into a second guestroom when gender separation is required with guests. Another problem is the inability to acquire a satisfactory level of privacy in the backyard even by implementing advanced privacy techniques because of insufficient visual and acoustic privacy with neighbors.

To attain indoor and outdoor privacy from the street and neighbors, the community has developed particular preferences for the location of their homes. Accordingly, visual privacy from other homes and the street is usually acquired through living in low-density suburban environments where homes are set far apart from each other. Also, it is often noticeable in the community's homes how their particularly deep and wide backyards deter visual intrusions by providing distance and allowing the planting of many screening trees at the periphery without necessarily depriving home of sunshine. The community usually chooses its homes facing non-residential areas such as parks or open spaces, a common practice they bring with them from homeland. Furthermore, Shaamies prefer to live in homes that located at the end of cul-de-sacs to minimize the number of pedestrians passing by their front yards, to reduce the number of neighboring homes, and to get deeper and more isolated backyard lots.

## **Chapter 6: Conclusion**

### **6.1. Summary of findings and conclusion**

Privacy is an intrinsic requirement for every human being in various environment and different cultures. However, people differ largely in their understanding, feeling, and practice of privacy. These differences are manifest in social behavior and in the ways in which they develop their living environment. Home is the most liberal milieu where people can individually or collectively practice their freedom and formulate their environment according to their cultural views and religious beliefs without interference or compromise from the pressure of others. This is particularly true for the Shaamy community which as expatriates, lives in a culturally foreign environment embodying different social values, privacy perceptions, and cultural practices. In addition to these general differences, the religious and cultural background of the Shaamy community contains clear and distinct references to privacy in the form of religious principles, social laws, and traditional customs. These sources perpetuate particular privacy perceptions and practices and reinforce their influence on the Shaamy family lifestyle and living environment.

Privacy principles which form the bases of many of the community's social practices are derived from Islamic religious teachings. In addition, cultural roots of privacy extend deep in the history of Shaamy civilizations which continuously reflect rich and rather homogeneous privacy traditions. Acknowledged by religion, privacy traditions "Urf" represent one dimension of the cultural aspect of privacy in the current practices of the Shaamy community. Another cultural dimension is based on the intellectual interpretation and the practical implementation of Islamic privacy principles as colored by location, time, and the accumulation of privacy experiences throughout the history of the community. After immigration to Montreal, the community's religious and cultural understanding and practices of privacy interfaced with different cultural norms, social perceptions, and design conceptions embodied Montreal's housing environment. This interaction contributes to the production of idiosyncratic privacy modalities, and mechanisms in the community's homes aim to overcome the gap which exist between the community's privacy ideas and practices and the cultural and physical reality of their home environment.

The aim of this study was first to identify the cultural, religious, and environmental factors which influence the privacy practices of the Shaamy people in their domestic environment before and after immigration to Canada. Then the study went on to determine privacy living patterns resulting from the interaction between the community's

socio-cultural and religious background and the privacy connotations in the design of their Canadian homes. The research then diagnosed the privacy-induced patterns of change or the mechanisms which the Shaamy community perform to adjust their living environment to their privacy needs

By exploring the history of the Shaamy home, the research identified the role of privacy as a determinant factor in developing and preserving inward looking homes in Shaam from ancient times until the beginning of 20th century. Traditional Shaamy homes were mostly composed of two separate domains vary in organization, function, and size. The first domain is dedicated to the family in general and for female household and female guests in particular. The other domain is used for entertaining male guests in particular and as the family males' living area in general. The courtyard of the family domain provides private outdoor space for collective social family interaction, whereas the sub-domains and individual spaces provide the other functional and personal levels of privacy. After colonization and modernization, the inward looking principle of design and internal home layouts, which are conducive to privacy, were replaced with Western outward-looking homes which have little consideration for the indigenous Shaamy lifestyle and privacy norms. After more than fifty years of interaction with their new environment, Shaamies develop repertoire of privacy mechanisms to address some privacy concern in their environment. However, due to their design limitations, the outward-looking homes fail to fully answer the traditional privacy requirements of the community. Therefore, functional and behavioral modalities evolve with time to bridge the reminding gap between the deficient physical environment in Shaam and the cultural and religious privacy standards of Shaamy people.

Unlike their traditional introverted homes and their modern dwellings in Shaam, Montreal home patterns represent a new challenge for the privacy norms of the Shaamy community. This novel environment calls for the development of new privacy mechanisms utilizing the previous experiences in adapting their modern (Western) homes in Shaam to their privacy standards. As a result, there is a multi-dimensional process of interaction initiated between the socio-religious and cultural background of the community and the physical manifestation of mainstream privacy principles in Montreal homes. This process resulted in developing distinct patterns of privacy mechanisms which partially helped to reclaim the "poor" privacy characteristics of the community's homes.

In the case studies, privacy can be divided into two major categories. The first is indoor privacy, and comprises two subdivisions; between family and guests, and among

family members themselves. The second is outdoor privacy, which includes privacy between family on the one hand, and neighbors and street on the other.

Indoors privacy with guests calls for the separation of the guests' domain from the family domain including the shared-use circulation area. Guest domain is understood by the community to include separate male and female guest spaces, dining room, guest bedroom, guest bathroom, and sometimes an office, all for the exclusive use of guests. Since most of these requirements are absent in the community's homes, a multi-faceted process of change takes place to compensate for the discrepancy between what the community needs and what their homes offer. Consequently, in homes where a guestroom is often lacking, the living room is converted into a guestroom. However, when applying gender separation, the guestroom is usually occupied only by one gender, relegating the other to using various family spaces including the basement. Due to the unintended functions in the original design of the transformed spaces, in most cases, function transformation solves some problem and creates many others leading to manifold complications in privacy treatments. These entanglements are also a result of the juxtaposition of these spaces within a home's scheme, its spatial configurations, and the compulsory usage of family domain for guests.

Family domain not only implies separation between family and guests but also contains an internal hierarchy of sub-domains or privacy zones that are based on gender, age group and / or function. The living room and kitchen are general family spaces with the tendency of being more used by female members of the household. The bedroom floor is also part of the private family domain and is used by parents and female children rather than male ones. Male youth tend to be more independent, therefore, often seek privacy in the basement by transforming it into a male living and sleeping domain. However, when children are young and need the care of the parents, all children use the bedroom floor for sleeping, while the basement in this case is usually used as play and activity space for both male and female children, in addition to other functions.

Privacy problems in the community's homes can be attributed to various environmental reasons. The first is related to the lack of sufficient domestic spaces and the incapacity of the home to accommodate the family's diverse privacy needs. This factor is particularly aggravated when the size of a Shaamy family is larger than that of the average Montrealer. The second main reason pertains to design deficiencies including a lack of spatial hierarchy, enclosure, and separation between various domains and spaces in the home. As a result of these two environmental shortcomings, intersection between family and guest domains become unavoidable in most of the community's homes. Because of this involuntary lack of privacy, permanent and provisional physical,

functional, and more often behavioral privacy mechanisms tend to be applied to restore the privacy balance within the different zones of the domestic spaces.

The research concluded that privacy complications usually increase in small homes mainly due to a lack of specialized and flexible spaces, while they decrease in larger homes. Cottages, for example, which have in their original design separate living and guestrooms, relatively offer the best possible territorial definition and privacy in home spaces among other homes patterns, provided the enclosure of the guest domain and the circulation area is assured. Homes with a typical small surface area, such as townhouses, usually do not have distinct guestrooms in their original design, thus, tend to use the family living area for guest entertaining also. This arrangement affects furniture type and usage pattern and grants an indefinite identity to this heterogeneous space. The mixed functional settings involuntarily decrease the household usage of this space, relegating them to using their individual bedrooms as living spaces, particularly when the basement is used as a second guestroom, office, or guest bedroom.

The ability of split-level cottages and bungalows in the case studies to provide privacy is defined by one of the two patterns of level split which they might have. When level variation occurs at the entrance and within a staircase, privacy between the home's various spaces is well maintained. However, when the level split occurs at the fringes of the lobby or another of the home's spaces, it tends to have an open plan where domestic spaces are exposed to each other. In contrast with typical bungalow plans, some split-level bungalows with enclosed layouts have a favorable territorial differentiation between the family bedroom domain which is located on the upper floor and family living and guest domains which located on the ground floor. However, having only two floors in a bungalow not only reduces the home's surface area but also decreases the level of separation among various domains, including guest and family ones in particular. The lack of privacy which results from this situation often leads to significant physical and functional transformations in the home's spaces and initiate various kinds of behavioral privacy mechanisms.

Due to the difference between the privacy traditions of the community and the privacy conceptions embodied in the Montreal home environment, these homes often deny Shaamy community many of its privacy needs. This lack of congruence between the community and its environment has led Shaamy inhabitants to develop privacy mechanisms bringing domestic privacy to levels that meet their religio-cultural standards. These patterns of privacy are comprised in two main categories: first, in preferences for home design and site specifications; second, in set of a codependent patterns of change

including physical, functional, and behavioral mechanisms that are applied indoors as well as outdoors.

Usually, when buying a home, the community applies its privacy criteria to identifying a set of preferences in their new homes. These preferences aim to ensure specific privacy features imbedded in the site and home design, or exist as potential possibility for easy and practical change of the home's layouts in the future. Regarding a home's internal layouts, the community tends to choose homes with enclosed plans, large areas, and three-level settings. As to preferred design details, it is desirable to have the guest domain on the first floor secluded from the family domain and circulation area, comprised of separate male and female guests spaces and include a dining room, washroom, and ideally a guest bedroom. The family domain is preferred to include a living room, family dining room, male children domain including bedrooms in the basement, sleeping domain for the rest of the family, and female activity space. Preferences for external features include avoiding direct interface of home elevations and openings with other homes. Therefore, many homes among the case studies tend to face public gardens or undeveloped lots. Additionally, it is desirable for a home to be located at the end of a cul-de-sac, a situation which allows for a minimum number of neighboring homes and street pedestrians, as well as deep backyards.

A change representing the second category of privacy mechanisms includes three interrelating privacy mechanisms varying in their frequency; effectiveness, and sequence of application depending on the home's pattern; space layouts; and the community's settlement in its homes to name few. These mechanisms include change of: the home's physical configurations, space usage patterns, and patterns of domestic behavior within family and with guests. These mechanisms vary in the rate at which they are applied in each case study and function codependently and integrally to economically and easily balance the negative aspects of home design and satisfactory achieve levels of privacy both indoors and outdoors.

Privacy physical mechanisms vary in nature and scale ranging from adding temporary light screens to adding an entire floor. Examples of small-scale physical changes include adding permanent doors to separate a guestroom from the lobby; the basement from the rest of the home; or the kitchen from the circulation area, living room, and the dining room. Major physical mechanisms includes demolishing walls to enlarge rooms, adding walls to divide spaces, extending spaces outside home peripheries, and altering the space configurations. Physical privacy mechanisms of the home's exterior are usually minor due to the inability of the community to achieve acceptable level of privacy in outdoor spaces. The incapacity to apply significant changes is due to the outward-

looking principle of design, suburban bylaws, and mainstream social norms which are incongruent and restrict privacy applications. Therefore, physical changes are minor, concentrating on setting up visual barriers such as bowers adjacent to a home's rear facades, planting trees and lush plants close to the fence, or raising the fence to the legal height.

Change of usage is a frequently applied mechanism, being a flexible, economic, and practical solution to many domestic privacy problems. Functional mechanisms take various static (permanent) and dynamic (temporal) forms, including the change of the function of a space, appropriating an abandoned space, combining functions in one space, and changing the usage pattern of a space. One of the most common changes of use in the community's homes is transforming the living room into a guestroom. Another example represents transforming the original function of the basement (bar, storage, etc.) to serve as second guestroom, office for non-family guests, guest bedroom, male children living and sleeping area, living room, or more than one of these functions together. Sometimes one of the family bedrooms is transformed into guest bedrooms, study, or a living room. In some case studies, appropriating spaces involves successfully converting unused spaces such as basements and storage into reception rooms, offices, or many other functions. Another functional mechanism includes combining several disharmonious functions in one space. The need for this mechanism is mostly due to the typical small size of Montreal homes compared to the large size of Shaamy families, the diverse and specialize spatial functions inherent to community tradition and the need for gender separation. Common examples of combining functions include joining family living and guest entertaining spaces; and sharing family and guest sleeping functions of is the same space. Finally, the change of usage patterns includes increasing, decreasing, temporal, and situational restriction on the use of some spaces. This phenomenon tends to be a by-product of the combining function mechanism.

Privacy-based change of behavior represents a complementary mechanism that supplements the shortcomings of physical and functional privacy techniques. It functions as the last resort in acquiring privacy when the other measures fail, become non-effective, or are inapplicable. Behavioral mechanisms involve various modalities including abstinence, restriction, and regulating the time of space usage. It also includes the regulation of social communication through the various types of verbal, paraverbal, and physical behaviors.

Usually, there is certain sequence for implementing various privacy mechanisms mainly determined by the extent to which a home responds to the community's privacy norms. Initially, after buying a home the inhabitants apply primarily behavioral then

functional privacy mechanisms to fulfill their urgent privacy needs. Through the progression of time, increased settlement, and growth of the family, environmental mechanisms become more viable and tend to be increasingly implemented. Therefore, one of the main deterrents for applying fundamental privacy solutions is lack of stability. Accordingly, factors such as family size, religious adherence, and settlement are not always binding for implementing environmental changes, even though they are extremely influential.

General examination of the characteristics of the case studies, privacy problems, the types of privacy mechanisms in application reveal that a home's responsiveness depends upon definite criteria which are comprised of three elements: enclosure, size, and hierarchy of the home's spaces. Based on these criteria, homes of different patterns and designs embody different capacities to address the community's privacy needs. Accordingly, an analysis of home patterns revealed that, relatively, the cottage is the most responsive home pattern among the case studies. Split-level bungalows, townhouses, simple-plan bungalows, and finally open plan split level cottages in that sequence reflect decreasing tendencies to provide adequate privacy for the Shaamy community.

Analysis of the case studies also indicates that some privacy mechanisms have a tendency to be associated with certain home patterns. For example, high rates of physical changes are more likely to happen in cottages and enclosed-plan split-levels homes. Whereas, high rates of usage and behavioral privacy mechanisms occur increasingly in townhouses and open plan, split-level homes. These trends are based on several factors among which are the previously identified design criteria, inhabitants' adherence to privacy rules, inhabitants' preferences for home patterns, and the feasibility of applying certain privacy mechanism in each home pattern. Further factors accounting for the kind of privacy mechanisms at work are family size, financial ability of the household, and degree of settlement a family has in its environment. These factors suggest trends and hierarchies for implementing different privacy mechanisms in various home patterns. These hierarchies can be explained in the light of fact that the relationships among various privacy mechanisms are inversely proportionate. Accordingly, with the increase in the rate of applying physical changes, functional and behavioral mechanisms tend to decrease and vice versa. Conditioned to accept certain kind of mechanisms, the pattern of each home then follows a certain hierarchy for applying different kinds of privacy mechanisms. As a result, homes with greater potential for physical change, such as cottages contain high rates of physical mechanisms and fewer functional and behavioral ones, while homes with slim potential to adopt physical changes, such as open-plan split-

level homes and townhouses, have relatively high rates of functional and behavioral mechanisms.

