

QATAR UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF ENGINEERING

TOWARDS AN UNDERSTANDING OF SPATIALITY OF INDETERMINATE
SPACES: DOHA MIGRANT LABOURERS AS SPATIAL ACTOR

BY

FATIMA ABDULLAH KHALFANI

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of
College of Engineering
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of
Master of Science in Urban Planning and Design

January 2016

© 2015 Fatima Abdullah Khalfani. All Rights Reserved

COMMITTEE PAGE

The members of the Committee approve the thesis of Fatima Abdullah Khalfani defended on February 17, 2016.

Prof. Dr. Attilio Petruccioli
Thesis/Dissertation Principal Supervisor

Dr. Shaibu Bala Garba
Thesis/Dissertation Co-Supervisor

[Dr. Derya Oktay]
Committee Member

[Dr. DJamel Boussaa]
Committee Member

[Dr. Fodil Fadli]
Committee Member

Approved:

Dr. Khalifa Al Khalifa, Dean, College of Engineering

ABSTRACT

This study investigated publicly accessible spaces where the city's normal forces of control have not shaped their perception, usage and occupancy. The so-called indeterminate spaces were examined in traditional Doha neighbourhoods, with Al Asmakh, Al Najada and Barahat Al Jufairi as case studies. The objectives of the research are to find out how, where and why space becomes indeterminate, and to understand the dynamic intervening relationship between spatial pattern of the space and migrant labourers' experiences in everyday indeterminate spaces. In addition to exploring the users' perception, the performance of the activities and the intensity of use were also examined. The focus on publicly accessible indeterminate spaces arises from the perception of their importance for the urban poor, and of a gap in research on the subject in the old neighbourhoods of the city of Doha.

The research adopted a cross-disciplinary approach through holistic understanding of everyday space, place-making concepts and urban form performance criteria, with public indeterminate space viewed as material space with a spatial and social dimension, situated within a cultural setting. A model was developed linking all the factors, based on which a framework of issues and questions was developed for use in examining the case studies. The research employed both documentary research and fieldwork in data sourcing. Activity and behavioural mapping, as well as interviews, have been utilised to investigate the values and meaning that users impose on these spaces. Additionally, an urban situation analysis focusing on the urban growth and urban demography of the selected neighbourhoods, has contributed to an understanding of the factors resulting in the temporary use of the space and its informality. Analysis of the selected indeterminate spaces within the designated neighbourhoods demonstrated that the temporality and indeterminacy of the spaces occurred due to the alteration of spatial structure resulting from the economic, social, cultural, spatial and environmental challenges that negatively affected the quality of urban life. This resulted in the emergence of the indeterminacy process and informal practices by the inhabitants, in our case, migrant workers. They began to create spaces by taking advantage of the physical and social possibilities that indeterminate spaces possess, to fulfill their socio-cultural and economic needs by performing activities that strongly contribute to the meaning of the space, promote their ability to participate in the activities, and employ some level of control and empowerment involving their right to the city. Understanding the spatiality of these spaces revealed the relevance of temporary uses and informal local practices as a resource for rethinking a city's inflexible planning, and developing the city so that spaces once more become productive and livable.

Keywords: Indeterminate Space, Temporary Use, Urban Informality, Right to the City, Migrant Labourers.

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1.	Outline of the approach to the research.....	08
Figure 2.1.	Visual representation of everyday public space model used in the study.	13
Figure 3.1.	Theoretical framework based on two models. The first model is composed of dimensions by which the process of indeterminacy can be understood and the second model reflects the evaluative criteria for assessing the performance of indeterminate space.	40
Figure 3.2.	Diagram showing the relation between the research questions, objectives and methodologies as well as evaluative principles of the study.	45
Figure 4.1.	Doha Skyline 1985-2011 from bottom to top respectively.	55
Figure 4.2.	Chronological analysis of Doha’s urban growth with attendant economic system and rulership.	57
Figure 4.3.	Doha Zoning Map indicating the location of selected urban settings.....	58
Figure 4.4.	The map of Zones 4 and 5 of Doha City incorporates the old neighbourhoods of Al Asmakh, Al Najada and Barahat Al Jufairi.....	59
Figure 4.5.	Aerial photo of city of Doha taken in 1947, indicating the building and street pattern of selected urban settings at that time. Source: GIS Qatar, Ministry of Municipality and Urban	

	Planning.....	61
Figure 4.6.	Aerial photo of Al Asmakh, Al Najada and Barahat Al Jufairi taken in 1959. Source: GIS Qatar, Ministry of Municipality and Urban Planning.....	62
Figure 4.7.	Aerial photo of Al Asmakh, Al Najada and Barahat Al Jufairi taken in 1973. Source: GIS Qatar, Ministry of Municipality and Urban Planning.....	63
Figure 4.8.	Historical map of selected neighbourhoods illustrated in 1987. Source: GIS Qatar, Ministry of Municipality and Urban Planning.....	64
Figure 4.9.	Aerial photo of Al Asmakh, Al Najada and Barahat Al Jufairi taken in 1995. Source: GIS Qatar, Ministry of Municipality and Urban Planning.....	65
Figure 4.10.	2008 historical map of selected districts. Source: GIS Qatar, Ministry of Municipality and Urban Planning.....	66
Figure 4.11.	Aerial photo of districts taken in 2014. Source: GIS Qatar, Ministry of Municipality and Urban Planning.....	66
Figure 4.12.	Land use map of Al Asmakh, Al Najada and Barahat Al Jufairi dated 2014. Source: GIS Qatar, Ministry of Municipality and Urban Planning.....	67
Figure 4.13.	Chronological analysis of Al Asmakh, Al Najada and Barahat Al Jufairi districts using cartographic map and GIS layering tools.....	69
Figure 4.14.	The population growth and decline of the selected districts.....	72

Figure 4.15.	A diverse range of economic activities and businesses can be found in the districts.	74
Figure 5.1.	Inadequate housing, poor infrastructure, and a deteriorating living environment in Al Asmakh, Al Najada and Barahat Al Jufairi.	78
Figure 5.2.	Left: Map illustrates the location of the two selected intersections; Top right: the photo of the first street corner from the north-east angle toward Grand Hamad Street; Bottom right: a photo of the second street corner from the north-west toward Ahmed bin Mohamed Street.	84
Figure 5.3.	Occupancy of Barahat Al Jufairi Square during daytime.	86
Figure 5.4.	Activities practiced within Barahat Al Jufairi Square.	87
Figure 5.5.	Behavioural and activity map of the first intersection indicates the occupancy and the intensity of temporary use of the space. .	88
Figure 5.6.	Mapping of practiced behaviours and activities at the second intersection.	89
Figure 5.7.	The confrontation and intensity of activities in cutting-edge Mohamed bin Ahmed Street.	90
Figure 5.8.	North and southern views to dismissed Sikka Al Ihsan.	94
Figure 5.9.	Sikka’s behavioural mapping indicating the occupancy and intensity of use the space.	96
Figure 5.10.	Street vending and pedestrians activities within the Sikka	97
Figure 5.11.	Street vending within the residential roadways.	100
Figure 5.12.	Behavioural and activity map of Aghadir St. illustrates the	

	pedestrian activities, space occupancy, and the intensity of use.....	101
Figure 5.13.	Street vending and pedestrians activities performed within the residential roadways.	102
Figure 5.14.	Behavioural mapping of Abdullah bin Thani St. illustrates the pedestrian activities, space occupancy, and the intensity of use.....	107
Figure 5.15.	Necessary, optional, and resultant activities practiced on street sidewalks.	108
Figure 5.16.	‘No Go’ Housing zones for migrant labourers.	114

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am extremely grateful to God Almighty; this study could not have been completed without His grace and blessings. Endless appreciation and sincere gratitude are extended for the assistance and support of the following personnel who have contributed to making this study possible.

Prof. Attilio Petruccioli and **Dr. Shaibu Bala Garba**, my thesis committee advisors, for their support, valuable feedback, comments, thoughts and provisions that benefited me in the fulfillment and success of this study. I truly value all the effort and intellectual contributions they have put into my thesis. Their guidance, patience and kind understanding proved immeasurably valuable throughout the process.

Dr. Fodil Fadli, the coordinator of Master of Urban Planning and Design Program, for keeping the students posted on principal events, submissions and deadlines. His words of encouragement and belief in me gave me eternal comfort and certainty in being able to complete the work.

Dr. Yasser Mahjoub, Head of Architecture and Urban Planning Department, for his help, time and effort in terms of registration, academic recordkeeping and coordination with the Dean of Engineering College and the College of Engineering Graduate office.

I wish to express my most sincere appreciation to my preliminary master thesis advisors **Prof. Ashraf Salama** and **Dr. Hussam Salama** for their great support and help in directing me towards the ideal concepts, thoughts and study model. Their guidance has allowed me to build confidence in my ability and to pursue my degree toward the end. Although they left the college during the first stages of thesis development, they have been major supporters in helping me overcome the encountered challenges through their encouragement and inspiration. I feel so lucky to have started my thesis under their supervision.

This dissertation would not have been achieved without the advanced coordination and structure of CENG Graduate Office. I thank them for their assistance and time in checking the delivered forms and this manuscript. I am likewise grateful to Qatar University Library staff for lending me the necessary books and reading materials needed in the accomplishment of this study.

I would like to extend my gratitude to all professional interviewees for their support and guidance in providing me with available information on the city in general and the selected districts in particular, sharing their views and sparing

their valuable time for discussion:

Mr. Adel Al Muslemani, Head of Restoration Department at Qatar Museums.

Eng. Abdullah Ahmed Al Karrani, Head of Urban Planning Section at the Ministry of Municipality and Urban Planning.

Mr. Homood Al Shafi, the head of section of Land Allocation and Ownership at the Ministry of Municipality and Urban Planning.

Mr. Talal Al Shemmeri, Head of the Technical Audit Department at the Ministry of Municipality and Urban Planning.

Mr. Mohamed Ali Abdullah, Qatari artist and renovation expert at Private Engineering Office.

Mr. Faisal Abdullah Al Dosari, Head of Project Section at private Engineering Office.

Arch. Jassim Talefat, Group Executive Director at Capital Projects & Facilities Management of Qatar Foundation.

Last but not least, many thanks and appreciation go out to my very special friends within and beyond the university community, S. Al Mujaini and A. Shahid, for supporting and moving me forward in often difficult times and pushing me towards finishing my degree and fulfilling my potential. I also owe special thanks to my family for so patiently watching me work on my degree during a period when the demands of the work interfered with my personal responsibilities. The completion of this manuscript will mean a lot to them, so I dedicate this study to my loving parents, brothers and sisters without whose love, affection and inspiration, this thesis would not have been written.

DEDICATION

... To all my valuable treasures in life:

To my beloved family

My inspiration and strength during stormy days.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	viii
Chapter 1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. Contextualisation	1
1.2. Problems Addressed by the Research	3
1.3. Research Questions.....	4
1.4. The Aim and Objectives of the Research	6
1.5. The Research Approach and Method.....	7
1.6. The Structure of the Research.....	8
Chapter 2. LITERATURE REVIEW.....	11
2.1. Public Space: A Place of Everyday Life.....	11
2.2. The Right To The City	16
2.2.1. Migrant and Urban Rights	17
2.2.2. Place-making.....	19
2.3. Indeterminate Spaces	20
2.3.1. How Space Becomes Indeterminate	22
2.3.2. Where Space Becomes Indeterminate	24
2.3.3. What Activities Make Space Indeterminate	25
2.3.4. How Movement Patterns of Users Regulate the Indeterminate Space	26
2.3.5. What Opportunities Encounter Indeterminate Space.....	28
2.4. Urban Public Space and Indeterminacy in Doha	31
2.5. Approaches to the Examination of Indeterminate Public Spaces	35
2.5.1. Design Disciplines Approach	35

2.5.2. Social Sciences Approach.....	35
Chapter 3. RESEARCH APPROACH AND METHODS.....	37
3.1. Research Design.....	37
3.3. Research Framework	38
3.4. Research Methodology	44
3.5. Data Collection	47
3.6. Structuring Observation.....	49
3.7. Analysis of Data and Research Conclusion.....	50
Chapter 4. INTRODUCTION TO STUDY CONTEXT	52
4.1. Urban Evolution of Doha.....	52
4.1.1. Pre-Oil Period	52
4.1.2. Oil Discovery Period.....	53
4.1.3. Post-Oil Period.....	54
4.2. Introducing The Case Study Area.....	58
4.2.1. Urban Morphology of Selected Districts.....	60
<i>Urban Transformation</i>	60
<i>Urban Function</i>	67
4.2.2. Urban Demography of Selected Districts.....	71
<i>Population and Ethnicity</i>	71
<i>Finance and Economy</i>	73
Chapter 5. RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION	75
5.1. Driven Forces of Indeterminacy and Migrant Informal Practices	75
5.1.1. Poverty, Migration and Social Exclusion	75
5.1.2. Deteriorating Living Conditions	76

5.1.3. Land Tenure, Ownership and Tenancy	77
5.1.4. Population Structure.....	78
5.1.5. Discussion	78
5.2. Spatiality of Indeterminate Space and Their Performance	81
5.2.1. Street Intersections.....	82
<i>Location and Context</i>	82
<i>Behavioural and Activity Mapping</i>	84
<i>Performance Criteria</i>	91
5.2.2. Sikka or Alleyway.....	93
<i>Location and Context</i>	93
<i>Behavioural and Activity Mapping</i>	94
<i>Performance Criteria</i>	98
5.2.3. Residential Roadway	99
<i>Location and Context</i>	99
<i>Behavioural and Activity Mapping</i>	99
<i>Performance Criteria</i>	103
5.2.4. Sidewalk of Shop-Front Streets	104
<i>Location and Context</i>	105
<i>Behavioural and Activity Mapping</i>	105
<i>Performance Criteria</i>	109
5.2.5. Discussion	110
<i>Activities</i>	110
<i>Performance</i>	111
5.3. Relevance of Indeterminate Space and Migrant Practices.....	112

5.3.1. ‘No Go’ Housing Zones for Labourers	113
5.3.2. Worker Welfare Standards.....	114
5.3.3. Development of Labour Accommodations.....	115
5.3.4. Evacuation of Old Doha Districts of Workers.....	117
5.3.5. Discussion	117
Chapter 6. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	119
6.1. Driven Forces of Indeterminacy and Migrant Informal Practices	122
6.2. Spatiality of Indeterminate Space and Their Performance	122
6.2.1. Activities	122
6.2.2. Performance	123
<i>Meaningful</i>	123
<i>Participatory</i>	124
<i>Just</i>	124
6.3. Relevance of Indeterminate Space and Migrant Practices.....	125
6.4. Significance of the Study	127
6.5. Limitations of the Study.....	127
6.6. Suggestion for Further Studies.....	128
6.7. Recommendations.....	130
6.7.1. From Indeterminate to Shared Public Spaces	130
6.7.2. Connectedness and Defragmentation.....	131
6.7.3. Urban Design	131
6.7.4. Urban Governance and Future Interventions.....	133
REFERENCES	136
Appendix I: Guided Expert Interviews	143

Appendix II: Guided Users Interviews 146

Chapter 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Contextualisation

The city of Doha is considered one of the emerging cities that have shifted from being a small fishing and pearling village, to a regional centre for cultural and economic exchange, to a city moving towards becoming a global city in a global economy. It is experiencing fast track urban development and a dramatic urban transformation.

The expanded regional and global importance of Doha over the past two decades has resulted in an increase in population. The population of Qatar grew gradually at an average rate of about 2.1% per year from 2011-2015, reaching 2,288,927 according to the monthly population preliminary figures released by the Ministry of Development Planning on 31 August 2015. With this added population, the urban environment and the quality of urban life are thus becoming more and more important in the everyday lives of the city's over 2.2 million inhabitants. The quality of urban spaces greatly affects the living conditions, desirability and the attractiveness of urban open spaces.

The availability and accessibility of urban open spaces and enhancing the overall urban environment is one of the most important considerations that would determine the future development of the country. However, no investigation of such spaces has been done before to determine whether the available urban open spaces are supporting the needs of occupants or whether all inhabitants have the right to access these spaces freely. This right is sometimes ignored or

oversimplified due to the socio-spatial segregation that not only separates nationals from non-nationals, but also the different social sub-groups within each category, preventing the opportunity for interaction as the urban space becomes politicised along lines of class and nationality. This results the deportation of marginalised inner-city residents who do not fit the new dominant prerogatives of urban interventions and being neglected in public debate with a limit access to the resources of the city, and the possibility of investigating and realising alternative ways of everyday life.

The neglected overall urban environment, and the availability and qualities of urban open spaces in the daily lives of over 1.5 million migrant labourers engaged in the country's significant construction boom, has led to unique urban settings, where hidden neighbourhoods where transient residents live in alleyways reveal a different dynamic in comparison to the rest of the city. A walk through these alleyways presents outdoor spaces that are empty during the day, but transformed into lively places of exchange in the evening, fulfilling the needs of the community, and reflective of the cultural, spatial, social, economic and daily experiences shared by residents in direct response to their conditions. This research offers an experiential assessment of the socio-spatial interaction of workers in the city by examining the spatial and physical characteristics of the selected key spaces while implementing direct systematic observation and behavioural mapping. Assessment results reveal important outcomes contribute to an in-depth understanding of the performance and qualities of the spaces and the right of these migrant communities to the city.

1.2. Problems Addressed by the Research

The research arises from a number of broad problems that characterise the growth and change of the traditional city of Doha. The most fundamental issue is the increasing rapidity of growth and change. The research seeks to contribute in particular by addressing below issues;

- Presenting the need for more research into an understanding of the old city of Doha
- Raising the profile of urban problems to encourage effective interventions in old Doha
- Providing information that will enable the understanding of the way city is perceived and enabling informed future interventions

The research also focuses on addressing the concerns raised about Qatar's migrant living conditions. The segments of the population that are forced to live in miserable conditions, are restricted by limited mobility and have no recourse to traverse the city freely. They have suffered due to city planning designed mostly for a car-oriented system. In addition, migrant workers lack the appropriate home and family structures due to the labour law preventing low-income workers from bringing their families to the country, further intensifying the issue of alienation and transient lifestyles.

The choice of focus on public spaces and investigating the daily activities and experiences of occupants— in this case migrant labourers – is dictated by their importance in the development of cities and also by the perception of a gap in research on Doha in general and its urban public spaces in particular. Public

spaces are an important component of urban fabrics of the city and they are considered as arenas for socialisations and social reproduction. While capturing the historical development of societies, urban public spaces provide a context where the socio-cultural background of users is translated into activities and behaviours. As the spaces are ultimately an important element in the functioning and image content of the city and its urban fabrics, the issue of unavailability of defined urban public spaces within the built environment of communities of migrant labourers are, therefore, an important issue of concern in the planning and management of Doha's urban Development. Thus, examination of unspecified public spaces so-called 'indeterminate spaces' – any area, space or building where the city's normal forces of control have not shaped how we perceive, use and occupy them – points to an existing gap in the understanding of old Doha and migrant labourers' communities. It is this gap, coupled with the migrant living conditions and important urban public spaces, that has led to the choice of the focus in the research.

On the other hand, the emerging dilemmas and opportunities of the significantly planned interventions in old city centre of metropolitan Doha has resulted in the process of transiting migrant workers to industrial areas followed by the development of labourer cities. Thus, the research contributes in creating better scenarios for the future migrant labourers' community planning by introducing current prevailing urban problems.

1.3. Research Questions

The study follows the objective of disclosing the informal activities and

practices of inhabitants of selected urban settings, and is predominantly positioned to answer the questions:

- What are the different issues and factors leading to a process of indeterminacy and such temporary uses of everyday spaces?
- How do migrant labourers experience the environment and urban indeterminate spaces in relation to their activities?
- To what extent does the spatial pattern of the space fit the behaviour of its users and match the function they serve?
- How do different aspects and characteristics of the space regulate and inhibit functional and behavioural opportunities in low-income neighbourhoods?

Apart from the above questions that are mainly focused on understanding the indeterminate spaces, their temporary use, and worker-space relationships, the below two questions are drawn to place the research in the context of urban policy and actions:

- What are the implications of indeterminate spaces and temporary uses of uncertain spaces?
- What are the recommendations and scenarios that could contribute to facilitating temporary use for the benefit of the city and urban planning?

While the implications explain the benefits and the power of the uncertainty and transience of indeterminate spaces, the drawn recommendations and scenarios help the decision-makers to see such spaces as an opportunity

instead of a threat to the city.

1.4. The Aim and Objectives of the Research

The aforementioned questions draw the study's main objectives that are to develop a comprehensive understanding of everyday urbanism in Doha through investigating the spatiality of indeterminate spaces, with low-income migrant communities as spatial actors, using both practical and theoretical approaches. Using a practical approach, the manuscript is written to construct an analytical framework concerning the spatial configuration of indeterminate spaces and space appropriation relationships. Using a theoretical approach, this study explains the dynamic intervening relationship between spatial pattern and migrants' experiences in everyday urban spaces in order to emphasise the functional opportunity of public spaces through an understanding of their adaptability and flexibility.

Principal to these main goals, the following tiered objectives are envisioned indeed to answer the abovementioned questions. First is to address the historical context of everyday urbanism and indeterminate spaces in Doha by studying urban transformation and the flow of labour migration to decode the consequential urban morphologies in relation to the population transition and movement of locals and migrants. However, the second objective is to investigate the relationship between migrant communities and the built environment. This relationship is well examined through mapping the activity and behaviours of the workers within indeterminate spaces; identifying signs of resistance to the hegemonic quality of the built environment; studying the commitment and

relationships sought between temporary uses, the properties occupied and the surrounding communities; and exploring the informal practices and activities in such indeterminate spaces. The third objective is to evaluate the impact of the indeterminate space, their transience, and the uncertainty of the role of the built environment with regards to the agenda of city planning.

1.5. The Research Approach and Method

Apart from the objectives outlined above, the approach and methodology of the research has also been influenced by some incentives that seek to locate it within broader research context through a comprehensive literature review to establish conceptual and methodological bases. In addition, a literature review on city of Doha in general and on the selected urban settings in particular was also initiated for contextual understanding of the research. Through these reviews, the research problem and approach and its associate methods and techniques have been defined.

Based on the approach to understand the indeterminate space, the research developed a framework that dynamically links the quality of urban life, space production, use, and transformation. The framework was applied to case study to achieve the study objectives.

The outline of this study describes the research flow in a closed loop following a systematic approach of the research process as demonstrated in figure 1.1. This cohesive research is presented in a manner that the analyses are demonstrated and the conclusions are drawn.

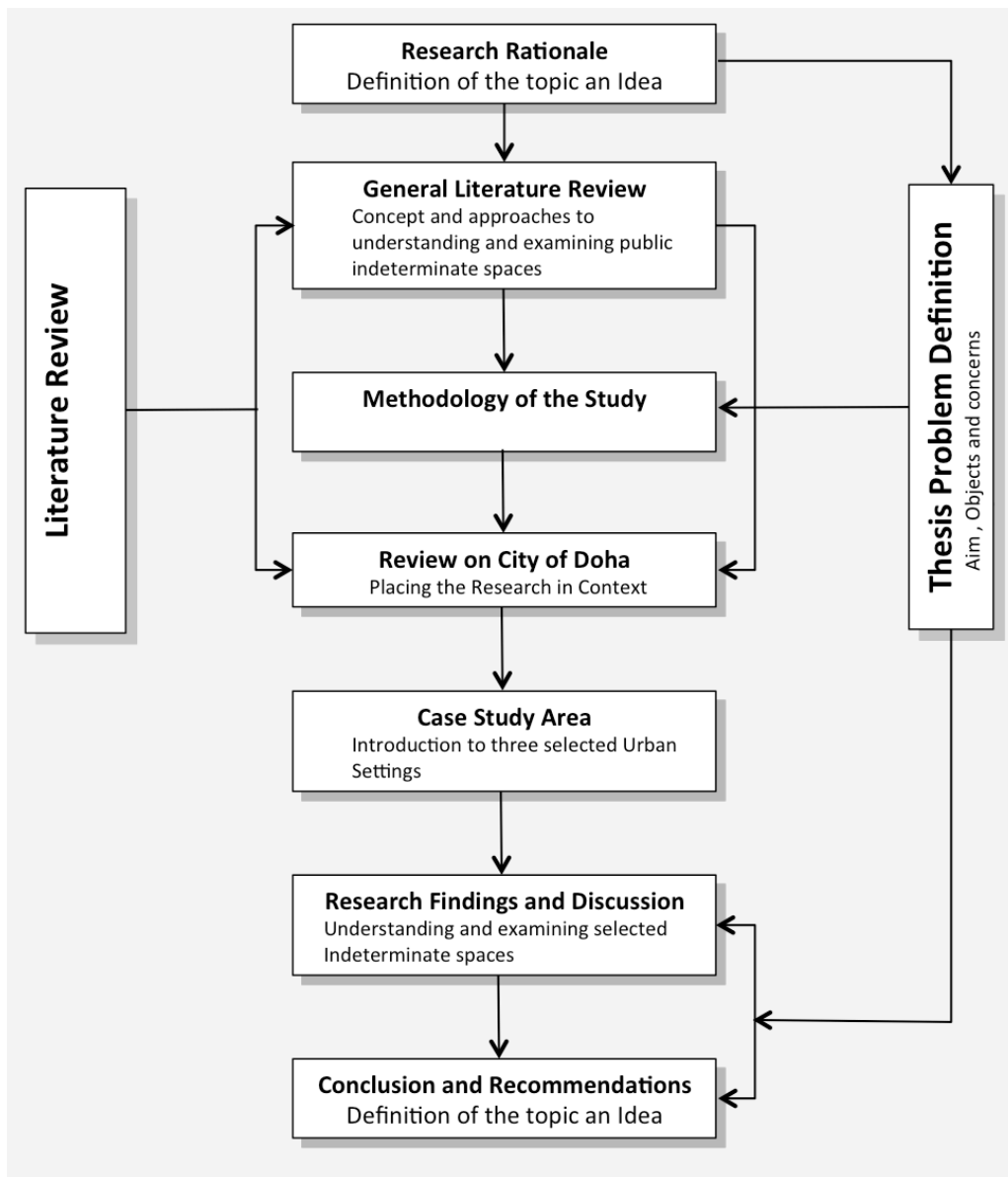


Figure 1.1. Outline of the approach to the research

1.6. The Structure of the Research

The thesis comprises six chapters compatible with the research process and framework. Chapter 1 (Introduction) frames and outlines the research idea, reasons behind selecting the topic, questions and objectives, empirical focus and research theoretical framework, and research outline. Chapter 2 (Literature Review) discusses the theoretical perspectives and existing concepts on everyday

urbanism, indeterminate spaces, right to the city, place-making, space production, sense of place, and other relevant concepts.

