

Unseen Traditions: How Traditional Bahraini Architecture Shapes Modern Residential Design Preferences

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Abstract

While contemporary Bahraini architecture is inspired globally, there remain inbuilt cultural habits—like inwardly planned layouts, privacy segregation, and the separation of spaces between guests and members of the family—that still propel spaces in houses, perhaps even unconsciously so for the inhabitants themselves. This study investigates into the unconscious influence of Bahraini spatial ideas in the past on the design preferences of present-day residential homeowners.

The study employed a mixed-methods approach involving a survey completed by 20 Bahraini residents and follow-up semi-structured interviews with three of the participants. Quantitative results showed that, while overt acknowledgment of conventional design principles was relatively low, spatial activities approximating those same principles were present everywhere. Qualitative interviews demonstrated more clearly how everyday routines—such as staying away from open spaces, rearranging furniture to preserve privacy, or creating secluded guest spaces—reflect inherited cultural logic.

The evidence indicates that traditional architectural behavior persists even in visually modern homes. Actors reproduce spatial values from heritage automatically as they proceed in their everyday life and adaptive behaviors. This means that traditions may not necessarily be imitated in form but continued by functions and behavior. The study concludes that it is essential for architects and planners to recognize these continuities so that they may create designs that are contemporary as well as culturally rooted.

Keywords: Traditional architecture; Modern home design; Spatial preferences; Cultural continuity; Architectural identity, Bahrain.

Introduction

Contemporary residential architecture of Bahrain is generally regarded as international style-dominated and subject to influences from modern designs. However, beneath the superficial transformations lie a consistent trend: unconscious persistence of traditional Bahraini spatial organization. Historically, Bahraini domestic architecture was determined not only by the climatic needs but also by the social values such as privacy,

hospitality, and segregation based on gender. Key spatial features—such as inward-focused layouts, courtyards, narrow passages, and spatial segregation between guests and relatives—were derived from cultural customs and daily practices.

While cities become more urbanized and life is more modernized, homes are increasingly employing imported blueprints in their designs. Much of the ancient spatial preferences continue to be practiced in use, though, with minimal attention from the homeowners or even architects. Thus, the question is: why do these spatial logics remain? Are they an inheritance from cultural memory, environmental utilization, or social convenience? How are these practices translated into contemporary architectural forms?

This study seeks to respond to these questions based on the findings of the presence and persistence of customary spatial values in modern homes. The study examines how inhabitants unwittingly replicate customary ways of doing things, even in ostensibly modern environments. The study also examines the ways in which architects negotiate, resist, or reinterpret these inclinations in design. Its aim is to reveal the underlying logic of contemporary houses by means of the following.

- Raising awareness among the architects, designers, and homeowners about the unconscious integration of traditional spatial principles in modern housing to this day.
- Contributing to the broader architectural responses to the need for the coexistence of heritage and modernity in residential designs in Bahrain.
- Investigating the cultural, environmental, and functional factors contributing to the persistence of traditional spatial arrangements in contemporary houses and the reasons behind it.

Its objectives are as follows.

- To identify and document specific spatial organizational principles from traditional Bahraini architecture that are still commonly employed in modern houses.
- To ascertain whether these spatial configurations persist due to cultural memory, environmental adaptation, or functional necessity.
- To evaluate the impact of modern construction techniques and urban planning on the reinterpretation of traditional Bahraini spatial layouts in modern houses.
- To identify how traditional Bahraini spatial principles continue to influence contemporary residential architecture and their relevance in modern living without the awareness of the homeowners.

Theoretical Framework

In this research, the question of how Bahraini traditional architecture affects contemporary residential design preference through the nexus of architectural theory, cultural values, and environmental psychology is interrogated. According to Oliver (1997), Bahraini vernacular architecture is a pre-modern typology defined by the existence of courtyards, wind towers, mashrabiya, and coral stone walls. These elements address not only climatic and functional requirements but also mirror the cultural identity as well as the organization of social space in the country. In the same manner, Rapoport (1969) underscores that the shape of houses is influenced mostly by social behaviors, family structures, and cultural patterns more than aesthetics or technology. This view upholds the fact that cultural values are enduring and continue even during stylistic variations.