Thus, this research has offered matrices of Shaamy community preferences for home patterns and designs as well as for various privacy mechanisms which they implement in their homes. These matrices help establish an understanding of privacy as a major cultural factor that distinguishes the Shaamy community lifestyle and domestic environment. Finally, the research reports criteria for designing homes that are responsive to the culturally-specific needs of the Muslim Shaamy community in Montreal.

## **Footnotes**

## Footnotes:

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- <sup>1</sup> Shaamy means 'from Shaam region.' Shaam or "Syria" here means the region extending from the southern boundaries of Turkish-speaking Anatolia in the north, to Sinai and Northern Hijaz in the south. It includes what came to be known, after the First World War, as the countries of Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Trans-Jordania." (Samra 34). It represents the northern part of the Arab world.
- <sup>2</sup> Since visiting homes of a conservative community without previous acquaintance, examining the interiors of dwellings, and asking about privacy and related behavior can be considered very intrusive behavior; building confidence with the families was key to do successful survey. This trust was built through introducing the research to each case study, explaining its goals and the importance to the community itself. The responses to this approach were positive. In addition, explaining of the neutral position of the researcher (not judging or evaluating familial practices) was an important element to breaking the ice at the beginning of the interviews. Positive impressions were achieved by affirming the objectivity of the researcher and the confidentiality of the data collected. Moreover, acknowledging the values and practices of each family, sincerity, and shared values between the researcher and the case studies provided a convenient environment for examining privacy. This resulted in developing closeness and trust between the researcher and the interviewees and facilitating communication of very private information to the researcher.
- <sup>3</sup> Kaneko, Naoyuki. The Network of Isamicity: Ideals, Norms, and Human Community in Muslim Society. Japan: The Institute of Middle Eastern Studies, International University of Japan, 1990. 9
- <sup>4</sup> Samra, Mahmud. "Islamic Modernism: Self-criticism and Revivalism in Syrian Muslim Thinkers" The Muslim Community in North America. Ed. Earle, H., Abu-Laban, Baha, and Qureshi, Regula Edmonton, The University of Alberta Press, 1983.
- <sup>5</sup> Islamic concept of home embodies both cosmological and cultural components, since it encompasses views of the human relationship with nature and includes social, moral, and philosophical structures in its conceptions and organization.
- <sup>6</sup> According to Islamic teachings privacy is a part of the Islamic socio-moral system regulated by Islamic law, defining the material environmental and behavioral

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practices among Muslim community. Privacy code is built in support of the main objectives of the Islamic moral system which aims to protect personal creed, honor, life, and property. Consequently, physical, visual, acoustic, and behavioral privacy boundaries are drawn in order to safeguard these four comprehensive aspects. Privacy principles, as part of the Islamic moral system are not subject to modification through the evolution of society or change of environment, since they relate to the unchangeable and innate part of humans. However, applications and manifestations of privacy vary based on the input of the environment and indigenous cultures. The explicit articulation of the notion of privacy through law results in unity of social practices, architecture, and civic life. At the same time, flexibility in accommodating cultural and environmental variables allows for creativity and diversity in privacy practices.

- 7 In Islamic culture, privacy is not defined individually but by Islamic law and behavioral restrictions as privacy mechanisms. They protect people from invading both their own and others' privacy. For instance, protecting someone's visual privacy involves not over-exposing oneself to others, and not observing others (strangers), even with their consent. A person's own privacy and the privacy of others is therefore protected. This concept underlines the principle of the retroactive effect of breaking privacy rules. Such a violation affects the invader on a personal level, and society on a collective level, regardless of any party's denial of privacy rules.
- 8 In this study, another framework is employed to consider behavioral privacy patterns and mechanisms including verbal, paraverbal, attitudinal, and comportmental. Physical patterns are considered environmental mechanisms. While spatial usage patterns as privacy mechanisms are considered both behavioral and environmental devices.
- 9 Due to the limitation of this inquiry, the review of literature on Islamic and cultural privacy patterns, as well as the empirical study, will only hint at this classification, and will not discuss many of its categories, in spite of their significant influence and complementary role in this study. This research suggests a pragmatic schemata, focuses only on the discussion of territorial and certain behavioral aspects of privacy controllers. Moreover, this schemata introduces change of use of space, under both

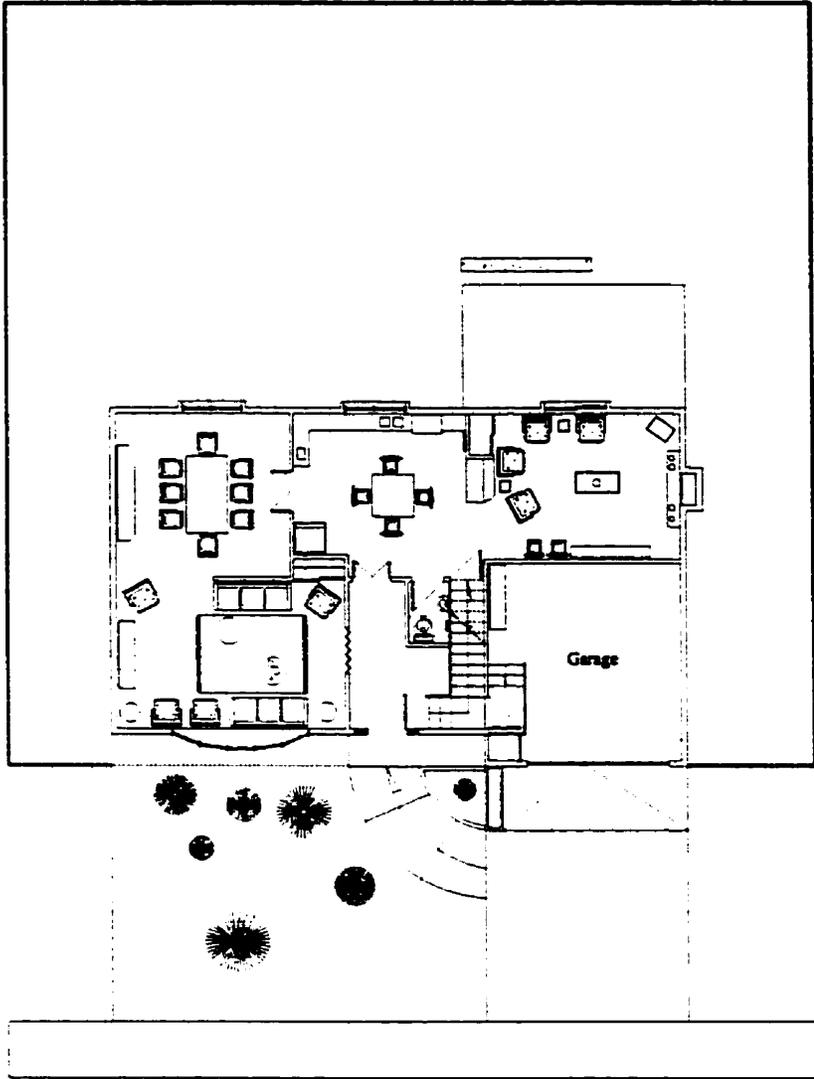
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territorial and cultural controllers. This privacy-controlling vehicle, though important, has not caught the attention of scholars and students of the field.

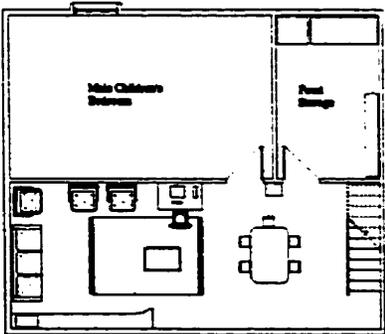
- <sup>10</sup> Based on Lang's identification semi-private spaces are owned in association. Semi-public spaces are not owned, personalized, or claimed by the users ("Creating" 150).
- <sup>11</sup> **Striated space:** An individualistic mode of living or environment where in behavior is clearly limited and regulated with clear points of intersection and linear relations.
- <sup>12</sup> **Smooth space:** An environment in which the predominant principles are difference, relativity, and borderlessness and the relations among which are multi-dimensional and hierarchic.
- <sup>13</sup> Social hierarchy does not correspond here to caste system, which does not exist in Islam. However, it emphasizes social relativity through kinship and religious and cultural relations.
- <sup>14</sup> Establishing a physical and functional hierarchy of their home spaces to achieve privacy and smooth modes of interpenetration among areas of various degrees of privacy.

## **Appendix 1: Plans**

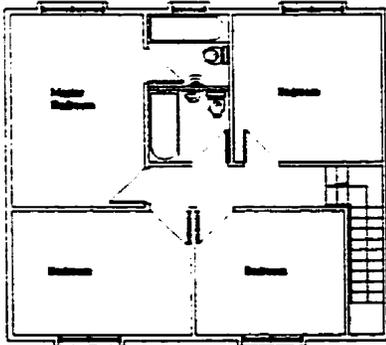
**Case Study A1:**



**First Floor 1:200**

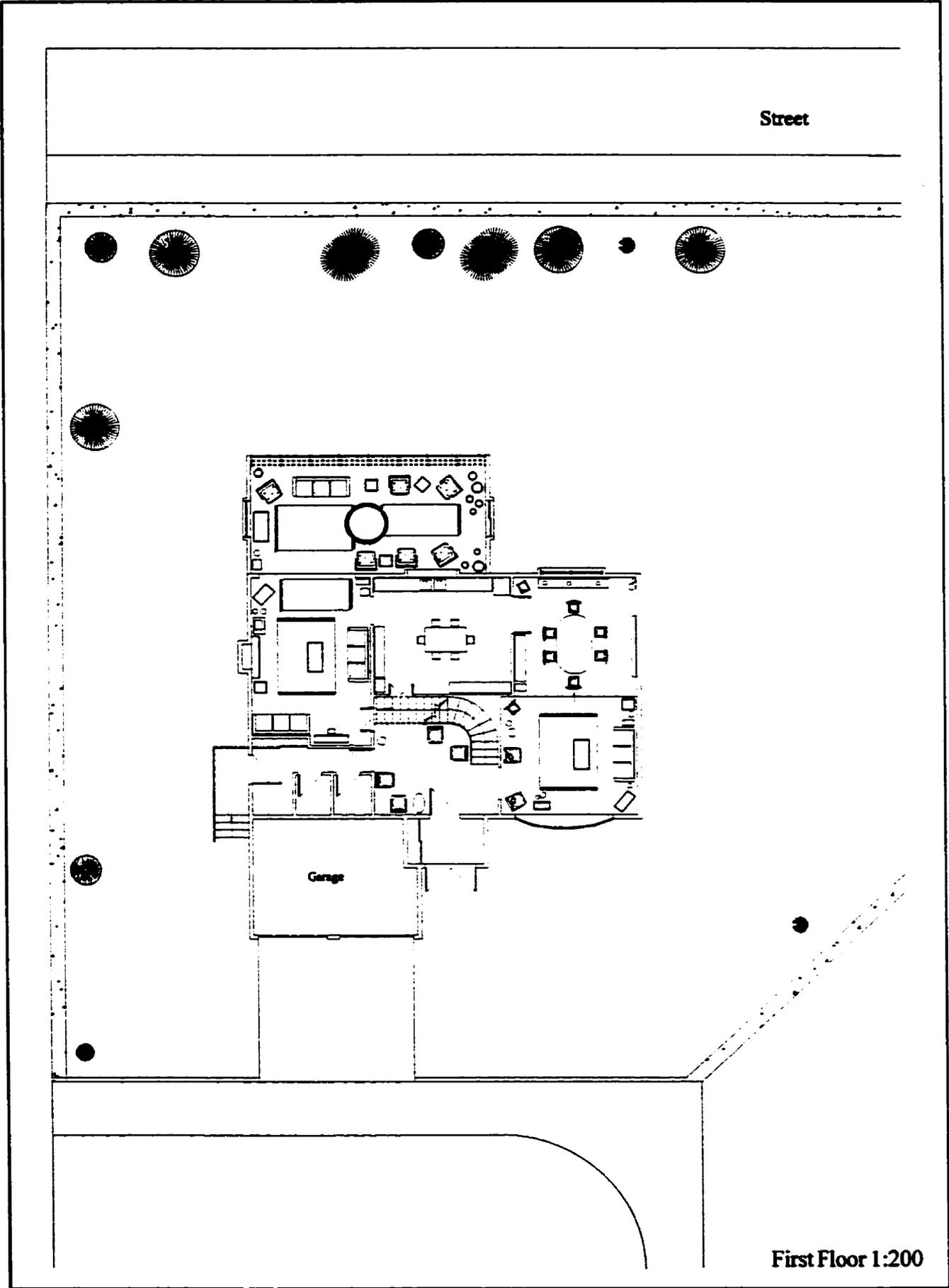


**Bedroom Floor 1:200**



**Basement 1:200**

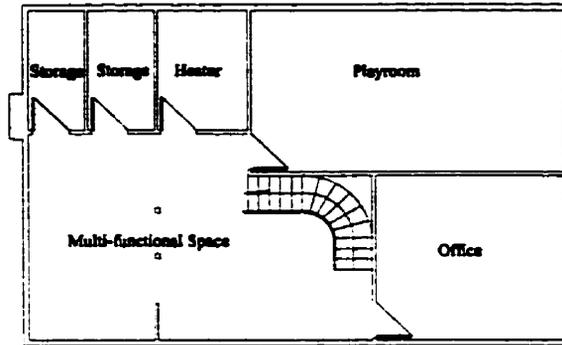
Case Study A2:



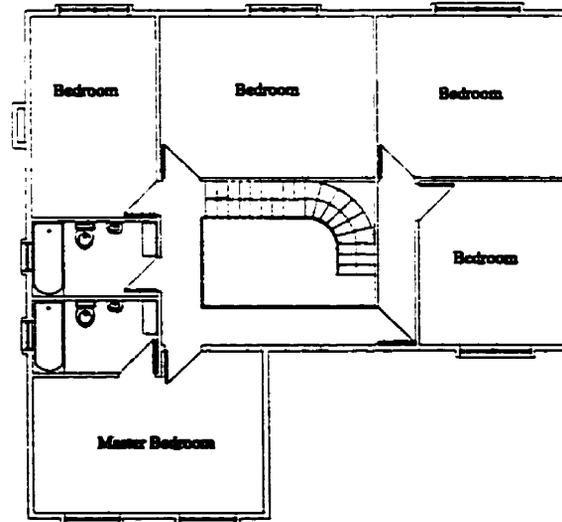
Street

Garage

First Floor 1:200

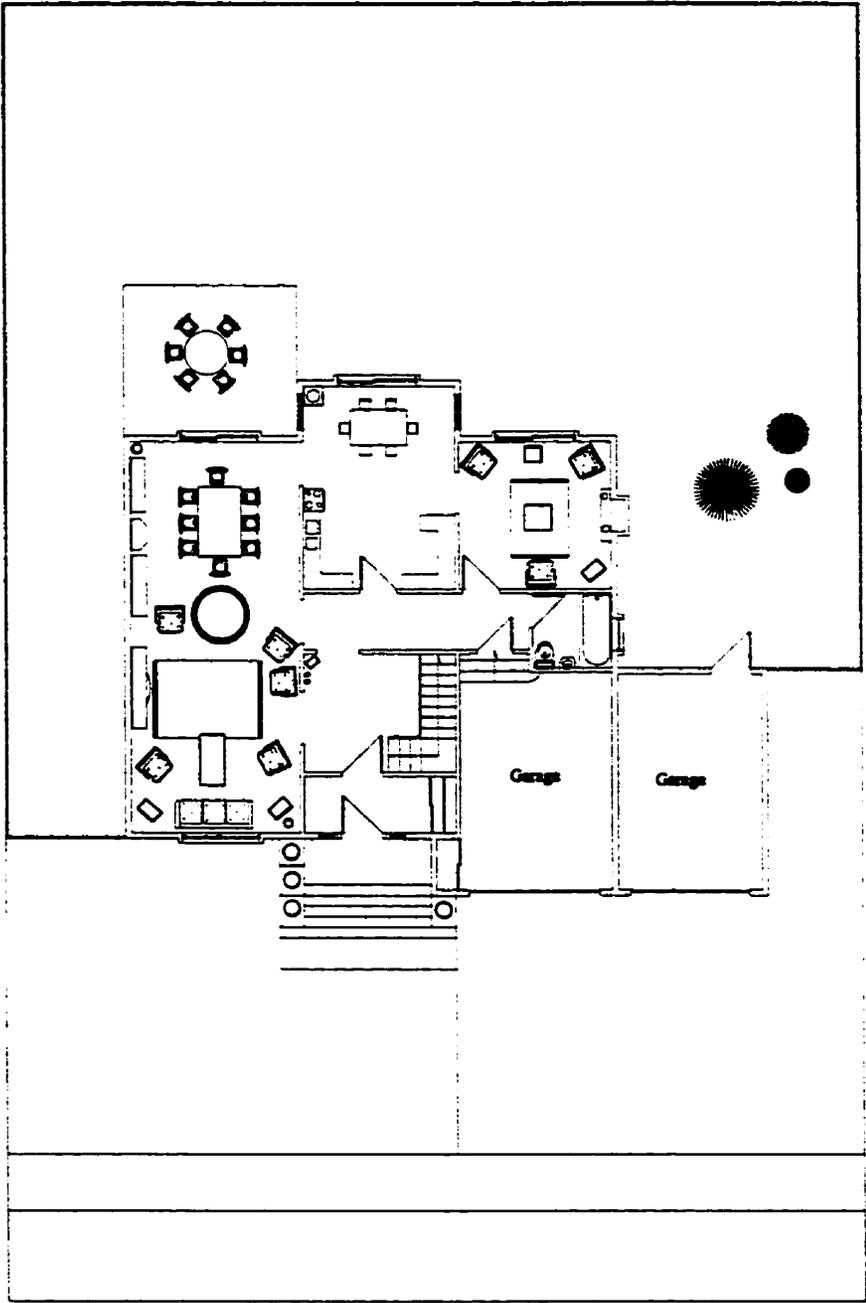


**Basemen Floor 1:200**

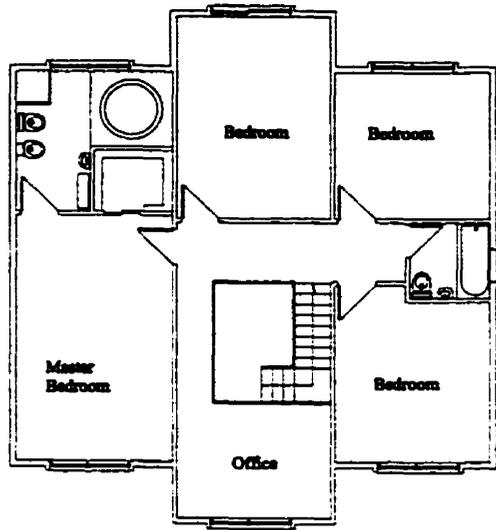


**Bedroom Floor 1:200**

Case Study A3:

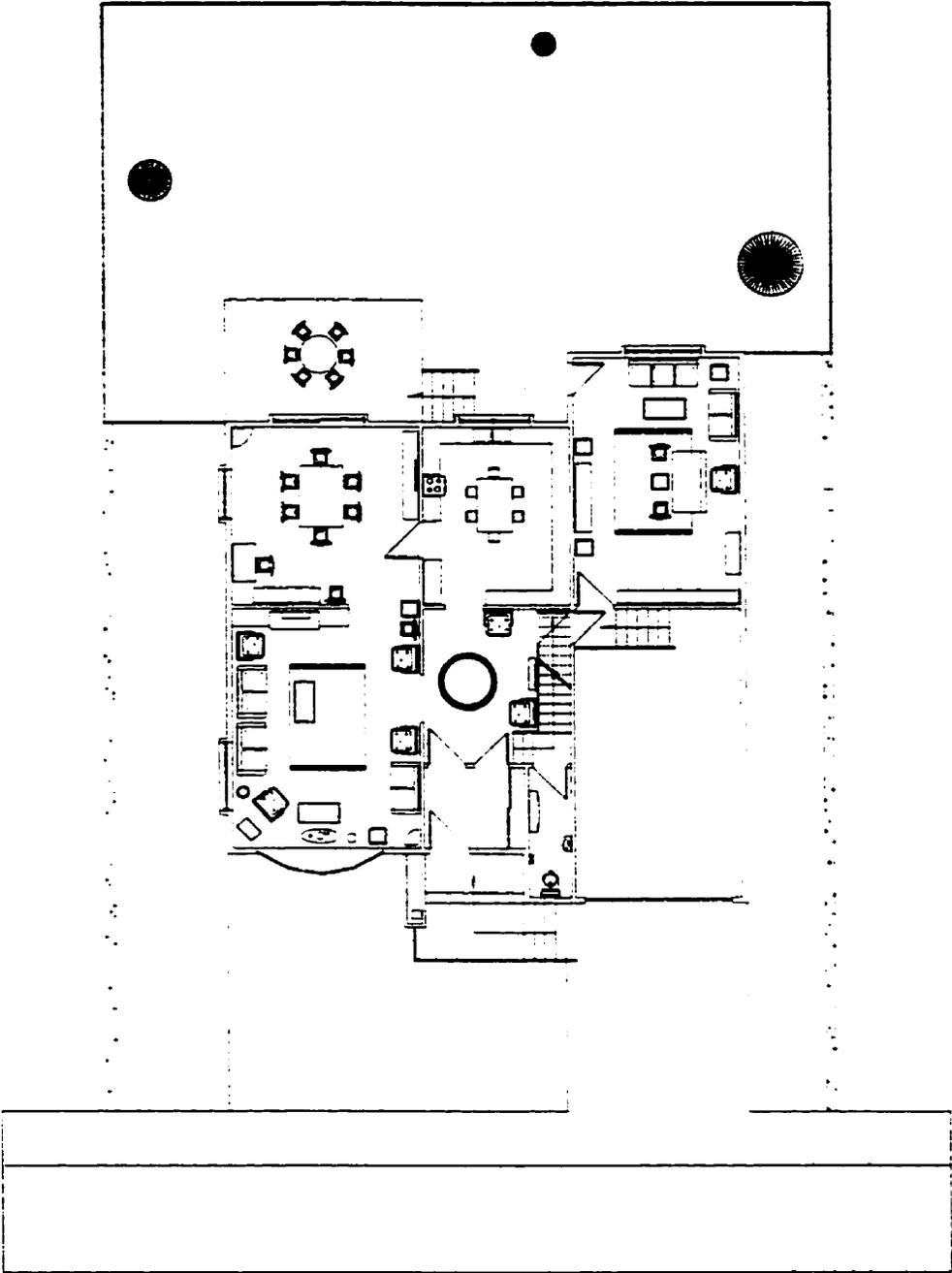


First Floor 1:200

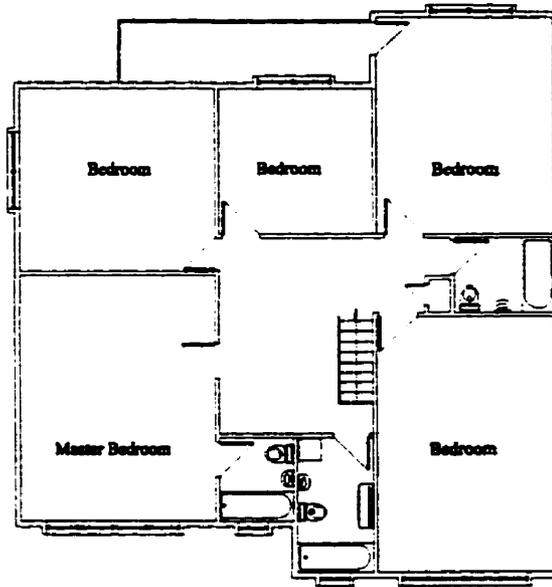


Bedroom Floor 1:200

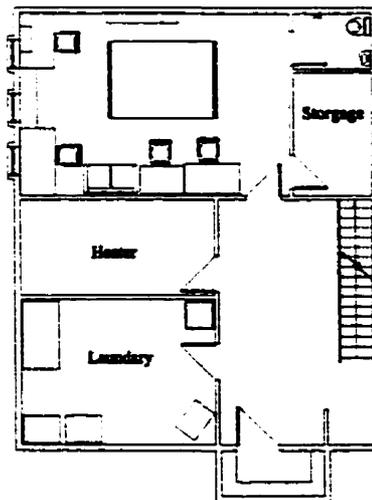
Case Study A4:



First Floor 1:200

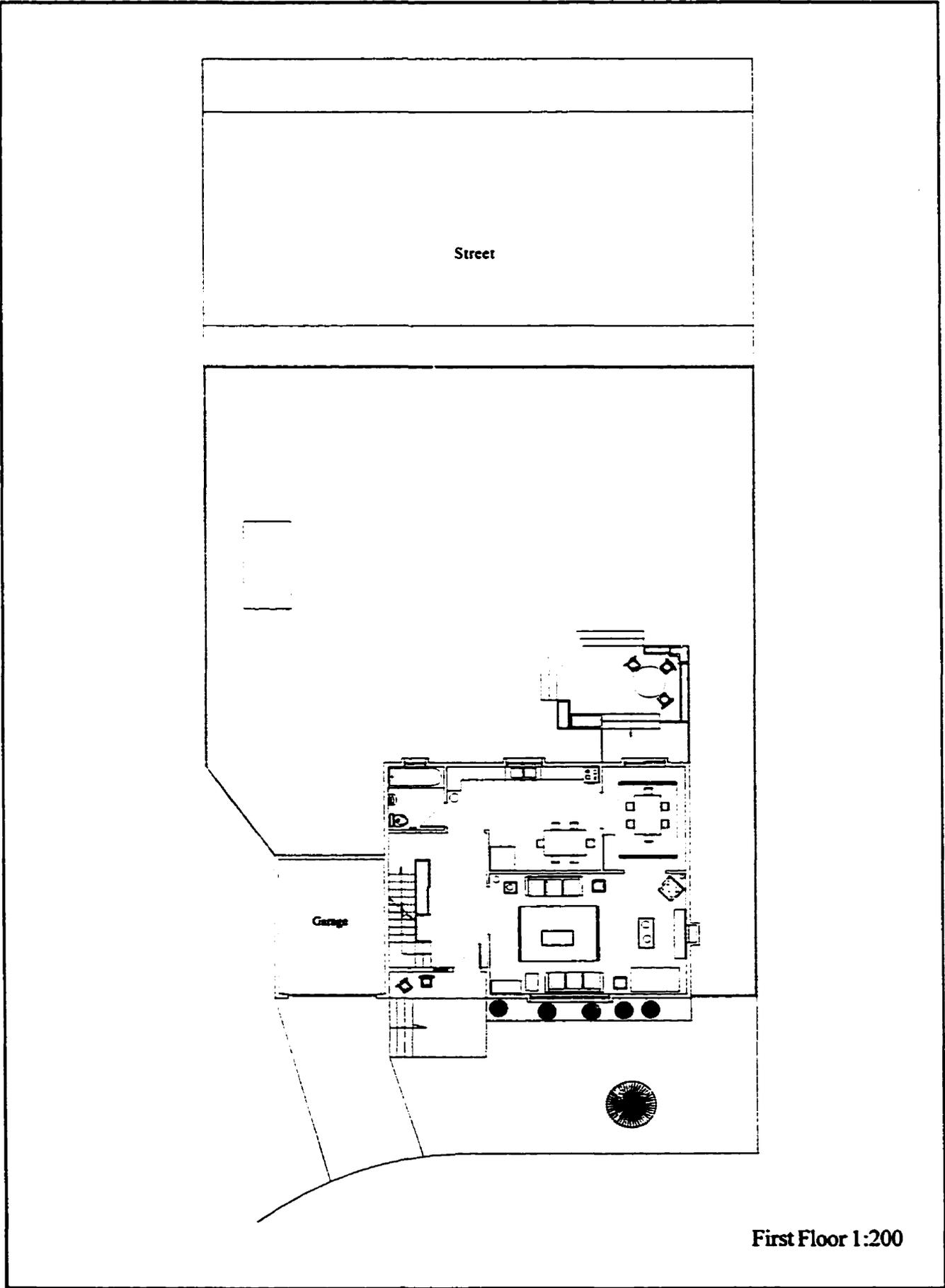


Bedroom Floor 1:200

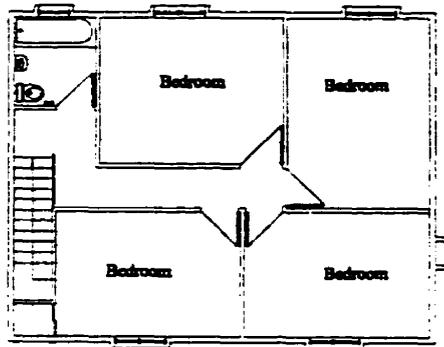


Basement Floor 1:200

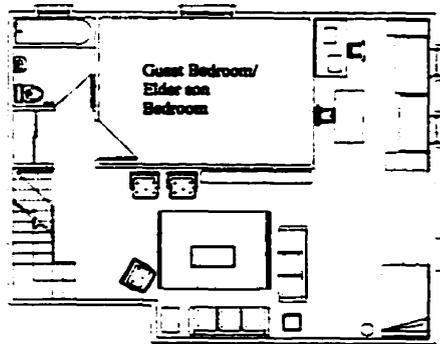
**Case Study A5:**



**First Floor 1:200**



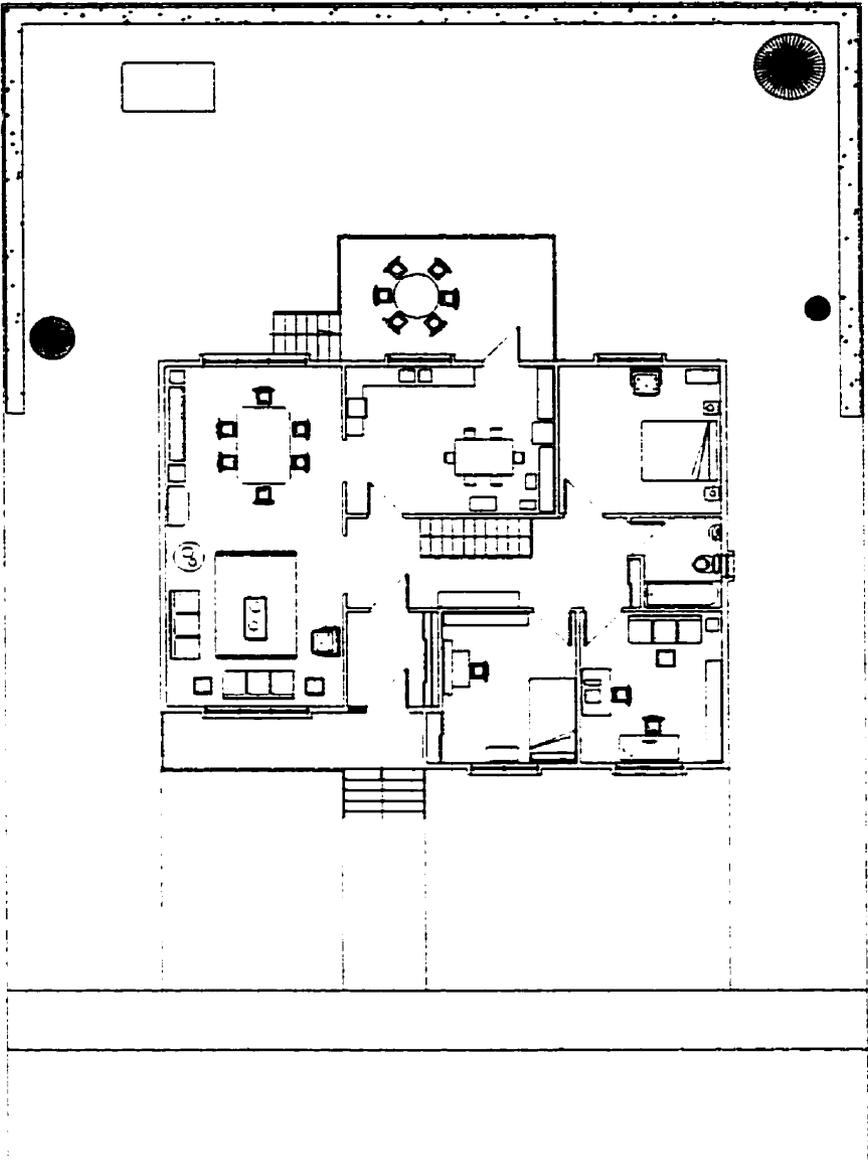
Bedroom Floor 1:200



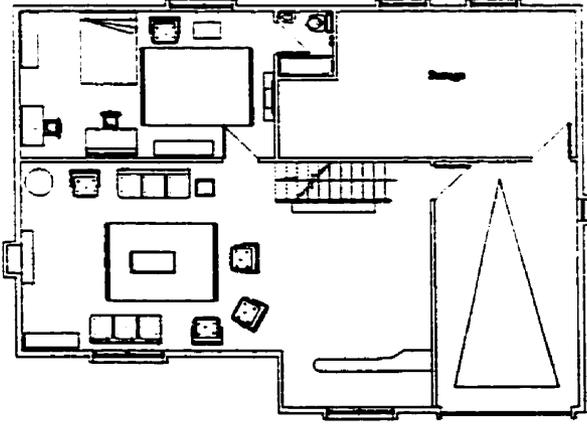
Basement Floor 1:200

**Case Study B1:**

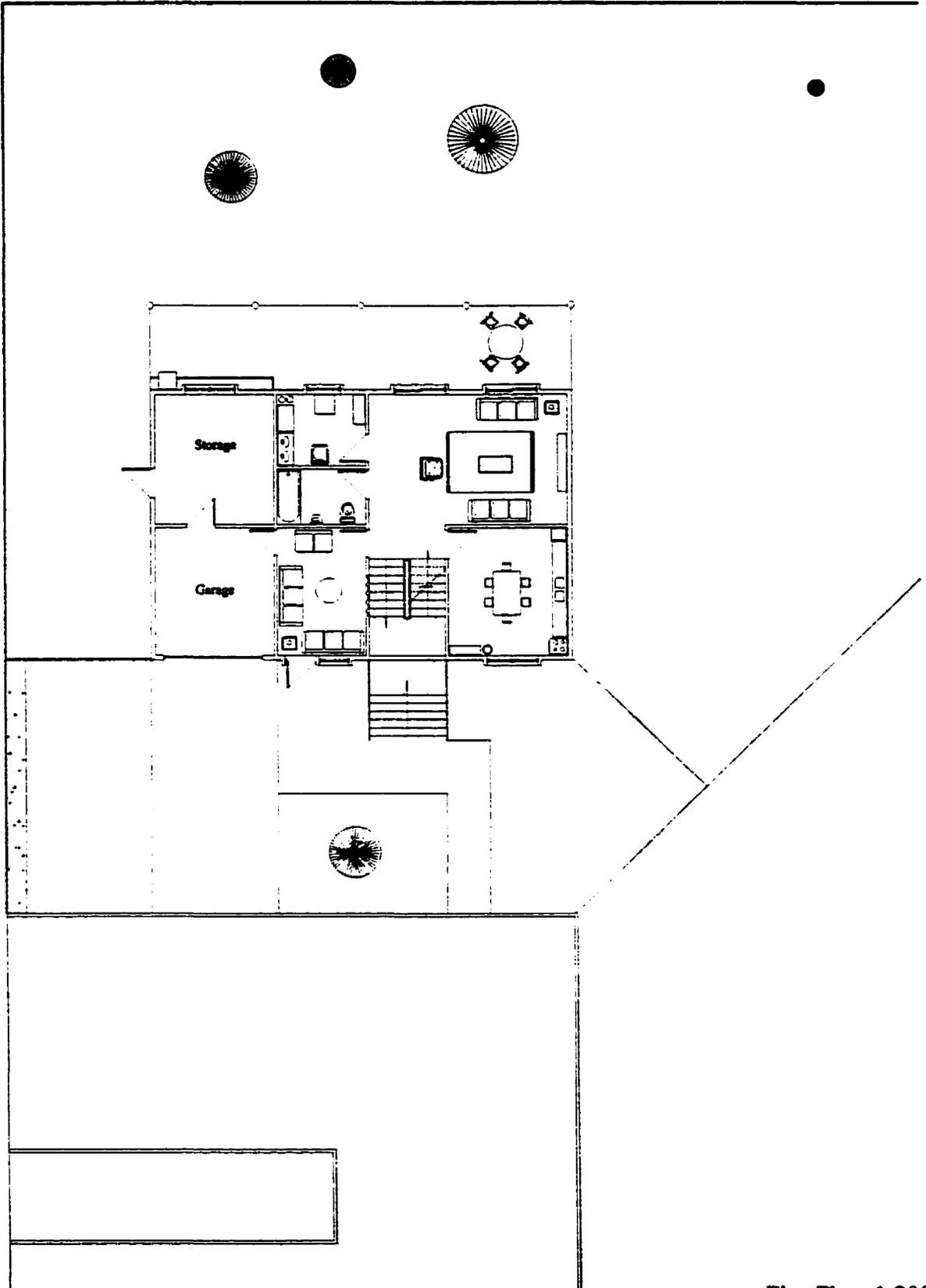
**First Floor**  
1:200



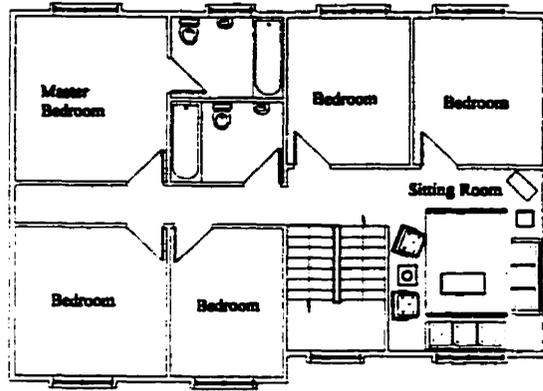
**Basement Floor**  
1:200



**Case Study C1:**

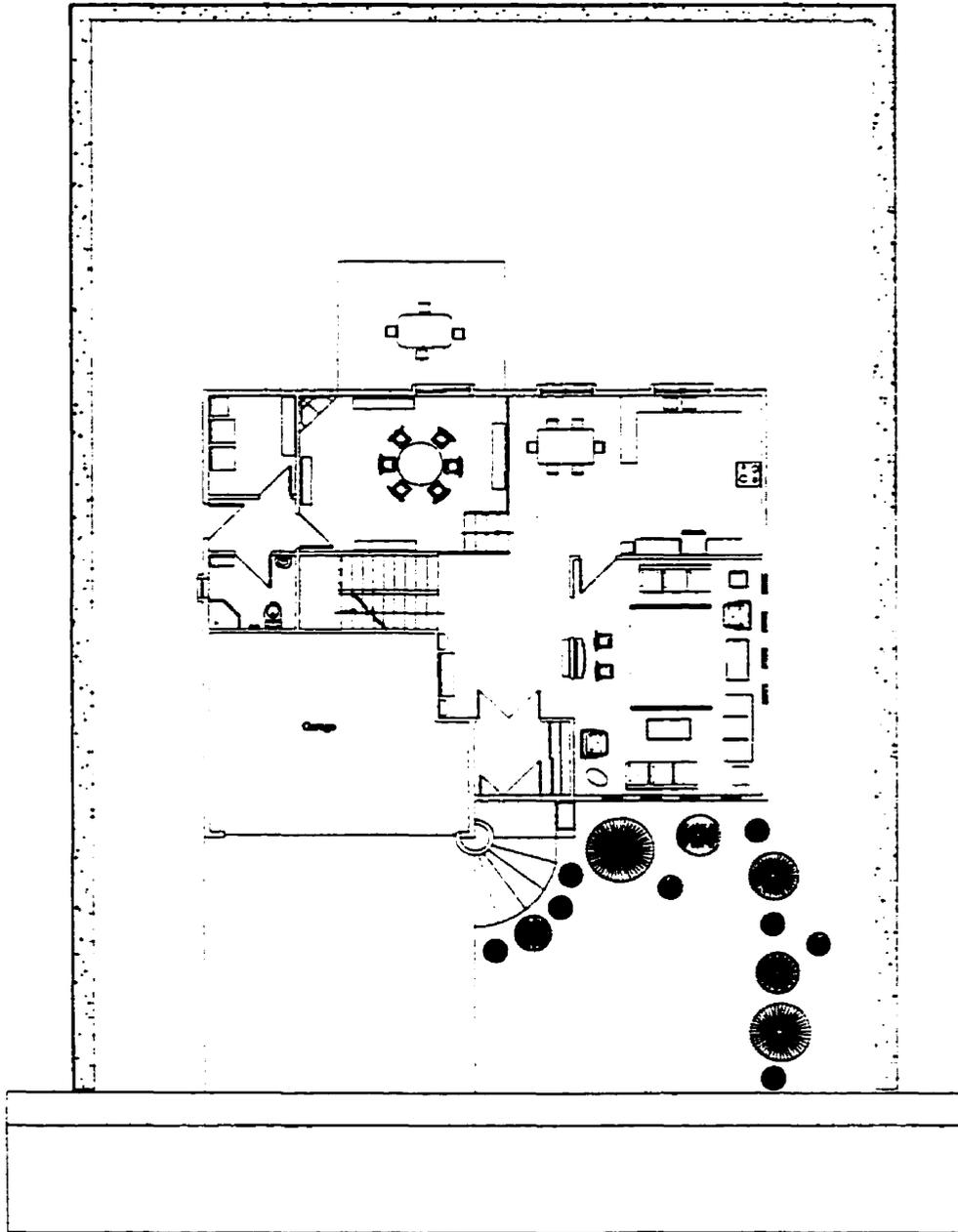


**First Floor 1:200**

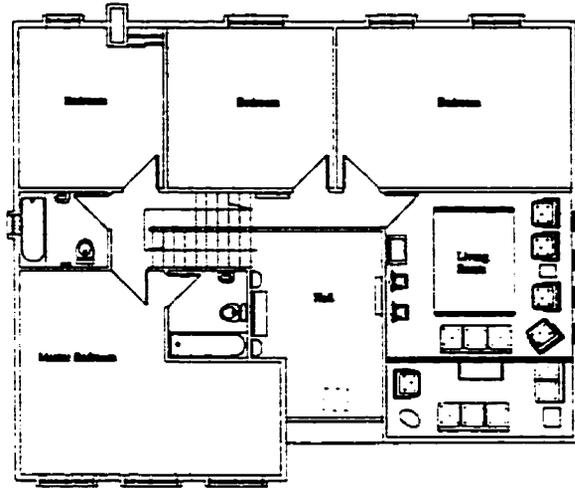


Bedroom Floor 1:200

**Case Study C2:**

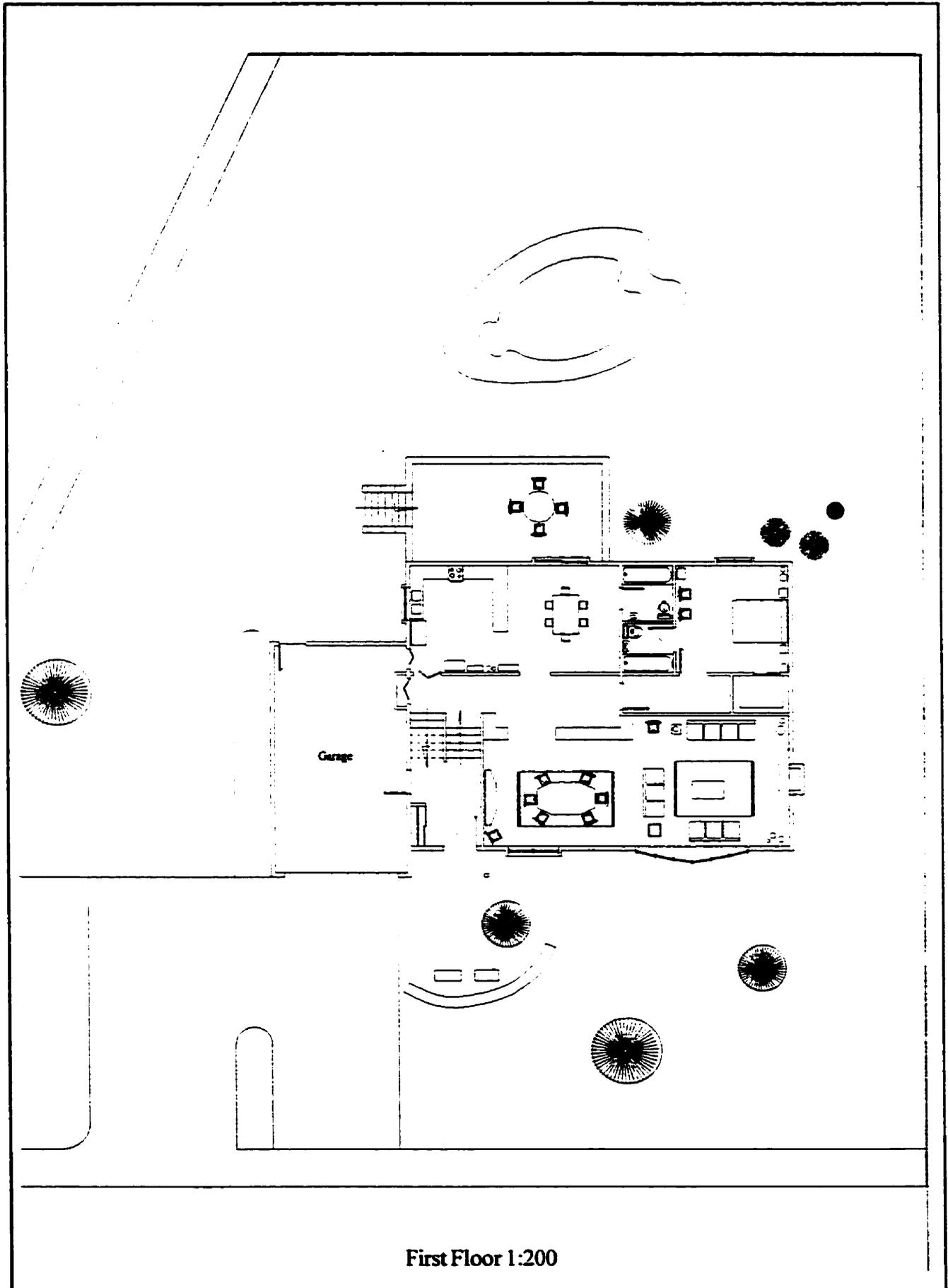


**First Floor 1:200**

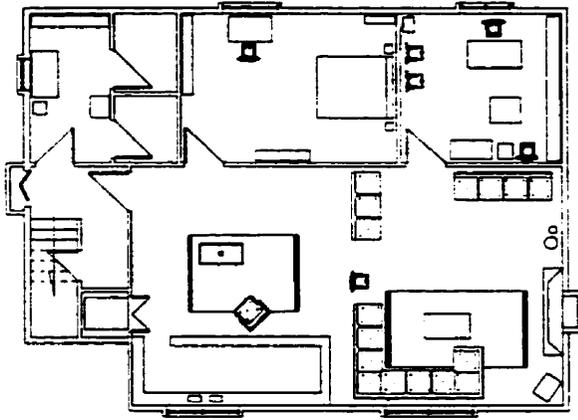


Bedroom Floor 1:200

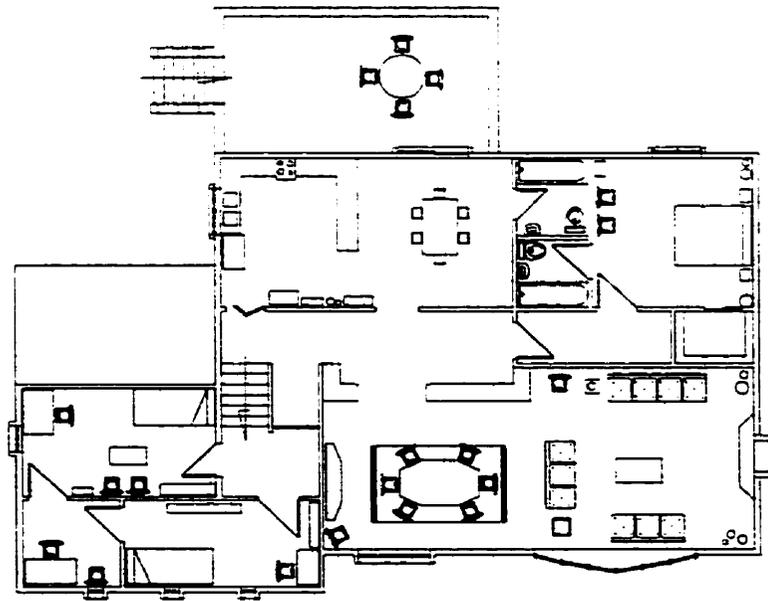
**Case Study C3:**



**First Floor 1:200**

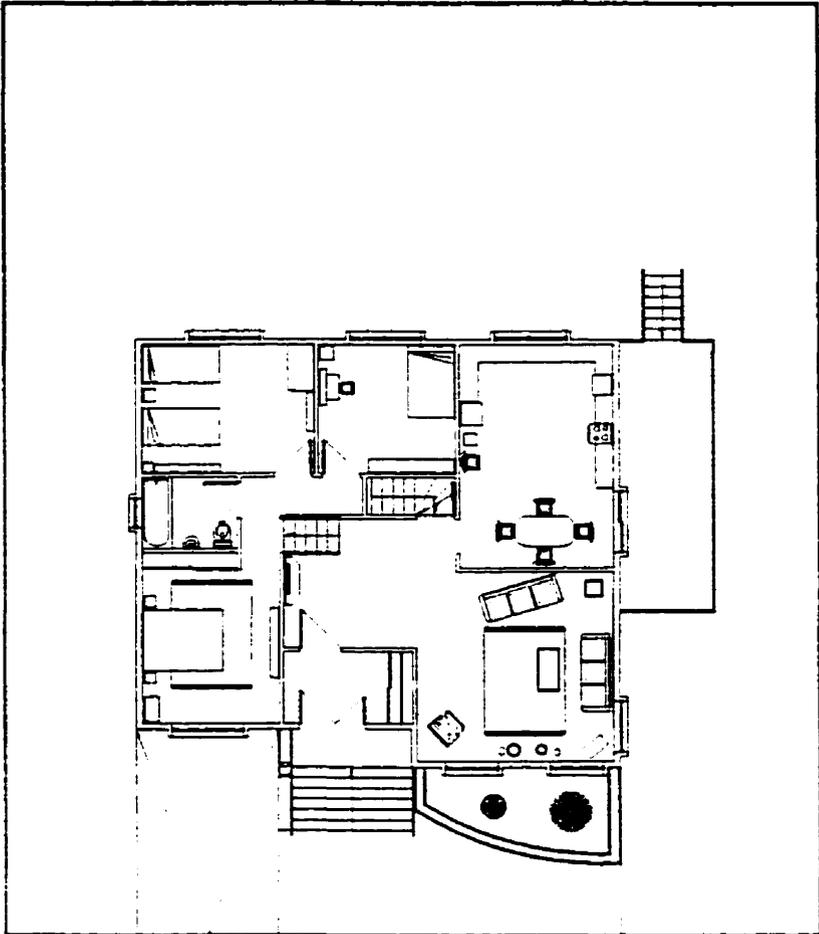


Basement Floor 1:200



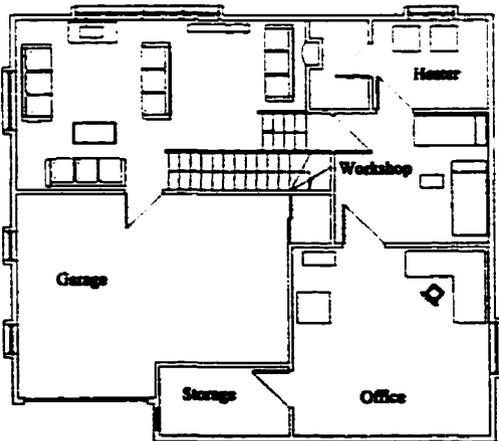
Bedroom Floor 1:200

**Case Study C4:**



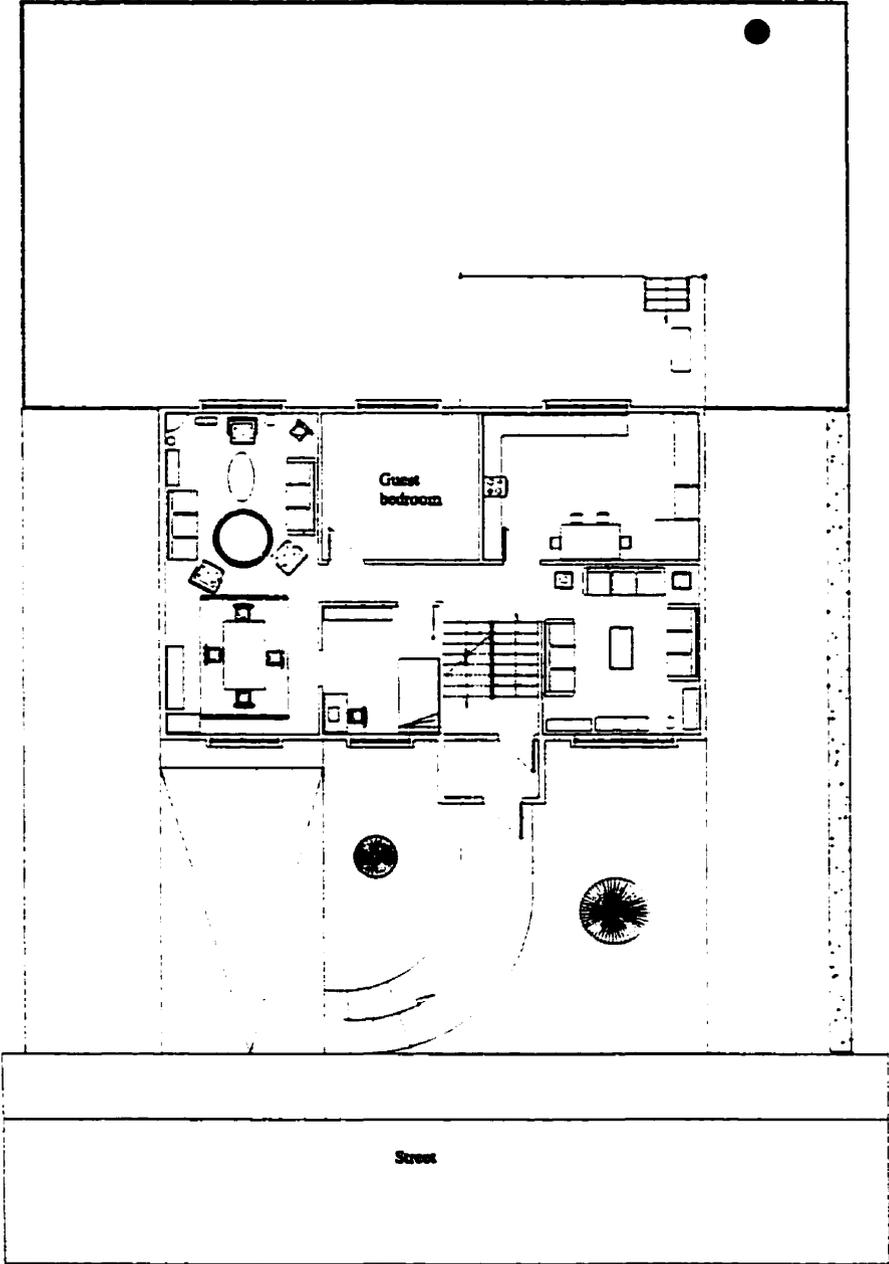
**First Floor**  
1:200

Street

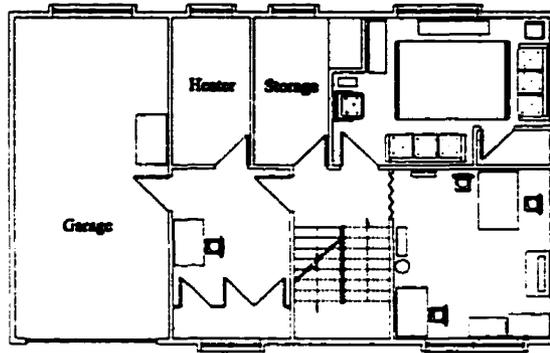


**Basement Floor**  
1:200

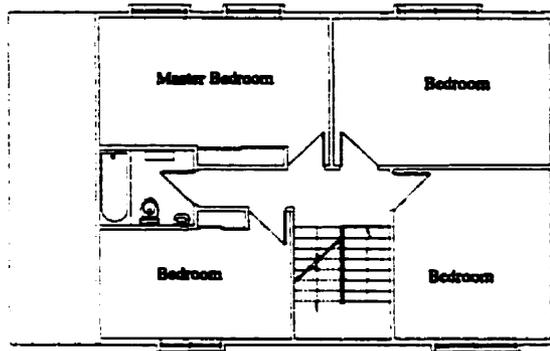
**Case Study C5:**



**First Floor 1:200**

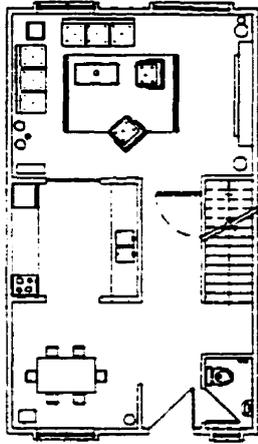


Basement Floor 1:200

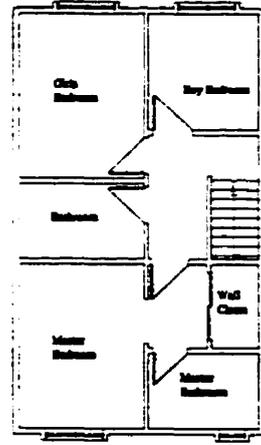


Bedroom Floor 1:200

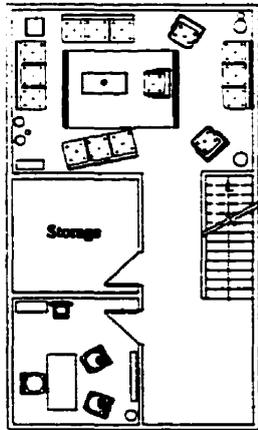
**Case Study D1:**



**First Floor 1:200**

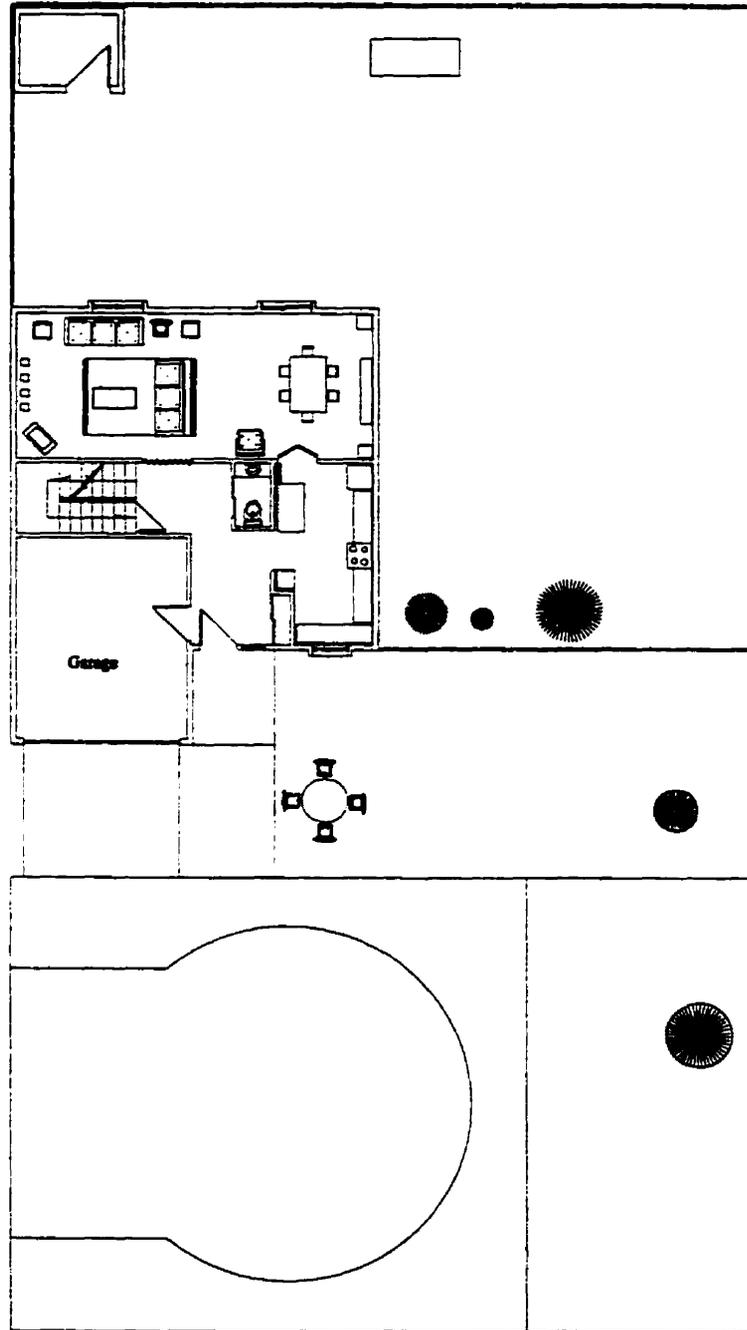


**Bedroom Floor 1:200**

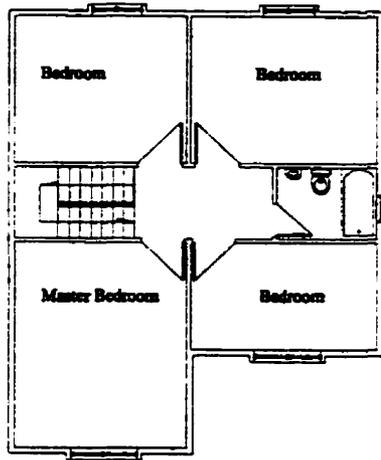


**Basement Floor 1:200**

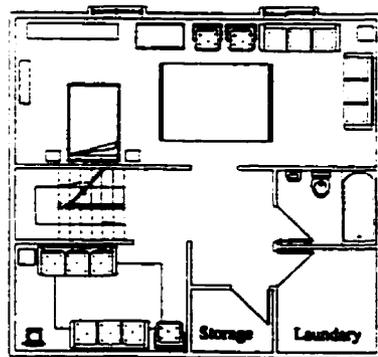
**Case Study D2:**



**First Floor 1:200**

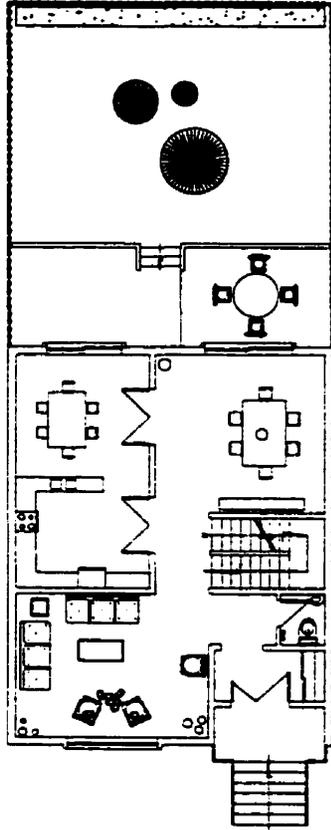


Bedroom Floor 1:200

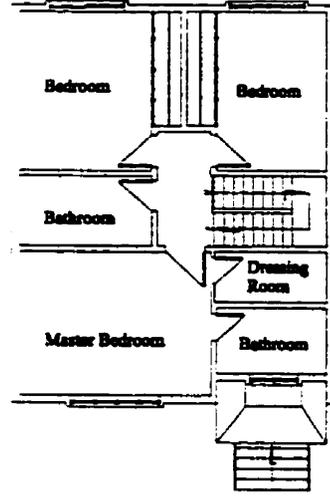


Basement Floor 1:200

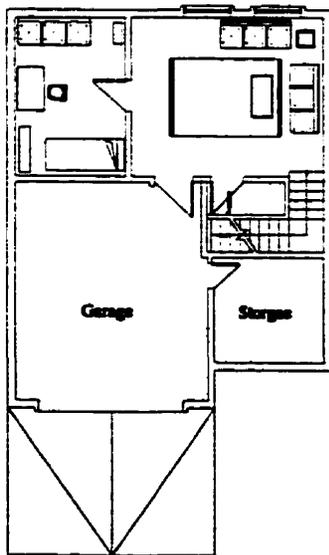
**Case Study D3:**



**First Floor 1:200**



**Bedroom Floor 1:200**



**Basement Floor 1:200**

## **Appendix 2: Questionnaire**

# McGill University

## School of Architecture, MCHP

McDonald Harrington Building  
815 Sherbrooke Street West  
Montreal, PQ, H3A 2K6

Office: (514) 398-8256  
Residence: (514) 000-000

Date: \_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_/199

## SURVEY

### **Privacy Patterns in Homes of Shaamy Muslim Immigrants**

A Study of Privacy patterns in Single Family Detached homes and  
Townhouses of Middle-Class Immigrants in Montreal

Master's of Architecture Research conducted by: Mahmoud Essam Hallak

- The purpose of this survey is to identify privacy-based patterns in domestic physical environment, the use of domestic spaces, and social behavior patterns of Muslim Shaamy families in Montreal. It aims also to discover the various changes which the community tend to undertake in their owned single-family detached homes and townhouses to improve their privacy conditions. Additionally, the research explores the flexibility of home designs and their ability to comply with the privacy needs of its inhabitants.
- The survey comprises an interview and a questionnaire; both architectural and socio-cultural components of which are designed in an integrative manner to supply the information required for the research.
- In case you choose to fill out the questionnaire yourself, please PRINT your answers with a dark pencil and make them clear and concise. Additionally, make sure that you answer all the questions.
- Check only one space unless otherwise is specified
- Questions in Italics are to be answered/filled out by the interviewer

**THE CONFIDENTIALITY OF THE DATA WHICH IS OBTAINED IN THIS SURVEY IS  
ENSURED BY MAINTAINING THE ANONYMITY OF THE RESPONDENTS IN THE  
PUBLICATION**

*Your cooperation would be most appreciated.*

# SURVEY OF SOCIO-CULTURAL DATA

1- **Your name:** Family name: \_\_\_\_\_ First name: \_\_\_\_\_