Following this, Chapter 3 (Research Approach and Methods) describes the theoretical framework to discover the indeterminate spaces from the perception of the workers, their practices, and spatial configuration. This empirical research appraises and values the migrant's experiences of indeterminate space, measures the spatial arrangement and records their practices within. Research methodology and data collection is additionally discussed in detail throughout this chapter. The chapter also explains the methods through which data is analysed and the conclusion is drawn.

Chapter 4 (Introduction to Study Context) gives general overviews on Doha's urban transformation, migrant flows and transnationalism while exploring the relation between urban growth and migrant movements. This is followed by an introduction to a case study that describes the chronological analysis of selected urban settings, focusing on the socio-cultural, economic, and spatial dimensions. This includes the rationalisation of urban demography, morphology and the explanation of the historical and spatial context of the selected districts.

Chapter 5 (Research Findings and Discussion) describes and analyses the research results, focusing on the selected spots and indeterminate spaces that encounter migrant spatial practices. Firstly, it identifies the major issues and aspects that result in the process of indeterminacy in select neighbourhoods. Secondly, it demonstrates and interprets the data found in relation to the spatiality of selected indeterminate spaces, their temporary uses, and migrant behaviour

within. The chapter presents the analysis and interpretation of the findings supported by behavioural and activity mapping. Each space is analysed and interpreted through the observation of activities, appraisal of the conceptual dimensions of indeterminate space, and evaluation of each space based on the selected criteria. Moreover, the chapter discusses the current planning interventions and explains the initiation of labour community planning. It also determines the higher-level reflections of governmental sectors and NGOs on labour actions and practices and their right to the city.

Conclusively, Chapter 6 (Conclusions and Recommendations) summarises the main findings based on the studies and reviewed literature. Furthermore, this chapter concludes with some recommendations and scenarios where the relationship between the migrant and the urban space and their spatial practices within the public realm are given more integrative consideration. Following the explanations for the results of this thesis, the limitations of this study and suggestions for further research in the same field are presented at the end of the chapter.

Chapter 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter places the research in its applicable theoretical framework and deliberates the topics, which have been useful in understanding the concept of indeterminate spaces. The main research questions are explored in-depth through several areas of focus, linked to the disciplines of social sciences, urban planning and anthropology. This thesis reflects on these topics and the relevant theories in order to develop sympathetic and thoughtful knowledge on public spaces and more specifically on indeterminate spaces and their prospective spatial characteristics.

Themes which have been investigated through a literature search include public space as a place for everyday life, the right to the city, place-making, indeterminate space, space appropriation, type of activities and pattern of movement within indeterminate public spaces. Through this research subsequent concepts have been discovered and explained in the following inscription. The findings from these topics are expressed under the following headings and directions with particular indication of the abovementioned theories.

2.1. Public Space: A Place of Everyday Life

With the presence of numerous understandings of public space from multi-disciplinary perspectives, much confusion around the meaning of the terms ‘public space’ and ‘publicness of space’ exist. This indicates that the argument of how to define publicness is important. Different means of describing publicness are engrained in the shifting act and value of the public sphere. In “*The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*” (1962), Habermas outlined the conversion

of publicness in distinction to a concept of ‘representative public realm’ to an idea of ‘publicity’ that initiated in the eighteenth century. Habermas accentuate two aspects analytical to the shifting position and sense of publicness. First is the development of the social territory along with the public and the private. Second aspect is the relevance and significance of everyday life within the communal free domain.

Focusing on the mentioned aspects of the public sphere, the public space functions as a principal domain in which several realms of both private and social forces act. Based upon the works of Lefebvre and de Certeau, they repute everyday operative spaces as an area of possibility and potential transformation of publicness.

This research is developed on the base of the idea that the public space is built, contested, and appropriated as an alternate space through everyday experiences, actions of people inhabiting the space, and spatial formation of space itself. Additionally, such everyday public spaces are assumed and understood as a combination of urban meanings, activities and forms reflecting people’s perceptions, behaviours, and space spatial configuration respectively, as shown in figure 2.1. More precisely, this understanding of the everyday public space is relevant to various meanings and values attached to the space by its users. Movements and activities in such spaces could be studied by investigating individuals’ actions within. The physical characteristics and features of the everyday public realm are the factors allied to its spatial structure and to the disposition of the public places within an urban pattern.

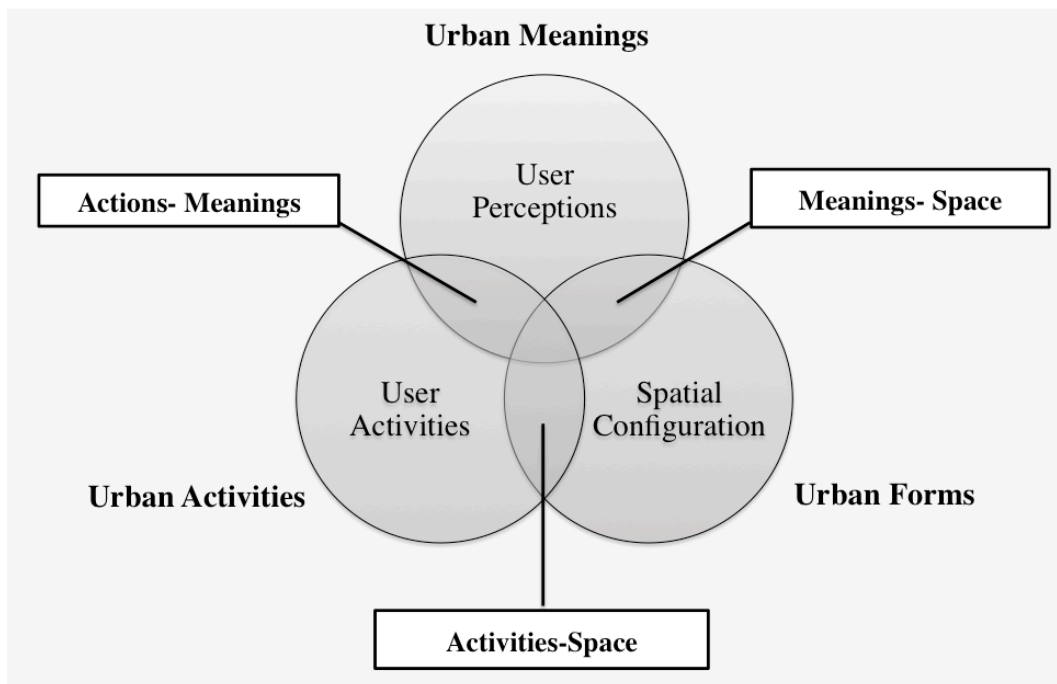


Figure 2.1. Visual representation of everyday public space model used in the study

The shift in meanings and uses of publicness is highlighted through the evolution of the public spaces, the participatory level of publics and their daily lives that shape the everyday public space. Thus, the research attempts to display that these explicit spots of everyday life endorse different human experiences, actions, and perceptions to exist side-by-side in the space. The opportunities, potential and possibilities connected to the occurrence of distinctions in everyday urban life are inspected through the lens of everyday urban living. Accordingly, the research is developed under the assumption of having the public space as a place of everyday urbanism within which the inherent structure of everyday urban life is formed.

The variety of open spaces in cities includes those that are planned for certain assigned functions but that, both legally and physically, accommodate

other activities as well; it also includes other kinds of spaces currently without assigned functions that accommodate unintended and unexpected activities (Franck and Stevens, 2007). In Henri Lefebvre's writings, the role of the everyday public space in the growth of the urban structure and system received foremost attention. Lefebvre (1976) defines the city as a place where diverse groups can congregate, where they may be in conflict but can also shape alliances, and where they collectively participate in activities. Additionally, Lefebvre noted that urban life and its potential eventuate through everyday activities that are often unnoticed, and in the regular everyday places that are usually undetected and ignored (Lefebvre, 1976).

Similarly, Crawford emphasises the significance of the public realm as a place of everyday activities. He describes the connection between urban design and everyday life as it is originated through an everyday space, a space that is constructed freely between ascertain and obscure realms (Crawford, 2004). The notion behind such a space is the liveliness of regular day-to-day public activities, the so-called 'practice of everyday life' (de Certeau, 1984). Encircling the concept of everyday public space, studies in everyday space try to rebuild the overlooked linkage between the individual values of everyday urban environments and the public realm.

As part of the concept of the everyday, Lefebvre and de Certeau were occupied with the idea of marginalisation and alienation. They perceived and explained what today is accepted in the case of contemporary cities that "nonconformity is today no longer limited to minority groups, but is somehow

massive and persuasive” (de Certeau, 1984: 16). With an understanding of the life of “local consumers” the idea of the everyday developed by Lefebvre and de Certeau serves to legitimise and reinforce the political aspect of everyday practices. Opposed to this is the idea of a tactic place that belongs to the other. The tactical is not proper, but infiltrates itself into the other’s place, without taking it over completely, without being able to keep it at a distance. It undoubtedly has a spatial component and implication, but it is naturally time-based. A tactic is always looking for opportunities that must be captured on the wing. Tactics create everyday spaces and establish places by taking advantage of opportunities to combine diverse elements (de Certeau, 1984). Based on the Lefebvre’s argument on heterogeneity in cities, the concept of ‘micro-publics’ allows alterations to co-occur in the everyday practice, functioning, and evaluation of publicness. This correspondingly reflects the idea of Dolores Hayden about the potentiality of a place. He intimated that the possibilities are embedded in everyday adventure and story of people who constantly act to create place. (Hayden, 1995)

Thinking through concepts of everyday life, recent theorists of urban space have put forth the notions of third space (Soja, 1996), and everyday urbanism (Chase, Kaliski and Crawford 1999). Kelbaugh (2001) criticises the work of John Kaliski, Margaret Crawford and others in ‘Everyday Urbanism’ and their idea of openness and elusive elements, transitory, cacophony, multiplicity and simultaneity. “It is this openness to populist informality that makes Everyday Urbanism conversational. It is non-structuralist because it downplays the direct relationship between physical design and social behavior. It, for instance, delights in the way indigenous and migrant groups informally respond in resourceful and

imaginative ways to their ad hoc conditions and marginal spaces” (Kelbaugh, 2001). Still, the strength of discourse of everyday urbanism is that they stress temporal processes over urban form, and use value over exchange value in the experience, perception, and meaning of public space (Hou, 2010).

2.2. The Right to the City

In recent years, some serious logical debates about who has rights to the city have been disputed. The debates also argue how such rights are grasped and apprehended. Lefebvre, particularly in his book of ‘The Right To The City’, proposed a new comprehensive slogan demanding the right to the basic needs. “It was about something more, a specific urban quality, which had previously been neglected in public debate: access to the resources of the city for all segments of the population, and the possibility of experimenting with and realizing alternative ways of life,” (Marcuse, 2012).

Lefebvre likened the right to the city to ‘a cry and a demand’ that was directed towards an altered and transformed right to urban life (Lefebvre, 1968). It is a cry for basic needs and a demand for wants, something more than the mere basics. Necessity and desire are two separate things. Therefore, to explain whose rights are more of a concern, the demand is of those who are excluded, the aspiration is of those who are alienated; the cry is for the material necessities of life, the aspiration is for a broader right to what is necessary beyond the material to lead a satisfying life (Marcuse, 2012). The demand comes from those directly in want, directly subjugated; those for whom even their most basic needs are not fulfilled. It is a demand of those whose work harms their wellbeing, those whose

revenue is law, those discounted from benefitting from the welfares of urban life.

Following the discussion of “whose right?”, the question of “what right?” is debatable. The answer to “what right?” on first blush seems simple. What they are, or should be, can be itemised: the right to clean water, clean air, housing, decent sanitation, mobility, education, healthcare, etcetera – the necessities for a decent life. And that answer, the demand for those rights, must have priority; they are immediate, indeed existential, needs. But that answer is not enough. Planning theorists such as David Harvey described it as “a right to change ourselves by changing the city” (Harvey, 2008). It is, furthermore, a communal public right rather than a specific individual right since this transformation certainly varies based upon the exercise of a co-op power to reshape the practices of urbanisation. The freedom to shape and reshape our cities and ourselves is one of the most valuable, yet still most ignored, aspects of our human rights. However, as the planner and lawyer Peter Marcuse in “Whose Right To What City?” described it as a unitary right, a single right that makes claim to a city in which all of the separate and individual rights so often cited in charters and agendas and platforms are implanted. In his writing he tried to focus on the singularity of word right by quoting “it is the right to the city, not rights to the city,” (Marcuse, 2012). It is a right to social justice, which involves, yet far exceeds, the right to individual integrity and equity.

2.2.1. Migrant and Urban Rights

Balbo and Tuts described the ‘rights to the city’ as a right for all, including migrants, regardless of nationality, race, gender and religion. This refers to the

accessibility to the benefits of the city on the basis of principles such as unity, openness, freedom, equality, dignity and social justice (Balbo and Tuts, 2005). According to Lefebvre (1996) the 'right to the city' includes the 'right to freedom' of identity, of locality, as well as the right to participation and appropriation. The concept of the right to the city is about the rights of all urban occupants to participate in shaping the city, irrespective of their citizenship, ethnicity, ability, gender and so forth. Rather than being exclusively the right of the capitalist, as occurs in most urban developments, the right to the city is about the right of all, including the marginalised population, to be part of the production of the city based on their needs and wants. The right to the city thus fundamentally challenges existing power relations, the deep roots of the capitalist system that drives urban development, and the production of urban space, including social, political and economic relations.

Migrants create places of belonging by appropriating or creating space for their own familiar spatial practices. In these cases, they arrive in their host cities already bearing understandings of space. With the multiple identities, their diverse roles and associated spatial practices help shape everyday life. They also accumulate into a collection of place-making strategies through a compilation of experiences, memories and perceptions that foster personal, everyday feelings of belonging. In all human experience, place-making is considered to be an essential practice. However, it is predominantly significant for residents and neighbourhoods that have experienced much movement and nonconformity. In these communities, place-making offers a means to challenge humiliation, improve survival strategies, create and intensify social bonds with others,

construct social networks, and battle social and spatial differentiations. The flexible, culturally built place-making practice of marginalised neighbourhoods also potentially serves as models for transformative change in society as a whole (Schneekloth and Shibley, 2005).

2.2.2. Place-making

With reference to place-making, the right to the city can encompass the cultural differences that describe the type of place and its spatial and social manifestations. Those who live and use a space practise the place-making, and therefore, define the experience and sense of place has been referred to as “the right to design the city” (Mattila 2002).

The international practice of place-making relies on three major perceptions (Schneekloth and Shibley, 2005). The first assumption rests on the fact that people care deeply about the place to which they attached. They want places that are healthy for working, building a community, and growing families (Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995). This perception goes against the notion that in modern life people gradually detach or disconnect from place. It additionally challenges the prejudicial, but long-lasting, assumption that, for instance, marginalised people somehow run out of the resources and energy to monopolise and develop the places in which they live (Feldman and Stall, 1994). The commitment of people to create a place, even in the face of difficulty, relocates the attention on spatial activity that is habitually struggled over. Yet, it is essentially the human process of creating a place in the world, extending from the home and neighbourhood to the large-scale transnational community.

The second perception of place-making is focused on both people's efforts in making their places and their competency to do so. Depending on the belief in people's and community strength, place-making not only emphasises keenness but also tests their capability to invest in everyday, constructive action within place.

The third assumption is focused on the fact that a significant part of the breakdown in place-making is not just people or just place, but people-in-place. As described by Schneekloth and Shibley (2005), place-making is a practice concerned with people and place relationships and individuals' interactions. An attention on place-making thus extends to the personal interactive relationships that create the attachment of people and place.

2.3. Indeterminate Spaces

Through these ideas on the philosophy of public spaces and space of everyday life, the contemporary notions of everyday public space and indeterminate space have developed to be part of the dictionary used in urban design theories and that suggest new ground for understanding their self-governing and participatory aspects. Such space includes spaces that have been appropriated for short-term uses and have "multiple and shifting meanings rather than clarity of function" (Crawford, 1999). This comprises vacant properties, streets, parking lots, and other "terrain vague". A formative source in thinking about indeterminate spaces is *Terrain Vague*, a 1995 essay by Spanish architect Ignasi de Sola-Morales. First, the concept of terrain (as opposed to the concept of land) is more expansive, including more spatial connotations and the idea of a plot of land fit for construction, meaning that it has more direct ties to the urban.

Another meaning is derived from the Latin ‘vagus’ which is most closely related to the origins in landscape urbanism thinking giving “the sense of indeterminate, imprecise, blurred, and uncertain” (de Sola Morales, 1995). Such indeterminate zones in the landscape are often perceived as indicators of decay and abandonment. However, these sites are also appropriated for spontaneous, improvisational, and creative uses. Some examples include sites where day labourers congregate or parking lots that transform into informal swap meets and vending sites (Easton: 2007, Valenzuela et al. 2006).

Interstitial, dilapidated, dis-used and marginal sites punctuate the staged and controlled official public spaces and the everyday, ubiquitous spaces of the contemporary city. The qualities of such extraordinary places are overlooked, and in various discourses from the realms of architecture, planning, design and urban theory, are referred to as: ‘loose spaces’ (Frank and Steven, 1974), ‘hollow places in which the past sleeps’ (de Certeau, 1984), ‘terrain vagues’ (De Sola Morales, 1995), ‘everyday urban space’ (Crawford, 1999), ‘dead zones’ (Doron, 2000), ‘the passive, victimized or invisible other to global spaces’ (Nagar et al, 2002), ‘parafunctional space’ (Papastergiadis, 2002), ‘superfluous landscapes’ (Nielsen, 2002), ‘spaces of uncertainty’ and ‘the margin’ (Cupers and Miessen, 2002), ‘leftover and forgotten spaces’ (Lee and Yeoh, 2004), ‘landscapes of contempt’ (Giro, 2005), ‘voids’ (Armstrong, 2006), ‘ambivalent landscapes’ (Jorgensen and Tylecote, 2007), ‘actual territories’ (Lang 2008, citing Stalker) and ‘the urban interstices’ (Tonnelat, 2008), ‘empty zone’ (Doron, 2008), ‘guerrilla spaces’ (Hou, 2010), and ‘Border Vacuum’ (Jacob, 1961-2010).

There are also ‘in-between’ spaces that delineate threshold between public and private realms of individual households and suburban streets, restaurants, and sidewalks (Arreola, 1988; Rojas, 1993). The social processes that drive the use and making of these spaces are many, and emerge out of the particular histories of (im)migrant and diaspora groups. Paradoxically, the diaspora experience for many groups is essentially about settling down, but recognising home, real or imagined, as being elsewhere (Hou, 2010).

These terms indicate the same or similar urban and non-urban spaces and refer to a variety of spaces that are seen as empty and meaningless by authoritarian figures as a result of their ‘temporary absence of attributed function,’ (Tonnelat, 2008) and thus they exist in opposition to the systematic and well-ordered spaces of the city in which, it can be argued (Doron, 2000; Cupers and Miessen, 2002) identities are continuously fixed and differences are erased.

2.3.1. How Space Becomes Indeterminate

People establish indeterminate space through their individual actions and behaviours and they often seek out spaces that support the actions they wish to pursue. These spaces may have clear functional objectives but people may find them where their persuasive actions are possible though unintended. The designer and architect Lars Lerup (2001) described those actions as ‘triggered’ by specific physical contexts and social situations they encounter. Some spaces become indeterminate and loose as a result someone’s intention to merely use a space differently, sometimes spatial conditions inspire people to act in new ways.

Frank and Steven’s (2007) idea of loose space demonstrates that the

materialisation of such spaces is contingent to two aspects. The first aspect is related to people's recognition of the possibilities within the space, while the second aspect is focused on a variable degree of inspiration and determination to make use of what exists, possibly modifying present elements or fetching additional ones. To this regard, residents and users of such spaces fashion public settings to satisfy their own needs as well as their desires.

The indeterminate and informal spaces are not created by an action of demolition, but by a time gap (Urban Catalyst, 2007) or what Doron (2000) terms as an act of suspension. This may be caused by, for example, planning restrictions, problematic site conditions and lack of perceived demand. Within the city there is little opportunity for alternative practices to exist, or at best, be tolerated. Citizens navigate through the environment modifying their behaviour, which require normative modes of movement. 'Marginalised communities and those in general who do not have consumerism as their main reason for participation in the city' (Chatterton, 2002) find the consumptive city less inviting and less open. In an attempt to (re)claim space, such groups transgress architectural boundaries and normative behaviour, and find ways to produce space otherwise away from the undemocratic, regulated centre towards the periphery where they are less inspected. These zones represent animated territories and help sustain a multitude of 'other' cultural and social practices that demonstrate various alternatives to a corporate vision for a city. They provide openings for transgression and subversion, as sites are (re)appropriated, reprogrammed and reused, new uses emerging from their original functions. Such acts of engagement, according to Landau, are preceded by a desire to 'collage one's collage onto another collage'

(Petrescu, 2005) to utilise what is already there to meet one's own needs and creativity.

2.3.2. Where Space Becomes Indeterminate

According to Doron (2000), they are neither slums, nor open spaces within the city nor natural, but are, for example, abandoned industrial sites, disused train yards, spaces along the streets' edges and beneath the linking bridges. He claims that such urban terrains are the effects of 'post-industrialism, the passing of time, wars, the nature of capitalism and parsimonious speculation (Doron, 2000). Additionally de Sola-Morales (1995) inferred that these strange places exist in the outer edge of the city's effective boundaries and dynamic structures, and from an economic point of view, symbolise places where the city is no longer (de Sola-Morales, 1995). Such interstitial, dis-used and marginal geographical spaces emerge in various urban locations and interpose the staged and controlled official public sites and the everyday, abundant spaces of the contemporary city. They usually lie outside the zones of official use and occupation, existing somewhere between commercial, recreational, residential and institutional zones.

Generally, indeterminate space is similar to everyday space. Crawford's "everyday urban space" includes vacant lots, walkways, front enclosures, parks and parking lots that have been appropriated for new and often temporary uses, that possess "multiple and shifting meanings rather than clarity of function" (Crawford, 1999). The range of sites overlaps somewhat with Lynch's "open space", which has "no necessary relation to ownership, size, type of use, or landscape character" and can include all "the negative (i.e. unbuilt), extensive,

loose, uncommitted” space in the city (Lynch, 1965). Those spaces are open and publicly accessible in the city and offer a freedom of choice. They also compromise physical elements that a user can appropriate and re-configure. Free entry to several open spaces, indistinctness among strange, a diversity of individuals and a variability of meaning are each among urban conditions that support looseness. Some kind of urban arrangements engender more complex spatial interconnections and interrelations and more adaptations than others. A greater variety of streets and land uses inspire the emergence of loose space (Franck and Stevens, 2007). According to Jacobs (1961), mixed-use districts with buildings of different sizes and ages and short blocks are vigorous and enduring because they do not have a tight, particular relation of form to function; they are loose and adaptable (Jacobs, 1961).

2.3.3. What Activities Make Space Indeterminate

Indeterminate space is predicated on group and individual activities. Frank and Steven (2007) described that both pre-planned and unplanned activities can make space loose. The occurrence of the activities might be temporary or long-term. In other words, they may occur only on one occasion or they may take place regularly on a consistent schedule. They may be unfamiliar, even strange, to passersby or regular occurrences in the urban sense. “They may be disruptive or uncontrollable. But, invariably, they are transitory no matter how long they stay, whether they last only a few minutes or months or years. Even if they are long lasting, they occur without official sanction and assurance of continuity and permanence from those in authority” (Franck and Stevens, 2007).