Present-day Bahraini residential design, though vulnerable to international forces and new materials, remains sensitive to those ancient cultural values. According to Rapoport (1969), spatial conditioning such as zoning and inward-facing schemes still persist in an unconscious manner in contemporary designs. The prevalence of this persistence is consistent with the place identity theory of Proshansky et al. (1983), which recognises a psychological connection to physical spaces, affecting design preferences both unconsciously and consciously.

While interpreting this, Dayaratne (2020) presents the notion of "vernacular in transition," with traditional elements undergoing mutation and hybridization within modern contexts to produce forms that are neither completely traditional nor completely modern.

Norberg-Schulz (1980) complements this model through phenomenology further by highlighting the affective and existential significance of space as a carrier of memory and cultural meaning. Thus, contemporary Bahraini houses bear witness to the adaptive development of the earlier spatial logic, maintaining cultural continuity through the neglect of extraneous architectural changes.

These ideas provide a useful vantage point to investigate this issue in Bahrain. Its major thrust comes indeed from Rapoport (1969) who shows that house forms are invariably shaped by culture.

Review of Literature

Much of the literature concerning Bahraini architecture is concentrated on the environmental effectiveness of the traditional designs, specifically how vernacular elements have evolved to counter the hot regional climate. Alnaser and Flanagan (2007) bring out the thermal effectiveness of such elements as wind towers, thick coral stone walls, and inward-facing courtyards that in combination enable natural cooling and ventilation in Bahraini houses. This environmental function is also supported by Yarwood (2011), who explains traditional buildings of Al-Muharraq as being socio-environmentally responsive buildings designed to promote privacy and hospitality, reflecting the social values and cultural practices embedded in spatial arrangements. These studies demonstrate that traditional Bahraini architecture is not merely ornamental but has a close association with climate adaptation and social organization.

Yet such research tends to polarize traditional and modern architecture, treating them as separate or even opposing categories. Mahgoub (2005) refers to a resurgence of Gulf architectural elements but presents relatively few case studies specifically addressing Bahraini modern residential settings. In this regard, Almssri (2023) states that although traditional identities continue to influence spatial behavior in modern Bahraini houses, this continuity is not addressed in the architectural literature. Thus, the continuity of traditional spatial logic in modern designs beyond the superficial adoption of decorative or structural elements remains unexplored.

In response, Dayaratne (2020) introduces the notion of "vernacular in transition," arguing that Bahraini architecture today is a hybrid form in which traditional cultural logic is reinterpreted within contemporary constraints. Such hybridity points to an ongoing negotiation of modernity and heritage, with cultural spatial arrangements subtly shaping the design agenda under the conditions of urbanization, new materials, and modern lifestyles. Abu-Orf and Wafi (2020) also confirm that cultural values continue to guide spatial arrangement in Gulf houses, but their work is concentrated in the UAE environment and does not extend to the unique domestic environments of Bahrain. This geographical limitation highlights the need for research grounded in Bahraini experiences of architectural continuity and change.

Moreover, much existing research focuses primarily on overt or ornamental revivals of traditional features such as fades, mashrabiyas, or wind towers, with less consideration of deeper, less conspicuous spatial principles that continue to influence contemporary houses. Design elements such as inward-facing plans, privacy and gender segregation zoning, and semi-outdoor transition spaces remain prevalent in Bahraini houses but are not typically analyzed from phenomenological or lived-experience perspectives. This is a significant oversight because the way residents experience and perceive spaces reveal how cultural values are still being practiced, despite a lack of conscious awareness.

Rapoport's (1969) definitive theory supports this argument by asserting that spatial organization and cultural patterns endure unconsciously through stylistic or technological transformations. He emphasizes that a form of a house is more an expression of cultural behavior, social norms, and family dynamics than aesthetics or technological advancement. This would mean that underlying international influences and modern materials, and traditional spatial logic of Bahraini residential architecture still have influence in design taste and functional organization.

Based on phenomenological insights, Norberg-Schulz (1980) argues that architecture is beyond physical forms, embodying memories, identity, and cultural continuity. According to him, the house is not merely a physical shelter but an emotionally and existentially invested space wherein cultural values are lived and experienced. Similarly, Proshansky, Fabian, and

Kaminoff (1983) present the concepts of place identity, and the psychological identification individuals create with their environment, founded on cultural memory and social practice. These theories emphasize that residents' spatial decisions and behaviors are guided by embedded cultural memories, which shape their unconscious attachment to traditional spatial forms in modern habitation.

