

Restoration and Reconstruction of the Circassian Village Kfar-Kama

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SUMMARY

The article focuses on the various perceptions and social constructions of the village core articulated by the planners and the residents.

The residents who created their perception and images of the place they live in, in a more intuitive way, from their daily routine practices in the village and the planners, who used their professional knowledge, which they obtained from formal education.

The article examines planning activities that guided the restoration and preservation of the core of the village, Kfar Kama, and discuss the way in which these activities impacted social processes in the village.

This paper follows external processes that compete with the architectural preservation of the "authentic" village core and examines the inner conflict of the Circassian people, between the desire to preserve their tradition, which includes rigid social codes, and life in the reality of the open and permissive Israeli society.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The Circassian, who came to Israel as refugees in 1878 from the Caucasus Mountains, are a very special national minority. This minority lives in two villages; the largest village is Kfar Kama. The core of the Circassian village, the old village, has been going through restoration and preservation process. These actions were financed by the Ministry of Construction and Building, and later on, by the Society for Preservation of Israel Heritage Sites. The declared purpose of this joint venture was to create an international center for preservation of the Circassian culture and heritage.

1.1 The Circassian Community in Israel

The Circassian, who came to Israel in 1878 by ships are Sunni Muslims, but not Arabs in their nationality. The Circassian are people of the northwest Caucasus region. While Adyghe is the name these people apply to themselves (which means the ideal man), in the West they are often known as the Circassians or Cherkes.

The Circassian in Israel are a national minority with a very original characters, and aspire to emphasize their own unique features, and at the same time, a clear tendency is shown to fit in the general progression of the country, by integrating but not assimilating and by keeping their special values and customs.

The Circassian have escaped the northwest Caucasus since 1858 as a result of their conquest and exiled by Russian, mostly to various parts of the Ottoman Empire.

Most of them settled in Turkey, part of them turned back, in an illegal way to the Caucasus and some of them, by material and religious temptations offered them by the Turks, came to the Middle East. They settled all over the Middle East including Israel. Kfar-Kama was established as a part of Circassian settlements raised in Israel – in the Golan area, Kfar Kama, Rehaniya, and in a place that later became known as Hadera.

The Adyghe got land from the Ottoman authorities. At first they tried to live by growing animals, but their Bedouin neighbors harassed the settlement, and soon they had to organize guarding and protection for their community. The clash with the Bedouin took violent form, till the Bedouin accepted life next to the Adyghe as a fact.

Today, there are two Circassian communities in Israel living in two villages; the biggest of them is Kfar-Kama, located in the lower eastern Galilee between Kfar-Tabor and Yavniel. There is archaeological evidence that the area was inhabited from the 6th century and the village existed before the Adyghe came. Kfar Kama is a Local council since 1950 with a Jurisdiction of 10,000 dunams. The Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, reports 3,300

population (September 2008), divided to 5 different tribes, and as much as 30 different families, with a middling social-economic rating.

The positive contribution of the Circassian people to the society and the country of Israel accompanying the state before the Declaration of Independence and till today. Since the 1948 Arab-Israeli War, known by the Israelis as *War of Independence* and *War of Liberation*, Circassians are subject to mandatory conscription to the IDF, in the framework of a special unit called "The Minorities' Unit". In 1958, Circassian soldiers presented an official request to David Ben-Gurion, prime minister and defense minister at that time, expressing their willingness to compulsory enlistment as all soldiers. Ben Gurion announced his decision to accept their offer with respect to the courage and loyalty they have shown to the country throughout the years. Since then the army has increasingly admitted Circassian soldiers to all regular combat units of IDF, the Israeli Border Police and the Israeli police, and promoted them to higher ranks.

The social neighborhood surrounding the Circassian population started to change, and tightened her intercourse and her influence. As a result of this, the village started to become closer to the Israeli experience consolidated around it. 20 years after the Circassian settled in the area, Jewish pioneers came to the area (from east Europe), and settled the first colonies as Kfar Tavor, Ilaniya and Yavniel. Very special and good vicinity relations created immediately between the Circassian and the Jewish inhabitants.