2- **Address:**  
Number: \_\_\_\_\_ Street: \_\_\_\_\_ Apt: \_\_\_\_\_ City: \_\_\_\_\_ Postal code: \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone: \_\_\_\_\_ - \_\_\_\_\_ E-mail: \_\_\_\_\_

3- **Nationality:**  
3.1. Yourself: (1) \_\_\_\_\_ (2) \_\_\_\_\_  
3.2. Your spouse (1) \_\_\_\_\_ (2) \_\_\_\_\_

4- **Country of Birth:**

	Syria	Lebanon	Palestine	Jordan	Other
4.1. Yourself:	___	___	___	___	___
4.2. Your spouse:	___	___	___	___	___

5- **Place of origin** (viz. ancestral origin):

	Country	Province	City/village
5.1. Yourself:	_____	_____	_____
5.2. Your spouse:	_____	_____	_____

6- **What are the countries which you lived in for more than one year?**  
(1) \_\_\_\_\_ (2) \_\_\_\_\_ (3) \_\_\_\_\_ (4) \_\_\_\_\_

7- **Ethnic background:**

	Arab background	Non-Arab background	
7.1. Yourself:	___	___	Specify _____
7.2. Your spouse:	___	___	Specify _____

8- **For how long have you been living in Canada?**  
(1) 1-5: \_\_\_ (2) 6-10: \_\_\_ (3) 11-15: \_\_\_ (4) 16-20: \_\_\_  
(5) 21-25: \_\_\_ (6) 26-30: \_\_\_ (7) 31-40: \_\_\_ (8) 41-50: \_\_\_

8.1. **For how long have you been living in Montreal?**  
(1) 1-5: \_\_\_ (2) 6-10: \_\_\_ (3) 11-15: \_\_\_ (4) 16-20: \_\_\_  
(5) 21-25: \_\_\_ (6) 26-30: \_\_\_ (7) 31-40: \_\_\_ (8) 41-50: \_\_\_

9- **How old were you when you came to Canada?**  
(1) 14 or less: \_\_\_ (2) 15-20: \_\_\_ (3) 21-35: \_\_\_ (4) 35-50: \_\_\_ (5) 51-60: \_\_\_

10- **Marital status upon immigration to Canada:**  
(1) Single: \_\_\_ (2) Married: \_\_\_

11- **In what religion were you raised?**

	Muslim	Christian	Others, specify	Religious school of thought
11.1. Yourself:	___	___	_____	_____

11.2. Your spouse: \_\_\_\_\_

12- **Your highest level of education:**

(1) Elementary \_\_\_\_ (2) Preparatory \_\_\_\_ (3) Secondary \_\_\_\_ (4) College \_\_\_\_  
(5) University \_\_\_\_ (6) Masters: \_\_\_\_ (7) Ph.D. \_\_\_\_

12.1. The highest level of education of your spouse:

(1) Elementary \_\_\_\_ (2) Preparatory \_\_\_\_ (3) Secondary \_\_\_\_ (4) College \_\_\_\_  
(5) University \_\_\_\_ (6) Masters: \_\_\_\_ (7) Ph.D. \_\_\_\_

13- **The profession of the paterfamilias:** \_\_\_\_\_

14- **Is the materfamilias employed?**

(1) Yes: \_\_\_\_ (2) No: \_\_\_\_

15- **Social class:**

(1) Working class: \_\_\_\_ (2) Middle class: \_\_\_\_  
(3) Upper middle class: \_\_\_\_ (4) Upper class: \_\_\_\_

16- **In which of the following broad income categories did your total family yearly income from all sources fall last year? (Check one)**

(1) 10,000-19,999: \_\_\_\_ (2) 20,000-29,999: \_\_\_\_ (3) 30,000-39,000: \_\_\_\_  
(4) 40,000-49,999: \_\_\_\_ (5) 50,000-59,000: \_\_\_\_ (6) 60,000-69,000: \_\_\_\_  
(7) 70,000 or more: \_\_\_\_

17- **Do you have children?**

(1) Yes: \_\_\_\_ (1) No: \_\_\_\_

17.1. If "Yes," how many do you have?

(1) One: \_\_\_\_ (2) Two: \_\_\_\_ (3) Three: \_\_\_\_ (4) Four: \_\_\_\_ (5) Five: \_\_\_\_  
(6) Six: \_\_\_\_ (7) Seven: \_\_\_\_ (8) Eight: \_\_\_\_ (9) Nine or more: \_\_\_\_

17.2. The gender of the children: (1) Number of males: \_\_\_\_ (2) Number of females: \_\_\_\_

17.3. Children's place of birth:

(1) Canada: \_\_\_\_ (2) Outside Canada: \_\_\_\_\_, Please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

17.4. What kind of schools have your children been attending? (check as many as applicable)

(1) Canadian public school: \_\_\_\_ (2) Ethnic or religious school: \_\_\_\_  
(3) Studied in the Arabian countries: \_\_\_\_ (4) Other, specify: \_\_\_\_\_

18- **Specify the number of family members who belong to the following age groups:**

(1) 1-4: \_\_\_\_ (2) 5-9: \_\_\_\_ (3) 10-14: \_\_\_\_ (4) 14-19: \_\_\_\_  
(5) 20-29: \_\_\_\_ (6) 30-39: \_\_\_\_ (7) 40-49: \_\_\_\_ (8) 50+: \_\_\_\_

19- **What do you consider yourself to be first and foremost? (Please put in sequence if you consider yourself to be more than one of these options):**