This interest in conscious and unconscious cultural continuity bridges the gap between explicit traditional architectural details and abstract spatial logics that continue to shape Bahraini domestic architecture. Indeed, Bahraini houses today are likely to be hybrid structures reinterpreting traditional spatial principles in modern forms and materials, adapting to changing lifestyles while retaining cultural and psychological structures inherited from the past.

This study seeks to address these lacunae by analyzing how traditional Bahraini spatial notions—such as gradations of privacy, hierarchical zoning, and semi-outdoor spaces—are unconsciously replicated in contemporary residences. It also explores how cultural memories, environmental responsiveness, and functional imperatives interact to reproduce traditional spatial logic amidst accelerated modernization.

By highlighting the subtle yet continuing influence of traditional spatial organization, this research contributes to an understanding of the simultaneity of modernity and tradition in Bahraini domestic architecture. It also offers a localized perspective within the broader discussion of vernacular persistence in an increasingly globalized world by highlighting active processes through which cultural identity continues to organize the built environment.

Research Methodology

This study investigates how traditional Bahraini spatial concepts—such as inward-confronting plans, privateness zoning, and courtyards—influence the design and occupation of modern residential homes, at times unbeknown to the occupants. In order to do this, a mixed-methods approach was employed, combining quantitative data collection via a structured questionnaire with subsequent semi-structured interviews of qualitative data. This two-pronged approach facilitated breadth and depth of understanding of spatial taste and cultural continuity.

The questionnaire was constructed using Google Forms in a template format to capture respondents' spatial preferences for homes, their identification of typical design elements, and perceptions of privacy and arrangement of rooms. The questionnaire included quantitative analysis of multiple-choice items and brief, open-ended questions to allow the respondents to provide richer feedback in justifying their choices. The format was used to capture both explicit recognition of typical architectural features and unobtrusive patterned behavior that reflects cultural memories influencing space arrangements.

To reach participants, the survey was distributed through WhatsApp and Instagram using a convenience sampling strategy. The population of origin was friends, families, and online friends of the researcher, using personal networks to gain rapid data. A small sample size target of 20 completed surveys within one week was employed to gain a moderate but useful data set representative of Bahraini residents' opinions. This method was selected due to its efficacy and convenience in terms of study scope and time constraints.

From the questionnaire, three participants were selected for brief, semi-guided interviews to better capture the lived spatial experiences. These participants were chosen based on the quality and relevance of their questionnaire answers, particularly those that articulated definitive spatial preferences or traditional architectural features mentioned. The semi-structured approach provided answers with freedom of speaking spontaneously of their spatial experience and provided some guidance to stay close to focused themes that indicate cultural persistence within spatial use.

Phone or voicemail informal interviews were undertaken. Sketches were drawn at the same time, which saved time and minimized the stress associated with the conventional interviews. Other members of the household were invited to participate as well, such as parents or spouses, as an example, to add to the narrative and provide richness in the qualitative data through varied interpretation of domestic spatial practices. This was carried out to reveal how habits and cultural spatial conventions are reproduced when the respondents are not aware of their conventional origins.

Ethical procedures were observed in the research process, including obtaining informed consent from all the respondents, confidentiality, and the right to withdraw at any time. The

interviews were done along with notetaking, sketching. Responses were documented with permission to ensure accuracy and enable thorough analysis. This mixed-methods strategy permitted triangulation of sources, accessing quantitative breadth and qualitative depth. It provided an all-encompassing perspective on how previous spatial logics inadvertently persist to influence modern Bahraini residential usage and design, both consciously and unconsciously.

Findings, Analysis and Discussion

This section presents the questionnaire survey aggregated results, the follow-up interviews, and additional spatial sketches preceded by the description of the in-depth analysis and interpretation of data to identify how the traditional Bahraini spatial concepts continue to inform contemporary residential designs. Utilizing a mixed-methods design approach—quantitative data, qualitative interviews, and graphical records—the section discloses patterns that uncover unconscious cultural persistence in contemporary Bahraini homes.

Quantitative Findings of the Questionnaire Survey

The survey was completed by 20 residents of Bahrain, a representative mix of housing types (i.e., private villas, apartments, and flats). The survey sought to question subjects about their awareness of historic spatial features (e.g., inward-facing arrangements, mashrabiya, wind towers, and zoning for privacy) and their current practice or preference for such features in their typical living spaces. Table 1 summarizes the main quantitative findings.