The Circassian society is totally involved in the every day life in Israel; and indeed, step by step, the effects of the Israeli existence on the Circassian residents turn out. The Circassian society in Israel has ethnic social problems, depicted the willing and the concerning to keep their uniqueness. The main dilemma of the Circassian society in Israel is the collision and the daily conflict between the ambition to be like your surrounding and the attempt of national rebirth. The terms formed in Israel, has open for the circassian a liberated development space, which led to the intersection between the western influence and the feeling of ancestors heritage. A national revival is starting to show. Young people are starting to look for self recognition; they want their people as a belonging frame and look for their historical roots, by learning the Circassia language, folk songs, traditional dances and folk tales.

The social-cultural intercourse of this core with Circassia centers in Jordan, Syria and Lebanon has weakened, because of the truce borders and the relations became indirect, diluted and inconsecutive. As a result, the marriage opportunities "pool" became smaller and the family relation net which was created since the settling in the area, amputated.

Going to work outside the village and outside the family became a very decisive phenomenon of the social – economic system of the village. This was the outcome of the combination between two factors: the demand of workers in the Israeli market and the reduction of the source of income in the Circassia villages. The employment opportunities, outside their village has solved the distress of many families.

As soon as they found an exterior occupation, Circassia families started migrating from the village and moved near their working place. Yet, this movement was in a limited dimension, and without losing their tight bond with the mother-village.

As well, the education standards in the village has rise. Compulsory education is fully implemented through the primary stage both boys and girls. Progressively, the number of high-school pupils among the villagers is raising and it often extends to higher education in the cities. The Hebrew language is being taught in primary school and expands to different variety of directions. Military service, in-depth the phenomenon and becomes a vital and necessary tool. Young Circassian speaks Hebrew language alongside their mother tongue as a profane language. Although the Arabic language is well known and common, because it is the language of the Koran, the use of it is decreasing, especially among youth.

1.2 The Circassia family

These patterns led to a change in the traditional patriarchal family structure, which was united and discipline and values. Boys were subject to the house father who determines the living orders at home. They would continue to work with father, and were all dependent on the family income. In the Early sixty's, a sudden sharp turn applied in their way of life and the traditional family structure.

The major change applies, as we have shown from above, that the family is not able any more to integrate the children in its economic and social system. This move has brought a change and increases the gaps between the generations in the village. Today, the household includes only the closest family, and own their own Purchase of land. After getting married, the boys leave the family house. And yet, connection to the family always exists and has a social and political significance

There is no doubt that the village of Kfar Kama adapted quickly the turns of time and its rapid development. In the Israeli frameworks they have got into, the Circassian consumed Western values, and their image has been formed by it; than they return to the village different of the way the used to be, and brought other new patterns. The entry of foreign effects is very prominent in the village. However the importance of the individual within the family and the clan is increasing.

1.3 The physical structure of the village core

Already at the entrance to Kfar Kama it is possible to distinguish the different nature of the village. Very clean streets, impressive gardening, and a different style familiar to us in the Jewish or Arab communities. As Adnan Grached mentioned while touring the village, the gardens are always very well kept and the streets are always clean. Their attitude toward the public areas is very important to the Circassian, therefore the residents clean not only their private yard but also the street near the houses.

The village surface is almost flat, except at the South-Eastern part, where there is a wadi creating Downloads and significant levels differences; these sloping defines this side of nucleus of the village. Kfar Kama was built around in circles, with the old village, as its heart, despite the fact that it is not its geographical center. Till today, the people of the village use this definition in daily conversations – those who live in the lower side of the village will say they live at the "key" meaning wadi, and those who live in the upper side will say they live at the "kana" meaning shoulder.

The traditional village is very crowded with narrow and twisting lanes, while only the northern one passes along the village. Unlike typical buildings of eastern countries, the old buildings are built in a European-style, with local black Basalt, and sloping tiles roof. The alley and their width varies according to the terms in the area, the buildings, the lots borders and the walls surrounding the yards have determined their shape and form (pictures at the appendix). At the ancient part of the village, many houses collapsed while others are unstable and for this reason, the village people prefer not to build their new houses in this place.

During a tour of the village, negligence can be seen in yards, and many abandon buildings. New buildings can be seen at the core of the village, usually built on top of old buildings without even destructing them and without any consideration - columns were built and a new second floor on top of them. In some places old buildings were destroyed and completely new ones built instead.