Jan Gehl, the architect and city planner, in his book of *Life Between*

Buildings (1987), takes a closer look at human behaviour and creates a typology for it, providing three types of outdoor activities: necessary activities, optional activities, and social activities. This research is focused on optional and social passive activities as the nature of public life in public spaces has quite radically changed with more people choosing to stay for optional rather than purely necessary activities until late evening. Optional activities are those activities that are not mandatory and are basically for leisure: promenading, sunbathing, or just getting a breath of fresh air, whereas passive social activities result from being in the same space as and being attracted to what others are doing in particular space.

In urban public spaces across the world, people track and follow a very rich variety of activities originally not intended for these locations. Sometimes these activities occur along with the primary, intended uses. “Many of the activities that generate the looseness are neither productive nor reproductive – being instead a matter of leisure, entertainment, self-expression or political expression, reflection and social interaction. Loose spaces allow for the chance encounter” (Franck and Stevens, 2007).

2.3.4. How Movement Patterns of Users Regulate the Indeterminate Space

Movement is a legitimate element of our understanding of the setting we find ourselves within. The activities we practice such as walking, cycling, driving and running through different environments affects and changes the way in which we use and engage with these places. They become three-dimensional and active, and in direct relation to us a reciprocal communication and influence takes place between them and us. Regulating our perception, sensitivity and appropriation of

environmental features, motion and pattern of movement is a fundamental part of our everyday life. Just as people may break free of intended uses and established meanings, they may also break free of restricted forms of compartment and movement. This means overcoming physical constraints or it may be a matter of relaxed social norms (Frank and Stevens, 2007).

The pattern of users' movement in public spaces is not accidental but directed by routine practice, persistent orientation, and the orders of objects and signs. These movements can be seen as a means of experiencing everyday space and as the paths that emerge in relation to the space (as place-based) of flows. The adaptation and alteration of public space into a patterned ground that proves essential for users to make sense of the space, their place within it, and their way through it, is the consequence of the repetition of these patterns and regularities of movement. Such prefiguring is the way used to break a public space, not only as a social representation of the possible and the legitimate, but also as a self-determination and freedom experience through antipathies counterbalancing against demarcation and division – from observation to investigation – by naturalisations of repetition. In a deeply patterned ground, the ground presented and perceived as a space of multiple uses, with multiple curves and routes, and multiple publics, instantaneously builds freedom and confines the social experience of the urban commons. In such spaces, the presence of control and detachment somehow vanish and disappear (Amin, 2006).

Moving across these spatio-temporal terrains necessarily involves users navigating, re-assembling and constituting the flows and rhythms occurring at the

'everyday', the temporalities of their intimate relations, and the connections that these temporalities have with broader influences located 'elsewhere' in other time-spaces. In indeterminate spaces, the actions of others may be quite unpredictable, as can be the speed and the direction of their movement. Often just being in such space with variety an unpredictable of movement, requires careful attention and negotiation; yet at other times and places, loose space allows for a reduction in attention and a chance of reflect or to shift attention beyond one's immediate environs (Frank and Stevens, 2007).

2.3.5. What Opportunities Encounter Indeterminate Space

Indeterminate spaces represent the 'domain of unfulfilled promise and unlimited opportunity' (Cupers and Miessen 2002). De Sola Morales (1995) claims that the relationship between the deficiency of use of activity and the sense of openness of expectation is necessary to apprehend the evocative possibilities of the terrains vague of the city. Urban void, absence, still promise the space of the potential and of anticipation. These territories can offer the 'possibility of an escape, from the controlled spaces' of the city, existing 'outside the consumerist onslaught, bombardment and encroachment of meaning, signification and messages' (Cupers and Miessen, 2002).

These undefined landscapes fulfill a number of different roles for different people. It can be argued that the seemingly less stringent legal and social standards in indeterminate spaces create unity and encourage people to act in ways that they would not otherwise do in more highly regulated urban contexts. These unregulated, diverse territories are rich in particular 'affordances'

(Tonnelat, 2008). As one moves through these landscapes, objects are seen as opportunities for use and appropriation.

In Lefebvre's discussion of "*appropriation*", he defines it as a spatial practice in which nature has been adapted in order to satisfy, meet and expand human needs and opportunities (Lefebvre, 1976). Appropriation, according to Chombart de Lauwe (1976), involves a whole a whole series of psychological processes of creating, relaxing, acting, dreaming and learning according to one's desires and projects. Appropriation is based on identification, whether or not reality is changed. So the psychosocial process in space appropriation is related to urban culture practices, perceptions, representations, desires, aesthetics and feelings, they entail the social and personal imaginary, and the dialectical relationships between the person and the urban space. The appropriation occurring through spontaneous practices is considered part of the struggle for the right to the city. It involves at the same time cognitive, affective, symbolic and aesthetic experiences, as well as explicit situations of power linked to the mode of property ownership and exclusion, and the emergent social practices which confront it in the dual city characterised by space fragmentation and social inequality.

Unlike the spectacle city where everything has a correct and assigned place, these areas are open to interpretation and manipulation and present a chance to demonstrate several extra characteristics and ways of presence, with no intervention of the physical, social and cultural demands that are attached to most other urban areas (Jorgensen and Tylecote, 2007). Cupers and Miessen (2002) also claim that such leftover territories provide a site for activities and behaviour

for which no other place is provided in the urban landscape, representing a space of social compensation, where society's excess pressure is discharged; where non-conformity is accepted as normal.

The qualities and characteristics of indeterminate spaces are increasingly overlooked within the built environment and have come to be seen, in the discourse of architectural practice, as a negative 'thing' and consequently are labelled detrimentally. Doron argues that labels such as 'void' and 'terrain vague' turn a consequence of the planning system and processes intrinsic to the urban environment and urban renewal into a negative, stigmatising space, rendering it as waste, generally marked on plans as white areas (Doron, 2000). Armstrong (2006) echoes Doron's ideas that within growing cities the qualities of the void, often unique to each spatial context, are frequently overlooked and lost to 'unrelenting development occupying these spaces within the urban form of late capitalism'. They are places that have been used but are now abandoned or given up, and thus represent, to an authoritarian viewpoint, unacceptable socio-economic abandonment (Lévesque, 2002) and dereliction. Such spaces, we argue, epitomise creative transformations of the urban landscape. Papastergiadis (2002) refers to such spaces as 'parafunctional spaces', arguing that social life is not simply abandoned or missing; rather it regenerates in ambiguous and irregular ways. This opportunist creativity does not rely on any authoritarian approval, for it is often covert and spontaneous.

Over time these non-prescriptive, liminal spaces acquire and express multiple and shifting social, aesthetic, political and economic meanings as

opposed to clarity of function and distinct identity. They provide the context for instances of ‘pure potentiality’ (Anderson, 2010) to unfold, allow for alternative readings of space and offer a context for activities normally prohibited. They are constantly reshaped and redefined as users reorganise and reinterpret them by spontaneous, often temporary activities. These informal zones provide rich opportunities for the transgression of normalised socio-spatial forms and practices as they are (re)appropriated, exposing dominant notions of appropriateness and ‘out of placeness’ (Cresswell, 1996).

It is the “indeterminacy of public space, along with its accessibility, [that] opens the space to other potentials: to activities not anticipated, to activities that have no other place, to activities that benefit from a relative lack of control and economic constraints” (Franck and Stevens, 2007). This kind of looseness characteristics and indeterminacy process offers a mixture of people with diverse desires, backgrounds and intentions to come together. This mixture of users encourages particularity in the urban public realm, fulfilling local practices and allowing the character of a place and culture to be demonstrated.

2.4. Urban Public Space and Indeterminacy in Doha

In the pre-oil era, Doha’s urban fabric was a glimpse of the traditional Arab town plan where the families’ houses were built in clusters connected through narrow sikkas (alleyways). These passageways were joined to the baraha (open plaza) close to the mosque and souq (market place). Baraha, souq and sikka were organised organically yet displayed a clear structure and used as a meeting place.

After the oil discovery, Doha's public spaces were created in the form of a park and promenade (Wiedmann, Salama, and Thierstein, 2012). The city was reshaped and a soft irregular shoreline was beached to the rigid, crescent-shaped of the Doha Bay in 1970s. The Corniche, the first modern landscape and the largest public and pedestrian space, resulted from the urban expansion occurred in view of economic boom (El Samahy and Hutzell, 2014). Creating a genetic code of modern Doha, Corniche is considered one of public spaces where people from different socioeconomic groups and cultural backgrounds have access to all parts of it. It must be noted, however, that the Corniche is not actually designated as a park or green space on official maps and documents (MMUP, 2010).

Following the development of Doha Bay and Sheraton Park, the urban open spaces in Doha were mostly developed in form of public parks such as AlBidda Park, AlMuntazah Park, and Dahl AlHamam Park.

Towards the end of 20th century, different urban open spaces varying in form, function, scale, and landscape were developed in Doha. These spaces are scattered around the city from its peripheries to its center. They are mostly located within enclave developments or within larger urban interventions, while others represent portions of spaces with dense urban districts or open waterfronts (Salama, Wiedmann, Khalfani, and AlMaimani, 2016). The dominant urban interventions within the metropolitan city of Doha that encounter some urban open spaces can be identified from north to south; Lusail City, Pearl Qatar Development, Katara Cultural Village, Msheireb City, Souq Waqif Development, and Museum of Islamic Art Development.

Little attention that has been paid to access and continuity of open spaces resulted the challenge of effective and efficient use of such spaces. Thus, the idea of developing and implementing AlFurjan (neighbourhoods) project that cover the main needs of the inhabitation of the neighborhood for consumer goods, services and recreation facilities emerged (MMUP, 2010). However, many of the spaces and gardens that are developed in district scale are abandoned and built for aesthetical purpose and lack sufficient outdoor seating and amenities, which could potentially enhance their use and social role within the districts.

The degree of public usage of urban open spaces in Doha varies dramatically. Different socio-economic groups appear to experience the city, its urban open spaces, and overall urban environment in very different ways. The stated urban open spaces that provide variety of activities and leisure opportunities cater to the main socio-economic groups of Qataris, Arabs and Westerners of mid-to high-income expatriates. These civic spaces are used recreationally but offer almost no amenities in their proximity and they have been mostly welcomed as rare opportunities for pedestrian life (Samahi and Hutzell, 2014). The lack of continuity of the urban open spaces, the affordability, the existence of necessary elements and facilities, and the limited access to the single low-income individuals, results in the spatial occupancy of the urban voids, all areas in the city whose functions and design have not yet been decided upon conclusively. These may reserve areas such as vacant buildings, unused properties, sidewalks, walkways, parking lots, and flattened lands. They are not at all voids – but contested places of social, economic, and cultural interests.

The occurrence of un-regulated spaces and the idea of the indeterminacy are perceptible and manifested all around the city where the inhabitants carve out a public realm of their own through appropriating the open space wherever available to become gathering place, football field or cricket pitch. An example of this kind of spaces could be found in old districts of inner Doha that are today suffering from neglect, decay and overcrowding to become urban slums and neighborhoods of disorder and destruction (Boussaa, 2014). The vast majority of metropolitan Doha is comprised of migrant and labour forces from South Asia (India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Nepal), who are excluded from the previously mentioned recreational public spaces. Instead, they opportunistically reuse and adapt the available spaces in the city, therefore, the concept of ‘the right to the city’ – the extent to which space is contested – can be extensively discussed. The spaces of the old districts of Doha comprise a richly textured atmosphere that reflects the various tactic movements of the residents, forming a distinct space of their own.

The rapid expansion of the city of Doha in 20th century introduced the notion of indeterminacy within the urban environments. The idea of indeterminacy invites the informal actors and passersby to use the urban voids and left over spaces and thus to define them. This has unsettled the legitimacy of urban planning and hence urban spatial development. Furthermore, it opens for conflicts over the meaning and function of the place. The emergence of indeterminate urban spaces that are abandoned in ‘time’ and ‘space’, deprived of their original meaning and use, and thus become obsolete. In some cases, these spaces are left without function, and serve as a place where activities different

from the functional planning take place, tolerating a diverse everyday experience. The short-term adaptive reuse of such unregulated spaces are more noticeable in the inner Doha and it is associated with the notions of everyday public spaces, and indeterminate spaces.

2.5. Approaches to the Examination of Indeterminate Public Spaces

This section reviews the theoretical bases of the approaches to the examination of public space concentrating on two disciplinary categories; the design disciplines and the social science disciplines, leading to interdisciplinary approach to best fulfill the aim and objectives of the study.

2.5.1. Design Disciplines Approach

Focusing on architecture, planning and urban design disciplines, the design approach is essentially normative, approaching the space from a physical perspective as an infinite entity, which is carved out into urban settings to create physical masses and voids or urban spaces. Because of the normative nature of the design approach disciplines, values are an inherent part of it. The morphological and historical analyses of urban settings are considered as two potential methods in the examination of public space. The morphological analysis examines the form and shape of the urban fabric of the city (Carmona et al, 2003). The historical analysis, however, studies the concept that a city is built over periods of time taking into account its historical nature.

2.5.2. Social Sciences Approach

In contrast with the design approach that concentrate on the physical aspects of the urban space, the social science disciplines' approach, with a spatial

focus, is mainly concerned with the people who create and use physical space. Two interrelated approaches among other approaches offered by social sciences disciplines appear relevant to this study; a focus on individuals and every day public life, and a focus on human's behaviour and environment in relation to public space. First approach explores the issues that include diversity in space, access, control, inclusion and exclusion. Second approach, however, has its root in semiotics and search for meanings, values and symbolisms that are encoded in built environment.

A cross-disciplinary approach focusing on integrative methods that merge design and social sciences approached together offer the best potential for application in the study. The research offer little normative morphological analysis, in addition to the behavioral approach focusing both on human-environment interaction and human-public life interface in relation to public space. In addition to understanding place in semiotic terms, the research focus on concept of place-making and production of space searching for certain values of social justice, participation and the significance by which place is formed and shaped to become an everyday space. Considering the socio-spatial approach to the examination of the urban public space, the research follow a normative theory of Good City Form (Lynch, 1989) offers a set of performance criteria approaching social relations and spatial form. The performance criteria of Lynch are considered to be corresponding to the notion of place-making as these criteria deal directly with the relationship between human values, activities, and urban form. These characteristics can be connected to the idea of everyday space as they refer to the direct social relations between users and the environment.

Chapter 3. RESEARCH APPROACH AND METHODS

3.1. Research Design

Despite the significance and intentions of planned intervention in place, the daily activities of people continue to influence the experience and sense of place. This is especially true in migrant communities where people have been left with few civic resources, are effectively marginalised and disenfranchised, and left to their own devices. Places become filled with local meaning specific to the needs and desires of the community. These indeterminate spaces are reflective of the cultural, spatial, socio-economic and daily realities shared by people and are made evident through the accumulation of actions and activities that are direct responses to these conditions and this is the essence of everyday spaces.

The following research is aimed at understanding the process of indeterminacy and the spatiality of indeterminate spaces with regards to temporary place-making and how they contribute to more meaningful, ethical and informal spaces. To this end the research uses a case study format to identify and describe the informal practices in old Doha neighbourhoods. The study is rooted in a specific context and is not intended to construct a universal approach to informal practices. Al Asmakh, Al Najada and Barahat Al Jufairi are selected as three particularly interesting neighbourhoods given their relative old age and transformation from an urban setting dedicated to Qataris in 1960s, to one dominated by low-income south Asian labourers today. The informal practices are noticed and determined through initial observations in the neighbourhoods in specific localities and public spaces within selected urban settings as follows:

1. Street Intersections: Public Squares
2. Sikka or Alleyway
3. Residential Roadway
4. Sidewalk of Shopfront streets

Those spaces are selected based on the diversity and enthusiasm of users and activities, building typology, mixture of ethnic groups and physical characteristics of the space. Each of these spots exhibited characteristics that correspond to theories of lived, everyday, indeterminate and loose space. Their spatial and temporal characteristics are related to the everyday life of the neighbourhood and appear to reflect the social and cultural values and beliefs of the majority. Different discourses of everyday urbanism stress temporal processes over urban form, and use value over exchange value in the experience, perception, and meaning of public space.

3.4. Research Framework

The research focuses upon selected indeterminate spaces within three urban settings that exemplify informal everyday actions of the urban poor. All three districts and selected indeterminate spaces demonstrate a strong tendency towards everyday urbanism and the process of indeterminacy.

This study is based on the framework that is intended to clarify the relationship between the informal everyday practices and actions, and their value in making the space loose and indeterminate through which the research questions are answered and the objectives are fulfilled. The investigation of indeterminate spaces and everyday urbanism in Doha encounters the understanding of two

models, as shown in figure 3.1.

The first model is related to understanding the process of indeterminacy by reviewing the literature on Doha's urban demography and morphology and the chronological analysis of morphological dimensions of selected urban settings, describing the natural, historical and spatial context respectively.

The second model is related to understanding and sympathetically grasping the spatiality of everyday indeterminate spaces. Therefore, the activities, meaning and physical attributes of such spaces are described relative to theories that have been appraised by reviewing the literature, like lived space, loose space, everyday urbanism, the right to the city, publicness and place-making.

Outlining the research questions helped in listing the concepts and aspects that the study aims to investigate and analyse, as shown in figure 3.2. These aspects and dimensions are process of indeterminacy; identity and familiarity; adaptability and flexibility; functionality and regulatory; and relevance and implication of indeterminacy. Going through the normative design approach and listing these dimensions conveys the set of performance criteria by Lynch. Thus, these performance criteria are selected to examine the activities in more detail and are expected to illustrate the cultural and social value of informal practices as well as spatial configuration of space. The research identifies and describes the activities and experiences of users in terms of spatial and temporal space characteristics, a profile of the users and observers as they relate to the space and the images that they manifest.

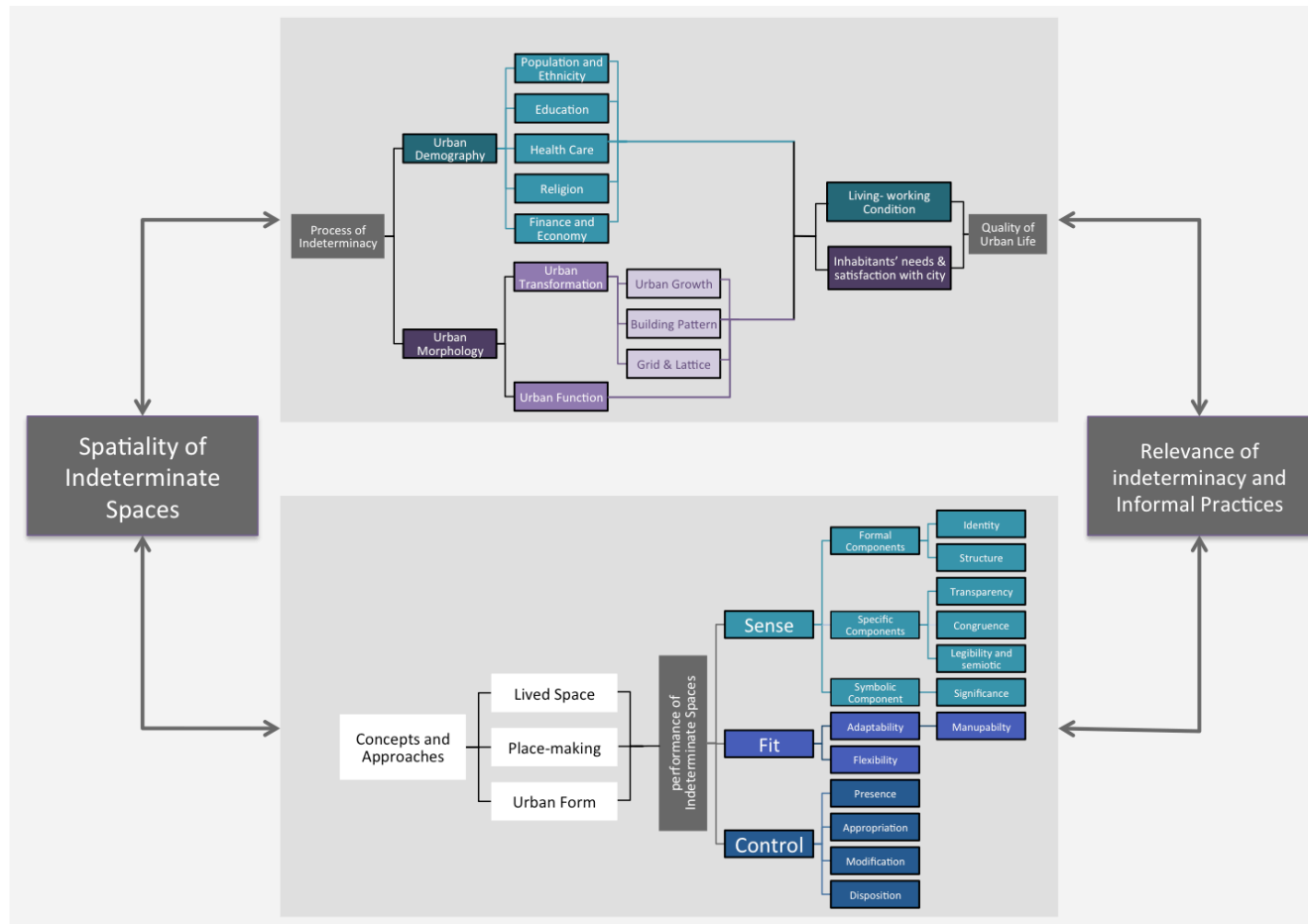


Figure 3.1. Theoretical framework based on two models. The first model is composed of dimensions by which the process of indeterminacy can be understood and the second model reflects the evaluative criteria for assessing the performance of indeterminate space.

Accordingly, the spatiality of indeterminate spaces is evaluated using Lynch's performance dimensions and they are examined in relation to the existing normative performance criteria. The final finding uses both the lived space description, and the performance criteria to determine the overall value of indeterminacy of such places as result of everyday experience and practices of migrants.

Since this study is aimed at evaluating the space and not the entire city, only the three most relevant dimensions are used to appraise the setting of a smaller scale where the informal practices are noticeable. These three criteria are derived from the remaining criteria of Lynch's normative theories of urban, as well as contemporary place-making and loose space literature. Therefore, the elements of indeterminate space are evaluated using only three dimensions of sense, fit and control, broken down into sub-dimensions, which are more explained in greater detail below.

Sense – (degree to which space is controlled in *time and space by users*)

According to Lynch, Sense is described as the degree to which the settlements can be clearly perceived and mentally differentiated and structured in time and space by its residents, and the degree to which that mental structure connects with their values and concepts – “the match between environment, our sensory and mental capabilities and our cultural construct” (Lynch, 1984). The sub-dimensions of sense are intended to reveal the way users experience the place in relation to the activities. These include:

- a. Identity – the way users associate with activity

- b. Structure – the way activity is structured
- c. Congruence – the way activity relates to context
- d. Transparency – the way activity reveals the context
- e. Legibility – the way easily others can determine the meaning
- f. Significance – the way activity reveals cultural and social values and history

Identity and structure are the formal components of sense. Congruence, transparency and legibility are specific components that connect the environment to other aspects of our lives. All of these can be analysed in some rather direct and objective ways in the sense that the analysis is open to replication and the material is quite properly subjective. Symbolic Significance, on the other hand, the deepest level of legibility, can be intuited but is at its root, elusive (Lynch, 1984).

Fit (*the match between human activity and form in its behaviour settings and circuits*)

Fit as one of the performance criteria of urban setting refers to how well its spatial and temporal pattern matches the everyday behaviour of its inhabitants. Lynch explained this dimension as “the degree to which the form and capacity of spaces, channels, and equipment in a settlement match the pattern and quantity of actions that people customarily engage in, or want to engage in – that is, the adequacy of the behaviour settings, including their adaptability to future action. The sub-dimensions of fit embrace adaptability and flexibility, measuring the ability of the local practice, activity or users to manipulate and adapt to spaces and the needs of the neighbourhood.

- a. Adaptability – match between form and behaviour

- i. Manipulability – amount a space is changed
- b. Flexibility – dealing with uncertainty and continuity in use

Control (*extent to which users have control over the use of space*)

The idea behind this dimension is the informal and spatial controls of human space. Lynch explains this aspect as “the degree to which the use and access to spaces and activities, and their creation, repair, modification, and management are controlled by those who use, work or reside in them,” (Lynch, 1984). The measure of control examines the ability of the user to manage the informal practices and exercise a degree of spatial rights through the practices. The Control of space is important to environment quality in any social context: rich or poor, centralised or decentralised, homogeneous or heterogeneous, stable or fluid. But it is particularly critical in a changing, pluralistic society, where power is unequally distributed and problems are large in scale.

In summary, the framework of the research is drawn using the principle of place-making; the conceptual dimensions of lived space and Kevin Lynch’s performance criteria. Whether the activity or practice is meaningful is based on the dimension of sense. This allows for a wide range of considerations as to what is meaningfully necessary in this study. The ability for users to adapt to and manipulate urban form and experience, while not a traditional model of contribution, has been clarified through the dimension of fit. The measure of integrity is formed through a consideration of the control. The continuum of spatial rights (presence, appropriation, modification and disposition) helps to illustrate the ability of the users to live out their daily lives.