A clear pattern emerges with explicit cognitive awareness of traditional architectural features being minimal, particularly for wind towers and mashrabiya, but spatial behavior and preference for these features being substantially higher. For example, while inward plans were recognized as traditional by a mere 40%, 75% preferred them in practice. This reveals an unconscious uptake of spatial norms in Bahraini culture.

Privacy is clearly the dominant spatial value. An overwhelming majority (90%) prefer layouts that incorporate privacy zoning, separating public guest areas from family-only areas. Similarly, 80% actively design their living spaces to provide visual and physical privacy from the external environment. This finding corroborates Bahraini social norms of family honor and discretion. Moreover, 75% favored inward-facing spatial orientation towards courtyards or enclosed areas rather than outward-facing windows or balconies. Such inwardness is typical for traditional Bahraini homes, designed for protection from extreme climates and social exposure.

Table 1: Awareness and Practice of Traditional Spatial Features

Source: Author, 2025

Feature/Behavior	% Aware	% Practice/Preference
Awareness of traditional inward layouts	40%	75%
Separation of guest and family spaces	65%	80%
Use of courtyards or semi-outdoor spaces	50%	70%
Preference for privacy zoning	85%	90%
Awareness of wind towers and mashrabiya	30%	25%

The Figure 1 below presents a visual comparison between awareness and practice across these features:

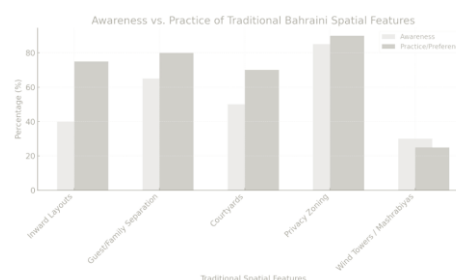


Fig. 1: Awareness vs. Practice Graph

Source: Author, 2025

This graph clearly establishes an important trend: whereas relatively little self-identified awareness of traditional features like wind towers or inward-facing plans exists, relatively much more commonality in such features exists. For example, 40% only identified inward plans as "traditional," but 75% say they prefer and make use of inward-facing areas in their daily lives. This conclusion makes evident the paper's central thesis: that unconscious cultural habits determine spatial practices, whether the citizens of space know their architectural heritage or not.

Qualitative Insights from Follow-Up Interviews

To augment the survey findings further, three of the participants were selected for semi-structured interviews from the survey responses and manifested spatial behaviors. The interviews provide dense qualitative narratives that tease out how classical spatial reasoning is experienced in everyday life.

Table 2: Participant Interview

Source: Author's fieldwork interviews, 2025

Participant	Age/Gender	Housing Type	Key Spatial Behaviors	Adaptations Made
A	29/Female	Villa	Separate majlis with its own entrance; walled backyard for privacy	Constructed extra backyard seating; strict guest/family separation
B	33/Male	Flat (apartment)	Avoids front rooms facing the street; rearrange furniture to face inward	Uses curtains and back lounge exclusively
C	35/Female	Modern-designed villa	Does not use front rooms with big windows; prefers rear lounge; added partitioned guest entrance	Altered house layout to create additional separations

Participant A: Female, 29, resides in a villa

Selection criteria:

Having a majlis and guest entrance apart and highlighted the value of privacy. During the interview, Participant A explained that she used the majlis solely for the visitors, entering through a different door. The family has a back living area where family visits take place. She added that this was not regarded as "traditional," but merely "how houses are typically laid out." She stressed that the family does not intermix public and private spaces, and a walled backyard sitting area was built to allow even more privacy.

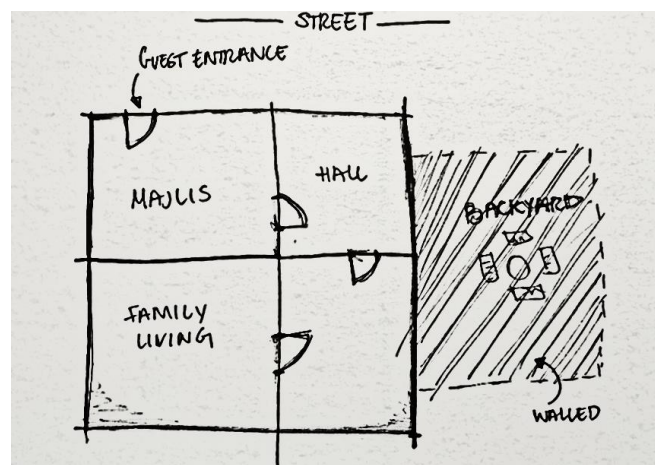


Figure 2a: Participant A's Villa Plan Sketch

Sketch (Author's sketch, 2025)

Shows guest entrance, segregated majlis, and private backyard seating.