(1) Canadian: \_\_\_\_ (2) Arab: \_\_\_\_ (3) Muslim: \_\_\_\_ (4) National of your old country: \_\_\_\_  
(5) Other: \_\_\_\_ Specify: \_\_\_\_\_

- 20- **How important is it for you to retain your traditional values and original culture?**  
(1) Very important: \_\_\_\_ (2) Important: \_\_\_\_ (3) Mediumly important: \_\_\_\_  
(4) Barely important: \_\_\_\_ (5) Not important at all: \_\_\_\_
- 21- **How well do you think Canadians understand Arab/Muslim cultures and lifestyles, particularly privacy values and practices?**  
(1) Very well: \_\_\_\_ (2) Well: \_\_\_\_ (3) Not all that well: \_\_\_\_ (4) Not well at all: \_\_\_\_
- 22- **In your opinion, what is the degree of similarity that exist between the mainstream culture, lifestyle, and privacy norms and yours?**  
(1) The same: \_\_\_\_ (2) Very similar: \_\_\_\_ (3) Somewhat similar: \_\_\_\_  
(4) Barely similar: \_\_\_\_ (5) Totally dissimilar: \_\_\_\_
- 23- **In your opinion, how do Canadians generally regard people of your background?**  
(1) Very highly: \_\_\_\_ (2) Highly: \_\_\_\_ (3) Average: \_\_\_\_  
(4) Below average: \_\_\_\_ (5) Poorly: \_\_\_\_
- 24- **What three things do you like most about the Canadian domestic lifestyle?**  
(1) \_\_\_\_\_  
(2) \_\_\_\_\_  
(3) \_\_\_\_\_
- 25- **What three things do you like least about the Canadian domestic lifestyle?**  
(1) \_\_\_\_\_  
(2) \_\_\_\_\_  
(3) \_\_\_\_\_
- 26- **What three things do you like most about the domestic lifestyle in your country of origin?**  
(1) \_\_\_\_\_  
(2) \_\_\_\_\_  
(3) \_\_\_\_\_
- 27- **What three things do you like least about the domestic lifestyle in your country of origin?**  
(1) \_\_\_\_\_  
(2) \_\_\_\_\_  
(3) \_\_\_\_\_
- 28- **How many of your best friends are:**
- |                             | <u>None</u> | <u>Some</u> | <u>Most</u> | <u>All</u> |
|-----------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------|
| (1) From the "old country": | _____       | _____       | _____       | _____      |
| (2) Arabs Muslims:          | _____       | _____       | _____       | _____      |
| (3) Arab Non-Muslims:       | _____       | _____       | _____       | _____      |
| (4) Muslim Non-Arabs:       | _____       | _____       | _____       | _____      |
| (5) Canadians:              | _____       | _____       | _____       | _____      |

(6) Others, specify: \_\_\_\_\_

**29- Please check as many as applicable answers to the following statement:**

Most my social life is centered around

- (1) Nuclear family: \_\_\_\_ (2) Relatives: \_\_\_\_  
(3) Close friends from the Arab community: \_\_\_\_ (4) Hometown or countrymen: \_\_\_\_  
(5) Muslims (6) Regular Canadians: \_\_\_\_

**30- The reason for immigration: (check as many as applicable)**

- (1) Economic: \_\_\_\_ (2) Political: \_\_\_\_ (3) Education: \_\_\_\_ (4) Travel: \_\_\_\_  
(5) Western lifestyle: \_\_\_\_ (6) Citizenship: \_\_\_\_ (8) Other, specify: \_\_\_\_\_

**31- The pattern of immigration to Canada:**

- (1) Independent immigrant: \_\_\_\_ (2) Family immigration: \_\_\_\_ (3) Sponsored: \_\_\_\_  
(4) Business immigration: \_\_\_\_ (5) Refugee: \_\_\_\_ (6) Student: \_\_\_\_  
(7) Visitor: \_\_\_\_ (8) Others, specify: \_\_\_\_\_

**32- Your current status in Canada:**

- (1) Citizen: \_\_\_\_ (2) Landed immigrant: \_\_\_\_ (3) Refugee: \_\_\_\_ (4) Other, specify: \_\_\_\_

**33- Overall, how comfortable and satisfactory is your life in your home and neighborhood?**

- (1) Very satisfactory: \_\_\_\_ (2) Satisfactory: \_\_\_\_ (3) Somewhat satisfactory: \_\_\_\_  
(4) Unsatisfactory: \_\_\_\_

**34- Why did you choose Montreal as a destination to settle in Canada?**

- (1) Relatives: \_\_\_\_ (2) Your native community: \_\_\_\_ (3) Work: \_\_\_\_  
(4) Language: \_\_\_\_ (5) Others, specify: \_\_\_\_\_