3.5. Research Methodology

The research questions and the objectives of this study are answered and achieved through a investigating three adjacent districts and selecting different indeterminate public spaces applying a case study methodology that is often used in research focuses on the environmental-behavioural research. Applying this method, diverse types of everyday spaces within chosen neighbourhoods are selected to utilise a theoretical framework drawn from the concept of lived space, moralities from place-making practices, and a set of performance criteria of urban form. This method focuses on qualitative approach to understand users' perception and observer's point of view. The selection is more focused on vital everyday spaces and streets in which diversity of population background, street use, activities, and building typology could be noticed.

As shown in figure 3.2, the preliminary techniques of information gathering include chronological analysis of historical maps, *GIS layering* and *photography*, and *interviews* with users of selected spaces and streets. In addition to these techniques, systematic observation is implemented utilising: *photography* and *video capturing* that seizes the dynamic flow of activities in the spaces and also shows informal nature of activities that take place there, *field-note observation* that evaluates the perception of different groups of inhabitants within the migrant communities and finally *behavioural mapping* that designates the behaviour of the inhabitants and users of selected spaces and shows the activities and practices they impose in the spaces.

Utilising the techniques of human-environment behaviour studies, two

types of methodological procedures are designed to conduct social and systematic surveillance studies in the selected areas within Doha’s old centre.

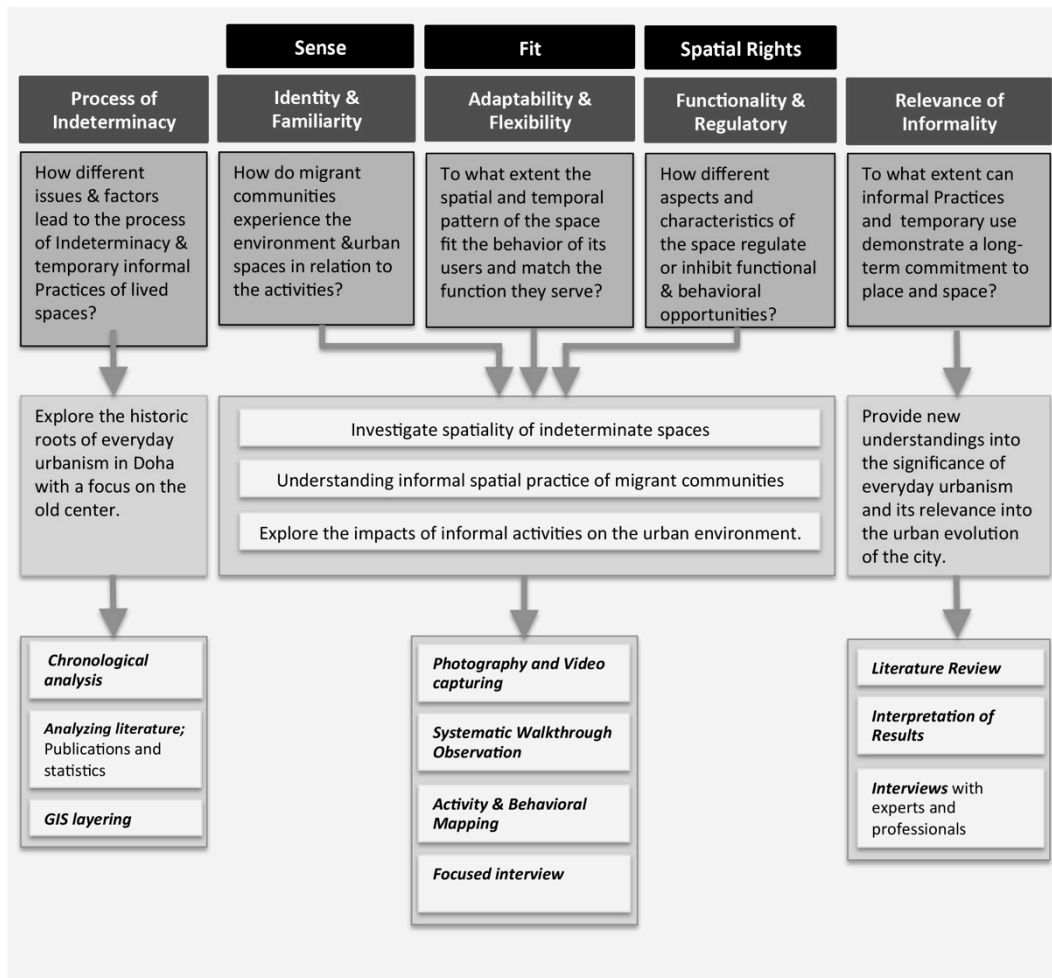


Figure 3.2. Diagram showing the relation between the research questions, objectives and methodologies, as well as evaluative principals of the study.

The choice of these particular two methods is based on and influenced by the work of William H. Whyte, Jan Gehl, and recently Quentin Stevens (Gehl, 1987; Whyte, 1980; and Stevens, 2007b). First is formative observation that offers a more structured and developed list that is intended to elucidate how the physical environment offers and provides different opportunities in terms of use, satisfaction of social and psychological needs, and provenance of meaning. A surveillance method of this type is useful for gaining an understanding of the

spatial, socio-cultural, economic and environmental contexts in selected spaces, and the relationships among and between people, contexts, ideas, norms, and events. The effectiveness of this technique is in granting an understanding of how the space's physical structure affects the users' behaviour. Yet relying exclusively on observations has a particular limitation in that they describe only what is there without explaining why particular forms of behavioural performance take place. Hence, data from observation are complemented by interviews and discussions, as well as content analysis of media reports. Given the language difficulties and the political restrictions in terms of conducting research in public within the city of Doha in general, and in the selected zone in particular, the interviews were conducted only when possible.

The second method utilised is socio-behavioural activity mapping, a systematic method for describing what users of a space do within it. It is a direct approach, unlike other methods that require the indirect involvement of inhabitants and view people as 'objects' by recording their periodic behaviour and activities. By mapping the activities taking place in a setting within an arranged time interval, behavioural mapping is considered the most useful method. Systematic observation involves aspects that include people, activities, setting or space and timing (Sanoff, 1991), movement, or the perception of public spaces. Data was captured via a walkthrough method by the researcher as a resident of Doha. The choice of spaces relating to ethnic groups was enabled through a deep knowledge and understanding of how different nationalities dress and identification of facial features, in addition to investigative chats with street users and shopkeepers.

In addition to the aforementioned techniques, videography is used as complementary tool and method. While the behavioural map illustrates a compelling visual image of how activities are distributed over time and space, videography reveals the inner dynamics and restraints of everyday interfaces. The required notes were taken from video recordings, photography and informal chats with street users and occupiers.

All aforesaid methods are selected to construct a clear systematic relation between the research questions and objectives, as well as the elements of lived space, performance criteria of urban form, and place-making principles. As shown in figure 3.1, these elements of the research are relative and complementary to the main objective of the study, which is to investigate indeterminate spaces in the old city of Doha.

3.6. Data Collection

The selected case studies are clearly guided by the research questions and objectives. The aforementioned selected models (presented in figure 3.1.) are described using data collected through reviewing relevant publications, observations and interviews. The documentation process and collection of data are performed on the base of an analytical/theoretical framework in order to gather the information significant to the study. With the data collection process achieved, the migrant labourers' practices within selected indeterminate spaces are analysed and evaluated along with the concepts, criteria derived from the review of the existing concept and approaches of indeterminate space, urban form and the right to the city. Sufficient time was allowed to conduct the collection of data. The

techniques and procedures used to accomplish the documentation process are described below.

The primary data used for this study is obtained through systematic observation, personal interviews and photography-video capturing. However, the secondary data used are obtained from earlier publications like journals, textbooks, the Qatar Statistic Authority (QSA), Ministry of Municipality and Urban Planning (MMUP), and the Permanent Population Committee (PPC) in the State of Qatar. Additional information to explain and validate observations of activities was collected through literature review.

Preliminary observations have been conducted over a four-week period, in December 2014, to formulate research direction and aims. The initial observations occurred at a larger scale to identify locations to be observed in more detail. Particular consideration was paid to the relationship between the locations of informal practices in relation to the space and the users. The following research is conducted over a period of eight months from February to September. The primary six months, from March to the end of June, were dedicated to gathering information and collecting data. However, the last three months was focused on writing the research and interpreting the findings and figures.

Times and locations are varied in order to provide a representative perspective of indeterminacies and their position in the context of the neighbourhood both temporally and spatially. The time interval for observations are selected based on the primary observations and background knowledge of the time of users' presence in the space, focusing particularly on the vibrancy of using

the space on weekday evenings and early mornings and during afternoon peak hours to the evening period on weekends.

Interviews take place in conjunction with observations directed towards understanding the user's perspective of indeterminate spaces. The population sought for interviews is based on the objective of collecting user perspectives and perceptions of those selected everyday spaces. The sample was randomly selected and interview was instructed in friendly bases with the occupants of the space. Users are determined to be those who either live, work or regularly visit the neighbourhood, typically migrant labourers. The users' descriptions are explained in greater detail at the end of this chapter. Twenty interviews were conducted in the neighbourhood to collect information and understand the user perceptions of the spaces investigated.

Moreover, focused interviews were conducted with five experts and professionals from different institutes and agencies, most particularly, stakeholders and sponsors of future projects in selected urban settings.

3.7. Structuring Observation

Both the performance criteria and intangible dimensions of everyday space have been considered to structure the information obtained from observations and interviews. The framework designed for structuring the observations to evaluate the migrant labourers practices within the selected indeterminate spaces is flexible and it is not necessary that each practice adapt to the following descriptive dimensions. However, these dimensions function as a base for questioning and are organised for quick reference.

The activities, users and images produced, as well as the experience or sense of place are all deliberated and illustrate the case in terms of social production of space, the interventions, and the meaning and perception of images produced for both the users and observers. Moreover, the performance criteria are selected to clearly identify the relationship among social activities and the design of selected urban settings, offering both subjective and qualitative measures to analyse the correlation related to socio-cultural context. Bearing in mind that there is no standard by which each practice is assessed or evaluated, the criteria provide a guide to observation in defining what should be measured.

3.8. Analysis of Data and Research Conclusion

Using the summary of literature about the relevant existing concept of approaches, a set of values will guide the findings and final analysis. Here, the intention is to investigate the migrant labourers' practices and to determine the value of their activities. Measures identify whether the everyday practices are *meaningful* through studying the sense criteria, *participatory* through studying the fit criteria, and *just* through examining the spatial right criteria. These measures are derived from the selected performance criteria of Lynch's normative theories of urban form and the existing concepts relevant to indeterminacy process.

The two selected models are considered to be complementary, while understanding the urban demography and morphology of the city in general and the districts in particular, serves to grasp the idea of indeterminacy and why, when and how it is produced; the performance criteria and identified measures are useful in translating how the everyday practices within selected indeterminate

spaces demonstrate a long term commitment to place and space. Moreover, these measures are used to detect the migrant labourers-urban interaction in relation to their activities. The adequacy of the spatial pattern of the space in relation to the behaviour of the labors and the level of balance among the movement pattern and function of the space are also captured using the same measures. In addition, these criteria help in perceiving the inhibited functional and behavioural opportunities in selected downgraded neighbourhoods and identify the aspects and characteristics through which the spaces are regulated.

Chapter 4. INTRODUCTION TO STUDY CONTEXT

4.1. Urban Evolution of Doha

Providing an interesting illustration of a city that has recently witnessed fundamental changes in its demography and urban development, Doha has launched unprecedented nationwide development that deserves investigation. Its evolutionary periods are illustrated in three distinctive urban development stages: pre-oil, oil discovery and post-oil periods.

4.1.1. Pre-oil Period

The records of urban evolution of Doha date back to the mid-19th century, when the Al Maadhid tribe moved from the northern coast of Qatar towards the eastern coast, relocating themselves in the settlement of Al Bida at the location of old fishing village (Adam, 2008: 221). Due to the prosperous pearl trade at the beginning of 20th century, the settlement of Al Bida grew along the shoreline to accommodate almost 12,000 inhabitants. Yet, Doha's population decreased rapidly in 1930s due to the discovery of cultured pearls created by pearl farmers in Japan (Al Buainain, 1999: 149). The growth of Al Bida, later called Doha, resulted from the need to access the sea and water sources, as well as the distribution of land to tribes, each living segregated in their own areas. The public areas for social interaction were the harbour, souq and mosque to which each district was directly linked via alleyways named Sikak (Al Buainain, 1999: 181-190). The network of passages was developed following no specific planning or regulation, but was rather the result of sequenced building for extended families as most construction was undertaken within the family tribe (Salama and Wiedmann,

2013). Thus both environmental and socio-cultural factors shaped the built environment and formed the growth of the settlement, an organic pattern that evolved in the norm of clustered courtyard houses to form districts directly linked via passageways to the central socio-economic spine of the settlement.

4.1.2. Oil Discovery Period

The transformation of Doha from a traditional pre-oil settlement to that of an oil city was extremely rapid. Based on Qatar's factsheet published on the website of Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), oil was discovered on the western side of the country in 1935, however commercial exportation only started during World War II from 1939 to 1940. Revenue was mainly invested in infrastructural services such as road construction and the supply of potable water and electricity, with a larger focus on road services to support the transition of inhabitants from the west to the east of the country where the city of Doha was located. As the location of ruling family's residence, Doha became the centre of modern urbanization (Salama and Wiedmann, 2013). The oil discovery and an absence of a knowledgeable workforce led to a noticeable number of foreign immigrants arriving in the country at that time, resulting in unexpected population growth to over 83,000, with a workforce comprised of only 25% Qataris according to a census published in 1970. In order to accommodate this workforce, the concept of public housing was introduced in 1964, resulting in the growth of the city towards the oilfields and airport located on the west and southeast sides respectively (Al Buainain, 1999:217-219). The uncoordinated development of fragmented housing was constructed around the old centre and its

port, which were progressively relying on cars as the key form of transportation. It was in the 1950s that the self-governed districts of the pre-oil period were eliminated and Doha witnessed rapid development as its economy grew considerably, followed by a remarkable rise in standards of living.

4.1.3. Post-oil Period

In the 1980s, at the beginning of the post-oil stage, Doha unsuccessfully attempted to compete with other cities and become global. But since the mid-1990s onward, the country transformed from a fishing and pearl-based economy into a diverse economy after the discovery of oil. Following a change in the state's rulership and the 1995 rise of His Highness Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani – the former ruler of Qatar 1995 and now 'the Father Emir' – new strategies to entrench Qatar within international and regional networks, and to develop an iconic city into a global hub were implemented (Fromherz, 2012). These strategies achieved the construction boom that initiated the flow of labour forces.

With the steady flow of income and thanks to an abundance of natural gas resources, the city has been systematically modernised (Salama and Wiedmann, 2013). Oil and gas revenues were invested to develop the city in political, socio-economic, cultural and infrastructural terms. The successful hosting of several cultural, political and sport events of regional and international importance have been supplemented by the development of cultural landmarks, real estate projects, and sport and educational districts (Adam, 2008: 239).

The development and growth of Doha was planned carefully and soon new

ideas began to emerge to redevelop the old centre in an effort to preserve the nation's identity. Part of that plan was an investment in skyscrapers, which has manifested in a diverse range of architecture creating the Doha skyline (see figure 4.1.). Reshaping the city's urban morphology, Doha skyline grew from two- to three-storey white stone buildings into massive skyscrapers constructed along the shoreline of the city.



Figure 4.1. Doha skyline, 1985 to 2011, from bottom to top respectively.

Currently Doha is passing through another development stage, where large-scale master planned projects are intended to remodel the morphological image of the city from that of fragmented clustering toward more integrated

developments and enhanced urban links. Underpinning this development strategy is the all-inclusive Qatar National Vision 2030 and Qatar National Development Strategy 2011-2015, which aim to further diversify the country to a knowledge-based economy and strengthen its reputation as the Middle Eastern heart of knowledge and creation.

In summary, as illustrated in figure 4.2, the city was first noticed as a small fishing and pearling village, its development in the pre-oil period a product of its inhabitants' direct interaction with their surroundings. The first foray into modernisation took place during the oil discovery period when development took place beside traditional settlements with an incoherent scattered urban structure. Subsequently, the development of the Corniche – the perfectly crescent-shaped shoreline that embraces Doha Bay – and the formation of central planning and the introduction of ring roads along with new districts, further enhanced the modernisation efforts of the country. In the years that followed, Doha's urban form traced that of urban sprawl and a car-dependent city. In 1990s, Doha began to be recognised as global hub following the establishment of large-scale projects. After being awarded the hosting rights for the FIFA World Cup 2022, Qatar's reputation on the world stage as a global city was firmly established.



Figure 4.2. Chronological analysis of Doha’s urban growth with attendant economic systems and rulership.

4.2. Introducing The Case Study Area

To perceive the degree to which everyday activities are performed in a city exposing to a high degree of power and control, these transformative processes should be discussed as they occur in Doha, specifically in low-income neighborhoods. Thus, the study is rooted in the old downtown of Doha embedding specific context as shown in figure 4.4 and 4.5.

Al Asmakh, Al Najada and Barahat Al Jufairi are selected as three particularly interesting neighborhoods given their relative old age and transformation from being selected as an urban setting for Qataris from 1947 to the 1960s, to one now dominated by low-income south Asian labourers.



Figure 4.3. Doha Zoning Map indicating the location of selected urban settings

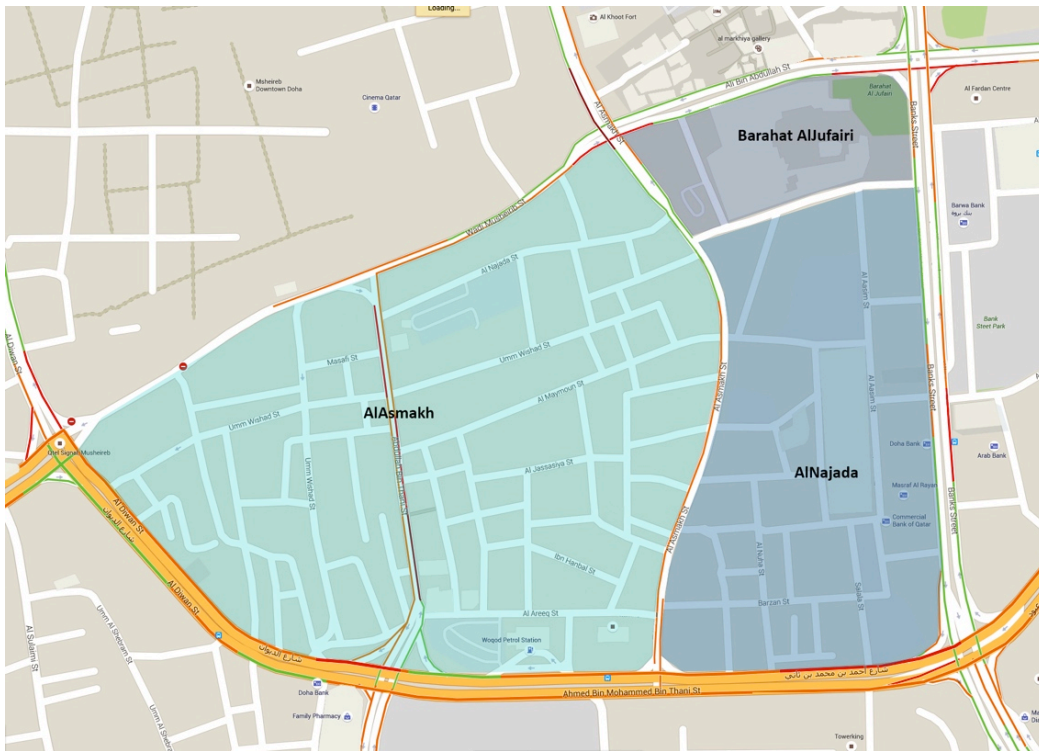


Figure 4.4. The map of Zones 4 and 5 of Doha incorporates the old neighbourhoods of Al Asmakh, Al Najada and Barahat Al Jufairi

Using the old Doha centre as the context for this research, the selected districts serve several purposes. Firstly, like many other neighbourhoods in city centre, the social dynamics of these old districts have been altered dramatically, though this study is not attempting to resolve these dramatic changes. Secondly, the neighbourhoods function as correspondent examples of an everyday indeterminate space. Moreover, these sites offer a rich environment for cross-examining the various tactics employed by the inhabitants of neighbourhood to entrap the space to one that is distinctly their own. Moreover, the opaque level of commercial street usage and the temporary uses of indeterminate spaces in these districts offer the opportunity to investigate and explore issues related to relocation of migrant labourers, everyday urban living and racial identity. In addition their accessibility prior to and during the research period made possible

the extensive observations necessary.

The following description presents both morphological and demographic analyses of selected urban districts to best understand the process of indeterminacy and why, when and how spaces become indeterminate.

4.2.1. Urban Morphology of Selected Districts

Illustrating the formation and transformation of Al Asmakh, Al Najada and Barahat Al Jufairi helps in understanding why the specific urban spaces within are transferred to leftover indeterminate spaces. This section seeks to understand the spatial structure of selected urban settings by examining the patterns of movement, street patterns, land use and building patterns through a cartographic process and comparison of historic maps.

Urban Transformation

The first aerial photograph of the chosen urban settlement was taken in 1947, as shown in figure 4.5. At that time both Barahat Al Jufairi and upper part of Al Najada districts were comprised of a highly dense pattern of Arabic courtyard houses. The spread of courtyard houses were extended to the empty area of Al Asmakh, which had only three houses at that time. Over time, the urban settings developed in a gradual but unregulated manner in conjunction with the growth and expansion of the family. In other words, from the 1930s to mid-1950s, the formation of the selected urban settings was a tangible depiction of the socio-cultural structure of the area. This physical illustration of the old districts reflects the social inter-linkages of the people who were in residence, and who flowed between them. After the transgression or intervention of physical organisation of

these neighbourhoods, the social links between the residents were affected.



Figure 4.5. The map of Zones 4 and 5 of Doha City incorporates the old neighbourhoods of Al Asmakh, Al Najada and Barahat Al Jufairi.

The key characteristic of a courtyard house, however, is not its context but rather that it represents a fundamentally different conception of space from the modern house form. In the courtyard house, outdoor space is captured and included in the residential volume and ultimately becomes the heart of its morphology that serves Doha's climate well. The traditional building configuration illustrated the *sikak* (plural of the word *sikka*, which means alleyway), a pattern shaped to give people the ability to encounter each other in a series of unregulated meeting points. It is worth mentioning that these open areas were effectively a series of *majaalis* (plural of word *majlis*, which means the male sitting room), well ordered in a gradual manner, flowing from the inner private part of the house to the larger public spaces.

In 1950s, the courtyard houses system continued in a more fragmented way and the settlement footprint expanded inland. However, due to the expansion of the districts towards the west and south, the districts began to transform into car-oriented communities. With an increasing demand for transportation in order to move around greater urban conurbations, the importance of the street grew and the pattern of movement changed for the most part. The formation of street patterns introduced the contradiction within which spatial interfaces were enjoyed. It also initiated a dichotomy within the pedestrian areas and *sikak*. The analysis of the aerial photo of 1959 (see figure 4.6) revealed that although the original adobe settlement footprint remained, some of the vernacular adobe structures were progressively replaced by courtyard houses on the edge of the urban settings and the street patterns were well defined. At a local level, the road system caused fragmentation within the urban settings and around the immediate context.



Figure 4.6. Aerial photo of Al Asmakh, Al Najada and Barahat Al Jufairi taken in 1959. Source: GIS Qatar, Ministry of Municipality and Environment.

The story of urban expansion and courtyard pattern continued up to the mid-1960s. During that time the outflow of Qataris to urban peripheries began, and the indigenous population was relocated to the new suburban development (Nagy, 2006). This resulted in an influx of the migrant labour force into the old, heritage-rich and regularly cheaper districts of Doha. Later, in the second half of the 1960s, the medium rise vernacular building started to replace the courtyard houses adjoining the streets, disregarding the existed urban encounters. In 1973, the streets were widened and a roundabout placed at the intersection of the main streets, accentuating the edges of Al Asmakh, Al Najada and Barahat Al Jufairi neighbourhoods further to more distinct borderlines as shown in figure below.



Figure 4.7. Aerial photo of Al Asmakh, Al Najada and Barahat Al Jufairi taken in 1973. Source: GIS Qatar, Ministry of Municipality and Environment.

During the 1980s, many courtyard houses were demolished and either replaced by medium-rise towers of commercial and residential use or the land was unused, increasing the urban voids. Barahat Al Jufairi was thoroughly demolished and only some small buildings on the edge were retained. The eastern edge of Al Najada was flattened to accommodate a bank's headquarters. Al Asmakh, however, faced a transformation in its urban voids that were mostly converted to parking lots and the edges overlooking the street accommodated a series of low- to medium-rise office and residential towers. The only noticeable change in the building pattern of these urban settings in the mid-1990s was the construction of a large open square, today called Barahat Al Jufairi. This change was followed by an increase in the number of towers and residential departments penetrating from the edge toward the centre of the quarters.