Analysis:

This practice is very consonant with Bahraini cultural values of family privacy, segregation by gender, and regulation of the social domain. The extraordinary fact is that Participant A did not intentionally code these practices as "traditional"—instead, she simply termed them normal or self-evident. This reflects Bourdieu's (1977) habitus concept, in which cultural practices are objectified and reproduced habitually, guiding everyday choices even when residents are unaware of their origins.

Participant B – Male, 33, resides in a flat

Selection criteria: Lives in a new flat but prefers closed and hidden aspects of the house.

Participant B explained that he does not use his front-facing apartment rooms because they are exposed and can be seen. He and his family live in a rear lounge with window covers. He explained how they rearranged furniture "to feel more hidden" and to have their backs towards the street. He referred to this as "just what feels normal".

Despite living in a high-rise with an open-plan layout, Participant B's use of space expresses an old-fashioned inward orientation and requirement for privacy. These are examples of unfashionable spatial tendencies, even when the house plan contradicts this. His behavior demonstrates how cultural preferences persist beyond form and appear in ordinary spatial decisions.

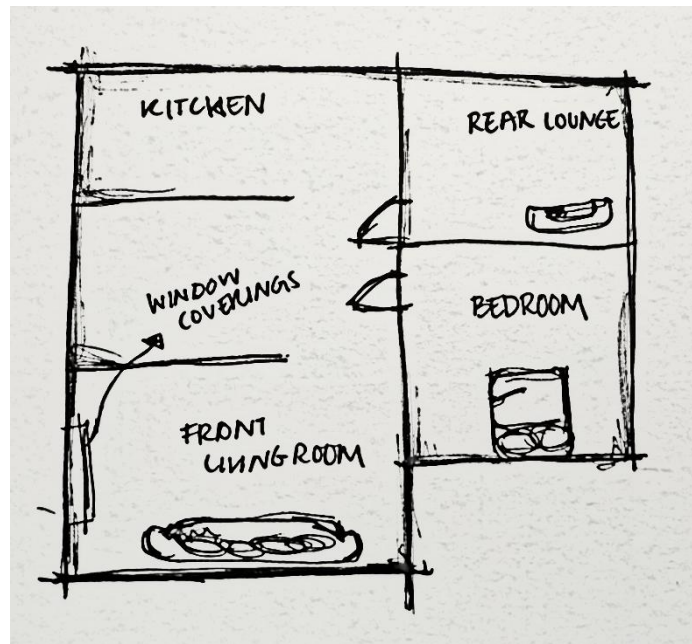


Fig. 2b: Participant B's Flat Layout Sketch

Source: Author's sketch, 2025

Shows the rear-focused living area, window coverings, and furniture arrangement for visual privacy.

Analysis:

This instance is a demonstration of inward-looking spatial reasoning even within architectural contexts that aim for openness and exposure. In the apartment in the modern style as well, the resident successfully adjusted his use of space to reassert cultural notions of seclusion, privacy, and visual command, after Lefebvre's (1991) idea of the lived space (*espace vécu*) as a contested and negotiated terrain, rather than an enduring architectural outcome.

Participant C: Female, 35, lives in a modern-designed villa

Selection criteria: Described her home as quite modern in appearance but displayed conventional use of space in behavior.

Although the villa was constructed with open spaces and large windows in front of the house, Participant C explained that her family does not utilize such spaces. "We never sit in the front living room," she said. "Both of us always sit in the back lounge — it makes it feel more intimate." She stated that they had altered the house design to include a separate entrance and bounded into the guest space further away from the family area since her mother-in-law didn't like being nearby.

Even within a home constructed to intentionally resist convention, the occupation and usage of space by the family reasserts Bahraini practices. This information shows how the cultural values conveyed through inheritance are more important than formal design, supporting the comment that unwritten traditions are built into spatial behavior, not architectural style.