# SURVEY OF ARCHITECTURAL DATA

**1- How long have you been living in this home?**

- (1) 1-5: \_\_\_\_ (2) 6-10: \_\_\_\_ (3) 11-15: \_\_\_\_ (4) 16-20: \_\_\_\_  
 (5) 21-25: \_\_\_\_ (6) 26-30: \_\_\_\_ (7) 31-40: \_\_\_\_ (8) 41-50: \_\_\_\_

**1.1. Do you intend to live permanently in this residence?**

- (1) Yes: \_\_\_\_ (2) No: \_\_\_\_

**1.1.1. Why?** \_\_\_\_\_

**2- How old is your home?**

- (1) 1-5: \_\_\_\_ (2) 5-9: \_\_\_\_ (3) 10-14: \_\_\_\_ (4) 15-19: \_\_\_\_ (5) 20-24: \_\_\_\_  
 (6) 25-29: \_\_\_\_ (7) 30-34: \_\_\_\_ (8) 35-39: \_\_\_\_ (9) 40-44: \_\_\_\_ (10) 45-49: \_\_\_\_  
 (11) 50-54: \_\_\_\_ (12) 55-59: \_\_\_\_ (13) 60 or more: \_\_\_\_

**3- Please list all the spaces in each level of your home: (put / between the functions of multi-use spaces)**

- (1) Basement: \_\_\_\_\_  
 (2) Main floor: \_\_\_\_\_  
 (3) First floor: \_\_\_\_\_  
 (4) Second floor: \_\_\_\_\_  
 (5) Third floor: \_\_\_\_\_  
 (6) Attic: \_\_\_\_\_

*3.1. Provide the number of each type of space. Also, indicate the floor on which each space is located in the following manner: B for Basement, G for ground floor, F1, F2, F3 for the other consecutive floors.*

- (1) Bedrooms: \_\_\_\_ (2) Guestroom: \_\_\_\_ (3) Living room: \_\_\_\_  
 (4) Kitchen: \_\_\_\_ (5) Dining: \_\_\_\_ (6) Study: \_\_\_\_  
 (7) Bathrooms: \_\_\_\_ (8) Storage: \_\_\_\_ (9) Indoor Garage: \_\_\_\_  
 (10) Guest washroom: \_\_\_\_ (11) Guest sleeping room: \_\_\_\_ (12) Female guestroom: \_\_\_\_  
 (13) Front yard: \_\_\_\_ (14) Swimming pool: \_\_\_\_ (15) Backyard: \_\_\_\_  
 (16) Others: \_\_\_\_\_ (17) \_\_\_\_\_ (18) \_\_\_\_\_

**4- What are the components of each of the following:**

- (1) Family diurnal domain: \_\_\_\_\_  
 (2) Family sleeping domain: \_\_\_\_\_  
 (3) Guest domain: \_\_\_\_\_  
 (4) \_\_\_\_\_ domain: \_\_\_\_\_  
 (5) \_\_\_\_\_ domain: \_\_\_\_\_

**5- What is the total surface area of the home in square meters. What percentages do the following divisions make of the total home area:**

- (1) Total: \_\_\_\_ sq.m (2) Diurnal area: % \_\_\_\_ (3) Sleeping area: % \_\_\_\_  
 (4) Green area: % \_\_\_\_ (5) Guest domain: % \_\_\_\_ (6) Family domain: % \_\_\_\_  
 (7) Service area: % \_\_\_\_ (8) Others, specify: \_\_\_\_\_ % \_\_\_\_

**6- What kind of plan does your home have?**

(1) Open plan: \_\_\_\_\_ (2) Semi-open plan: \_\_\_\_\_ (3) Enclosed plan: \_\_\_\_\_

**7- Provide the pattern of your home in each of the following instances?**

	<u>Before coming to Canada</u>	<u>Previous residence</u>	<u>Current residence</u>	<u>Ideal home</u>
Bungalow (detached, one level):	_____	_____	_____	_____
Split-level (detached):	_____	_____	_____	_____
Villa (detached, two stories):	_____	_____	_____	_____
Attached house:	_____	_____	_____	_____
Row house (townhouse):	_____	_____	_____	_____
Duplex:	_____	_____	_____	_____
Triplex:	_____	_____	_____	_____
Apartment building:	_____	_____	_____	_____

**7.1.** If you previously lived in another residence in Canada, why did you leave it and move to this one?

- (1) \_\_\_\_\_  
 (2) \_\_\_\_\_  
 (3) \_\_\_\_\_

**8- What are the reasons for choosing this home pattern in particular?**

- (1) \_\_\_\_\_ Explain: \_\_\_\_\_  
 (2) \_\_\_\_\_ Explain: \_\_\_\_\_  
 (3) \_\_\_\_\_ Explain: \_\_\_\_\_

**8.1.** What are the advantages of your home's plan in terms of the privacy it provides?

- (1) \_\_\_\_\_ Explain: \_\_\_\_\_  
 (2) \_\_\_\_\_ Explain: \_\_\_\_\_  
 (3) \_\_\_\_\_ Explain: \_\_\_\_\_

**9- What are the four things that you like least about the privacy characteristics of this home pattern?**

- (1) \_\_\_\_\_ Explain: \_\_\_\_\_  
 (2) \_\_\_\_\_ Explain: \_\_\_\_\_  
 (3) \_\_\_\_\_ Explain: \_\_\_\_\_

**9.1.** What are the four things that you like least about the privacy features of your home plan?

- (1) \_\_\_\_\_ Explain: \_\_\_\_\_  
 (2) \_\_\_\_\_ Explain: \_\_\_\_\_  
 (3) \_\_\_\_\_ Explain: \_\_\_\_\_

**10- In your opinion, how important is the provision of the following home spaces:**

- Necessary Good idea Indifferent Not required Bad idea
- (1) Single male-female guestroom: \_\_\_\_\_  
 (2) Separate male and female \_\_\_\_\_

guestrooms:	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(3) Secluded non-family guest domain:	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(4) Guest dining room:	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(5) Guest sleeping room:	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(6) Family's own dining room:	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(7) Grandparents accommodation:	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(8) Incorporated living, dining, and kitchen for family use only:	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(9) Separate female domain:	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(10) Separate male domain:	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(11) One bedroom per child:	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(12) Separate circulation for guests:	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(13) Central green spaces:	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(14) Others: _____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

**11- What are the activities which take place in the following spaces:**

(1) Living room:	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(2) Guestroom:	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(3) Dining room:	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(4) Kitchen:	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(5) Parents' bedroom:	Sleeping + _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(6) _____ Bedroom:	Sleeping + _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(7) _____ Bedroom:	Sleeping + _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(8) _____ Bedroom:	Sleeping + _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(9) Study:	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(10) Basement:	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(11) Garage:	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(12) Terraces:	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(13) Front yards:	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(14) Back yard:	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(15) Others, _____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(16) _____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

**12- List in sequence the most important spaces in your home in terms of location, size, furniture elegance, and intensity of use:**

(1) Location:	(1) _____	(2) _____	(3) _____
(2) Size:	(1) _____	(2) _____	(3) _____
(3) Furniture:	(1) _____	(2) _____	(3) _____
(4) Intensity of use:	(1) _____	(2) _____	(3) _____

**13- What kind of communal activities do you host in your home?**

(1) \_\_\_\_\_ (2) \_\_\_\_\_ (3) \_\_\_\_\_ (4) \_\_\_\_\_

**14- What are the activities or needs which the current configurations of your residence do not allow?**

(1) \_\_\_\_\_ (2) \_\_\_\_\_

(3) \_\_\_\_\_ (4) \_\_\_\_\_

15- **Have you made any concessions to your comfort and original lifestyle because of the privacy features of your home pattern and design?**

(1) A lot: \_\_\_\_ (2) Some: \_\_\_\_ (3) Little: \_\_\_\_ (4) No: \_\_\_\_

16- **In your opinion, and with regard to your lifestyle in your home country, has the mainstream lifestyle and culture, in large, affected your privacy attitude and its related social behaviors within your current home?** (check one)

(1) Yes: \_\_\_\_ (2) Somewhat: \_\_\_\_ (3) Very little: \_\_\_\_ (4) Not at all: \_\_\_\_

16.1. If your response was (1), (2) or (3), in what area(s)? (check as many as applicable)

(1) Family relation patterns: \_\_\_\_ e.g. \_\_\_\_\_

(2) General home living habits: \_\_\_\_ e.g. \_\_\_\_\_

(3) Dining habits: \_\_\_\_ e.g. \_\_\_\_\_

(4) Guest entertaining tradition: \_\_\_\_ e.g. \_\_\_\_\_

(5) Leisure and entertainment habits: \_\_\_\_ e.g. \_\_\_\_\_

(6) Others, specify: \_\_\_\_\_ e.g. \_\_\_\_\_

(7) \_\_\_\_\_ e.g. \_\_\_\_\_

(8) \_\_\_\_\_ e.g. \_\_\_\_\_

17- **In your opinion, to what degree does the design of your home reflect your privacy values, lifestyle, and needs?**

(1) Very strongly: \_\_\_\_ (2) Strongly: \_\_\_\_ (3) Moderately: \_\_\_\_

(4) Very little: \_\_\_\_ (5) Not at all: \_\_\_\_

17.1. Give the three main reasons, or examples of why:

(1) \_\_\_\_\_

(2) \_\_\_\_\_

(3) \_\_\_\_\_

17.2. If it is somehow irresponsive, what are the most salient effects of this contradiction on your home social life?

(1) \_\_\_\_\_

(2) \_\_\_\_\_

(3) \_\_\_\_\_

17.3. What are the measures you have taken to solve the conflict between your privacy needs and the configuration of your living environment?

(1) \_\_\_\_\_

(2) \_\_\_\_\_

(3) \_\_\_\_\_

**18- In your opinion, to what degree do the physical configurations of your Canadian home environment influence your original privacy habits and related domestic behavior?**

(1) Very strongly: \_\_\_\_ (2) Strongly: \_\_\_\_ (3) Somewhat: \_\_\_\_  
(4) Very little: \_\_\_\_ (5) Not at all: \_\_\_\_

**18.1. If your response was (1), (2), (3) or (4), Does it effect:**

(1) Your traditional privacy practices? (1) Yes: \_\_\_\_ (2) No: \_\_\_\_

**18.1.1. If "Yes," how?** (1) \_\_\_\_\_  
(2) \_\_\_\_\_  
(3) \_\_\_\_\_

(2) Your personal behavior? (1) Yes: \_\_\_\_ (2) No: \_\_\_\_

**18.1.2. If "Yes," how?** (1) \_\_\_\_\_  
(2) \_\_\_\_\_  
(3) \_\_\_\_\_

(3) Social relations among the family? (1) Yes: \_\_\_\_ (2) No: \_\_\_\_

**18.1.3. If "Yes," how?** (1) \_\_\_\_\_  
(2) \_\_\_\_\_  
(3) \_\_\_\_\_

(4) Social relations with relatives and the community guests? (1) Yes: \_\_\_\_ (2) No: \_\_\_\_

**18.1.4. If "Yes," how?** (1) \_\_\_\_\_  
(2) \_\_\_\_\_  
(3) \_\_\_\_\_

(5) The functions of the home spaces? (1) Yes: \_\_\_\_ (2) No: \_\_\_\_

**18.1.5. If "Yes," how?** (1) \_\_\_\_\_  
(2) \_\_\_\_\_  
(3) \_\_\_\_\_

**19- Are you the first owner of your home or did you buy it from a previous owner?**

(1) Had it designed according to my wishes: \_\_\_\_ (2) Bought it from previous owner: \_\_\_\_

**19.1. If (2) did the previous owner make any changes to your home while living in it?**

(1) Yes: \_\_\_\_ (2) No: \_\_\_\_

**19.1. 1. If "Yes," what were these changes:** \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**20- What is the name, the ethnic background, and the religion of the:**

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Ethnic background</u>	<u>Religion</u>
(1) Architect:	_____	_____	_____
(2) Previous owner:	_____	_____	_____

**21- Was the flexibility of your home's plan and its ability to accommodate changes a consideration when you bought it?**

(1) Yes: \_\_\_\_ (2) No: \_\_\_\_

22- **Did you intend to change the configuration of your home when you bought it?**

(1) Yes: \_\_\_\_ (2) No: \_\_\_\_

23- **Have you applied any privacy-based adjustments to your home since you bought it?**

(1) Yes: \_\_\_\_ (2) No: \_\_\_\_

23.1. If "Yes," what were they?

(1) Tearing down walls/enlarging spaces: \_\_\_\_

Where? \_\_\_\_\_ Why? \_\_\_\_\_

(2) Adding new rooms: \_\_\_\_

Where? \_\_\_\_\_ Why? \_\_\_\_\_

(3) Add partitions: \_\_\_\_

Where? \_\_\_\_\_ Why? \_\_\_\_\_

(4) Appropriating a space(s) for a new use/shifting spaces: \_\_\_\_

Where? \_\_\_\_\_ Why? \_\_\_\_\_

(5) Adding doors: \_\_\_\_

Where? \_\_\_\_\_ Why? \_\_\_\_\_

(6) Removing windows: \_\_\_\_

Where? \_\_\_\_\_ Why? \_\_\_\_\_

(7) Others, specify: \_\_\_\_\_

Where? \_\_\_\_\_ Why? \_\_\_\_\_

(8) Others, specify: \_\_\_\_\_

Where? \_\_\_\_\_ Why? \_\_\_\_\_

(9) Others, specify: \_\_\_\_\_

Where? \_\_\_\_\_ Why? \_\_\_\_\_

(10) Others, specify: \_\_\_\_\_

Where? \_\_\_\_\_ Why? \_\_\_\_\_

23.2. Did you make these changes before or after you moved into your home?

(1) Before: \_\_\_\_ (2) After: \_\_\_\_

23.3. If your answer was (2), how long after moving in did make these changes: \_\_\_\_

24- **Based on privacy grounds, do you use any of your home spaces in a different way than that which they were designed for?**

(1) Yes: \_\_\_\_ (2) No: \_\_\_\_

24.1. Please give examples:

	<u>Original use</u>	<u>The new use</u>	<u>Change of attributes</u>
(1)	_____	_____	(1) No ____ (2) Yes, specify: _____
(2)	_____	_____	(1) No ____ (2) Yes, specify: _____
(3)	_____	_____	(1) No ____ (2) Yes, specify: _____
(4)	_____	_____	(1) No ____ (2) Yes, specify: _____
(5)	_____	_____	(1) No ____ (2) Yes, specify: _____
(6)	_____	_____	(1) No ____ (2) Yes, specify: _____

25- **If your home still maintains its primary design and features, are you satisfied with the level of privacy of its original arrangement?**

(1) Yes: \_\_\_\_ , skip to the next question (2) No: \_\_\_\_

25.1. If "No," do you plan to make any adjustments or changes in your home in the future?

(1) Yes: \_\_\_\_ (2) No: \_\_\_\_

25.1.1. If "Yes," What are these changes:

(1) \_\_\_\_\_ Why? \_\_\_\_\_  
(2) \_\_\_\_\_ Why? \_\_\_\_\_  
(3) \_\_\_\_\_ Why? \_\_\_\_\_  
(4) \_\_\_\_\_ Why? \_\_\_\_\_

25.1.2. If you are not satisfied with your home and do not intend to make changes, please give a reason (s):

(1) Adapted to the current situation: \_\_\_\_ (2) Temporary stay: \_\_\_\_  
(4) Others, specify: \_\_\_\_\_

26- **If you were able to change anything you want in your home to make it more suitable to your privacy needs, what would you change?**

(1) \_\_\_\_\_ Why? \_\_\_\_\_  
(2) \_\_\_\_\_ Why? \_\_\_\_\_  
(3) \_\_\_\_\_ Why? \_\_\_\_\_

27- **On scale of 1 to 10, what degree of satisfaction does your home give for you?**

27.1. Before the change: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

27.2. After the change: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

28- **What are the differences which you think distinguish your home from a similar Montreal home?**

(1) Arrangement: \_\_\_\_\_  
(2) Furniture: \_\_\_\_\_  
(3) Use: \_\_\_\_\_  
(4) Others, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
(5) Others, specify: \_\_\_\_\_

29- **In your opinion, what features in your residence, usage patterns, or modes of domestic behavior do you attribute to your privacy norms which stem from your religious background?**

	<u>Cause</u> (religious principle)	<u>Effect</u> (configuration and social behavior)
(1) Space allocation:	_____	_____
(2) Space config:	_____	_____
(3) Decoration:	_____	_____
(4) Furniture:	_____	_____
(5) Ornaments:	_____	_____

- (6) Usage: \_\_\_\_\_
- (7) Usage: \_\_\_\_\_
- (8) Usage: \_\_\_\_\_
- (9) Behavior: \_\_\_\_\_
- (10) Behavior: \_\_\_\_\_

30- In your opinion, what features in your home, usage patterns or modes of domestic behavior influenced by traditional privacy practices inherent to Shaamy culture?