Figure 4.8. Historical map of selected neighbourhoods in 1987. Source: GIS Qatar, Ministry of Municipality and Environment.

Based on the historical map of 1995 and 2008, presented as figure 4.9 and 4.10 respectively, the edges of the selected districts were transformed to occupy more towers, and a significantly greater demand for parking lots resulted in the allocation of a large parcel of land within Al Najada to serve as a parking lot for bank headquarters. In addition, the street intersection and quarter's corners beatification were of a concern to the Doha Municipality.



Figure 4.9. Aerial photo of Al Asmakh, Al Najada and Barahat Al Jufairi taken in 1995. Source: GIS Qatar, Ministry of Municipality and Environment.

In 2013, due to the demolition of the Msheireb district located on the north edge of Al Asmakh, and the newly developed master plan of a metro railway, the northwestern corner of Al Asmakh was flattened to construct a metro station. On the opposite edge, since the beginning of 2014 until today, Barahat Al Jufairi Square is under a restoration programme as part of an extension of Souq Waqif (see figure 4.11).



Figure 4.10. 2008 historical map of selected districts. Source: GIS Qatar, Ministry of Municipality and Environment.

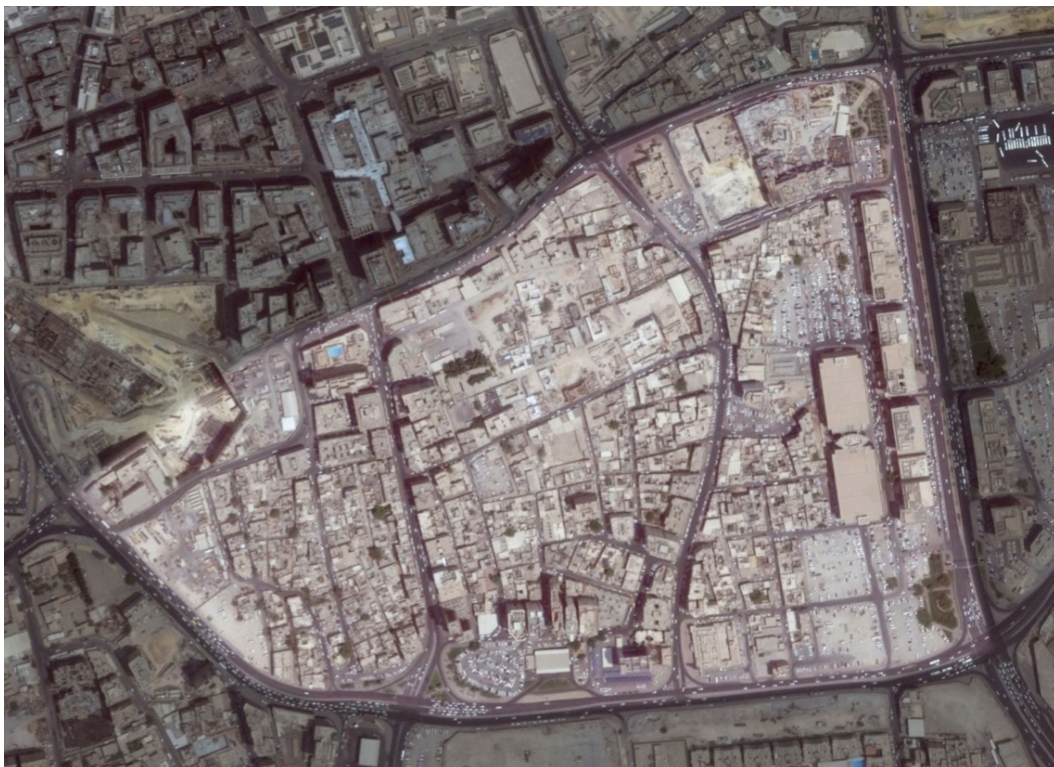


Figure 4.11. Aerial photo of districts taken in 2014. Source: GIS Qatar, Ministry of Municipality and Environment.

Urban Functions

Analysis of the urban function and land use of selected neighbourhoods aims to understand two elements: the nature of land use, focusing on which activities are taking place where the level of spatial accumulation indicates the intensity and concentration of activities.



Figure 4.12. Land use map of Al Asmakh, Al Najada and Barahat Al Jufairi dated 2014. Source: GIS Qatar, Ministry of Municipality and Environment.

The original settlement was built as residential districts of compact courtyard houses with some public services like mosques, bakeries and cemeteries in between the residential units. Thus the land uses were mostly limited to housing accommodations. Since the 1950s and the challenges of urban transport and car-based ideas, the urban land use changed to accommodate more commercial and retail uses. Some of the historical buildings that were built then stand out today as the area currently includes a thriving shopping centre located on commercial streets like Shara'a Al-Asmakh, and Shara'a Wadi Msheireb among many other interior roads that house thousands of residents and hundreds of shops. The

selected old districts are considered part of a busy downtown, close to the under-construction mixed-use Msheireb district and the main market area called Souq Waqif. Narrow roads and small shops characterise these neighbourhoods and there is very high labourer foot traffic and peak-hour traffic at all times. As shown in the land use map, the commercial and mixed-use development is concentrated on the edge of the main and secondary roads, while the residential accommodation is mainly located in the centre of each zone, allowing easier vehicular access to the retail and selling area.

The analytical review of the urban transformation of Al Asmakh, Al Najada and Barahat Al Jufairi indicates that they have been transformed from those neighbourhoods, which grew naturally, or organically, as a result of building courtyard houses for extended families, to one dominated by super blocks of medium-rise residential and commercial postmodern buildings. In the early days, both environmental and socio-cultural factors shaped the built environment and bent the growth of the neighborhoods. The organic pattern evolved in the norm of clustered courtyard houses that were directly linked via walkways to a central main spine of the settlement. As shown in the figure 4.13, the modern movement of the city in early 1960s affected the districts, characterising the actions of somewhat larger agencies. This resulted in an eventual change in the image of the districts from typical residential neighbourhoods to economically flexible zones, from pedestrian-oriented to vehicular-oriented, from narrow alleyways to roadways, and from high-density low-rise small houses to high-density medium-rise super blocks.

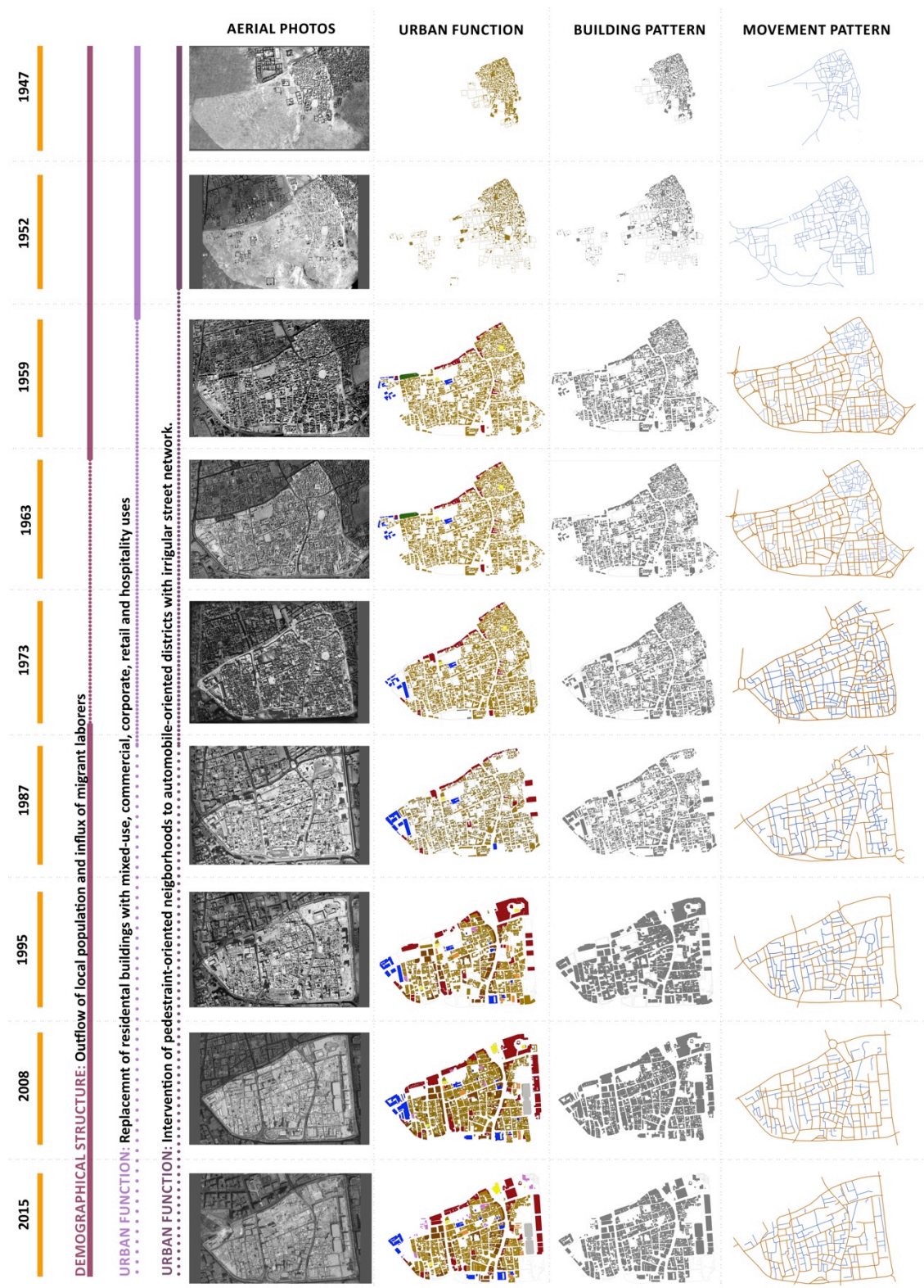


Figure 4.13. Chronological analysis of Al Asmakh, Al Najada and Barahat Al Jufairi districts using cartographic map and GIS Layering tools

The vibrancy of these neighbourhoods and the decentralisation of the city of Doha in the 1990s resulted in the emergence of urban voids or empty spaces in an urban landscape, as the construction of new buildings most of the on flatten plots failed. With the increasing number of vehicles, most of those underutilised urban voids are used as parking spaces. In other words, the growing demands of traffic in these districts resulted in filling all possible spaces with moving and parked cars. Other urban voids and flattened spaces are used as encounters and meeting points which the current inhabitants – migrant labourers – use for daily activities. Additionally, the concern of retaining the architectural heritage and tangible inheritance of the districts has been followed by the evacuation of some buildings and the development of leftover spaces that has introduced even more types of temporary uses.

The formation and changes occurred in the morphological structure of the selected neighbourhoods directed toward improving the economic and social viability along the streets and roadways. However, the intervention of the inner part of the districts enquires about the quality of urban life. Bringing the issue to the present day, the internal segments of the neighbourhoods are currently of concern to the government, due to be revitalised and adaptively reused, yet with no clear vision for use patterns (Abdullah M.A, 2015).

In summary, the morphology of the selected districts has undergone considerable changes during the past century as manipulations of the figure-ground maps have revealed successive alterations in the urban fabric. The neighbourhoods became diffuse as the car began to penetrate the urban structure

of the localities, greatly intensifying the space allocated for roads and parking spaces. The illustrations of the mass-to-voids relationship as well as the trace of urban grids present a shift in the fragmentation of the figure-ground of the formerly defragmented dense districts. The current urban condition of the chosen urban settings has proven problematic and promotes infilling and reclamation of leftover areas to achieve a more continuous urban fabric consistent with contextual urban surroundings.

4.2.2. Urban Demography of Selected Districts

To better understand the characteristics of the selected zones and the population occupying it, an overview of its demographics has been completed, focusing on the number of inhabitants, their nationalities, the economy of the zones, educational and healthcare facilities, as well as transportation and infrastructure amenities.

Population and Ethnicity

Unfortunately, no survey on population was conducted in early 1990s to understand the occupation of nationals on the selected zones. However, based on the districts' urban transformation and expansion and a noticeable increase in number of residential units, it could be estimated that the population has steadily grown. The local inhabitants' transition toward city peripheries had an effect on the population density of the zones under study, as the locals' transition to the edges of the city was accompanied by the movement of migrant labourers into these vacated districts. The census studies for 1986, 1997, 2004 and 2010 show that the population density of Al Asmakh, Al Najada and Barahat Al Jufairi

increased progressively from 1986 towards 2004, hosting 12,830 inhabitants. However, due to the new urban interventions and urban governance, most of labourers were moved to labour camps located in the city’s industrial areas. Consequently, the population of the districts was reduced by one-third in 2010. The populace of Zone 4 and 5 has remained almost stable until today as shown in figure below.

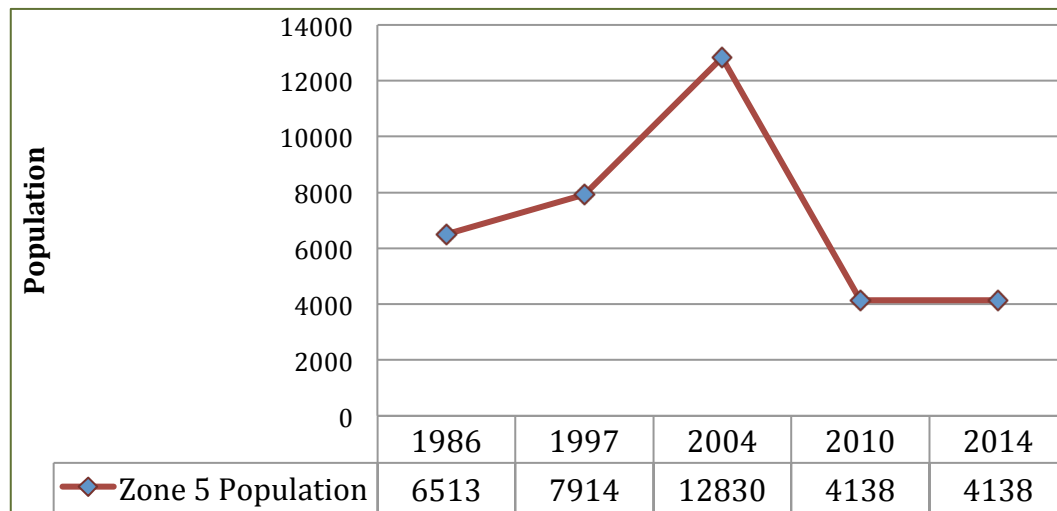


Figure 4.14. The population growth and decline of selected districts

None of the annual statistic abstracts and population censuses indicate the population of Doha’s districts based on race and nationality. Though, on the basis of a chronological review of the city, it is predictable that in the early 1990s, these zones were mostly occupied by Qatari families, mostly Hadar, or town dwellers. Other social groups included Ajam, descendants of Persian merchants, craftsmen and boat builders who travelled to Qatar during scarcities in Persia (modern-day Iran), so-called Arab Al Hawla, whose families have historic links to Arabia (before moving to Persia and ultimately back to the Arab coast); as well as the Abd, a minority of Qataris who have blood ties to the African slaves transported to the Arabian Gulf from Oman and Zanzibar (Nagy, 2006). During the 1960s and

after the movement pattern of local inhabitants to the city's peripheries, these downgraded districts became home to migrant workers and low-income labourers, most of whom come from East to Southeast Asia.

Finance and Economy

Al Asmakh, Al Najada and Barahat Al Jufairi districts are capital business districts occupied by low-income labourers with an average monthly salary of QR1000. However, the districts are active with a diverse range of economic activities. A variety of businesses are located on the main and secondary streets and within residential areas as shown in figure 4.15. The Al Asmakh neighbourhood is well known for shops offering computer services and accessories, hardware, electronics, machinery and several small markets selling textiles, clothes, glasses and shoes alongside the street; Souq Al Najada is a recognised market of furniture and home equipment. Alongside these small shops, businesses such as construction-contracting companies, money exchange centres, photography studios, bookstores, grocery shops, and cafes, also can be found. Moreover, several old hotels and hospitality services support the economy of the area. Positioned on the western side of Bank Street, Al Najada embraces a series of bank headquarters and branches, energising the economic growth of the area and creating job opportunities for skilled labourers.



Figure 4.15. A diverse range of economic activities and businesses can be found in the district.

Chapter 5. RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the data gathered through observation, interviews and activity and behavioural mapping in response to research questions. Each interpretation is followed by discussion debating the results found.

5.1. Driving Force of Indeterminacy and Migrant Informal Practices

What are different issues and factors leading to the process of indeterminacy and such temporary uses of everyday spaces?

The districts' well-known hosting of migrant labourers of a low wage, and the change of urban demography and urban lifestyle and alteration of spatial structure, presents major challenges to the area related to population, ethnic groups, family structure, income, labour law, housing and infrastructure. These urban struggles and the socio-cultural situation of inhabitants are discussed below.

5.1.1. Poverty, Migration and Social Exclusion

The site represents a source of economic and residential opportunity for the urban poor. This district is the centre of sprawling business districts requiring cheap labour for the production of goods and services to supply the urban market, and provides low-cost housing to accommodate workers who require proximity to their workplace in order to minimise commuting expenses and maximise remittances.

As hubs of several economic activities, primarily in the informal sector, historic centres attract numerous unskilled individuals with limited education and scant economic resources, who often migrate from small cities or rural areas. These people usually work as casual daily wage labourers, street vendors and

mostly as construction or domestic workers.

The area is a melting pot of diverse groups of people with different social, cultural and religious backgrounds. The combination of over-population, segregation and inadequate living conditions exacerbate social exclusion and violence, creating an environment where disorders and communal riots could occur.

5.1.2. Deteriorating Living Conditions

Due to unplanned urbanisation and a lack of political will and resources to maintain and conserve the historical landscape, the area faces the problem of a deteriorating physical environment lacking basic facilities, as shown in figure 4.17. The owners of old, traditional Arabic houses moved away and lost interest in the maintenance and preservation of their properties. These were often subdivided and rented out, sometimes extended and modified, to accommodate more and more tenants, resulting in very high residential density.

The impoverished situation of the inhabitants and the disinterest of absentee landlords who earn minimal income from the low rents being paid by their tenants, has strongly contributed to the decay and lack of maintenance of old housing stock in the area. This has left the districts with a low standard of quality of life and living environment compared to surrounding developments.

Another difficulty in this district is the nonexistence of any meaningful public space. Gathering spaces are rare to the extent of being near-absent. Inhabitants and passersby have transformed leftover spaces, sidewalks, street

corners, and parking lots into somehow different spaces fulfilling their socio-economic needs.

5.1.3. Land Tenure, Ownership and Tenancy

The issue of land tenure is often extremely complex in this area, in part because property owners rented their properties out either as single, full-size units or small sub-divided units and then moved away without controlling the buildings' physical situation. However, with the current transformation of the bordering historic Msheireb district, which is promoting a new prestigious lifestyle that will attempt to bring the locals back to downtown, the urban quality of the Al Asmakh, Al Najada and Barahat Al Jufairi districts are viewed by the government as not corresponding with future development. Thus, under the provision of H.H. Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani – the father of the Emir – Private Engineering Office (PEO) is currently working on a revitalisation plan for all of zone 4 and part of zone 5.

This plan resulted in most of the land ownership to be transferred from private to public tenure. Even though ownership has been completely transferred and the evacuation period of 60 days is over, buildings remain occupied by low-income migrant labourers. Talal Al Shemmeri, Head of the Technical Audit section in the expropriation department at the Ministry of Municipality and Urban Planning stated, “The evacuation is actually postponed by PEO due to the incompleteness of the districts' future plan. Currently, Waseef Real Estate Company is in charge of the renewal of contracts and has re-leased the accommodation, renting as mediator between the tenants and PEO” (Al Shemmeri, 2015).



Figure 5.1. Inadequate housing, poor infrastructure, and a deteriorating living environment in Al Asmakh, Al Najada and Barahat Al Jufairi.

5.1.4. Population Structure

Consequent to the aforementioned urban struggles and challenges, there have been increasing instances of urban social and spatial movements in the Al Asmakh, Al Najada and Barahat Al Jufairi neighbourhoods. The change in population structure has led to quite a unique urban setting, a city of transit residents living in hidden neighbourhoods whose alleyways reveal a dynamic different to the rest of the city. Walking through these alleyways opens up different, surprising vistas that are empty during the day but lively places of exchange in the evening.

5.1.5. Discussion

Despite the many differences, there are obvious similarities among these urban struggles; they can be understood, in the most general sense, as struggles against social exclusion and marginalisation, and they articulate a demand for the societal and community life. Moreover, they have resulted in various tactics

employed by the districts' inhabitants to shape and form the spaces to a degree that satisfies their social, cultural and economic needs in the absence of alternative social gathering spaces.

Demands for a new and renewed urban life have been raised repeatedly within the metropolitan areas of Doha. For many, documentation of these urban actions and urban movements is fragmentary, and their history has yet to be written.

In Doha, as in many cities, the migrant labourers are mainly considered to be marginalised communities protesting against the lack of urban life and demanding fulfillment of the urban promise that cities offered, yet broke: the promise of justice and freedom, opportunities for encounter, urban culture and appropriation of public space. These struggles entailed efforts to create alternative cultural venues and community centres. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Doha city centre lacked the urban lifestyle. The focus was on alternative culture, but also on the struggle for public life, tolerance, and openness. Local residents left those old neighbourhoods with their traditional styles of living in Arabic courtyard houses, and moved to city peripheries seeking modern lifestyles in their villas located mostly toward the north and south of the city. Thus, the urban demography and urban lifestyle of old districts in the city centre has been altered to ones inhabited by low-wage south Asian workers today. These changes have resulted in urban settings of a fragmentary form, which appear to encourage social exclusion along cultural and socio-economic lines. Furthermore, concerning the ethnic character of the city, a process of self-segregation has intensified these

separations by downgrading various groups to isolated communes. This fact has been recognised as one of the central features of the cities within the Gulf.

Due to the changes occurring in urban formation and transformation, urban demography and urban lifestyle, an alteration of spatial structure occurred in the Al Asmakh, Al Najada and Barahat Al Jufairi districts. The area also faces major struggles and challenges related to population, ethnic groups, family structure, income, labour law, housing and infrastructure. The resultant alterations and urban struggles allowed the emergence of the indeterminacy process and informal practices by the inhabitants, in this case low-income migrant labourers. They began to create spaces through their own actions, taking the advantage of physical and social possibilities that indeterminate spaces possess. The emergence of indeterminacy and informal practices such as appropriating and adapting the indeterminate spaces to ad hoc conditions fulfilled their cultural, religious, social and economic needs and desires, upon which the inhabitants' identification and appreciation of possibilities and potential depends. Unlike locals who are considered to be the consumers of pre-organised activities, migrant labourers in these urban settings enthusiastically customise urban encounters to satisfy their basic socio-cultural needs. Considering that these workers come from different backgrounds and have variety of beliefs, expectations and skills, there are always those who act out, breaking rules and finding a space that encourages them to action. Thus, the informal practices occurred as a result of someone's intention to merely use a space differently and act in new ways. This may be temporary, lasting only for a few minutes, or permanent. The control of transgressive action

of people in terms of timing usually demonstrates their conscious reaction to the short-term uses of indeterminate space.

5.2. Spatiality of Indeterminate Space and Their Performance

Sense: How do migrant labourers experience the environment and urban indeterminate spaces in relation to the activities?

Fit: To what extent does the spatial pattern of the space fit the behaviour of its users and match with the function they serve?

Control: How do different aspects and characteristics of the space regulate and inhibit functional and behavioural opportunities in low-income neighborhoods?

This section analyses the selected indeterminate spaces within Al Asmakh, Al Najada, and Barahat Al Jufairi. The following case studies are described in no specific order, reflecting neither their importance nor the order in which they were observed. Each space is described in three main sections. Following a brief contextual description, an illustration of each of the activities occurring, the intensity and concentration of these activities are presented through behavioural and activity mapping. Moreover, an evaluation of these spaces is based on the performance criteria conducted. The abovementioned sections are more elaborately described below.

Location and Context: This section mainly delivers a brief background description of the location of selected space and its contextual surrounding. Following this, a portrayal of the physical characteristics of the space and identification of the limitations of the observations is conducted.

Activities and Temporary Uses: This description serves as an overview of the activities occurring in the space and the way in which the activities constitute an informal practice. This covers the spatial, temporal and user characteristics of each practice and activity.

Space and Activities Performance: Each of the selected indeterminate spaces is evaluated based on normative performance criteria. Relating the performance criteria of the informal practices to the principles of the indeterminacy process allows conclusions to be drawn in the final chapter that best illustrate the spatiality of indeterminate spaces used by migrant labourers within the selected urban settings.

5.2.1. Street Intersections

Within the selected urban settings two street intersections are used to examine the user behaviour, observe their local practices, and to evaluate the level of performance of those spaces contesting informal practices.

Location and Context

As shown in figure 5.2, two corners of the predominant location have been selected in order to understand the activities occurring in that intersection and the informal appropriation behaviour that ensues by migrant labourers.