The structure and the division at the traditional circassian house in the old village, was generally constant – each family structure included 2-3 residential rooms, Courtyard adjacent to rear animals, a small bathroom separated from the house and an open yard. Each yard had collecting rainwater pit. The walls were made of local basalt covered with mud and straw at the width of 60-80 cm. the wall topping was covered with concrete, so rainwater would not damage it. Most houses had tiles roof. Each yard had 3 gates – the one to the house, one for the neighboring yard and an external gate.

2. THE SAME PLACE AT THE SAME TIME... DIFFERENT KNOWLEDGE

In recent years, a lot of money is invested to restore and to recover the beautiful area of the old village, in order of making it an international center for preserving the Circassian culture and heritage and making it a unique Tourism Site. Although a lot of important work is done to rehabilitate it, who really own the old village? Has the goal they aimed for really achieved? Who does this conservation serve? And who benefits when it is finished?

As Henri Lefebvre said "Space is first of all a social product with physical and economic attributes". He sees the 'place' as an intersection between physical, mental and social aspects of space made by historical moves. Narrow discipliner reference to space – of Scientists, historians, economists or planners - Generate partial and limited understanding of it. Hence, there is a need to examine the entire social, physical and mental elements of space as one. By this model, Lefebvre distinguish three fields, maintaining interaction and therefore producing the daily space of the residents:

The **percepted** space, that is physically obvious by moving in it; the way it is organized and the way of using it. The **pronounced** space is the wide range of professional understanding and knowledge. This knowledge is not objective; it is an expression of the ideology in which the subject is active in; and the **lived** space, which we explicit symbolic, the meanings and images related to the spatial experiment and define the relation between the individuals. The relation between those spaces, create the meeting between the individual experience of space and the structural forces.

In this article I am analyzes the daily life in the village, by examining the different types of knowledge which were involved in the planning process, and the relation between them in order to find which perception and which knowledge were actually included.

3. THE PRONOUNCED SPACE – THE PLANNERS

Henri Lefebvre define the pronounced space: "...the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocrats, those who "cut" and those who "regulate", the space of certain artists whom are related to science...the perception of space tends toward a system of verbal signs, intellectually processed".

The reconstruction of the "authentic" village core project in Kfar-Kama was the initiative of the Ministry of the Housing and Construction in Israel. The planner who represents the Ministry of the Housing and Construction was architect Maty Hod. Despite my efforts to achieve early polls and talk to the people contend the reconstruction, I failed. In conversations with the architect Maty Hod and Adnan Grached I understood that early poll, made by them, deal with material culture in the village. The report generated was a physical planning recommendation without dealing the mental culture and the population of the "authentic" village core.

Therefore, my conversation with architect maty hod, represent his pronounced space, but not necessarily of the other planners and initiators. His statements combined his objective professional knowledge as well as his personal subjective knowledge; because you can assume that in the planners group, each one has a different perceptual world about the place. As Yacobi and Fenster quote David Harvey (1999) in their work: "the planner, like everyone else, occupies an exclusive space for a certain time and is endowed with certain powers and skills that can be used to change the world. He or she is also a bundle of emotions, desires, concerns and fear..."

And indeed, as Matty Hod told me, he initially doubted it but believed he had the ability to do something to change the appearance of the village core. Even after the work was done, he notes that reconstruction improve the place and its residents. But as I wrote this article, that was not the question that cross my mind. The question was whether the establishment placed the local residents and the daily experience at the center of its thinking and making along the reconstruction process? Indeed the village looks esthetic, nostalgic and pleasant than it was, but this is not necessarily the result we would receive if the origin point of planning was

understanding the residents. Therefore, it was important for me to understand whether the planners understood the residents and did they share the process with them.