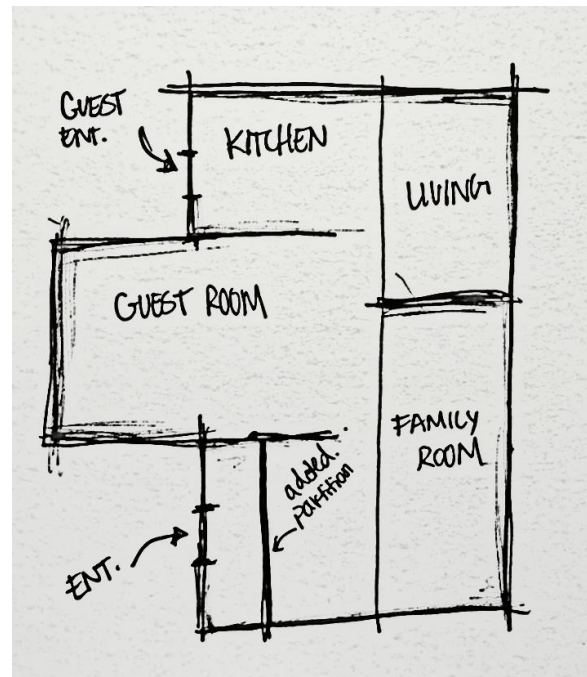


Fig. 2c: Participant C's Villa Sketch

Source: Author's sketch, 2025

Shows family-guest segregation, modified entry points, and back-oriented spatial use.

Analysis:

This case study demonstrates adaptive spatial negotiation, whereby residents consciously modify constructed spaces to align with culturally inscribed codes of conduct. Despite new designs that challenge conventional norms, there is nonetheless a culture of space expectation that compels the residents to retrofit or reinterpret. This hybridity aligns with Dayaratne's (2020) argument that vernacular traditions are not static survivals but live, transforming systems that engage, resist, and adapt in current situations.

Integrated Analysis: Cultural Continuity in Spatial Behavior

This section brings together the evidence to reveal broader patterns of unconscious cultural continuity in Bahraini domestic environments. Despite current trends in design and international influences on architecture, residents experienced spatial practices still reflect enduring values. These findings point to a strong cultural frame operating independently of formal design language manifested through user activities, adaptation, and mundanity.

Privacy as a Dominant Cultural Imperative

Figures of the Table 1 and the Graph 1 confirm that privacy is the most entrenched spatial issue. Because 90% of the interviewees placed privacy zoning in the very high category, and the interviews in the Table 2 and the Figures 1a–1c also reflect these issues, the findings all consistently indicate that Bahraini homes are consciously or intuitively planned based on family reputation and visual modesty. Rapoport's (1969) hypothesis—that built environments reflect sociocultural restraints rather than aesthetic tastes—is unequivocally confirmed here.

Inward Orientation as Vernacular Heritage

According to the Table 1 and the Graph 1, 75% of the participants prefer inward spaces, reflecting vernacular building features like courtyards. Figures 1a, 1b, and 1c indicate that the participants from diverse types of houses avoid open or front spaces. Instead, they prefer rear, close-in spaces. The participant B, for example, went out of his way to avoid the intended focus areas of his flat, pointing to the tendency of behavior to dominate layout intent—a core proposition of Dayaratne's (2020) theory of vernacular adaptation.

Spatial Hybridity and Everyday Adjustment

Insights from the Table 2 and the Figure Set 1 show how the residents create creative adjustments to their homes. Whether it is Participant C modifying guest entrances or Participant A consolidating family-only garden spaces, these measures are ideal illustrations of hybrid use. Even though the houses look modern, their usage patterns still exhibit inherited cultural expectations.

Discrepancy Between Awareness and Behavior

As the Graph 1 shows, a drastic discrepancy is seen between the mindful recognition of traditional characteristics (e.g., mashrabiya) and ongoing behavior associated with their original functions. While only 30% noted the existence of such details, nearly 70% showed spatial behavior pertaining to them. This verifies Bourdieu's (1977) habitus theory—unconscious structures shaping everyday behavior.