	<u>Cause</u> (tradition principle)	<u>Effect</u> (configuration and social behavior)
(1) Space allocation:	_____	_____
(2) Space config:	_____	_____
(3) Decoration:	_____	_____
(4) Furniture:	_____	_____
(5) Artifacts:	_____	_____
(6) Usage:	_____	_____
(7) Usage:	_____	_____
(8) Usage:	_____	_____
(9) Behavior:	_____	_____
(10) Behavior:	_____	_____

31- In your opinion, does the interior of your home have any definite identity?

- (1) Yes: \_\_\_\_ (2) No: \_\_\_\_

31.1. If "Yes," What is this identity? \_\_\_\_\_

31.2. How is this identity manifested? \_\_\_\_\_

34.3. What is the degree of clarity of this identity?

- (1) Very clear: \_\_\_\_ (2) Somewhat clear: \_\_\_\_ (3) Mixed: \_\_\_\_  
 (4) Quite unclear: \_\_\_\_ (5) Unclear: \_\_\_\_

32- Where does the family dine?

- (1) Dining room: \_\_\_\_ (2) Kitchen: \_\_\_\_ (3) Living room: \_\_\_\_ (4) Other, specify: \_\_\_\_

33- What space do you use for entertaining guests?

- (1) Guestroom: \_\_\_\_ For what kind of guests? \_\_\_\_\_  
 (2) Living room: \_\_\_\_ For what kind of guests? \_\_\_\_\_  
 (3) Others, specify: \_\_\_\_\_ For what kind of guests? \_\_\_\_\_  
 (4) Others, specify: \_\_\_\_\_ For what kind of guests? \_\_\_\_\_

34- How self-contained is the guestroom?

- (1) Enclosed: \_\_\_\_ (2) Semi-enclosed: \_\_\_\_ (3) Open: \_\_\_\_

35- Do you apply gender separation with guests in your home?

- (1) Yes: \_\_\_\_ (2) Sometimes: \_\_\_\_ (3) No: \_\_\_\_

35.1. If (1) or (2) with whom? (1) Relatives: \_\_\_\_ (2) Friends: \_\_\_\_ (3) Strangers: \_\_\_\_

35.2. Which space is used for each of the following kinds of guests?

(1) Males: \_\_\_\_\_ (2) Females: \_\_\_\_\_ (3) Either: \_\_\_\_\_

**36- Is the privacy of your household and your guests secure within your current home arrangement?**

(1) Yes, completely: \_\_\_\_ (2) Partially: \_\_\_\_ (3) Not at all: \_\_\_\_ (4) Not applicable: \_\_\_\_

**36.1.** Please explain how? \_\_\_\_\_

**37- Do you use a special entrance for male or female guests?**

(1) Yes: \_\_\_\_ (2) Sometimes: \_\_\_\_ (3) No: \_\_\_\_

**38- Is visual and acoustical privacy secured in the following settings?**

	<u>Visual</u>	<u>Acoustic</u>
(1) Between guests and family:	Yes: ____ No ____	Yes: ____ No ____
(2) Between neighbors and family outdoors:	Yes: ____ No ____	Yes: ____ No ____
(3) Between neighbors and family indoor:	Yes: ____ No ____	Yes: ____ No ____
(4) Among family-use indoor spaces:	Yes: ____ No ____	Yes: ____ No ____

**39- Does your residence allow free and separate circulation for both the household and the guest at the same time?**

(1) Yes: \_\_\_\_ (2) No: \_\_\_\_

**39.1.** Is the interpenetration of the circulation of both household and guests:

(1) Intolerable: \_\_\_\_ (2) Annoying: \_\_\_\_ (3) Undesirable but tolerated: \_\_\_\_  
(4) Acceptable: \_\_\_\_ (5) Desirable: \_\_\_\_

**40- Are there extra nuclear family members living permanently with you (grandparents, etc.)**

(1) Yes: \_\_\_\_ (2) No: \_\_\_\_, Skip to the next question

**40.1.** If "Yes," what is their relation to the paterfamilias? \_\_\_\_\_

**40.2.** What domain do the extra nuclear family members use?

(1) Guest domain: \_\_\_\_ (2) Family domain: \_\_\_\_ (3) Special domain, specify: \_\_\_\_\_

**40.3.** For number (1) and (3) is this domain:

(1) Separate/enclosed domain: \_\_\_\_ (2) Semi-enclosed: \_\_\_\_  
(3) Open to the family's domain: \_\_\_\_

**40.4.** What spaces do the extra nuclear family members use?

(1) \_\_\_\_\_ (2) \_\_\_\_\_ (3) \_\_\_\_\_ (4) \_\_\_\_\_

**41- Do you have any special accommodation for long-staying guests or relatives in your residence?**

(1) Yes: \_\_\_\_ (2) No: \_\_\_\_ (3) Not required: \_\_\_\_

**41.1.** If "Yes," is it

(1) Travelers section: \_\_\_\_ (2) Guest suite: \_\_\_\_ (3) Guest sleeping room: \_\_\_\_  
 (4) Multi-use space, specify: \_\_\_\_\_ (5) Others, specify: \_\_\_\_\_

**41.2. Is this accommodation?**

(1) Separate/enclosed domain: \_\_\_\_ (2) Semi-enclosed: \_\_\_\_ (3) Open to family domain: \_\_\_\_

**41.3. Please name the spaces and the utilities used by these guests:**

(1) \_\_\_\_\_ (2) \_\_\_\_\_ (3) \_\_\_\_\_ (4) \_\_\_\_\_

**42- Do you wish one or more of your children remain at home after they get married?**

(1) Yes: \_\_\_\_ (2) Yes, but it is unfeasible: \_\_\_\_ (3) No: \_\_\_\_ (4) Undecided: \_\_\_\_

**42.1. If "Yes," what is the arrangement you (will or) have made in your home in order to accommodate this new function?**

(1) Interior arrangement: \_\_\_\_ (2) Addition: \_\_\_\_ (3) New storey: \_\_\_\_  
 (4) Buying/renting bigger residence (4) Others, specify: \_\_\_\_\_

**42.2. Please explain your choice:** \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

**43- Are your home functions divided somehow on the basis of male/female zones?**

(1) Yes: \_\_\_\_ (2) No: \_\_\_\_

**43.1. Why?** \_\_\_\_\_

**44- Define the level of privacy with non-family-members (guests, neighbors) secured in each of the following spaces in your home:**

	<u>Secured unsecured</u>	<u>Somewhat unsecured</u>	<u>Very little secured</u>	<u>Totally</u>
(1) Entrance:	____	____	____	____
(2) Guestroom:	____	____	____	____
(3) Circulation area:	____	____	____	____
(5) Sleeping area:	____	____	____	____
(6) Living area:	____	____	____	____
(7) Dining area:	____	____	____	____
(8) Others, specify:	____	____	____	____
(9) Others, specify:	____	____	____	____
(10) Others, specify:	____	____	____	____

**45- How well is privacy preserved when using the outdoor spaces of your home?**

	<u>Totally preserved</u>	<u>Somewhat preserved</u>	<u>Poorly preserved</u>	<u>Not preserved</u>
(1) Backyard:	____	____	____	____
(2) Front yard:	____	____	____	____
(3) Terraces:	____	____	____	____
(4) Balconies:	____	____	____	____
(5) Others: _____	____	____	____	____

**45.1. How does this situation affect your use of these areas and their facilities? Does it make the use of these spaces:**

	Not restricted	Little restricted	Somewhat restricted	Totally restricted
(1) Frontward:	___	___	___	___
(2) Backyard:	___	___	___	___
(3) Terraces:	___	___	___	___
(4) Balconies	___	___	___	___
(5) Swimming pool:	___	___	___	___
(6) Others: _____	___	___	___	___

**45.2. If there is restriction on using the above mentioned spaces, did you apply any physical measures to increase the privacy level of these spaces?**

(1) Yes: \_\_\_ (2) No: \_\_\_ , Skip to the next question

**45.3. If "Yes," what were they?**

(1) Backyard:	(1) _____	(2) _____	(3) _____
(2) Front yard:	(1) _____	(2) _____	(3) _____
(3) Terraces:	(1) _____	(2) _____	(3) _____
(4) Balconies:	(1) _____	(2) _____	(3) _____
(5) Others: _____	(1) _____	(2) _____	(3) _____

**45.4. Can the previous physical measure restore all the privacy required for comfortable and private use of these spaces?**

(1) Completely: \_\_\_ (2) Somewhat: \_\_\_ (3) Poorly: \_\_\_ (4) Not at all: \_\_\_

**45.5. If privacy is not secured in your home's open spaces despite the measures that you have taken, how do you compensate for the lack of privacy in these spaces?**

(1) \_\_\_\_\_  
 (2) \_\_\_\_\_  
 (3) \_\_\_\_\_

**45.6. Are there any definite personal or collective behavioral measures taken when using outdoor spaces to preserve the privacy of family members?**

(1) For males: \_\_\_ Give example:(1) \_\_\_\_\_  
 (2) \_\_\_\_\_  
 (2) For females: \_\_\_ Give example:(1) \_\_\_\_\_  
 (2) \_\_\_\_\_

**46- Do you use the outdoor areas of your home for entertaining guests?**

(1) Yes: \_\_\_ (2) No: \_\_\_

**47- Please define the common users of the following open spaces:**

	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Both</u>
(1) Backyard:	_____	_____	_____
(2) Front yard:	_____	_____	_____
(3) Terraces:	_____	_____	_____
(4) Balconies:	_____	_____	_____

(5) Others, specify: \_\_\_\_\_

47.1. Please explain your response: \_\_\_\_\_

48- **If you have windows and doors facing your neighbor's openings or at street level, does this situation affect your sense of privacy and social behavior at home?**

Sense of Privacy: (1) Yes: \_\_\_ (2) Somewhat affects: \_\_\_ (3) No: \_\_\_

Social behavior: (1) Yes: \_\_\_ (2) Somewhat affects: \_\_\_ (3) No: \_\_\_

48.1. If your response is (1) or (2), have you taken any measures to solve this problem?

(1) Yes: \_\_\_ (2) No: \_\_\_

48.1.1. If "Yes," describe these measures:

(1) Windows \_\_\_\_\_

(2) Doors: \_\_\_\_\_

(3) Others, specify: \_\_\_\_\_

49- **What are the main characteristics of the furniture of each of the following spaces?**

	<u>Style</u>	<u>Elegance</u>	<u>Characteristic I</u>	<u>Characteristic II</u>
(1) Living room:	_____	_____	_____	_____
(2) Guestroom:	_____	_____	_____	_____
(3) Dining room:	_____	_____	_____	_____
(4) Parents' bedroom:	_____	_____	_____	_____
(5) Children's bedroom:	_____	_____	_____	_____
(6) Kitchen:	_____	_____	_____	_____
(7) Others, specify:	_____	_____	_____	_____

50- **Where did you buy your home furniture and ornaments?**

(1) Canada: \_\_\_ (2) The old country: \_\_\_ (3) Other, specify: \_\_\_

51- **What are the construction materials of your home?** (check as many as applicable)

(1) Wood: \_\_\_ (2) Stone: \_\_\_ (3) Brick: \_\_\_ (4) Concrete: \_\_\_ (5) Jerboa: \_\_\_

51.1. Do these materials provide acoustic privacy?

(1) Completely: \_\_\_ (2) Moderately: \_\_\_ (3) poorly: \_\_\_ (4) No: \_\_\_

51.2. If (2) or (3) give examples? (1) \_\_\_\_\_

(2) \_\_\_\_\_

(3) \_\_\_\_\_

52- **Why did you choose your home in this area of the city?** (check as many as applicable)

(1) Community concentrated area: \_\_\_ (2) Familiarity with similar housing patterns: \_\_\_

(3) Low density: \_\_\_ (4) Lack of community concentration: \_\_\_

(5) Others, specify: \_\_\_\_\_ (6) Others, specify: \_\_\_\_\_

**53- What group(s) of people do you prefer to live among in your neighborhood?** (Number in sequence if you have more than one response)

(1) From the "old country": \_\_\_\_ (2) Arab Muslims: \_\_\_\_ (3) Arab Non-Muslims: \_\_\_\_  
(4) Muslim Non-Arabs: \_\_\_\_ (5) Canadians: \_\_\_\_

**54- How important to you is to live in community concentrated area?**

(1) Very important: \_\_\_\_ (2) Somehow important: \_\_\_\_ (3) Indifferent: \_\_\_\_  
(4) Not important: \_\_\_\_ (5) Prefer not to: \_\_\_\_ (6) Other, specify: \_\_\_\_\_

**54.1. Why (justify your answer)?** \_\_\_\_\_

**55- To your knowledge, what percentage of people in the neighborhood are from:**

	%0-9	%10-19	%20-29	%30-39	%40-49	%50-59	%60-69	%70-79	%80-90	%90-100
(1) From your "old country":	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____
(2) Arab Muslims:	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____
(3) Arab Non-Muslims:	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____
(4) Muslim Non-Arabs:	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____
(5) Canadians:	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____	____

**56- How do you describe your relationship with your neighbors?**

(1) Warm: \_\_\_\_ (2) Somewhat warm: \_\_\_\_ (3) Cold: \_\_\_\_ (4) No relations: \_\_\_\_

**57- What is the outdoors medium of interaction between your family and the community?**

(1) \_\_\_\_\_  
(2) \_\_\_\_\_  
(3) \_\_\_\_\_

**58- To what degree does the social, cultural and physical outdoor environment allow you to appropriately pursue your individual, familial and communal leisure outdoor activities (sports, cultural activities etc.)?**

(1) No restriction at all: \_\_\_\_ (2) A little restrictive: \_\_\_\_ (3) Somewhat restrictive: \_\_\_\_  
(4) Restrictive: \_\_\_\_ (5) Totally restrictive: \_\_\_\_

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