By the formal definition of the Ministry of the Housing and Construction, the main goal of reconstruction projects is a comprehensive and Multi dimensional dealing with the expanding Phenomenon of social gap in Israel, and handling targets of social distress and areas of physical deterioration at urban centers and developing Communities. According to the Ministry of the Housing and Construction, the project's Uniqueness is the development of innovative methods of work and Implementation of integrative approach, which integrate the residents in the planning process and Decision-making. This cooperation creates a wide platform to understand the resident and their will, and create a much more sensitive Planning and implementation mechanism. The residents are a vital integral part at all planning processes and implementation of the rehabilitation Operation". At least by statement, the ministry of the Housing and Construction supports the way of understanding the residents and integrating them. Is that the way it practices?

Repeatedly, during interviews with the planners and the residents, it appears that no participation took place during the planning process, no inquiry made to find out the residents needs or Course of everyday life. And if so, what is the residents' part of the reconstruction? It turns out that no resident took part in it. A woman from the Village told me: "the council decided to do the reconstruction. They have decided and no one opposed. Till one day we saw workers in the street. The council can decide we need to replace our gate, and without asking us they will do it. But we don't care; it is very convenient". But do they really don't care? Is it their easy Character, their self-restraint? or is it their need to resembles the surrounding area? They accepted the reconstruction as it is, and perhaps that was the reason planners did not bothered to share them at all:

"As we carry out the first road the residents objected – but even then it was better than with the Druze. With them it became violent. In Kfar Kama, as the people saw the work - we started by peeling the paint and put some grout between the basalt stones, installed some iron gates, and than something happened. They happened to like it, and they started to imitate grating we design, gates and more. In that way it trickled." (Maty Hod).

In Israeli society, and apparently among planners as well, there is no recognition in the Circassian society, its different culture, folklore, customs and daily life in the village. As Lieutenant Colonel Pashmaf Shugan, Head of local council claim, he had faced officials, even seniors officials, who have no idea what community he represents and who the circassian are. "Every now and then, I find myself teaching someone who are we and what characteristic us". In a very clear stereotypical way, this group is attributed with the Arab sector in Israel. As Maty Hod said:

"As we started the reconstruction in the Druze villages, the circassian (whom are a very small group) were brought into the same group although it shouldn't. I have started working in Yarca and Julis... and than I came to Kfar Kama. As I arrived Kfar

Kama I was already familiar with all the technical details. But they were circassian. They were different by their mentality".

What comes up from those things is that the planning started from some wrong place for the residents of the village. The perceived space is originally wrong. Not only the planners don't understand the circassian community, they refer it as part of another community – the Israeli Arab community. The planning comes out of the perception that there is a problems need to be solved rationally, without considering the unique characters of the circassian. The planner mentions that rehabilitation was done only in the streets and refers only the buildings front. Planning did not come into the house; therefore, he had the feeling that residents are not the important issue of this project.

Going back to Adnan's words, saying Circassian will clean the street in front of his house, we could understand that the streets and the buildings front are a very important part of the village resident's daily experience. Beyond that, the building front is an integral part of it. Unfortunately, this perception is the reflection of the Ministry of the Housing and Construction perception, represented by Maty Hod.

By means of the perceived space, planners express their insights. An example for that is presented in Henri Lefebvre's work 'the space of an architect'. This concept refers the manipulation that is done by using professional abstract skills, which reduce the complexity of space into representation of it by drawings, plans, or regulations. Indeed, architect Maty Hod introduced himself, at we met:

"I am, before all, an engineer. I will be honest and direct, I am a performer. I have worked for the Ministry of the Housing and Construction carrying out neighborhood upgrading program. It was a physical rehabilitation – flooring, infrastructure repairing, unlike the social rehabilitation. They asked me to provide work for constructors and since I have never really studied reconstruction, I had no idea of what I should do. I started providing work plans combined all that is been called "clean the dirt off the road".

The assumption of 'Neighborhood Upgrading Program' policy designers is that referring a neighborhood as one organic unit, is crucial for the success of its rehabilitation. As an outcome of this perception, everything is done basing the problems and needs of the complete neighborhood unit. Maybe this assumption that this neighborhood unit needs Improvements across the street, the project gathered a wide and massive contending with the physical neglecting of residential environment, without any consideration with the Individual and community's culture; perhaps because of this, the neighborhood rehabilitation apparently was successful.

In Henri Lefebvre's words – 'who does not want to protect him, save him? Who does not want to find the authentic again? Who want to ruin him? No body. And yet, everyone plots to heart him...' indeed, the reconstruction came out from the need to protect, save and finding the authentic again.