The first is located in Barahat Al Jufairi District where *Grand Hamad* and *Ali bin Abdullah* streets intersect. *AlFardan Center* provides commercial services, mostly money exchange facilities, and faces the site from east and *Souq Waqif* from north. The old gold and textile market of *Al Jabor*, *Al Aseeri* and *Al Falih* are

located in northeastern side of the site. From the south, the site is adjacent to a parking lot allocated for white-collar employees of construction sites located on the western edge of the intersection. This corner has been designed and revamped for aesthetic purposes, creating a pleasant environment for passersby. The street corner displays a mixture of palm trees, *Ficus Benjamina* trees, bushes, shrubs, as well as grass. The combination of plantation used is not that functional in terms of providing shade. A limited number of benches (only 3 or 4) is provided along the main axial pavements. The light poles installed within the landscape area are not efficient and the corner is lit by streetlights. Thus, unsuitable lighting limited the observation of the space during nighttime.

The second corner is located at the intersection of *Ahmed bin Mohammed bin Thani* and *Abdullah bin Thani* streets. This intersection is surrounded by hotels and office towers in the north, residential apartments in the west, and an uncontrolled parking lot adjacent to a small petrol station in the east. However, from the south, through *Ahmed bin Mohammed bin Thani Street*, the site overlooks a large flattened land that is mostly used by trucks for parking and is converted to a cricket field at night.

Like the first selected corner, this junction is developed and enhanced for aesthetical purposes only, with no social or recreational purpose. This corner is mostly composed of grass species and a connected zigzag-shaped lawn area. It is encircled by two metres of *Ficus* bushes and palm trees. However, unlike other corner, this corner does not have any garden-like light fixtures, with only two streetlights – one on the edge and the other in the centre of the intersection to

enlighten the space. Nevertheless, observation was better conducted in the evening. The only limitation of observation in the space was that the crowd level didn't allow for the proper installation of cameras and thus the control of the surveillance was not faultless.

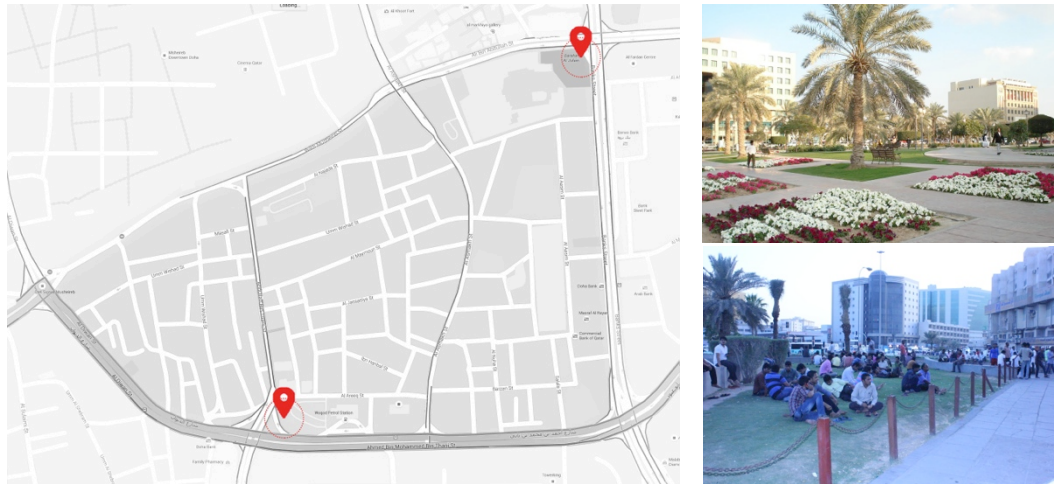


Figure 5.2. Left: Map illustrates the location of two selected intersections; Top right: the photo- of the first street corner from the north-east angle toward *Grand Hamad Street*; Bottom right: The photo of the second street corner from north-west toward *Ahmed bin Mohamed Street*.

Behavioural and Activity Mapping

As indicated in figures 5.3-7, the types of activities observed in both street intersections are the necessary, optional, and social activities. Most of the activities taking place at the corners are considered more optional and social actions such as walking to get a breath of fresh air, standing or relaxing, enjoying life, and chatting.

Many of migrant workers are drawn to these spots because of the better physical conditions in terms of public space, attractiveness, size and closeness to the assembly points. These street intersections invite many temporary uses because the place and situation invite workers to stop, sit, play, chat, sleep, take

photographs, and so on. Even if the lawn pitches are not that huge, the temporary articulation is conducive in such places where the existence of elements of spatial definition is limited. Thus, the concentration of most of the illustrated activities is greatly focused on lawn areas, due not only to physical spatial definitions that directly practice a certain spatial tenancy, but also to the presence of some users, to a certain level, create room for others. Workers are indeed attracted by activity and the presence of others. As the adage declares: *“People come where people are.”* For instance, seeing some workers enjoying chatting, eating, reading or playing with cards, other labourers are also attracted to join.

The spatial qualities of the selected corners and their correlation and appropriateness to passive usage, such as sitting or lying down are illustrated on the basis of observed indication represented on the maps. Many who are passing by the area to shop or transfer money back to their family, build passive contact, simply by seeing and hearing others, passing by one another, or simply being within view. Most of these activities, like chatting and taking photos, and meeting others usually occur unexpectedly due to people moving about and being in the same spaces. This simply indicates that superficial passive social activities are indirectly supported whenever needed and other activities that are more optional require better conditions in these spaces.

In these exposed and wide-open spaces, illegal activities are rarely seen due to the level of fear of being arrested. However, the practice of offering mobile services and picking dates from palm trees to eat while waiting for a bus are observed in the Barahat Al Jufairi intersection during the day and at night.

The maps demonstrate that the long-lasting activities such as sleeping and playing poker and offering mobile services occurred away from transparent edge of the street and are more concentrated within the green pitches where the occupancy is more intense. However, the passive activities are more likely to occur in between the tree lines along pathways especially near the street edge.

Both maps of observed intersections show a similar behavioural pattern of occupancy; however, the intensities in participation in any long-stay occupancy at the second intersection are higher. The level of intensity and concentration of the occupancy is more or less related to the surface area and level of transparency and exposure to the main vibrant streets.



Figure 5.3. Occupancy of Barahat Al Jufairi Square during daytime.



Figure 5.4. Activities practised within Barahat Al Jufairi Square.

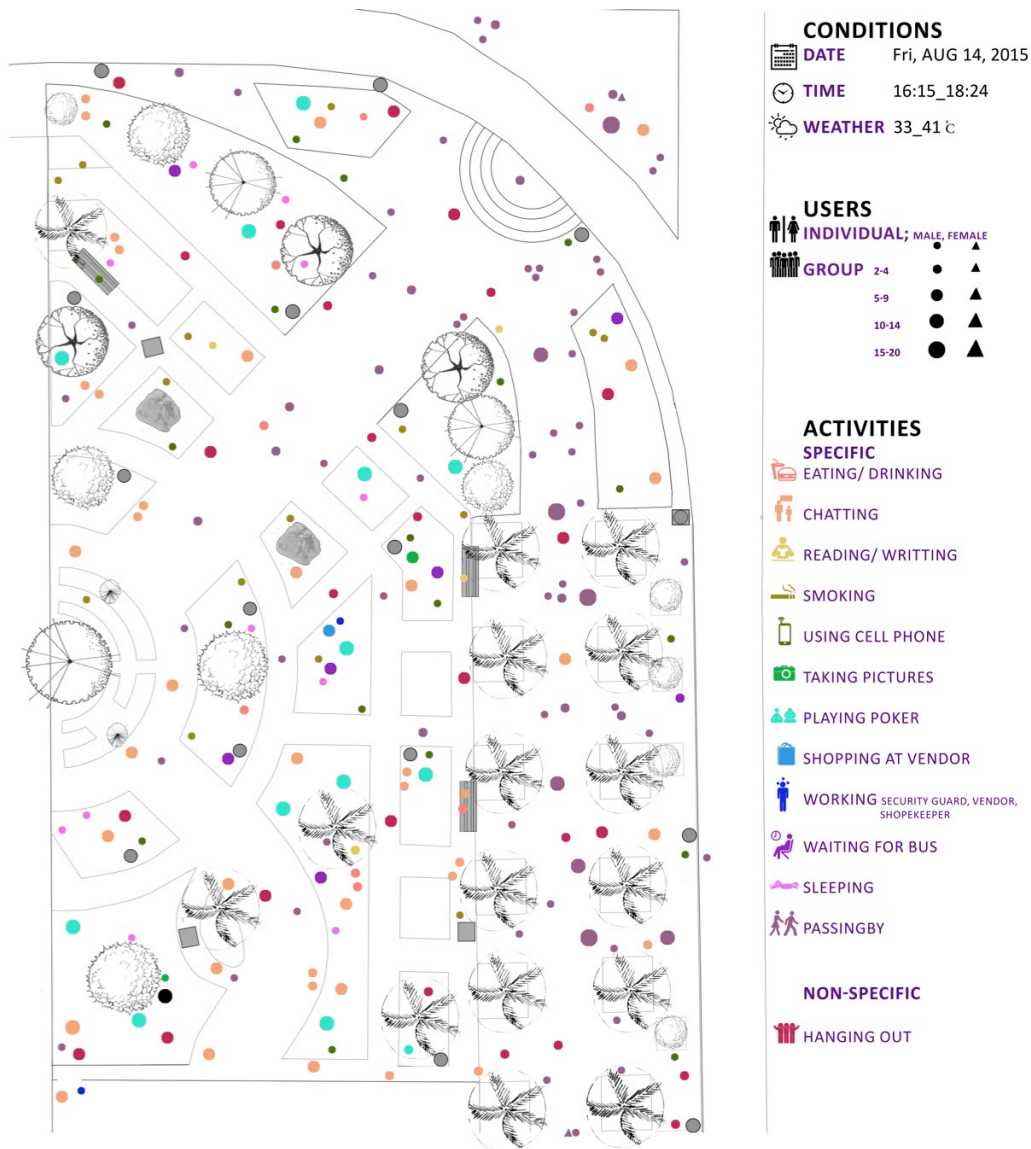


Figure 5.5. Behavioural & activity map of first street intersection indicates the occupancy of the space and the intensity of temporary use of the space.

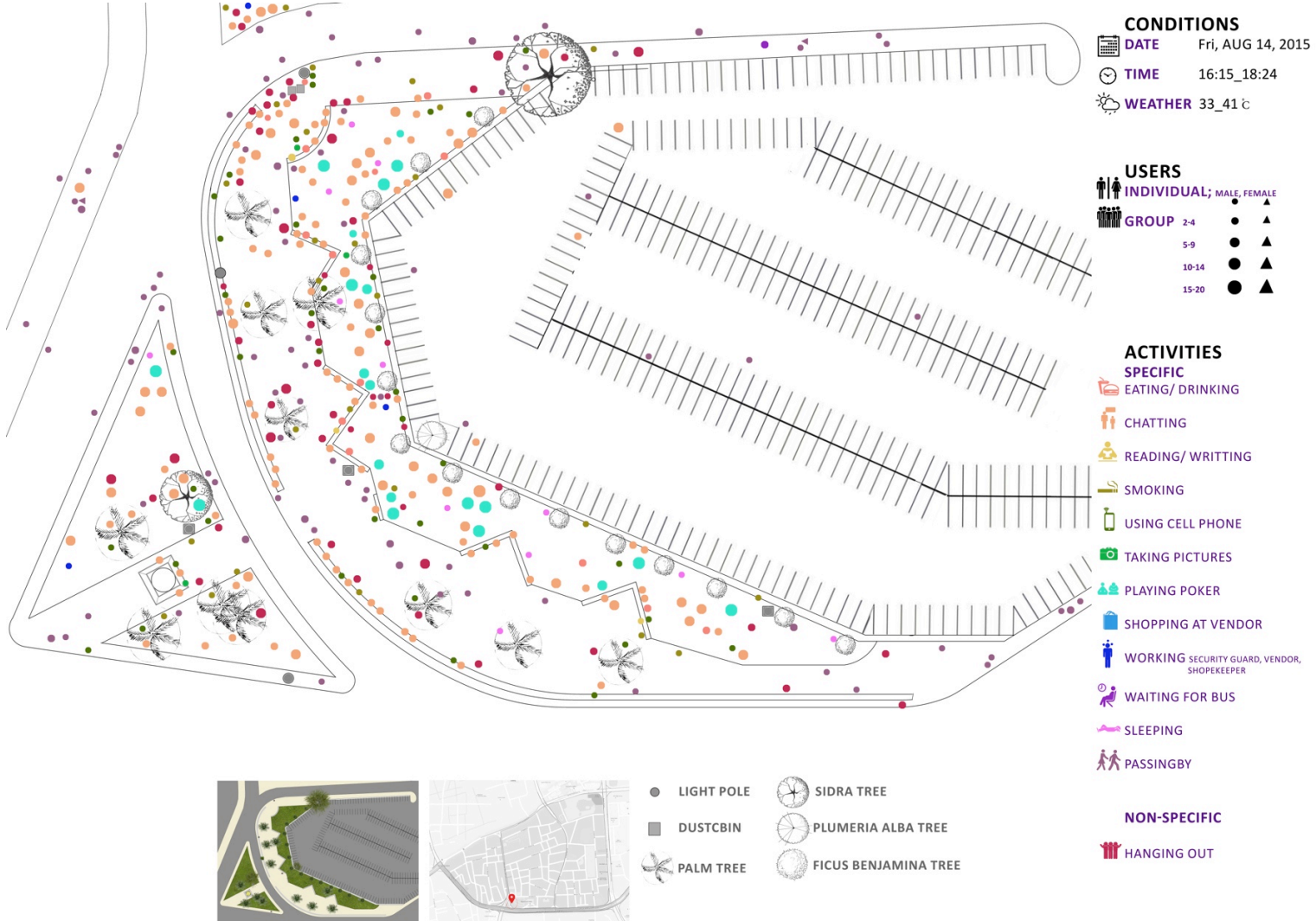


Figure 5.6. Mapping of practised behaviours and activities at the second intersection.



Figure 5.7. The confrontation and intensity of activities at Mohamed bin Ahmed Street.

Performance Criteria

Sense

The observed activities in one way or another contribute to the sense of the neighbourhoods. These illustrate how workers build their own identities with the activities and how these activities relate to social context, and the ability of labourers and others to understand what the activities signify. Identity is about the way users understand activities as aspects of the community. Through observation and general conversation with users it was evident that users see the neighbourhood as a place for socialising because of existing demographics and the opportunities created by the lack of existing formal recreational and entertainment facilities and the existence of passive activities.

The structural understanding of space is well determined by users through the distribution of activities in time and place. The passive social activities are more organised close to the edges of the streets while the optional activities are more concentrated in the internal compass of the space. Activities are structured in a manner providing users a means to fulfill their socio-economic desires.

Focusing on the congruence and the degree to which the activities relate to context, the observed activities are corresponding to the spaces where they occur. Concerning the movement pattern of potential users through and around the space, there is congruence between the street corners' form and the context. It is noticed that due to the intense use of sidewalks, the intersections are attracting more passersby.

The activities exposed the social and economic context of the districts, yet

the relationship is not always well defined. Like identity, the clarity of the activities is obvious among both participants and observers.

The significance dimension of the actions placed within the street corners reveals the social and cultural values of workers and their needs to meet and socialise while enjoying fresh air and taking the advantage of physical features of the street corners, for example, reading and playing under streetlights, sleeping under tree shade, having enough space to meet with friends as well as offering some vending services like free internet phone calls. Thus, the street corners and the practices that occur within them contribute to the complex cultural fabric of the neighbourhoods.

Fit

The activities placed within the street corners are taking the advantage of the indeterminacy of the space through adapting the available opportunities that are accessible to meet the demands of the users. While the necessary and optional activities permanently alter the space, they temporarily manipulate the space in a more intangible manner. Passersby of the same contextual background are attracted to the space when walking around, and they stop and interact with one another and each other's culture.

Control

It would be unfair to claim that workers who temporarily use and occupy the street intersections completely control the space. Since the use of the space is temporary then the control is momentary as well. The power of the actions practiced is limited as the city doesn't allow or support the increase of these

activities like sleeping or playing poker on street corners. It only permits the existence of limited practices, mostly passive social activities in a very regulated manner.

5.2.2. Sikka or Alleyway

Sikkat Allhsan is observed as one of the oldest sikka inside the selected districts, more precisely within Al Najada. The sikka is shaped through the pattern of constructed courtyard houses of the past, yet it indirectly connects Al Asmakh Street to Al Jufairi Street.

Location and Context

As the location map presented in figure 5.9 reveals, the sikka is located on the northern edge of Al Najada district, connected to Barahat Al Jufairi at the top and its lowermost point linked to the busy street of Al Asmakh. While a still considerable number of courtyard houses surrounds this sikka, some are replaced by post-modern Arabian deco architecture of 1960s. The functional use of the sikka changed completely residential to residential and retail as some cafeteria and shops are operational within ground level of residential apartment.

The physical characteristics and spatial quality of Sikkat Allhsan is currently considered to be redundant and extremely downgraded (see figure 5.8). Rubbish containers, debris and trash are often thrown around the dustbins and on the edge of the sikka. Moreover, the air conditioners of the low-rise residential department results in water dripping into the sikka, and small water ponds form due to the slightly irregular lop-sided topography of the alleyway. The space is considered really tedious, but is also dark and scary at night as there is no lighting.

No lights are placed in front of or around the residential apartments as the electricity consumption of inhabitants is minimal. The space's darkness after sunset limited observation to daytime.



Figure 5.8. North and southern views to dismissed Sikka Allhsan.

Behavioural and Activity Mapping

Like the street intersections, the concentrated activities within and alongside the sikka are of optional and social activities with a limited presence of necessary actions as indicated in figure 5.10. Basically, occupants of such spaces use the space for purposes such as moving outside and trying to get fresh air. With over-occupied rooms and a lack of privacy, most of the inhabitants make or receive phone calls outside, more precisely in front of the houses' main entrances. Of course, the land use shapes and affects people's behaviours and actions in

different ways. As noticed, the existence of the cafeteria on the southeastern edge of the sikka resulted in the formation of an assembly point or encounter in which activities such as seating and chatting and eating take place on the entry steps.

Claiming lands beyond the territory boundaries are noticed in the sikka and perpendicular street of Barahat Al Jufairi. Shopkeepers use the sidewalks to display their products. Additionally, coming from the south part of Al Asmakh, passersby targeting Barahat Al Jufairi Square or Souq Waqif as their destinations select this alleyway as a shortcut.

The activities in this selected space are considered more of an instant and temporary behaviour making the passersby less likely to get involved. These transitory actions are formed to make the space more vibrant, although the concept of liveliness is momentary.



Figure 5.9 Sikka's behavioural mapping indicating the occupancy and intensity of use the space.



Figure 5.10. Street vending and pedestrian activities performed within the sikka.

Performance Criteria

Sense

While the perception of outsiders of the area might be negative, the labourer inhabitants take advantage of those spaces within. Although they might be aware that they may be unwelcome, claiming the space as their own is an opportunity that cannot be easily stopped. Based on the intensity of using the sikka, it could be said that workers may hold the alleyways at a certain place and time in presenting who they are, with whom and express their basic inborn characteristics, however activities occur with the sikka are rarely manifest a direct perception of who they are.

The absence of social spaces within the residential units causes the congregation of migrant workers in the sikka where the occupants are able to meet, chat, and socialise. The limited socialising opportunities resulted in the manifestation of labour practices to be more correlated with their free time and their need for space to pass this time to justify their needs and desires. The sikka accommodates activities such chatting, eating and smoking that transparently indicate that the space is an opportunity to communicate with friends and neighbours. These activities are often perceived as prohibited by outsiders, but the illegality is rarely noticed, at least during daylight. Such activities reveal the cultural and social value of sikka as it is used to accommodate a series of meeting points where people use to encounter.

Fit

Only a little temporary manipulation could be noticed in response to the conditions provided. The abovementioned practices typically represent temporary adaptation and only last for the duration of the activity.

Control

The low level of intervention in the sikka exhibits a low amount of control. The users of the alleyway are capable of exerting a level of control afforded to them.

5.2.3. Residential Roadway

A secondary residential roadway limited to commercial use is investigated to understand and perceive both pedestrian and vehicular-oriented passage in terms of user-spatial experience and performance.

Location and Context

The road is located in the western quarter of Al Asmakh district. It is aligned with the vibrant Abdullah bin Thani Street. While the road is secondarily attached to the southern and eastern main streets, encircling the quarter through subordinate roads and passageways, it is directly connected the *Wadi Msheireb Street* located on the northern edge of the district.

Behavioural and Activity Mapping

The prevalence of the activities and their multiplicity are considered to be repetitive in most of the spaces, yet the concentration of the workers' practices vary and diverge from one space to another. As shown in figure 5.11, Aghadir Street makes room for different practices; among these street vending is

considered to be exceptional as captured in figure below. By allowing low-income workers to buy and sell goods through vending, the possibility of meeting the socio-cultural demands and creating socio-economic opportunity is presented. As a small informal economic practice, street vending could be challenged because of the goods being sold. On this roadway, the street vending can be observed in front of the courtyard houses close to the mosque where people gather to chat (see figures 5.12 and 5.13). This shows that the location of such a practice is clearly related to the existing pedestrian and commercial activity. Vending users are either the vendors or those who visit the enclosure. The vendors are elderly Indians who speak little English. The goods being sold are vegetables and fruits. Since the practice is unlicensed, vendors are hiding themselves between the cars and within the narrow alleyways.



Figure 5.11. Street vending within the residential roadway.



Figure 5.12. Behavioural & activity map of Aghadir St. illustrates the pedestrian activities, space occupancy, and the intensity of the use.



Figure 5.13. Street vending and pedestrians activities performed within the residential roadways.

*Performance Criteria**Sense*

Through the perception of outsiders, the vending of illegal goods such as drugs and prohibited movies is manifested in the context of the neighbourhood as an important aspect of selected urban settings. Considering this, street vending contributes to the sense of the district. Through observations and more general conversations about street vending, it is evident that the neighbourhoods are seen as a place for vending. This is because of the current demographics and possibilities created by lack of control and the existing pedestrian activities.

The way the activity is arranged contributes to the structural understanding of a place. In the context of the selected low-income neighborhoods, and Al Asmakh in particular, the activities taking place within the inner roadways can be seen as meeting certain needs that have not fulfilled conventionally through the districts' current facilities on the basis of economic and social hardships.

In addition to providing a basic, affordable and accessible vending environment, the tactical aspects of such activities takes advantage of users' movement patterns. Although Aghadir Street is both car- and pedestrian-oriented, activities such as street vending takes advantage of the level of pedestrian actions because of the use of footpaths and areas immediately off footpaths. The legality of the activities, like their identity, can be unclear to strangers and observers. However, the users who are benefitting from this practice, do not perceive these activities as actions relating to a larger social process due to their inexperience and simplicity. The incidence of actions for district inhabitants is acceptable, however,

to those unaccustomed with such practices, it is perceived as a tense spatial practice serving as an indication of larger social relations.

Focusing on the action of street vending, the significance of the activities within the inner passageway is highly meaningful as they disclose a number of socio-cultural backgrounds and signify the economic uncertainties of the community in terms of obtainable jobs, workforce skills and the needs of the community for affordable retail.

Fit

The forms of the activities are taking the advantage of the indeterminacy of the space. They adapt to the available possibilities that are reachable and meet the users' demands. Here the actions reconfigure the sidewalks and edges of the streets, thus people must decide to walk around, stop or avoid them. This is where the users come together and deal with uncertainty and continuity in use of the space.

Control

The intangible reconfiguration of the space illustrates both the limitation and potential available in such a space. As previously mentioned the control of temporary activities is considered to be more short-term. The power of presented activities, vending in particular, is limited due to perception and its right to presence.

5.2.4. Sidewalk of Shop-Front Streets

Abdullah bin Thani Street is observed as one of the most vibrant streets in

terms of occupancy and usage inside the selected districts, more precisely within Al Asmakh. The street comprises a variety of 1970s buildings of residential and commercial type and use. It is the street through which the district is divided into two main quarters.

Location and Context

As the location map within figure 5.14 illustrates, the street is located in the centre of the Al Asmakh district, connected to Wadi Msheireb Street from the top and its lowermost point is linked to the busy Mohamed bin Ahmed Street. The street embraces retail shops from both sides, while the upper levels are more for residential, corporate, healthcare, and hospitality use.

The physical characteristics and spatial quality of the street is currently considered to be disused and practically downgraded. The sidewalks are in depraved conditions. Moreover, the conventional air conditioners placed in high-to medium-rise residential buildings result in water dripping onto the sidewalks, forming small water ponds due to the slightly irregular lop-sided topography of the street. Since both sides of the street are congested with parked cars, the buildings' ground level frontage is hidden. The concealing presence of cars on the street edges as well as the tedious characteristics of the street in terms of lighting restricted the suitable observation in time and place.