Social and Psychological Dimensions of Space

Figures 1a–1c support the qualitative data in the Table 2 showing emotional comfort, gendered norms, and respect for hierarchy control use of space. Norberg-Schulz (1980) and Proshansky et al. (1983) reinforce the concept of place identity—where spaces invoke memories and cultural values. The Bahraini houses continue to do this, not stylistic revivalism but in the activities and extensions of its dwellers.

Summary of Cultural Continuity Observed

- Traditional spatial principles, especially separation, privacy, and inwardness—continue to prevail.
- These values continue to exist even in contemporary architectural structures, through expression, adaptation, and use.
- The residents themselves claim not to see traditional features articulated; nonetheless act out the behavior.
- Planners and architects need to pay heed to cultural behavior, not merely design symbolism.

Conclusions

This research sought to comprehend the extent to which traditional Bahraini architectural notions continue to influence the spatial behaviors and design tastes of modern Bahraini homeowners, particularly in unrecognized ways. The evidence assembled through the combination of survey returns and in-depth interviewing manifests a consistent trend: despite all the outward modernity of the majority of homes and the fashionability of internationalized building styles, spatial organization and practices remain firmly under the impress of traditional values of privacy, inward orientation, and hierarchical zoning.

The quantitative data, laid out in the Table 1 and illustrated in the Graph 1, demonstrated a considerable discrepancy between the respondents' awareness of traditional features and their preference for these features. For example, while only 40% of the respondents were able to clearly identify inward-oriented layouts as traditional, 75% expressed a preference for this type of spatial arrangement. Similarly, the use of courtyards and semi-outdoor areas, which only 50% recognized as heritage features, remained functionally present in over 70% of households. These findings suggest that traditional spatial values persist at a behavioral level, even if not consciously recognized or articulated as such.

The qualitative interviews reinforced this observation. As demonstrated in the Table 2 and the Figure Set 1 (Figures 1a–1c), all the three interview participants—regardless of housing type—demonstrated spatial behaviors that echoed traditional Bahraini norms. Participant A preserved the guest-family distinction through architectural zoning and behavioral occupancy, whereas the Participant B, in a contemporary flat, avoided the use of front rooms and created privacy through space reorientation. The participant C retrofitted a modern open-plan villa to institute traditional spatial segregation, pointing to the fact that users will modify built forms to meet cultural expectations.

These daily instances illustrated a pattern of spatial accommodation mediating between modern architecture and received cultural practice. The inhabitants do not passively accept the spaces provided by the modern housing but reinvent them through furniture arrangement, circulation adjustment, and behavioral habits to meet the traditional needs. This supports the theoretical proposition by Rapoport (1969) that form is followed by culture, and not by technology or style. This also aligns with Dayaratne's (2020) theory of the "vernacular in transition," where cultural identity continues to determine architectural use despite the modification of formal expressions.

One of the main findings of this research is the gap between spatial awareness and spatial practice. Majority of the interviewees were unaware of the historical roots of their housing decisions, indicating the role of unconscious cultural memories. It validates Bourdieu's (1977) idea of habits, whereby long-standing social norms become embodied and reproduced in daily decisions and actions. In addition, emotional responses to space—security in enclosure, fear in openness—imply more basic psychological and social dimensions of spatial use, in agreement with Norberg-Schulz's (1980) and Proshansky et al.'s (1983) concepts of place identity.

Overall, this study confirms that the old Bahraini architectural logic continues to shape modern-day house designs, not through aesthetic copying, but through ingrained behavioral routines and lived spatial practices. These findings have implications for Bahraini architects and planners: successful residential design needs to consider not only functional efficiency or trendy fashions, but also the enduring cultural logics that shape how space is experienced and lived.

Despite these findings, this research does have strengths and weaknesses. Its strength is that it is one of the first studies that examines this issue in Bahrain. Thus, it opens the door for further investigations. On the other hand, its sample sizes are low and therefore, it is hard to make generalizations from these findings.

Declarations

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Statement of Conflict of Interest: The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest in carrying out this research.

Ethical Practice: This research followed accepted ethical practices. It is a synthesis of that involved human participants, fieldwork, interviews and the collection of personal data. Nevertheless, it followed the accepted ethical standards.

Availability of Data: This study does report some original primary data. Some evidence is also drawn from the published sources cited in the References below, each of which is publicly accessible through the identifiers (DOI or publisher) provided. Other data is available for scrutiny if officially requested.

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