"In the old path ways we are excited about authenticity, and they (the residents) think it's ugly. In their eyes, the black stone was ugly, and warm up the house, so they covered the outside stone walls with white paint. In both sides of the path ways there were original stone walls at 2 meters height, with openings. As Imitation of Jewish neighborhoods, they cut the walls to 1 meter height and put an iron railing on top of it". (Maty Hod)

So how was it really reconstructed? What was the way to determine the new look for the authentic core of Kfar Kama?

"We have only taken care of the street including gates and buildings front. Another thing was the flooring. Not only I have change the color to black but I had to offer Caucasus style flooring. In Turkey I happened to see Flooring of small stones combined as fan-shaped. I put in some authentic and some emotional sense. At the time I saw a Russian film about a Russian prisoner in the Caucasus. This clarify things and gave me some idea about the circassian native land"

As I have learned, Maty really did what he thought was right and out of his self knowledge space, from his experience and training. Maty said: "As I began to know them and got into their house soul, only than we could start working section by section". He really believed in the power and influence the reconstruction had on the area. He believed in the power of his professional knowledge to create a good plan. Although his planning came out from the planner's private emotional space.

4. THE VILLAGE RESIDENTS – THE LOCAL KNOWLEDGE

"The 'residents', the 'users' space' ... a space that imagination tries to change and assets. It is overlapping the physical space while using his objects symbolic. These Spatial representations tend towered coherence systems of symbols, and non verbal signs". In that way Lefebvre defined the space experienced by the local residents. Indeed, daily lives in the village, are based on the ethnic logic of space while its goal is to keep Heritage, tradition, and uniqueness differing the village from his Jewish and Arab environment

As well as planners are not a homogeneous group, so are the residents a divided group, with much more details, although they show outward unity. "The solidarity, the inner cooperation of an ethnic group, is based on values and approach, on the group self esteem, the inner relationship, its goals and its approaches toward the world surrounding it. The self identity and solidarity and the inner partnership, strengthen due to the existing tension between the group and the world surrounding it, between 'us' and 'them'. The system of viewpoints, stereotypes and prejudices influence the tension" (Rahat, 1986).

The question emerging in this context, is whether the circassian community indeed strengthen facing Israeli society surrounding it? Is that giving them the strength to raise and express their approach toward the construction? Or perhaps the inner forces weakening that power and

contribute the strengthening of internal groups in the circassian society? Perhaps they accepted the Israeli decisions because of the great influence it has on the circassian community; and In fact, they have lost their unique identity? Hahron Tkhawkho wrote:

"It is not easy to be a Circassian, there is a possible situation in which you live in Kfar Kama or Rehaniya, and you think about your purpose in life. Many of us, exposed to the Jewish and the Arab communities. These two groups are diverting us from the 'Circassian track'. They are guiding us to 'sin' and loose part of our identity. From these two communities we learn different customs, and there are people trying to Identify or imitate those customs. In that way we will lose our nation".

Indeed, there is a strong feeling among residents that it is slipping away, and yet no one is stopping the planners, telling them that's not the way. They know their needs from the everyday life; they have ideas and complaint but nothing but the every day life. These people have no idea about the rehabilitation purpose. So who got the power?

Nucleus of the village does not have many two-story buildings. While touring the village, we have noticed 2 prominent two-story buildings on either side of the street. According to Adnan, the owners of these two buildings had an argument about who is more honorable and respected in the village. These two people were straggling each other for control in the village. "Politicians tend to leave behind large monuments". Surprisingly, only one of those buildings was chosen for preservation; at these days the building is going through restoration and trained to be the Circassian Heritage Museum.

According to what is the political influence in the village determined? Is it property, land or religion?

The educational level is becoming basic in the Circassian values scale, and social status is increasingly determined regarding it. Indeed, in current situation, it is easier to wealthy families to achieve this advantage; anyway, it reduces the relative weight of land property in rating the political influence factor.