Behavioural and Activity Mapping

The map presented in figure 5.14 indicates the frequency of the activities and their concentration. The practices are almost of the same characteristics of the pedestrian activities take place in former cases, yet the concentration of the

practices vary and diverge from one space to another. The intensity of the activities is higher on the street forelocks as detailed in figure 5.14 and 5.15. Abdullah Bin Thani Street makes room for different practices such as chatting, seating, eating, shopping, and street vending. The incidence of necessary and optional activities evolves from the passive social activities where passersby interact with activities because of being in same space. Basically, the users of such spaces are using the space, moving outside and trying to get fresh air. Of course, the current building functions shape and affect people's behaviours and actions in different ways. As noticed, the existence of the food and beverage shops, cafes and supermarkets resulted in the formation of assembly points or encounters in which activities such as seating and chatting and eating take place on the entry steps. The activity of street vending on the narrow passageway perpendicular to the street is another opportunity for encounters.

Similar to other cases, the activities in this street are considered more of instant and temporary behaviours, yet the intensity and concentration of pedestrian activities make the passersby more likely to get involved. These transitory actions are yet formed to make the space more vibrant, although the concept of liveliness is momentary and limited to specific time and space.



Figure 5.14. Behavioural mapping of Abdullah bin Thani Street illustrates the pedestrian activities, space occupancy, and the intensity of use.



Figure 5.15. Necessary, optional and resultant activities practised on street sidewalks.

Performance Criteria

Sense

By different means, the occurrence of pedestrian activities in this street contributes to the sense of the Al Asmakh district by demonstrating the way workers build their own identities within the practiced activities. There is additionally a correlation between the activities and social context, and the ability of labourers and others to understand what activities exemplify the power and control of the users over the space in time. In contradiction to the perception of outsiders, the labourer inhabitants are taking the advantage of spaces within to fulfill their social, cultural, economic demands and needs through claiming the space, as it is their own. Focusing on the intensity of using the street sidewalks, the labourers use the street at a certain place and time echoing their inherent characteristics, and relationships; however the activities that occur within rarely shape a direct perception of who they are.

The nonappearance of social spaces within the houses and apartment units caused the occupancy of the migrant labourers of the street sidewalks, providing opportunities to get together, chat, and socialise. Moreover, this limited socialising opportunity allows labourers to be more connected and the necessity of space occupancy justifies their needs and desires.

As indicated in the activity and behavioural mapping (Figure 5.14), the street sidewalks house pedestrian actions such chatting, eating, smoking, shopping, vending, and hanging out, evidently the social opportunity for congregation and getting together. Such activities reveal the cultural and social

value of the sidewalks as they accommodate a series of meeting points which people use to encounter.

Fit

Benefitting from the indeterminacy of street sidewalks, only a slight transitory elusive manipulation is noticed in response to the conditions provided. Moreover, the aforesaid activities usually mean temporary alteration. In general, the uncertainty of sidewalks' usage matches the form and level of occupancy.

Control

The low level of intervention observed along the sidewalks of the street displays a restricted power and control. The users are merely capable of utilising the level of control afforded to them due to their concern for the regulations and policies. Thus, they try to adapt their life demands.

5.2.5. Discussion

Activities

The selected indeterminate spaces accommodates a variety of pedestrian activities such as chatting, walking, using cell phones, eating, reading, smoking, hanging out, playing poker, waiting for the bus, shopping and street vending. Most of these activities are repetitive and performed all around the districts wherever the lands are uncontrolled and uncertain. The performance of the activities varies greatly in time and space. During the day, activities are limited and the level of occupancy doesn't reflect the concept of the everyday lived space. The type of activities cannot be properly defined as the occupancy of the space is mostly instant and set only for short period of time. However, in the evening, the

activities are more defined and reflect the cultural, social and sense of place. The intensity of space occupancy and practiced activities illustrate the image of everyday lived space and the opportunities embraced for place-making that contribute to the vitality of everyday life.

Even though the presence of informal migrant practices are more dominant when the day is done, comparing the indeterminate spaces, those that are more transparent and visible to the public house less illegitimate activities like street vending and more passive social activities in comparison to spaces that are less open to the public.

Performance

Comparing the selected indeterminate spaces, the factors of identity, congruence, and transparency all strongly added to the sense of the space and spaces appear to be highly controlled in the times when activities are performed. However, the legibility measure has less contribution to the intellectual and special meaning and sense of the spaces. This poor legibility of the activities is highly reflected in the ability of the users to read, understand and to communicate with the activities as it challenges the public perception of whether these actions are acceptable or not.

Focusing on the measure of fit performance criteria, most of the activities investigated within the selected indeterminate spaces intangibly allow users to participate in shaping the indeterminate space. To some extent, the spaces embrace the physical and perceptual modification and adaptability of environment, creating the opportunity to redefine and reshape the space to fulfill

users' needs and desires. These needs are mostly shared among the occupants allowing for a considerable level of users' involvement in transgressive actions.

The observation of selected indeterminate spaces indicates that migrant labourers are fully aware of the potentiality of the space and the degree to which they can regulate the space to their desires without exceeding the prevailing power. In different ways the practices acted upon by workers are well contributed to legitimately defined rights, yet users' activities are directed to what they believe acceptable. Practices such as offering mobile services and street vending without proper permission from the concerned authorities are yet practiced in between the buildings in spaces of less access to strangers.

5.3. Relevance of Indeterminate Space and Migrant Practices

What are the implications of indeterminate spaces and temporary uses of uncertain spaces?

The relevance of the study and the importance of understanding the process of indeterminacy, spatiality of such spaces, the performed activities and constituted behaviours can be explained through understanding the current interventions and expert practices in planning the city of Doha and the research implications and suggestions for these interventions. The introduction of no housing zones for labourers, the attempts to minimise the influx of the migrants to downtown, the evacuation of workers from the old centre, the development of migrant labour cities, and the preparation of migrant welfare standards are all considered to be of importance interferences which should place significance on the indeterminate spaces and take performed temporary informal practices into account.

5.3.1. 'No Go' Housing Zones for Labourers

As shown in figure 5.16, a map was published in October 2015 indicating the zones in which labour accommodations are banned. Abdullah Al Karrani, the head section of Urban Planning and QNMP at the Ministry of Municipality and Urban Planning, clarified that this map has been developed as a result of legislation passed five years ago, under Law No.15 of 2010, stating the “prohibition of workers’ camp within residential areas”. He is convinced that the implementation of this law is currently difficult due to the lack of adequate accommodation for workers in the peripheries. In response to migrant labourers’ rights to the city, he reflected that attempts of no go housing zones and the outflow of the migrants toward the peripheries is to accomplish the required security within family-oriented residential areas. “If they have a place where their basic needs and demands are fulfilled they will not influx to central Doha,” he stated. Of the same opinion is Eng. Faisal Al Dosary, the head of section of projects at Private Engineering Office, who explained the presence of the labourers in the heart of the city as a problem that resulted from the improper infrastructure planning and the distribution of assembly points and bus stops. It seemed that labour presence within the central area is not preferred due to the intensity and congestion of space occupancy.



Figure 5.16. ‘No Go’ housing zones for migrant labourers. Source: Urban Planning Department at Ministry of Municipality and Urban Planning

5.3.2. Worker Welfare Standards

The first migrant welfare standards were introduced by Qatar Foundation (QF) in April 2013. “The attempts of Qatar Foundation to foster better living and working conditions through designing the welfare standards and hosting some

events for labourers' entertainment and training is well flourished in both regional and international levels," explained Eng. Jassim Talefat, the group executive director of capital projects and facility management. He also mentioned that QF is aiming to develop a broader strategy in cooperation with other national and international entities to guarantee better living and working circumstances for labourers. QF's welfare standards were developed based on international measures and standards; however, "this welfare is mainly focusing on the accommodation. There are much more factors of social, political and economic background to be look at in coming future," Eng. Jassim stated. The second welfare document was published electronically in November 2013 and is almost a duplication of QF standards used by Supreme Committee for Delivery and Legacy. This has been followed by the announcement of Qatar Rail to incorporate QF welfare standards into its all design and build contracts. The individual adoption of the standards by different entities resulted in the preparation of planning standards for labour accommodation by MMUP under the provision of the Ministry of Labour. "We prepared a national design and planning standards for labour communities that is enforced at national levels" (AlKarrani, 2015). Therefore, based on the interviews, none of the standards are developed based on empirical research and they adhered more to international measures.

5.3.3. Development of Labour Accommodation

Being under significant pressure to improve worker living conditions, much emphasis is being placed on labour accommodation at the country's edges. Two such accommodation projects are the Barwa Al Baraha and Labor City

developments in the industrial area, both completed at the beginning of fourth quarter of 2015. And currently these developments are occupied and operated. “The design and the planning of the labour community fulfill the international design standards for developing all facilities within a short distance from the residential units.” Faisal Al Dosary is convinced that the Labor City executed by PEO is well-designed and he is hoping it will be a national prototype on which the design of other labour communities are based. The capacity of the city is close to 100,000 workers, contradicting QF’s welfare standards of a maximum labour community capacity of 5,000 workers. “I believe that the occupancy of Labour City should be limited to 10,000 in order to ensure better control and security,” Jassim Talefat remarked. Qatar Foundation has, meanwhile, renovated old student housing as temporary accommodation for workers within Education City so that they are able to rest during their one-hour breaks.

In line with the mentioned developments and under the provision of the Qatar National Master Plan, Abdullah Al Karrani explained, “Four lands are currently allocated for the development of self-serviced ‘worker’ cities, with a capacity of 10,000 to 20,000 individuals.” This land will be handed over to developers to design and build the city in adoption of the MMUP standards and regulations. The developers of migrant accommodation gain some privileges that facilitate the process of developing worker cities.

The efforts of different governmental and non-governmental entities toward improving worker housing and developing suitable worker accommodation is considerable and noteworthy, but looking at the design of the

completed developments, some of the measures such as capacity, occupancy, usage distributions and green spaces need to be rethought of in terms of design and planning.

5.3.4. Evacuation of Old Doha Districts of Workers

After the development of the Msheireb project, the renovation of the Heart of Doha gains a national importance. According to Adel Al Muslemani, head of the Restoration Department at Qatar Museums, “In cooperation with one of Germany’s universities, Qatar Museums investigated the Al Asmakh and Al Najada districts to determine the valued courtyard houses to be retained.” The artist Mohamed Ali Abdulla, the person in charge of the old buildings rehabilitation at PEO, stated that the renovation was held back due to an unclear vision for the mentioned districts, along with the time required for building evacuation and the transfer of land ownership from private to public tenure. Based on the land allocation and ownership department at MMUP, the ownership of Al Asmakh is completely transferred to PEO, however, the process of evacuation is not yet complete (Al Shemmeri & Al Shafi, 2015). The evacuation of the area is phased to avoid interrupting the inhabitants in general and the shopkeepers in particular. Since PEO is working on the very first phase of the project, the evacuation of the area may result in more uncertain activities and illegal practices, thus PEO is phasing the emptying of the district (Abdulla, M. A., 2015).

5.3.5. Discussion

All above labour-related planning interventions clearly reflect the negligence of end-users’ presence in the process of place-making and planning

and designing the spaces. The marginalisation and disposition of the low-income migrant communities have been thought of, planned and executed without proper consideration of the tools and experience of users in all planning practices.

All interviewees agreed with the idea that providing basic services within the community will limit the needs of the migrant labourers to transverse the city. They also agreed that their presence downtown creates more crowds and traffic and allows for more illegal practices. They believed that the existence of a police station in planned communities would restrict the informal and illegal practices.

Controlling the labour crowd was found to be only applicable through planning self-service communities away from the city, as lots of services and spaces are not accessible by workers during their free time. Interviewees confirmed that migrant social needs and desires are limited to a room for rest and an outside area for fresh air, and that the planned communities are provided with services that will exceed the expectations of migrant workers for entertainment and green spaces.

Lack of coordination among the governmental and private institutes with regards to the proposed planning actions was admitted to by all interviewees, who hoped that future planning developments would occur with more integrative approaches for better results.

Chapter 6. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

Migrants arriving in their host cities are thrown into initially foreign environments, confronting foreign languages, governments, or economic structures. Just as significantly, they also physically confront new types of urban space, including new geographies, street layouts, neighbourhood structures, public squares, or public parks. Migrants do not passively accept the given spatial forms but instead actively and creatively engage with the city through their own strategies of using space to live, move, work and socialise. Within the existing urban structure then, migrants introduce creative acts in their everyday lives. They choose places to socialise with certain groups, to practice and run-through certain activities, and to frequent or avoid. They construct their own mental maps of the city, with images, symbols, and representations marking each space and defining others in it. They demonstrate new activities and practices that are associated with types of space or they create a new social environment that asserts the collective presence of a group. Thus, workers create ways of engagement through their very activity. As a result, they inscribe themselves into the city through their own modes of belonging.

Furthermore, the migrant's approach to the given spaces of a city derives from their own familiarity with types of spatial use and their feelings of belonging in those spaces. These both arise from and contribute to their personal identities, as these identities find creative means of expression across the given urban environment and encounter either reinforcement or resistance. For the migrant, the relationship between identity and place becomes complicated. Identity,

particularly ethnic identity, depends on a rooted idea of place, and migrants and their succeeding generations continue familiar practices that reflect variations of these identities in cities, countries, and places throughout the world. Understanding these spatial practices, the relationship between migrants and the city, and studying how their everyday practices reshape the city's public spaces, including parks, streets, urban corridors and voids, are the main objectives of this thesis. The thesis explores the position of the migrants, particularly low-income labour forces in the city, and the ways in which their presence and activities affect the image of the urban space – real or perceived – and its dynamics of change.

This research has been grounded on two particular models that are considered to be complementary. The first model developed an understanding of the urban demography and morphology of the city in general and the districts in particular, to grasp the why, when and how such urban spaces become indeterminate. Key to this, are the demographical, morphological, and spatial shifts that occurred within the structure of the mentioned quarters, resulting in those spaces becoming indeterminate and uncertain in time and place. The spaces become soft and available to all, encompassing more informal activities, due to the alterations in their original functions and physical features.

This study has also defined the workers' informal practices in the indeterminate spaces of Barahat Al Jufairi, Al Asmakh and Al Najada districts. Through the second model, the observed four distinctive indeterminate spaces have been analysed, focusing on their spatial characteristics and configuration, occupancy and intensity of use, and behavioural and activities pattern.

Additionally, the space and activities performed therein in relation to a set of Lynch performance criteria, and the role of practice in contributing to a sense, control and fit dimensions to create meaningful and participatory places, was also studied. Through this research, it can be clearly concluded that the labourers' local practices within the indeterminate space are indeed an important component of everyday urbanism and place-making.

Within the investigated neighbourhoods, many spaces are used to serve their major functions at particular time, while at other times the contested informal practices of labourers alter these functions through temporary intrusion. They began to contest spaces through their individual or group actions, and benefitted from the physical, social and economic opportunities that indeterminate spaces possess. The identification and appreciation of possibilities and potentials of space spatiality by workers promote the occurrence of the indeterminacy process and informal practices, such as appropriating the indeterminate spaces to fulfill their cultural, social and economic needs and demands. Contrasting with locals who are the consumers of expert place-making practices, migrant labourers actively adapt to urban encounters. Breaking the rules and discovering spaces with the possibility of adaptation and manipulation are practiced by workers of different racial, cultural, social backgrounds, with variety of attitudes, anticipations and abilities. Particularly, the individual and group intention of the workers to simply use the space differently and behave in new ways inspires the informal temporary uses of the space by others as well. Observation showed that the workers are taking advantage of all opportunities with sensible responses to the short-term

uses of indeterminate spaces. The lack of external involvement, as well as the workers' transitory control of their transgressive actions, illustrates the openness of labourer potential behaviour in indeterminate spaces, albeit in a temporary manner.

6.1. Driving Forces of Indeterminacy and Migrant Informal Practices

The alteration of the spatial, morphological and demographical structure of selected urban settings resulted those spaces, which were controlled to become indeterminate through use and over time. Since the original use of the spaces no longer exist and their physical features have changed, the spaces become soft and available to all, comprising more informal activities. In Al Asmakh, Al Najada, and Barahat Al Jufairi, many spaces are used to serve their major functions at particular time, and, at other times, these functions are in temporary suspension to serve labourers' informal practices. The absence of policing or external control of the space usage is illustrated by the openness of labourer potential behaviour in both permanent and temporary indeterminate spaces.

6.2. Spatiality of Indeterminate Spaces, and Their Performance

6.2.1. Activities

The finding of each of the investigated indeterminate spaces offers that, in contradiction of Jan Gehl's (2011) statement that "in streets and city spaces of poor quality, only the bare minimum of activity take place", the urban poor of Al Asmakh, Al Najada and Barahat Al Jufairi host different kinds of social, optional and necessary activities. As determined in Chapter 5, a variety of pedestrian activities are performed within the selected urban settings these include sitting,

chatting, walking, using cell phones, eating, reading, smoking, hanging out, playing poker, waiting for the bus, shopping and street vending. Most of these activities may look formal when focusing on the act itself; however, in the context of the study they are contested as informal practices in terms of time, place and the way they are performed. Moreover, the occupancy of the spaces, the intensity and quantity of the activities practised by almost countless workers is what results from the informal manifestation of such activities and the indeterminacy and uncertainty of the spaces.

6.2.2. Performance

How the activities performed by the labourers constitute a local practice and how they relate to the quality of sense, fit and control, are summarised below explaining the extent to which these activities subsidise to more meaningful, participatory and just places.

Meaningful

Focusing on the sense criteria, the measure of identity, congruence, and transparency are assessed as strongly contributing to the meaning of the space. This is due to the occurrence of activities being driven from the everyday lived experiences of the workers that are thoroughly linked to their social and cultural contexts. Contrary to preconceived measures of sense criteria, the legibility criterion, which reflects the ability of the users to read, understand and to communicate with a practice, is considered to be weak in the observed spaces. The weakness of activities' legibility does not determine any shortcoming or potential of practices in creating meaning, participatory or just places. It rather

introduces a disconnection between the user intentions, the meaning and participation ability. The low level of legibility of activities also reflects the degree their occurrence contests the usual perceptions of acceptable behaviour.

Participatory

The observed cases suggest that the performed labourers' practices promote the ability to participate in the activities. Most of the activities investigated adapt the physical and perceptual environment to some extent, allowing for users to be directly and indirectly involved in shaping the indeterminate space. This creates the opportunity of enabling the users to outline and redefine the space of the city. The participation has an impact on temporary alterations and directly relates to the social and cultural demands of the workers. The migrant labourers' practices inside the indeterminate spaces enable various individuals and communities of different backgrounds to interact and engage in transgressive actions in an inclusive manner to a certain degree.

Just

The idea of the spatial rights and measure of the control translates the notion of a just place which involves the users' right to the city, not only in terms of accessibility and openness, but also in terms of the control of utilising and shaping the space, and the ability to define and redefine what a space is and how it is formed. In the indeterminate spaces observed, the activities employ some level of control and empowerment; however, factors such as transience and contestation regulate the potential of exceeding the prevailing power. In different ways, the practices of the workers fall well within their legitimately demarcated rights, yet

are perceived as beyond what is believed to be acceptable. Consequently, urban poor practices comprise an exertion of perceiving and understanding just places.

6.3. Relevance of Indeterminate Space and Migrant Practices

Through the interviews with professionals and experts in the fields of design and planning, it has been noted that all the aforementioned interventions are thought of and developed without proper empirical research of the current situation. These intersections lack the understanding of the limitations and potential of uncertain and loose spaces, as well as the practice of place-making by labourers.

The dimensions of developing and planning migrant communities are more or less limited by physical and economic constraints, with less attention to social, cultural and contextual measures. Fragmented migrant communities on the city's peripheries are suggested deprived of urban connectivity and connection between other migrant communities, the city and its required services. Location is not the only barrier to linking the labour community with the city – understanding the role of cultural expression in the collective lives of the urban poor is the key issue. An improvement in the living conditions of workers should not be limited to only physical accommodation, but should also focus on the perceptual dimension of the space and the usage-spatial relationship. In this sense the notion of indeterminate spaces and temporary informal practices have significant implications for future developments, and particularly for the establishment of labourer accommodation. A proper consideration of local practices in upcoming planning development most probably will result the manipulation and adaptation

of the spaces, which might again be considered weak in terms of contributing to the meaning of the spaces.

Some might see that the local practices of migrant workers are limited to physically indeterminate spaces. However, to satisfy their needs, the tactical approach of the labourers also benefits from the regulatory loose spaces. This approach in many ways creates meaningful, just and participatory places for the users involved, and they do not offer the same for outsiders and other users who are not engaged with the space. This puts the experts in a position of reacting toward these practices and the indeterminacy process to intervene between the acceptable and inadequate behaviours. Therefore, there is a need for expert involvement in the local practices to take such tactical approaches into consideration during the design and planning, setting regulations, or the re-imagination of the meaning of the space.

Including both expert and local knowledge in the creation of place will allow for a communal participatory practice of opening spaces for multiple and contested meanings. The local practice of workers in terms of using space offers experts unlimited potential in place-making. Through the local practices, experts and planning professionals can define the proper usage of the space in relation to an adequate spatial configuration to best regulate, justify and make the space more legible. This will generate stronger social and cultural significance in a place and in the city.

6.4. Significance of the Study

The study can be enunciated in different aspects including the contribution

to the body of knowledge as it is of interest of urban sociologist, urban planners, urban designers and anthropologist. Therefore, contextualising the study by placing the observation of indeterminate spaces within a larger context will benefit the urban leaders in viewing the informal urban intervention as learning opportunities instead of viewing them as conditions that needs fixing. The investigation also benefit in understanding the city beyond its common perception and also dells into these concealed sides where an alternative city can be found along its forgotten spaces. Consequently, it is able to offer the rich depiction of tactics imposed by city inhabitation as they navigate the public realms.

This study advances knowledge in the usage-spatial relationship of indeterminate spaces, but also develops the way migrant laborers are benefiting from the potentiality of such spaces to satisfy their social, cultural, economic needs and desires. Concerning that different stakeholders mainly ones in public sectors are undertaking different planning practices relevant to migrant living in the city, the implication of the thesis is described in terms of its contributions to the design and planning paradigms of current and future development in general and migrant cities in particular.

6.5. Limitations of the Study

With the current dilemma of unacceptable conditions for migrant workers in the country, combined with the extreme media campaigns Qatar has faced since winning the bid to host the 2022 FIFA World Cup, the exploration of the migrant occupations and accommodations have been restricted by media and no

documentary filming is allowed. Therefore, the observation was limited only to publicly accessible spaces due to both legitimate and security factors.

Additionally, due to the political restrictions, the permission of installing the cameras in the selected spaces were not granted, the researcher presence on the space and the recognition of the cameras might have biased the illegal practices of the laborers. Although there is no evidence of illegal practices (i.e. drug and prohibited movie selling) in such area and this activities are more discovered along the Grand Hamad St. as explained by Eng. AlKharrani.

Since the researcher in the study also authored the thesis, the researcher might have influenced the response of the interviewee during the task, however this conclusion was unlikely since the main findings of the research were based on the empirical observation.

The physical condition of the selected urban spaces, lighting in particular, limited the proper observation of the activities to short-distance and result the inadequate quality of video capturing and photo shooting during the nighttime.

6.6. Area for Further Studies

Every research study provides regulated answers about the field of investigation, but also open doors to other questions. While this study only investigates usage and spatial configuration of indeterminate space by labour forces, the future research could be more comprehensive in terms of municipal urban planning. The forthcoming studies should be designed having the findings

more stressed in terms of change and the emerging of something different or new in relation to ongoing processes of design and planning.

Participant observation in this field could be more useful to provide a nuanced picture of the similarities and differences between informal social actors and formal social actors, as indicated through the observations and analysis the inadequacy of the workers practices is relevant to the way they are read by outsiders. Moreover, further studies on other cases could serve a more general conclusion of findings, instead of only focusing on particular spaces within certain districts. It also could be used to explore whether there is a general tendency is occurring in Qatar, which would have implied the use of quantitative data and interpretation of it.

In conclusion, both the empirical and normative conception of intervening in urban public space indicate that the user plays an important role in determining, creating and upholding the image of a space. Their experience and perception of space and in turn, their activities and practices are appraised through their knowledge of local culture and social relations that define how meaningful the space is. The performed activities and practices are equally important to production of space allow meaning to be the direct product and exercise of users social and cultural practices. These practices are often socially and spatially relegated, yet are a significant demonstration of the public life, and socio-cultural dynamics of space.

6.7. Recommendations

This section includes general suggestions and recommendations that contribute to and benefit from the potential offered by indeterminate space, place-making and constituted temporary use within such spaces through suggesting to change the indeterminate contested spaces to shared public spaces. The recommendations also focus on improving and enhancing the current and future city planning interventions that is linked with collaborative urban governance.

6.7.1. From Indeterminate to Shared Public Spaces

This research suggests to transform the indeterminate contested spaces to shared public spaces. Accordingly, the city planning authorities with support of other relevant organisations should commence a regular assessment of key public spaces including the measurement of publicness and communality of the space, its extent, its users, their engagement, accessibility, safety, etc.

Space should be conceived at both spatial and rational measures to allow for engagement and exchange. Thus, there is a need to create safe and opportune spaces for public but respectful dialogue across different groups. This involves undertaking a broad-based approach of supporting diversity over a form of multiculturalism that emphasises the autonomy and segregation of group identity.