"The status in the village is determined by money. The more you have money, the more respect you'll get..." religion, apparently does not gives any special status. The religion takes very important place at all residents; even those who are not religious, used to pray and visit the masque. Not only that, but there are inversely relations, those who become religious are not appreciated in the village. Religious radicalization is not well accepted, and caused distancing and aloofness – those people are not coming anymore to special events, such as weddings etc. As some residents told me, religious man tried before to gathered religion studying groups, and tried to join matching religious groups in Um-Al-Fahem and Arara, but the circassian community rejected it. Although they will give more respect to the Haj, this will not give him other direct political status in the village.

And there is the Imam. In the Sunni Islam, the Imam is the head of the mosque, director of public prayer and an Expounder. At Friday noon (when most people of the village, gather to pray) he talk about problems rising throughout the week.

Ownership of the land is an important issue as well. Circassian received the land from the sultan of the Ottoman Empire as a tribute to their loyalty. The Circassian are very proud of it, and hence do not give lands to those whom are not Circassian. When Maty Hod suggested to the head of council to formulate building guidelines to preserve the old area he faced unwillingness.

Lieutenant Colonel Pashmaf Shugan, Head of local council, notice that 8,000 dunam of land are owned by 2,800 residents of the village. To keep foreigners out of their land, they grow crops and orchards.

"Two year ago, one resident who needed money sell his hous and land to an Arab person. The whole village objected. Today there is only one Arab family in the village, but no one will ever sell land to a non Circassian again".

Walking through the village nucleus path ways, the neglected lots and abandoned houses are very prominent. As I asked about it, it mentioned that young couples are building their houses outside the old nucleus. Indeed, you can easily mislead and think you are in a young Jewish settlement. The young people, as I mentioned before, bring new patterns from other frameworks and built big houses very similarly to Jewish neighborhood.

Since land is privately owned, and the resident will not merchandise them, they prefer leaving them and build outside the nucleus. Within circassian people, land is inherited but not divided. Each child gets another part of property. The old buildings, served as temporary housing for grandchild usually for the construction period. Some buildings are really cracking, and there is no use of them. Young people are leaving the area, local population is growing old, and so who actually live here?

"The population in this area is very old. As we moved in, after getting married, I was the younger woman around. No children around, only old people. Today many houses are abandoned, although here and there grandchildren come to live for a short time, until they finished building their house at the new neighborhood. There are no new buildings around. I have no idea what will be here ten years from today. As no more land will be left over, maybe than people will come back". (Resident of the old nucleus)

Architect Hod told me about the village condition as he arrived here. The village nucleus was in a very advanced stage of destruction, Cut off their history. He believed that, reconstruction has caused them arising to their tradition, search for their origins and an attempt to go back to Caucasian style. Whether it was the reconstruction, or any other reason, there is an obvious orientation of national identity arising. Henri Lefebvre mentioned "the spaces as they lived more than they pronounced... as they are absorbed with imaginary and symbolism, they

origin at the history of the people and each and every one of its individuals". Indeed, the circassian national identity, is what should design their space, or else it will be some other space.

"Sometimes I fear we got lost", say Shawkat Chako, since teacher in Kfar Kama, "people in the village want to live good life, and for many of them it's more important that their child will study mathematics, physics and a profession instead of heritage".

The element of area or territory is the most important in defining "nation". Nation, who lost one or more elements, can still exist as one, while finding essential common denominator, keeping them together. Circassian in Israel feel, and they probably right, that if they don't start foster strong national identity for generation to come, in a way that provide them the ability to face assimilation process which they are exposed to as they are away from their native land, they will disappear. In his article Adnan is calling the circassian to stop the deterioration:

"We as people have always followed our Adyghe customs. Since we have not passed it through to our next generation, we created emptiness. This emptiness is filled with other contents than Circassian. We must prevent this, by putting some efforts by each and every one of us...wake up brothers and sisters before we find ourselves without identity and without a page rank".

In his article, Hahron Tkhawkho a young Circassian said words of rebuke to the Circassian people: "is our desire to deploy the Jewish or Arab society, causes us to trample the roots of our language and run forward? This is what it look like and what is heard like".

But, on the other side there are some who claim that Kfar Kama is one of a kind cultural island; since the language in the village is the same as it was six generations ago, without any External sources input. Circassians who come to Kfar Kama from the Caucasus Mountains, find a way of life which don't exist any more neither in their homeland, nor the big Circassian communities in Turkey or Germany.

There is a feeling that concerning about national identity causes a little distancing of the Circassian society from the Jewish and Arab neighborhood.

On one hand, planners think that without their planning, space will not developed; yet, do they have the ability of understanding the meaning of the resident's daily life? Is it possible that they see this reconstruction a threat to their quiet isolated life?

"There is only one restaurant in Kfar Kama, it was across the street and lots of people used to come here. Because the pathways are so narrow, there were always parking problems even for those who lived here. The restaurant was moved outside the old village. You can not find any tourists shops in here" (the old village resident).

This person told me proudly about this exclusive restaurant, used to attract many tourists to the area. But at the same time he complained about the inconvenience caused by it. The infrastructures in the old village were not ready to accept a big amount of visitors.

Today, there are many visitors walking through the village. The tourists that walk in those pathways are entering the resident life and you can hear the duality in the residents willing.

This probably could not succeed in this village. It is not right for their way of life.

5. CONCLUSIVE DISCUSSION

The Efforts and the devotion to preserve the heritage and the strict social codes that were brought from the Caucasus Mountains, together with the strictness on the Islamic religion - lead to clashes and daily conflicts with the open western life. It can be expected that the solidarity, the internal partnership and the social identity that is so important to the Circassian, today more than ever, will become stronger due to the stress between them and the surrounding society. Maybe because of the ethnic and national dimension exist in the village nucleus space; different groups who will make the efforts to stabilize and preserve their preferability and their attendance in the area will arise. The willing to cherish their national culture will lead to the ability of the citizens to get organized opposite of the officialdom planning. However, that is not so. Circassian, whose respect and shame are fundamentals components in their attitude to the world and to the education they introduce to their children's, quietly bear on their disappointment or their disagreement with these decisions.

It's quite clear to notice that the officialdom work derived from structural serotypes, that are not necessarily correct and of course not of understanding the experience and the everyday life in the village. Without any attempt to unify the knowledge gaps, the reconstruction was done in quite forced mode. There wasn't any attempt to unify between the perceived space and the lived space. But, while writing this paper it became clear to me that the Circassian people might needed this "shaking" that was given by the officialdom. Most probably, the reconstruction doesn't recreate the Circassian life style reliably and doesn't bring back the village to what it used to be, but this move brought the Caucasians to the understanding that if they will not wake up on time to their nationality, they will be assimilated in the surrounding society, until their Circassian identity will completely vanish. The Circassian content, heritage, culture and everyday life they will pour into their new 'place'.

Referring to the quotation of Norberg Shultz as Yakovi introduces in his work: "The 'place' is defined as specific constructed or natural space that it's meaning derivate from our personal and collective memory and likewise from our identity. The 'Space' however, is defined as a relationship system between objects, and it became a 'place' for us as we identify with it and when identify ourselves by it".

At the end of day, it's possible to say that reconstruction improved the residents' position toward the neighborhood and their willingness to continue and live in it. The space as was defined by the manufactures of the space probably was placed in the representation space of

the users. Generally the feeling is of acceptance; the residents of the village nucleus accepted the space that was established by the officialdom. While touring the village alleys it's possible to see the fences details, the windows, the gates and the stone as was copied by the residents also to places that were not included in the reconstruction project. The village nucleus resident told me: "I myself leave in a new house. We destroyed the old house and built new one instead of it. Today I regret it. I think it was prettier and more convenient if we were staying in the original house and renovating it".

And it's true, it's possible that there isn't any tourism here; because a culture that was designed by the planners is shown here, and not the culture as experienced between four walls of the Circassian society. But on the other hand it turns out that the reconstruction improved the resident stance toward the life in the village nucleus:

"At the beginning, about 13 years ago, I didn't want to live here. It was quite, scary, looked deserted and neglected. Now, after renovating it's much more pleasant for us". (Village nucleus resident)

An example that demonstrate to me, more than all, the acceptance was a yard I passed by and through the gate I saw a concrete wall painted as if it was made of stones, with the same designs as the reconstructed walls.

In Conclusion, as per the Circassian saying "A place where you can't find something old - something new and good will not grow in it" and maybe from here it's all begin.

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