The emerging new urban spaces in the city should not become a city within the city. While such spaces may start afresh and create residence and social activities for those keen to mix across different groups of users, they may result social segregation in the city. Such situation would accentuate the tendency toward the most fragmented spaces to be mainly working class. Thus, it is so

critical to allocate spaces across the city to optimise the prospect of building integrated communities. This is achievable through the concept of developing sustainable communities that implicates the evolvement of mixed-use districts and accommodation of diverse occupants. This would introduce the most successful interactions to be occurred when user from different social groups share experiences and interact with each other.

6.7.2. Connectedness and Defragmentation

There is a strategic need to investigate and analyse the overall structure of the city in relation to the provision of key public spaces. The assessment should include the networks of both vehicular and pedestrian routs in the city and its connections to and between these key spaces. Furthermore, the analysis should assess the degree to which these spaces are linked to each other and to surrounding context. In city such as Doha, the appropriateness and applicability of the public transport network and the design of its services, needs to be reconsidered. The creation of service nodes within the road network, places that offer public communal facilities and attract people should be carefully explored and taken into consideration.

6.7.3. Urban Design

The major dynamic in the city of Doha in the coming years implicates the optimum use of leftover spaces. These leftover spaces should be considered as part of the larger neighborhoods as having the enfolded small spaces under investigation would result more intensive reactions to their changed land use and occupancy.

The city is trying to implement a deep-rooted chain of public spaces, however, no forward-thinking strategies and guidelines on design of open spaces are yet developed. The development of Doha Grand Park might be the first step toward a public realm regeneration strategy and index of implementation for the city centre. Establishing direct linkage between the shared and accessible public spaces should be the key priority.

The idea of opposing multicultural identities and their use of public space is a concern of many urban design studies. The effective approaches to design for indeterminate spaces embrace the design of permeable access pattern offering alternative routes; strong natural landscape and sensitive public art with multiracial references. This would also include the successful method to improve the urban environments of Doha that do not embody the variety of issues related to the interactive relationship among users and the environment. Furthermore, introducing the notion of the quality of urban life should be highly considered. This is necessary to understand the spatial quality of public spaces and the overall experience of the users in terms of satisfaction, comfort, and pleasures. This necessitates the need for thorough concern of the design of future urban spaces through public policy, financing and design control that protect and enhance the small-scale, informal and innovative public spaces. As such, considering the lack of features and amenities that improve users' activities and use of space, as well as addressing aspects and characteristics that would satisfy different types of users would make the space to be more conductively occupied by diverse groups and at different days and times.

6.7.4. Urban Governance and Future Interventions

This paper suggests that urban planners, architects, policy-makers in rapidly growing city like Doha should work together to free the public realm from threat allowing for appropriate expression of cultural celebration. There is a need to take risks and be more innovative to underline the opportunities to fulfil end users' needs in open space. This requires public sectors of a more multi-disciplinary capacity that would help the planning system embrace the new spatial planning paradigm. This demands a strong design team endorsing interdisciplinary approach to design for more careful development of urban landscape achieving the efficiency, encouraging social cohesion, and instilling symbolic demonstration in a collaborative decision-making process. The planning programmes need to embrace best practice embodied in spatial planning to develop a new culture that would move beyond the current regulatory system to embrace a more integrated, inclusive, visionary and action-oriented practice.

Participatory planning, future intervention strategies, and long term planning are approaches to be concretise by experts and stakeholders to have a sustainable city embedding urban open spaces more conducive for use.

Participatory Planning: This approach shall be taken into consideration as the communal practice of creating places enriches the basis of knowledge and expert and non-expert ability to situate knowledge in place. This demands a strategic partnership approach, deep-rooted in transforming the indeterminate nature of spaces rather than managing them. For instance, by having the workers involved as voluntary collaborators, they will become more loyal to the space they

use. The creation of spaces is not merely a physical process, and, as such, the space should not be created only by outsiders (e.g. planners and designers). The uniqueness and contextual features of the spaces, as well as their links with the community that uses them, show that users can provide valuable insight into the social-spatial relations underlying the formation of a place.

Future Intervention Strategies: These shall be developed based on communities' future vision of how to transform the indeterminate uncertain space into vibrant public spaces. This is achieved by first understanding the socio-spatial dimensions generate in the space, and second, formulating intervention strategies that fulfill the needs and desires of local migrant worker communities. Different intervention measures need to be considered: (i) physical interventions allow for the spatial upgrading and beautifying of the space, instead of encountering redundant downgraded spaces, (ii) social intervention allows for community involvement in, for example, the implementation of spatial planning and design, (iii) cultural intervention by developing events that enrich workers' involvement in the community through leisure and sport activities, as well as by introducing educational programmes that will uplift the urban poor community to the level that their practices are accepted by outsiders and more legible, (vi) economic intervention to adopt a flexible design to the spaces through which many activities can be formed to create employment for people from the same communities. This intervention will limit the street vending and illegal practices to gain money. Instead of selling groceries on the asphalt of secondary streets, fresh produce

could be simply obtained from a garden or cultivated space where the users themselves run communal fruit and vegetable gardens.

Legacy and Long-term Planning: Without doubt, the planning of future migrant worker communities in Qatar should consider that the flow and transition of migrant workers to the city would greatly decrease afterwards. Thus, an overarching strategy has to be put in place to manage all worker communities in order to justify their expenses and to expose their functionality, or subsets of them, as an effective way of leveraging the value of the legacy. This legacy should focus on both architectural legacy, and certain and uncertain public spaces. This will avoid any future brownfield sites. One way to reach this goal would be designing these communities for deconstruction and reuse of buildings component. Another solution might be to design the communities to be able to convert them from single worker units to family units. The uncertain indeterminate loose spaces should be designed in a way that could serve both current and future unexpected users. Groth and Corijin (2005) explain that the project should not be planned traditionally in order to avoid compromising the creativity of the project. The workers' community planning should adopt long-term planning and should be flexible toward the rigidity of municipality to secure the diversity of uses.

REFERENCES

- Adham, K. (2008). *Rediscovering the Island: Doha's Urbanity from Pearls to Spectacle*, In Y. Elsheshtawy, (Ed.), *The Evolving Arab City*. New York: Routledge.
- Al Buainain, F. (1999). *Urbanisation in Qatar: A Study of the Residential and Commercial Land Development in Doha City*. Salford: University of Salford.
- Amin, A. (2006). *Public Space: Collective culture and urban public space*. Retrieved from <http://www.publicspace.org/en/text-libraryleng/b003-collective-culture-and-urban-public-space>, May 2013.
- Anderson, J. (2010). *Understanding Cultural Geography: Places and Traces*. Oxen: Routledge.
- Armstrong, H. (2006). Time, *Dereliction and Beauty: An argument for 'Landscapes of Contempt.'* The Landscape Architect, IFLA Conference Papers May 2006, 116 -127.
- Arreola, D. D. (1988). *Mexican American Housescapes*, *Geographical Review*, 78 (17): 299-315.
- Balbo, M., & Tuts, R. (2005). *Conclusion*, In M Balbo (ed.), *International Migrants and the City*, Nairobi: UN-Habitat, 323-344.
- Balbo, M., & Marconi, G. (2005). *Governing international migration in the city of the south*. *Global Migration Perspectives*, Geneva, 38.

- Boussaa, D. (2014), Al Asmakh historic district in Doha, Qatar: from an urban slum to living heritage, *Journal of Architectural Conservation*, Routledge,
- Cupers, K., & Miessen, M. (2002). *Spaces of Uncertainty*, Wuppertal: Verlag Müller and Busmann.
- Cresswell, T. (1996). *In place/out of place: Geography, Ideology, and Transgression*. Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press.
- De Certeau, M. (1984). *The Practice of Everyday Life*, University of California Press: Berkeley.
- De Sola-Morales, I. (1995). 'Terrain Vague.' in Cynthia. C. D. (ed.). *Any Place*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 119-23.
- Doron, G. (2000). The Dead Zone and the Architecture of Transgression. *City*, 4 (2), 247-263.
- Doron, G. (2008). *Those marvelous empty zones at the edge of cities*, in M, Dehaene, and L, De Caeter, *Heterotopia and the City: Public space in a postcivil society*, London: Routledge, 203-213.
- El Samahy, R., Hutzell, K. (2014). In Search of Doha's Public Realm. *Urban Pamphleteer*: UCL Urban Laboratory. London, United Kingdom, PP. 1-3.
- Sandercock, L. (2003). *Cosmopolis II: Mongrel Cities of the 21st Century*. New York, NY: Continuum.
- Franck, K., & Stevens, Q. (2007). *Tying Down Loose Space*. in Franck, K. A., and Stevens, Q. (eds.) *Loose space: Possibility and Diversity in Urban Life*.

- (134). Taylor and Francis: Abingdon / New York.
- Fromherz, A. (2012). *Qatar: A Modern History*. I B Tauris, New York, NY.
- Gehl, J. (2006). *Life between Buildings: Using Public Space*, Copenhagen: The Danish Architectural Press.
- General Secretariat for Development and Planning. (2011). *Qatar National Development Strategy 2011-2016*. Available from:
http://www.gsdp.gov.qa/ww1_doc/slNDS_EN.pdf.
- General Secretariat for Development and Planning. (2009). *Qatar National Vision 2030*. Available from:
http://www.mdps.gov.qa/portallpage/portallgsdp_en/qatar_national_vision/qnv_2030_document/QNV2030_English_v2.pdf
- Groth, J., & Corijin, E. (2005). “*Reclaiming urbanity: Indeterminate Spaces, Informal Actors and Urban agenda Setting*”, *Urban Studies*, 42 (3), 503-26.
- Girof, C. (2005). “*Vers une nouvelle nature*” in Institute for Landscape Architecture (eds.) *Landscape Architecture and Mutation*, Zurich, gta Verlag.
- Khalaf, S. (2006). “*The evolution of the Gulf city type, oil, and globalization.*” in: Fox, J.W., Mourtada-Sabbah, N., Al-Mutawa, M. (eds.) *Globalization and the Gulf*, Routledge, London/ New York.
- Harvey, D. (2008). *The right to the city*. *New Left Review* 53, 23-40. Download

from: <http://www.newleftreview.org/?view=2740>.

- Habermas, J. (1962). *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Hou, J. (ed). (2010). *“Insurgent Public Space: Guerilla Urbanism and the Remaking of Contemporary Cities,”* Routledge, London.
- Jacobs, J. (1961-2006). *“Death and life of great American cities.”* New York, Random House [1961].
- Jorgensen, A., & Tylecote, M. (2007). *Ambivalent Landscapes – Wilderness in the Urban Interstices*, *Landscape Research*, London: Routledge, 32 (4), 44 3-462.
- Kaliski, J. (1999). *Everyday Urbanism*. (New York: Monacelli Press)
- Lee, Y. S., & Yeoh, B. (2004). *Introduction: globalisation and the politics of forgetting*. *Urban Studies*, 41(12), 22 95-2301.
- Lefebvre, H. (1974). *The Production of Space*. (Translated D. Nicholson-Smith), Oxford: Butterworth.
- Lefebvre, H. (1996-1968). *The right to the city*. in Hem; Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities*, (trans.), & (ed.), Kofman, E., and Lebas, E., Oxford, Blackwell, 147-159.
- Lefebvre, H. (1996). *Writings on Cities*. in E. Kofman, and E. Lebas (trans.), Oxford: Black well.

- Lerup, L. (1977). *Building the Unfinished: Architecture and Human Action*.
Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Lynch, K. (1981). *Good City Form*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Ministry of Municipality and Urban Planning – MMUP, Study Report: Qatar
National Master Plan (QNMP) (Doha: MMUP, 2010), 13.3.
- Marcuse, P. (2012). “*Whose right(s) to what city?*” in: Brenner, N., Marcuse, P.
and Mayer, M. (ed.) 2012. *Cities for People not for Profit*. New York:
Routledge. Ch.3.
- Nagar, R., Lawson, V., McDowell, L., & Han-Son, S. (2002). *Locating
globalization: feminist (re) readings of the subjects and spaces of
globalization*. *Economic Geography*, 78 (3), 257- 284.
- Naqy, S. (2006). *Making Room for Migrants, Making Sense of Difference: Spatial
and Ideological Expression of Social Diversity in Urban Qatar*. *Urban
Studies Journal Limited*, 43, 119-37.
- Papastergiadis, P. (2002). *Traces Left in Cities in Leon Van Schaik Poetics*. in
Architecture, London: Architectural Design, Wiley Academy, 45- 51.
- Qatar Statistic Authority. (2015). *Population and Social Statistics*. Available from
[http://www.qsa.gov.qaleng/publication/annabs12015/population-
chapters/1_Population_2014.xls](http://www.qsa.gov.qaleng/publication/annabs12015/population-chapters/1_Population_2014.xls)
- Qatar Statistic Authority, (2006-2013), *Labour Force Survey*. Available from:
<http://www.qsa.gov.qa/eng/publication/pdf/social/labor%20force%20re>

port%202011. pdf

Qatar Statistic Authority. (1997). *Population and Housing Census*. Available

from:

http://www.qix.gov.qa/portal/page/portal/QIXPOC/Documents/QIX%20Knowledge%20Base/Publication/Population%20Statistics/Census%20Publications/Source_QSA/Population_Houing_Census_Bu_A_1997.pdf

Qatar Statistic Authority. (1986). *Establishment Census*. Available from:

http://www.qix.gov.qa/portal/page/portal/QIXPOC/Documents/QIX%20Knowledge%20Base/Publication/Population%20Statistics/Census%20Publications/Source_QSA/Establishmellis_Census_Bu_A_1986.pdf

Rojas, J. T. (1993). *The enacted environment of East Los Angeles*. *Places*, 8 (3), 42-53.

Salama, A.M., Wiedmann, F. (2013). *Demystifying Doha: On Architecture and Urbanism in an Emerging City*. Ashgate Publishing Led., Surrey.

Salama, A.M., Wiedmann, F., 2013. *The production of urban qualities in the emerging city of Doha: urban space diversity as a case for investigating the 'lived space'*. *Archnet-IJAR: International Journal of Architecture Research* 7 (2): 162-172.

Salama, Ashraf M.; Wiedmann, Florian; Khalfani, Fatma A.; and Al-Maimani, Ahood (2016). *Dynamics of Populations and the Everyday Urban Environment in the Emerging City of Doha*. Workshop 6 – Gulf Cities as

Interfaces, Gulf Research Meeting, Cambridge, United Kingdom.

Stevens, Q. (2007). "*Betwixt and between: Building thresholds,*" liminality and public space," in: Karen E. Franck & Quentin Stevens (eds.), *Loose space: Possibility and diversity in urban life*, (73- 92). London: Routledge.

Whyte, W. H. (1980). *The social life of small urban spaces*. New York: Project for Public Spaces

Wiedmann, F., Salama, A.M., Thierstein, A., 2012. Urban evolution of the city of Doha: the impact of economic transformations on urban structures. *J. Fac. Archit.* 29 (2), 35-61.

APPENDIX I: GUIDED EXPERT INTERVIEWS.

This Appendix contains selection of one from five interviews conducted with experts from different public and semi-public organizations. Since the interviews were directed in Arabic the transcription from a recorded interviews has been translated into English by researcher.

Example of Transcription of Recorded Interviews (Selection)

Date: *November 17, 2015*

Time: *12:00 PM*

Designation: *Group Executive Director of Capital Projects*

Organisation: *Qatar Foundation*

FK: We know that Qatar Foundation as one of non-profit organization is taking lots of steps toward improving labours quality of life. QF initiated standards that are considered as a cornerstone of designing workers' accommodations in the country? What was the idea behind developing the QF Mandatory Standards for Worker Welfare?

JT: Some people usually critiquing the standards as being exaggerated in terms of developing labours' accommodations. Actually, the tragedy does not begin with the accommodation, the disaster starts from their origin country as they are abused to get their work visa and job opportunity abroad. While traveling to countries such as Nepal, Philippine, India, we have noticed that labours are deceived through paying lot's of money to be able to find a job abroad and been promised of different positions, that they never got. They reach here and discover that they have been cheated and sign a contract of almost one-tenth of predicated wage. Thus, we have found that having direct relation with Authentic Agents of workers origin country, which could be one of the most valuable ways to preserve labours right. This is only one side. Focusing on other sides, what is more simple than providing the workers with WiFi connections in the buses? What is simpler than providing air-conditioned buses? What is simpler than providing them with resting areas and air-conditioned prayer halls on the sites? In addition to that, nowadays, we in Qatar foundation, we have a complex that has been developed for labours entertainment. We are trying to give workers one hours break not only for working, but also napping, socializing, watching TV. These are to create sense of loyalty and inspiration to work, as many of them are depressed and they feel that are here only to work. Our new contracts are all following the welfare standards.

FK: Talking about standards and the new contracts signed, has these welfare been only applied within the campus of QF and for the benefits of labours who are serving QF?

JT: We are saying that we are trying to apply the standards been developed. We have met with people in charge in Qatar Rail, Qatar Olympic committee, and Ashghal. If you look at the accommodation been developed by Qatar Rail, you can find that they are almost fulfilling the same standards. Most of the things that are occurring today like canceling the sponsorship system is part of the hard work toward, however, we are now in pick time that's why the initiation are not that much noticeable. For example one of the plans that we have is to downsize number of workers in the hospitality service. This building (QF Headquarter) requires more than 20 tea-boys; we have only 9 of them who are serving us only morning time, and the rest of the day we are applying self-serving concept, and becoming self-dependent. Therefore, we are talking about coming together. Let me give you an example, applying precast method requires less number of workers. We need to understand and apply methodologies how to use advance the technologies and utilise it to reduce the acquired number of workers. Relying on labour forces and their rights is a worldwide dilemma; it is not only in Qatar. Dealing with such problem should be in a really sincere way and through immense collaborations. Ministry of Municipality and Environment is offering 4 sites to develop labour accommodations, which I believe they are under construction, companies

are developing accommodations for their labours, and what PEO has developed is warming our hearts. I guess we are on a right track but yet we need to work harder.

- FK:** What has been noticed through the Media that labours are mistreated in their hosted country only and there were no indications of any kind of misapplication in their origin country announced. Why the finding of your travels and investigation was never publicized?
- JT:** Things that are deliberated in the media are directed and not chosen. We are not saying that we are perfect but we are hoping to become uplifted and to promote what we have been taught in our religion. I am not saying that there is not bad example, however, there are good examples of individuals whom are treating their workforces like one of their family member. It is understandable that some of the individuals are not obeying the law and they accommodating in kind of housing that is really in a bad conditions. There are lots of phenomena that have never been publicized. However, we are trying to show and prove that the announcement has been made in regards to labour living and working condition are getting solved one by one which indicated the national sincerity toward solving such problems.
- FK:** Getting back to the initiatives that are taken by different governmental and semi-governmental entities based on the welfare standards, can we say that Qatar Foundation Standards for worker welfare are considered as a nation standards?
- JT:** The standards that are developed are generic and it is not only applicable to QF but it could be utilized for the whole country. However, the implementation should be gradual. You cannot ask others to have labour accommodation fulfilling such standards when you don't have any accommodation conformable with suggested standards. The standards are implemented in a really conscious way, avoiding any kind of monopoly, and without having it announced as a national standards.
- FK:** Focusing on the initiatives been taken by PEO, what do you think of their initiatives of regenerating the heart of Doha, talking about Al Asmakh, Al Najada and Barahat AlJufairi Districts?
- JT:** I was one of the participants in evacuation process occurred in Musheireb downtown. Unfortunately, we were not proud of the city centre. It was fully occupied and over populated by labours and whatever you imagine can be happen were happening there. Thus, the downtown requires regeneration. The solution is to increase number of projects that are complying with the standards to where labour can be moved.
- FK:** Although, lots of facilities have been provided within labour accommodations during weekends, it has been noticed that yet the workers are coming back to the downtown for different reasons like shopping, seeing friends, etc. What is the reason behind that and how the workers influxation into downtown could be decreased?
- JT:** We are yet in the beginning of implementation process, government is trying hard to satisfy workers needs instead of overcrowding the malls that are used by families, PEO for example are suggesting amenities for workers leisure and entertainment. QF has developed Alkhor labour camp where you find a green circular pitch in the middle surround by shops and supermarkets. I am not with the idea of developing a camp for large population like what PEO did. This is not sufficient in terms of security. It should be limited to 15,000 – 20,000 workers. Controlling population larger than this is kind of difficult. Thus, I believe MME's proposal of giving 4 sites to develop labour accommodation of max 20,000 occupants is more reasonable. The influxation, however, can be controlled through an integrative approach and complete collaboration among different entities.

- FK:** Passing by downtown nowadays, it is noticeable that labours are imposing image and perceiving and using the spaces in a really different way that could be seen as irregular by passersby. How this could be controlled today and how we the new planning interventions can avoid such informal irregular practices?
- JT:** The flexibility of design and the long-term planning of such developments should of higher priority. We know that later and after the peak time of construction boom, number of labours will be highly reduced. Therefore, design toward having possible legacy should be the target of developing the future labour accommodations.
- FK:** The labour accommodation developed by PEO in industrial area is embracing some informal practices and space appropriation. Don't you think that this is due to not having a proper background of how these categories of people are using the space?
- JT:** We need to play role in uplifting this category of people through cultivating the culture. There should be a control over the usage of the space to avoid any kind of vandalism. We cannot say that since they brought up in a different culture we need to find solution to fulfill their culture, which could not be in line with our norms, and culture. "You need to bring the bar up". Shell experience with educating and uplifting the thoughts of workers community is an excellent example of this. At the end of the day, we need to understand that those workers are here to make money, however, we are trying to add a bit of leisure into their life while of course fulfilling their basic social and economic needs.
- FK:** Talking about the idea of collaboration and integrative holistic approach, in your point of view, when different governmental entities, authorities, public and/or private sectors will come together?
- JT:** We need to look at successful examples. Sometimes you find people with low communication skills. Sometimes the methodologies and tools utilized by different entities are not similar. The speediness of implementing the strategies is different; so, we are trying hard to get together through different meetings, seminars, conferences and workshops. Getting together and developing integrative approach require a bit of time to be rightly utilized. "We need to be passionate and patient". I hope we go over the miss-integration quickly and this is what QF is focusing on nowadays as we are trying to sign MOU with most of the entities in the country such as Ministry of Labour. We are trying to take advantage of our competencies to benefit the country.

APPENDIX II: GUIDED USERS INTERVIEWS.

This Appendix includes selection of one from twenty interviews conducted with workers occupying the space. This contains the researcher's note and summaries written up after the interview when the candidate did not want the conversation recorded.

Example of Reconstruction and Notes from a Non-Recorded Interview

Date: August 14, 2015

Time: 17:46 PM

I prefaced the interview by explaining my research and that I am doing a qualitative analysis of the way workers are using the un-regulated spaces to fulfill their needs and desires. I mentioned to him that I am selecting random people here to understand their perspectives upon the space and listen to their concerns about moving from here.

RK began by saying that our friends have been moved and displaced and we will follow them as well. The electricity is cut off and most of the houses are evacuated. He added that he met with his friends only during weekends for only two- three hours and they are getting back to their camp.

I asked him why he is not meeting his friend during the week days, and thus call into question how he spend his free time after work during the week.

RK said that he is working 5 days spending 8 hours per day in the site, and then he is having nap for an hour and then he hangs out to have some fresh airs. He can not go to see his friend in daily bases due to the transportation and the time spent to reach to the distention those friend are scattered all around the country. He mentioned that they used to gather here and until today all friend are coming from different places like Al Khor, Al Wakrah and Industrial Area to Al Asmakh to spend some time with friends.

I asked him about the reason behind gathering in such spaces and if he ever visited other public spaces such as Katara, Aspire and/or parks.

RK said that he heard about those spaces but he has never been to them. He added that he has tried once to enter City Center mall and the policeman stopped me. My friends tried to sit in the Corniche but policeman said it is forbidden. The regulated access to such public spaces, limited their choice of leisure spaces to the un-regulated spaces within the occupied districts.

We talked some more about the spaces that they are occupying and the space adaptation and appropriation that is taking place within such spaces. He said that when more than five individuals occupy a small room; they need to try to use leftover construction materials to build new room on the roof or within the courtyard. When there is area to get together and have a chat, they need occupy street sidewalks and corners to meet each other. He additionally mentioned that they don't have money to go to expensive places but they need to take some fresh air, entertain and have fun, however, even meeting with each other on the street are bothering some people.

RK mentioned that his family is not here and he needs to chat with somebody about his concerns. He doesn't have enough money to call his wife and children in daily bases and

when he calls them he need to spend sometime in passageway during hot weather as there is no privacy allocated for occupants within the house. The rooms are not air-conditioned and not properly ventilated. They are using fans to freshen the room.

As we were wrapping the conversation, I mentioned by sense that government is trying to make changes to the situation and wonder if he is encouraged to move from downtown to self-service labour communities. He said that they do not mind any displacement as long as they will find everything they want and services are provided. But, he still need to get back to downtown during weekend to see his friends and relatives whom are not leaving within in the same camp.